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# A HISTORY OF EGYPT

VOL. II.

THE XVIIITH AND XVIIIITH DYNASTIES





NOT TO BE ISSUED A

# HISTORY OF EGYPT

DURING THE XVIIth AND XVIIIth  
DYNASTIES.

1896

WITH ADDITIONS TO 1898

34577

BY

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MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY OF NORTHERN ANTIQUARIES

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS

THIRD EDITION

METHUEN & CO.

36 ESSEX STREET, W.C.

LONDON

1899



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*This History will comprise Six Volumes:*

- Vol. I. Dynasties I.-XVI. By W. M. F. PETRIE  
Vol. II. „ XVII.-XX. By W. M. F. PETRIE  
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## PREFACE

THE present volume of the history of Egypt comprises only a short period of a few centuries ; but a period which is more full of material than any other age of Egypt. The foreign wars, the contact with other nations, the architectural activity, the luxury and brilliance of this cycle, all render it the most attractive in the long history of the country.

The present statement of the material is therefore on a far larger scale than in the previous volume ; the standard of leaving no fact or monument referring to the regal history unnoticed, having been maintained throughout.

Such a text-book is of necessity only a work of reference in many parts ; but general observations on the condition of the country, and the circumstances of the rule, have given scope for summarising the view suitably for the historical reader. In particular, the decline of Egyptian rule in Syria has been for the first time treated as a consecutive history.

Regarding the references, the various sources have been compared, and the best text selected : where accuracy is equal, the later publications and the English publications have been preferred.

The references by letter or number to the various buildings at Thebes are always based on the plans given in Baedeker's Guide, as these are the most compact and accessible for general use.

Mr. F. Ll. Griffith has again given the most ungrudging help in revising, and often translating, the various documents which are here quoted. And I have also to thank Professor Sayce and Mr. Percy Newberry for many notes and corrections.

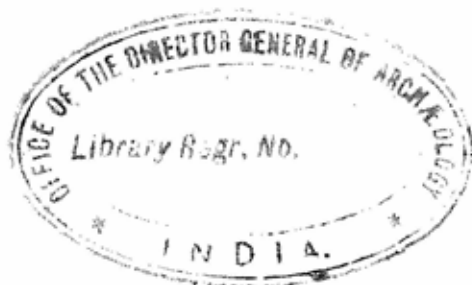


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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A. . . . .	L'Anthropologie (Journal).
A.B. . . . .	Arundale and Bonomi Gallery (Brit. Mus.).
A.E. . . . .	L'Archéologie Egyptienne (Maspero).
A.L. . . . .	Archæologia, London, Society of Antiquaries.
A.Mus. . . . .	Ashmolean Museum.
A.R. . . . .	Archæological Report, Egypt Exploration Fund.
A.Z. . . . .	Zeitschrift Aeg. Sprache.
B.A.G. . . . .	Berlin Anthropol. Gesellsch.
B.C. . . . .	„ Catalogue, 1894.
Bd.A. . . . .	Breasted, Hymn to Aten.
B.E. . . . .	Baedeker, Egypt.
Berl. . . . .	Berlin Museum.
B.G. . . . .	Brugsch, Geographie.
B.G.I. . . . .	„ Geog. Inschrift.
B.H. . . . .	„ History.
B.I.E. . . . .	Bulletin Inst., Egypt.
B.I.H.D. . . . .	Birch, Inser. Hieratic Demotic.
B.M.C. . . . .	Bliss, Mound of many Cities.
B. Mus. . . . .	British Museum.
B.O.D. . . . .	Bezold, Oriental Diplomacy.
B.P. . . . .	Birch, Pottery.
B.R. . . . .	Brugsch, Recueil.
B.R.P. . . . .	Birch, Two Rhind Papyri.
B.Rs. . . . .	Brugsch, Reiseberichte.
B.T. . . . .	„ Thesaurus.
B.X. . . . .	Burton, Excerpta.
C.B. . . . .	Champollion, Deux Lettres . . . Duc de Blacas.
C.E. . . . .	Chabas, Melanges Egypt.
C.F. . . . .	Champollion, Figeac Egypt. Anc.
C.L. . . . .	„ Lettres, ed. 1868.
C.M. . . . .	„ Monuments.
C.N. . . . .	„ Notices.
C.O.E. . . . .	Congrès Oriental, St. Etienne, 1878.
D.D. . . . .	Duemichen, Baugesch. Denderatempels.
D.E. . . . .	Description de l'Égypte.

D.F. . . .	Duemichen, Flotte.
D.H. . . .	„ Histor. Inschr.
D.O. . . .	„ Oasen.
E. Coll. . .	Edwards Collection.
E.G. . . .	Ebers, Gozen zum Sinai.
E.L. . . .	Études ded. Leemans.
F.H. . . .	Fraser, Graffiti of Hat-nub.
F. Mus. . .	Florence Museum.
F.P. Coll. .	Flinders Petrie Collection.
G.Bh. . . .	Griffith, Beni Hasan.
G. Coll. . .	Grant Collection.
G.H. . . .	Golenischeff, Hammamat.
G.K. . . .	Griffith, Kahun Papyri.
G. Mus. . .	Ghizeh Museum.
G.N. . . .	Gardner, Naukratis ii.
G.O. . . .	Gorringe, Egyptian Obelisks.
G.S. . . .	Griffith, Siut.
H.B. . . .	Hawkins, Belmore Tablets (Brit. Mus.).
H. Coll. . .	Hilton Price Collection.
J.A.I. . . .	Jour. Anthropol. Institute.
L.A. . . .	Lepsius, Auswahl.
Lb. D. . . .	Lieblein, Dictionary of Names.
Lb. P. . . .	„ St. Petersburg.
L.C. . . .	Leyden Congress.
L.D. . . .	Lepsius, Denkmäler.
L.K. . . .	„ Königsbuch.
L.L. . . .	„ Letters (English edit.).
L. Mus. . .	Leyden Museum.
L.T. . . .	Lanzzone, Catalogue of Turin.
M.A. . . .	Mariette, Catalogue Abydos.
M.A. ii. . .	„ Abydos ii.
M.A.B. . . .	„ Album de Boulaq.
M.A.F. . . .	Mission Archeol. Franc., Cairo.
M.B. . . .	Mariette, Catal. Boulaq, 6th edit.
M. Coll. . .	Murch Collection (Chicago).
M.D. . . .	Monuments Divers.
M.D.B. . . .	Mariette, Deir el Bahri.
M.E. . . .	Musée Egyptien.
M.E.E. . . .	Maspero, Études Egypt.
Mel. . . .	Melanges d'Arch. Egypt (Maspero).
M.F.D. . . .	De Morgan, Fouilles à Dashur.
M.G. . . .	Meyer, Geschichte.
M.I. . . .	De Morgan, Monuments et Inscriptions.
M.K. . . .	Mariette, Karnak.
M.M. . . .	„ Mastabas.
M.S. . . .	„ Serapeum.
M.S. Ms. . .	„ Serapeum, ed. Maspero.
Ms. A. . . .	Maspero, L'Archéologie Egypt.
Ms. C. . . .	„ Contes Populaires.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

xv

Ms. E. . . .	Maspero, Enquête Judicaire.
Ms. G. . . .	„ Guide Bulaq.
Ms. M. . . .	„ Momies de Deir el Bahari.
Ms. M.P.L. . . .	„ Mem. Papyr. Louvre.
My. E. . . .	Murray, Guide to Egypt, edit. 1880.
N.A. . . .	Naville, Ahnas.
N.A.P. . . .	„ Ahnas, Tylor's Paheri.
N.Aeg. . . .	Nicholson, Aegyptiaca.
N.B. . . .	Naville, Bubastis.
N.D.B. . . .	„ Deir el Bahri.
N.Bh. . . .	Newberry, Beni Hasan.
O. Coll. . . .	Owen's College, Manchester.
O.T. . . .	Orcurti, Catalogue Turin.
P.A. . . .	Petrie, Tell el Amarna.
P.H. . . .	„ Hawara.
P.I. . . .	„ Illahun.
P.K. . . .	„ Kahun.
P.L. . . .	Pierret, Louvre Catalogue, Salle historique.
P.M. . . .	Petrie, Medum.
P. Mus. . . .	Paris (Louvre) Museum.
P.N. . . .	Petrie, Nebesheh (in Tanis ii.).
P.O.N. . . .	Prokesch van Osten, Nilfahrt.
P.P. . . .	Petrie, Pyramids of Gizeh.
P.R. . . .	Pierret, Recueil Inscrip. Louvre.
P.S. . . .	Petrie, Season 1887.
P.Sc. . . .	„ Scarabs.
P.T. i. and ii. . . .	„ Tanis, i. and ii.
Pap. T. . . .	Papyri of Turin, Pleyte and Rossi.
Ph. Mus. . . .	Philadelphia Museum.
Pr. A. . . .	Prisse, Art.
Pr. M. . . .	„ Monuments.
R.A. . . .	De Rougé, Album.
R.C. . . .	Revue Critique.
R.E. . . .	De Rougé, Études Egypt.
R.L. . . .	Rosellini, Mon. Civili.
R.M.L. . . .	De Rougé, Monuments Egn. du Louvre.
R.P. i. to xviii. . . .	Records of the Past, series I. i.-xii.; series II. i.-vi.
R.R. . . .	Rosellini, Mon. Religious (del Culto).
R.S. . . .	„ Mon. Storici.
R.S.D. . . .	De Rougé, Six Dynasties.
Rec. . . .	Recueil de Trauvau, Egypt.
Rev. A. . . .	Revue Archæologique.
S.B.A. . . .	Soc. Biblical Archæol. Proceedings.
S.B.A.T. . . .	„ „ „ Transactions.
S.Cat. F. . . .	Schiaparelli, Catalogue Florence.
S.I. . . .	Sharpe, Inscriptions.
S.N. . . .	Stuart, Nile Gleanings.
S.S. . . .	Schuckhardt, Schliemann.
S.S.A. . . .	Schack-Schackenberg, Unterw. des K. Amenemhat.



S.T. . . .	Schiaparelli, Tomba Herchuf.
T. Mus. . .	Turin Museum.
T.P. . . .	„ Papyrus.
V.G. . . .	Virey, Catalogue Ghizeh.
V.P. . . .	Vyse, Pyramids.
W.G. . . .	Wiedemann, Geschichte.
W.G.S. . .	„ „ Supplement.
W.M.C. . .	Wilkinson, Manners and Customs, ed. Birch.
W.T. . . .	„ Topography of Thebes.

*The above works, and others, can be consulted in the Edwards  
Library, University College, London.*

## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

1898

Page 13. Kames, scarab now in F.P. Coll. Plaque with title, "The great prince" (F.P. Coll.).

Page 32. In list read "1406, Mesore 14 (undated), Amenhotep III."

Page 39. *Huy*, tomb at Draa-abul-Negga.

Page 41 (line 28). *Bak* was son of a keeper of cattle of Nefertari. Tomb, Qurneh.

Page 44 (base). Cone of *Tahuti*, priest of Aahmes (M.A.F. viii. 15).

Page 46. *Sen'em'aah*. Stele. Tomb, Qurneh.

Page 46. *Huy*, priest under Ramessu II. Tomb, Draa-abul-Negga.

Page 59. Hierakonpolis. Tombs (B.E. 309).

Page 68. Officials. *Bak*, chief steward, cone (M.A.F. viii. 15).

Page 68. Priests—

*Mut*, priestess, in tomb of Ka'em'her'ab'sen, Qurneh.

*Neferhotep* (Ram. II.), tomb of Khonsu, Qurneh.

*Nay* " " "

*Auy* " " "

II—b

xvii

Page 69 (line 10). And in a tomb at Hierakonpolis (B.E. 309).

Page 76 (line 18). *For* "sister" *read* "aunt."

Page 78 (line 13). *Sen-men* was an official of Princess Neferu'ra named in Senmut's tomb (M.A.F. xiii. 16).

Page 88 (line 7 from base). *For* "other brother" *read* "nephew."

Page 90 (line 19). Base of black granite statue of *Senmut* found at Deir el Bahri (N.D.B. i. 19).

Page 90 (line 23). A third glass bead was bought at Luxor (Newberry).

Page 95. Tombs at Qurneh, time of Hatshepsut—

*Hapu-senb*, 3rd *kherheb* of Amen.

*Dua'neheb*, No. 74.

*Aahmes*, chief *kherheb* of Amen, No. 5.

*Anna*, keeper of granaries of Amen, No. 65.

*x*, overseer of works of great obelisks.

Page 96. For the views of Sethe and Naville on the family of Tahutimes I., see (A.R. 1898).

Page 97. Tahutimes III. Tomb in Valley of Kings' Tombs.

Page 131 (middle, *add*). The tomb of Tahutmes III. was found lately in the Valley of the Kings' Tombs at Thebes, and is described by M. Loret in the "Journal Egyptien," 5th March 1898. The entrance passage has a deep pit in the course of it. Beyond that is a hall with two pillars; and a steep descent from that leads to a lower hall of six pillars. In this was the sarcophagus of sandstone stained red, on a base of alabaster. Much funeral furniture lay scattered about the tomb. On a pillar in the lower hall was portrayed Tahutmes III. with his mother Aset, and his wife Meryt'ra, still living, his wife Sit-aah dead, his wife Nebtkheru, and his daughter Nefertaru, dead.

Page 141. Tombs at Qurneh—

- No. 24. *Amenemhat*, keeper of ploughs.
- „ 47. *Sen-nefer, mer nut*.
- „ 48. *Amenemhat*, high priest of Amen, 54th year.
- „ 62. *Pehusekher*.
- „ 63. *Menkheper*.
- „ 65. *Anna*, keeper of granary of Amen.
- „ 77. *Amenemhat*, royal scribe.

Page 142. Puamra. Tomb at Qurneh.

Page 152. Amenhotep II. Tomb in Valley of Kings Tombs. Coffin and mummy in it.

Page 153 (line 11 from base). Read “But the Lateran obelisk states that it was set up in the next reign,” etc.

Page 155 (line 17). Read “turned his *hand* to examine,” etc.

Page 158 (middle, *add*). The tomb of Amenhotep II. was found in the Valley of the Kings' Tombs at Thebes a few years ago, by a Coptic dealer who had a permission from the government to plunder in the cemetery. Some objects were removed from the tomb, and sold by dealers; and it was offered to several English people, but no one cared to pay for what the government would seize when known. At last it was sold to M. Loret, and his account of it appeared in the “*Journal Egyptien*,” 14th May 1898. The entrance passage has a deep pit in the course of it; beyond that is a hall with two pillars; from that a stairway leads down to a lower hall with six pillars, which has two small chambers on each side. In the lower hall stood the sarcophagus of sandstone stained red, and in it was the coffin containing the mummy, still intact, with wreaths on it. The upper hall contained much funeral furniture, including two boats, on one of which lay a corpse of a man sacrificed. The walls of the lower hall were covered with the book of Amduat; the hall contained many statuettes in various materials, some with the name of the royal prince Ubkhsenu.

In one of the side chambers were three bodies,—a man, a woman, and a boy,—all apparently sacrificed at the funeral. In another side chamber were nine royal mummies (see note added to p. 340).

Page 163—

Tomb of *Pa-sar*, No 50, at Qurneh.

„ *Sen-nefer B*, No. 42, at Qurneh.

„ *Amen-ken*, No. 46, at Qurneh; his wife was royal nurse.

„ *Sennefer A*, *mer nut*, No. 41, Qurneh.

„ *Amenhotep*, 2nd priest of Amen, No. 12, Qurneh.

„ *Ken*, high priest of Mut, No. 30, Qurneh.

„ *Amenemapt*, No. 39, Qurneh.

„ *Mery*, No. 40, Qurneh.

„ *Tahuti-nefer*, No. 64, Qurneh.

„ *Amenemheb*, No. 66, Qurneh.

„ *Neb-en-kemt*, palace keeper.

Page 164. *Mentuhotep*, *kherheb* under Ramessu II.  
Tomb of Khonsu, Qurneh.

Page 165. *Tahutimes* IV. Coffin and mummy in tomb of *Amenhotep* II.

Page 166 (line 6). Daughter, *Tā* . . . Tomb of *Sebekhotep*, Qurneh.

Page 170. For “*Ar-at*” read “*Arat*.”

Page 171—

Tomb of *Sebekhotep*, chief of Fayum, No. 2, Qurneh.

„ *Ry*, chief engraver, No. 57, Qurneh.

„ *Tā*, keeper of cattle. Tomb of Khonsu, Qurneh.

Page 173 (base). *Meryt*, nurse of royal children.  
Tomb of *Sebekhotep*, Qurneh.

Page 174. *Amenhotep* III., mummy in tomb of *Amenhotep* II.

Page 175. *For* "Kom el Hettan" *read* "Kom el Hetan."

Page 181 (genealogy, at base)—

*For* "Sitatama" *read* "Artatama."

*For* "Sutharna" *read* "Shutarna."

*For* letters "16" and "17" *read* "18" and "19."

Page 197. A splendid colossus of *Amenhotep*, son of Hepu, was found at Medinet Habu, now in Ghizeh Museum.

Page 197 (line 12 from base). *Read* "He recites *then* the gift," etc.

Page 198. *Amen-em-apt*, keeper of palace. Tomb at Qurneh.

Page 200. *Neb-amen*. Tomb, Assassif.

Page 204 (line 1). *Read* "after the second daughter was born, where she appears with only two other princesses" (Huya).

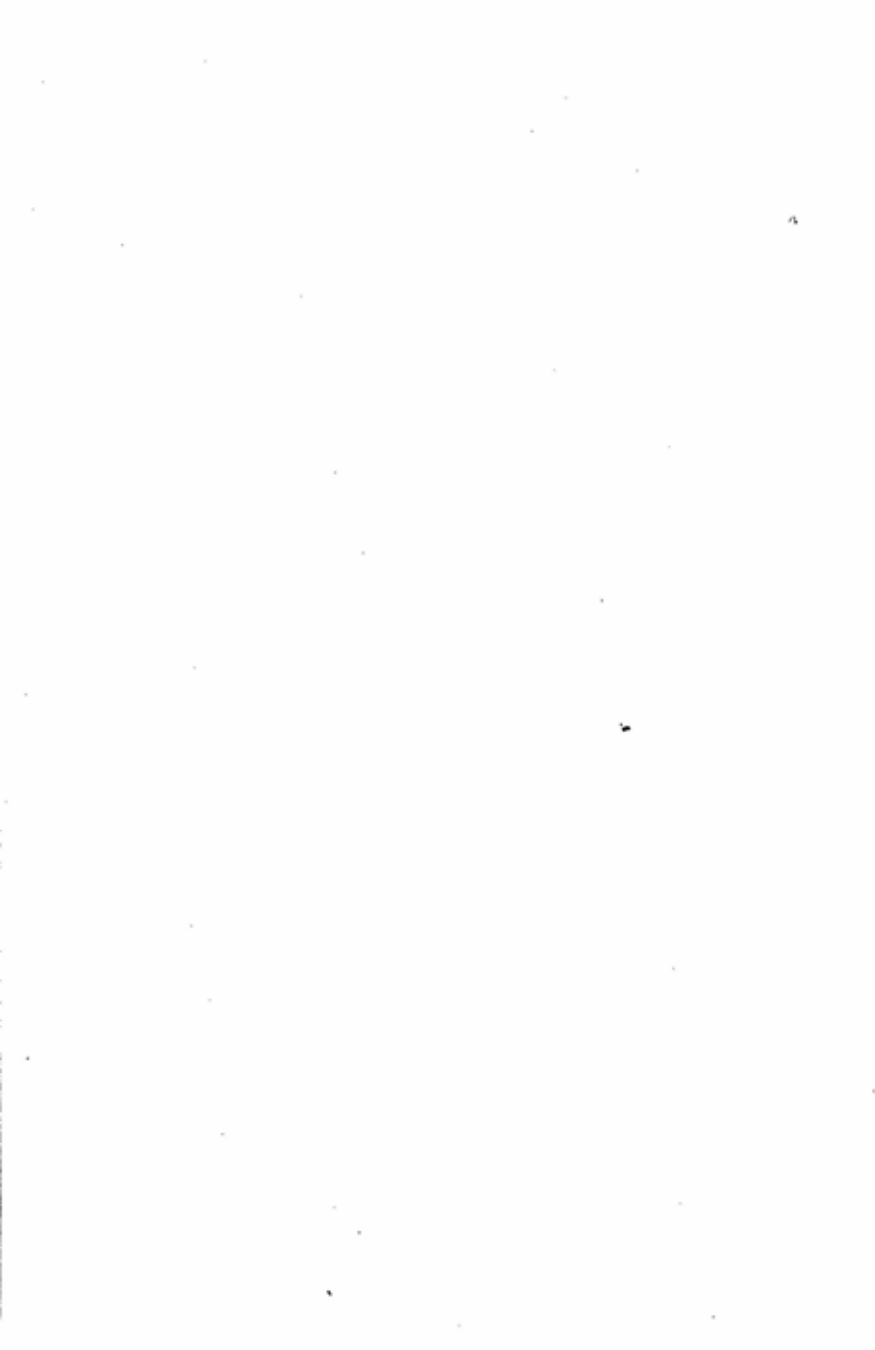
Page 204 (line 9). *Read* "*sit* by their mother."

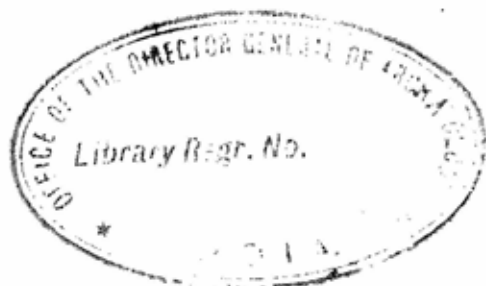
Page 205. Akhenaten mummy said to be found in tomb of Amenhotep IV.; but certainly that of Merenptah.

Page 228. Rames, tomb, Thebes, No. 72, Qurneh.

Page 229. *Add* "*x*, overseer of workmen. Tomb, Assassif."

Page 246. There is, however, a stone dated in the 7th year in Brit. Mus., No. 5624.



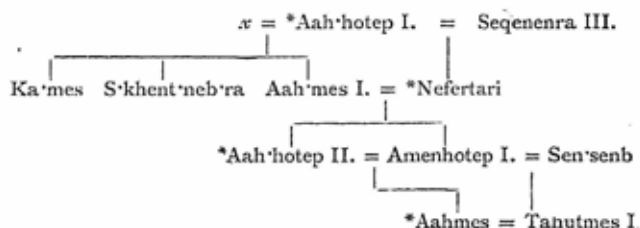


# A HISTORY OF EGYPT

## SEVENTEENTH DYNASTY

THE rise of this dynasty is wholly lost to sight under the Hyksos power. It is only with the later kings who began to assert their independence, or perhaps with the intermarriage of an invading and assertive family from the south, that any historical personages appear. The details of the relationships involve so many considerations, and so much acquaintance with the family, that it is better to study them after an outline of the period; they are therefore placed here at the end of this volume, and should be referred to for seeing the reasons for the arrangement adopted.

So far as the details are yet known, it appears that the royal family at the close of the XVIIth dynasty stands thus—





In order to see how far the ages and other data agree, it is best to tabulate the chronology; not as laying down what is certain, but only as proving that no hidden discordance lies in what is already supposed to be ascertained. The fixed points that we have to deal with are the lengths of the reigns of Aahmes and Amenhotep, — the ages of Seqenenra and Aahmes (about 40 and 55 respectively at death, see Ms. M. 528, 535), — the successive marriages of Aah-hotep, — the eight princes and princesses who were, some, or all, probably her children after the birth of those who came to the throne, — and the general presumption of the ages of marriage. We see in the following table that there will be nothing contradictory among these data; and, with the exception of the very uncertain length of the short reigns of Kames and S'khent-neb'ra (for which an assumption has been made, regulated by the age and family of their mother), there is probably not much uncertainty in these statements.

B.C. about	Sequenra	Aah-hotep				B.C. about
1637	o born	o born				1617
1622		15 marries x				1615
1621		16 Kames b.				1613
1619		18 Skhentneb b.	o Kames	o Skhentnebra		
1617		20 Aahmes b.			o Aahmes	
1615	22 marries	22 m. Sequenra				
1613	24	24 Nefertari b.			o Nefertari	
(here follow 8 children in 16 years).						
1597	40 dies		24 succeeds		20 marries	1597
1595					18 Satamen b.	1595
1593					20 Aahhotep b.	1593
1591			30 dies	28 succeeds	22 Sa'pa'iri b.	1591
1589					24 Amenhotep b.	1589
1587		50		32 dies		1587
1562		75			30 succeeds	1562
1541		96 alive			55 dies	1541

(The only assumptions in this table are the lengths of the short reigns of Kames and Skhentnebra, and the details of the exact ages of Aah-hotep and Nefertari at the births of their children. Only an uncertainty of a few years will rest on these details, which are here approximated, in order to show the general relation of events. The successive order of the facts is fairly certain, as will be noted farther on.)

We may now approximately arrange the reigns and dates of the XVIIth dynasty—

		B.C. about
XVII. (Beginning of dynasty)	. . . .	1738 1660
5. ? Se'qenen'ra (I.)	Ta'aa	1635
6. Se'qenen'ra (II.)	Ta'aa'aa	1610
7. Se'qenen'ra (III.)	Ta'aa'ken	1597
8. Uaz'kheper'ra	Ka'mes	1591
9. Se'khent'neb'ra	_____ . . .	1587
XVIII. Aahmes		1562

Of the earlier part of this dynasty we know nothing. The resemblance of Seqenenra III. to the Berber type points to these kings having come down from Ethiopia. A new dynasty beginning with Aahmes seems to have been due to the break in the family, he being descended of an Egyptian and not an Ethiopian father. This dynasty, then, would seem to have been descended from a part of the royal Egyptian line which had taken refuge in the far south to escape from the Hyksos oppression; and was there mingled with southern blood, and became of the dark Berber type. As the Hyksos power decayed, this southern family fought its way northward again, and so laid the foundation of the XVIIIth dynasty. For the date of the beginning of this dynasty we have only the statement of Manetho, which gives 151 years for the duration of it. Of the first eighty years, or so, we have no names remaining; perhaps they should be sought in Nubia rather than in Egypt, as there is no allusion to tombs of the predecessors of the Seqenenras at Thebes.

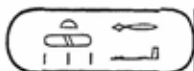
Rahotep, as we have noticed in vol. i., belongs to

the XVIth rather than to the XVIIth dynasty, as he reigned at Koptos, and therefore quite under the Hyksos power. This points to his being a vassal under the great Hyksos kings, and not one of the fighting family who ejected them, as there is no place for him anywhere in the later part of this dynasty when it was becoming independent.

We will now notice the actual remains of these kings before proceeding to notice their great work of expelling the Hyksos.

XVII. 5 ? SE'QENEN'RA  about  
1660-  
1635 B.C.

TA'ĀĀ



Palette	(Louvre)	(C.M. 191 bis, 3).
Throw-stick	Draa-abul-nega	(M.D. 51).
Abbott papyrus		(Ms. E. 230).
<i>Queen</i> , Aah-hotep.		
<i>Eldest son</i> , Aahmes (died young)		(Rec. xi. 159).
<i>Son</i> , Thuau.		(M.D. 51, b 1).
<i>Daughter</i> , Aahmes.		

The existence of this king, as separate from his successors, is shown by the Abbott papyrus containing the Ramesside inspection of the royal tombs. His tomb is there named; and it is followed by that of Sekenenra Ta'āā-āā, or the great Ta'āā, whose name we might otherwise have supposed to be a variant of Ta'āā, remembering the confusion of the Antef names. This king's tomb is named next after that of Sebek'em'sauf, and is described thus: "The tomb of king (Seqenenra), son of the sun (Ta'āā), examined this day by the masons, was found intact." The only contemporary objects bearing the king's name are a palette in the Louvre, on which he is said to be beloved

of Amen·rá and of Safekḥ; a throw-stick found in the tomb of Aqi·hor at Draa-abul-nega, which bears the cartouche Ta·āā, and the name of the king's son Thuau; and an important statue of the king's eldest



FIG. 1.—Palette of Ta·aa.  
1 : 2. Louvre.

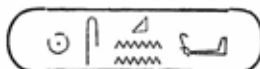
son Aahmes, deceased, made by his father Ta·aa a, his mother the king's daughter and queen Aah·hotep, and his sister Aahmes (Rec. xi. 159). Though at first sight these names Aahmes and Aahhotep would seem to point to this being of Ta·aa·qen, yet we have to balance the probability of the Aah names having been earlier in use in the family, against the improbability of Ta·aa·qen being written without his



FIG. 2.—Throw-stick  
of Thuau. 1 : 12.  
Ghizeh.

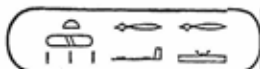
distinctive title *gen*, and being thus confused with his ancestors. This monument seems, then, rather to belong to Ta'aa, whose name is on it, than to either of the following kings.

XVII. 6?  
SE'QENEN'RA



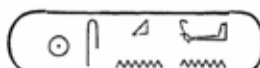
about 1635-  
1610 B.C.

TA'AA'AA



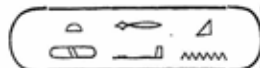
Of this king nothing is known except the mention of his tomb in the Abbott papyrus. Following the account of his predecessor's tomb, we read: "The tomb of the king (Se'qenen'ra), son of the sun (Ta'aa'aa), who is the second king (Ta'aa), examined on this day by the masons, was found intact."

XVII. 7?  
SE'QENEN'RA



about 1610-  
1597 B.C.

TA'AA.QEN



Coffin and mummy  
*Queen, Aah'hotep.*

Deir el Bahri

(Ms. M. 526).

Coffin

Canopic jars

Jewellery

Gold ring

Draa-abul-nega

Ghizeh Mus.

Louvre

{ Ms. G. 77-84.

{ M.B. 810-839.

{ P. Sc. 760.

*Children—Nefert'ari.*

And by the sequence in the tomb of Khabekht probably also Binpu, Uazmes, Rames, Kenaru, Aahmes, \*Ka'mes, \*Sat'ir'bau, \*Ta'khred'qa.

(of Aah'hotep by previous husband,  
Kames, Se'khent'neb'ra, Aahmes).

The coffin and mummy of this king were found in the great deposit of royal mummies in the tomb at Deir el Bahri or "the northern convent" at Thebes. The out-

line of this discovery is given at the close of this volume. The body of Sequenra had probably been shifted from one hiding-place to another, like the bodies and coffins of the other kings whose removals are inscribed upon them. Lastly, it was laid in the tomb of the priest-kings until removed to the museum at Cairo.

The coffin is heavy in style, like those of the Antefs, with a single line of inscription down the front. The mummy shows that the king died on the field of battle. From the position of the wounds, it appears that he was



FIG. 3.—Coffin of Sequenra. Ghizeh.

first struck down by an enemy on his left hand, who attacked him by a violent blow on the side of the head in front of the ear, and the tongue was bitten between the teeth in the agony of the conflict; the next stroke was mortal, an axe crashed through the left side of the head, leaving an opening two inches long; and a dagger-cut above the right eyebrow

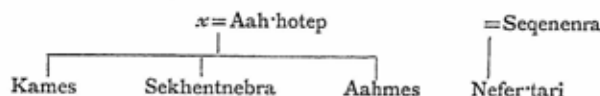
completed the attack. The body was recovered by his subjects, and reverently preserved for embalming and burial. Closely wrapped up, so that the soft parts putrefied instead of drying in the open air, it was carried for many days to Thebes, where it was as fully preserved as the condition of it allowed; but the bones of the body and the left arm were entirely bared of flesh. The king appears to have been of the Berber type, tall, slender, and vigorous, with a small, long

head, and fine black hair. The beard was shaved, but not the hair of the head (Ms. M. 527, 771, 776; pl. iii.). A rude stone seal found at Thebes may belong to this, or to a previous king Seqenenra.

His wife Aah·hotep was one of the great queens of Egyptian history, important as the historic link of the dynasties, and revered along with her still more celebrated and honoured daughter Nefertari. We have already noticed how her son Aahmes (so described on Edfu stele, Rec. ix. 93, Ms. M. 626) was of the ordinary Egyptian complexion, while her daughter Nefertari (so placed in the series of Khabekht, L.D. iii. 2a, and called royal daughter) was black. As Seqenenra was Berber, Nefertari might be three-quarters black; while Aahmes, if son of an Egyptian husband, might be three-quarters Egyptian, thus accounting for the difference. The age of Aahmes at his accession, after the insignificant reigns of his brothers, shows that he was the son of a first husband, implying that Aah·hotep first married an Egyptian, and secondly, Seqenenra. The importance of Nefertari as heiress shows that the queen had no daughter by her first husband. The reign of Kames before Aahmes shows that he was the elder brother. And the presence of Se·khent·neb·ra between Aahmes and Kames (tomb of Khabekht, L.D. iii. 2a) shows that he was another brother, who probably reigned briefly between them. Thus we reach the relationships.



FIG. 4.—Gold ring of Aah·hotep. Louvre.



Though the reasons for this arrangement are not very strong, yet there are no objections to it so far known, and the resulting chronology is not discordant.



Two documents serve to show the long life of the queen. A Theban stele of Kames (Rec. ix. 94) states, in the tenth year of Amenhotep I., that Aah-hotep I., the royal mother, was still acting. According to the dates, she would then be eighty-eight years old; and this cannot be abbreviated, as it is made up of fixed amounts, the birth of Aahmes (second or third son) about her twentieth year, his fifty-five years of life (Ms. M. 535), and the ten years of reign of Amenhotep. The other stele, of Iufi (Rec. ix. 92), appears to show that Aah-hotep was still alive under Tahutmes I., when she must have been about a hundred years old. She must certainly have had, therefore, a long life, and have seen the whole revolution of the rise of Egypt,—born under Hyksos rule, and dying with the wealth of Asia around her, won by her son, grandson, and great-grandson.

The name of Aah-hotep is familiar in connection with the beauty of her jewellery, which, till the discoveries at Dahshur, has been an unique treasure. The coffin containing the mummy and jewellery was found slightly buried in the ground at Draa-abul-Nega, the northern and most ancient end of the cemetery of Thebes, where lie the tombs of the XIth dynasty. It is certain that such was not its original site, and that it must have been taken from a royal tomb. By whom? Not by the Arab plunderers of the Deir el Bahri tomb, as has been suggested; nor by any regular tomb thieves, such as plundered the tombs in the Ramesside age. Neither of such parties would encumber themselves with moving a great coffin and a mummy, when all the valuables might be gathered up in a few minutes and put into a bag. Such a reburial of an intact mummy in its heavy case, shows a care and respect for it such as no plunderer would have had. Rather must it have been taken out of the tomb by pious hands, when the disorganisation of government could no longer protect the tombs from thieves or foes, and have been committed unmarked and unseen to the safe keeping of the earth, for fear of the fate which awaited it if left in the well-known tomb. It was a part of that care for

the royal dead which led to the kings being moved from tomb to tomb, and lastly hidden at Deir el Bahri. How



FIG. 5.—Inlaid dagger of Queen Aah-hotep. Scale, 2:5.

II—2

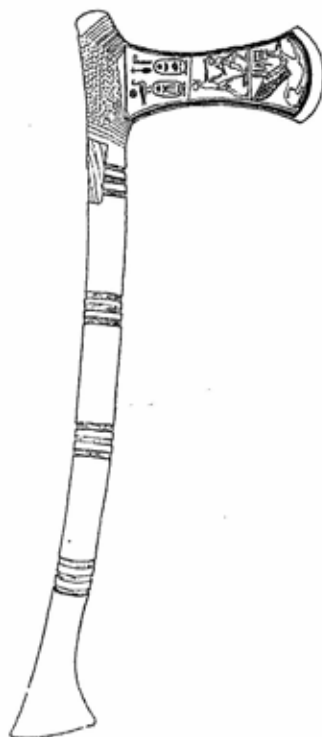


FIG. 6.—Inlaid axe of Queen Aah-hotep. Scale, 1:5.

many more of the royal tombs may have been thus emptied, and their contents safely hidden in the sand, we may never know or suspect. This coffin was only found accidentally by some natives in 1860; was confiscated by the Mudir of Qeneh, and lastly seized by Mariette for the new museum.

The coffin of wood is plain in the body and coloured blue. The lid is massive, entirely gilt, carved with the face and wig, and covered by the wings of Isis over the body, like the Antef coffins. Within the coffin was the mummy, with four canopic jars, and with some jewellery at the side of it, some within the wrappings, and some upon the corpse (M.B. 810). To enter on a full list of



FIG. 7.—Boat of Kames. Ghizeh.

the treasure here would be too lengthy, but we must notice the historical points. On the corpse were a scarab and chain with the name of Aahmes on the fastening, besides three bracelets and a diadem, all with the name of Aahmes; while within the wrappings were the gold axe and the dagger, both with the name of Aahmes. The personal ornaments of this queen were therefore provided by Aahmes, that is to say, when the queen was between fifty and seventy-five years old.

But beside these objects of Aahmes, some with the name of her eldest son Kames were also found. In the coffin were two model barks with rowers: one of gold bore the name of Kames; the other, of silver, was plain. The other objects were a fly-flap and bronze axes, of Kames; and probably other bronze axes and a

spear of his, now in England, came from the same source. It has always been assumed that the whole of this outfit belonged solely to the queen. But as no object of Kames was within the bandages, but only loose in the open coffin, there is no such assurance. Rather it would seem that the valuables in the burial of Kames which were outside of his mummy had been hurriedly heaped together into the coffin of Aah·hotep, and so all carried out for safe burial. The two barks would thus belong, one to Kames, the other to Aah·hotep's own burial. And the bronze axes and spear are more likely to have been laid with a warrior king than with the queen. There is a strong suggestion in the arrangement of the lower line of figures in the tomb of Khbekht (L.D. iii. 2a) that Aah·hotep had many other children. After the three brothers, Aahmes, Skhent·neb·ra, and Kames, there follow eight royal sons and daughters who do not belong to any later generation, as they never appear subsequently. These are Binpu (who occurs on a statuette, M.D. 48 b), Uaz·mes, Rames, Ken·aru, Aahmes, and the princesses Kames, Sat·ir·bau, and Ta·khredqa. The uniform order of sons together and daughters together, and the absence of any other important ancestor connected with them, suggests that they are brothers and sisters of Aahmes, and children of Aah·hotep subsequent to Nefertari.

XVII. 8?

U·AZ·KHEPER·RA

about 1597-  
1591 B.C.

KA·MES



Gold bark  
Fly-flap  
Bronze axes

G. Mus.  
G. Mus.  
G. Mus., B. Mus

(Ms. G. 82).  
(Ms. G. 83).  
(M.B. 810; A.L.  
liii. 86-87).  
(A.L. liii. 84, pl. i.).

Spear head  
Scarab.  
Tomb in Papyrus Abbott

Evans Coll.  
Brocklehurst Coll.

(Ms. E. 230).

The position of this king we have already discussed in the previous pages. His reign has left no traces

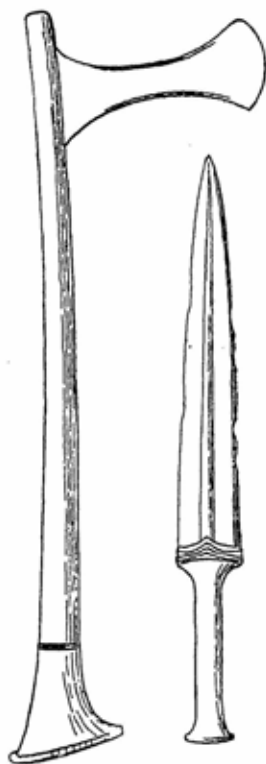


FIG. 8.—Axe and dagger of Kames. 1:4. Ghizeh.



FIG. 9.—Spear head of Kames. 1:5. Evans Coll.

beyond his burial and subsequent adoration of him. That he cannot have come before the Seqenenra kings, is indicated by his jewellery resembling that of Aahmes, and being placed with Aah·hotep, probably owing to his burial being close to hers, or in the same vault. But the absence of any work of his points to a brief reign; and in allowing six years in the history for him we can hardly err much either way. A much longer reign would involve difficulties in the age of his mother.

We have noticed that the objects found loose in the coffin of Aah·hotep probably came from the burial of Kames. Beside these, two bronze axes with his name are known (B. Mus. and Sir John Evans' Coll.), and a bronze spear head with a long inscription (Evans' Coll. See A.L. liii. 84). This reads, "The good god, lord of action, Uaz·kheper·ra. I am a valiant prince, beloved of Ra, begotten of Aah, born of Tehuti, son of the sun Ka·mes eternally strong." Here there is the same fighting tone that we meet in the names Seqenenra, "Ra makes valiant," and "Taāa the valiant." There is also the link to the name of his mother and brother in his being "begotten of Aah." Another interesting link is in his being "born of Tehuti" (a confused idea of a god instead of a goddess bearing him); for it has been already pointed out that the XVIIIth dynasty had strong links to the lunar gods of Eshmunen or Hermopolis, in the names Aahmes and Tahutimes (B.H. 273). Again, in the old Egyptian chronicle of Castor, the XVIIIth dynasty is Hermopolite. And a statuette of black basalt was obtained from Mellawi, and probably came from Eshmunen, bearing the name of a private person, Kames (F.P. Coll.), which shows the observance of the royal names in that town at the time. One scarab of this king was found about 1893, now in Brocklehurst Coll.

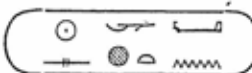
The tomb of Kames is mentioned in the Abbott papyrus as having been inspected by the Ramesside officials. "The tomb of King Uaz·kheper·ra, son of the sun Ka·mes, examined in that day, was intact." (MS. E. 230).

XVII. 9?  
SE·KHENT·NEB·RA



about  
1591-  
1587  
B.C.

or SE·NEKHT·EN·RA



This first name is only known in the list of the tomb of Khabakhnet (L.D. iii. 2a), where it occurs between the names of Kames and Aahmes, suggesting that it was that of an intermediate brother-king. It has been suggested that this is a mistake for Se·nekht·en·ra, who is found in the list of Tahutmes III. at Karnak, and on the altar at Marseille (Rec. xiii. 146). From the resemblance of the hieratic writing of the two names, this appears not unlikely. The form Senekhtenra is the more likely to be correct, as being similar to Sequenra in type and meaning. A king—or perhaps a prince—is named on a bronze dagger, *Sa·ra* (*Beba·ankh*) *du ankh*, and is doubtless of this age, though otherwise unknown (Greenwell Coll. A.L. liii. 93).

We now come to consider the great struggle of this age, the expulsion of the Hyksos. As this extended over some generations, it will be best to treat it as a consecutive account, and not to divide the subject amongst the several reigns to which it belongs.

From Manetho we have concluded (in vol. i.) that the Hyksos period consisted of three parts: 100 years of destructive invasion, 2098–1998 B.C.; then 260 years of the reigns of six great kings, who allowed their Egyptian vassals a lifelong rule, as they were thoroughly subdued, 1998–1738 B.C.; lastly, 151 years of weakening of the Hyksos power and continual conflict and rebellion, until Aahmes begins the XVIIIth dynasty. This last period is that of the XVIIth dynasty, 1738–1587 B.C., and is that with which we now have to deal.

From the Berber type of Seqenenra, it seems probable that the dynasty had come from Ethiopia; and the earlier part of it, from about 1738 to perhaps 1660 B.C., of which we have no names, may have dwelt in Nubia, and only harassed the Hyksos from thence. That the Hyksos suzerainty under the great kings extended over the whole land, is shown by the lintel of Apepa I. found as far south as Gebelēn; and by the building in red granite of the same king, showing control of the Aswan quarries. But when we come to the time of Apepa II., Thebes was almost independent. That this is the Apepa of the tale of "Apepy and Seqenenra" is probable; because Apepa I. was much earlier than the Seqenen kings, and Apepa II. has a name, Aa'qenen'ra, closely akin to that of Seqenenra Ta'āā'qen. Apepa II. (see vol. i. p. 242) must therefore be one of the later Hyksos.

The tale of Apepy and Seqenenra was considered to be exact history when first translated; but latterly it has been the rather supposed to be a popular tale founded on the history, probably reflecting very closely the actual events. The papyrus (known as Sallier II., in B. Mus.) containing the tale is unfortunately only fragmentary; and here we give the actual remains, with indication of some restorations (see Ms. C. 278).

"It came to pass that the land of Egypt was a prey to plague (*i.e.* foreigners), and at that time there was no lord and king (*i.e.* no king over all the land). At that time the king Seqenenra was prince (*heq*) of the south; and the plague in the cities were the Amu, and Apepy was prince (*sar*) in Hauar (Avaris), and commanded the whole land with their works, and with all good things of the land of Egypt. Behold king Apepy made Sutekh as lord, and he served not any other god of the whole land except Sutekh. He built him the temple of work good for eternity . . . Apepy. And he went in procession each day to sacrifice the daily offerings to Sutekh, and the chiefs of the king were with garlands, as is done in the temple of Ra Har'em'khuti. And the king Apepy sought words to send a



message to the king Seqenenra, the prince (*ur*) of the town of the south (Thebes).

"And many days after this the king Apepy called to him his great [chiefs, his captains, and his prudent generals, but they knew not what to say to the king Seqenenra, prince of the south country. The king Ra-Apepy therefore called unto him his cunning scribes (probably native Egyptians, like the present Copts), and they said to him, 'Oh, lord our master, let this be good before thee,' and they gave to the king Ra-Apepy the words which he desired. 'Let a messenger go to the prince of the town of the south, and say to him, "The king Ra-Apepy sends to say, . . . ] the canal of the hippopotami [which are in the canals of the country, that they may let me sleep both by night and by day . . . "] with him in taking, and will not approve to him any god which is in the land of Egypt except Amen Ra, king of the gods.'

"And many days after this king Apepy sent to the prince (*ur*) of the south city the message which his cunning scribes had said to him; and the messenger of king Apepy came unto the prince (*ur*) of the south city; and they brought him before the prince of the south city. Then said he to the messenger of king Apepy, 'What message bringest thou to the south city? Wherefore art thou travelled hither?' The messenger answered him, saying, 'The king Apepy sends to thee, saying, "Let them . . . on the canal of the hippopotami that are in the . . . of the city . . . for sleep by night and by day is not able to come to me."' The prince of the south city was troubled, so that he knew not how to answer the messenger of king Ra-Apepy. The prince of the south then said to him, 'Behold this which thy master sends for . . . the prince of the south land . . . the words which he sent to me . . . his goods . . .' The prince of the south land gave to the messenger all kinds of good things, of meat and of bread, of . . . ' . . . all this which thou hast said I intend . . .' The messenger of king Apepy betook himself unto the place where his master was.

Then the prince of the south land called to him his great chiefs, his captains, and his prudent generals, and he told unto them all the words about which king Apepy had sent unto him. And behold they were silent with one accord in great grief, neither knew they to reply either good or evil.

"The king Ra-Apepy sent . . ."

Here unhappily the account ceases in this papyrus; but enough remains to give a clear picture of the bullying by the Hyksos kings, and the terror of their vassals when they chose to pick a quarrel. The meaning of the message is obscure, and makes us the more regret the incompleteness of the document. This is the only detailed view of the relations of the Hyksos to the Egyptians in the latter part of their sojourn. The king being named Seqenenra, shows that it must refer to the last century, or so, of the bondage; but there is nothing to show to which king of that name this refers, if, indeed, the writer had any clear idea on the matter.

The only monumental notice of the destructions by the Hyksos is in the inscription of Hatshepsut on the front of the rock-cut temple, known as the Speos Artemidos, just south of Beni Hasan. In this the queen recites her re-establishment of the Egyptian power and worship. She describes the injuries to the country. "The abode of the Mistress of Qes (Kusae on west side) was fallen in ruin, the earth had covered her beautiful sanctuary, and children played over her temple. . . . I cleared it and rebuilt it anew. . . . I restored that which was in ruins, and I completed that which was left unfinished. For there had been Amu in the midst of the Delta and in Hauar, and the foreign hordes of their number had destroyed the ancient works; they reigned ignorant of the god Ra" (Rec. iii. 2).

For the period of the actual expulsion of the Hyksos there are but two documents, Manetho as recorded by Josephus, and the tomb of the warrior Aahmes at El Kab. We see in the tale of Apepa that during the

Sequenra period, somewhere between 1660 and 1600 B.C., the Theban principedom was completely in the power of the Hyksos, and open war had not yet broken out, or become continuous. But the last Sequenra died in battle, probably at some distance away, and yet was buried properly at Thebes. This points to the Theban powers having become independent by 1597 B.C., and having a fighting frontier some way to the north, so that ceremonials at Thebes were uninterrupted. During the reign of Kames further advance was probably made by "the valiant prince," as we see that king Aahmes was able to besiege the stronghold of the Hyksos down in the Delta at the beginning of his reign, about 1585 B.C. So probably the Thebans had been gradually pushing their way north, and claiming independence, during perhaps twenty years before the country gathered itself together and made the grand effort of the expulsion under Aahmes; and it was that effort which placed Aahmes on the throne as a victorious conqueror, and founded the XVIIIth dynasty.

Manetho summarised the story, according to Josephus, in this form: "The kings of the Thebaid and of the rest of Egypt made insurrection against the Shepherds, and a long and mighty war was carried on between them, until the Shepherds were overcome by a king whose name was Alisphragmuthosis (var. Mis'phragmu'thosis = *Aahmes-pahar-nub-thes-tau*, 'Aahmes, the golden Horus binding together the two lands,' a title of his referring to the united action in the war, and recovery of the Delta), and they were by him driven out of the other parts of Egypt, and hemmed up in a place containing about ten thousand arouras, which was called Auaris. All this tract the Shepherds surrounded with a vast and strong wall, that they might retain all their property and their prey within a hold of their strength.

"And Thummösis the son of Alisphragmuthosis tried to force them by a siege, and beleaguered the place with a body of four hundred and eighty thousand

men; but at the moment when he despaired of reducing them by siege, they agreed to a capitulation, that they would leave Egypt, and should be permitted to go out without molestation wheresoever they pleased. And, according to this stipulation, they departed from Egypt with all their families and effects, in number not less than two hundred and forty thousand, and bent their way through the desert towards Syria. But as they stood in fear of the Assyrians, who then had dominion over Asia, they built a city in that country which is now called Judæa, of sufficient size to contain this multitude of men, and named it Jerusalem."

Here, then, it is represented that Aahmes shut them up in Auaris; and that his son (or rather grandson), Tahutmes I., finally ejected them thence. This is, however, due to a confusion of the capture of Auaris with the subsequent Syrian wars of Tahutmes I., as is shown by the contemporary account of one of the main actors in the struggle, the admiral Aahmes. He would certainly have recited the capture of Auaris under Tahutmes I., if any such conquest had then occurred.

The account of the admiral Aahmes is the best authority that we have for the beginning of the XVIIIth dynasty. We here quote the earlier portion, referring to the Hyksos war:—

"The captain-general of marines, Aahmes son of Abana, *makheru*. He says, I speak to you, all men, in order that I may inform you of the honours which have fallen to my lot. I have been presented with gold seven times in the face of the whole land, and with slaves both male and female; likewise I have acquired much land. The name of one valorous in his acts shall not perish for ever in this land. He saith, I came into existence in the city of Nekheb (El Kab); my father was an officer of king Sekenenra, *makheru*, Baba son of Reant was his name."

"I performed the duties of an officer in his place on board the ship called the 'Sacrificial Ox' in the days of king Neb'pehti-ra, *makheru* (Aahmes). I was too young to have a wife, and I slept in the *semt* cloth and

*shennu* garment (age about 20, 1586 B.C.). But as soon as I had a house I was taken to a ship called the 'North' on account of my valour. And I followed the sovereign on foot when he went out on his chariot.

"One sat down before the city of Hat'uart (Avaris), and I was valorous on foot in presence of his majesty. I was promoted to the ship called *Kha'em'men'nefer*. We fought on the water in the Pazedku (canal?) of Hat'uart. Here I captured and carried off a hand, mention of which was made to the royal reporter, and there was given to me the golden collar of valour. There was fighting a second time at this place, and a second time I captured and carried off a hand, and there was given to me a second time the gold of valour. There was fighting at Ta'kemt at the south of this city, and I carried away prisoner a live man. I plunged into the water, behold he was brought as one captured on the road of the town, I crossed over with him through the water (*i.e.* he secured him as certainly as if he had been caught on a high-road). Mention of this was made to the royal reporter, and I was presented with gold once more.

"We took Hat'uart, and I carried off as captives from thence one man and three women, in all four heads; and his majesty gave them to me for slaves.

"We sat down before Sharhana (Sharuhin in the southern border of Palestine) in the year 5 (age about 24, 1582 B.C.), and his majesty took it. I carried off from thence captives two women and one hand; and there was given me the gold of valour. Behold there were given me the captives for slaves.

"But when his majesty had slaughtered the Mentiu of Setet, he went south to Khent'hen'nefer, in order to destroy the Anu Khenti; and his majesty made a great slaughter of them. I carried away captives two live men and three hands; and I was presented once more with the gold, and behold the two slaves were given to me. Then came his majesty down the river, his heart swelled with valour and victory; he had conquered the people of the South and of the North.

"Then came Aata to the South, bringing in his fate, namely, his destruction, for the gods of the South seized upon him. When his majesty found him at Tent'ta'á, his majesty carried him off as a living captive, and all his men, with swiftness of capture. And I brought off two attendants(?) whom I had seized on the ship of Aata; and there were given to me five heads for my share and five *sta* of land in my own city. It was done to all the company of the marines in like manner.

"Then that enemy named Teta'an came; he had collected rebels. But his majesty slaughtered him and his slaves even to extinction. And there were given to me three heads and five *sta* of land in my own city." He then describes his services in the southern campaigns of Amenhotep I. and Tahutmes I., and the Syrian war of Tahutmes I. He came to old age in that reign, when he would be between sixty-five and ninety years old.

We see here that Aahmes concluded the Hyksos war within five years, and then turned his arms to the South. Two separate attempts were made apparently by the defeated Hyksos subsequently: Aata arose during the absence of Aahmes in his southern campaign, and overran the land as far as the south country; but he was soon crushed. Again, another flicker of the conquered force seems to have arisen under Teta'an, which was likewise soon crushed.

The history of the war of independence then seems to have been, that perhaps for twenty or thirty years before 1600 B.C. the Nubian princes of Thebes had been pushing their way northward against the decaying power of the Hyksos. Active warfare was going on at about 1600 B.C.; and a sudden outburst of energy, under the active young leader Aahmes, concluded the expulsion of the foreigners, and the capture of their stronghold, within a few years, ending in 1582 B.C. A couple of last flickers of the war were crushed during the succeeding years, and the rest of his reign Aahmes was able to devote to the reorganization of the whole country.

One question remains, What effect had the Hyksos occupation upon the people? That there were large numbers of the race is evident; only a considerable mass of people could have thus held down a whole country for some centuries, while yet remaining so distinct that they could be expelled as a separate body. The number reported to have left Egypt—a quarter of a million—from a land which very probably only held then about two millions, as at the beginning of this century, shows how large their numbers were even after they had become intermingled with the natives during some twenty generations. It was not merely the upsetting of a government, as the overthrow of the Turks in Europe would be at present, but it was the thrusting out of a large part of the population, probably the greater part of the inhabitants of the Delta. We cannot doubt, then, that from such a large body of a ruling race there must have been a great amount of mixture with the earlier occupiers of the land. The Semitising of Egypt took place largely then, so far as race was concerned; and bore full effect when the fashions, ideas, and manners of Syria were implanted after the Asiatic conquests of Tahutmes III.

## EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY.

ALTHOUGH the succession of the kings of the XVIIIth dynasty is well known from the monuments, yet the chronology of the period, and the connection of the names with those given in the Greek lists, is far from settled as yet. As our only hope of obtaining a scheme of the lengths of the reigns and of the duration of the dynasty depends on an adjustment of the names stated by the monuments to those stated by Manetho, the treatment of the Greek lists is of much historical importance, and deserves full consideration. The following are the actual materials that we have to study:—

MONU- MENTS.	HIGHEST YEAR.	MANETHO.			V. M.
		AFRICANUS AND EUSEBIUS.		JOSEPHUS.	
Aahmes	22	Amōs	25	Alisfragmouthōsis	
Amen'hotep I.	?			Tethmōsis	25'4
Tahut'mes I.	9	Khebron	13	Khebron	13'
Tahut'mes II.	9	Amenōfthis (21)	24	Amenofis	20'7
Hat'shepsut	22?	Amersis	22	Amessēs	21'9
Tahut'mes III.	54	Misafri, Mifris (12)	13	Mefres	12'9
Amen'hotep II.	26	Misfragmouthōsis	26	Mēframouthōsis	25'10
Tahut'mes IV.	7	Touthmōsis	9	Thmōsis	9'8
Amen'hotep III.	36	Amenofis	31	Amenofis	30'10
Akhen'aten	17	Oros (36)	37	Oros	36'5
Ra'smenkh'ka	3	Akherrēs (12)	32	Akenkhrēs	12'1
Tut'ankh'amen	?	Rathōs (Athōris 39)	6	Ratōthis	9'
Ay	4	Khebrēs	12	Akenkherēs	12'5



MONU- MENTS.	HIGHEST YEAR.	MANETHO.	
		AFRICANUS AND EUSEBIUS.	JOSEPHUS.
Hor'em'heb	21	Akherrēs	12 Akenkherēs
		Armais	5 Armais
XIX Ra'messu I.	2	Ramessēs	1 Ramessēs
		Amenofath (40)	19
Sety I.	9	Sethōs (51)	55
Ra'messu II.	67	Rampsēs (61)	66
Mer'en'ptah	25	Ammenefthis (8, 20)	40
			Armessēs 66·2
			Amenofis 19·6
			Sethōsis
			Ramessēs

In these lists the middle of the dynasty seems well identified at Tahutmes IV. and Amenhotep III., and our consideration of it falls into two divisions, the earlier and the later, which stand quite independent of each other. In the first part the lists have been adjusted thus by Wiedemann:—

MONUMENTS.	AFRICANUS.	JOSEPHUS.
Aahmes	Amōs	Tethmosis
Nefertari and } Amenhotep I. }	Khebron	Khebron.
Amenhotep I.	Amenofthis	Amenofis
Tahutmes I.	Amersis	Amessēs
Tahutmes II. }	Mifris	Mefres
& Hatshepsut }		
Tahutmes III.	Misfragmouthosis	Meframouthosis
Amenhotep II.		Omitted.

But there are several objections to such an arrangement. Tethmosis cannot well be Aahmes, but is rather to be assigned to Tahutmes. There is no reason to make a separate king from the earlier years of Amenhotep I.; Tahutmes I. cannot be Amesses, who is stated to be the sister of Khebron; the separate reign of Hatshepsut is omitted; and the reign of Amenhotep II. is also omitted.

In the face of these difficulties, it would seem better to suppose that Amenofthis has been accidentally shifted in Manetho (perhaps owing to the account of

the Hyksos war passing from Aahmes to Tahutmes I., while the quiet reign of Amenhotep was left till after it), and so it appears two places farther down in the list than originally stated. We must also recognise that Tethmosis in Josephus has been altogether dropped out in the later lists of Africanus and Eusebius. In this view, a more satisfactory adjustment is reached as follows:—

MONUMENTS.	AFRICANUS.	JOSEPHUS.
Aahmes	Amōs	Misfragmouthosis
Amenhotep I.	(placed below)	(placed below)
Tahutmes I.	(omitted)	Tethmosis
Tahutmes II.	Khebron	Khebron
(Transposed from above)	Amenofthis	Amenofis)
Hatshepsut	Amersis	Amesses
Tahutmes III.	Misafris	Mefres
Amenhotep II.	Misfragmouthosis	Meframouthosis

Thus the name Khebron is explained by Akheperenra, Tahutmes II.; and Amersis "his sister" is Hatshepsut his sister. There is another point also in the last identification. Amersis is stated to have reigned 21 years 9 months; and though Hatshepsut's length of reign is not declared, yet Tahutmes III. begins his independent action in his 22nd year, and thus his independence coincides with his sister's death. The 54 years' reign of Tahutmes III. cannot be identified with any of the numbers of the lists; so, wherever it is placed, some corruption must be assumed. But the name Mefres is already fixed to Tahutmes III. by Pliny in mentioning his obelisk (*Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 15, 69). And the 26 years of Misfragmouthosis agrees with the recent discovery of a wine jar with the date of the 26th year of Amenhotep II. The 36 years of Amenhotep III. on the monuments doubtless covers also the period of some co-regency, while the 30 years 10 months of Josephus will be the length of his sole reign, thus implying a co-regency with his son of 5 years.

We now pass to the second half of the dynasty.

Here Oros is doubtless Akhen'aten, and Armais is Hor'em'heb. We know that Ra'smenkh'ka'ser'kheperu (erroneously called Ra'saa'ka'khepru) was the immediate successor of Akhenaten, as he is named "beloved of Akhenaten"; we know that Tut'ankh'amen next succeeded, as his rings are found at Tell el Amarna, without any later objects; and Ay must come before Horemheb,—who re-used his masonry,—and cannot come between Tutankhamen and Akhenaten, as his name is never found in that group at Tell el Amarna. Now, Josephus says that Akenkhrēs was daughter of Oros, while we know that Ra'smenkh'ka, whose throne name was Ankh'khepru'ra, married the daughter of Akhenaten, and thus succeeded him. The relationship and the name, Akherrēs or Akenkhrēs, agree, therefore, fairly with the monuments. Next, Ratothis is said to be the brother of Akenkhres, while we know that Tut'ankh'amen was the brother-in-law of the previous queen, having married another daughter of Akhenaten; the name Aten'tut'ankh (altered later to Amen'tut'ankh) may have been rendered by the orthodox as Ra'tut'ankh, and so have originated Ratothis. Next, the two Akenkheres' reigns of 12 years and 5 months and 12 years and 3 months are probably a reduplication, as only Ay is known to correspond to them: the names of Ay, Kheperu'ar'maa'ra may have been abbreviated into the Akherres of Africanus. The discrepancy of Horemheb's 21 years with the 4 or 5 years of Armais may be due to his dating from some semi-independent generalship of his, while only the last 4 or 5 years of his life were independent after the death of Ay. And this possibility is suggested by the length stated for the reign of Oros—36 years 5 months: it is certain that Akhenaten only lived 17 or 18 years, but the duration of his Aten worship (veiled under the orthodox name of Horus) appears to have been about 36 years. If Horemheb dated from the restoration of the old worship,—in which he may have taken a large part,—that would imply  $36 + 21 = 57$  years from Akhenaten to Horemheb.

inclusive, and the reigns in Josephus, with the known reign of Akhenaten, amount to 56 years.

Hence, from these data, the best result, so far as we can at present see, appears to be as follows:—

MONUMENTS.	LISTS.	YRS. MOS.	B.C. about.
1 Aahmes	Amös	25	1587
2 Amenhotep I.	Amenöfthis	20·7	1562
3 Tahutmes I.	Tethmōsis	25·4	1541
4 Tahutmes II.	Khebron	13	1516
5 Hatshepsut	Amersis	21·9	1503
6 Tahutmes III.	Mefres	53·10 - 21·9 = 32·1	1481
7 Amenhotep II.	Meframouthōsis	25·10	1449
8 Tahutmes IV.	Touthmōsis	9·8	1423
9 Amenhotep III.	Amenōfis	30·10	1414
10 Akhenaten	Öros	18	1383
11 Ra'smenkh'ka	Akherrēs	12·1	1365
12 Tut'ankh'amen	Ratōthis	9	1353
13 Ay	Akherrēs	12·5	1344
14 Hor'em'heb	Armais	4·1	1332
(Men'peh'ra	Menophres, 1322 ?)		1328

The absolute dates stated here are based on the statement of Mahler (by Sirius and the new moons) of the reign of Tahutmes III., from 1503 to 1449 B.C., adding and subtracting the reigns on either side. This astronomical method was first proposed (though carried out imperfectly) by Basil Cooper (Brit. Quart. Rev. 1860).

Some general checks on this arrangement are given by private biographies, which show through which

reigns extended the life and activities of certain officials. The inscription of the commander Aahmes at El Kab gives some indications. He was still young and unmarried when he became commander of a ship, in the reign of Aahmes, and he did many great deeds before the 6th year of that reign. If we put him at 19 to 25 years of age in these six years, we cannot be far out. Thus he would have been born about 1606 B.C. by the dates in the above list. He would then be over 40 when he convoyed Amenhotep I. on his Nubian wars, and was personally fighting. He would be 65 when he convoyed Tahutmes I. to Nubia, but nothing is then said of his own activity; a year or two later he cut off a chariot in the Syrian war. But he next says that he has arrived at old age in that reign, and therefore before the reign of Tahutmes II., when he would have been 90 years old. For a man of special vigour and valour this is not an unlikely life-history. About a generation later there is a biography of Pennekheb at El Kab. His first prisoner was taken under king Aahmes. If he were about 18 at the king's death, this would imply that he was born about 1580 B.C., but certainly not later. He then took prisoners under Amenhotep I. when 18 to 39 years old; other prisoners under Tahutmes I. when between 39 and 64 years old. He brought prisoners, apparently as a captain, for Tahutmes II. when he was over 64; and died under Tahutmes III. at over 77 years old. Here the ages are not at all impossible. Yet in both cases they seem rather beyond what would be likely for such activity; and hence the suggestion given by the datum of Sirius rising on the 9th Epiphi, in the 9th year of Amenhotep I. (which would point to our having seven years too long a reckoning between Amenhotep I. and Tahutmes III.), is rather confirmed; as a reduction of all the above elder ages by seven years would be more likely than not. In any case, we see that the interval from Aahmes to Tahutmes III. could not be longer than we have deduced, nor could it be very much shorter by the age implied.

There is, however, another check, which has been hitherto scarcely used. The mentions of the *Sed* festival, at the close of each of the 28 or 30 year periods, when Sirius rose a week later in the calendar (owing to the month-names shifting earlier), show us equal intervals which are most important to regulate the chronology. And not only can exact statements of the date of celebrating a festival be of value; but even general allusions to the festival give some probability of such a feast having occurred at the time.

Our starting-point is from Mahler's determination of the date of the festival and of the reign of Tahutmes III. from the star-rising combined with the new moons. He deduces that the 53 years of Tahutmes III. range from 20th March 1503 B.C. to 14th February 1449, and that the Sirius festival of rising on the 28th of Epiphi was in 1470 B.C. This is strongly confirmed by a document not yet utilised. A tablet at El Bersheh (now destroyed) was dated in the 33rd year of Tahutmes III.—the year of the feast, according to Mahler; and—more precisely—on the 2nd day of Mesore, which is only three days after the feast day on the 28th of Epiphi. And in this tablet the beginning of a million of Sirius cycles is wished for the king. Such an allusion to the great feast in that year, which took place only three days before this, is a brilliant confirmation of Mahler's astronomical reckoning; for, were that erroneous in any point, it would be entirely wrong, and hopelessly unlikely to agree with such a record. While a very strong reason is thus obtained for crediting the absolute dating already stated, yet in the following relation of the Sirius cycles to the reigns, the internal chronology of the dynasty may be considered and affirmed quite irrespective of the absolute dates in years B.C.

The beginning of the reckoning of the reign of Tahutmes III. has been disputed, as we do not know certainly whether he was a son of Tahutmes I., or of Tahutmes II. As a list in the temple of Semneh is dated in his 2nd year, and a papyrus in his 5th year, there is a strong presumption that his earliest

regnal years could not have been contemporary with his father's reign. This is also indicated by his sudden activity in his 22nd year, after the 21 years 9 months' reign of his sister Hatshepsut, according to Josephus. These presumptions are firmly established when we turn to the *Sed* festivals. Tahutmes III held his festival (as we have just seen above) in his 33rd year; so the earlier one would fall in his 3rd year. Now Hatshepsut celebrated her first *Sed* festival in her 16th year (see her obelisk), which is therefore the same as the 3rd year of Tahutmes III. (a difference of 30 years being quite impossible); hence he began to reign in her 13th or 14th year. And this exactly agrees with the intervention of the 13 years' reign of Khebron, Tahutmes II., contemporary with Hatshepsut. Thus we see that Hatshepsut dates her years from her association with her father at the end of his reign, while Tahutmes III. dates his years from the end of his father's reign, 13 years later. In considering these years, we must always remember that, though the 22 years' reign of Hatshepsut is reckoned from her brother's death, yet that her regnal years were at that point 13; and that she reigned in all  $13 + 22 = 35$  years. The dates of the heliacal rising of Sirius are as follow:—

n.c.      Shifting Months.

1546	Epiphi 9th, date of papyrus in 9th year, Amenhotep I.
1526	Epiphi 14, feast (undated), Tahutmes I. obelisk.
1498	" 21, " 16th year, Hatshepsut, obelisk.
1470	" 28, " 33d year, Tahutmes III., Bersheh.
1434	Mesore 7, " (undated), Amenhotep II., pillar.
1406	" 14, " (undated), Amenhotep II.
1378	" 21, " (unrecorded).
1350	" 28, " (undated), Tutankhamen, tomb.
1294	Thoth 7, " (unrecorded).
1266	" 14, " (unrecorded).
1234	" 22, " 41st year, Ramessu II., El Kab.
1206	" 29, " 2nd year, Merenptah, M. Habu.

Though the vanity of Ramessu II. led to his transferring the astronomical cycle of 30 years to his personal reign, and starting a series of *Sed* festivals on his 30th year,

and even repeating them every 3 years after that, such a perversion does not affect the value of the regular cycle for historical purposes. The years of the recurrence of the festival in the reigns of other kings, the 18th year of Pepy I., the 2nd year of Mentuhotep II., the 16th of Hatshepsut, the 33rd of Tahutmes III., the 2nd of Merenptah, show absolutely that the cycle was not a regnal feast but an astronomical one of regular recurrence. And the occurrence of "the feast of 30 years" in the reign of Tut-ankh-amen, who reigned but 9 years, again shows that this refers to a fixed cycle.

We see, then, in the above list the dates of the festivals of the heliacal rising of Sirius, at intervals of a quarter month, later and later, in the calendar. Out of eleven, four feasts are dated to the year in historical records, three feasts are mentioned in the reigns in which they are required to fall (all which reigns are under 30 years, and need not therefore have included a festival), and of only three feasts have no notice come down to us. One of these, falling in Akhenaten's reign, is likely to have been omitted; but we should certainly hope some day to find a reference to the festivals of the 32nd year of Sety I., or the 9th year of Ramessu II.

The first datum, of the 9th of Epiphi, is the only one which seems divergent from the chronology to which we are led by Manetho, as the 9th year of Amenhotep I. appears to be nine years earlier than this, or Sirius would have risen about two days earlier in his 9th year. If we are to put full weight on this difference, it would imply that the reign of Tahutmes I. must have been shorter than is stated by Manetho. In another point we may see an unexpected agreement. The "era of Menophres," mentioned as the starting-point of the Sirius cycle in 1322 B.C., has often been speculated on; but the best proposal yet made is that the name is Men'peh'ra (Ramessu I.), for no king Men'nefer'ra is known in history. Now, as we see, the date of Ramessu I. here comes to 1328 to 1326 B.C. This difference of four or five years may be due to a little error on either side. But, in any case, the general



agreement of these dates deduced from the festivals with those of the lengths of the reigns, gives security to the chronology; it shows that in future we shall probably only deal with rectifications of a few years, and that no great uncertainty of generations or centuries now rests on Egyptian history as far back as the XVIIIth dynasty.

XVIII. 1. NEB·PEHTI·RA



1587-

1562

B.C.

AAH·MES



Coffin and mummy, Deir al Bahri, G. Mus. (Ms. M. 533).

Turrah	Inscriptions	(L.D. iii. 3 a b).
Thebes	Brick building	(L.D. iii. 39 c).
Semneh, mentioned by Tahutmes II.		(L.D. iii. 47 c).
(Private monuments)		
Abydos, tomb Sa·ast		(M.A. ii. 53 c).
Thebes, many steles now in Turin, etc.		
El Kab, tomb Aahmes		(L.D. iii. 12 a-d).
„ „ Pen·uekheb		(L.D. iii. 43 a-b,
		L.A. xiv. A.B.).
Vase, alabaster	G. Mus.	(M.B. 536).
Hawk, blue glaze	G. Mus.	(M.D. 52 d).
Vase, ring form	G. Mus.	(W.G. 312).
Amulets and scarabs.		
Queen, NEFERTARI.		
Coffin	G. Mus.	(Ms. M. 535).
Mummy	G. Mus. destroyed.	
El Bosra	Inscription	(L.D. iii. 3 c).
Karnak	Statue	(W.G. 316).
Model adze	Turin	(Rec. iii. 124).
Scarabs and cylinders.		
Children (*female)		
By Nefertari { *Meryt·amen		(Ms. M. 539, 620-2).
{ *Sat·amen, infant		(Ms. M. 538, 620-2).
{ Sa·pa·ir, young		(Ms. M. 621).
{ *Aah·hotep, queen		(Ms. M. 545, 620-2).
{ Amen·hotep I.		(Ms. M. 536).
{ *Sat·kames		(Ms. M. 541, 620-2).

By An·hapi, *Hent·ta·meh	Ms. M. 622).
By Tent·hapi, *Hent·tamehu	(Ms. M. 543, 623).
By Kasmut, *Tair	(L.D. iii. 2 a).
By x, Sa·amen, 5-6 years	(Ms. M. 538, Ms. G. 344).
By x, Turs	(L.D. iii. 2 a, d).
By x, Aahmes	(L.D. iii. 2 a, d).

The great event of the reign of Aahmes was the war by which he established his power at the beginning of his reign, that great war of independence which was the most glorious page of Egyptian history. We have already noticed the course of this in the previous chapter. Within four or five years, Aahmes succeeded not only in finally throwing off the suzerainty of the Hyksos kings, but also in driving them out of the Nile valley, in seizing on their great centre of Haur in the eastern Delta (probably Tanis), and in chasing them across the desert into Palestine, where, in the fifth year, he captured Sharhana, or Sharuhén, upon the southern border, some miles south of Lachish. He also pushed on into Zahi (Phœnicia), where Pen·nekheb states that he took ten hands (L.D. iii. 43 a). Having then slaughtered the Mentiu of Setet, or the Bedawin of the hill country, he turned back, and found the need of his presence on the opposite frontier in the south. The southern races appear to have pushed forward in the rear of the Egyptians on their advance northward, and to have needed repelling, as in the time of Usertesen III. Going, therefore, up the Nile, he made a great slaughter of the Anu Khenti, and is mentioned at Semneh by Tahutmes II. (L.D. iii. 47 c).

His triumphant return, however, was greeted with the news of outbreaks among the remains of the Hyksos people. The expulsion of a race as a whole cannot be effected after several centuries of occupation; and though the foreign army might be driven out, there must have been a large part of the population of mixed race, ready to tolerate the Egyptians if they were the conquerors, but preferring an independent life. From such a source were, doubtless, the two last outbursts of the war. Aata seems to have been of a branch of the

Hyksos party who tried to make headway up the country in the absence of Aahmes; and Teta'an afterwards was the head of a rising of the half-breed race, who refused to accept as yet the new power of the Egyptians. Both were, however, defeated summarily; and after that there seems to have been no further trouble with the Asiatic people. The translation of the biography of Aahmes the admiral, which has supplied the foregoing details, has been given in the previous chapter.



FIG. 10.—Scamib  
of Aahmes.  
F.P. Coll.

After this we do not find any great events in this reign. But apparently the organisation of the government, and the repair of the ravages of war, occupied the greater part of the time. After the victory in Syria in the 5th year, and the southern campaign soon after that, there is no mention of any date until the 22nd year, when attention was turned to the rebuilding of the principal temples in the capitals. That the most important religious centres should have remained so long without restoration, shows how much was needful of the more essential material growth of the country, before the objects of luxury and ambition could be developed. It needed a new generation to arise, before the desolation of the oppression and the war could be recovered.

The buildings at Memphis and Thebes have long ago been swallowed up by later alterations and destructions, but the record of them is preserved in the quarries of Turrah, near Cairo, where a royal seal-bearer and companion, Nefer'pert, carved two tablets dated in the 22nd year, recording the opening of the quarries for building-stone for the temples of Ptah at Memphis and of Amen at Thebes (L.D. iii. 3 a, b). Special interest attaches to these tablets, as on one of them it is stated that the men employed were of the Fenkhu, a Syrian people who have been generally identified with Phœnicians, though Muller, with his characteristic negation, will not allow this to be so.

Also, below the tablet is a drawing of six oxen attached to a sledge on which is placed a large block of stone; they are attended by three foreigners with short beards. Similar sledges were used in the XIIth dynasty, as pieces of these were found broken up among the filling of the Illahun pyramid.

The coffin and body of Aahmes were found at Deir el Bahri. The coffin is of a new style, different from that which had prevailed from the XIth to the XVIIth dynasty. It is still plain in outline, but is less massive, more shaped to the figure behind, and painted yellow picked out with blue, instead of being gilt all over. The body of the king is fairly preserved, the head long and

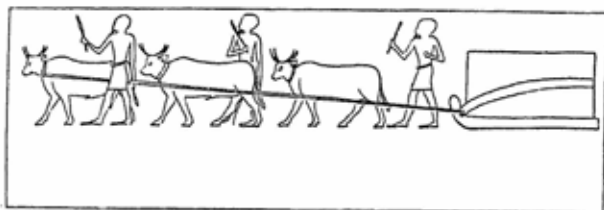


FIG. XL.—Oxen drawing sledge. Turrah.

small, the muscles strong and vigorous. He appears to have been somewhat over fifty at his death. The hair is thick and wavy, showing—like Seqenenra—that shaving the head was not then the fashion. May it be that the influence of the dominion of long-haired foreigners had not yet died out? It is not till the XIXth dynasty that a shaven head appears,—that of Sety I. The body has not yet been scientifically examined.

The veneration for Aahmes, and still more for his sister and wife Nefertari, was long continued, and is more frequent than that for any other ruler. Setting aside the examples which cannot at present be dated, the following are the instances of this worship:—

A. = Aahmes, N. = Nefertari, Am. = Amenhotep I.)

Early XVIII.	Abydos . .	Anāy adoring Osiris and N. . . . .	M.A. 1080.
	Karnak . .	Nebsu adoring Sitamen, N., Am., Sapair . . . . .	M.D. 89.
	Thebes . .	Hymn of praise to N. and Am. . . . .	Pap. Tur. 27, 28.
Tahut. I. .	Thebes . .	Panekht. Tomb 50 . . . . .	C.N. i. 542.
	Edfu . .	Iuf adoring Am. and Aah-hotep . . . . .	Rec. ix. 93.
Tahut. II. .	Thebes . .	... adoration to Am., N., Tahutmes I. and II., Sapair . . . . .	Rec. iii. 113.
Tahut. III. .	Thebes . .	Senmen, priest of A., etc. . . . .	L.D. iii. 25 bis g.
Tahut. IV. .	(P. Mus.) .	Pa·āā·āqa mentions the god A. . . . .	P.R. ii. 14.
Amenp. III. .	(B. Mus.) .	Hor: pray <i>suten·du·hotep</i> to Hor, Anpu, and N. . . . .	T.S.B.A. viii. 144.
Late XVIII.	Thebes . .	Unnef offering to Am. and N. Tomb 40 . . . . .	C.N. i. 534.
	(B. Mus.) .	... adoration to Am., N., and Sat·kames . . . . .	A.B. 30.
Sety I. . .	Thebes . .	... offering to Am. and N. Tomb 32 . . . . .	C.N. i. 520-5.
	Qurneh . .	Sety offering to sacred bark of N. . . . .	C.N. ii. 52.
" . . .	(T. Mus.) .	Sety offering to Am. and N. . . . .	Rec. iii. 113.
	Rams. II. .	Karnak . . Ramessu adoring N. S. wall, great temple . . . . .	L.D. iii. 147 a.
" . . .	Ramesseum .	Statues carried of A. and Am. by priests . . . . .	C.M. 149.
" . . .	Qurneh . .	Ramessu offering to N. Room Q. . . . .	L.D. iii. 151 c.
" . . .	" . . .	Ramessu offering to Amen., N., and Am. . . . .	C.M. 150, 3.
" . . .	" . . .	Ramessu dancing before Amen and N. . . . .	C.M. 150, 2.
" . . .	" . . .	Sacred bark of N. borne by 12 priests . . . . .	C.M. 150 bis.
" . . .	Deir el . .	{ Kasa adoring Am. and N. . . . .	S.B.A. viii. 226.
" . . .	Medineh . .	{ Qen adoring Am., N., and sister Merytamen . . . . .	

Rams. II.	Qurneh	Qen, servant of Am.	On disc of stone,	Rec. iii. 103.
		Huy, priest of Am.	G. Mus.	
		Nebra, <i>kherheb</i> of Am.		
„ ?	(T. Mus.)	Betehamen offering to	Am., Aah-hotep, N., Satamen, Merytamen Sapair	L.A. xi.
„ ?	Thebes	Amenemapt and Am.	adoring N.	C.M. 153.
„ ?	Thebes	Neferhotep offering to Am. and N. Tomb 53.		C.N. 549.
„ ?	Thebes	Penbui offering to Am., N. x, Ramessu I., Hor-emheb		L.D. iii. 173 c.
Rams. III.	(Copenhagen)	Nebnefer adoring N. (older stele usurped)		Rec. ii. 181.
Rams. IV.	Thebes	Anhurkhaui adoring A., N., Am., etc., etc.	paintings of N. and Am.	L.D. iii. 2 d.
Rams. IV.	Thebes	Khabekht adoring A., N., Am., etc., etc.		L.D. iii. 1.
Herhor	Karnak	Herhor adoring Amen, Mut, Khonsu, and N.		L.D. iii. 2 a.
XXI dyn.	„	Graffito on temple of Amenhotep II.		L.D. iii. 246 a.
				W.G. 315.

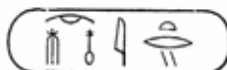
There are, besides these, many examples of adoration not dated, such as Unnefer (T. Mus. 1448), Thentnub (T. Mus. 1565), Pa-nefu-em-du-amen (T. Mus. 2430 and Rec. iii. 110), Pa-neshi (T. Mus. 3053); the *sedem asht* officials Uazmes (T. Mus. 1369), Hotepbuaa (T. Mus. 1449), Pen-ta-en-abtu (T. Mus. 3032), Penbua (Rec. ii. 119), and Iairnuf (Rec. ii. 171). Also Tyuti (Rec. iii. 109), Nebmes (Rec. xiii. 119), Mesamen (W.G.S. 35), Ra (M.A. 1097), Zamerkau (Rec. ix. 39), Aa (Rec. iii. 113), ....unba (Pr. M. 25, 1), Nekht (C.M. 162, 2), Ast (C.N. ii. 698), Dudua (Lieb. 553), etc.

From these it is seen that Nefertari was adored as a divinity on the same footing as the great gods of Thebes. She had a priesthood, and a large sacred shrine on a

bark borne in processions ; and *suten·du·hotep* formulæ were recited to her. Of small remains of this reign there are not many. An alabaster vase (G. Mus.; M.B. 536) bears the name and the *Hor nub* title, *thes tawi*. A hawk in blue glazed ware bears the royal names on the crown, and on the under side of the base are three bound captives, negro, Libyan, and Syrian. A ring-shaped vase is said to be in the Ghizeh Museum (W.G. 312). Scarabs and amulets of this king are common ; but are of no interest in the types, excepting a plaque of green felspar with names of Aahmes on one side and Amenhotep on the other, probably made in the latter reign for some official who served under both kings. (Abydos, M.A. 1421.)

#### NEFERTARI OF AAHMES·NEFERTARI

was the sister and wife of Aahmes ; through her descended all the rights of the royal line, and she was adored for many centuries as the great ancestress and foundress. We have already noticed her worship with that of her husband and son. She is styled on contemporary monuments as the "royal daughter, royal sister, great royal wife, royal mother, great ruler (*athy*), mistress of both lands" (L.D. iii. 3 a, b).



Her coffin was found at Deir el Bahri. It is made of layers of linen glued together and covered with stucco. Such a material would not well bear to be formed in long flat masses, and the division of the coffin is therefore around the middle, and not from head to foot. It is 10 feet 4 inches high ; painted yellow picked out with blue, like the coffin of Aahmes. The arms are represented as crossed on the breast, holding an *ankh* in either hand. The body is covered with an hexagonal network in relief, and the wig with a chevron net. Within this great coffin were two mummies, one of Ramessu III.; the other was unnamed, and probably of this queen. Unhappily it was left without examination for over four years, amid the damp of the Nile shores ;

it was then found to be decomposing, and was "provisionally interred," without any scientific study of its characteristics. The racial details would have been of the highest interest, in comparison with the rest of the family. Thus disappeared the most venerated figure of Egyptian history.

A seated statue of the queen—now headless—lies at Karnak, in the first court, behind the obelisks (W.G. 316); and several smaller statuettes are known, one of stone (T. Mus.) and four of wood (T. Mus. Berl. Stuttgart). A small model adze, *nen*, of wood bears her name (T. Mus.; Rec. iii. 124). Many scarabs of hers are known, but none are of importance. A piece of open work in wood shows Nefertari and Amenhotep seated (T. Mus.).

The family of Aahmes was numerous, and needs some notice. His wife and also his children frequently adopted the name Aahmes within their cartouches; and all his children, except Sapair, have their names in cartouches. There was thus an irregularity in the usage which is not found at any other period.



FIG. 12.—Coffin of Aahmes Nefertari.  
Ghizeh.



The principal authority that we have for the family is through the subsequent worship of them. The two



FIG. 13.—Statuette of Nefertari.  
Turin.

tombs which we have named before, Anhurkhau (L.D. iii. 2 d) and Khabekht (L.D. iii. 2 a) agree in naming the following persons, after the ascending line of Amenhotep, his father or mother, and his grandmother; they are, therefore, according to all analogy, his brothers and sisters, namely, \*Meryt·amen (\*Tair, mother \*Kasmut), \*Sat·amen, Sa·amen, \*Sat·kames, \*Hent·ta·meh, \*Turs, \*Aahmes, Sa·pa·ir (females marked \*). Those in loops here occur only in the second of these tombs; and from Tair being a royal sister and Kasmut a divine mother, it appears as if Tair was an early child of Aahmes, and therefore important, but by a wife

Kasmut who was not in the royal line of descent. The other children were mostly found at Deir el Bahri.

Meryt·amen	A mummy falsely labelled as hers	p. 539
Sat·amen	Coffin and mummy (false)	538
Sa·amen	Coffin and mummy	538
Amen·hotep	Coffin and mummy	537
Aah·hotep	Coffin (no mummy)	545
Sat·kames	Mummy only	541

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Also Hent·tamehu, coffin and mummy, dau. of Thenthapi	543
Mes·hent·themhu, coffin and mummy (false)	544

The pages refer to the account of the remains in Ms. M. How many of these were born of Nefertari is not certain. But it seem probable that the order was—

Meryt'amen	Eldest dau. of Nefertari	Died young
Sat'amen	Second dau. of Nefertari	Died infant
Sa'pa'ir	Eldest son of Nefertari	Died young, heir
Sa'amen	Second son of Nefertari	Died infant
Aah'hotep	Third dau. of Nefertari	Queen
Amenhotep	Third son of Nefertari	King
Sat'kames	Fourth dau. of Nefertari	Died about 30

The special worship of these first four children, although three of them certainly died young, points to their having been elder than the reigning survivors; only such a precedence would be likely to ensure the continued adoration of mere infants. Also, either Amenhotep I. or Tahutmes I. must have been born rather late in the family, in order to fill out the length of the reigns. This mortality of these children would therefore account for the time elapsed.



FIG. 14.—Plaque of Merytamen. F.P. Coll.

Of the other children, Hent'tamehu was born of the royal daughter Thenthapi, as inscribed on her bandages (Ms. M. 544). She lived till the next reign, as she is called royal sister on her coffin, and on a contemporary slab of sculpture (Fig. 15) (F.P. Coll.). Hent'ta'meh was born of the queen Anhapi (C.N. 513; L.D. iii. 8 a).



FIG. 15.—Inscription of the Princess Ahmes'hent'ta'meh. Qurneh, F.P. Coll.

Tair was born of Kasmut, probably (L.D. iii. 2 a). There has been a question as to the prince Sa'pa'ir, whose name often occurs, and who seems to have died young; from his prominence he was probably the heir, but it was debated whether he can be the same as the king (Ahmes'sa'pa'ir), whose tomb was examined by the Ramesside inspectors and found intact. Noting how

loosely cartouches were employed at this time, and how most of the family of Aahmes have his name included with theirs, it seems probable that these two names belonged to one person; and the matter is settled by a part of a stele erected by him, on which he is called "the king's son Aahmes who is named Sa'pa'ir" (F.P. Coll.). The difficulty that he is called king in the Ramesside papyrus is perhaps most likely disposed of by the possibility of the scribe having dropped out *sa* from the title *sa suten*, or king's son. No



FIG. 16.—Stele of an official "made by the king's son Aahmes, his name is Sa'pa'ir," with figure of the prince as a boy. Qurneh, F.P. Coll.

other king in that document is mentioned without the double cartouche, except Antef IV., who may not have had a second name; and therefore, as this cartouche is single, it is the more likely to belong to a king's son. A limestone stamp for (Sa'ra'sa:amen) found at Thebes is exactly like another for (Sequenra). But as no earlier Sa'amen is known, it seems not unlikely that these stamps might both have been made at the same time for sealing endowment property of the tombs. The title Sa'ra

might be given perhaps to the king's son during his minority, as he was of the divine descent (M.D. 52 b). A scarab (B. Mus.) may belong to this prince (P. Sc. 853).

A limestone base of a head-rest (?) is inscribed, "Made by the *hon kay* of (Mert'amen) Amenhotep. Hathor over Thebes" (F.P. Coll.); and a bar of wood bears the name of the "royal sister (Aahmes, Amen'mer)" (F. Mus.; S. Cat. F. 1564). Two scarabs are known (B. Mus.; G. Coll.; P. Sc. 854-5). Also a cone of Mahu, chief priest of Meryt'amen (M.A.F. viii. 279, 72).

## XVIII. 2. ZESER'KA'RA



1562

-1541

B.C.

## AMENHOTEP I.



FIG. 17.—Cartouches from carved wood. F.P. Coll.

Coffin and mummy, Deir el Bahri (Ms. M. 536).  
 Inspection of tomb, Abbott Pap. (Ms. E. 223-4).

Karnak	Granite jamb	(L.D. iii. 4 a).
"	Seated statue, limestone	(M.K. 38 c).
"	Named by Taharka	(M.K. 42)].
Thebes	Temple	
"	Sketch on limestone, G. Mus.	(V.G. 537).
"	Sketch on limestone, T. Mus.	(Rec. iii. 124).
"	Statue, Turin Mus.	
Deir el Bahri	Bricks	(L.D. iii. 6 b).
Medinet Habu	Statue, limestone, G. Mus.	(V.G. 698).
Shut er Regal	{ Inscription	(P.S. 480).
	{ Inscription of Penaati	(P.S. 476).
Silsileh	Tablet of Paynamen	(L.D. iii. 200 b).
Kom Ombo	Door jamb	(A.Z. xxi. 78).
Ibrim	King under canopy, stele	(R.S. xxviii. 1).
Meroc	Wooden tablets (T. Mus.)	

Statuette	T. Mus.	(L.T. 1372).
Part of stele with head	G. Mus. (V.G. 693)	
Naos fragment	G. Mus.	
Black granite altar	Berlin (2292)	} (W.G. 321).
Vase	Berlin (1637 b)	
Vase	Louvre	
Brick stamp	B. Mus. (5993)	(B.P. 12).
Wooden tablets	Various	
Cylinders, plaques, and scarabs.		

*Private monuments, contemporary?*

Aahmes	Tomb, El Kab	(L.D. iii. 12; R.P. vi. 5).
Pen'nekheb	Tomb, El Kab	(L.A. xiv. A.B.; R.P. iv. 5).
Amenemheb	Keeper of palace	(Lb. P. 3).
Amenemhat	Tomb, Qurneh	
Hery	Tomb, Drah Neg.	(C.M. 51 j.).
Tahutmes	Palette	(Sabatier, Rec. xiv. 56).

Sen'em'aah	Stele	(G. Mus.; M.A. 1047).
Ha'nefer	Stele	(P. Mus. C. 47; P.R. ii. 48).
α, Am. I. and Nefertari offering		(L.D. iii. 4 e).
Kars, stele, 10th year Am. I.		(Rec. ix. 94).

*Later?*

Pen'amen, <i>kher'heb</i> of Am. I.	P. Mus.	(P.R. ii. 64).
α, adoration of Am. I.	F. Mus.	(S. Cat. F. 1563).
Pentaurt statue, with ram's head.	Vienna	(Rec. ix. 50).
α, stele, figures of Am. I. and Nefertari.	B. Mus.	(H.B. ix. 1).
Pa'amen, part statue.	F. Mus.	(S. Cat. F. 1723).
Nekht adoring Am. I. and Sapair		(R.S. xxix. 3).
Coffin, with Am. I. as sphinx.	Mealeh	(Rec. ix. 82).
Am. I. and Tahut. I. adoring gods.	B. Mus.	(H.B. 1).
Kaha offering to Am. I., time of Rams. II.		(H.B. v. 1).
α adoring Am. I. and Rams. II.	Pisa	(Rec. i. 136; iii. 103).
Amenhotep, priest of Am. I.	Book of Dead	(Deveria Cat. 56).
Amen'mes, " "	Tomb. Thebes	(R.S. iii. 181).
Pa'shed	Altar. B. Mus.	(Lb. D. 566).
Hayt	Stele. B. Mus.	(Rec. ii. 186).
Amennekhtu	Statuette Leyden	(Rec. iii. 104).
Nekhtu	Statuette Berlin	(W.G. 321).
Anhurkhaui	Tomb, Ram. IV. Thebes	(L.D. iii. 2 d).
Khabekht	Tomb Thebes	(L.D. iii. 2 a).
Ta'nezemt adoring Am. I.	Papyrus, XX. dyn.	
	Turin	(L.T. 1784).
Ankh'fen'amen, coffin, Isis, Am. I. and Nebhat		
	Helsingfors	(Lb. P. 71).

(Besides those in list of adorers in previous reign, see p. 38.)

<i>Queens</i> —AAH'HOTEP II.	Coffin, Deir el Bahri.	
SEN'SENB	Ostrakon	(A.S. xxix. 117).
		Temple of Deir el Bahri.

*Children (by Aah'hotep)—*

Amen'mes	Tomb of Paheri	(N.A.P.X.).
Uaz'mes	Tomb of Paheri	(N.A.P.X.).
Aah'mes, afterwards queen.		
Nebt'ta	Scarab	(F.P. Coll.; L.K. 328).
Mut'nefert	Statue at Karnak	(M.K. 38 b 4).
(by Sen'senb)—		
Tahutmes I.	Ostrakon	(A.Z. xxix. 117).
		Temple of Deir el Bahri.

For the events of this reign we are dependent on the biography of the admiral Aahmes at El Kab, which

we have before quoted in the previous reign of king Aahmes, and the repulsion of the Hyksos. At the beginning of this reign Aahmes was about 44 years old; and he relates: "It was my lot to convey king Zaserkara, *makheru*, on his journey up to Kush for the purpose of extending the frontiers of Egypt. His majesty smote that An Khent in the midst of his troops; brought bound, not one was lost, journeying and leaning over (wearied) as those who exist not.

"Behold I was at the head of our soldiers, and I fought in very truth. His majesty was witness of my valour as I carried off two hands and brought them to his majesty. We pursued his people and his cattle. I took a living prisoner and brought him to his majesty. In two days I brought his majesty back to Egypt from the upper well. And I was presented with the gold, and two female slaves, and . . . beside those which I had brought to his majesty, and I was raised to the dignity of "Warrior of the king." The subsequent part refers to the next reign.

Another important account is that of Pen'nekheb at El Kab, who also lived through the earlier part of this dynasty. Of this reign he says: "I followed the king Zaserkara, *makheru*. I took for him in Kush one prisoner alive" (L.A. xiv. A. B.). And again he states that on the north of the Amukehak he took three hands (L.D. iii. 43 a).

From these accounts we see that one Nubian campaign was a brief one, a mere raid to sweep the country



FIG. 18.—Head of Amenhotep I.

and crush any opposition ; and there is no evidence of any subsequent war there. The capture of the fighting men, and driving of them down into Egypt as slaves, bound and exhausted, almost dead with fatigue in the forced march, is put in a few words. But another important war was that against the Amukehak, who appear to have been a Libyan race, part of the Tahenu or "fair people." There had long been occasional war on this side of the land. Herkhuf had joined in plundering the Temehu of the oases, in the VIth dynasty. The western people had occupied Upper Egypt in the VIIth-IXth dynasties. Usertesen I. had attacked the oases or the Natron lakes in the expedition mentioned by Sanehat. But the rising power of the XVIIIth dynasty was quite able to overcome any opposition in that quarter ; and Amenhotep rested secure in his triumph on the south and west, and in his father's triumph on the north.

The tomb of Amenhotep was visited by the Ramesside inspectors, who give a longer account of it than of the others. Its place is at present quite unknown. They state : "The eternal setting (horizon) of the king (Zesarkara), son of the sun (Amenhotep), which has 120 cubits of depth in its great hall, as well as the long passage which is on the north of the temple of Amenhotep of the garden (on which the chief Pa'sar of the town made his report to the monarch Khamuas, to the royal officer Nessu'amen, to the scribes of Pharaoh, to the keeper of the house of the divine address of Amenra king of the gods (*i.e.* the queen), to the royal officer Ra'nefer'ka'em'pa'amen, to the herald of Pharaoh, to the supreme magistrates, saying, 'The robbers have robbed it') ; examined this day, it was found intact by the masons" (Ms. E. 223-4). We may notice that this tomb was peculiar among those examined for the great depth of the excavation into the rock, over 200 feet long. No other tombs on this outer face of the cliffs approached this extent, the long tombs being all

on the other face of the cliff in the valley of the Biban el Meluk. This was, in fact, the first of the class of long sepulchres which prevailed in the XVIIIth-XXth dynasties. The exact position of it is yet unknown, but the temple of Amenhotep has been found (in 1896) on the edge of the desert by Drah abul Negga.

The coffin and mummy of the king were in the great find at Deir el Bahri. The coffin is as simple in form as those of the XIth and XVIIth dynasties; but is much poorer, being only painted and not gilt. It is remarkable that none of the coffins of this or later dynasties approach the magnificence of those which went before; the despised Antefs and the obscure Seqenenra and Aah-hotep lay in far grander state than any of their successors. Apparently the attention and care were directed from the casing of the body to providing the enormous halls and corridors cut in the rock, which then came into fashion. The coffin of Amenhotep shows the rise of the bands of hieroglyphics across it, which were simulated from the bandages of the mummy



FIG. 19.—Coffin of Amenhotep I.  
Ghizeh



within, and which bore inscriptions adoring the four genii of the internal organs. On the mummy is a mask of wood and cartonnage, like that of the coffin outside. The body is surrounded by wreaths, and has not yet been examined (Ms. M. 536).

This king built at Karnak; probably adding to and adorning the old temple of the XIIth dynasty. A granite jamb remaining shows that he worked in hard stone. He also placed statues there: one of these (M.K. 38c and text) was later removed and rearranged by Tahutmes III., who added an inscription in his 22nd year; this is of silicious limestone, and the head is somewhat injured; it is placed at the middle of the west wing of the pylon of Tahutmes I. (No. ix. Baedeker). Another statue, perhaps from Karnak, is at the Luxor Hotel, but is much broken (W.G. 320). A very fine statue was found at Medinet Habu (G.Mus. V.G. 698) with a figure of Nefertari on the back-pillar, and the name of Sety I. added. A limestone statuette of delicate work is doubtless from Thebes (T. Mus.; L.T. 1372). Two sketches on flakes of limestone (also from Thebes?) are, one in Turin (Rec. iii. 124) and one at Ghizeh (V.G. 537).

Amenhotep also built on the western side of the river; we have already seen the mention of his temple in the Abbott papyrus, and Lepsius brought a brick of his from Deir el Bahri (L.D. iii. 6 b).

Above Thebes the royal architect Penaati records his office under Amenhotep I., and three following kings, on the rocks at Shut er Regal (P.S. 357, 476). Another graffito, near that, names Amenhotep as "beloved of Horus, lord of Mehit"; that is, the capital of the Oryx nome. And at Silsileh Paynamen carved a figure and inscription of the king. This activity in the sandstone region accords with the adoption of this stone for building material in the XVIIIth dynasty, in place of the limestone which had been mainly in use before.

At Kom Ombo a door jamb bears the names of this king (A.Z. xxi. 78).

In Nubia a large scene at Ibrim shows the king seated under a canopy, attended by two fly-flappers and a fan-bearer; behind the scene is the goddess Sati, standing as protecting him (R.S. xxviii. 1). And at Meroe were found small wooden tablets engraved with figures (T. Mus.; see below).

Of monuments from unknown sites are,—a good head and cartouches (from part of a private stele of Pa-fu'n-amen) in the Ghizeh Museum (V.G. 693); the fragment of a naos (G. Mus.; W.G. 321); a black granite altar at Berlin (2292); two vases, one in Berlin, with mark of contents of 11 hins, holding 317 cub. ins., or 28·8 for the hin (W.G. 321); the other vase in P. Mus.; and a brick stamp (B. Mus., B.P. 12). The small wooden tablets with carved faces, incised and filled in with blue, are found in several museums; they evidently come from one hand, but may have been discovered in different sites.



FIG. 20.—Wooden tablet, Amenhotep I. Brit. Mus.

The subjects are the king riding in a two-horse chariot (B. Mus., A.B. 30), the king smiting down enemies (five in P. Mus., from Salt Coll., R.S. iii. 1. 107; Tav. ii.), and one in Turin, said to be from Meroe, with two cartouches placed on the *sam* and lotus.

Scarabs are very common in this reign, many of peculiarly rough work; there are also some square plaques, and two cylinders. One cylinder has figures of the king standing (F.P. Coll.); a scarab (P. Mus.) has the king spearing an enemy, accompanied by a hunting leopard. A carnelian stone (G. Mus.) shows an entirely new system of patterning, by altering the texture of it to opaque white; the subject is the same as the last, but around it are circles of small dots, with a larger one in the midst of each circle: as such a

pattern is distinctively foreign (Mediterranean), it points to this process belonging to foreign work. The private remains bearing the name of the king are none of particular value historically, and are sufficiently indicated in the list at the head of this reign.

AAH'HOTEP II. The coffin of this queen, who transmitted the line of royal descent, was found at Deir el



FIG. 21.—Scarab  
of Aah-hotep.  
F.P. Coll.

Bahri. It is like that of her mother Nefertari, already described p. 40; and its internal size effectually proves that it belongs to a different queen from that of the coffin in which the jewellery was found (Ms. M. 545). Scarabs of the queen are known (Louvre; F.P. Coll.), and also a glazed stone *menat* (F.P. Coll.).

We now reach another of the tangled questions of the family history. Amen-mes has been regarded as a son of Tahutmes I., and with him goes also Uazmes,



FIG. 22.—Paheri nursing  
Uazmes. El. Kab.

his brother, as stated in the tomb of Paheri. The best ground for this view is the inscription of the 4th year of Tahutmes I. by the "king's great son, commander of the troops of his father." This is *prima facie* ground for ascribing Amenmes as son of Tahutmes I.; but the inscription only states that he commanded his father's troops, and not who his father was. On considering the ages, difficulties at once appear. For, at the first glance, Tahutmes II. was about 30 at his death (Ms. M. 547),

reigned 13 years, and therefore succeeded at 17, and was born in the 8th year of the reign of Tahutmes I. Is it likely that Tahutmes I. would have a son old enough to be commander-in-chief in the 4th year of his reign, and yet be succeeded by a son born in the

8th year of his reign? His successor would then be at least twenty to thirty years younger than his eldest son. When we look in more detail into the ages which are indicated, we find greater difficulties. For Tahutmes I. to have a son commander in the 4th year of his reign would necessitate a series of extreme suppositions,—that Amenhotep I. and Tahutmes I. each had their successors born when only 18 (leaving no room for earlier daughters or children who died), and that Amenmes was commander-in-chief at 18. Nor can these reigns be much lengthened, even if we threw over all Manetho's statements of reigns, as we are tied by the old ages of Aahmes the admiral, over 90 when his tomb was inscribed under Tahutmes II., and Pen'nekheb, over 77 at the carving of his tomb under Tahutmes III. As Hatshepsut was the eldest daughter, it would imply that she was about eighteen or twenty years older than her husband Tahutmes II., and was not married, therefore, till she was about 35 or more. All of this is unlikely. And all the difficulty is avoided if Amenmes was commander of the troops of his father Amenhotep, while dating his monument after his father's death in his brother's reign.

To render the relative ages clearer, we will here arrange the succession according to the indications that we have, resuming it from the table given before on p. 3, and premising, as before, that the use of this method is to show if any incongruity arises among the data, and not to assert the exactitude of every detail, since many points depend on the more or less vague elements of age.



FIG. 23.—Scarab  
of Amenmes.  
F.P. Coll.



The data of this arrangement, outside of the chronology and lengths of reigns, as already stated, are as follows:—

Amenhotep I. presumably married Aah-hotep when about 20, and Tahutmes I., son of queen Sen'senb, is not likely to have been much younger than his wife Aahmes, daughter of Aah-hotep.

Tahutmes I. presumably married Aahmes in 1544, at about 20. Nefer-khebt was the elder daughter apparently, and Hatshepsut was probably therefore born about 1540 or later.

Tahutmes II. died at about 30 in 1503, and was therefore born about 1533, or seven years after Hatshepsut, and married, say at 17. Hatshepsut, therefore, would not have married before 24; Neferu'ra was her elder daughter, as she is called the "mistress of both lands," or heiress; and she died at the beginning of the reign of Tahutmes III., as Pen'nekheb in extreme old age in that reign had brought up the deceased Neferu'ra. He was born about 1580 (by his services), and would therefore be 66 at the death of Neferu'ra. Merytra would therefore be born about 1512, after her sister, as Neferu'ra was the elder. Neferu'ra was not married, and therefore died before the adolescence of Tahutmes III. (L.D. iii. 20 c).

Tahutmes III. was probably the son of Tahutmes II., as we shall see farther on. It seems most likely that he was born about the same time as his wife Merytra; and he is therefore entered here at the same date.

Amenhotep II. was son of Tahutmes III., as recorded on the latter's bandages (Ms. M. 548). He was also son of Merytra, as she was royal mother, and accompanies him on the monuments. From the fact that no wife of his is shown on monuments (which are all of the earlier years of his reign), whereas his mother appears, it seems plain that he came to the throne quite young. He must then have been born when his father and mother were advanced in life. If we place his birth at about 1469, and suppose that he succeeded at 20 years old, we cannot be far out.

We now reach a very tight place in the chronology. That Tahutmes III., Amenhotep II., Tahutmes IV., and Amenhotep III. succeeded as four generations, father and son, cannot be well doubted. The first link is fixed by the mummy bandages (Ms. M. 548); the other three by the tomb of Hor'em'heb, where they are definitely stated to be each sons of the previous one (M.A.F. v. 434, pl. v.). Yet Amenhotep II. was unmarried on his accession; and his marriage, the birth of Tahutmes IV., his growth and marriage, the birth of Amenhotep III., and his growth up to accession, all have to come in the two reigns of 25 years 10 months + 9 years 8 months, or  $35\frac{1}{2}$  years in all. That Amenhotep III. was no infant when he succeeded, is proved by his slaying 102 lions between the 1st and 10th year of his reign; hence we cannot place his age at accession below about 15, even supposing that he began lion-hunting so early. This takes 15 off  $35\frac{1}{2}$ , leaving 19 years; 2 must be deducted to the birth of Tahutmes IV. after the unmarried accession of Amenhotep II.; and thus Amenhotep III. must have been born when Tahutmes IV. was but 17.

It is quite clear, therefore, that it is wholly impossible to shorten these reigns below the figures of Manetho, as has been proposed owing to the absence of monuments; and the principal amount, 26 years, is lately verified by a date on a wine jar. In fact, a few years more would render this history more credible. Still it is not impossible, and unless some new details appear, we must accept this, and observe that it cannot be modified scarcely one year either way. The only points that could give way to release the close fit would be—(1) the non-marriage of Amenhotep II. on his accession; though, even if he had then been married, his mother's prominence, to the exclusion of a supposed wife, would imply his being yet immature; (2) the lengths of reigns in Manetho, which are, however, on the contrary, too long already to seem likely; or (3) the proof that Tahutmes IV. was son of Amenhotep II., for were they brothers, the whole

would harmonise well, but yet Horemheb can hardly have made an error in the history of the period of his own lifetime.

What renders these early accessions, of Amenhotep II. at 20, and Tahutmes IV. at 24, the more likely, is that both are represented as children in the tombs of their nurse and tutor respectively. Had they been elderly on their accessions, their childhood would have been hardly so much thought of and commemorated.

To return, then, to the family of Amenhotep I., we may assign to queen Aah-hotep the parentage of the future queen Aah-mes, and probably also of the other queen Mut'nefert and the princes Amen-mes and Uaz-mes. Of the latter, a temple was erected at Thebes, with a stele showing him standing behind his brother Tahutmes I., adored by Tahutmes III.; other mention of him is also found in the same building (M.E. 5, 11), which had been, however, restored by Amenhotep III., a ring of whom was found under the threshold. Nebt-ta was another daughter of Aah-hotep, as stated by Lepsius (L.K. 328). A scarab of hers is known.



FIG. 24.—Scarab of Nebt. P.P. Coll.

From an ostrakon, and from the temple at Deir el Bahri, we know that the mother of Tahutmes I. was named Sen'senb. It has been suggested that the Tahutmes line was of a new family, by both father and mother; but we have seen how the old family revered Tahuti along with Aah in the time of Kames, so that the name may well appear in the Aahmes line. And a strong evidence of his descent is given by his wife Aahmes; she was called "lady of both lands," showing her royal heritage, and she was also "royal sister," showing her husband's relation to her and to the family. Above all, he calls himself "king's son of a king's son," claiming descent from Amenhotep and Aahmes (L.D. iii. 18).





FIG. 25.—Sensenb, mother of Tahutmes I. Copy by Mr. Carter. Deir el Bahri.

## XVIII. 3. AA'KHEPER'KA'RA



1541-

1516

B.C.

## TAHUTI-MES I.



Mummy	Deir el Bahri	(Ms. M. 581).
Coffin	" "	(Ms. M. 545).
<hr/>		
Nubt	Temple	
Deir el Bahri	Temple begun	(C.M. 192, 5).
Deir el Medinch	Bricks	(L.D. iii. 7 f).
Medinet Habu	Offering to Amen	(C.M. 195, 2).
"	Door	(L.D. iii. 27; 1, 2).
Karnak	Pylons iv. v. viii.	(M.K. ii.).
"	Scene and inscription	(L.D. iii. 18).
"	Osiride figures	(M.K. text 28).
"	Pillars	(M.K. 2).
"	Obelisk	(L.D. iii. 6).
"	Portions of statues	(W.G. 328).
Aswan	Canal inscription	(Rec. xiii. 202).
Ibrim	Shrine	(C.L. 114).
Semneh	List of gifts	(L.D. iii. 47 c).
Kummeh	Temple	(L.D. iii. 59 a).
Tangur (21° 15' N.)	Tablet	(S.B.A. vii. 121).
Tombos (19° 40' N.)	Steles	(L.D. iii. 5).
Arqo (19° 27')	Stele	(W.T. 472).

Statue seated, diorite, T. Mus.	(L.T. 1374).
Vase, glazed steatite	B. Mus. 4762.
" glazed pottery	P. Mus. 502.
Menat blue glaze	(Wiedemann Coll.).
Scarabs.	

## Queens—AAHMES—

Deir el Bahri	Temple.
Ivory wand	T. Mus.
Scarabs	(B. Mus., P. Mus.).

## MUT'NEFERT—

Statue of Tahutmes II., Karnak	(M.K. 38 b, 4).
Statue, Qurneh	G. Mus. (V.G. 231).

*Children of Aahmes—*

Khebt·neferu

Deir el Bahri

(L.D. iii. 8 b).

Hatshepsut

„ „

*of Mut·nefert—*

Tahutmes II.

Statue (above).

That Tahutmes was not co-regent with Amenhotep for any length of time, is seen from the dating of a record of a campaign in his second year. Moreover, his coronation edict has been happily preserved, and does not suggest any co-regency. It appears that copies of the royal edicts were officially sent out, and the copy of this despatch for Elephantine was fortunately recovered there lately (A.Z. xxix. 117). It reads thus:—

“A letter of the king to cause thee to know that my majesty is risen as king on the throne of Horus, without equal for ever. My titles are to be made as *Horus Ka nekht, mery·Maat; Samuti Kha'em·nesert·aa·pehti; Hor·nub, Nefer renput, sankh abu; suten biti Aa·kheper·ka·ra; sa ra Tahuti·mes; ankh zet er nehch.* Cause the offerings of the gods of Abu in the south to be made by the will of the prince (l.h.w.) the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aa·kheper·ka·ra.

“Cause thou that the oath be administered in the name of my majesty (l.h.w.), born of the royal mother Sen·senb. This is written that thou mayest know it, and that the royal house is safe and strong.

“The first year, Phamenoth, day 21. Day of coronation.”

This date, and the coronation of Tahutmes III. on the 4th of Pakhons, give us some data to check the months of the reigns according to Manetho. The lengths of reign he states are Tahutmes I., 25 y. 4 m.; Tahutmes II., 13 y.; Hatshepsut, 21 y. 9 m. Hence, placing in order the months in question thus, we have—

Mekhir, before 21st Hatshepsut dies

Phamenoth 21st, Tahutmes I. begins

Pharmuthi, wars of Tahutmes III. begin

---

Pakhons 4th, Tahutmes II. dies  
                   4th, Tahutmes III. begins  
                   about 4th, Tahutmes II. begins

---

Pauni,

---

Epiphi, about 21st Tahutmes I. dies.

---

Thus we see that Tahutmes II. dated his reign a few weeks before the death of Tahutmes I.; probably on being associated at the occasion of his early marriage with Hatshepsut, who was already named successor to Tahutmes I., between the months of Mekhir and Messori (see obelisk inscriptions).

The interval between Hatshepsut's death and the beginning of the active wars of Tahutmes III. was very short. It is indicated thus: Tahutmes began his campaign in his 22nd year in Pharmuthi, and passes in the history immediately to Pakhons in his 23rd year; hence he began after 21 years 11 months of regnal inactivity. Now Hatshepsut reigned 21 years 9 months according to Manetho, from Tahutmes II's death, leaving only two months for Tahutmes III. to have organised his campaign, so soon as he was master. The coronation of Hatshepsut on Thoth 1st (Rec. xviii. 102) would show that little over a month elapsed between her father's death on Epiphi 21st, and the ceremony of her crowning, probably postponed a little to bring it on the New Year's feast. We now see how these years and months of reigns show no discrepancies with the official dates that are preserved; but, on the contrary, throw additional light upon the facts.

Of the wars of Tahutmes I. we know but little. The invaluable biographies of Aahmes and Pen'nekheb at El Kab are again our best resource. Aahmes relates—

“It was my lot” (at about 65 years old) “to convey

king Aa·kheper·ka·ra (*makheru*) on his journey up to Khent·hen·nefer for the purpose of chastising the disturbance among the tribes, and of exterminating the raiders from the hills. I displayed valour upon his [ships?] on the bad (?) water in the [rescuing?] of the ships at the overturning" (or "at Ta Penayt"), "and I was raised to the dignity of a captain-general of the marines. His majesty" [one line unengraved?] "His majesty became furious at it like a panther, and he shot his first arrow which stuck in the breast of that wretch; and these [fled?] fainting before his asp:" (the royal emblem on the cap). "Then was made of them in an instant . . . Their people were carried off as living captives. His majesty returned down the river, all regions being within his grasp. That vile Anu of Khent was kept with his head down in evil plight when his majesty landed at Thebes.

"After this he went to the Ruten for the purpose of taking satisfaction upon the countries. His majesty arrived at Naharina (Upper Mesopotamia); he found that enemy who had plotted conspiracy. His majesty made a great slaughter of them; an immense number of live captives were carried off by his majesty from his victories.

"Behold, I was at the head of our soldiers, and his majesty saw my valour as I seized upon a chariot, its horses, and those who were on it as living captives; I took them to his majesty, and I was once more presented with the gold. I have grown up and have reached old age" (over 90 then), "my honours are like . . . and I shall rest in my tomb which I myself have made" (L.D. iii. 12).

Pen·nekheb states: "I followed the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aa·kheper·ka·ra (*makheru*): I took for him in Kush two prisoners alive, beside the prisoners brought by me from Kush, I do not reckon them" (L.A. xiv. A.B.). Again he mentions the Kush campaign in another passage (L.D. iii. 43 a). And he also went in the Syrian war: "Again I acted for the king Aa·kheper·ka·ra, *makheru*: I took for him in the

land of Naharaina 21 hands, a horse and a chariot" (L.A. xiv.).

Of the Nubian war there are several memorials far up the Nile at Tombos. But the long inscription there, dated in his first year, does not contain any information, beyond a high-flown account of all countries being subject to the king.



FIG. 26.—Head of Tahutmes I. Deir el Bahri.  
(From Egypt Exploration Fund.)

Of the Syrian war we learn further in the inscription of Tahutmes III., when he states that "he placed another where was the tablet of his father the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aa'kheper'ka'ra"; and further, "His majesty came to the city of Niy on his return. Then his majesty set up his tablet in Naharaina to enlarge the frontiers of Kemi" (L.A. xii.). This points to the limits of the conquests of Tahutmes I.

having been about the district of Niy, which seems to have been on the Euphrates in the region of Aleppo.

It appears, then, that Tahutmes I. must have had the way paved for him by some unrecorded conquests of Amenhotep; as we see that early in his reign he claims general sovereignty, and was soon able to push his frontier as far forward as it was carried by the greatest of his successors, Tahutmes III. He overran the Ruten, or the hill country of Palestine, the land of Naharaina, or northern Syria, and established his frontier boundary on the Euphrates at the place where his son also set up his tablet. Unfortunately we have no detailed record of the cities or tribes subdued by him, such as the later kings engraved, and cannot, therefore, gain a more exact geographical account.

The coffin of this king was found in the great deposit of Deir el Bahri. It was gilded and inlaid, but had been stripped in ancient times. It had been usurped



FIG. 27.—Mummy of Tahutmes I.  
Ghizeh.

by Painezem I.; but through all the changes the name of the first conqueror of Asia can still be read (Ms. M. 545, 570).

The mummy, however, of Painezem was found elsewhere, in the coffin of Aah·hotep II.; and a nameless mummy was found in the coffin of Tahutmes. This body Maspero inclines to believe to be that of Tahutmes, replaced there by pious care

when Painezem's usurpation was reversed. The resemblance between this head and that of Tahutmes II.

(Ms. M. vii. viii.) is adduced; but a stronger likeness of expression and character exists between the portrait of Tahutmes I. at Deir el Bahri temple and the mummy, particularly in front view.

The body shows unusual vigour and a fine form; it is very well preserved, but unhappily all the wrappings had been destroyed, and so no evidence of the name remained (Ms. M. 581). The locality and the portraiture is all that identifies it.

In the Delta and Middle Egypt no work of Tahutmes I. has yet been found. At Nubt, near Negadeh, he rebuilt the temple of Set, of which door-jambs and a lintel of fine work were found lately.

At Deir el Bahri the temple may have been designed under Tahutmes I., but the sculptures representing him appear to be all due to his great daughter.

At Deir el Medineh bricks of his are found (L.D. iii. 7 f.); but at Medinet Habu he founded one of the most important temples of his family; and the many erasures and alterations of names are a study in family antipathies. His cartouches have been altered from Ra'aa-kheper-ka to Ra'ma-ka by Hatshepsut, and again altered back again by Tahutmes III. (L.D. iii. 27, 1, 2). The decoration appears to have gone on but slowly, and to have reflected the many changes of the time. The lintels of some doors were engraved by Tahutmes I., while their jambs were by the third; other lintels are by the second, and their jambs by Hatshepsut (L.D. iii. 27, 1, 2). The first is seen offering to Amen; the second offering to Min; the third on his throne, with his wife Merytra behind him; or, again, hoeing up a foundation, showing that he founded some parts of this temple (C.M. 195).

In the chapel of Uazmes (M.E. v.), a stele erected by a tutor of that prince, figures Tahutmes I. and his little deceased brother Uazmes, adored by Tahutmes III. (M.E. ii.), nearly a year before Hatshepsut's death. There is also a tablet of a tutor of the royal children of Tahutmes I., probably the same person (M.E. vi.).

At Karnak a pylon (IV. Baedeker) fronting the



Amen temple was built by this king, and along the inner face a row of Osiride statues of himself were placed. Another pylon (IX. Baedeker) was also built by him, although the decoration was finished by his sons and Amenhotep II. It is on the north face of this that an important inscription occurs, declaring the co-regency of Hatshepsut. Tahutmes declares that he has led the most distant people, that he has scattered all trouble in Egypt, and put an end to crime and destroyed impiety; that he has brought order in place of the rebellions which appeared in Lower Egypt. Then he prays to Amen to give the lower and upper country to his daughter the king Ma·ka·ra, as it has been given to him (Mel. i. 46). Subsequently Tahutmes III. has altered Ma·ka·ra to Aa·kheper·ka·ra. This document is almost more than an association of Hatshepsut with the king; it prays Amen to give the sovereignty to the daughter as it had been given to the father, making almost an abdication. This suggests that it must have been at the end of the life of the king, when he felt no longer able to rule. The reason of placing the daughter in power rather than the son, is seen in the ages. Hatshepsut was probably 24, and doubtless showed already her vast abilities; while Tahutmes II. was probably not more than 17, and was of no great strength. He was not married to his sister at the time of this inscription. So it appears that on failing health the king placed the power in the hands of his eldest child, who had the sole right to it by the female inheritance; and then, just a few weeks before his death, married Tahutmes II. to her, perhaps to ensure his receiving some respect for his position if not for his character.

Two pillars of Tahutmes I. were re-used later on (between pylons IV. and V. Baed.); but Mariette attributes to this king all the pillars between pylons IV. and V., and those east of pylon V. as well.

This king also placed one of the two obelisks in front of his pylon; but it has been disfigured by Ramesside inscriptions crowded down the blank margins

of the inscriptions (L.D. iii. 6). A base for a statue remains in front of this ; and fragments of two statues are seen in the place (W.G. 328). The fellow obelisk is due to Tahutmes III. (M.K. ii.).

A very enigmatical block was found here, of which no explanation is yet possible. It has a large cartouche horizontal ; within that a small cartouche vertical of Tahutmes I. ; on one side of that "year 8," and on a raised oval *Ra'aa'kheper* and an inexplicable curl ; on the other side a like oval, with *Ra'aa'kheper-tef-ka'khepermery*, and "year 6" (G. Mus.).

At Aswan an interesting memorial remains of the campaign of this king, and his passage up the old canal cut by Usertesen III. for his Nubian wars (see i. p. 179). The viceroy of the south inscribed

the rock thus, below the names of Tahutmes I. : "Year 3, Pakhons 20th, his majesty passed this canal in force and power in his campaign to crush Ethiopia the vile. Prince Turo" (Rec. xiii. 202). Another inscription after the titles states : "His majesty came to Kush to crush the vile" (M.I. i. 41, 185). And a third (all dated on the same day), after the titles, states : "His majesty commanded to clear this canal, after he had found it filled with stones, so that no boat could pass up it. He passed up it, his heart rejoicing" (M.I. i. 85, 13).

At Ibrim is a rock shrine with figures of the king seated between Tahuti and Sati (C.L. 114).

The frontier fortresses of Semneh and Kummeh, which were so important under the XIIth dynasty (see pp. 179-181), became again the keys of the south



FIG. 28.—Part of obelisk of Tahutmes I. Karnak.

lands under the XVIIIth. Tahutmes I. began the rebuilding here, and a list of gifts to Amen bears his name at Semneh (L.D. iii. 47 c); while at Kummeh his sculptures were usurped by his son Tahutmes II. (L.D. iii. 59 a).

Three records of his conquests remain in Ethiopia: at Tangur (21° 15' N.), on a rock 60 feet above the Nile, is a record of the return of the king in his 2nd year, with a convoy led by Aahmes, scribe of the troops (S.B.A. vii. 121). And, farther still, at Tombos (19° 40' N.) is a large stele of the 2nd year, and several smaller ones, referring to his conquests of the Nehasi and of Kush. The historical details of these we have already noticed. Lastly, at Argo is a stele known as "the golden stone" (W.T. 472).

Beside the royal monuments there are several private inscriptions of interest.

A man named Amenhotep bears the title, "Chief king's son of Aa·kheper·ka·ra"; but as he is shown offering to his father Tehuti·sena, and mother Ta·hured, and to his brother Nefer·hotep, it appears that this king's son must be purely titular, and not related to the king. The "king's son of Kush," as the title of the viceroy of Ethiopia, shows that there were titular "king's sons"; and this Amenhotep would therefore be the chief of such a class (L.D. iii. 9).

Of the officials of this reign there are recorded—

Penaati	Director of works	(P.S. 476).
Pu	Great builder	(A.Z. xix. 67).
Tehuti	Director of hewers	(E.L. 35).
Aa·kheper·ka	Keeper of equipment	(M.A.F. viii. 275, 64).
Userhat	Keeper of the palace	(Rec. iv. 125; L.T. 1456).
Sebekhotep	Guardian of the palace	(S. Cat. F. 1566).
Pet'en·ra	Keeper of the cattle	(M.A.F. viii. 289, 171).
x	Tutor of the princes	(M.E. vi.).

(The keeper of equipment, *sa·khau*, is analogous to the phrase "ship's husband.")

Of priests and adorers there are—

Aa·kheper·ka·ra·senb, canopic jars,	(W.G. 327).
P. Mus.	
Amenemhat (under Tahut. III.)	(L.D. iii. 29 c).

Neta	Cone	(M.A.F. viii. 297, 261).
Uaz'shem-su	T. Mus.	(Rec. ii. 172; L.T. 1457).
Sebek'nekht	Tomb	(C.N. 512).
Sem'nefer	T. Mus.	(Rec. iii. 113).
x (Silsileh)	Tomb	(L.D. iii. 28, 4 a-d).
Pen'nekheb, <i>hon ka</i> (see p. 47)		(L.D. iii. 43 b).
Iufi, praising Aahmes		(Rec. ix. 93).

The king is also mentioned in some tombs at Thebes, Nos. 9 (C.N. 501) and 30 of Amenhotep (C.N. 519); and at Silsileh, in the tomb of Menkh (L.D. iii. 8 c).

Of portable objects there is a seated statue in diorite, about life size, in Turin (L.T. 1374); also two fragments of statues lying still at Karnak, in the hall behind pylon V. A seated colossus remains in front of pylon VIII. at the west end, which was erected by Tahutmes III. in his 42nd year in honour of his father (Mel. i. 46). Two vases and a menat are noted above in the list. Of scarabs there are many, and some peculiar types; one has the *ka* name down the middle, between the repeated throne name (P. Mus.); another has a sphinx with the name, and on the back instead of a beetle a kneeling figure (F.P. Coll.); another has the joint cartouches of Tahutmes I. and Hatshepsut, she being named *sa ra* (P. Mus.); this was probably made during the brief co-regency at the end of his reign. Of both this king and Hatshepsut there are unusual scarabs with the *hor nub* name and the uraeus and vulture names.



Fig. 29.—Scarabs of Tahutmes I.  
Louvre.

Of Queen AAHMES a few objects remain. Her portraits appear at the temple of Deir el Bahri; an ivory wand in the form of an arm bears her cartouche (T. Mus.); and two scarabs of her are known (P. Mus., B. Mus.).

Sat'amen, this king's supposed sister and wife, has been regarded as of far more importance than is war-

ranted, owing to the mistake of attributing a reign in Manetho to her instead of to Hatshepsut (C.B. i. 27).



FIG. 30.—Head of Queen Aahmes, Deir el Bahri. (From Egypt Exploration Fund.)



FIG. 31.—Queen Aahmes. From a photograph by Mr. H. Carter.

In fact, no trace of this supposed queen is to be found, except a green glazed steatite toilet-box in the Louvre

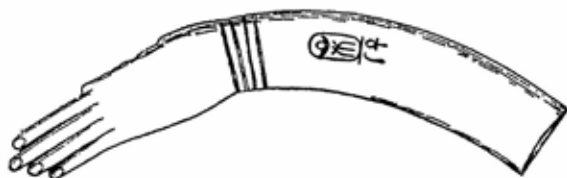


FIG. 32.—Ivory wand of Aahmes. Turin.

(P. Sc. 852); there is no evidence to what reign this belongs, and there seems no reason why it should not have been part of the outfit of the infant heiress of

Aahmes and Nefertari, thus setting aside altogether a later and mythical Sat'amen.

Of queen MUT'NEFERT a fine statue in sandstone was found in the chapel of Uaz'mes (V.G. 231; M.E. i.). It bears the inscription on the throne, "The good god, lord of both lands, Aa'kheper'en'ra (Tahutmes II.), made by him his monuments of his mother, royal wife, royal mother, Mut'nefert, *makheru*." This queen was



FIG. 33. Queen Mut'nefert.  
Ghizeh.



FIG. 34.—Princess Khebt'neferu. Deir el Bahri.

a daughter of Amenhotep, as she appears on the statue of Tahutmes II. as the "royal daughter, royal wife," at Karnak (M.K. 38b, 4). The royal children were the heiress Khebt'neferu (L.D. iii. 8 b), who died early, as she was not married; and the great queen Hatshepsut, who was married to her half-brother Tahutmes II., the son of Mut'nefert.

XVIII. 4. AA·KHEPER·EN·RA

1516-  
1503  
B.C.

TAHUTIMES II.



Coffin and mummy, Deir el Bahri (Ms. M. 545).

Deir el Bahri, temple, parts	(L.D. iii. 17a, 20a). (D.H. ii. 21).
Medinet Habu, temple, parts	(C.M. 195, 4).
Bricks on west side	(Pr. M. 23, 15).
Karnak, pylon IX. begun	(L.D. iii. 14, 15, 16).
2 statues by pylon VIII.	(M.K. 38 b, e).
Chambers X, Y, Z, Z <sup>1</sup>	(C.N. ii. 145-6).
Esneh, red granite pillars	(P.R. ii. 3, 43).
Aswan, inscription	(L.D. iii. 16a).
Semneh, inscription	(L.D. iii. 47 c).
Kummeh, alteration of Tahut. I	(L.D. iii. 59 a).
Barkal	(W.T. 472).
El Ayun, Oasis, Stele	(A.Z. 1876, 120).

Pakhen offering to T. II., stele, T. Mus.	(L.T. 1458).
Penaati, director of works, Silsileh.	(P.S. 476).

Isis and Horus. Lee Collection	(Cat. No. 27).
Scarabs and cowroid.	
Queens—HATSHEPSUT.	

ASET, wrappings of Tahutmes III.	(Ms. M. 548).
Children (by Hatshepsut)—Neferu'ra, Assasif	(C.M. cxcii. 3; exciv. 1, 3; head best in R.H. ii. 8).

Meryt'ra Hatshep- set	
(by Aset) Tahutmes III.	(Ms. M. 548).

That Tahutmes II. was not co-regent for any length of time with his father, is shown by an inscription at Aswan being dated in his first year. This records his expedition to Kush. He states that he was "revered in the lands of the Hanebu (or Mediterranean), and that the Mentiu'setet and Anu'khent (north and south) came with their offerings. His south boundary was to

the opening of the level land, and his north bound to the *pehu* of the Setit (the lakes of Syria), all these are serfs of his majesty. His arms were not repulsed from the land of the Fenkhu. . . . Then one came with good news to his majesty, 'that the vile Kush has gone into rebellion . . . to injure the people of Egypt, and to raid their cattle, even beyond the gates which thy father built in his victory to beat back the rebellious foreigners, even the Anu'khent of Khent'hen'nefer, being come to the north of the vile Kush' . . . His majesty raged at it like a panther. 'As I live, as Ra loves me, as my father lord of the gods praises me, I will not leave a male alive.' He sent a great army to the land of Khent in his good and victorious time to overthrow the rebellious; . . . this army of his majesty overthrew these foreigners, they took the life of every male according to all that his majesty commanded; excepting that one of those children of the prince of Kush was brought alive as a live prisoner with their household to his majesty, placed under the feet of the good god. Behold, his majesty was seated upon the throne when were brought the prisoners which the army of his majesty were bringing. This nation being made as bondmen of his majesty, as in old time. The people rejoiced and gave praise to the lord of both lands, exalting the good god." From this it is evident that Tahutmes II. did not go to lead the campaign himself, and this accords with his youth, being only about seventeen at this time. Another war is mentioned by Aahmes Pen'nekheb, who states: "I followed the king Aa'kheper'en'ra, *makheru*, I brought away from the land of the Shasu (Bedawin) very many prisoners, I do not reckon them. . . . the king Aa'kheper'en'ra gave me two gold bracelets, six collars, three bracelets of lazuli, and a silver war axe" (L.A. xiv. ; R.P. iv. 8).

The temple at Deir el Bahri, which is mainly occupied with the scenes of the expedition to Punt, must have been begun to be sculptured toward the end of his reign, as he only appears on some parts of it, and



Tahutmes III. is more usually found there. This agrees with the expedition having been made late in



FIG. 35.—Mummy of Tahutmes II. Ghizeh, Profile and front view.

his reign, in the ninth year (Rec. xviii. 103). Thus there were but four years for the expedition and the sculp-



FIG. 36. Portrait of Tahutmes II.



FIG. 37.—Coffin of Tahutmes II.

turing before he died. Even during his life, Hatshepsut appears to have taken the leading part; as she

well might, being so much older than he, and having been associated on the throne before him. In short, he appears to be solely the husband of Hatshepsut, and not to have taken any important action in the government. From his mummy it seems that he was not healthy, nor of a strong frame like that of his father or brother. And his early death bears this out.

The great work of the temple at Deir el Bahri we shall consider in the next reign, that of Hatshepsut, who appears to have been the real author of it.

At Medinet Habu there is a scene of this king offering to Min (C.M. 195, 4). But most of the occurrences of his name there are due to the need of filling in some name over the erasures of Hatshepsut's name by Tahutmes III.; some places he filled in with his father's, and some places with his grandfather's, over the loathed cartouche of his great sister (L.D. iii. 7 a, b, c).

At Karnak was the principal work of this reign. The pylon IX. was begun, and half of the doorway inscription completed, the rest being filled in by Tahutmes III. (L.D. iii. 16, d-g). Two statues before this pylon are also of the builder. And several of the chambers were decorated under him; following Champollion's lettering, X shows Tahutmes II. offering to Amen, but usurped by Hatshepsut, while Hatshepsut's original work in this room is unaltered; Y has Tahutmes II. offering to Amen, perfect on the north side, but usurped by Hatshepsut on the south; room Z has bad work of Tahutmes II. in part, and of Tahutmes III. in the rest; and room Z<sup>1</sup> has some fragments of a granite doorway of Tahutmes II. So this decoration must have been running on during the latter part of his reign, and left unfinished at his death.

He also appears to have built at Esneh, as two red granite pillars from there bear his name (both in P. Mus.): one has titles and name, "beloved son of Sati" (P.R. ii. 3); the other has been usurped by Ramessu II., and is a fragment of an obelisk naming

the divinities Thenent and Menthu (P.R. ii. 43). These pillars had probably been brought from Taud (opposite Erment), which is named upon them.

At Aswan is the long inscription of the Nubian war in his first year (L.D. iii. 16 a). Others have been attributed to this king (M.I. i.); but reading only Ra·aa·kheper, they might as well be of Tahutmes I. or of Amenhotep II., and are probably of the latter.

At Semneh, Tahutmes II. is named with his father in an inscription recording gifts to Amen on the front wall (L.D. iii. 47 c). And at Kummeh he has converted the name of his father into his own (L.D. iii. 59 a). At Barkal in Ethiopia, remains of his are found (W.T. 472).

In the Oasis of El Ayun (Farafra) is an inscription of this reign seen by Ascherson (A.Z. 1876, 120).

Of private remains there is the stele (T. Mus.) of Pakhen offering to this king (L.T.

1458); and at Shut er Regal the graffito of Penaati, the director of works (P.S. 476). The tomb of Pen·nekheb at El Kab, which is of so much importance for the preceding reigns, was made under this king, as also the grey granite statue of Pen·nekheb (A.Z. xxi. 77).

Of minor remains, a statuette of Isis and Horus has the name of Tahutmes II. on the side of the throne, above groups of bound prisoners (Lee Cat. 27).

Scarabs are not common, and one with the *ka* name is the only type of interest.

The queen Hatshepsut we shall notice by herself in



FIG. 38.—Princess Nefrura. Deir el Bahri.

the next section. The daughter Neferu'ra was the eldest, being the "lady of both lands, princess of the north and south"; and she appears next behind Hatshepsut and Tahutmes III. in scenes. Yet she was never married, which points to her early death before the adolescence of Tahutmes III. As late, however, as



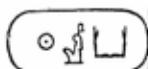
FIG. 39.—Scarabs of Neferu'ra. F.P. Coll.

the 16th year of Hatshepsut, she was alive, as Senmut was keeper of her palace when he went to quarry the great obelisks (L.D. iii. 25 *bis*, q). This, therefore, points to Tahutmes being then unmarried. Several scarabs of Neferu'ra are known. Meryt'ra

Hatshepset was the second daughter (*shepset*, singular, distinguishes this from her mother, *shepsut*, plural); she was the wife of Tahutmes III., "great royal wife," but not called heiress; and she was the mother of Amenhotep II. Two or three scarabs of her are known.

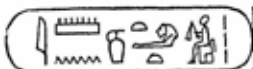
The descent of Tahutmes III. has been in much doubt. That his mother was a concubine named Aset is certain, but the evidence varies between Tahutmes I. and Tahutmes II. as his father. The former king has generally been credited, on the strength of a statue of Anebni (B.M., A.B. 51), which names Tahutmes III. as brother of Hatshepsut. But against this there is the statue of Tahutmes II. (so named on the belt), dedicated by Tahutmes III. to "his father" (M.K. 38 b, z); and in the tomb of Anna, Tahutmes II. is said to have "joined the gods, and his son held his place as king, and was prince on the throne of him who begat him" (Rec. xii. 105-7). The last expression, which is much relied on by Maspero (S.B.A. xiv. 178), is not conclusive, as Tahutmes III. occupied the throne equally of Tahutmes I. as of Tahutmes II. So we have the expression "son" (Anna's tomb) and "father" (statue) to set against the "brother" of Hatshepsut (on Anebni's statue). Probably the phrase brother is used for nephew here, or brother's son; and we should see in Tahutmes III. a son of Tahutmes II.

XVIII. 5.  
MAAT·KA·RA



B.C. 1516-1503  
with Tahut. II.

HAT·SHEPSUT  
(Khnum·Amen)



1503-1481  
with Tahut.  
III.

Wady Maghara	Stele, 16th year	(L.D. iii. 28, 2).
Sarbut el Khadem	Glazed bowls	(B.P. 56).
Buto	Seal of temple of Amen	(Ms. G. 91).
Speos Artemidos	Sculpture	(Rec. iii. 1; vi. 20).
Deir el Bahri	Temple	(L.D. iii. 8-27; D.H. <i>passim</i> , N.D.B.).
Ourneh	Bricks	(L.D. iii. 25 <i>bis</i> , 26).
Karnak	Obelisks	(L.D. iii. 22-24; R.P. xii. 127; L.D. iii. 24 a-c).
	Sandstone block	(W.G. 338).
	Chamber sculptures	(C.N. ii. 145).
	Temple of Mut begun	
Medinet Habu	Erased name	(L.D. iii. 7 a, b, c).
	Bricks	(L.D. iii. 26, 4).
El Kab	Inscription	(R.S. iii. i. 130).
Kom Ombo	Gateway	(L.D. iii. 28, 1).
Aswan	Stele of Sen'mut	(L.D. iii. 25 <i>bis</i> , q).

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Stele	Dedicated to Tahut. I.	(L.A. xi.)
	by Hatshepsut	
Stele	Vatican	(Rec. ii. 128; C.N. ii. 700).
Stele	G. Coll.	
Statue	Headless, Berl.	(L.D. iii. 25).
"	Head of, Berl.	(L.D. iii. 25).
Statues, two	Leyden	(A.Z. xii. 45).
"	Heads of	(L.D. iii. 25).
Ushabti	Hague	(S.B.A. 1885, 183).
Box	Deir el Bahri, G. Mus.	(Ms. M. 584).
Throne	Biban el Meluk, B. Mus.	
Draughtboard	"	
Set of draughtmen	"	
Part of cartouche	"	
Lion's head draught-		G. Mus. (Ms. G. 123).
man		
Draughtboard		P. Mus. (616).
Plaque		P. Mus. (456).

Alabaster vases	Abydos	G. Mus. (M.A. 1467-8).
" "		P. Mus. (456, 356-7)
" "		Alnwick (Cat. 1380).
Models of tools	P; F; G; Leyden, T. Muss.	
Bead, glass or obsidian		(W.M.C. ii. 141).
Scarabs and plaques.		

Although the reign of this queen is entirely overlapped by those of her co-regents, Tahutmes I., II., and III., yet her importance during the life of her husband, and her independence during the nominal reign of her nephew, until her death, make it most fitting to treat her monuments and acts separately.



FIG. 40.—Portrait of Hatshepsut.  
Deir el Bahri. Photograph by  
Mr. Carter.

Her activity seems to have been entirely given to peaceful enterprises, owing to the vigour and extensive conquests of her father having ensured an age of tranquillity to the realm.

In the Sinaitic peninsula she worked the mines. At Wady Maghara, a tablet, dated in her 16th year (= the 3rd year of Tahutmes III.), shows her offering to Sopd, and Tahutmes III. offering to Hathor. It has been suggested that, as he has the crown of Lower Egypt, he was ruler there, while she ruled the upper country; but this cannot hold good, as he has the double crown on her obelisk (L.D. iii. 246), and has the upper crown on the doorway of Kom Ombo, built under her (L.D. iii. 28, 1 b). At Sarbut el Khadem she reopened the mines which had been worked by Amenemhat II. (p. 165); and pieces of glazed vases, bowls, etc., are found there with her name, and the names of later rulers down to the XXth dynasty. This shows that not only the mines were worked, but also potteries of glazed ware, and probably the manufacture of glass and frit coloured with the copper there

found. Such work implies the use of a good deal of fuel, and points the more wooded state of the desert in past times, as indicated also by other facts (B.P. 56).

That the Delta began to rise into notice again, is shown by the seal of the temple of Amen at Buto, bearing the name of Hatshepsut (Ms. G. 91).

At Speos Artemidos, near Beni Hasan, an inscription of 42 lines above the façade shows that it was begun by this queen, though the interior was further carved by Sety I. This inscription shows that she had largely refitted the temples, and rebuilt some of them, as we have noticed in the XVIIth dynasty (p. 19). One remarkable phrase is, "my spirits inclined toward foreign people . . . the people Roshau and Iuu did not hide themselves from me"; and, further, the expedition to Punt is mentioned, and the importation of trees and incense. This points to a general taste for geographical enterprise, such as we see illustrated in the great expedition (Rec. iii. 1; vi. 20).

The grand work of this queen was her vast and unique temple at Deir el Bahri, so called because a Coptic convent or Deir was built in its ruins in Christian times, and was called the northern (*Bahri*, often misspelled *Bahari*), in contrast to the southern at Deir el Medineh. Owing to the nearness to this temple of the great tomb cave where the royal mummies were hidden, both have been called by the same name; but that sepulchre has no relation to the temple, and is round a corner of the cliff, in quite another bay. As this temple is now being fully explored, it would be premature to attempt to describe its details.

The general plan is that of a series of three great terraces or platforms, rising one higher than another up the slope of the ground, until the last is backed against the vertical cliffs of the mountain. An axial stairway led from terrace to terrace. Along the front of each terrace the platform was carried on the top of a cloister or colonnade. The upper terrace is headed by a row of chambers, the middle one of which is carried deep into the rock, and lined with sculptured slabs.



Other chambers, and an altar in a courtyard, lie on either side of the upper terrace.

The historical interest is in the representation of the great expedition to Punt. This is shown on the wall which subdivides the upper terrace across. The head of the scene is on the right hand of the spectator. There Amen is seated; before him is a speech of his to the queen in 15 columns. A speech of the queen in six columns is in front of her figure, standing adoring



FIG. 41.—Sculpture of Deir el Bahri.

Amen. Next is the bark of Amen, borne by 24 priests and two high priests, before which Tahutmes III. makes offering of incense. After a speech of the queen in five columns, offering all the products of the land of Punt to Amen, then appear Safekh and Tahuti,—the deities of writing and of numbers,—registering all the offerings. Horus superintends the balance, where rings and bars of electrum are being weighed. Piles of green *ana* incense are being measured out. Following these

are the trees, the cattle, the logs of ebony, the tusks of ivory, the boxes of electrum, the leopard skins, the panthers, the giraffe, and the cattle, all of which are offered to Amen.

Following this is a figure of the queen, and of her *ka* behind her, introducing the scenes of the expedition. Eight ships and a boat are embarking the produce of Punt, the trees transplanted in baskets, the sacks and bales and jars, the baboons,—all are being brought in peace to the fleet. Next is the scene of the meeting of the Egyptian troops and commander, with Parohu, the chief of Punt, Aty his wife, their two sons and daughter, the ass on which the queen rode, and three attendants. Behind them is their town; the houses are built on piles and entered by ladders, while palms growing beside them overshadow them. The strange fatness of the queen has been much speculated upon; whether it was a disease such as elephantiasis, or was natural fat, has been debated; but as her daughter shows much the same tendency of curve in the back, it is probably the effect of extreme fat, which was considered a beauty, as in South Africa at present.

Scenes in other parts show the festivities of the return from Punt, the troops eagerly hastening in procession, the sacrifices being cut up and offered, and the dances of the Libyan allies with boomerangs.

Many points of great interest occur in the details. The physiognomy of the Punites is finely rendered; it is much like that of the early Egyptians (compare the queen and Hesy), and the form of beard is that of the Egyptian gods. The great variety of fishes in the sea beneath the ships is no mere fancy; the species have been identified with the Red Sea fishes, and show close observation. Either the fish were brought back for the artist, or else artists accompanied the expedition—probably the latter, as the queen and her ass, the houses and trees, all seem to have been seen by the designer. Another class of details is the military outfit of the Egyptian troops; the standards which they carry, of figures in sacred barks, lions, heads, and cartouches of

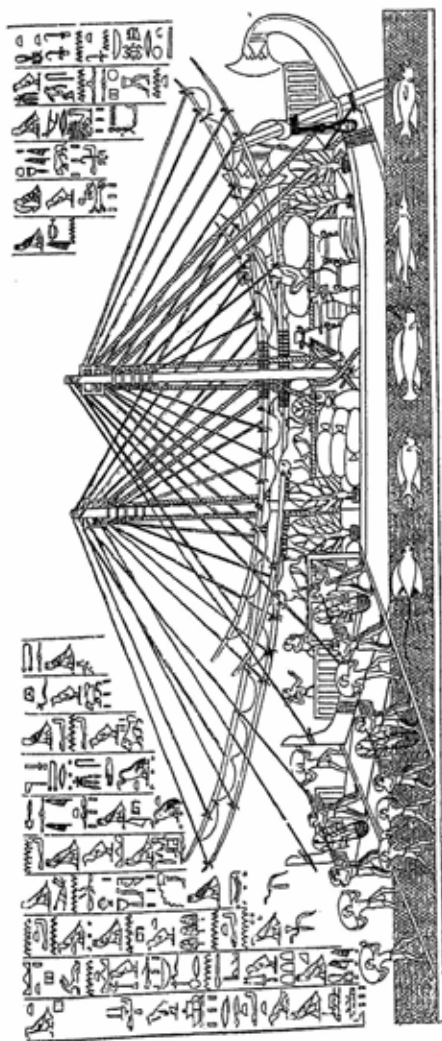


FIG. 42.—Ships laden at Punt.

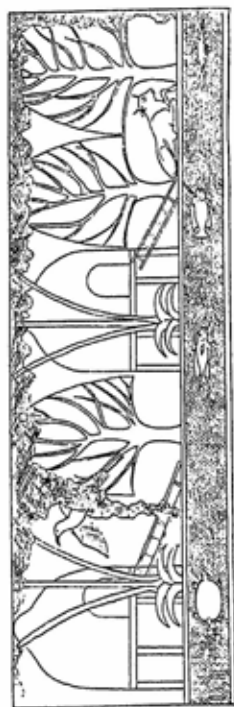


FIG. 42.—Pile houses of Punt.

the queen, the axes, bows, spears, and boomerangs, the drum beaten with a hand on either end;—all of these are beautifully represented.

On other parts of the temple, in the colonnade of the middle terrace, are scenes of the royal family. Tahutmes I., queen Aahmes, and the elder daughter, Khebt-neferu, are there posthumously figured. In the chambers cut into the rock at the head of the terraces are also various figures of the family: Aahmes, Hatshepsut, and Tahutmes II. are seated before their tables of offering, with the lists of funeral offerings above. These are true tomb sculptures, and show that these were the funereal chapels of the family. But the places of the tombs are quite unknown. Perhaps they are in the rock behind, entered from some by-passage; but, as we shall see later on, there is evidence that Hatshepsut's tomb is entered from the valley of the kings' tombs, just behind the wall of cliff, and therefore more probably the other tombs of the family adjoin that. It is rather on the other side of the cliff that we must expect the entrance to be found to the tombs, and not on the Deir el Bahri side.

The next most important works of the great queen are the obelisks at Karnak. The greater one was erected on the *Sed* festival in her sixteenth year. The sides bear the splendidly cut line of hieroglyphics down the middle of each, with the scenes of Hatshepsut and Tahutmes III. offering to Amen in all his various

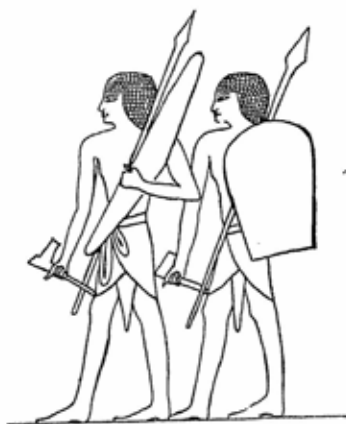


FIG. 43.—Egyptian soldiers. Deir el Bahri.

characters, while one scene on each side has been usurped later by Sety I. This great obelisk was recognised as a triumph of work and a marvel of speedy execution; and a long inscription in small lines around the base of it is happily preserved to show with what feelings it was erected. After an adoration to Amen, she states "she hath made this as a monument to her father Amen, lord of the thrones of the two lands, dwelling in Thebes, even hath made for him two great obelisks of hard granite of the south, the point of each is of electrum, the tribute of the best quality of all countries. They are seen on both sides of the valley, the two lands are bathed in their splendours. The sun's disc rises between them, as when it rises from the horizon of heaven. I have done this from a heart full of love for my divine father Amen.

"I have entered upon the way in which he conducted me from the beginning, all my acts were according to his mighty spirit. I have not failed in anything which he hath ordained . . . I make this known to the generations which are to come, whose hearts will enquire after this monument which I have made for my father, and who will talk enquiringly and gaze upon it in future. I was sitting in the palace, I was thinking of my creator, when my heart urged me to make for him two obelisks of electrum whose points reach unto the sky, in the noble hall of columns which is between the two great pylons of the king Aa·kheper·ka·ra. Behold, my heart led me to consider what men would say. Oh, ye who see my monument in the course of years, and converse of what I have done, beware of saying, 'I know not, I know not, why these things were done' . . . Verily the two great obelisks that my majesty has wrought with electrum, they are for my father Amen, to the end that my name should remain established in this temple for ever and ever. They are of a single stone of hard granite without any joining or division in them. My majesty commanded to work for them in the 15th year, the first day of Mekhir, till the 16th year and the last day of Messori, making seven

months since the ordering of it in the quarry" (R.P. xii. 131).

As Tahutmes I. died about the end of Epiphi (fifteen years before), the sixth of the seven months here named, and as by the change in the regnal year Hatshepsut must have begun to reign in one of those months, and before Tahutmes II. was associated, about early in Pakhons (see p. 61), we see that the association of Hatshepsut on the throne is limited to Mekhir, Phamenoth, or Pharmuthi, that is, between three and six months before her father's death.

The very brief time of seven months for the whole work of this obelisk, of nearly a hundred feet high, in hard red granite, has been a stumbling-block and wonder to all who have considered it. If we exclude the preliminaries, and date from the actual cleaving of it from the bed, we can scarcely write off less than two months for extracting the block and bringing it to Thebes. If it were erected in the rough, and then worked by men on a scaffolding around it, so as to get the greatest number employed at once, we must set off at least a month for erecting it and placing the scaffold. Thus four months is left for men, working by relays, to dress down, polish and engrave, at least three or four square yards of surface for each man. This would be the probable distribution of time; and nothing impresses us more with the magnificent organisation of the Egyptians, than this power of launching hundreds of highly trained and competent workmen on a single scheme in perfect co-ordination. It is no question of a tyranny of brute force and mere numbers; but, on the contrary, a brilliant organisation and foresight dealing with a carefully prepared staff.

The second obelisk has been overthrown, and the upper part of it lies broken off, on a bed of fragments from the neighbouring buildings.

In some of the sculptures of the chambers this queen also appears; sometimes in original work, sometimes in substitutions of her name for that of Tahutmes II. (C.N. ii. 145, rooms X, Y).

At the Tahutmes temple of Medinet Habu she erased her father's name to make room for her own, *aa·kheper* giving place to *maût* (L.D. iii. 27). In another place her name appears on the jambs, and that of her husband on the lintel. At El Kab an inscription of hers was formerly known (R.S. iii. i. 130).

At Kom Ombo, the great gateway, now washed away, bore her name on it as builder, though Tahutmes III. appears on one jamb, and perhaps Tahutmes II. on the other, now altered to the IIIrd. The absence of feminine terminations makes it unlikely to be a figure of the queen (L.D. iii. 28, 1; R.R. xxviii.).

At Aswan the inscription of Senmut on his going to quarry the obelisks is valuable, as showing that Neferu·ra was still living then. The rapid carving of these rock inscriptions on all occasions shows the mastery of tools. As the inscription of Hammamat also shows (i. p. 151), where a long and fine inscription was cut in eight days, as shown by an informal one roughly added below it.

As Senmut was one of the greatest men of his age, we may here notice his remains. His statue is in the Berlin Museum, and bears a long inscription, from which we learn that he was chief tutor to the king's daughter, the heiress of the two lands, Neferu·ra; that his parentage was not distinguished, as his "ancestors were not found in writing"; that he was created a prince, the companion, greatly beloved, keeper of the temple of Amen, keeper of the granaries of Amen, and director of the directors of works (chief architect). Other official charges were also held by him; and it is not difficult to see that he was the favoured official of the queen, after the death of her husband and in the minority of her other brother (L.D. iii. 25 h-m). Another statue of his, found in the temple of Mut, shows that he built many temples for the queen. On his funeral stele he perpetuates the memory of his father and mother, though they were not distinguished, as he is shown seated between them; the father, Rames, embracing him, the mother, Hat·



FIG. 44.—Senmut the architect. Berlin.



nefer, holding a flower before her great son. He appears there to have had special charge of the sacred cattle, of which many are figured and named (L.D. iii. 25 *bis*, a). His stele at Aswan shows him standing before Hatshepsut, and entitled the royal seal-bearer, the companion, greatly beloved, keeper of the palace, keeper of the heart of the queen (see "keeper of the king's conscience," the Lord Chancellor), making content the lady of both lands, making all things come to pass for the spirits of her majesty. It is stated that he there carved the two great obelisks for the queen which we have described above (L.D. iii. 25 *bis*, q). From the stamps on the bricks of his tomb, we see that he was priest of Aahmes, and held offices for the younger daughter, Hatshepsut (Meryt·ra), as well as for the elder one, Neferu·ra. His tomb is high up, on the N.E. of the Qurneh hill; it was very magnificent, but the painted facing of the walls is almost entirely destroyed. A staff bearing his name is in the hands of a dealer at Luxor. A clear white glass bead of Senmut was found at Dêir el Bahri (1894); and another bead of Hatshepsut appears to bear his name (W.M.C. ii. 141).

A curious point is the religious adoration of Hathor, developed as a familiarity and petting of the sacred kine. On the scenes of Deir el Bahri, Tahutmes II. is being licked by the sacred cow (D.H. ii. 32); and Hatshepsut had favourite cows, as one of them is named on Senmut's stele as "her great favourite, the red." The line of kine down the side of Senmut's stele all have their names, and were probably pet animals of the queen in the sacred cattle farm.

Another keeper of the palace, who took the queen's diadem title as his own name, Uazit·renpitu, is recorded on a rock tablet north of Aswan, below the joint cartouches of Ra·maât·ka and Ra·men·kheper (M.I. i. 207, 10).

Of minor monuments there are several. A stele in the Louvre is dedicated by Hatshepsut to Tahutmes I., and he is represented seated receiving offerings (L.A.

xi.). Another stele in the Vatican shows Hatshepsut offering to Amen, with Tahutmes III. standing behind her (C.N. ii. 700-1). And a small stele shows the queen suckled by the Hathor cow, as figured at Deir el Bahri (Grant Coll.).

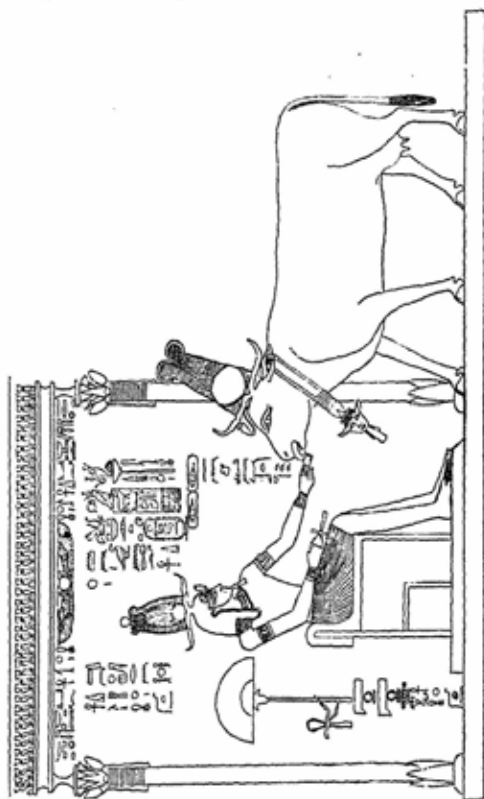


FIG. 45.—Tahutmes II. licked by the sacred cow. Deir el Bahri.

Several statues of the queen are known. The temple at Deir el Bahri had an avenue of sphinxes, all portraits of the queen. Two of these heads are preserved at

Berlin ; also the head of a statue, and a headless statue of the queen (all L.D. iii. 25). Two other statues are in Leyden (A.Z. xiii. 45). An ushabti of fine work is at the Hague (S.B.A. vii. 183). A box with the cartouches of the queen was found in the royal deposit of mummies at Deir el Bahri ; but as the name of Amen had been erased from it, it must have been accessible during the time of Akhenaten, and was not therefore in the tomb of the queen. The liver which was found in it has been consequently supposed to be that of the later queen

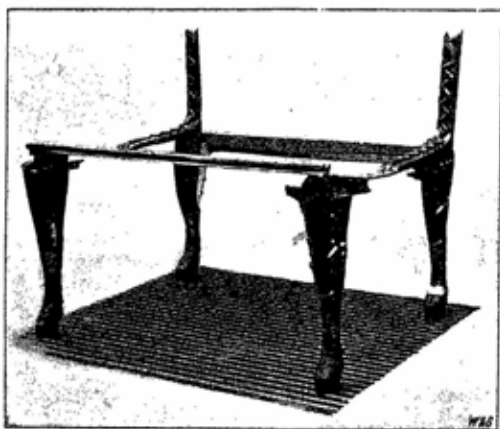


FIG. 46.—Chair of Hatshepsut. Biban el Meluk.

Ra·maat·ka of the XXist dynasty ; though it would be a happy chance if this box had been available some centuries after it was made, so as to be used for a queen of the same name (Ms. M. 584).

An important discovery of objects of Hatshepsut was made a few years ago in the royal tombs (Rec. x. 126). As I believe the circumstances have not been published, I will recount what I have heard from my late friend, Greville Chester, who bought the objects for Mr. Haworth, by whom they were presented to the

British Museum. Mr. Chester was informed by the Arabs that a group of objects, comprising a throne, a draughtboard, many draughtmen, and a piece of a wooden cartouche, were all found hidden away in one of the side chambers of the tomb of Ramessu IX., under the loose stones which encumber the place. This spot was pointed out to Mr. Chester by the Arab dealer who went with him. The place we cannot corroborate, beyond seeing that it is just at the mouth of that side valley which runs up closest to the cliff behind the temple of Hatshepsut, and which is therefore the most likely to contain her tomb. The objects being thus hidden, it would imply that when her tomb had been anciently plundered, the thieves had carried out of it everything portable, in order to be able to remove the objects at leisure, after attention had been called to their attack on the queen's tomb; hence they had buried the articles of lesser value in the already open tomb of Ramessu IX., at the mouth of the valley, until they might find it convenient to remove them. The collocation of the objects shows strongly that they really belonged together. The portion of wooden cartouche was not easily readable, except to anyone who knew the signs by heart; nor did the seller at all profess to read it, hence there was no attempt to connect the find with this queen. But the wooden draughtmen are all in form of lions' heads, of just the type of a fine one of jasper, which bears the name of the queen on the head and the collar (Ms. G. 2965). This latter in the Ghizeh Museum cannot have served as a model to later fabricators, as—to say nothing of the difficulty of copying an object in the museum—they would have certainly copied the cartouche to enhance the value, if they copied at all. Hence the Museum specimen authenticates and dates the similar heads found elsewhere; and it is important to note this, because in the passion of incredulity doubt has been thrown on the authenticity of these lion-head draughtmen. They are then clearly linked with the same queen who is named on the fragment of cartouche

found with them. The draughtboard is also probably connected with the pieces for playing. Hence, so far as we can test it, there is good evidence for the truth of the story; and the style of the throne—of rare woods, inlaid elaborately with electrum (the serpent being of the same wood as the cartouche), and its slender and beautiful form—is quite consistent with the taste of the early XVIIIth dynasty. So far, then, as any account can be tested, under the system of secrecy and mystification enforced by an arbitrary and injurious law, there seems no reason to doubt the account which has been given.

A glazed draughtboard and a plaque with the queen's name are in the Louvre. Alabaster vases were found at Abydos, containing black and yellow resin (G. Mus.; M.A. 1467-8). Several rude small alabaster vases with the name were evidently found along with the models of tools, which belong to some extensive foundation deposit, probably from Deir el Bahri; these objects are scattered in the museums of Paris, Florence, Turin, Leyden, and Ghizeh. Another complete series of such models from a foundation deposit have lately been found at Deir



FIG. 47.—Scarab of Hatshepsut, with name of Usertesen III. Louvre.

el Bahri, in a pit in the rock, by M. Naville. Bricks stamped by Hatshepsut are found at Qurneh; some with the added name of the deceased Tahutmes I., probably made just after his death (L.D. iii. 25 *bis*, 26). Many scarabs and plaques of the queen are known; some have the *ka* name, and the vulture and uraeus name. But the most interesting class are the restored

scarabs of earlier kings. Scarabs bear double cartouches of Usertesen III. and Tahutmes III., of Sebek-hotep III. and Tahutmes III., and of Amenhotep I. and

Tahutmes III.; others read doubly Ra {<sup>maat</sup>/<sub>kha</sub>} ka, Usertesen II. and Hatshepsut; others have these two names both complete; and other scarabs of Men·ka·ra, Nefer·ka·ra, Amenemhat II., Usertesen III., and Amenhotep I. are identical in type and workmanship with the scarabs of Hatshepsut and her brother.

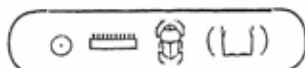
The children of Hatshepsut we have already noticed in her husband's reign.

Some private remains of this reign may be noted. An ostrakon, written on a limestone flake, records Sat·ra, surnamed An, the chief nurse of the queen, who prays a *suten du hotep* to Hatshepsut as a divinity (S.B.A. ix. 183). A statue of Anebi (B. Mus.) praises the queen and Tahutmes III. (L.A. xi.). The tomb of Duaheh, No. 22 at Qurneh, mentions the queen (C.N. 515-6). Tahuti adores Hatshepsut and the gods of Thebes on a statuette of his (E. Coll.).

On noticing the details of the family history, we now see how the position of Hatshepsut, which has caused so much speculation, was a very natural one to occur, and does not imply any particular bad faith on any side. Her father died before he had a son old enough to properly succeed him on the throne; and about five or six months before his death (probably in failing health), he associated his daughter with him, as she was the heiress of the kingdom in the female line, in which royal descent (like that of private families) was specially traced. She was then about 24 years of age, of great capacity and power. Two or three months later, he married to her his eldest son, Tahutmes II., who would otherwise have had no claim to the throne, being the son of Mut·nefert, and not of a royal princess. Ten weeks later he died. Tahutmes II. showed no ability, and seems to have been a weakling: he did not go on the campaign when he was about 18 years old; he never entered on any other war, nor undertook any important work. During his life his sister appears to have ordered and organised public business, and he died about 30. Thus Hatshepsut was

left the sole legitimate ruler at about 37 years of age; the only person who could challenge her power being her little nephew, Tahutmes III., then perhaps 9 years old. He had no claim to the throne, being the son of a woman, Aset, not of royal blood. But his aunt did all she reasonably could: she associated him with her in the kingdom, public dating of documents was carried on in his name; and though her eldest daughter, that beautiful and most brilliant girl, Neferu'ra, had died, she married the second to him as soon as might be, and so gave him the position of heir. To throw up the power which she had more or less wielded for so long, to turn the affairs of state over from an experienced and large-minded ruler of mature age at 37 to a boy of 9, was not to be thought of for a moment. She did all that was reasonable; and if she held on firmly till her death to the power which was unquestionably her right, she only did as any other capable ruler would have done. No doubt it was galling to a very active and ambitious young man to be held down to peaceful pomp and routine; no doubt the etiquette of the court did not become less precise when, in old age, the queen held tenaciously to her rights; and no doubt, when Tahutmes found life passing, and himself entering the thirties without being allowed free scope, he may well have chafed and become very sore at everything belonging to the old lady. But all things come to him who waits. Egypt developed greatly during twenty years of peace and commerce, and resources were husbanded; so that, when, at the queen's death at about 59, Tahutmes—then about 31—succeeded to the full power, he found a grand instrument in his hands, and was able in a few weeks' time to launch out into that mighty series of campaigns which mark the highest extent of Egyptian power, and which gloriously occupied twenty-eight years of overflowing energy.

XVIII. 6.  
MEN'KHEPER' (KA) 'RA



1503-  
1449  
B.C.

TAHUTI'MES (III.)  
HEQ'UAST



Coffin and mummy (Ms. M. 547).

Sarbut el)	Stele, 23rd year	(L.D. iii. 29 a).
Khadem f	Stele, 27th year	(photograph).
"	Jamb of doorway	( " )
"	Glazed vase bits	(B.P. 56).
Wady Maghara	Inscription	(My. E. 344).
Kom el Hisn	Foundation deposit	(F.P. Coll.).
Heliopolis	Gate jambs	(B.R. ix. 23 a-b).
"	" (Cairo)	(D.E. v. 24, 1).
"	Stele, 47th year (Berl.)	(L.D. iii. 29 b).
"	Obelisk (Lateran)	(G.O., R.P. iv. 11).
"	" (Constantinople)	(L.D. iii. 60).
"	" (New York)	(G.O., R.P. x. 21).
"	" (London)	(G.O.).
Abusir	Inscription, Amenemhat	(L.D. iii. 29 e).
Memphis	Temple of Ptah	(Sakhara inscr. B.H. 403).
Gurob	Temple	(P.K. 32, xxii.).
Speos Artemidos	Rock shrine	(L.D. iii. 26, 7).
El Bersheh	Stele	(S.I. ii. 37).
Ekhmin	Stele	(L.D. iii. 29 d).
"	Inscription	(My. E. 421).
Abydos	Osiris statue	(M.A.; I.).
"	Two statues of king	(M.A. 348, 9).
Dendera	Founding of temple	(A.Z. iii. 91).
Hammamat	Inscription	(My. E. 326).
Koptos	Temple.	
Nubt	Town and temple, etc.	
Karnak	E. hall of pillars.	
"	Surrounding courts of temple.	
"	Hinder sanctuary.	
"	South pylon VII.	
"	Temple of Ptah.	
"	Temple of Mut begun?	
Medinet Habu	Temple	(L.D. iii. 7, 17, 27-8, 37-8).
N. of Ramesseum	Temple.	



Deir el Bahri	Completion of Temple.	(L.D. iii. 60).
"	Obelisks	(W.G. 362).
Taud	Fragments	(L.D. iv. 78 a).
Esneh	Stele mentioned	(C.N. 266).
El Kab	Temple architecture	
"	Two temples, fragments.	
Edfu	Late inscription on building	(A.Z. ix. 97).
Kom Ombo	Pylon (now lost)	(L. D. iii. 28, 1 ; R.R. 28).
"	Lintel	(A.Z. xxi. 78).
Elephantine	Temple (destroyed)	(D.E. i. 34-8).
"	Block at station	(Rec. ix. 81).
"	Obelisk (Sion Ho.)	(Birch, Hist. 102).
Aswan	Inscriptions	(Rec. xiii. 203; M.I. i. 101, 207).
Kalabsheh	Granite statue and block	(B.E. 307).
Kuban	Inscription	(My. E. 538).
Dakkeh	Inscription	(S.N. 136).
Korti	Stone and foundation	(L.L. 124).
Amadah	Scene	(L.D. iii. 45).
"	Gate and lintel	(L.D. iii. 65 b, c).
Ellesiyehe	Scenes	(L.D. iii. 45 d, f, 46 a).
"	Stele, 42nd year	(L.D. iii. 45 c).
Ibrim	Two rock shrines	(C.N. 79-84).
Wady Halfa	S. brick temple	(B.E. 341).
Semneh	Temple	(L.D. iii. 47-56).
Kummeh	Temple	(L.D. iii. 57-59 a, 64 b).
Sai (20° 42' N.)	Temple	(L.D. iii. 59 b, c).
Dosheh (20° 30' N.)	Rock shrine	(L.D. iii. 59 d, c).
Soleb	Temple begun.	
Bahriyeh Oasis	Stele	(B.E. 348).

*Statues and portraits—*

Seated limestone colossus, base of throne, Karnak	(M.K. 38 d).
Head of colossus, granite, B. Mus.	
Standing, red granite, Karnak	(R.A. 125; V.G. 202).
Seated, black granite, Karnak	(V.G. 214).
Seated, black and white diorite, T. Mus.	(L.T. 1376).
Seated, grey granite, Nubia, F. Mus.	(S. Cat. F. 1503).
Torso Abydos	(M.A. 348).
Throne Abydos	(M.A. ii. 21 e, f).
Seated, black granite, Alexandria.	
Torso, behind temple, Karnak	(W.G. 358).
Torso in small temple of Apet, Karnak	(B.E. 150).
Fragments Luxor	(W.G. 358).
Bust, red granite, Karnak	(V.G. 192).

Bronze statue, Marseille.		
Statues mentioned by Tahutmes IV.		(M.K. 33).
" " Neb'ua'iu		(M.A. ii. 33).
Sphinxes, red granite, Karnak		(V.G. 221-2, M.K. 32 b).
Figure on wooden canon board, B. Mus.		(A.B. 33, 148).
Trial piece T. Mus.		(L.D. iii. 304).
<hr/>		
Stele, with Min	T. Mus.	(L.T. 1460).
" in temple, Uazmes	G. Mus.	(M.E. ii.).
Altar, red granite, high	B. Mus.	(A.B. 34).
" another still at Karnak		(W.G. 366).
" " dedicated to Amen	Vatican	(Vat. Cat. p. 215).
" red granite	Salonika	(A.Z. vi. 79).
		(M.K. 32 b; V.G. 211).
" alabaster		(M.B. 98).
<hr/>		
Alabaster vase of 9 hins	T. Mus.	(L.T. 3224).
" " of 21 hins	T. Mus.	(Rec. iv. 137).
" " 2	B. Mus.	(V.G. 446).
" " 3	G. Mus.	(V.G. 702).
" " P. Mus. Leyden,	Berlin	(W.G. 367).
	B. Mus.	(C.M. 425, R.C. 62, 6).
Glass vases	{ B. Mus.	(Ms. A. fig. 220).
Ivory tablets	{ Marseille.	(C.M. 425).
Wooden labels of princesses		(A.Z. xxi. 123).
Feather of Amen	T. Mus.	(W.G. 368).
Fish-shaped cup glazed green	G. Mus.	(Ms. G. 124).
Scribe's palette	Bologna.	
Papyri,	T. Mus.	(1, 83 B).
"	Berlin	(L.D. vi. 117 b, c).
"	Munich	(W.G. 368).
Rings and scarabs, innumerable.		
Gold ring (Ashburnham)		(R. Soc. Lit. 1843, 108).
<i>Queens</i> —MERYT'RA HATSHEPSET—		
Sphinx, Baracco Coll.		(A.Z. xx. 118).
Temple, Medinet Habu		(L.D. iii. 38 a, b; C.M. 195, 3).
Tombs {		(L.D. iii. 62 a).
		(L.D. iii. 63 a, 64 a).
		(C.M. 160).
Scarabs, P. Mus., T. Mus.		(M.A. ii. 40 n).
" NEBTU		(Rec. ix. 97; B.R.P. xii.).

Son—Amenhotep II.

Daughters(?)—Tauī . . . .

Ta'kheta  
Pet'ahu'ha  
Pet'pui Ta'khet'auī  
Meryt'ptah  
Sat'hora  
Nefer'amen  
Ua'ay  
Henut'anu

(L.D. iii. 62, 64).

(B.R.P. xii.).

(A.Z. xxi. 124).

In dealing with this reign, which is the fullest in the history of Egypt, it may be best to examine it in the following order—

- (1st) Outline of the dated events and monuments.
- (2nd) Translation of the annals.
- (3rd) The greater monuments.
- (4th) The lesser monuments.
- (5th) The private monuments.
- (6th) The royal family.
- (7th) The influence of Syria on Egypt.

The details of the geography of the campaigns appear at the end of the volume.

## I. OUTLINE OF THE DATED EVENTS.

Born at Thebes (see gold ring, F.P. Coll.).

1st year, Pakhons 4. Coronation, at about 9 years old.

2nd year, Paophi 7. This earliest dating is that of a grand list of gifts to the temple of Semneh, which had been in progress under the father and brother of this king.

5th year, Thoth 1. A papyrus at Turin is dated thus, concerning a scribe User'amen going to offer in the temple of Amen (Pap. T. 1).

15th year, Pakhons 27 is named as the day of a great festival of renewing the offerings in the temple at Karnak (M.K. 15).



FIG. 48. Gold ring of Tahutmes III., "born at Thebes." Gurob, F.P. Coll.

22nd year. Renewing the statue of Amenhotep I. (M.K. 38, c. 2).

22nd year, Mekhir 4 (about). Death of Hatshepsut ; beginning of independent reign of Tahutmes III.

22nd year, Pharmuthi. The army assembled on the frontier at Zalu, for the first campaign. The chiefs in southern Syria had rebelled some time before.

23rd year, Pakhons 4, on his coronation day, Tahutmes found himself in Gaza ; having marched in twelve days about 160 miles, a rapid march for a large army wholly untrained in such movements. On the next day he left. Ten days later he had marched 90 miles farther, to Carmel. There he rested for a few days, and then he insisted on crossing the mountain by a dangerous ravine, in which he acted as guard to secure the passage of the army, which defiled through safely by 1 p.m. Resting that afternoon, he then early next morning gave battle to the assembled chiefs of Syria who were confederated at Megiddo, and utterly routed them in the plain of Esdraelon, or Armageddon. They fled into the town, round which he at once threw a complete circumvallation, only allowing prisoners to surrender at one entrance. The whole of the enemy capitulated, and enormous spoils were taken from them, and from the rest of Syria. A stele was set up this year at Wady Halfa recording the victories over the Fenekhu, Retennu, and Tahennu (B.E. 341).

24th year. The second campaign in Syria brought in great spoils. On Mekhir 30 was a feast of dedication at Karnak (M.K. 12). Mention of the new moon.

25th year. The third campaign in Syria. Large collection of plants brought from land of Retennu, and carved on walls at Karnak (M.K. 31). Stele of Sarbut el Khadem, copper mining (L.D. iii. 29 a).

27th year. Stele at Sarbut el Khadem.

28th year. Tomb of Amenemhat at Qurneh (L.D. iii. 38 e-g).

29th year. Fifth campaign to Retennu (Syrian hill-country), Tunep, Arvad, and Zahi ; great spoil from Phoenicia.

30th year. Sixth campaign to Kadesh, Simyra, and Arvad.

31st year. Tribute of Retennu, of Punt, and of Wawat.

33rd year. Set up tablet at boundaries in Naharina. Tribute of Retennu, Sangar, Khita, Punt, and Wawat. Tablet at El Bersheh, 2nd Mesore. *Sed* festival, 28th Epiphi.



FIG. 49.—Tahutmes III., granite head. Brit. Mus.

34th year. Campaign, and tribute of Zahi (Phœnicia), Retennu, Asi (Cyprus).

35th year. Tenth campaign, to Zahi. Spoils of Naharina.

38th year. Thirteenth campaign. Spoils of Anau-gasa ; tribute of Asi, Punt, and Wawat.

39th year. Fourteenth campaign in Syria.

40th year (?). Tribute of Asi, Kush, Wawat.

41st year (?). Tribute of Rutennu and Khita.

42nd year. Campaign to Tunep, Qedesh. Erection of long inscription at Karnak. Erection of statue to Tahutmes II. (M.K. 38 b).

47th year. Stele at Heliopolis. Berlin (L.D. iii. 29 b).

50th year. Expedition to Ethiopia. Clearing of canal of the cataract (Rec. xiii. 203).

51st year, Pauni 5. Stele at Ellesiyeh (Br. H. 395).

54th year, Phamenoth 30. Tahutmes died at about 63 years old. Succeeded by his son, Amenhotep II.

## II. TRANSLATION OF THE ANNALS.

The annals of this king are considerable, and they give a most graphic view of the state of Syria, and the wealth and luxury of the inhabitants, at this age. Every allusion in them is of value; and in the first campaign, which had the delight of new-found power about it, the details are very full, and show the character of Egyptian warfare. The geography of these campaigns will be treated afterwards at the end of this volume.

In the following translation the only restorations are such as are necessarily involved by the sense, and they are always marked by square parentheses [ ], while explanatory additions are in curved parentheses. The numbers of the original lines of the text are marked for ease of reference to the inscription.

(L.D. iii. 31 b.)

(<sup>3</sup>) "His Majesty ordered to be placed [the victories which his father Amen had given to him, upon] (<sup>4</sup>) a tablet in the temple which His Majesty made for [his father Amen, recording] (<sup>5</sup>) the expedition by its name, together with the spoil [which His Majesty had obtained by it in] (<sup>6</sup>) every [country] which his father Amen had given him.

*The campaign.* The 25th day of the month Phamuthi in the

**XXII**nd year of his reign, [His Majesty] proceeded from the city (<sup>7</sup>) of Zalu in his first campaign of victory . . .

[to extend] the <sup>(8)</sup> frontiers of Egypt with might . . . <sup>(9, 10)</sup> [the land had been in confusion] . . . <sup>(11)</sup> the men who were there <sup>(12)</sup> in the city of Sharuhen (in Simeon), beginning from Yeruza <sup>(13)</sup> as far as the ends of the country they rebelled against His Majesty. On the 4th of Pakhons of the XXIIIrd year, the day of the festival of the royal

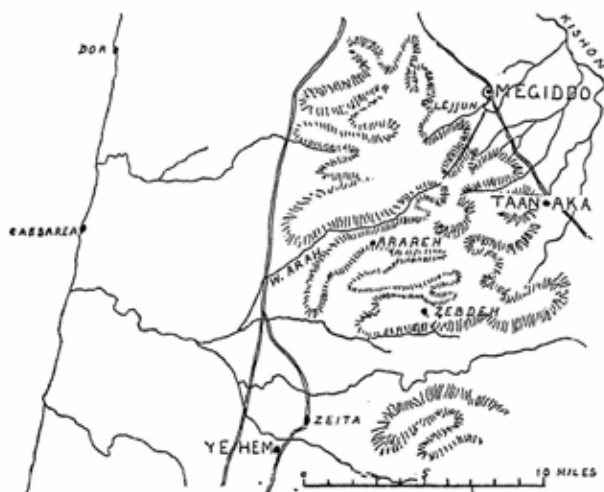


FIG. 50.—Map of approach to Megiddo. Yehem, Megiddo, and Taanaka are certain. Arareh is probably Aaruna, and Wady Arach the line of Tahutmes' approach. Neither Zebdeh nor Zeita appear to agree with Zifta, which was probably west of Megiddo.

coronation <sup>(14)</sup> at Gazatu (Gaza), the city occupied by the king. <sup>(15)</sup> On the 5th of Pakhons he started from this place in triumph [power], <sup>(16)</sup> defence, and justification to overthrow the vile enemy, to extend <sup>(17)</sup> the bounds of Egypt according to the command of his father Amen-Ra.

*The passage of Carmel.* <sup>(18)</sup> On the 16th Pakhons of the XXIIIrd year, at the fortress of Yehem (Yemma,

16 m. S.S.W. of Megiddo): commanded His Majesty<sup>(19)</sup> a discourse with his brave troops, saying

“That [vile] enemy<sup>(20)</sup> of Qadesh has come and entered Maketa (Megiddo); he is [there]<sup>(21)</sup> at this moment, and has collected to himself the chiefs of all countries (that were)<sup>(22)</sup> obedient to Egypt, with him as far as Naharaina, consisting of . . .<sup>(23)</sup> the Kharu (Syrians), the Qedshu, their horses and their army<sup>(24)</sup>, and he says, ‘I shall remain [to fight the king of Egypt] in Maketa.’ Tell ye me . . .”<sup>(25)</sup> They said in reply to His Majesty, “What is it like [that we] should march on this road,<sup>(27)</sup> which becomes a narrow pass? [men have come] saying<sup>(28)</sup> that the enemy are waiting to [attack when there is no]<sup>(29)</sup> passage for a numerous host; does not one (chariot) horse have to follow behind [the fellow, and man behind]<sup>(30)</sup> man likewise? ought our vanguard to be engaged while our rearguard is waiting<sup>(32)</sup> in Aaruna (Ararah? 7 S.W. of Megiddo) without fighting. Now there are two roads,<sup>(33)</sup> one road behold it [will lead] us [to the . . .]<sup>(34)</sup> Taanaka (Tannuk, 5 S. of Megiddo), the other behold it [leads us to] the<sup>(35)</sup> north side of Zefta, and we should come out at the north of Maketa<sup>(36)</sup>. Let then our mighty lord march on one of those [two] ways, [which ever] his heart [chooseth],<sup>(37)</sup> but let us not go on that difficult road.”

Then [went]<sup>(38)</sup> the messengers [whom the king sent to give his commands] for the disposition of [his army];<sup>(39)</sup> they said at the beginning of the speeches:—  
“The Majesty of the king saith, ‘As I live,<sup>(40)</sup> as I am the beloved of Ra, praised by my father Amen, as my nostrils are refreshed with<sup>(41)</sup> life and strength, I will go on this road of<sup>(42)</sup> Aaruna; let him of you who will, go on<sup>(43)</sup> the roads ye name; and let him of you who will, follow my Majesty.<sup>(44)</sup> For they—namely, the enemy,<sup>(45)</sup> abominated of Ra—consider thus, ‘Has His Majesty gone on<sup>(46)</sup> another road? Then he fears us,’ thus do they consider.”

<sup>(47)</sup> They said to His Majesty, “As lives thy father Amen-Ra, lord of the thrones of the two lands, who



dwells in Thebes, who has made thee, <sup>(48)</sup> behold we follow thy Majesty whithersoever thy Majesty goes, <sup>(49)</sup> even as servants follow [their master]."

<sup>(50)</sup> Command was given to the whole army to . . . [follow] <sup>(51)</sup> . . . that road which became [narrow. His Majesty swore] <sup>(52)</sup> an oath, saying, "Not a man [shall go forth] <sup>(53)</sup> before my Majesty in . . . <sup>(54)</sup> he shall go forth before his own troops causing to perceive . . . <sup>(55)</sup> by his paces of marching, horse walking after [horse], while [His Majesty protects them] <sup>(56)</sup> of the best of his army." On the 19th of Pakhons of the XXIIIrd year of his reign, watch in . . . <sup>(57)</sup> at the king's pavilion at the fortress of Aaruna. My Majesty proceeded <sup>(58)</sup> northward with my father Amen-Ra, lord of the thrones of the two lands <sup>(59)</sup> . . . before me, Harakhti [strengthening my arms]. <sup>(60)</sup> . . . my father Amen, lord of the thrones of the world, victorious of scimitar, . . . [watching] <sup>(61)</sup> over me: went forth [the enemy . . . ] <sup>(62)</sup> with much music . . . <sup>(63)</sup> the southern wing from Taanaka . . . <sup>(64)</sup> the northern wing from the south corner . . . <sup>(65)</sup> His Majesty cried out at them [and gave battle] <sup>(66)</sup> they fell, behold that vile . . . (two lines lost) [but some of the enemy went toward]

(L.D. iii. 32.)

(<sup>1</sup>) Aaruna; [behold] the rearguard of the valiant troops of His Majesty . . . [were yet in] (<sup>2</sup>) Aaruna; while the van was going forth to the valley . . . (<sup>3</sup>) and occupied the head (or hollow) of that valley, and behold they spake before His Majesty, saying, (<sup>4</sup>) "Behold His Majesty has gone out with his valiant soldiers, and [they] have occupied the [head (or hollow) of] (<sup>5</sup>) the valley, let our powerful lord listen to us this time, (<sup>6</sup>) let our lord keep for us the rear of his army and the people; (<sup>7</sup>) then when the rear of our army comes out to us behind, they will fight (<sup>8</sup>) against these foreigners, and we need not give thought for the rear of (<sup>9</sup>) our army." His Majesty halted beyond them

himself <sup>(10)</sup> there guarding the rear of his valiant troops; behold, when the van <sup>(11)</sup> had come forth on this road the shadow turned, <sup>(12)</sup> and when His Majesty came to the south of Maketa on the edge of the water of Qina, it was the seventh hour of the day (?). Then His Majesty's [great] tent was pitched, and command was given before his whole army, saying, "Prepare ye, make ready your weapons, for we move to fight with the vile enemy to-morrow, for the king [will remain] <sup>(13)</sup> quiet in the tent of the king," the baggage of the chiefs was prepared and the provisions of the followers, and the sentinels of the army were spread abroad; they said, "Firm of heart, firm of heart, watchful of head, watchful of head," waking in life at the tent of the king. Came one to report to His Majesty, the country is safe and the army south and north likewise.

*The battle of Megiddo.* On the 21st day of the month Pakhons, the day of the feast of the new moon, even the same as the royal coronation, early in the morning command was given to the entire army to spread abroad . . . <sup>(14)</sup> His Majesty went forth in his chariot of electrum adorned with his weapons of war, like Horus armed with talons, the Lord of might, like Mentu of Thebes, his father Amen-Ra strengthening his arms; the [south] horn of the army of His Majesty was . . . on a hill at the south [of the water of] Qina, the north horn at the north-west of Maketa, His Majesty was in the midst of them, the god Amen being the protection to his body [and strength] <sup>(15)</sup> to his limbs. Then His Majesty prevailed over them at the head of his army. When they saw His Majesty prevailing over them, they fled headlong [toward] Maketa, as if terrified by spirits; they left their horses, and their chariots of silver and of gold, and were drawn up by hauling them by their clothes into this city, for the men shut the gates of this city upon them, [and let down] <sup>(16)</sup> clothes, to haul them up to this city. Then, had but the troops of His Majesty not given their hearts to spoiling the things of the enemy, [they would have

taken] Maketa at that moment; behold the vile enemy of Qadeshu and the vile enemy of this city were drawn up in haste to get them into their city. The fear of His Majesty entered <sup>(17)</sup> [their hearts], their arms failed; . . . his diadem prevailed over them. Their horses and their chariots of gold and of silver were captured, being [taken] suddenly . . . their mighty men lay along like fishes on the ground. The great army of His Majesty drew round to count their spoil. Behold the tent [of the wretch]ed [enemy] was captured, [in] which [was his] son . . . <sup>(18)</sup> The whole army rejoiced, giving praise to Amen [for the victory] that he had given to his son, [and they glorified] His Majesty, exalting his victories. They brought the spoil which they had taken, of hands (of the slain), of living captives, of horses, of chariots of gold and of silver . . .

*The siege of Megiddo.* <sup>(19)</sup> [And His Majesty gave] commands to his troops, saying, "If ye seize Maketa afterward (?), [I vow great offerings to] Ra this day, inasmuch as every chief of all the countries [who have] rebelled are in it, so that it is as the capture of a thousand cities this capture of Maketa; seize ye utterly at [this mome]nt [on Maketa] <sup>(20)</sup> . . . officers of the troops, to each one was appointed his place, they measured the city . . . a rampart formed with the green wood of all their pleasant trees. His Majesty himself was at the eastern tower of this city, [and he commanded] <sup>(21)</sup> to surround it] with a thick wall . . . the thick wall [was built], and it was named Men-kheper-ra'aah-setu (Tahutmes III., encloser of the Sati); and men were set to watch over the tent of His Majesty, and they said, "Steady, steady, watch, watch, . . ." His Majesty [then gave orders that] <sup>(22)</sup> not one] of them [shall go] outside from behind this wall excepting to come forth to knock at the doors of their gate (none should escape except those who delivered themselves up as prisoners at the entrance). Now, all that His Majesty did against this city, and against the vile enemy and his vile troops, was written from day to day under its date, under the title of "Travels . . . <sup>(23)</sup>

[and] placed on a roll of leather in the temple of Amen on this day.

*The capitulation of Megiddo.* Then the chiefs of this land came, with them that pertained to them, to smell the ground to the spirits of His Majesty, asking breath for their nostrils of the greatness of his power and the mightiness of the spirits of His Majesty <sup>(24)</sup> . . . came to his spirits having their tribute of silver, of gold, of lazuli and malachite; bringing corn, wine, oil, and flocks, for the army of His Majesty; and sent the foreign workmen who were among them with the tribute southwards (see chief of Tunep and



FIG. 51.—Chiefs "smelling the ground."



FIG. 52.—Chief of Tunep, followed by his artist (*se'ankh*, "he who makes alive") bearing a trophy of gold work. The chief of Kedesh with a vase and a dagger.

his artist). His Majesty appointed chiefs anew (to rule the land).

*The spoils.* [And this is the account <sup>(25)</sup> of the spoil

taken in the field, even] living captives 340, hands (of slain) 83, mares 2041, fillies 191, *abor*, 6 . . . one chariot worked with gold, with a pole (?) of gold of

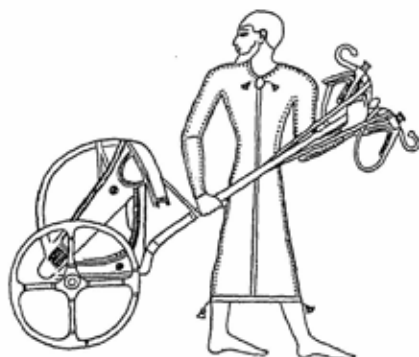


FIG. 53.—Syrian chariot.

that enemy, a good chariot plated with gold of the chief of . . . [and 30 chariots of other princes?], <sup>(26)</sup> 892 chariots of his vile army, total, 924. One excellent suit of bronze armour of that enemy, a bronze suit of armour of the chief of Maketa, 200 suits of armour of his vile army, 502 bows, 7 poles of the pavilion of that enemy of *meru*-wood plated with silver. Behold the army . . . [took] <sup>(27)</sup> . . . 297, bulls 1929, small goats 2000, white flocks (sheep) 20,500.

*The plunder and tribute of Syria.* The amount of things taken afterwards by the king from the things of the house of that enemy, which was in Yenuamu, in Anaugasa, and in Harnekaru, with all the things of the cities and the fortresses which gave themselves up to his rule and brought . . . <sup>(28)</sup> . . . *Meruina* belonging to them, 39; sons of that enemy and of the chiefs with him, 87; *meruina* belonging to them, 5; slaves, male and female, with their children, 1796; non-combatants who came all of starvation from that enemy, 103 persons: total 2503. Beside, there was of precious

wares, gold, dishes, various vessels, <sup>(29)</sup> . . . a two-handled vase of the work of the Kharu . . . dishes,



FIG. 54.—Syrian captives with vases.

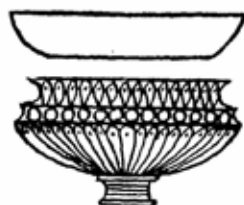


FIG. 55.—Syrian dishes.

caldrons, and various vases for drinking, great jars, 97 knives: making altogether 1784 *deben* (360 lbs.). Gold in rings, found in the hands of the workmen, and silver in various rings, 966 *deben* 1 *qedt* (200 lbs.). A silver statue made . . . <sup>(30)</sup> the head of gold, the staff with human heads of ivory, ebony, and kharub wood inlaid



FIG. 56.—Staff with human head.



FIG. 57.—Chair.



FIG. 58.—Inlaid table.

with gold; chairs of that enemy, 6; footstools belonging to them, 6; 6 large tables of ivory and kharub wood, inlaid with gold and all precious stones; a staff used as the sceptre of that chief, inlaid with gold

throughout . . . statues<sup>(31)</sup> of the fallen chief, of ebony inlaid with gold; . . . vessels of bronze; various clothing of the enemy. When the land was divided into fields and calculated by the inspector of the king's house, in order to take their harvest, the amount of the harvest brought to His Majesty from the fields of Maketa (the plain of Esdraelon) was 280,500 quadruple *heqt* of corn (150,000 bushels, about 10 square miles of corn land),<sup>(32)</sup> beside what was cut as taken by His Majesty's soldiers.

*Annual tributes.* The tribute of the chiefs of the Ruten in the

XXIVth year, tribute of the chief of Assuru, one great stone of real lazuli weighing 20 *deben* 9 *qedt* ( $4\frac{1}{2}$  lbs.), two stones of real lazuli and small stones making 30 *deben*; total, 50 *deben* 9 *qedt* ( $10\frac{1}{2}$  lbs.) of good lazuli of Bebra. Three *hertet* (agate?) vases of Assuru of [various] colours . . .<sup>(33)</sup> very many. The tribute of the chiefs of the Retennu, the daughter of a chief, ornaments of silver, gold, lazuli, of the foreigners, . . . 30; the slaves, male and female, of his tribute, 65; 30 [meruina] belonging [to them]; 4 chariots wrought with gold, the poles of gold; 5 chariots wrought with electrum, the poles of *aget*, total 10. *Tepau* and *undu* oxen 55, bulls 749, small cattle 5703. Gold dishes . . .<sup>(34)</sup> which could not be measured, silver dishes and pieces, 104 d. 5 q. (21 lbs.); a gold *magerzina* inlaid with lazuli;

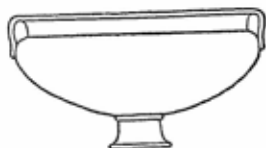


FIG. 59.—Golden dish from Syria.



FIG. 60.—Jar of wine or honey.

bronze armour inlaid with gold . . . many suits of armour,<sup>(35)</sup> 823 jars of incense, 1718 jars of wine and honey . . . ivory and kharub-wood, meru-wood,

pesqu-wood, . . . various of this country . . . <sup>(36)</sup> to every place which His Majesty visited and where his tent was set up.

(L.A. xii. ; Rev. Arch. 1860, Pl. xvi.)

<sup>(1)</sup> **XXIXth** year ; behold His Majesty was in the land [of Rutennu] to chastise the revolted countries in his Vth campaign of victory. The king took the city of Ua . . . the army congratulated the king, and gave thanks <sup>(2)</sup> to Amen-Ra for the victories which he had given to his son, which the king valued above all else. After this His Majesty proceeded to the store-house of offerings, he offered a sacrifice to Amen, to Horakhti, of oxen, bullocks, fowls, . . . Men'kheper-ra, giving life for ever. Reckoning of the spoil taken from this city :—

*Spoil of Ua* . . . From the officers <sup>(?)</sup> <sup>(3)</sup> of the fallen of Tunep, the prince of this city, 1, warriors 329, silver 100 *deben* (20 lbs.), gold 100 *deben* ; lazuli, malachite, vases of bronze and of copper ; behold they seized a ship . . . laden with all things, male and female slaves, copper, lead, emery, <sup>(4)</sup> and all sorts of good things.

Then His Majesty proceeded south to Egypt . . . delighted in heart. He smote the city of Aruta (Arvad) with its corn, and cut down all its pleasant trees. Behold [His Majesty] found [the land of] Zahi throughout, its orchards full of their fruit. There were found <sup>(5)</sup> their wines abundant in their wine-presses, as water flows down ; their corn was on the threshing floors . . . more abundant than the sand of the shores. The army was satiated with their shares. The reckoning of the spoil brought to His Majesty in this expedition :—

*Spoil of Phœnicia.* Male and female slaves 51,



FIG. 61.—Copper vase from Syria.



horses 40, silver cups 10, <sup>(6)</sup> incense of honey *men* vases 470, wine *men* vases 6428; copper, lead,



FIG. 62.—Cups from Syria.

lazuli, green felspar; oxen 618, goats 3636; good bread, and various bread, corn in grain, flour, . . . and all good fruits of the land. Then the soldiers of His Majesty were drunk and anointed with *beq* oil every day, <sup>(7)</sup> as in the festivals in Egypt.

**XXXth** year. Then His Majesty was in the land of the Rutennu in his VIth campaign of victory. He drew near to the city of Qedeshu; His Majesty spoiled it, and cut down the trees and reaped its corn. He went to the land of . . .



FIG. 63.—Scarab of Tahutmes III.  
"Overthrowing Kadesh." F.P.  
Coll.

tu, he came to the town of Zamara, and came to the town of Arathetu (Arvad), and treated them in like manner. The amount of the tributes brought to the spirits of His Majesty in

that year, by the princes of Retennu :—

*Tribute of Retennu.* The sons of the princes and their brothers were brought to be placed as hostages in Egypt. If any one of the chiefs died, His Majesty would make his son go to stand in his place. The number of the sons of princes brought this year was . . . persons; male and female slaves 181, mares 188, chariots <sup>(8)</sup> adorned with gold and silver and painted, 40.

**XXXIst** year, Pakhons, 3rd day; assembly of the spoil made by His Majesty in this year, and the spoil brought from the city Anrathu, which is on the bank of the water Neserna :—men taken alive, 490 . . . of the sons of the wretched chief of . . . 3; chief over the women who were there, 1. Total, 494 persons,

mares 26, chariots 13, their equipment <sup>(10)</sup> with all weapons. Behold His Majesty spoiled this town in a short hour, with swiftness of spoiling. The tribute of the princes of Retennu, who came to prostrate themselves before the spirits of His Majesty in this year :—

*Tribute of Retennu.* Male and female slaves . . . of this country 72, silver 761 *deben* 2 *qedt* (150 lbs.), 19 chariots adorned with silver <sup>(11)</sup> and provided with their weapons. Bulls and . . . 104, bullocks and oxen 172; total, 276. Goats 4622. Native copper, blocks 40; lead . . . gold, copper earrings engraved with horses (?) 42; also all their products <sup>(12)</sup> and all the good woods of this country. Every station which His Majesty came was supplied with good bread and common bread, with oil, incense, wine, honey, fruits, more abundant than anything known to the soldiers of His Majesty, without exaggeration. <sup>(13)</sup> They are placed on the roll of the royal palace; so that their reckoning is not given on this tablet, in order to avoid a multiplication of words. . . .

. . . The harvest of Rutennu was reported, consisting of various corn, <sup>(14)</sup> wheat in grain, barley, incense, fresh oil, wine, fruit, all the good things of a foreign country. They were demanded for the treasury as is reckoned the tribute . . . various, 33, alabaster, all the gems of that country, and various stones in great numbers <sup>(15)</sup> of . . . and all the good things of that land.

His Majesty approached the Delta, and the ambassador of Genbetu (Punt) came, having their tribute of frankincense and gums . . . male negroes for servants 10, bulls and <sup>(16)</sup> bullocks 113, bulls 230; total, 343; beside boats with ivory, ebony, panthers' skins, and the products of [that land. . . . The tribute of Wawat] was . . . of Wawat, 5; bullocks 31, bulls 61; total, 92. <sup>(17)</sup> Beside the boats laden with all the things of that country, the harvest of Wawat also.

**XXXIII**rd year, when His Majesty was in the land of

Retennu . . . [he] approached . . . east of that river, he placed another (tablet) where was the tablet of his father, <sup>(18)</sup> the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aa'kheper'ka'ra. His Majesty went north, taking the towns and overturning the camps of that enemy of the vile Naharina in . . . [he pursued] after them for the distance of an *atur* without anyone daring to look behind <sup>(19)</sup> him, but they bounded along like a herd of gazelles. The horses . . . by the whole army. Their princes 3, <sup>(20)</sup> their women 30, men taken prisoners 80, male and female slaves and their children 606; those who surrendered women . . . he carried off their grain.

His Majesty then came to the city of <sup>(21)</sup> Niy in going south, when His Majesty was returning and had set up his tablet in Naharina, he enlarging the boundaries of Egypt. . . . The tribute brought by princes of that country:—

*Tribute of Naharina.* <sup>(22)</sup> Male and female slaves 513, mares 260, gold 45 *deben* 9 *gedt*, silver vases of the work of Zahi . . . chariots with all their equipage, bulls <sup>(23)</sup> calves 28, bulls 564, goats 5323, incense jars 828, sweet *beg* oil . . . all the delicious produce of that country and all its many fruits. Behold <sup>(24)</sup> the forts were provisioned with all sorts of things according to the rate of the yearly tax. The tribute of the land of Remenen was also according to the rate of the yearly tax, and the princes of the land of Remenen . . . birds 2; and one does not reckon the wild fowl <sup>(25)</sup> of that country. Behold they



FIG. 64.—Silver vase  
from Syria.

were for the . . .

The tribute of the prince of Sangar, real lazuli . . . 4 *deben*, artificial lazuli 24 *deben*, lazuli of Bebra . . . of real lazuli, a head of a ram of real lazuli, <sup>(26)</sup> 15 *deben*, and vases.

The tribute of the great Khita in this year was, silver

rings 8, weighing 301 *deben* (60 lbs.), white precious stones 1 great block, *sagu* wood . . . [when returning] toward Egypt, when coming from Naharina in enlarging the frontier of Egypt.

The treasures brought by His Majesty in that year from the land of Punt were dry frankincense, 1685 *heqs* (920 bushels) . . . gold 155 *deben* 2 *qedt* (31 lbs.), male and female slaves 134, bull <sup>(28)</sup> calves 114, bulls 305; total oxen, 419; beside transports laden with ivory, ebony, panther skins, and all the good



FIG. 65.—Silver rings from Syria.

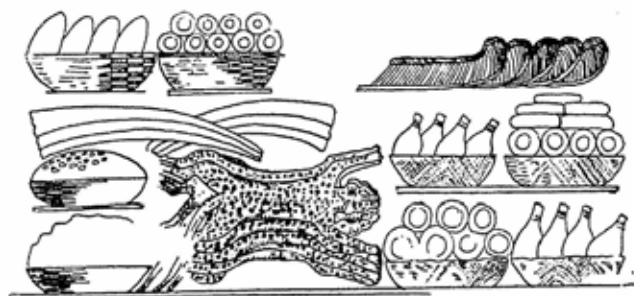


FIG. 66.—Tribute from Punt: ivory, panthers' skins, ostrich eggs and feathers, bags of gold dust, incense, etc.

things of that land. . . . [The tribute of Wawat, male and female slaves 8], male negroes 12; total, 20: bull calves 54, <sup>(29)</sup> bulls 60; total, 114: beside boats laden with all the good products of that country, and the harvest likewise.

XXXIVth year, behold His Majesty was in the land of Zahi . . . the whole of that land surrendered. . . . The list <sup>(30)</sup> of the places taken in that year: cities, 3; a city surrendered in the territory of Anaugasa; total, 4. Captives brought by His Majesty . . . taken prisoners, 90; surrendered with their wives <sup>(31)</sup> and their children . . . mares, 40; 15 chariots adorned

with gold and silver, gold vases and gold in rings, 50 *deben* 8 *qedt*; silver vases of that



FIG. 67.—Gold vase  
from Syria.

country, and rings, 153 *deben*; bronze . . . bull calves 326, white goats 40, kids 50, asses 70, a great quantity of *sagu* wood, <sup>(32)</sup> black wood, kharub wood, chairs with their . . . ; 6 poles for a tent adorned with bronze, as if inlaid with precious stones; and all the good wood of that land.

The tribute of the princes of the land of Retennu in that year was, horses . . . chariots adorned in gold, silver, and colours, 3[4]; male and female slaves, 70[4]; gold 55 *deben* 8 *qedt*, silver vases various <sup>(33)</sup> of the work of that land . . . *men* stone, all kinds of gems, vases, native copper blocks 80; lead, blocks 11; colours, *deben* 100; dry incense, felspar, alabaster . . . ; bull calves 13, bulls 530, asses 84; bronze, much wood, and many copper vases; incense jars 69[5]; <sup>(34)</sup> sweet *beq* oil and green *beq* oil, 2080 jars; wine, 608 jars; *sagu* wood chariots, and acacia wood, . . . and all the good wood of that land. Each of the stations of His Majesty was provided with all kinds of good things for His Majesty to receive . . . of the land of Zahi, with cedar; the Kefti boats, and the Kapni boats, and the Sektu boats, of their woods and masts, <sup>(35)</sup> great beams for the [palace] of His Majesty.

Tribute of the chiefs of the land of Asi in that year: blocks of copper 108, *setf*-copper 240 *deben*, lead 5 blocks, ingots of lead 1200, lazuli 110 *deben*, ivory tusks . . . wood chairs 2.

The tribute of the wretched Kush: gold 300 *deben*; daughter of the chief of Arem; slaves, male and female, <sup>(36)</sup> total, 64; [105] bulls, calves 170; total, 275; beside boats laden with ivory and ebony, and all the products of that land. The harvest of the wretched Kush likewise.

The tribute of Wawat was: gold 274 *deben*; negroes, male and female, 10; bull calves . . . all the good

things of the country. The harvest of Wawat likewise.

**XXXVth** year. His Majesty was in the land of Zahi in his Xth campaign. His Majesty approached the city of Aroana—for behold the miserable chief of Naharina had assembled his cavalry and men . . . <sup>(38)</sup> of the ends of the land, they were many . . . and they made war on His Majesty. His Majesty met with them. The soldiers of His Majesty made a time of attacking them, seizing and spoiling. His Majesty prevailed over these foreigners by the spirits of his father Amen . . . <sup>(39)</sup> of Naharina. They turned and fell down . . . one upon another before His Majesty. The number of things taken by the king himself of these foreigners of Naharina . . . <sup>(40)</sup> Suits of armour 2, bronze . . . *deben*. The number of things taken by the soldiers of His Majesty from these foreigners: live prisoners 10, mares 180, chariots 60, . . . <sup>(41)</sup> . . . bronze armour, bronze . . . for the head 5, bows of Khalu 5. The captures made in . . . <sup>(42)</sup> . . . 226, chariot inlaid with gold 1, chariots inlaid with gold and silver 20 . . . <sup>(43)</sup> *beq* oil jars 953 . . .



FIG. 68.—Bows from Syria.

(L.D. iii. 31 A ; L.A. xii. 42-44).

<sup>(2)</sup> earrings(?), bracelets(?), abhat stone, stibium, . . . antelopes(?), wood for burning.

The work of the vile Kush, 70 *deben* 1 *gedt* of gold, . . . male and female slaves, . . . oxen, boats laden with ivory and ebony, and all the good things of that land; with the harvest of Kush in that year . . . 34 negro slaves male and female, 94 bulls and steers, beside boats laden with all good things. The harvest of Wawat was likewise.

[<sup>(4)</sup> **XXXVIIIth** year.] . . . in his XIIIth campaign of victory. His Majesty destroyed . . . [in the] territory of Anaugasa. The number of the captives brought by

the army of His Majesty from the territory of Anau-gasa was 50 living captives, horses . . . , 3 chariots . . . with their equipment. <sup>(6)</sup> men surrendered of the territory of Anau-gasa. . . . The tribute brought to the spirits of His Majesty in that year was 328 mares, 522 slaves male and female, 9 chariots adorned with gold



FIG. 69.—Golden lion's head from Syria.

and silver, 61 chariots painted; total, 70. A collar of real lazuli . . . a goblet, dishes, <sup>(6)</sup> heads of goats, and head of a lion, vessels of all the work of Zahi . . . [copper?] 2821 *deben*  $3\frac{1}{2}$  *qedt*; 276 blocks of native copper, 26 blocks of lead, 656 vases of incense, 3 jars of sweet and green *beg* oil, 1752 jars of *seft*, 156 jars of wine, 12 bulls . . . 46 asses, 1 head of a deer, <sup>(7)</sup> 5 tusks of ivory, 3 tables of ivory and locust wood, white



FIG. 70.—Golden deer's head from Syria.



FIG. 71.—Shields from Syria.



FIG. 72.—Quiver from Syria.

*menu* stone 68 *deben* . . . spears, shields, and bows, . . . all kinds of weapons and fragrant wood of that country, all the best products of that country. Behold every station was supplied with all good things, according to the yearly rate, in going north and going south (forth and back in campaigns), and the work of the Remenen (?) likewise. The harvest of Zahi in corn, green *beg* oil, incense . . .

The tribute brought by the chief of the Asi: the native copper . . . horses . . .

The tribute of the chief of Arurekh in that year: male and female slaves. 2 blocks of native copper, 65

logs of locust wood, with all the fragrant wood of its country.

That which was brought to the spirits of His Majesty from the land of Punt: <sup>(9)</sup> 240 *heq* measures of gums.

The work of the vile Kush: gold 100 [+x] *deben* 6 *gedt*; 36 negro slaves male and female, 111 steers, 185 bulls; total, 296; beside boats laden with ivory and ebony and all the good things of that land, together with the harvest of that land.

The work of Wawat . . . 2844, <sup>(10)</sup> 16 negroes male and female, steers 77, beside boats laden with all the good things of that land.

**XXXIXth** year, His Majesty was in the land of Retennu, in his XIVth campaign of victory after he went [to overthrow] the fallen of the Shasu. The amount [of tribute . . . 197 male and female slaves, <sup>(11)</sup> 229 mares, gold dishes 2 *deben*, with rings 12 *gedt*, real lazuli 30 *deben*, silver dishes, a goblet, a vase in shape of the head of a bull, 325 various vases, with silver in rings, making 1495 *deben* 1 *gedt*; a chariot . . . <sup>(12)</sup> white precious stone, white *menkh* stone, natron, white *menu* stone, and all the various precious stones of this land. Incense, sweet *beg* oil, fresh *beg* oil, *seft* oil, jars of honey, 1405 jars of wine; 84 bulls, 1183 small cattle, bronze . . . <sup>(13)</sup> . . . of this land with all the produce of this land. Behold every station was supplied with all good things, according to their rate of the yearly supplies, in going north and south; likewise the harvest of . . . harvest <sup>(14)</sup> of the land of Zahi, consisting of corn, incense, dates, wine . . .



FIG. 73.—Bull's head vase from Syria.

(L.D. iii. 30 A.)

**XLth** year? <sup>(1)</sup> [Tribute of the chief] of Asi: 2 tusks of ivory, 40 blocks of bronze, 1 block of lead.



Tribute of [Kush] <sup>(2)</sup> . . . that year, 144 *deben* 3 *gedt* of gold, 101 negro slaves male and female, . . . bulls <sup>(3)</sup> . . .

[Tribute of Wawat in that year] <sup>(3)</sup> . . . 35 steers, 54 bulls; total, 89: beside boats laden with . . .

**XLI**st year? <sup>(4)</sup> The tribute of the chiefs of Retennu, brought to His Majesty's spirits <sup>(5)</sup> . . . 40 blocks; falchion of . . ., bronze spears, <sup>(6)</sup> . . . that year 26 tusks of ivory, 241 locust trees, 184 bulls . . . goats, <sup>(7)</sup> . . . incense.



FIG. 74.—Falchion.

Also the tribute of the chief of the great Khita in that year was, gold <sup>(8)</sup> 46[+x] *deben* 2 *gedt*, 8 male and female negro slaves, 13 boys for servants; total, 21. Bulls <sup>(9)</sup> . . . 3144 *deben* 3 *gedt* of gold, 35 steers, 79 oxen: total, 114; beside boats laden

with all good things.

<sup>(10)</sup> **XLI**nd year? His Majesty was on the road of the shore to destroy the city of Arqantu, and the city of <sup>(11)</sup> . . . kana. The city and its district was destroyed.

Approaching the land of Tunep, he laid waste the city, took its corn, cutting down its groves, <sup>(12)</sup> and those alive, by the troops; bringing them, they arrived in peace.



FIG. 75.—Suit of armour.

Approaching the district of Qedeshu, taking the fortresses in it.

<sup>(13)</sup> The number of spoil taken in them . . . of vile Naharina who were as defenders among them, with their horses, 691 prisoners, 29 hands [of slain], 48 mares <sup>(14)</sup> . . . in that year 295 male and female slaves, 68 horses, 3 gold dishes, 3 silver dishes, 3 craters, a table; together with silver

<sup>(15)</sup> . . . 47 blocks of lead, 1100 *deben* of lead, colours, emery, all the gems of the land, bronze suits of armour, utensils, . . . <sup>(16)</sup> all the excellent wood of the country. Behold every station was provided with all good things,

according to the rate of their yearly produce. The harvest of that country <sup>(17)</sup> . . . with dishes, heads in shape of bulls, weighing 341 *deben* 2 *qedt*; true lazuli, one stone weighing 33 *qedt* (11 ozs.); a good *sagu* wood chair, native copper.

<sup>(18)</sup> [Tribute of the chief] of Tanai (?): a silver jug of the work of Keftiu, with 3 vases of bronze with silver handles, weighing 56 *deben* 1 *qedt* . . . <sup>(19)</sup> with all the good things of that land.



FIG. 76.—Silver jug from Syria.

The harvest of the vile Kush; likewise the work of the Wawat in that year, was, gold 2374 *deben* 1 *qedt* . . . <sup>(20)</sup> Wawat.

Then His Majesty ordered that the victories which he had made, beginning in his XXIIIrd and continuing to his XLIIInd year, should be recorded on this tablet on this shrine."

A private inscription of the officer Amen'em'heb is of value, as giving some further details of the northern campaigns. But no distinction is made between different years, and only two distinctive names are found which occur in the Annals; these are Senzaru and Niy, both of which were visited in the XXXIIIrd year. This might well be the date of the active life of Amen'em'heb; for though he appears twenty-one years later under Amenhotep II., he then takes no part in fighting or work, but merely accompanies the king in Egypt. He says (A.Z. xi. 1, 63):—

I was very true to the prince, pure of heart to the king of Upper Egypt, glorious of heart to the king of Lower Egypt. I followed <sup>(2)</sup> my lord at his goings in the land of the north and south, and he desired that I should be the companion of his feet. He <sup>(3)</sup> performed his victories, and his valour fortified the heart. I made a capture in the land of <sup>(4)</sup> Negeba (the Negeb), I took Amu 3 persons, living captives.

When His Majesty came to Naharina <sup>(5)</sup> I took 3

persons as my spoil thence; I set them before Thy Majesty as living captives.

(<sup>6</sup>) Again I took spoil in this expedition in the high land of Wan on the west of Khalubu (Aleppo): I brought (<sup>7</sup>) Amu living prisoners 13 persons, 70 live asses, 13 bronze weapons, and . . . bronze weapons inlaid with gold.

(<sup>8</sup>) Again I took spoil in this expedition in the land of Karika-masha (Karkhemish). I brought thence . . . persons (<sup>9</sup>) as living captives. I crossed the water of Naharina with them in my hand . . . (<sup>10</sup>) [I brought them] before my Lord. Then he rewarded me with a great reward, the amount . . . (<sup>11</sup>) I saw the power of the king Men'kheper'ra, the giver of life, in the land of Senzaru (Singara); he made . . . (<sup>12</sup>) I made a capture before the king, I brought a hand thence. He gave me gold of praise, the amount . . . (<sup>13</sup>) and 2 *deben* silver.

Again I saw his valour, I was among his followers capturing (<sup>14</sup>) Kedesu, I did not leave the place where he was; I brought thence 2 *marina* [living prisoners, I placed them] (<sup>15</sup>) before the king the lord of the two lands, Tahutmes the ever-living: he gave me gold for my valour before all persons (<sup>16</sup>); the amount was of beaten gold a lion, 2 necklaces, 2 helmets, and 4 rings. I saw my lord in . . . (<sup>17</sup>) . . . in all his forms in the borders of the land of . . . (<sup>18</sup>) . . . and again gold was given me for it. I rose to . . .

(<sup>19</sup>) Again I saw his might in the land of Takhisi . . .



FIG. 77.—Elephant from Syria.

(<sup>20</sup>) I made a captive from it before the king; I brought 3 Amu as living prisoners; gave to me (<sup>21</sup>) my lord gold of reward, the amount was 2 gold . . . 4 bracelets, 2 helmets, a lion, and a female slave.

(<sup>22</sup>) Again . . . a second good work done by the lord of the two lands in the land of Niy, he hunted 120 elephants for their tusks . . . (<sup>23</sup>) the largest one which

was among them began to fight against His Majesty ; I cut off his hand while he was alive . . . , <sup>(24)</sup> I went in the water between two rocks, my lord rewarded me with gold <sup>(25)</sup>. He gave me . . . clothing 3 pieces. The king of Qedshu made a mare come forth <sup>(26)</sup> in front . . . She ran in the midst of the army, I ran after her <sup>(27)</sup> on foot, having my weapon. I ripped up her body, I cut off her tail, I gave <sup>(28)</sup> it to the king, and they praised God for me on account of this. He caused joy to fill my body and pleasure thrilled my limbs.

<sup>(29)</sup> When His Majesty ordered that every valorous man of his troops should go forth to break through the new walls made for Qedshu, I broke them open, I led all the valiant. No other person went before me, I brought <sup>(31)</sup> *marina* 2 living prisoners. Again His Majesty rewarded me on account of it with all <sup>(32)</sup> good things that are pleasing before the king. I made this capture while I was captain . . . <sup>(33)</sup> I arranged the steering in . . . as the headman of his companions <sup>(34)</sup> in rowing [the boat of Amen] in his good festival of Thebes, mankind was in joy . . .

<sup>(35)</sup> Behold the king had ended his time of existence of many good years of victory, power, and <sup>(36)</sup> justification from the 1st year to the 54th year. In the 30th of Phamenoth of the majesty of the king, <sup>(37)</sup> Menkheper-ra deceased, he ascended to heaven and joined the sun's disc, the follower of the god met his maker.

When the light dawned and the morrow came, <sup>(38)</sup> the disc of the sun arose and heaven became bright. The king Aa'kheperu'ra, son of the sun, Amenhotep, the giver of life, <sup>(39)</sup> was established on the throne of his father, he rested on the *ka* name, he struck down all, he thrust . . . <sup>(40)</sup> of Deshert, he hewed off the heads of their chiefs, crowned as Horus the son of Isis, he took <sup>(41)</sup> [possession of] that land.

The remaining lines mention his accompanying the king in Egypt and in the palace.



## GREATER MONUMENTS.

The most northern monument of Tahutmes III. was the triumphal stele which he erected on his frontier by the Euphrates in the neighbourhood of the city of Niy, by the tablet of his father. This appears to have been as far north as Aleppo; but hitherto it has not been discovered. His other Asiatic remains are the steles in Sinai. At Sarbut el Khadem is a stele of the 23rd year, with the king offering to Hathor, the noble and high officer Roy holding the fan behind him (L.D. iii. 29 a). Another stele dated in the 27th year shows the king again offering to Hathor, the goddess of that region; and a portion of a doorway of his lies near it (from photographs). Pieces of glazed vases are also found there. In the Wady Maghara is an inscription of his (My. E. 344).

The long-neglected Delta began to revive under this reign. At Kom el Hisn, on the north-west, is a town with many Ramesside remains which prove it to be the ancient Amu (G.N. 78). But the rebuilding of the temple here dates as early as Tahutmes III.; as a vase evidently from a foundation deposit (bought in Cairo), names him "beloved of Hathor, lady of Amu" (F.P. Coll.). This is identical in style with the vases of his deposits at Koptos.

FIG. 78.—Alabaster vase of Tahutmes III., foundation deposit of Amu. F.P. Coll.



At Heliopolis (An) he carried out great works. A large jamb of a gateway was formerly in the citadel at Cairo (D E.Y. 24, 1); it named Tahutmes beloved of Tum of An, and of the spirits of An, and that he made a gate of pure stone of Bekhen. Two other blocks of a gateway were recently still in place (B.R. ix. 23 a, b). A stele of the 47th year (Berlin, L.D. iii. 29 b) informs us that he built a wall with gates around

the temple of Ra (L.D. iii. 29 b). Amen'em'ant, whose tomb is at Abusir, was perhaps the architect here, as he was "overseer of works of the temple of Ra." His other titles are prince in Memphis, overseer of all the royal works, and general of the troops (L.D. iii. 29 e). The two obelisks which stood at Heliopolis, erected by Tahutmes III., were dedicated to Tum of Heliopolis. Both were appropriated by Ramessu II., who added lines of inscription on either side of the original line down the middle of each face. Usarkon I. has also added his name. One, and probably both obelisks, were removed from there in the 18th year of Augustus, B.C. 12, as recorded upon the bronze figures of crabs which were placed as ornaments below each corner (A. C. Merriam, *Inscrips. on the Obelisk-Crab*). They were placed at Alexandria in front of the Cæsareum; and remained there until one (68½ feet high) was removed to London in 1877, and the other (69½ feet high) was removed to New York in 1879. The obelisks of the Lateran and of Constantinople have been reported to belong to Heliopolis; but, as we shall see farther on, they probably come from Thebes.

At Abusir is the tomb of Amen'em'ant, as we have just noticed. At Memphis it appears (according to an inscription at Sakkara, B.H. 403) that a temple was erected to Ptah. At Gurob, at the entrance to the Fayum, a temple was built with a town around it at the end of the great dyke of the Fayum (P.I. xxv.). A lintel (P.I. xxiv. 3), now in Adelaide, and other stones (P.K. xxii. 2), give the king's name; the erasures show that this lasted until the time of Akhenaten; but the temple was soon after ruined and mostly removed, and houses built over its site. This town was ruined in the foreign invasion and expulsion under Merenptah, and was scarcely occupied since.

The rock temple of Speos Artemidos, near Beni Hasan, begun by Hatshepsut, was continued by



FIG. 79.—Violet glass bead of Tahutmes III. Gurob, F.P. Coll.

Tahutmes III. (L.D. iii. 26, 7). At El Bersheh a tablet was carved on the rock, dated in 33rd year, on the 2nd of Mesore, wishing the king millions of the *Sed* festivals, that great feast of 30 years having taken place two or three days before the dating of this stele.

At Ekhnim is a scene carved in a rock chamber, of Tahutmes (written Men·ra·kheper) adoring Amen-Min (L.D. iii. 29d); and another inscription in the temple site (My. E. 431). At Abydos a colossus of Osiris bears the name of the king on the back (M.A. 1). At Dendera an inscription in a crypt mentions "the restoring of the monument made by the king, lord of both lands, Men·kheper·ra, lord of the crowns, Tahutmes, according to the discovery of ancient writings of the time of Khufu" (D.D. i.); and a block of Tahutmes remains there in the later building (D.D. iii. d). He also dedicated a great sistrum of *mafek* (malachite?), 16 digits (a foot) high, which is figured in the later sculpture (D.D. ii. c). In Wady Hammamat is also an inscription of this king (My. E. 326).

At Koptos he entirely rebuilt the temple. Deep foundations were laid, which lasted through all the successive rebuildings, and through the Ptolemaic clearance, down to Roman times. The front was supported by six large pillars, placed on deep and massive sub-structures. Beneath the walls were several foundation deposits of models of tools, ores, vases in alabaster, and a great quantity of pottery: all of the more valuable objects were inscribed for Tahutmes, "beloved of Min of Koptos." Though the upper building of this temple has been removed, yet fragments show that the walls were all of Silsileh sandstone, in place of the limestone used in the earlier temples. The pillars were of red granite sculptured with scenes of the king offering. They were probably re-used in the later temples, as they remained accessible in Christian times, and were removed from the ruins to build into a Coptic church, of which little remains now but these pillars. Near Ballas, opposite Koptos,

is the ruin of the small town of Nubt, built by this king and Amenhotep II., the bricks being stamped with their cartouches. Foundation deposits and a sandstone jamb of Tahutmes III. were lately found there.

Karnak shows the greatest work of this reign. The old temple, which had been renewed and enlarged by this family, had an immense addition made behind it. A great hall was built, over 130 feet long, supported on



FIG. 80.—Columns of Tahutmes III. Karnak.

two rows of pillars and two rows of columns; it lay across the axis of the temple in front of a new sanctuary. Numerous chambers opened around it, forming a complex mass of nearly fifty halls and rooms. In the older part great changes were made. A thin pylon (VI.), or wall, was thrust in between the sanctuary and the pylons of Tahutmes I. It bears



some of the most valuable documents, in the long lists of conquered towns and peoples; three lists are of northern, and one is of southern names. Also a casing was built around the lower parts of the obelisks of

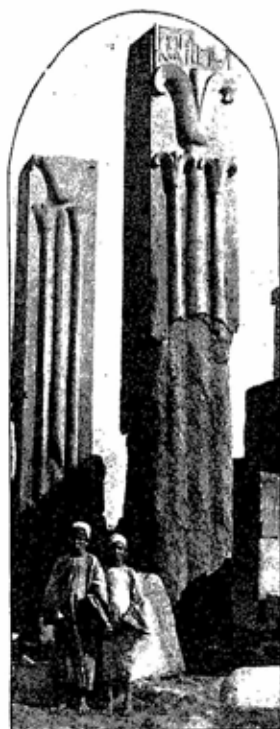


FIG. 81.—Lotus pillars of Tahutmes III. Karnak.

Hatshepsut, so as to hide all her address to those who should gaze on her work, and desire to know who did it. On the inner side of this pylon of Tahutmes are the two beautiful granite pillars adorned with lotus flowers on each side. The valuable list of ancestors whom the king is represented adoring was in the southern side of the surrounding chambers of the temple; but the whole part was so barbarously destroyed in the surreptitious theft of the sculptures by Prisse, that Mariette could not trace even the position of the chambers.

Leaving the main temple, the southern approach was further decorated by another pylon (VII.), behind the pylon (VIII.) of Tahutmes I. Adjoining that is the eastern wall of the court, and opening from that wall is a small temple of alabaster. The walls

bordering the sacred lake here are also of this reign.

To the north the small temple of Ptah was built by Tahutmes; and his name also occurs in the temple of Mut. The brick wall around the whole of the buildings then existing was also the work of Tahutmes III.

At Medinet Habu, this king finished the temple which had been in progress since his grandfather's time, and which was mainly built by his father, and decorated by him and Hatshepsut. It was then but a small building, and was restored by Horemheb, by Sety I., by Ramessu XII., and by Painezem I., according to their successive notices on the front wall. Then Taharqa added a front court and pylon in front, cutting through the temenos of Ramessu III.; the XXXth dynasty added another court in front of that; Ptolemy X. added a great pylon before that; and, lastly, Antoninus added a forecourt in front of all.

At Deir el Bahri, or Assassif, the great design of Hatshepsut was finished by Tahutmes III. after her death; one doorway is entirely inscribed by him (D.H. ii. xxxiv.), showing that the work was not completed by her. The obelisks would be among the later objects, and it is therefore very probable that they were erected or at least inscribed by Tahutmes. The height of the great pair of obelisks is recorded by an inscription in the temple to have been 108 cubits (L.D. iii. 27, 11); and as nothing more than the bases of them have been seen in the temple, we naturally look around to see if they have been carried elsewhere. The length of 185 feet is so much greater than that of any other obelisk, that it is probable that the width was not as large in proportion, as that would have made the weight impossibly heavy to move. The obelisk of Hatshepsut is  $97\frac{1}{2}$  feet high, 7 feet 10 inches wide at base, and about 5 feet 8 inches at top (measured from a photograph); the obelisk of Tahutmes III. (Lateran) is  $105\frac{1}{2}$  feet high, 9 feet 9 inches wide at base, and about 5 feet 10 inches at top. Taking the lighter obelisk, that of Hatshepsut, which weighs about 300 tons, if the thickness were increased proportionally to the length on 185 feet, it would imply a weight of over 2000 tons. This is so obviously excessive (as the heaviest blocks yet known are the colossi of Ramessu II., 800 tons at the Ramesseum, and 900 tons at Tanis), that we cannot suppose that the thickness was proportionate to the

height. Probably, therefore, the missing obelisks should be about the same width at the top as the other great obelisks, and wider at the base.

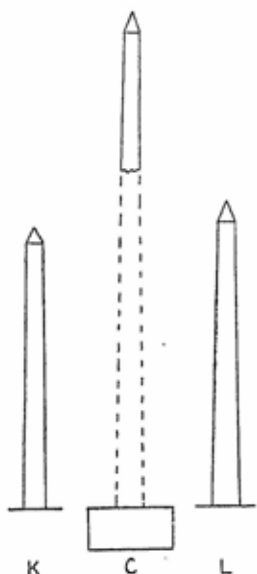


FIG. 82. — K. Hatshepsut's obelisk at Karnak.

L. Tahutmes III. obelisk, Lateran.

C. Broken top of obelisk at Constantinople, continued down to same breadth as Lateran, and making (with the base) a height of 108 cubits as described.

The only obelisk that could fit this requirement is that of Constantinople. It is only the top of a broken obelisk; but the inscription on the south face is exactly parallel to that on the west face of Hatshepsut's obelisk. If it continued like that, its height would come to about 120 feet; but it may, of course, have been a longer inscription. If we suppose that it was 172 feet (or 100 cubits, leaving 13 feet for pedestal), then, as the top is about 5 feet 6 inches wide (by photograph), and the broken end 7 feet wide, the base would have been 10 feet 2 inches wide, there being no perceptible entasis. As the Lateran obelisk is 9 feet 9 inches, this size of base would be very probable for a longer mass. The weight of this Constantinople obelisk would then be about 800 tons, or just of the same class as the two greatest colossi.

The problem, therefore, stands thus. Two obelisks existed at Deir el Bahri 185 feet high, probably including the pedestals. The Constantinople fragment (judging by the inscription) was apparently from an obelisk longer than any other known, and therefore has the best claim to be one of the missing pair. It is so slender that, if protracted to the same base width as the

Lateran, it would be of about the recorded length. If it were of that length, its existing width and slope would imply a weight about the same as that of the heaviest masses known to have been transported. And it was dedicated to Amen, and therefore probably came from Thebes. It is then most likely that we see in this the top of one of the great obelisks of Deir el Bahri. What became of the lower part, and of the other obelisk, we may guess when we see the multitude of obelisks erected by Ramessu II., and remember how ruthlessly he re-worked the stones of his predecessors.

An interesting inscription concerning the obelisks of Tahutmes III. exists in the tomb of Puamra at Qurneh. The king is seated "beholding monuments of great works made by the king, lord of both lands, Men' kheper'ra, to his father Amen in Thebes, great in silver and gold, and all noble things, by the prince, the beloved of the god Puam." Before him stand three of the architects and three of the builders, saying, "Come the overseers of works speaking of these princely things, delighting thy heart by thy creation of all these thy high works." The first three are "overseers of workmen of the temple of Amen"; the other three are "overseers of works of the temple of Amen." Behind them are two great obelisks with inscriptions dedicating them to Amen (L.D. iii. 39 c).

Another tomb shows the king offering two obelisks, with vases, arms, collars, boxes, gold rings ( $613\frac{1}{4}$  *deben* weight), etc., to Amen (C.M. 316-7).

The great tomb of Rekh'ma'ra (which we have drawn from in previous pages to illustrate the foreign tribute) shows that he had to do with the monuments of the king, and with the plating of the temple gates with gold from the Rutennu (M.A.F. v. 57). Similarly, Men' kheper'ra'senb states that he had seen Tahutmes make a monolith shrine of red granite entirely plated with electrum, and a colonnade and pair of obelisks likewise covered.

At Taud, above Thebes, are fragments of sculptures

of this reign. At Esneh a great stele of the king is mentioned in an inscription of the time of Claudius (L.D. iv. 8a). At El Kab an architrave of the temple of Sebek is of this age (C.N. 266); and a small temple surrounded by a colonnade—like the destroyed one of Elephantine—stood here (W.T. 430). At Edfu is a Ptolemaic inscription stating that Tahutmes III. built



FIG. 83.—The overseers of works who made the obelisks. Thebes.

the temple of Hathor at Edfu (A.Z. ix. 97). At Kom Ombo stood a grand pylon to the temenos of the temple, which, though built by Hatshepsut, was carved by Tahutmes III. The lintel of it was a Ptolemaic restoration (L.D. iii. 28, 1; R.R. 28); but all this is now washed away by the Nile. A lintel block of Tahutmes III., perhaps washed out of some later structure, lay on the bank recently (A.Z. xxi. 78).

At Elephantine some temple existed, as is shown by the blocks of Tahutmes III. which remained built into the quay wall. But there is no evidence to which temple they belonged; and it is more likely that they were part of some ruined temple of Tahutmes rebuilt by the Ptolemies, than that the temple of Amenhotep III. was begun by Tahutmes. A block of this king remains also at the railway station at Aswan (Rec. ix. 81). An obelisk from the temple of Elephantine is stated to be at Sion House (Birch, *History*, 102). An inscription at Sehel records the clearing again of the canal of the cataract (see i. p. 179): "The year 50, Pakhons 22, under the majesty of king Men'kheper'ra, His Majesty commanded to cut this canal, after he had found it choked with stones so that no vessel crossed on it. His Majesty passed over it, his heart rejoicing that he had slain his enemies. Name of this canal, 'Open the way well by Men'kheper'ra.' The fishers of Elephantine are to dredge this canal every year" (Rec. xiii. 203). Another stele shows the king adoring the gods Khnum Anket and Sati (M.I. i. 101, 218). Probably a temple was built on the island of Bigeh by this king, judging from a statue there (W.T. 470).

In Nubia was one of the greatest fields of architectural activity of Tahutmes III. Almost every site there appears to have been settled by him, and temples built to the local gods. At Kalabsheh is said to be a granite statue in the temple, and a block with his name (Prokesch Nilfahrt 575). At Kuban is an inscription (My. E. 538). At Dakkeh also a mention of the king (S.N. 136). At Korti is a stone of Tahutmes, and the foundations of the temple which was rebuilt later (L.L. 124). At Amadah is a gateway of Tahutmes III. on one jamb, and of Amenhotep II. on the other jamb, while both names occur jointly on the lintel. This points to a co-regency (L.D. iii. 65 b, c). A great stele in the third year of Amenhotep II. shows that the work was done here at the close of the reign of Tahutmes (L.D. iii. 65 a), and that the co-regency was not long. There is also a scene of Tahutmes embraced

by Isis-Selk (L.D. iii. 45). At Ellesiyeh are scenes of Tahutmes III. adoring Ra, Dedun, and Usertesen III. (L.D. iii. 45 d), and of Uazet and Mut embracing the king, and his offering to Hathor and Horus of Behen, Maam, and Ta'khens (L.D. iii. 46). A stele here is dated in the 42nd year, Pakhons 14 (L.D. iii. 45 e), showing again that the Nubian works were toward the end of the reign. At Ibrim are two rock chapels; one has a lintel with the king's name, and inside are figures of the king before Horus of Maam; the other chapel shows him before Horus of Maam and Sati (C.N. 79). These shrines were carved by the viceroy Nehi, who is frequently met with in this region.

At Wady Halfa a brick temple was erected by Tahutmes III. to the Horus of Beheni. By the door is a stele of his 23rd year (B.E. 341). Also a grand temple at Semneh (L.D. iii. 47-56), and a fellow one at the other fortress of Kummeh (L.D. iii. 57-59 a, 64 b) were probably both begun by the preceding kings, but completed and adorned by the viceroy Nehi under Tahutmes III. At the island of Sai (lat. 20° 42' N.) are the remains of a temple of this reign, built by the viceroy Nehi (L.D. iii. 59 b, c). At Dosheh appear Tahutmes III. and Usertesen III. together, and also Tahutmes offering to Horus of Ta'khens (L.D. iii. 59 d, e). And the founding of the temple of Soleb is attributed likewise to this reign.

We see thus the most extraordinary activity in building; and probably dozens of minor temples have passed away which are quite unknown to us, as little suspected as the temples of Kom el Hisn, Gurob, and Nubt were a few years ago. As it is, we can count up over thirty different sites, all of which were built on during this reign. The Nubian buildings seem to be mostly of later date than the others, and the record of clearing the canal in the 50th year shows activity there at that time. It would seem probable that the last ten years of the great conqueror were devoted to affirming his power in the south.

## LESSER MONUMENTS.

The statues of Tahutmes III. are numerous, but seldom colossal. At Karnak is the base of a seated colossus in hard white silicious limestone, at the west end of the front of pylon VIII. (M.K. 38 d). The head of a colossus in brown granite is in the British Museum, but the statue of it is unknown.

A standing statue in red granite from Karnak, rather over life size, is in Cairo (G. Mus., V.G. 202); it was found in the axial chamber or sanctuary of the buildings of Tahutmes III. at the east end of the temple (M.K. p. 34). A seated black granite statue was also found at Karnak in many fragments, now rejoined (G. Mus., V.G. 214). Many dozens of statues of this king are also stated to have existed at Karnak (M.K. p. 36). At Turin is a very fine statue in black and white diorite (L.T. 1376; the head, L.D. iii. 292, 30). Another seated statue in dark grey granite, but headless, was brought from Nubia—probably Elephantine, as it names the gods of that place: it is now at Florence (S. Cat. F. 1503). At Abydos remains still a torso, and a throne (M.A. 348-9). At Alexandria stood a statue of the king, "beloved of Anit, lady of Dendera" (B.R. ix. 3, p. 18). A torso lies behind the temple at Karnak, and two fragments of statues before the first pylon of the hypostyle at Luxor (W.G. 358). A bust in red granite was found at Karnak (V.G. 192). A bronze statuette of the king is reputed to be at Marseille, but is not in Maspero's catalogue. Two



FIG. 84.—Statue of Tahutmes III. Karnak.



statues are mentioned in inscriptions by Tahutmes IV. (M.K. 33), and by Neb'ua'iu (M.A. ii. 33).

Two sphinxes in red granite were found in a chamber at the back of the hall of pillars of Tahutmes, along with two tables of offerings probably for offering before them (V.G. 221-2; M.K. 32 b, pp. 34, 55). A drawing of the king on a board divided in squares for the canon



FIG. 85.—Board with figure of Tahutmes III., drawn on squares.  
Brit. Mus.

of proportion is in the British Museum (A.B. 33); and a trial piece with uncertain heads and this king's name is at Turin (L.D. iii. 304).

A stele, showing Tahutmes adoring Min, is at Turin (L.T. 1460); and one was found in the chapel of Uazmes, showing Tahutmes III. adoring his grandfather and prince Uazmes (M.E. ii.). A large, high block of

according to the rate of their yearly produce. The harvest of that country <sup>(17)</sup> . . . with dishes, heads in shape of bulls, weighing 341 *deben* 2 *gedt*; true lazuli, one stone weighing 33 *gedt* (11 ozs.); a good *sagu* wood chair, native copper.

(18) [Tribute of the chief] of Tanai (?): a silver jug of the work of Keftiu, with 3 vases of bronze with silver handles, weighing 56 *deben* 1 *gedt* . . . <sup>(19)</sup> with all the good things of that land.



FIG. 76.—Silver jug  
from Syria.

The harvest of the vile Kush; likewise the work of the Wawat in that year, was, gold 2374 *deben* 1 *gedt* . . . <sup>(20)</sup> Wawat.

Then His Majesty ordered that the victories which he had made, beginning in his XXIIIrd and continuing to his XLIIInd year, should be recorded on this tablet on this shrine."

A private inscription of the officer Amen'em'heb is of value, as giving some further details of the northern campaigns. But no distinction is made between different years, and only two distinctive names are found which occur in the Annals; these are Senzaru and Niy, both of which were visited in the XXXIIIrd year. This might well be the date of the active life of Amen'em'heb; for though he appears twenty-one years later under Amenhotep II., he then takes no part in fighting or work, but merely accompanies the king in Egypt. He says (A.Z. xi. 1, 63):—

I was very true to the prince, pure of heart to the king of Upper Egypt, glorious of heart to the king of Lower Egypt. I followed <sup>(2)</sup> my lord at his goings in the land of the north and south, and he desired that I should be the companion of his feet. He <sup>(3)</sup> performed his victories, and his valour fortified the heart. I made a capture in the land of <sup>(4)</sup> Negeba (the Negeb), I took Amu 3 persons, living captives.

When His Majesty came to Naharina <sup>(5)</sup> I took 3

persons as my spoil thence; I set them before Thy Majesty as living captives.

(<sup>6</sup>) Again I took spoil in this expedition in the high land of Wan on the west of Khalubu (Aleppo): I brought (<sup>7</sup>) Amu living prisoners 13 persons, 70 live asses, 13 bronze weapons, and . . . bronze weapons inlaid with gold.

(<sup>8</sup>) Again I took spoil in this expedition in the land of Karika-masha (Karkhemish). I brought thence . . . persons (<sup>9</sup>) as living captives. I crossed the water of Naharina with them in my hand . . . (<sup>10</sup>) [I brought them] before my Lord. Then he rewarded me with a great reward, the amount . . . (<sup>11</sup>) I saw the power of the king Men'kheper'ra, the giver of life, in the land of Senzaru (Singara); he made . . . (<sup>12</sup>) I made a capture before the king, I brought a hand thence. He gave me gold of praise, the amount . . . (<sup>13</sup>) and 2 *deben* silver.

Again I saw his valour, I was among his followers capturing (<sup>14</sup>) Kedesu, I did not leave the place where he was; I brought thence 2 *marina* [living prisoners, I placed them] (<sup>15</sup>) before the king the lord of the two lands, Tahutmes the ever-living: he gave me gold for my valour before all persons (<sup>16</sup>); the amount was of beaten gold a lion, 2 necklaces, 2 helmets, and 4 rings. I saw my lord in . . . (<sup>17</sup>) . . . in all his forms in the borders of the land of . . . (<sup>18</sup>) . . . and again gold was given me for it. I rose to . . .

(<sup>19</sup>) Again I saw his might in the land of Takhisi . . .



FIG. 77.—Elephant from Syria.

(<sup>20</sup>) I made a captive from it before the king; I brought 3 Amu as living prisoners; gave to me (<sup>21</sup>) my lord gold of reward, the amount was 2 gold . . . 4 bracelets, 2 helmets, a lion, and a female slave.

(<sup>22</sup>) Again . . . a second good work done by the lord of the two lands in the land of Niy, he hunted 120 elephants for their tusks . . . (<sup>23</sup>) the largest one which

was among them began to fight against His Majesty ; I cut off his hand while he was alive . . . , <sup>(24)</sup> I went in the water between two rocks, my lord rewarded me with gold <sup>(25)</sup>. He gave me . . . clothing 3 pieces. The king of Qedshu made a mare come forth <sup>(26)</sup> in front . . . She ran in the midst of the army, I ran after her <sup>(27)</sup> on foot, having my weapon. I ripped up her body, I cut off her tail, I gave <sup>(28)</sup> it to the king, and they praised God for me on account of this. He caused joy to fill my body and pleasure thrilled my limbs.

<sup>(29)</sup> When His Majesty ordered that every valorous man of his troops should go forth to break through the new walls made for Qedshu, I broke them open, I led all the valiant. No other person went before me, I brought <sup>(31)</sup> *marina* 2 living prisoners. Again His Majesty rewarded me on account of it with all <sup>(32)</sup> good things that are pleasing before the king. I made this capture while I was captain . . . <sup>(33)</sup> I arranged the steering in . . . as the headman of his companions <sup>(34)</sup> in rowing [the boat of Amen] in his good festival of Thebes, mankind was in joy . . .

<sup>(35)</sup> Behold the king had ended his time of existence of many good years of victory, power, and <sup>(36)</sup> justification from the 1st year to the 54th year. In the 30th of Phamenoth of the majesty of the king, <sup>(37)</sup> Menkheper-ra deceased, he ascended to heaven and joined the sun's disc, the follower of the god met his maker.

When the light dawned and the morrow came, <sup>(38)</sup> the disc of the sun arose and heaven became bright. The king Aa'kheperu'ra, son of the sun, Amenhotep, the giver of life, <sup>(39)</sup> was established on the throne of his father, he rested on the *ka* name, he struck down all, he thrust . . . <sup>(40)</sup> of Deshert, he hewed off the heads of their chiefs, crowned as Horus the son of Isis, he took <sup>(41)</sup> [possession of] that land.

The remaining lines mention his accompanying the king in Egypt and in the palace.

## GREATER MONUMENTS.

The most northern monument of Tahutmes III. was the triumphal stele which he erected on his frontier by the Euphrates in the neighbourhood of the city of Niy, by the tablet of his father. This appears to have been as far north as Aleppo; but hitherto it has not been discovered. His other Asiatic remains are the steles in Sinai. At Sarbut el Khadem is a stele of the 23rd year, with the king offering to Hathor, the noble and high officer Roy holding the fan behind him (L.D. iii. 29 a). Another stele dated in the 27th year shows the king again offering to Hathor, the goddess of that region; and a portion of a doorway of his lies near it (from photographs). Pieces of glazed vases are also found there. In the Wady Maghara is an inscription of his (My. E. 344).

The long-neglected Delta began to revive under this reign. At Kom el Hisn, on the north-west, is a town with many Ramesside remains which prove it to be the ancient Amu (G.N. 78). But the rebuilding of the temple here dates as early as Tahutmes III.; as a vase evidently from a foundation deposit (bought in Cairo), names him "beloved of Hathor, lady of Amu" (F.P. Coll.). This is identical in style with the vases of his deposits at Koptos.

FIG. 78.—Alabaster vase of Tahutmes III., foundation deposit of Amu. F.P. Coll.

At Heliopolis (An) he carried out great works. A large jamb of a gateway was formerly in the citadel at Cairo (D E.Y. 24, 1); it named Tahutmes beloved of Tum of An, and of the spirits of An, and that he made a gate of pure stone of Bekhen. Two other blocks of a gateway were recently still in place (B.R. ix. 23 a, b). A stele of the 47th year (Berlin, L.D. iii. 29 b) informs us that he built a wall with gates around



the temple of Ra (L.D. iii. 29 b). Amen'em'ant, whose tomb is at Abusir, was perhaps the architect here, as he was "overseer of works of the temple of Ra." His other titles are prince in Memphis, overseer of all the royal works, and general of the troops (L.D. iii. 29 e). The two obelisks which stood at Heliopolis, erected by Tahutmes III., were dedicated to Tum of Heliopolis. Both were appropriated by Ramessu II., who added lines of inscription on either side of the original line down the middle of each face. Usarkon I. has also added his name. One, and probably both obelisks, were removed from there in the 18th year of Augustus, B.C. 12, as recorded upon the bronze figures of crabs which were placed as ornaments below each corner (A. C. Merriam, *Inscrips. on the Obelisk-Crab*). They were placed at Alexandria in front of the Cæsareum; and remained there until one (68½ feet high) was removed to London in 1877, and the other (69½ feet high) was removed to New York in 1879. The obelisks of the Lateran and of Constantinople have been reported to belong to Heliopolis; but, as we shall see farther on, they probably come from Thebes.

At Abusir is the tomb of Amen'em'ant, as we have just noticed. At Memphis it appears (according to an inscription at Sakkara, B.H. 403) that a temple was erected to Ptah. At Gurob, at the entrance to the Fayum, a temple was built with a town around it at the end of the great dyke of the Fayum (P.I. xxv.). A lintel (P.I. xxiv. 3), now in Adelaide, and other stones (P.K. xxii. 2), give the king's name; the erasures show that this lasted until the time of Akhenaten; but the temple was soon after ruined and mostly removed, and houses built over its site. This town was ruined in the foreign invasion and expulsion under Merenptah, and was scarcely occupied since.

The rock temple of Speos Artemidos, near Beni Hasan, begun by Hatshepsut, was continued by



FIG. 79.—Violet glass bead of Tahutmes III. Gurob, F.P. Coll.

Tahutmes III. (L.D. iii. 26, 7). At El Bersheh a tablet was carved on the rock, dated in 33rd year, on the 2nd of Mesore, wishing the king millions of the *Sed* festivals, that great feast of 30 years having taken place two or three days before the dating of this stele.

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Karnak shows the greatest work of this reign. The old temple, which had been renewed and enlarged by this family, had an immense addition made behind it. A great hall was built, over 130 feet long, supported on



FIG. 80.—Columns of Tahutmes III. Karnak.

two rows of pillars and two rows of columns; it lay across the axis of the temple in front of a new sanctuary. Numerous chambers opened around it, forming a complex mass of nearly fifty halls and rooms. In the older part great changes were made. A thin pylon (VI.), or wall, was thrust in between the sanctuary and the pylons of Tahutmes I. It bears



some of the most valuable documents, in the long lists of conquered towns and peoples; three lists are of northern, and one is of southern names. Also a casing was built around the lower parts of the obelisks of



FIG. 81.—Lotus pillars of Tahutmes III. Karnak.

Hatshepsut, so as to hide all her address to those who should gaze on her work, and desire to know who did it. On the inner side of this pylon of Tahutmes are the two beautiful granite pillars adorned with lotus flowers on each side. The valuable list of ancestors whom the king is represented adoring was in the southern side of the surrounding chambers of the temple; but the whole part was so barbarously destroyed in the surreptitious theft of the sculptures by Prisse, that Mariette could not trace even the position of the chambers.

Leaving the main temple, the southern approach was further decorated by another pylon (VII.), behind the pylon (VIII.) of Tahutmes I. Adjoining that is the eastern wall of the court, and opening from that wall is a small temple of alabaster. The walls

bordering the sacred lake here are also of this reign.

To the north the small temple of Ptah was built by Tahutmes; and his name also occurs in the temple of Mut. The brick wall around the whole of the buildings then existing was also the work of Tahutmes III.

At Medinet Habu, this king finished the temple which had been in progress since his grandfather's time, and which was mainly built by his father, and decorated by him and Hatshepsut. It was then but a small building, and was restored by Horemheb, by Sety I., by Ramessu XII., and by Painezem I., according to their successive notices on the front wall. Then Taharqa added a front court and pylon in front, cutting through the temenos of Ramessu III.; the XXXth dynasty added another court in front of that; Ptolemy X. added a great pylon before that; and, lastly, Antoninus added a forecourt in front of all.

At Deir el Bahri, or Assassif, the great design of Hatshepsut was finished by Tahutmes III. after her death; one doorway is entirely inscribed by him (D.H. ii. xxxiv.), showing that the work was not completed by her. The obelisks would be among the later objects, and it is therefore very probable that they were erected or at least inscribed by Tahutmes. The height of the great pair of obelisks is recorded by an inscription in the temple to have been 108 cubits (L.D. iii. 27, 11); and as nothing more than the bases of them have been seen in the temple, we naturally look around to see if they have been carried elsewhere. The length of 185 feet is so much greater than that of any other obelisk, that it is probable that the width was not as large in proportion, as that would have made the weight impossibly heavy to move. The obelisk of Hatshepsut is  $97\frac{1}{2}$  feet high, 7 feet 10 inches wide at base, and about 5 feet 8 inches at top (measured from a photograph); the obelisk of Tahutmes III. (Lateran) is  $105\frac{1}{2}$  feet high, 9 feet 9 inches wide at base, and about 5 feet 10 inches at top. Taking the lighter obelisk, that of Hatshepsut, which weighs about 300 tons, if the thickness were increased proportionally to the length on 185 feet, it would imply a weight of over 2000 tons. This is so obviously excessive (as the heaviest blocks yet known are the colossi of Ramessu II., 800 tons at the Ramesseum, and 900 tons at Tanis), that we cannot suppose that the thickness was proportionate to the

height. Probably, therefore, the missing obelisks should be about the same width at the top as the other great obelisks, and wider at the base.

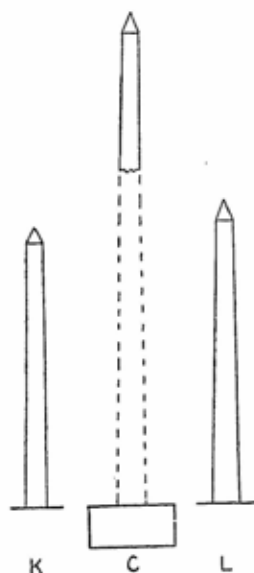


FIG. 82. — K. Hatshepsut's obelisk at Karnak.

L. Tahutmes III. obelisk, Lateran.

C. Broken top of obelisk at Constantinople, continued down to same breadth as Lateran, and making (with the base) a height of 108 cubits as described.

The only obelisk that could fit this requirement is that of Constantinople. It is only the top of a broken obelisk; but the inscription on the south face is exactly parallel to that on the west face of Hatshepsut's obelisk. If it continued like that, its height would come to about 120 feet; but it may, of course, have been a longer inscription. If we suppose that it was 172 feet (or 100 cubits, leaving 13 feet for pedestal), then, as the top is about 5 feet 6 inches wide (by photograph), and the broken end 7 feet wide, the base would have been 10 feet 2 inches wide, there being no perceptible entasis. As the Lateran obelisk is 9 feet 9 inches, this size of base would be very probable for a longer mass. The weight of this Constantinople obelisk would then be about 800 tons, or just of the same class as the two greatest colossi.

The problem, therefore, stands thus. Two obelisks existed at Deir el Bahri 185 feet high, probably including the pedestals. The Constantinople fragment (judging by the inscription) was apparently from an obelisk longer than any other known, and therefore has the best claim to be one of the missing pair. It is so slender that, if protracted to the same base width as the

Lateran, it would be of about the recorded length.' If it were of that length, its existing width and slope would imply a weight about the same as that of the heaviest masses known to have been transported. And it was dedicated to Amen, and therefore probably came from Thebes. It is then most likely that we see in this the top of one of the great obelisks of Deir el Bahri. What became of the lower part, and of the other obelisk, we may guess when we see the multitude of obelisks erected by Ramessu II., and remember how ruthlessly he re-worked the stones of his predecessors.

An interesting inscription concerning the obelisks of Tahutmes III. exists in the tomb of Puamra at Qurneh. The king is seated "beholding monuments of great works made by the king, lord of both lands, Menkheper'ra, to his father Amen in Thebes, great in silver and gold, and all noble things, by the prince, the beloved of the god Puam." Before him stand three of the architects and three of the builders, saying, "Come the overseers of works speaking of these princely things, delighting thy heart by thy creation of all these thy high works." The first three are "overseers of workmen of the temple of Amen"; the other three are "overseers of works of the temple of Amen." Behind them are two great obelisks with inscriptions dedicating them to Amen (L.D. iii. 39 c).

Another tomb shows the king offering two obelisks, with vases, arms, collars, boxes, gold rings ( $613\frac{1}{4}$  *deben* weight), etc., to Amen (C.M. 316-7).

The great tomb of Rekh'ma'ra (which we have drawn from in previous pages to illustrate the foreign tribute) shows that he had to do with the monuments of the king, and with the plating of the temple gates with gold from the Rutennu (M.A.F. v. 57). Similarly, Menkheper'ra'senb states that he had seen Tahutmes make a monolith shrine of red granite entirely plated with electrum, and a colonnade and pair of obelisks likewise covered.

At Taud, above Thebes, are fragments of sculptures

of this reign. At Esneh a great stele of the king is mentioned in an inscription of the time of Claudius (L.D. iv. 8 a). At El Kab an architrave of the temple of Sebek is of this age (C.N. 266); and a small temple surrounded by a colonnade—like the destroyed one of Elephantine—stood here (W.T. 430). At Edfu is a Ptolemaic inscription stating that Tahutmes III. built



FIG. 83.—The overseers of works who made the obelisks. Thebes.

the temple of Hathor at Edfu (A.Z. ix. 97). At Kom Ombo stood a grand pylon to the temenos of the temple, which, though built by Hatshepsut, was carved by Tahutmes III. The lintel of it was a Ptolemaic restoration (L.D. iii. 28, 1; R.R. 28); but all this is now washed away by the Nile. A lintel block of Tahutmes III., perhaps washed out of some later structure, lay on the bank recently (A.Z. xxi. 78).

At Elephantine some temple existed, as is shown by the blocks of Tahutmes III. which remained built into the quay wall. But there is no evidence to which temple they belonged; and it is more likely that they were part of some ruined temple of Tahutmes rebuilt by the Ptolemies, than that the temple of Amenhotep III. was begun by Tahutmes. A block of this king remains also at the railway station at Aswan (Rec. ix. 81). An obelisk from the temple of Elephantine is stated to be at Sion House (Birch, *History*, 102). An inscription at Sehel records the clearing again of the canal of the cataract (see i. p. 179): "The year 50, Pakhons 22, under the majesty of king Men'kheper'ra, His Majesty commanded to cut this canal, after he had found it choked with stones so that no vessel crossed on it. His Majesty passed over it, his heart rejoicing that he had slain his enemies. Name of this canal, 'Open the way well by Men'kheper'ra.' The fishers of Elephantine are to dredge this canal every year" (Rec. xiii. 203). Another stele shows the king adoring the gods Khnum Anket and Sati (M.I. i. 101, 218). Probably a temple was built on the island of Bigeh by this king, judging from a statue there (W.T. 470).

In Nubia was one of the greatest fields of architectural activity of Tahutmes III. Almost every site there appears to have been settled by him, and temples built to the local gods. At Kalabsheh is said to be a granite statue in the temple, and a block with his name (Prokesch Nilfahrt 575). At Kuban is an inscription (My. E. 538). At Dakkeh also a mention of the king (S.N. 136). At Korti is a stone of Tahutmes, and the foundations of the temple which was rebuilt later (L.L. 124). At Amadah is a gateway of Tahutmes III. on one jamb, and of Amenhotep II. on the other jamb, while both names occur jointly on the lintel. This points to a co-regency (L.D. iii. 65 b, c). A great stele in the third year of Amenhotep II. shows that the work was done here at the close of the reign of Tahutmes (L.D. iii. 65 a), and that the co-regency was not long. There is also a scene of Tahutmes embraced

by Isis-Selk (L.D. iii. 45). At Ellesiyeh are scenes of Tahutmes III. adoring Ra, Dedun, and Usertesen III. (L.D. iii. 45 d), and of Uazet and Mut embracing the king, and his offering to Hathor and Horus of Behen, Maam, and Ta'khens (L.D. iii. 46). A stele here is dated in the 42nd year, Pakhons 14 (L.D. iii. 45 e), showing again that the Nubian works were toward the end of the reign. At Ibrim are two rock chapels; one has a lintel with the king's name, and inside are figures of the king before Horus of Maam; the other chapel shows him before Horus of Maam and Sati (C.N. 79). These shrines were carved by the viceroy Nehi, who is frequently met with in this region.

At Wady Halfa a brick temple was erected by Tahutmes III. to the Horus of Beheni. By the door is a stele of his 23rd year (B.E. 341). Also a grand temple at Semneh (L.D. iii. 47-56), and a fellow one at the other fortress of Kummeh (L.D. iii. 57-59 a, 64 b) were probably both begun by the preceding kings, but completed and adorned by the viceroy Nehi under Tahutmes III. At the island of Sai (lat. 20° 42' N.) are the remains of a temple of this reign, built by the viceroy Nehi (L.D. iii. 59 b, c). At Dosheh appear Tahutmes III. and Usertesen III. together, and also Tahutmes offering to Horus of Ta'khens (L.D. iii. 59 d, e). And the founding of the temple of Soleb is attributed likewise to this reign.

We see thus the most extraordinary activity in building; and probably dozens of minor temples have passed away which are quite unknown to us, as little suspected as the temples of Kom el Hisn, Gurob, and Nubt were a few years ago. As it is, we can count up over thirty different sites, all of which were built on during this reign. The Nubian buildings seem to be mostly of later date than the others, and the record of clearing the canal in the 50th year shows activity there at that time. It would seem probable that the last ten years of the great conqueror were devoted to affirming his power in the south.

## LESSER MONUMENTS.

The statues of Tahutmes III. are numerous, but seldom colossal. At Karnak is the base of a seated colossus in hard white silicious limestone, at the west end of the front of pylon VIII. (M.K. 38 d). The head of a colossus in brown granite is in the British Museum, but the statue of it is unknown.

A standing statue in red granite from Karnak, rather over life size, is in Cairo (G. Mus., V.G. 202); it was found in the axial chamber or sanctuary of the buildings of Tahutmes III. at the east end of the temple (M.K. p. 34). A seated black granite statue was also found at Karnak in many fragments, now rejoined (G. Mus., V.G. 214). Many dozens of statues of this king are also stated to have existed at Karnak (M.K. p. 36). At Turin is a very fine statue in black and white diorite (L.T. 1376; the head, L.D. iii. 292, 30). Another seated statue in dark grey granite, but headless, was brought from Nubia—probably Elephantine, as it names the gods of that place: it is now at Florence (S. Cat. F. 1503). At Abydos remains still a torso, and a throne (M.A. 348-9). At Alexandria stood a statue of the king, "beloved of Anit, lady of Dendera" (B.R. ix. 3, p. 18). A torso lies behind the temple at Karnak, and two fragments of statues before the first pylon of the hypostyle at Luxor (W.G. 358). A bust in red granite was found at Karnak (V.G. 192). A bronze statuette of the king is reputed to be at Marseille, but is not in Maspero's catalogue. Two



FIG. 84.—Statue of Tahutmes III. Karnak.



statues are mentioned in inscriptions by Tahutmes IV. (M.K. 33), and by Neb·ua·iu (M.A. ii. 33).

Two sphinxes in red granite were found in a chamber at the back of the hall of pillars of Tahutmes, along with two tables of offerings probably for offering before them (V.G. 221-2; M.K. 32 b, pp. 34, 55). A drawing of the king on a board divided in squares for the canon



FIG. 85.—Board with figure of Tahutmes III., drawn on squares.  
Brit. Mus.

of proportion is in the British Museum (A.B. 33); and a trial piece with uncertain heads and this king's name is at Turin (L.D. iii. 304).

A stele, showing Tahutmes adoring Min, is at Turin (L.T. 1460); and one was found in the chapel of Uazmes, showing Tahutmes III. adoring his grandfather and prince Uazmes (M.E. ii.). A large, high block of

red granite, with figures half detached in relief, representing Tahutmes held hand in hand by Mentu and Hathor, twice repeated, was found at Karnak. From the size, about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet high and  $3 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$  feet at the top, it cannot be an altar; but would be exactly suited as a stand for resting the sacred bark in the temple, when depositing it from the priests' shoulders after a procession (B. Mus., A.B. 34). Another such block is said to be still at Karnak (W.G. 366). A large and very fine altar is in the Vatican (Massi, Guide, 87). An altar of the *kalathos* form was found at Salonika (A.Z. vi. 79). And two fine altars of red granite and of alabaster belonged to the sphinxes of Tahutmes in a back hall of the Karnak temple built by him (Hall Y<sup>1</sup>, M.K. 32 b; V.G. 211; M.B. 98).

Many alabaster vases are known, to which references are given at the head of this reign. The important ones are those with the contents marked. One at Turin contained nine hins, but is filled with bitumen (?), so that it cannot be gauged; another at Ghizeh contained 21 hins, and as it measures 581 cubic inches, the hin was 27.7 c. i. in this case. Two glass vases with the name of Men'kheper-ra are the earliest dated glass known, and show much facility in the working and knowledge of the material (B. Mus.; Ms. A. 251; R.C. lxii. 6). Two ivory tablets with the name are reported to exist at Marseille (W.G. 368), but are not apparent in Maspero's catalogue: they are probably those which are now considered false. A very strange series of fourteen labels of wood and one of stone, bearing the names of princesses, three of which have also the name of Tahutmes III., were found in a tomb in Thebes by Rhind. That they were original labels of the mummies of the princesses, seems very unlikely; they may have belonged to slaves or servants of the princesses, as there are so many different names.



FIG. 86.—Glass vase of Tahutmes III.

From the style of the names they seem to be all of this same period, so they are not likely to be labels which were attached in course of removing a series of miscellaneous royal mummies in later times. The names are stated here in dealing with the family of the king. A feather head-dress of Amen with the king's name (T. Mus.), a fish-shaped dish of green glaze (Ms. G. 124), and a scribe's palette for "Tahutmes III. loved by Amen and Ptah" (Bologna), are of this reign.

A few papyri remain. One in Turin (No. 1) recounts how a scribe User'amen had served royalty for thirty years; as he dates in the fifth year of this reign, he began in the middle of Tahutmes Ist's reign.

Rings are common in all materials, except glazed pottery, which does not appear till Tahutmes IV. One ring in gold found at Gurob (Fig. 48) shows that the king was born at Thebes (*mes uas*).



FIG. 87.—Scarab of  
Tahutmes III.  
F.P. Coll.

The contemporary scarabs of this reign are commoner than in any other; and the name of Men'kheper'ra continued to be placed on amulets and scarabs in many later times, so that two scarabs out of any three with names are generally of this king. His lasting popularity shows how deeply the glories of his reign had impressed Egyptians with the greatest epoch of their history. Two later kings retook his name, the husband of Isi'em'kheb in the XXIst, and Piankhy in the XXVth dynasty.

### PRIVATE MONUMENTS.

We now turn to the remains of private persons, which, from the length and the riches of this reign, are unusually important.

Beginning with those who lived in this reign, there are the following officials and others:—

*Aa'ma'thu*, vizier, tomb, Silsileh

(L.D. iii. 25 *bis*, o; S.B.A.  
xii. 103; M.A.F. v. i. 3).

- Amen'em'ant*, architect and general, Abusir (L.D. iii. 29 e).  
*Amen'em'hat*, keeper of the palace, Heliopolis (L.D. iii. 29 c).  
*Amen'em'heb*, tomb with Rutennu (M.A.F. v. 224-285).  
*Amen'em'hat*, tomb, stele, 28th year (L.D. iii. 38 e-g;  
 A.Z. xxi. 132).  
*Amen'em'ka*, cones, second prophet of king (M.A.F. viii. 279,  
 82).  
*Amen'em'meruf*, *wakil* of the palace, Leyden (Lb. D. 595).  
*Amen'mes*, overseer of north, tomb, Asassif.



FIG. 88.—Rekh'ma'ra.

- Amen'user*, tomb 119, vizier (B.E. ii. 191).  
*Amunzeh*, keeper of the palace, tomb (M.A.F. v. 337-361).  
*Antef*, chief reporter, tomb, Drah a. Negga.  
*Bahes'heku*, feather-bearer, Turin (Rec. iii. 124).  
*Humai*, governor of Memphis, P. Mus. (S. h. 14).  
*Kargui*, scribe of Nubian treasury, Addeh (W.G. 368).  
*Kharu*, fan-bearer (Lb. D. 591).  
*Mau'en'hegu*, armour-bearer, Turin (L.T. 1459).  
*Men'kheper-ra'senb*, A, keeper of magazines (B.C. 127 cone).  
 B, tomb 59 (C.N.i. 557; M.A.F.  
 v. 197-223).

- Neḥ'amen*, keeper of granaries, Abbott papvrus.  
 " tomb, keeper of audience hall (Rec. ix. 97).  
*Neḥy*, great builder of the king, Dresden (A.Z. xix. 67).  
*Neḥi*, viceroy of Ethiopia (L.D. iii. 59 b, c,  
 etc.; C.N. 79).  
*Penaati*, chief of works (P.S. 357).  
 " statue, Turin (S. Cat. F. 1505).  
*Plah'mes*, high priest, Memphis, naos, Abydos (V.G. 200; M.A.  
 ii. 32).  
 " pyramid, Berlin (B.C. 91).  
*Puam'ra*, over the royal monuments, and  
 governor of the small Oasis (D.O. 1, 2 a, p. 22; L.D. iii. 39 c),  
 ushabti-coffin (B.C. 125), stele (V.G. 215).  
*Rekh'ma'ra*, vizier, great tomb, No. 35,  
 Qurneh (M.A.F. v.; H.E. xlvi.-xlix.; P.A. 97, 100).  
*Sei*, guardian of the palace (Lb. D. 587).  
*Tahuti*, general, gold dish, silver dish, canopic  
 jar (Louvre), gold heart scarab, canopic jar,  
 kohl pot (Leyden), dagger (Darmstadt).  
*Tahuti*, scribes, coffin (M.B. 577), palette (M.A. 1486 and  
 Ms. G. 120).  
*Tahutmes*, *wakil* of the palace (Lb. D. 595, 608).  
 " high priest of Memphis (S. Cat. F. 1570).  
*User*, vizier (M.K. 32 g); stele, 24th year, tomb (A.Z. xxi. 132).  
*User'hat*, overseer of serfs of the king (L.P. 26).  
*Zanuni*, scribe of general census, tomb (C.N. 831), stele (Turin;  
 Rec. iv. 13; M.A.F. v. 591).

### Priests of Tahutmes III. in later times :—

- Bakta*, *gemat* of Tahutmes III., stele, P. Mus. (P.R. ii. 77).  
*Horames*, adoring Sopd and Tahutmes III. (E.L. 40).  
*Horem'heb*, tomb (C.N. i. 492; L.D. iii. 78 b).  
*Ima'dua*, great tomb under Rams. X. (C.N. i. 563).  
*Ken'amen*, priest, Abydos (M.A. 1108, ii. 49).  
*Khaemuas*, 2nd prophet of T. Tomb of Khonsu (Qurneh)  
*Khonsu*, 1st prophet of T. Rams. II. tomb (Qurneh)  
*Men'kheper*, prayer to royal ka (C.N. i. 839).  
*Ra*, priest (L.D. iii. 62 b).  
*Ran*, priest (Berlin, 2067?)  
*Sakedenu*, priest, cones (M.A.F. viii. 299, 294).  
*Sen'nefer* adoring Nefertari, Sa'pair, Tahutmes  
 I. and III., Amenhotep II., seal and palace  
 keeper, tomb, Qurneh (L.T. 1455).

The importance of these private remains is in showing details of the foreign peoples and tributes; these we have already noticed.

## ROYAL FAMILY.

Of the family of Tahutmes III. but little is known. His queen, of whom his heir Amenhotep II. was born, was Meryt-ra Hatshepsut, daughter of Hatshepsut; this is shown by Amenhotep being accompanied with his mother in tomb scenes (L.D. iii. 62, 64), and on a scarab (M.A. ii. 40 n). A female sphinx representing her, with the name of her husband on the chest, was found in the temple of Isis at Rome, now in the Baracco collection, and casts of it at Turin and Berlin (A. Z. xx. 118). The queen appears behind her husband at Medinet Habu (L.D. iii. 38 a, b; C.M. 195, 3); and in a tomb (L.D. iii. 63 a).



FIG. 89.—Head of Tahutmes III., Deir el Bahri. Photographed by Mr. Carter.

A strange collection of labels bearing the names of princesses was found by Rhind at Thebes. A tomb sealed under Amenhotep III. had been broken open; in the upper chamber were fragments of coffins and funereal furniture, with these labels lying loose; in the lower chamber were the despoiled mummies. Not having any of the pieces of the coffins dated or preserved, it is possible that they and the mummies all belonged to subsequent interments, but not likely; as, if the place had been cleared out for fresh burials, the entrance would have been regularly opened. And as it is not likely that a whole clearance would have been made within sixty years, the seal of Amenhotep is probably of the same closing of the tomb to which these labels of Tahutmes III. belong.

The question then arises, who were the persons connected with the labels? The little slips of wood, with names written on in rough hieratic with ink, are not at all grand; and Rhind suggested that they might have been for slaves of the various princesses. This is the

more likely, as there are three labels of one name, and two of each of two other names: so they must have referred to persons or things belonging to the princesses, and could not be body labels for themselves. But no person is named beside the princesses, except on two labels, the household or funeral officials, namely, an inspector, two guardians, and an embalmer, are inscribed.

Turning next to the names, we read first: "Year 27, Pharmuthi 2. King's daughter Nebtau, daughter of the royal son Sa'tum" (see No. 1). Here the title king's daughter must mean descendant, as Sa'tum was her immediate father. Another inscription bears on this, as Neb'amen was keeper of the house of the royal wife Nebtu (Rec. ix. 97), whose name is probably the same as Nebtau, with a slight blunder in one or other. Neb'amen had served Tahutmes II., then dead, and Nebtu was also dead when he wrote under Tahutmes III. This date of twenty-seven years after Tahutmes II. is not at all impossible to fit his biography. Who, then, was the queen Nebtu? As the date above on the label is forty years after the death of Tahutmes I., it seems more likely that Nebtu was a queen of Tahutmes III., who died young. The tomb appears to have been in use till some time later, by the seal of Amenhotep III.; and hence the various king's daughters named, and stated to be of the house of the royal children of Tahutmes III., were probably his daughters. Their names are recorded—

"Princess Tauī . . . of the house of the royal children of Men'kheper'ra; those who follow her, inspector Maa, guardian . . ., guardian Nefer . . ., embalmer . . ."

"Princess Ta'kheta, of the house of the royal children of Men'kheper'ra; those who follow her, the inspector Tugay, guardian Si, guardian Neferu'er'hatf, embalmer Nefer'renpit" (see No. 2).

"Princess Pet'ahuha of Men'kheper'ra" (3).

"Princess Pet'pui, surnamed Ta'khet'auī" (2).

"Princess Meryt'ptah."

"Princess Sat'hora."

"Princess Nefer'amen."

"Princess Uaay."

"Princess Henut'anu" (2).

Bearing on the date, we may notice that the Kheta do not appear named among Egyptian foes till the

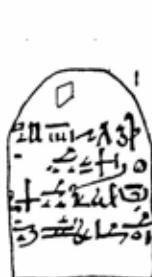
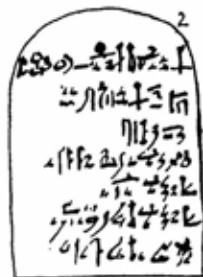


FIG. 90.—1. Label of Nebtau.



2. Label of Ta'kheta.

33rd year of Tahutmes III.; hence Ta'kheta (who was probably the child of some captive of the Kheta) would probably have died late in his reign.

At the close of this reign,—one of the grandest and most eventful in Egyptian history,—we may well pause to look at the new conditions of life which were thus forced on the country.



FIG. 91.—Haematite scarab of Tahutmes III., found in Cappadocia, and clearly of Syrian work, both in design and execution. Dr. Long's Coll.

In the previous crises of the land, when it was invaded by the Libyans in the VIIth, by the Amu or Asiatics in the IXth, and again in the XIVth dynasty, but little effect was made upon the national art and character.

The invaders were apparently less civilised than the



Egyptians, and had no knowledge to impart to them. The upper classes of the Egyptians doubtless fled southward before the invaders, and only those whose property fixed them to the soil were likely to stay under a hated oppression. Thus very little effect appears on the Egyptian civilisation; the works of the XIth and the XVIIth or of the XIIth and the XVIIIth dynasties, when compared, are barely distinguishable. Clearly no external influence acted on the art or ways of the Egyptians with any obvious result. Not only would the skilled classes flee, but the boundary of the races would be always a fighting frontier where the arts would not be practised.

When we come to the invasion of Syria by the Egyptians, very different causes are at work. This was not a racial invasion by a body of settlers, who hold together and form a rival community to the natives, with a repellent attitude. On the contrary, it was a far-reaching raid of a body of troops passing through many different tribes, and not displacing any of them, but plundering each in turn. Thus the Syrian and the Egyptian were brought into close personal contact.

Then at this period the civilisation of Syria was equal or superior to that of Egypt. No coats of mail appear among the Egyptians in this age, but they took 200 suits of armour at the sack of Megiddo (23rd year Tahutmes III.), and soon after such coats of scale armour commonly appear in groups of valuable sculptured in the tombs. No gilded chariots appear in Egypt, except later than this, and for royalty; but we read of two gold-plated chariots in the sack of Megiddo (yr. XXIII), 10 with gold and silver (yr. XXIV), 19 chariots inlaid with silver (tribute yr. XXXI), chariots adorned with gold, silver, and colours (yr. XXXIV), 20 chariots inlaid with gold and silver (yr. XXXV), and nine more (yr. XXXVIII). Here was luxury far beyond that of the Egyptians, and technical work which could teach them, rather than be taught. In the rich wealth of gold and silver vases,

which were greatly prized by the Egyptians, we see also the sign of a people who were their equals, if not their superiors, in taste and skill.

In what way, then, did this civilisation come in contact with Egypt? In the most thorough way possible. No sufficient notice has ever been taken of the great number of captives brought into Egypt. In the biography of Aahmes, of the earlier reigns of this dynasty, we read that he alone had 6 male captives and 7 females, and had 8 others given him from the general booty, making 21 captives taken into the household and estate of one officer alone. In the later biography of Amen'em'heb, under Tahutmes III., we read of his taking as many as 31 or more captives. These were no exceptional instances. Whenever the troops went out, they seem to have usually made many captures: "to every man a damsel or two," like Sisera's custom. We have a general view of the results in the summary of each year's tribute and plunder. In eleven campaigns, of which the details remain, there are 7548 captives and slaves, male and female, mentioned, beside some lost numbers, probably about 8000 in all; and about 400 of these are specified as belonging to the upper classes. And beside this, a tribute of girls appears to have been exacted in the tranquil age of the later reigns.

When we consider whom the Egyptians would select as tribute, it is obvious that they would get the most valuable labourers that they could. In the sack of Megiddo it is specified that the king "sent the foreign workmen with the tribute southwards." The artist of the chief of Tunep is figured as following his captive lord, holding a vase (Fig. 52). And the keenness with which the Egyptians record all the beautiful and luxurious products of the Syrians, shows that the workmen would probably be more in demand than other kinds of slave-tribute. Beside the men who would bring in their arts and skill, large numbers of the captives appear to have been women. We know, in the time of Amenhotep III. and IV., that even the kings

married Syrian princesses; and as early as the second campaign of Tahutmes III., the daughter of a chief was yielded to him as tribute. We cannot doubt, then, that the female slaves were taken as wives and concubines by the Egyptians, as also was the Jewish custom. The striking change in the physiognomy and



FIG. 92.—Usertesen I., XIIth dynasty.  
Older Egyptian type.

ideal type of the upper classes in the latter part of the XVIIIth dynasty points to a strong foreign infusion. In place of the bold, active faces of earlier times, there is a peculiar sweetness and delicacy; a gentle smile and a small, gracefully-curved nose are characteristic of the upper classes in the time of Amenhotep III. Such features we know to have been found in Syria, as in *Thyi*, and the *Yanuan* captive of later time. Being of such a winning type, it is no wonder that they were taken into the Egyptian families.

The condition, then, was that thousands of Syrians, selected probably for their value in either skill or beauty, were brought into Egypt largely as the property of the upper classes, and therefore settled down in their households and domains. Every Syrian workman would be employed on the most valuable work that he could do, as their products were so much appreciated by the Egyptians. Every Syrian mother would teach her children somewhat of her own tongue and

her own thoughts. And this was going on among the ruling classes, and imbuing them year by year with the ideas, tastes, and language of a civilisation equal to their own. No wonder that, after a few generations, we find Semitic words, idioms, and thoughts transfused throughout the Egyptian literature. No nation could be proof against such influences.

That large numbers of persons were engaged in unremunerative work in Egypt, and that the economic state of the land had greatly changed, is shown by the requisition for corn.

In early days buying corn in Egypt was a matter of course; to the Roman, Egypt was the granary of the empire; in our days the annual millions of the debt are paid for by lines of ships laden with beans and cotton. Egypt has always been an exporting country, except during this XVIIIth dynasty, when it seems to have required imports. From Megiddo the Egyptians carried off 150,000

bushels of corn in one year, beside all that they consumed. And every year large tributes of harvest came in both from Syria and from Nubia. The only possible meaning of this is that a large part of the population was employed on work that did not produce food. For if even half the people were agriculturalists, they would easily sustain the inhabitants without needing imported food.

This intimate connection with Syrian craftsmen and Syrian women altered the nature of Egyptian taste and feelings more profoundly than any influence since the



FIG. 93.—Head of Zey, XVIIIth dynasty.  
New Egypto-Syrian type.

foundation of the monarchy. In language, as is well known, Egypt became Semiticised. In writing, the old thick hieratic, which hardly changed from the earliest examples of the Vth dynasty down to Amenhotep I., suddenly took an entirely different character—thin, flowing, and flourishing. In statuary the ideal type was quite new, and the small-featured and fascinatingly



FIG. 94.—Head of a servant of Khaemhat, XVIIIth dynasty.

graceful faces—such as that of Ptahmes II. in the Florence Museum, and of Zay in the Ghizeh Museum—show that there was an entirely new element in the people. In flat relief a new taste appears, there is far more expression of emotion: the old Egyptian dealt with incident, the new Egyptian with emotions, the flowing postures of the bewitching dance, the girl who

has had a drink of wine and is going off on tiptoe, tossing her head back and holding up her hands in delight (G. Mus., V.G. 171), the children following a funeral, and the neglected baby which one has put down clamouring to be taken up again (Neferhotep tomb)—in all these the artist has given himself away in quite a new fashion. And in the small objects and manufac-



FIG. 95.—Head of a priestess, XVIIIth dynasty.

tures as great a change appears; types which were unaltered from the XIIth dynasty until Hatshepsut, vanish entirely, and new designs take their place. In the patterns of beads, in the mode of glazing, in the forms of dress, in the hairdressing, in the designs of furniture, and in the painting of the tombs, the new Egyptian left aside entirely the continuous traditions of

his forefathers. Having once broken the old and gradually developing system of ages, dazzled with the taste for incongruous novelties, the Egyptian found it impossible to regain the old life; and thus he passed feverishly from change to change, from worse to worse, until only archaistic revival was possible if an improvement was attempted, and finally all the arts became hopelessly degraded in the Greek period.

XVIII. 7. AA'KHEPERU'RA



about

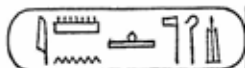
1449-

1423

B.C.

AMENHOTEP II.

NETER'HEQ'AN



Tell el Hesi	Jar stamp	(B.M.C. 89).
Bubastis	Scenes of offering	(N.B. 31, xxxv.).
Turra	Stele of 4th year	(V.P. iii. 94).
Nubt	Blue glazed uas	(S. Kens. Mus.).
Medamot	Pillar and lintel	(C.N. ii. 291; Rec. vii. 129).
Karnak	Wall and halls, between S. pylons, X-XI.	(C.N. ii. 180; M.K. 12).
"	Scene with king, front pylon IX.	(C.N. ii. 183; L.D. iii. 61).
"	Red granite stele	(C.N. ii. 185).
"	Blocks re-used, before sanctuary	(C.N. ii. 140-4; M.K. v.).
"	Re-erected columns by obelisks	(M.K. 29).
Qurneh	Temple N. of Ramesseum	(L.D. iii. 62).
Erment	Block	(B. Rs. 201).
"	Stele of conquest, G. Mus.	(A.Z. iv. 33; V.G. 158).
Silsileh	Name	(B.E. 258).
Elephantine	Block	(M.I. i. 115).
"	Obelisk?	(Rev. A. i. ii. 730).
Aswan	Khaemuas graffito	{ (M.I. i. 90, 87). (M.D. 70, 5).
Schel	Pa'nehy'amen graffito	(M.I. i. 95, 148).
Bigeih	Statue	(C.N. 160; L.D. iii. 63 c).
Kalabsheh	Pronaos	(C.M. 54 bis, 1).

Ibrim	Painted rock shrine	{ (C.M. 39).
Amadeh	Temple finishing	{ (L.D. iii. 63 d).
Halfa, Wady	Brick temple, sandstone columns	(L.D. iii. 65 a-c).
Kummeb	Temple scenes	(C.M. 2, 7).
Semneh	Name in temple	(L.D. iii. 64-67).
Sai	Remains of temple	(My. E. 545)
Napata	Temple mentioned	(L.L. 237).
		(L.D. iii. 65 a).

*Statues—*

Before pylon IX.	Karnak	(B.E. 147).
Granite	Bigeh	(C.N. 160).
Kneeling	Beni Naga	(L.D. iii. 70 a-d).
Large kneeling	Turin	(L.T. 1375).
Headless, kneeling	P. Mus.	(S. h. 11).
Body of seated	Karnak	(Ms. G. 426).
Headless, seated	Qurneh temple	(G. Mus.).

Foundation deposits	Qurneh temple.
Ushabtis	Qurneh (dealers).
Stele, king adoring Amen	Luxor
Vase, foundation of temple	Qurneh
Papyrus, 5th year	Paris
Leather roll, 5th year	(W.G. 376).
Mummy wrappings of Tahutmes III.	(Rec. xvi. 30).
Toilet box, Rhind Coll., Edinburgh.	(Pap. Rollin, p. 23).
Rings and scarabs : with mother	(A.Z. xii. 86).
<i>Queen—TA'AA</i>	(A.Z. xx. 132).
<i>Sons—Tahutmes IV., and 5 or 7 others</i>	(M.A. ii. 40n).
	(A.Z. xxxi. 29).
	(L.D. iii. 69 a).

As no monuments are dated above the fifth year, it was thought that this reign must have been short, and not have occupied 25 years 10 months, as stated by Manetho. But the Lateran obelisk mentions that it was set up in this reign 35 years after it was abandoned, presumably at the death of Tahutmes III., who ordered it; and as Tahutmes IV., who finished it, reigned 9 years 8 months, it shows that Amenhotep II. must have reigned over 25 years and 4 months. In short, the obelisk pretty well guarantees all but six months of the two reigns of Amenhotep II. and Tahutmes IV., as stated in Manetho, and must have been set up only just before the death of the latter king. And we see below that the reigns are too short, rather than too long, for



the genealogy. Lately the absolute proof of the length of reign has been found on a wine jar dated in the 26th year of Amenhotep II., thus agreeing with Manetho.

It appears that Amenhotep II. cannot have been of mature age at his father's death; he is shown seated on his nurse's knee (L.D. iii. 62 c), and in the tomb of Ra at Qurneh, seated with his mother behind him (L.D. iii. 62 b); again in the great tomb with new year



FIG. 96.—Amenhotep II. and his nurse.

gifts (L.D. iii. 63), though the female figure behind the king is defaced, yet among the statues represented are many of the king, one of his mother, but none of any wife; and also on a scarab found at Abydos his name is side by side with that of the "royal mother Meryt·ra" (M.A. ii. 40 n). Yet he must have been grown up, as in his third year he describes his conquests in Asia on the stele at Amadeh (L.D. iii. 65 a). Hence we may probably assign the age of 18 to him on his accession without erring far on either side. This implies that he was born when his father was about 51; and though it might seem very

strange that no older son of the king was preferred, yet there are other cases of such choice. This selection of younger sons as successors is explained once in a way by the record of the succession of Solomon; probably similar influences determined the affairs of the royal harim in Egypt.

Soon after his accession, the young king went forth with his father's veterans to make a customary raid on Asia, and establish his renown. His personal exploits,

though of no effect on the war, are chronicled at Thebes. The date of the affair is lost, but it must have been in the first and second years of his reign, because early in the third year a tablet was erected at Amadeh recording the victories. The record at Karnak begins by saying that the king went to some land, as to the city of Shemesh-atuma (in south Galilee): "His Majesty there had success, His Majesty himself there made captives, for behold he was as a terrible lion that puts to flight the country of . . . nen . . . sakhu is his name. Account of that which His Majesty himself took in this day. Living prisoners Satiu 18, oxen 19.

"The 26th day of Pakhons (1st year) passed His Majesty over the arm of water of Arseth (? Harosheth on the Kishon, Arseth LXX.) in this day. His Majesty passed over charging as the valour of Mentu of Thebes. His Majesty turned his head to examine the horizon (shading his eyes with his hand); behold His Majesty saw some Satiu coming on horses, then His Majesty went to attack. Behold His Majesty was armed with his weapons, and His Majesty fought like Set in his hour. They gave way when His Majesty looked at one of them, and they fled. His Majesty took all their goods himself, with his spear . . . and he took the Sati at the frontier, and spoiled him of all his arms. His Majesty returned in joy, his father Amen had given to him his prey. Account of what His Majesty took this day . . . arms of war, 4? bows, a quiver full of arrows with its leather band, and the goods.

"The 10th of Hathor (in 2nd year, nearly six months later) His Majesty went in peace this day to the town of Niy; behold the Satiu of this town, men and women, were on the walls to adore His Majesty . . ." (C.N. ii. 185; A.Z. xvii. 55, xxvii. 39; S.B.A. xi. 422). This expedition was of some importance to establish the power of the new reign; it does not, however, seem to have been a re-conquest, as were so many expeditions, but rather a promenade as far as the Euphratean frontier, to check what disaffection existed, and to assert the Egyptian power over the vassals.

The record of the triumphal return to Egypt remains on a great stele in the temple of Amadeh, where he held a festival of the laying of the foundation stone of the temple on the 15th of Epiphi in the third year, "after he had returned from the land of the Upper Ruten, when he had conquered all the enemies of Egypt in his first campaign.

"His Majesty returned in joy of heart to his father Amen; his hand had struck down the seven chiefs with



FIG. 97.—Head of Amenhotep II. Karnak.

his mace himself, which were of the territory of Takhsi (near Aleppo). They were hung up by the feet on the front of the bark of His Majesty, which was named 'Amenhotep establishes the two lands.' The six of these enemies were hung in front of the walls of Thebes, and the hands (of the slain) in the same manner. Then was brought up the river the other enemy to Nubia, and was hung on the wall of the town of Napata, to show forth for all time the victories of the

king among all people of the negro land, inasmuch as he had taken possession of the nations of the south, and had bound the nations of the north and the ends of the whole extent of the earth on which the sun rises and sets, without finding any opposition, according to the command of his father Amen-ra of Thebes."

Though there are no further records of his wars, we see in the great tomb 13 at Qurneh that he claims as captive countries nearly all that his father had held: the south land, the Sekhet Am (Oases), the north land, the Petau, Tahenu (Libyans), Anu (Nubians), Mentiu Satet (Semites), Naharina (around Aleppo), Keftu (Phœnicians), Mennus (Mallus?), and the Upper Ruten (or hill country of Palestine), are all ranged around the base of his throne.

Of the remainder of his reign we know nothing; twenty years of peaceful administration appear to have glided by, intimating that the Egyptian yoke was not too heavily pressed upon Asia.

The public monuments of this reign are of some interest. In Syria, at Tell el Hesi, a jar handle stamped for "the palace of Ra-aa-khepru" was found (B.M.C. 89). In the Delta, work was begun again at Bubastis, where two scenes in a building (which was restored by Sety I.) show Amenhotep offering to Amen (N.B. 31 xxxv.). At the Turra quarries is a large tablet remarkable for the variety of gods to whom the king offers. It is dated in the fourth year, and shows Amenhotep adoring Amen, Horus, Sebek, Up-uat, Hathor of Aphroditopolis, Bast, Ptah, Osiris, Khentikheti, As-thareth, Sekhet, Hathor of Amu, and Uazi. These appear to be in geographical order from Thebes to the western Delta, so that Khentikheti and As-thareth come as Upper Delta deities. The tablet was put up by Min, who was a royal scribe, and "filled the heart of the king in executing his monuments, overseer of the works in all the temples of the north and south"; he also went with the expeditions, and erected the boundary

tablets of the empire at Naharina (North Syria) and in Kary (South Ethiopia). The occasion for this tablet appears to have been on reopening the quarries of Turra for some public building (V.P. iii. 94).

In the Delta there is but an uncertain trace of this king in the three much-usurped granite columns found at Alexandria; though probably from the Delta, there is no certainty about them (Rec. vii. 177). In Middle Egypt no remains of the reign have been recorded, except four scarabs at Gurob (P.K. xxiii.; P.I. xxiii.). At Nubt, opposite Koptos, an immense vase of blue glaze was found in the temple (S. Kens. Mus.). At Medamot, near Karnak, a pillar of red granite was seen (C.N. ii. 291), and a lintel also of red granite (Rec. vii. 129).

At Karnak some small works were undertaken. The eastern wall joining the two southernmost pylons (X.-XI.) was built, and the building of unusual type which stands in the middle of this wall. As it is neither temple nor palace, it has been suggested that this was a guard hall, or a resting-place of processions; or it might have been an audience hall. The form is that of a colonnade front facing north-west, and behind it a great court of twenty pillars, flanked on either side by three chambers connected together.

On the front of the pylon of Tahutmes I. (No. IX.) Amenhotep has inserted two scenes of his slaying his foes (L.D. iii. 61; C.N. ii. 183). Several blocks with his name were re-used by Sety II. in reconstructing the buildings before the granite sanctuary; these are seen on the south side of the court with lotus pillars (C.N. ii. 140, 144), and in chamber I. (M.K. v.). He also re-erected the columns in the southern half of the hall containing Hatshepsut's obelisks (M.K. 29). Nothing strikes us as more extraordinary than the condition of injury and confusion in which the most important buildings of Egypt seem to have remained. The most imposing works stood amidst half ruined and unfinished halls for a whole reign; other parts were walled off, to hide offensive memorials; other structures were either

incomplete or half ruined. This rage for alteration culminates under Ramessu II., with results fatal for history.

At Qurneh the funeral temple of the king stood next north of the Ramesseum. It was rearranged by Amenhotep III. for his daughter Sitamen. A statue and foundation deposits were found on the site. Until this latter temple was built, there was a regular chronological series of buildings from north to south; Amenhotep's temple was near the end of Drah abul Negga, Tahutmes I. and II. built at Deir el Bahri. Tahutmes III., Amenhotep II., Tahutmes IV., and Amenhotep III. all follow in regular series southwards to the Kom el Hettan.

At Erment a block was noticed by Brugsch (Reisab. 201), and a large stele containing a copy of the inscription of the first half of the Amadeh tablet was found here, and is now at Vienna (A.Z. iv. 33). At Silsileh the king's name occurs by the tomb of Amatu (B.E. 258). A block at Elephantine shows that here again the king had been building or repairing temples (M.I. i. 115). An obelisk described by Prisse (Rev. Arch. 1 ser. ii. 2, 730) perhaps came from there also. Near Aswan are two graffiti of Kha'em'uas (L.D. iii. 63 b; M.I. i. 90, 87), and another adoration of the king with the name lost (M.I. i. 91, 103); while at Sehel is a graffito of Pa'nehy'amen adoring the name of Amenhotep II., set on a stand (M.I. i. 95, 148). On the island of Bigeh, by Philæ, is a granite colossus of a mummified form like Ptah (C.N. 160).

In Nubia, work was continued actively in this reign. At Kalabsheh, on the pronaos, is a scene of the king offering to Min and to the Nubian god Merutru-hor-ra (C.M. 54 *bis*, 1). At Ibrim is a painted rock shrine, showing Amenhotep enthroned in a pavilion, a feather-bearer before him and fan-bearer behind; at the back of the pavilion is Sati; before it comes a procession of men leading captive lions, greyhounds, and wolves. The inscription can still be read, naming 113 live wolves (C.N. i. 84; C.M. 39). Another scene here shows the

king offering to Khnum, Sati, Anuke, Sopd, Hathor, and Nekheb (L.D. iii. 63 d).

At Amadeh he appears to have finished the temple sculptures which were in progress at the death of his father; and a short co-regency is indicated by two doorways which have the cartouches of Tahutmes III. and Amenhotep II. arranged evidently at the same time (L.D. iii. 65 b, c); while elsewhere the latter appears alone (d, e). The work was continued here till the 3rd year, at least, when the great historical tablet was engraved.



FIG. 98.—Kneeling statue of Amenhotep II. Berlin.

At Wady Halfa the brick temple contained pillars of this king (C.M. 2, 7). At Kummeh the sculptures were also in progress at the death of Tahutmes III., whose name appears on the dividing bands, while the scenes are of Amenhotep II. offering to Khnum and Usertesen III. (L.D. iii. 64 b, 66). Two great doorways are of Amenhotep II. (L.D. iii. 67). At Semneh his name appears in the temple (My. E. 545). At the island of Sai are remains of a temple of this time (L.L. 237). And the temple of Napata in Ethiopia is named on the Amadeh inscription as the place of execution of one of the Syrian princes.

The statues of Amenhotep II. are less common than those of his father. A battered colossus in white limestone stands in front of pylon IX. at Karnak; a very fine torso, with the nose and chin struck off, is also from Karnak (G. Mus.); and the mummiform colossus at Bigeh is in red granite. The seated Osiride statue of grey granite was found in his temple at Qurneh; unfortunately the head is lost (G. Mus.). There are three kneeling statues holding a globular vase of offering in each hand; one at Turin (L.T. 1375), and smaller ones at Paris (Cat. sal. hist., p. 11), and from Beni Naga, at Berlin (L.D. iii. 70). This attitude was apparently introduced for statuary by this king, as two other such images of him are figured in a tomb at Qurneh (L.D. iii. 63, 64).

A stele with the king adoring Amen was in the "French House" at Luxor (W.G. 376). An alabaster vase, from a foundation deposit of the "temple of the west" at Thebes, is in Paris (Rec. xvi. 30). A papyrus, dated in the 5th year, on the 19th of Phamenoth, contains praises of Amenhotep II., saying that he was grown and instructed by the deities Shay and Renent (Pap. Rollin, 15, p. 23). The leather roll at Berlin concerning Usertesen founding the temple of Heliopolis is probably of this reign, and not of Amenhotep IV. (A.Z. xii. 86). On the mummy wrappings of Tahutmes III. is inscribed that "Amenhotep made his monuments of his father, Men'kheper'ra," referring to his embalming. A part of a beautiful toilet box of ebony and ivory bears the cartouches of this king: it was found by Rhind at Thebes (Edinburgh Museum).

The scarabs and amulets of this reign show a new departure. Oval plaques, flat on both sides, and bearing figures, came much into use in this and the next reign, but disappear afterwards; they were specially used for rings, in order to lie flat on the finger. Their disappearance is due to the increase of rings made all in one piece under Amenhotep III. Scroll work on the old pattern reappears at this time (P.Sc. 1097), and the base imitation of it by a row of



concentric circles. Another, and characteristic, device was that of two, four, or six uraei, arranged in pairs around the cartouche or an emblem. Sentences also come more into use on scarabs, such as "Amenhotep II., born at Memphis," "setting up obelisks in the house



FIG. 99.—Scarab with Amenhotep as a sphinx, hawk-headed, trampling on a captive. F.P. Coll.



FIG. 100.—Scarab with six uraei. Brit. Mus.



FIG. 101.—Scarab. "Aa·kheperu·ra, born at Men'nefer" (Memphis). F.P. Coll.

of Amen." "The good god, lion over Egypt, lord of might, giving life like the sun;" "lord of glories in the house of Amen," etc. The reference to his birth is of interest, as showing that the court probably resided at Memphis some time in his father's reign.

The private monuments of this age are of great beauty and importance, often preserving records of public affairs in which the various officials were engaged, and particularly of the foreign tributes which they received for the king. The principal private works are as follow:—

Tomb of RA, husband of the king's nurse, high priest of Amen and of Tahutmes III.: contains a fine scene of the king and his mother Merytra, and also of the king on his nurse's lap (L.D. iii. 62). Many fine vases are shown in this tomb (P.A. 102). Qurneh.

Tomb of HOREMHEB, a high official, with scenes of recruiting, receiving tribute, etc.; and recording his devotion to Tahutmes III., to his son Amenhotep II., to his son Tahutmes IV., and to his son Amenhotep III. (M.A.F. v. 432). Qurneh.

Tomb of PA'SAR, a follower of the king in all lands (B.E. 193). Qurneh.

Tomb of AMEN'EM'HEB, with fine painting and important historical inscription of his wars, quoted under the previous reign (M.A.F.). Qurneh.

Tomb of SEN'NEFER and his sister Meryt (B.E.): he was "the noble of the south city," *i.e.* Thebes; and a

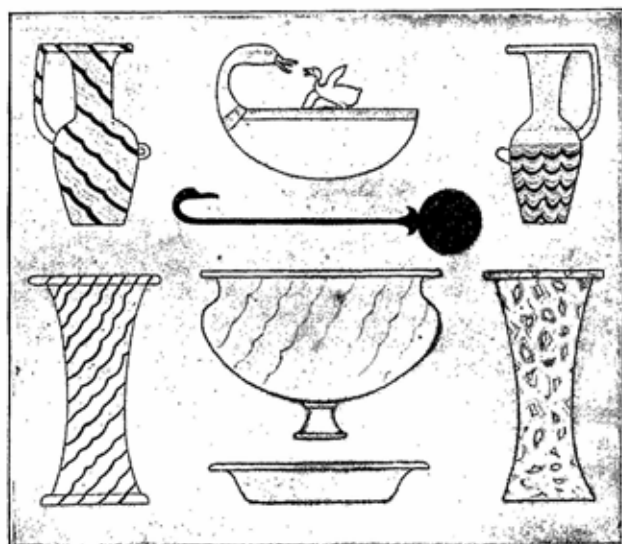


FIG. 102.—Glass and stone vases. Tomb of Ra.

statue of him seated was found at Nubt (F. P. Coll.). A stele of a Sen'nefer, perhaps the same, adoring Amenhotep I., Nefertari, Tahutmes I. and III., Sa'paar, and Amenhotep II., is in Turin (L.T. 1455; Champ. Figeac Eg. Anc. pl. 67). Qurneh.

Tomb of AMEN'EM'HAT at Silsileh (S.B.A. xii. 96).

Tomb of Amen'ken (Qurneh), showing the most splendid drawings of a series of new year presents. Amenhotep

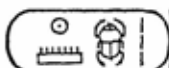
II. is seated ; with his wife or mother behind him, now destroyed. Before him is a splendid tree of goldwork of conventional forms (which were afterwards developed into the sacred tree of Assyria), and with monkeys climbing about it. A chariot of silver and gold and images of carved work in ebony are mentioned. Then come statues of Amenhotep II. and his *ka*, of Tahutmes I. and his *ka* (which are dark), eight of Amenhotep II., and one of Hatshepset Merytra. Then seven sphinxes of the king, two kneeling statues holding altars, and two kneeling statues with vases, all of the king. Then come rows of collars of jewellery, of shields, quivers, coats of scale armour, daggers, axes, and a gazelle, an oryx, and an ibex, on stands. The materials of the following objects are specified : 330 leather quivers, 680 leather shields, ebony throw-sticks with gold ends and silver handles, 220 whips of chased gold and ebony, 2 pelican heads of bronze, 140 bronze daggers, 360 falchions of bronze, a mirror of carved ebony, variegated glass vases, a throne, feather fans, etc. (L.D. iii. 63 a, 64 a). (See Additional Notes.)

Other private remains are a stele of Nebua at Abydos (M.A. ii. 33 a) ; a kneeling statue of Anher, a priest of Anher at Abydos (M.A. 372) ; a group of Kha'em'uas and his wife in the Vatican (W.G. 376) ; probably the same man whose graffiti occur at Sehel ; stele of Nefer'hebt'f, second prophet of Amenhotep II. (B. Mus.), and 'cones of his (M.A.F. viii. 277, 55) ; and a piece of a granite statue of a general of Amenhotep (F. Mus., S. Cat. F. 1504).

The queen of Amenhotep II., Ta'āa, is recorded on a double statue of her and her son Tahutmes IV. She is called "royal mother and wife," showing her to be his mother (A.Z. xxxi. 29). She could not have been his wife, as the mother of Amenhotep III. is known to have been Mut'em'ua, so it is impossible that another "royal mother" could have been wife of Tahutmes IV. This is important, as otherwise, from her figure in the tomb of Thenuna (C.N. 481) being only entitled royal wife, along with Tahutmes IV., it was naturally

supposed that she was the wife of him, and not of his father, Amenhotep II., as was really the case. Her son Tahutmes IV. is stated to be son of Amenhotep II. in the tomb of Hor'em'heb (M.A.F. v. 434). A princess, Amen'em'apt, is shown on the knee of Horemheb in his tomb; but as he lived through four reigns, we cannot settle her position (M.A.F. v. 434). Probably there were five or seven other sons of Amenhotep II.; for in the tomb of the tutor of Tahutmes IV., Hek'er'neheh (L.D. iii. 69 a), where Tahutmes is a boy on the tutor's knee, there are several other king's sons represented; unhappily all their names have been erased, and from the absence of any other mention of them, it would seem as if their royal brother was unkind to their memory, if not to themselves.

## XVIII. 8. MEN'KHEPRU'RA



1423-

TAHUTMES IV.  
KHA'KHAU

1414 B.C.

Sarbut el Khadem		(My. E. 351).
Alexandria	Columns	(Rec. vii. 178).
Gizeh	Stele of sphinx	(L.D. iii. 68).
Abydos	Statue	(M.A. 350).
Dendera	Fragment	(D.D. iii. b).
Karnak	Scene on pylon IV.	(M.K. 28).
"	List on wall round obelisk	(M.K. xxxiii.).
"	Colossus before pylon	(W.G. 378).
Qurneh	Temple S. of Ramesseum.	
Luxor	Scene in birth-hall	(M.A.F. xv. 204).
El Kab	Building of small temple	(L.D. iii. 80 b).
Elephantine	Fragments	(M.I. i. 115).
Konosso	Steles	(L.D. iii. 69 c; M.I. i. 66, 68, 69, 73).
Sehel	Stele	(M.I. i. 90).
Amadeh	In temple	(C.M. 44, 45, 59; L.D. iii. 69 f-i).

Scarabs, rings, uza eyes, etc.

<i>Queens</i> —MUT·EM·UA	Luxor	(M.A.F. xv. 63-7).
	Bark, B. Mus.	(A.B. 34).
Arat?	Konosso	(L.D. iii. 69 e).
<i>Sons</i> —Tahutmes	Scarab	(W.G. 378).
Amenhotep III.	Tomb	(M.A.F. v. 432).

But few public monuments refer to the history of this reign. The first reference to the new king is on a great tablet which he erected between the paws of the Sphinx at Gizeh. He there relates an adventure of his youth. After the usual titles and religious formalities, we read: "He once went afield, pleasing his countenance, on the desert of the Memphite nome, upon its

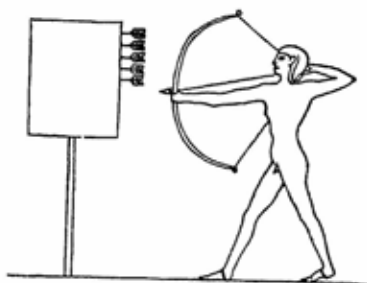


FIG. 103.—Boy shooting at a target.

borders north and south, for shooting at a target with copper (arrows). And he hunted the lions and the gazelles of the desert, riding in his chariot, his horses swifter than the wind, with two of his followers, and no man knew of them.

"Once came an hour of giving rest to his followers, . . . then the sphinx of Khepra, great and exalted, rested in this place, great of spirits, most highly revered, for to him was given the temples of Memphis and of every town upon both sides. Their hands adored his presence with great offerings for his *ka*. One of these times it came to pass a journey was made by the king's son Tahutmes, journeying upon the time of noon. A rest he made in the shadow of this god,

sleep fell upon him, dreaming in slumber in the moment when the sun was overhead. Found he the majesty of this noble god, talking to him by his mouth, speaking like the talk of a father to his son, saying, 'Look thou at me! Behold thou me! my son Tahutmes, I am thy father, Hor'em'akht, Khepra, Ra, and Tum, giving to thee the kingdom. On thee shall be placed its white crown and its red crown, on the throne of Seb the heir. There is given to thee the land in its length and its breadth, which is lightened by the bright eye of the universal lord. Provision is before thee in the two lands, and the great gifts of all foreign lands, and the duration of a great space of years. My face is towards thee, my heart is towards thee. . . . The sand of the desert on which I am reaches to me, spoiling me; perform thou that which is in my heart, for I know that thou art my son who reverences me; draw near, and behold I am with thee.'" The rest of the tablet is nearly all destroyed by the scaling of the surface, and only fragments remain, one of which names king Khafra.

Here we see how the young prince spent his youth in hunting and field sports, up in the desert with a couple of followers, lost to the sight of man; this account, and that of the noonday rest in the shadow, are most lifelike phrases to anyone who knows desert wandering.

In the first year of his reign, then, the king ordered this tablet to be set up, in memory of his dream and his clearing of the Sphinx from sand. No great respect was shown for the work of Khafra, as the block taken for the inscription was a granite lintel stolen from the temple of Khafra close by. And although the name of Khafra occurs in this inscription, yet, owing to the unfortunately broken state of it, there is nothing to show whether the Sphinx was attributed to Khafra, whether it was said to be by the side of the temple of Khafra, or in what way the connection with Khafra is involved.

From a stele of Amenhotep, a follower of the king, we learn of his campaigns in the north in Naharina,

and in the south to Kari (B. Mus., S.I. 93). And his first campaign was against . . . *a* (probably Naharina), as inscribed on the east face of the wall built around the obelisk of Hatshepsut (M.K. 33). Another fragment mentions a campaign against the Kheta (B.H. 413).

The VIth year is named in the tomb of Duy (C.N. 502).

In the VIIth year, on Phamenoth 8, is dated a rock-



FIG. 104.—Head of Tahutmes IV.

cut stele at Konosso, with a queen standing behind the king, referring to his smiting the Nubians.

In the VIIIth year is dated a long stele at Konosso, on Phamenoth 2, mentioning his smiting Wawat (M.I. i. 66).

It appears, then, that the earlier years of his reign were occupied with asserting his power in Syria, and in the later years Nubia occupied his attention. He died after reigning 9 years and 8 months, according to Manetho.

Turning now to the details of his monuments. He

continued the work at the Sinaitic mines, where his name is found at Sarbut el Khadem (My. E. 351). The columns found at Alexandria (Rec. vii. 178), now at Vienna, may have come from some work in the Delta.

Gizeh was then a deserted group of pyramids and tombs in the desert, as it is now; and the action of the king in clearing the Sphinx must have made a revival of attention to the region. The tablet was, however, merely taken from the neighbouring temple, and no great works were ordered for this business. It is remarkable to see how completely the old tied lotus flowers of the IVth dynasty had dropped out of knowledge by this time; their nature was forgotten, and a senseless imitation of them was made, copied from the old work which was to be seen in this neighbourhood.



FIG. 105.—Original group of tied lotus flowers.



FIG. 106.—Modification of group, Tahutmes IV.

At Abydos a torso of a statue in white silicious limestone was found, with the name on the girdle (M.A. 350). At Dendera a fragment of his work remains (D.D. iii. b).

Karnak was not honoured by any building of this king, but he engraved scenes on a gateway added to the entrance of pylon IV. The south jamb and the lintel has gone; but on the north jamb, on its west and north sides, are his inscriptions. Mariette, however, from the workmanship, regards this part as having been re-engraved by Shabaka (M.K. p. 28; L.D. iii. 69 d). On the east face of the wall which Tahutmes III. had built up around Hatshepsut's obelisk, to hide



her inscription, this king added a list of donations to Amen, on his return from his first campaign; and he mentions statues of his grandfather and himself. He also set up a colossus of himself before the pylon of Tahutmes I. (W.G. 378). At Qurneh was the funeral temple, now destroyed, of which fragments of sculpture and part of a colossal head were found.

At Luxor, though Mut'em'ua the queen often appears in connection with the infancy of her great son, yet the king is not shown, as the paternity of Amenhotep III. is ascribed directly to the god Amen (M.A.F. xv. fig. 203-4).

At El Kab the small temple was begun by this king, though finished by his son, who says: "Behold this was made by the majesty the king Maa'neb'ra, beautifying monuments of his father the good god Men' khepru'ra, named everlasting and eternal" (L.D. iii. 80 b).

At Elephantine his name appears on some fragments of the temples (M.I. i. 115). At Konosso are four memorials of this reign; the king appears smiting the negroes before the gods of Nubia, Dedun and He, while behind him stands a queen, who was royal daughter, sister, and wife (L.D. iii. 69 b); her name is written with the uraeus on *neb*, and is read Ar'at; but as this is the only trace of her existence, it may be that this is merely an idiogram for the "goddess queen," and may refer to Mut'em'ua. Beside this, there is a long inscription of forty lines, of which the first twenty-three are published (M.I. i. 66); another inscription, unpublished (*l.c.* 68); a double cartouche (*l.c.* 69); and a scene of Khnum and Min, carved by the divine father Ha'ankh'f, and the *suten rek*h Neb'ankh (*l.c.* 73). At Sehel is another graffito of the king's son Mes (*l.c.* 84).

At Amadeh, Tahutmes IV. worked considerably (C.N. i. 96-100); the architraves bear his inscriptions (L.D. iii. 69 f): other inscriptions and a scene of his are also published (69 g, h, i), and a figure of the king (C.M. 45, 6).

Of small remains there are many scarabs, rings, etc.

The most important is one with the figure of his son, Prince Tahutmes (Tyszkiewicz Coll., W.G. 378); others bear the usual adulation of this age, "rich in glories,"



FIG. 107.—Scarab of Tahutmes IV., "mighty in glories." F.P. Coll.



FIG. 108.—Scarab of Tahutmes IV., "establishing monuments." F.P. Coll.



FIG. 109.—Green glaze ring, Tahutmes IV. F.P. Coll.

"the glory of all lands," and "establishing monuments." A green glazed pottery ring of his is the earliest such ring known.

The private works of this reign are finer than the public remains. The principal tombs are those of—

*Thenuna*, fan-bearer, with figures of the king and of his mother Ta'āa (C.N. 480-1, 829). Qurneh.

*Amenhotep* and his wife Roy, with designs of a sculptor chiselling a royal statue, and the king's name by a second statue; also scribes weighing gold, and many figures of collars, boxes, vases, etc. (C.N. 480; C.M. cliv. 3; cxc.). Qurneh.

*Zanuni*, with scenes of conscription, and of various soldiers, some bearing square banners with designs of wrestlers, and of the king's name with titles, such as "lord of his might," and "lord of strength" (C.N. 484; C.M. clvii.). He states that he took a "census of the land to its bounds before His Majesty, an inspection of all things, soldiers, priests, royal serfs, artisans of all the country, and of all cattle, all fowls, and all small cattle, by the scribe of troops, loved of His Majesty, Zanuni" (Rec. iv. 130). A stele of this officer is also preserved (T. Mus.; Rec. iv. 129). Qurneh.

*Hor'em'heb*, a magnificent tomb, with family scenes;

groups of the conscription and registration; lines of foreigners bearing tribute, both Asiatics and negroes; and long processions, with all the varieties of the funeral furniture (M.A.F. v. 413). Qurneh.

*x*, a fan-bearer: scenes of census-taking, but much destroyed (C.N. 497-8).

*Piay*, chief prophet and follower of Tahutmes IV., keeper of the boats of Amen in the palace of Tahutmes IV. (C.N. 518-9). Qurneh.

*Hek'er-nehch*, tutor of prince Amenhotep (= A. III.), and of five or seven other sons of the king whose names are erased (L.D. iii. 69 a; C.N. 569). Qurneh.



FIG. 110.—Tahutmes IV. giving the *hotep* offering to Osiris for Thuna.

Objects are known in this reign of—

*Smen sheps*, a fan-bearer, and Hesit'na his wife, stele, P. Mus. (P.R. ii. 35).

*Pa'aa'aku*, a fan-bearer, and adorer of Amenhotep I., stele, P. Mus. (P.R. ii. 14).

*Nefer'hat*, a follower, stele, with king offering to Nut, Abydos (M.A. 1060; M.A. ii. 47).

*Thuna*, fan-bearer, seal-bearer, companion, etc., a stele, with the king offering to Osiris for the deceased,

a real *suten du hotep* scene, Abydos (M.A. 1061; M.A. ii. 48). Another stele at Stockholm (Lb.D. 590).

*Amenhotep*, high priest of Anhur; and the singer of Anhur, Hent, B. Mus. (Lb.D. 602).

*Thenau*, "fan-bearer behind the king the noble of princes." Scarab, P. Mus. (P.R. ii. 127).

*Ramery*, palette, B. Mus.



FIG. III.—Queen Mutemua.

The king was also adored by—

*Horames*, under Horemheb (?) (C.N. 517-8).

*Nesfer-em-hotep*. Turin stele.

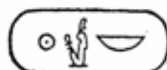
*Rany*, priest of his statue, whose south-east tomb boundary is known.

*x*, under Amenhotep III. offering to Tahutmes IV. (C.N. 499).

The family of this king is obscure. We only have one queen, the celebrated Mut'em'ua, certainly attested. The other queen usually ascribed here, and named Arat, might, as we have noticed, read only "the goddess queen," and refer thus to Mut'em'ua; this is the more likely, as the supposed Arat was "great royal wife," like Mut'em'ua. This name is only found on the Konosso stele of the 7th year, and therefore too far on in the reign to have been an earlier chief wife than Mut'em'ua (L.D. iii. 69 e). Of Mut'em'ua, or "Mut in the sacred bark," there is a fine sacred bark of granite, 7 feet long, with her name and titles around it (B. Mus. A.B. 34). It seems not unlikely that this belonged to the temple of Luxor, where she is specially honoured and worshipped as the mother of Amenhotep III. (M.A.F. xv. 63-67).

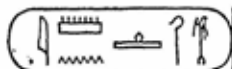
Of sons there is Amenhotep the successor and another son, Tahutmes, named on a scarab, as we have mentioned.

XVIII. 9. NEB'MAAT'RA  
(*Nimmuriya*)



1414-  
1379  
B.C.

AMEN'HOTEP III.  
HEQ'UAST



Tomb, W. valley of kings' tombs (L.D. iii. 78, 79)  
(M.A.F. iii. 174)

Rhodes	Scarab of Amenhotep	(S.S. 316).
Gaza	Two alabaster vases	(Pal. Exp. Fund).
Sarbut el Khadem	Two steles, 36th year	(L.D. iii. 71 c, d).
Bubastis	Four private statues	(N.B. 31-33).
Benha	Agathodaimon slab	(M.D. 63 b).
Turrah	Two steles, 1st & 2nd year	(L.D. iii. 71 a, b).
Memphis	Slab. G. Mus.	(V.G. 230).
"	Apis tomb	(M.S. Ms. 117).
Gurob	Altar of Tyi	(P.I. xxiv. 7).
"	Box lid	(P.I. xxiv. 8).
"	Kohl tube	(P.I. xvii. 20).

Howarte by Minieh	Stone	(My. E. 406).
El Bersheh	Stele 1st year	(S.B.A. ix. 195, 206).
Meshaikh	Temple	(S.B.A. vii. 172).
Rayaneh	Fort	(My. E. 426).
Dendera	Adoration scene, late	(D.D. iv. c).
Karnak	Mentu temple, N.	(C.N. ii. 271-2; M.K. p. 8).
"	Small temple E. of it	(M.K. pl. 1).
"	Avenue, 122 sphinxes	(M.K. p. 14).
"	Pylon III.	(M.K. p. 26).
"	Inscription	(M.K. p. 57; pl. 34-5).
"	Colossus before pylon XI.	(M.K. pl. 2).
"	Pylon VIII., name	(B.Rs. 184).
"	Building S, name	(C. N. ii. 180).
"	Temple of Mut, T.	(M.K. p. 15).
Luqsor	Great temple	(L.D. iii. 73-4).
"	Avenue of sphinxes.	
Kom el Hettan	Temple	(L.D. iii. 72).
"	Colossi	(D.E. ii. 21-22; My. E. 464).
Qurneh	Stele, black granite.	
"	Stele, white limestone.	
Deir el Medineh	Temple	(B.I.H.D. xxix.).
El Kab	Small temple E.	(L.D. i. 100; iii. 80).
"	Fragments	(C.N. i. 266).
Silsileh, E.	Shrine	(S.B.A. xi. 233-4).
"	Altar, 35th year	(L.D. 81 a-e).
"	Stele, part.	(L.D. 81 f).
Elephantine	Temple destroyed	(D.E. i. 34-8).
"	Fragment	(M.I. i. 120).
Aswan quarry	Colossus	(M.I. i. 62).
"	Stele	(M.I. i. 62).
"	Stele 5th year	(L.D. iii. 81 g).
"	"	(L.D. iii. 81 h).
"	"	(C.M. 95, 4).
Konosso	" 5th year	(L.D. iii. 82 a).
(Other graffiti, see <i>private monuments</i> .)		
Samneh	Inscription. B. Mus.	(Arch. Jour. viii. 399).
Soleb	Temple	(L.D. iii. 83-8).
Sedeinga	Temple to Tyi	(L.D. iii. 82 e-i).
Napata, removed from Soleb	Two rams. Berl. Mus.	(L.D. iii. 89, 90 a-c).
	Base of hawk. Berl. Mus.	(L.D. iii. 90 d-f).
	Lions. B. Mus.	(L.A. 13 A.B.). (Rec. xi. 212).
Colossi	Kom el Hettan	(D.E. ii. 21-22).
	Before pylon XI.	(M.K. pl. 2).

- Colossus Base, granite. P. Mus. (R.M.L. 37).  
A. 18
- Statues White limestone. G. Mus. (Ms. G. 422).  
Black granite. Thebes (B. Mus.).  
White limestone. Qurnet Murrai.  
Medinet Habu.
- Portraits Base. " Avignon (W. G. 388).  
Tomb of king (C.M. cccxxii.; C.N. ii. 704; L.D. iii. 70 c).
- Ushabtis. Paris. F.P. Coll. (S.B.A. xi. 421).  
Group of Amenhotep and Tyi. Saurma Coll. (W.G. 389).  
Sphinx, Karnak (C.N. ii. 272).  
" Acad. St. Petersburg (Lb. P. 61).
- Sekhet statues, temple of Mut.  
Ptah, standing, diorite. T. Mus. (L.T. No. 86).  
Ptah, seated, limestone. T. Mus. (L.T. No. 87).  
Anpu, seated, basalt. Sabatier (Rec. xiv. 54).  
Wooden tablet, with Haremakhti. B. Mus. (P.L. No. 344).  
Wooden label, with titles. T. Mus. (Rec. iii. 127).  
Wooden stamp (?), not yet engraved. T. Mus. (Phot. 292).  
Ostrakon, letter of palace-keeper. B. Mus. (B.I.H.D. xiii.).  
Ostraka on coronation-day. B. Mus. (B.I.H.D. xv.).  
Papyrus, copied from a roll. B. Mus. (A.Z. ix. 104, 117).  
Papyrus, medical. B. Mus. (A.Z. ix. 61).  
Stick. Leyden (I. 82).
- Ivory inlaying, box handle. B. Mus. }  
" inscribed strip. B. Mus. } (Arch. Jour. viii. 396).  
Inlaying from boxes, tomb. G. Mus. (M.D. 36 a).  
Kohl tubes, wood. P. Mus.
- " " with Tyi. P. Mus. G. Mus. (Ms. G. 95).  
" " " T. Mus. (Rec. iii. 127; phot. 161).
- " glazed, with Hent'ta'neb (P.I. xvii. 20).  
Glazed tubes. Temple of Amenhotep II.  
Glazed jar, polychrome, with Tyi. G. Mus. (V.G. 747).  
Vase, blue, double cylinder. B. Mus.
- " alabaster. Leyden.  
" pottery. P. Mus. (P.L. 361).  
" glazed, with Tyi. P. Mus. (P.L. 362).
- Dish. G. Mus.
- Scarabs—Marriage with Tyi. E. Coll. (R.P. xii. 39).  
Arrival of Kirgipa (A.Z. xviii. 82; Rec. xv. 200).  
Slaying 102 lions. E. Coll. (R.P. xii. 40).  
Making great tank (A.Z. xv. 87).
- Scarabs, with titles, etc.
- Rings, beads, etc.
- Queens—TYI, daughter of Yuua and Thuaa (A.Z. xviii. 82).  
Cartouche in quarry. Tell el Amarna (P.A. 4, xlii.).

Ushabti, alabaster	(D.E.V. 60, 7).
Toilet case. Turin	(Rec. iii. 127).
Figure with son. Tell el Amarna	(L.D. iii. 100 c).
Trial piece. Tell el Amarna. F.P. Coll.	(P.A. i. 6).
Adored as Osirian	(Pap. T. xii. 7).
(Frequently with Amenhotep III. on statues, scenes, scarabs, etc.).	
Scarabs, rings, etc	
KIRGIPA or Gilukhipa	(A.Z. xviii. 82).
Sons—Tahutmes	(L.K. 385).
Amenhotep IV.	(L.D. iii. 100 c).
Daughters—Ast. Soleb	(L.D. iii. 86 b).
Hent'mer'heb. Soleb	(L.D. iii. 86 b).
Hent'ta'neb. Gurob	(P.I. xvii. 20).
Sat'amen, box. B. Mus.	(Arch. Jour. viii. 397).
stele. G. Mus.	(M.A. ii. 49).
dish. A. Mus.	(P.A. xiii. 16).
Bakt'aten, daughter of Tyi	(L.D. iii. 100 a, c, 101).

We have seen from the presumptive dates that Amenhotep III. was probably only 16 at his father's death. There would be much difficulty in supposing him to have been born earlier in the family history; and yet, as his lion-hunting began in the 1st year of his reign, we can scarcely place his age at anything less. Again, his birth is the great subject of the temple he built at Luqsor, and his mother Mut'em'ua is the prominent figure in those scenes, pointing to her being important as queen-mother in the early part of his reign, and his infancy being then still a well-remembered subject. No mention appears of his celebrated, brilliant, and



FIG. 112.—Youthful head of Amenhotep III.



much-loved queen Tyi, until the 10th year of his reign; and he married another Mesopotamian princess, Kirgipa, or Gilukhipa, in the same year, which would well agree to his being about 25 then. Another



FIG. 113.—Amenhotep and his *Aa*.

sign of his youth is that he is represented as king with the boy's side-lock of hair, and there is no expedition of his until the 5th year, when he would have been about 20. The various indications thus agree to the presumptive age which I have stated.

#### OUTLINE OF THE DATED RECORDS.

Born at Thebes, scarab (F.P. Coll.).

Ist year, Epiphi 13, Amenhotep was crowned (Ostrakon 5637 B.M.; see B.I.H.D. xv. 2): age about 16.

Ist year, Epiphi 20 +  $x$ , quarry opened at El Bersheh (S.B.A. ix. 195, 206).

Ist year, quarry opened at Turrah (L.D. iii. 71 a).

IInd year, quarrying at Turrah (L.D. iii. 71 b).

IIIrd year, black granite stele (G. Mus.).

Vth year, expedition to Ethiopia (stele, Konosso, L.D. iii. 82 a, and stele erected Athyr 2, at Aswan, L.D. iii. 81 g): age about 21.

Xth year, lion-hunt record (R.P. xii. 40): 102 slain between ages about 16 to 26.

Xth year, marriage with Kirgipa, and already married to Tyi (A.Z. xviii. 82): age about 26.

XIth year, Athyr 16, festival, tank inscription (A.Z. xv. 87).

XIth year, Khoiak 6, decree of building temple, Deir el Medineh (late copy in B.M., see B.I.H.D. 29).

XIVth year, Papyrus Turin (Pap. T. p. 7).

XXXVth year, Pakhons 1, altar at Silsileh (L.D. iii. 81 c).

XXXVIth year, Mekhir 9, steles at Sarbut el Khadem (L.D. iii. 71).

It does not appear that this king undertook any great wars after the Ethiopian campaign in his 5th year. The condition of the kingdom seems to have been one of acknowledged supremacy abroad, and peaceful development at home. Tahutmes I. had



FIG. 114.—Chariot of Khaemhat.

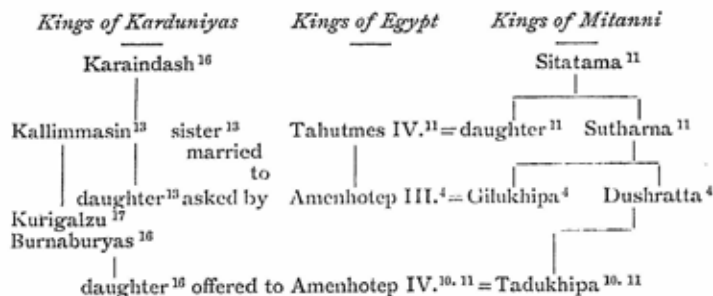
broken the power of Syria; Tahutmes III. had thoroughly grasped that country. He had taken the sons of the chiefs to be educated in Egypt; and as the Egyptian kings married Syrian princesses, it is most probable that the sons of the Syrian chiefs were

married to Egyptians at the close of their education. It was only stipulated that they should be restored to their homes to succeed their fathers; and thus they may have lived until middle life in Egypt. In this way, the rulers of Syria were assimilated in thoughts and ways to the suzerain power, and were very unlikely to attempt to be independent. The correspondence of the cuneiform tablets shows that the northern kingdom of Mitanni and Karduniyas were in close diplomatic and family connection with Egypt; and no troubles appear to have disturbed the empire until late in the reign of Akhenaten. The reign of Amenhotep III. was thus free for commercial extension and the cultivation of the arts; and we find in it the greatest activity in this direction.

The reign began with the execution of some large buildings during the minority of the young king; and the quarries of Turrah (L.D. iii. 71; A.Z. v. 91) and El Bersheh (S.B.A. ix. 195) were opened for the fine limestone, of which so much was used, but which has almost all disappeared in the limeburners' kilns. The amusement of the young ruler was lion-hunting, and this he kept up most actively until his marriage in the 10th year of his reign, slaying 102 lions in ten years (R.P. xii. 40). His first and only recorded war was in the middle of this, his athletic age. He went out to the limits of the Egyptian power, and smote many tribes whose names never appear before or after. The tablets about the cataracts mention his victories; and in the land of Abeha alone he took 740 prisoners, and slew 312 more of the negroes (Semneh tablet, B. Mus.). We must not, however, assume that every tribe figured on the monument as a captive had been recently subjugated; in this reign we find at Soleb figures of the Syrian peoples, of Naharina, Kedesh, and other parts, where the Egyptians appear to have been in peaceful political occupation as a suzerain power. The figure of a captive town or people only implies the

submission of that region to the Egyptian power. At Soleb the Syrian figures are named Kefa, Khit . . . , Sengar, Tares, Qarqamish, Asur, Aphethna, Makaut-uash, and Mehpeni; all these are with a fillet on the head and long hair. The other Syrian type is with close-cut hair and no fillet, found in Naharina, Kedshi, Pah . . . , Tita, Arerpaq, and Kedina. Names which have lost the figures are Tanepu and Aka..rita; and perhaps western districts in Sekhet Am, Menaunu Setet, Matnun, Tahennu, Asha . . . , Sekhet Am. Of the southern and negro peoples appear Matur, . . . nutaa, Azenunian, Samanurika, Kary, Maitariaa, Katha . . . , May, Fuersh . . . , Narkihab, Tarobenika, Tarosina, Aken . . . , Manuäreb, Mataka . . . , Abhat, Akina, Serenyk, Aururek, Atermaiu, Maiu, Gureses, the Sunuga, Ayhatab, Akhenuthek, Tartar, and Tursu. Of the Red Sea region are Shasu and Punt, and probably allied to this Aar . . . . This list shows the power of the king, ruling from Karo to Naharina, from Abyssinia to northern Mesopotamia.

His marriage in or before the 10th year of his reign was a great turning-point in his history. These Syrian marriages were so influential in the royal family of Egypt, that it is well to notice them carefully. From the Tell el Amarna tablets we can glean the following table of relationships:—



The numbers refer to the summaries of the letters in the chapter on the Decline of Egypt in Syria.

The marriage to Gilukhipa, daughter of Su . . . in letter 11, is evidently that described on the large scarab, when "the daughter of the chief of Naharina, Satharna, even Kirgipa and the principal of her women, females 317," came into Egypt (A.Z. xviii. 82). As on



FIG. 115.—Head of Tyi.



FIG. 116.—Head of man of Ynuamu.

the same scarab Tyi, daughter of Yuua and Thuaa, is named as the great queen of Amenhotep, it is evident that Kirgipa cannot be an earlier name of Tyi. Who then was Tyi?



FIG. 117.—Head of Nefertiti.

Her face (P.A. i. 6) bears a strong likeness to that of her son Akhenaten (P.A. i. 5, 10), and differs from any type seen before in Egypt. There is, however, a close resemblance between this type and that of a man of Ynuā or Ynuamu among the captives on the north wall of the Great Hall at Karnak (misnamed Mitanni, P.A. i. 2). This city appears to have been in the region of Tyre, and so this type may belong to northern Galilee. Another clue, however, may be in the type of Nefertiti, the wife of Amenhotep IV. Her face (P.A. i. 15) has much the same features as that of

Tyi, insomuch that both are probably of the same race. And it is most probable that Nefertiti is the other name of Tadukhipa, the daughter of Dushratta, as no other queen ever appears with Amenhotep IV. This would connect Tyi with the race of Dushratta in Mitanni. In either case, we must conclude that Tyi belonged to northern Syria. The nationality of her parents has been much disputed; their names, however, may as easily be Egyptian as foreign. But her titles are noticeable; she is called *hent-tai*, "princess of both lands," and "chief heiress, princess of all lands" (L.D. iii. 82 g), just as Nefertiti is called *hent res meh, nebt tai*, "princess of south and north, lady of both lands." These titles seem to imply hereditary right; indeed, it is very doubtful if a king could reign except as the husband of the heiress of the kingdom, the right to which descended in the female line like other property. Now we can see that the daughter of Dushratta, Tadukhipa = Nefertiti, would very probably be in the Egyptian royal line; Dushratta's application for a princess rather later is recorded (letter 28), and it is most likely that the Mitannian kings had Egyptian princesses, as the Egyptian kings had Mitannian princesses. Hence Nefertiti would be a rightful heiress of the Egyptian throne; and, similarly, Tyi may easily have been the grand-daughter of an Egyptian king and queen, her mother Thuaa having been married to some north Syrian prince Yuaa. Thus she would have the right to be a "princess of both lands"; her name might be Egyptian; and she would rightfully fill the prominent place she did in Egypt; while her physiognomy would be Syrian. This view cannot be yet proved, but it certainly fulfils all the conditions closely.

There can be little doubt of the powerful influence of queen Tyi; she appears closely associated with the king on his monuments, her figure is seen side by side with his on scarabs, her name appears along with the king's on innumerable objects, a temple was built in her honour at Sedeinga, and she acted as regent for her

son during his minority, when letters were addressed to her by Dushratta (letter 9). Her evident influence



FIG. 118.—Young head of Amenhotep III.

on her young son shows in what direction she had been turning affairs during her husband's reign; and the peculiar taste and style, the rich decoration, and the new ideas which blossomed out under Amenhotep IV., guided by his mother, can be seen rising and budding under the reign of the great king Amen-

hotep III., inspired by his wife's influence.

Immediately after his marriage, we find the king engaged in public works; in the 11th year, on Athyr 1st, he "ordered to make a tank of the great royal wife Tyi in the city of Zaru (or Zal, the eastern frontier fort of Egypt). Its length 3600 cubits, its breadth 600 cubits, made by His Majesty in the first festival in Athyr 16, sailed His Majesty in the bark Aten-neferu in his saloon" (A.Z. xv. 87). This tank or lake was nearly a quarter of a mile wide, and over a mile long: that implies an amount to be moved which would be all but impossible in fifteen days (from 1st to 16th Athyr), even if the greatest number of workers were crowded in. But as Zaru—sometimes identified with Sele—was in any case in the region of the isthmus of Suez, with its various lakes and depressions, it rather seems that this tank or lake was made by flooding some natural hollow: the date would be on the 25th October, and therefore just before the fall of the inundation, a time when flooding would be taking place down the canals. The name of the king's barge, "the beauties of Aten," shows that already the worship of the Aten,

or the sun's disc, was coming forward, in advance of its nationalisation under the son of Tyi. The founding of the temple of Deir el Medinet also belongs to this year, three weeks later than Amenhotep's *fantasiyeh* on the new lake; it is unlikely, therefore, that he was at Thebes at the time, and as the record only names private persons, we shall notice it further on.

After this there are no landmarks in this reign until the close; not a single war is recorded, and the Syrian letters show no trouble there, beyond a well-repelled attack by the Khatti on the king of Mitanni, the ally and brother of the Egyptian king (letter 4). What went on during this long peace is pictured in a little biographical letter, which we may quote complete as a picture of the life of a Syrian Prince:—"To my lord, my king, my gods, my sun, this is said:—Yabitiri, thy servant, the dust of thy feet, at the feet of my lord, my king, my gods, my sun, seven times, and seven times more, I fall down. Behold, I am thy servant, true to my lord my king. I look on one side, and I look on the other side, and there is no light; but I look on my lord my king, and there is light. A brick may move away from under the coping, but I shall move not from under the feet of my master. Let now my lord my king enquire about me of Yankhama, his agent. When I was young, Yankhama took me into Egypt, and placed me with my lord my king, and I dwelt at the door of my lord my king. Let my lord my king ask his agent if I do not guard the gate of Gaza and the gate of Joppa. As for me, I am with the auxiliaries of my lord my king; wherever they go, I go with them; and so I am with them now. The yoke of my lord is on my neck, and I bear it" (letter 101, S.B.A. xv. 504; Winckler, 214).

The temple of Soleb in Nubia is a monument of these silent years of tranquil government. There is shown a great festival, which began on the 26th of Mesore, and ended in Thoth. The king was accompanied by Tyi and



two daughters, and probably two sons also; hence this sculpture can hardly be earlier than the 18th or 20th year of his reign.

Toward the close of the reign it seems that Amenhotep IV. must have been associated with him. There are dates of his 35th and 36th year, and yet Manetho

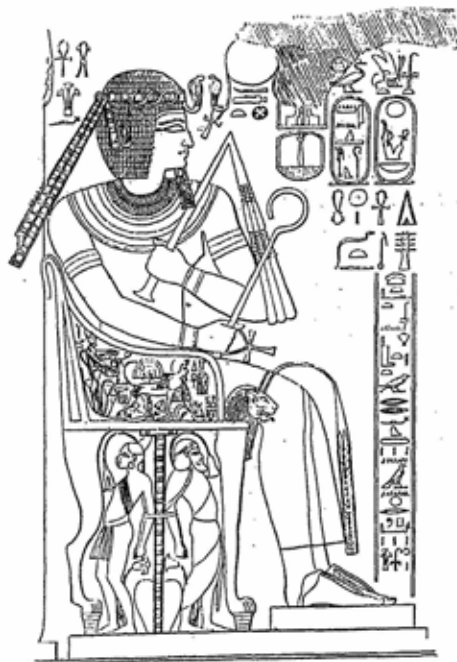


FIG. 119.—Amenhotep III. enthroned. Tomb of Khaemhat.

only gives 30 years and 10 months for his reign. That this difference cannot be due to co-regency with Tahutmes IV. is pretty certain, as there are quarry inscriptions of the 1st and 2nd year of Amenhotep III. But a little point shows that Amenhotep IV. was probably married near the time of his father's death. In a letter Dush-

ratta refers to Amenhotep III. sending to him to fetch a wife from D. to be the mistress of Egypt (letter 6). This cannot refer to either queen of Amenhotep III.; Gilukhipa was given by the father of Dushratta (letter 11), and Tyi was married yet earlier (Rec. xv. 200). Nor can it refer to another queen for Amenhotep III., as the great Tyi could hardly be superseded as mistress of Egypt. It must rather refer to seeking an alliance with Mitanni for the young Amenhotep IV. And we see that Dushratta, writing to Tyi, before Amenhotep IV. took up affairs, greets Tadukhipa his daughter, Tyi's daughter-in-law (letter 9).

Now there is no dating of Amenhotep IV. before his 5th regnal year, and in the 6th year his second child was born, pointing to his marriage in his 4th year. If, then, he were associated in the 31st year of his father's reign, the date of the 36th year of the old king would just follow the marriage of his son, and agree with the earliest date being of the 5th year. This also agrees with letter 8, in which Dushratta greets Tadukhipa his daughter, writing therefore after her marriage, while the letter reached Egypt in the 36th year, by the docket.

### MONUMENTS.

We now turn to the great works of this age. This king was the first we know of who placed his tomb out of sight of the Nile. Instead of occupying some part of the wide cemetery overlooking the plain, he retreated an hour's journey up a wild and desolate gorge of the desert, and there hewed out grand galleries for his sepulchre, extending some hundreds of feet into the mountain. This was a magnificent new departure, and served as a type followed century after century by later kings. A long corridor leads to a chamber with two pillars at right angles to it; thence two more galleries lead to the sepulchral chamber, containing six pillars, out of which branch seven other chambers (D.E. ii. 79, 5). The entrance was skilfully concealed

by lying behind a spur of rock; but the great banks of chips outside it point to the tomb. The greater part of the tomb was stuccoed and painted, but most of this covering has now disappeared. The execution of what remains is far finer than that of any of the later royal tombs. Three excellent heads of the king are published (C.M. ccxxxii.; L.D. iii. 70 e). The tomb in modern times contained only the lid of a sarcophagus in red granite, and fragments of ushabtis and funeral vases, etc. (D.E. ii. 80, 81; E. and F.P. Colls.).

The earliest dated Egyptian objects found in Europe are the scarabs of Amenhotep and of Tyi, of which several have been discovered in connection with Aegean pottery.

In Syria, two alabaster vases of this king were found at Gaza (Palestine Exploration Fund). At Sarbut el Khadem, in Sinai, two steles show him offering to Amen and to Hathor of Mafket; it appears that work was done at the mines in the last year of the reign.

In Egypt, work was carried on in the Delta. Four statues of officials of this age were found at Bubastis; two of a governor Amenhotep, one of a royal scribe Kherfu, and one unnamed (N.B. 31-33). And at Benha a large slab of black granite was found, with the figure of the guardian serpent of the temple of Har·khenti·khety (M.D. 63 b).



FIG. 120.—Amenhotep III. in middle age.

The steles at Turrah mention that "the king gave orders to open fresh chambers to quarry white excellent stone of An, in order to build his chambers for a million of years.

When His Majesty found the chambers which were in Rufuy going to great decay since the time of those who were at the beginning, by my Majesty they were made anew" (L.D. iii. 71 c, d). This was in the 1st and 2nd years; and a block at his temple of Kom Hettan at Thebes dates the quarrying in the 1st day of the 1st year.

At Memphis, the earliest of the Apis tombs belongs to this time; it was a rock chamber reached by a sloping passage, and with a chapel built over it (M.S. Ms. 117). A slab of this reign was found at Memphis, and is now in the Ghizeh Museum (V.G. 230).

At Gurob, an interesting altar was dedicated by Tyi to her husband's funereal service: "She made her monuments of her beloved brother Neb'ma'ra." A box lid and a kohl tube also name the king, his wife, and daughter Hent'ta'neb (P.I. xvii. xxiv). A block of Amenhotep was found in a town at Howarteh, near Minieh (My.E. 406). At El Bersheh is a stele of the 1st year in a quarry (S.B.A. ix. 195). At Mesheikh, nearly opposite Girgeh, stood a temple of this king (S.B.A. vii. 172). At Rayaneh is a fort the bricks of which are stamped by Amenhotep III. (My. E. 426). In Upper Egypt, at Dendera, is a Ptolemaic sculpture of the king in the guise of Hapi, with the cartouche *Ra'maa'neb* on his head.

At Karnak is the great mass of work of this reign. At the north end was built a temple of Mentu (N in Baedeker), with a pylon, and obelisks of red granite (C.N. ii. 271). The columns were polygonal, and the temple contained many fragments of black granite statues of the king and of Sekhet, and an exquisite small sphinx of Amenhotep. It was restored and altered by Merenptah, Ramessu V., and the Ptolemies II., III., IV., and VI. (C.N. ii. 272; B.E. 161). On the east of this was another lesser temple of this reign (M.K. pl. i., marked C, but referred to as B in text, p. 9).

A long avenue of 122 sphinxes, carved in sandstone,

extends before the temple of Khonsu; these bear the name of Amenhotep, and point to a temple of this reign having stood on the site where Ramessu III. afterwards built the existing temple.

A vast pylon was built by the king, as a new front to the great temple of Amen. This was afterwards used by Sety I. as the back of his great hall of columns, and partly refaced on that side by fresh masonry. On the north half of the west face are shown two great ships. One, over forty feet long, is the royal vessel, with the king standing on the poop, and cabins in the middle with cornices. It is propelled by thirty or forty rowers, and tows the barge of Amen, which bears the small processional bark of Amen in a shrine, and on the prow a sphinx and altar. The ends have great sacred collars below the rams' heads of Amen, the so-called *aegis*. On the east face are scenes of offering to Amen by the king, and a long list of the offerings in 71 lines (M.K. xxxiv.-v.). The colossus before pylon XI. (of Horemheb) is not in its original place. Only the pedestal and a foot now remain; and the little toe of that has been barbarously cut away in late years at a tourist's whim. The work is in quartzite sandstone; and on the base are figures of the king as a youth with the side-lock, showing that it belongs to the beginning of his reign. The statue must have been of the same magnitude as the colossi on the western shore.

Inscriptions of Neb-maa-ra have been added to the pylon of Tahutmes III. (pylon VIII.) and to the building of Amenhotep II. in the great southern court (S).

At the south end of Karnak stood a large and important temple of Mut (T), crowded with hundreds of lion-headed statues of Sekhet, which have been dispersed among the collections of the world. The lake round the sides and back of this temple still remains. The building was re-worked by Sheshenk I.

At Luqsor, a mile and a half farther south, a great temple was built by Amenhotep to his father Amen, with special reference to the divine conception of the

king. This was probably not connected at this time with the temples of Karnak, as the axis of this temple and the Karnak avenue of sphinxes have no alignment, intersection, or relation to each other. The connection of Luqsor and Karnak is rather due to the alterations of Ramessu II. This Luqsor temple consists of five portions, which have three slightly different axes. The shrine—which is a processional resting-place, open

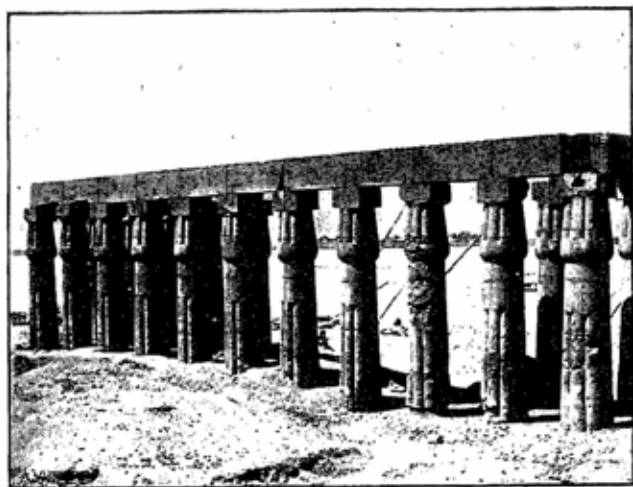


FIG. 121.—Colonnade at Luqsor.

in both front and back—has a hall before it, a columnar gallery at the back, and chambers at the sides. In front of this is an open court. Then a hypostyle hall, of four rows of eight columns, the axis of which is rather more to the north, instead of north-east like the shrine. Then a court with colonnades around it, which recovers the same direction as the shrine. Lastly, before this, and the massive pylon which formed its face, an avenue of fourteen columns

was added as an approach, with a lesser pylon in front of it.

On the western side of the Nile a great temple was built in this reign ; to which the well-known colossi belonged, standing in front of the now-vanished pylon. These colossi have obtained a celebrity through Greek and Roman authors, which has little to do with their importance in history. They were noble pieces of work, but are now so fearfully injured that the group of the Niles on the sides is the only part of artistic value. The height of the figures is recorded by their architect (in the inscription on his statue) as being 40 cubits ; with the pedestal and crown they appear to have been exactly this size. At the sides of the legs, against the throne, are statues of Mutemua the mother, and of Tyi the wife, of the king. The Greek inscriptions of visitors who came to hear the sunrise crackling of the stone are published in D.E. ii. 22 ; v. 55. Other colossi lie a little way behind these, and a vast stele of sandstone about 14 feet wide and 30 feet high, which decorated the forecourts of the temple. Remains of the buildings of the temple chambers, at the back of all, form the Kom Hettan, or "mound of chips." On the edge of the desert to the north of this are the remains of the temple of Merenptah, which was entirely formed from the plundering of Amenhotep's temple. The avenue of jackals with statues of the king between the paws, the inscribed bases on which they stood, the colossi, the sphinxes, the steles, the sculptured blocks, and even the bricks, were all plundered and destroyed for the sake of materials. Thence come the black granite stele (usurped by Merenptah), and the white limestone stele of Amenhotep's triumph, now in the Ghizeh Museum. The chapel of Uazmes was restored by Amenhotep III., whose ring was found under the door sill. The small temple of Deir el Medineh was founded by the great architect of this reign, Amenhotep, son of Hepu ; but none of the original building remains, the whole being now Ptolemaic. The inscription about it is noticed below under the architect's name.

At El Kab, a beautiful little temple, formed of a single square chamber with four pillars and a court, stands back in the desert valley. It was begun by Tahutmes IV. and finished by Amenhotep III. (L.D. iii. 80). The name of the king also occurs in the ruins of the great temple (C.N. i. 266).

At Silsileh stood a shrine in the quarry, surmounted by a hawk which now lies by it (S.B.A. xi. 233-4); and also an altar which was dedicated in the 35th year of Amenhotep (L.D. iii. 81 a-e). Probably of the same time is a rock tablet of his in the same place (L.D. iii. 81 f).

At Elephantine stood one of the most perfect and beautiful examples of a temple of this age. It had the usual processional form (with the sanctuary open front and back), and a colonnade of seven pillars at the side and four in the front around the outside. An unusual feature was that it stood on a raised hollow platform reached by a flight of steps. Happily it was passably published in the *Description* (i. 34-8), for soon after that, in 1822, it was swept away by the local governor for stone (a fragment is quoted in M.I. i. 120).

By the quarry at Aswan lies a granite colossus, which was in course of being removed; though partly buried, its proportion indicates a height of about 25 feet. A rock tablet in the quarry shows the sculptor adoring the king's names, and saying that he had "made the great image of his majesty the lion of princes" (M.I. i. 62-3). The other steles at Aswan refer to the war in the Sudan, and are dated in the 5th year, as we have noticed (L.D. iii. 81 g, h; C.M. 95, 4; L.D. iii. 82 a). A stele from Semneh gives some other details of this Nubian campaign (Arch. Jour. viii. 399).

At Sedeinga (20° 32' N.) are the remains of a beautiful temple built in honour of queen Tyi. An inscription says that Amenhotep "made his monuments for the great and mighty heiress, the mistress of all lands, Tyi" (L.D. iii. 82).

The great temple at Soleb (20° 24' N.) was built in



this reign to commemorate the conquest of the Sudan. The king is shown in the dedication festival, with all his officials, entering in at the great gates, which each have a name; it is stated that "all her gates were made of best white sandstone," and the names "Neb-maa'ra . . . nekht" and "Amenhotep Neb-maa'ra s . . . r . . ." remain for the great pylons.

At Napata (Mount Barkal), the Ethiopian capital



FIG. 122.—Colossal ram from Napata. Berlin.

(18° 30' N.), were monuments which had been taken from Soleb. Many of these are now in Europe; two rams and the base of a hawk at Berlin (L.D. iii. 89, 90), and two lions (partly usurped by Tut'ankh'amen) in London (L.A. 13 A.B.; Rec. xi. 212).

Turning now to the portraiture of the king, there are several colossi; two standing at Thebes, the upper part of one entirely built up in Roman times; another

of the same size buried behind these; another farther back; and a group of four figures in one block, the heads lost (My.E. 464). Great colossi of Amenhotep in white limestone were removed from his temple and broken up; the remains having been found in the buildings of temple of Merenptah and Medinet Habu. Of statues there are two, one in white limestone (G. Mus.; Ms. G. 422), and one in black granite (B. Mus.), beside a base at Avignon. A group of the king and Tyi is in the Saurma collection. Three excellent drawings of different ages are published from the tomb (C.M. 232; L.D. iii. 70). A beautiful small sphinx was seen by Champollion at Karnak (C.N. ii. 272), and may



FIG. 123.—Pottery and silver rings of Amenhotep III. F.P. Coll.



FIG. 124.—Scarabs of Amenhotep III. Scale 1 : 2. F.P. Coll.

1. "Born at Thebes."
2. "Beloved of all the gods in the palace."
3. "Prince, making decrees."
4. "Seizing Sangar."

be one of the sphinxes now in front of the Academy at St. Petersburg (Lb. P. 61).

Of divine figures of this age there are the innumerable

statues of Sekhet in black granite, which were mainly placed in the temple of Mut; the standing Ptah in diorite (in Turin), and a seated Ptah in limestone (Turin); Anpu, seated, in basalt (Sabatier Coll.).

The various minor objects of this reign are sufficiently catalogued at the head of this section. The scarabs are peculiar from their large size and long inscriptions. The text of the more important passages has been already quoted; and beside the long texts, there are many scarabs of unusual size with phrases of honour, such as "beloved of all the gods in the palace," "seizing Singar," "the lion of princes," etc.

#### PRIVATE MONUMENTS.

The tombs and tablets of the great officials of this reign are of much importance. The wealth and leisure of all classes led to the construction of magnificent works, which far exceed in extent and beauty the royal remains of most other ages.

We begin with the most celebrated official of Egypt in any age, *Amenhotep*, the son of Hepu, the great architect and administrator. On his statue found at Karnak he states: "Mustering (of troops) was done under me, as royal scribe over the recruits. I trained the troops of my lord, my pen counted millions. I appointed recruits in place of the veterans. I assessed estates according to their just number, and when workmen left their estates for me, I filled the number of the serfs from the spoil smitten by his majesty in battle. I examined all their gangs, I disciplined the decayed. I appointed men over the road to repel foreigners from their place, enclosing the two lands in watching the Bedawin on the way. I did likewise on the water way, the river mouths were joined by my parties, beside the crews of the royal ships. Behold, I guided their ways, they obeyed my orders. I acted as chief at head of my mighty men to smite the Nubians. . . . I counted the spoil of the victories (as chief recorder). I was appointed overseer of all works.

. . . I did not imitate what had been done before. . . . I acted with the love of my heart in undertaking his likeness in this his great temple, in every hard stone firm as heaven. I undertook the works of his statues, great in width, and higher than his pylon; their beauties eclipsed the pylon, their length was 40 cubits in the noble rock of quartzite. I built a great barge, I sailed it up the river (*i.e.* from Jebel Ahmar), and I fixed the statues in his great temple firm like heaven."

The statue bearing this inscription is of the quartzite breccia of Gebel Ahmar (Fraas), and is now at Ghizeh (V.G. 212; M.K. 36-7). The family was of importance, as an Amenhotep surnamed Hepu (who was already dead early in Tahutmes III.) is named in the tomb of Aahmes Pen-nekheb (L.D. iii. 43 b). The high position of this architect is shown by his acting in the absence of the king (then visiting the Delta) at the founding of the temple of Deir el Medineh. The stele which records this is apparently a later hieratic copy; it states that "XIth year, Khoiak 6, under Amenhotep, etc. This day there was in the temple of Kak, the heir, the royal scribe Amenhotep. There came to him the governor Amenhotep; the treasurer Meriptah; and the royal scribe of the troops. He said to them before His Majesty, 'Listen to the orders which are made for the management of the temple of Kak by the heir, the royal scribe Amenhotep, named Hui son of Hap.'" He recites them the gift of male and female servants, and curses any who should remove the endowment (B.I.H.D. xxix.; C.E. ii. 324; A.Z. xiii. 123). Beside this high position, the reputation of this great man lasted till late ages. The copy of the above stele is Ptolemaic. And in a Ptolemaic sculpture in the rock chapel at Deir el Bahri he is represented standing with an "adoration by the scribe of recruits, Amenhotep son of Hepu" (D.H. ii. 7). He was correlated with Imhotep both at Medinet Habu and at Deir el Bahri (A.Z. xxv. 117). Papyri were attributed to him, as one in Paris, entitled "Book of

the mysteries of the form found by the royal chief reciter Amenhotep son of Hapi, and which he made for himself as an amulet to preserve his members." This is a litany of magic names (Ms. M.P.L. 58). Lastly, Josephus names him, saying that king Amenophis desired to see one of the gods, "he also communicated his desire to his namesake Amenophis, who was the son of Paapis, and one who seemed to partake of a divine nature, both as to wisdom and the knowledge of futurities"; and, further, he "called to mind what Amenophis son of Paapis had foretold him" (Cont. Ap. i. 26; see also A.Z. xv. 147). The other officials known are:—

*Amenhotep*, vizier, law-maker, overseer of all works of the king, who may be the same as the above son of Hepu. Two statues found at Bubastis (N.B. 32).

*Amenhotep*, royal scribe, general, adoring cartouches at Bigeh (C.N. i. 161).

*Amenhotep*, royal scribe, Soleb (L.D. iii. 83).

*Amenhotep*, royal scribe, tablet (B. Mus. 151).

*Amenhotep*, the *am'khent*. Tomb, Thebes. Bears a sphinx with the *ka* name of Amenhotep III. Also two bearers of sceptres with titles and names of Am. III., making monuments to his father Ptah (M.A.F. i. 28).

*Aahmes*, governor of the town, adoring cartouches, Konosso (L.D. iii. 82 d).

*Aa'nen*, seal-bearer, second prophet of Amen. Statue, Turin (Rec. iii. 126).

*Amen'em'hat*, called Surer, chief *semer*, fan-bearer, royal scribe, keeper of palace, born of royal favourite Mut'tuy. Statue kneeling holding stele, Louvre (P.R. i. 1); statuette, Louvre (P.R. ii. 38); tablet, Aix (P.R. ii. 38); torso, B. Mus. (Lb. D. 604).

*Amen'nekh't*, princess, prays with her mother, Mut'nefert, before Amenhotep III., because "he praises her beautiful face and honours her beauty." Ushabti box, Berlin (B.C. 90).

*Amu'n'zeh*, tomb finished under Am. III.; royal follower (M.A.F. v. 352; Rec. vii. 45). Qurneh.

*Anhurmes*, scribe of works of temple of Am. III. Cone (P.S. xxiii. 84).

*Baken'khonsu*, high priest of Amen, overseer of prophets of all the gods. Naos, red sandstone, Karnak (R.E. ix. 28).

*Heby'khef*, prince of Memphis, adoring cartouches, Aswan (M.I. 28, 8).



FIG. 125.—Head of Khaemhat. Thebes, Berlin.

*Hor*, architect, stele, B. Mus. (T.S.B.A. viii. 143).

*Horem'heb*, royal scribe. Tomb, Thebes (M.A.F. v. 432).

*Hoteb*, fan-bearer before Am. III. and Thyi, Aswan (M.I. i. 41, 181).

*Kahu*, stele, B. Mus. (Lb. D. 674).

*Kha'em'hat*, royal scribe of the granaries of south

and north, etc. Tomb, Thebes (M.A.F. i. 116; C.N. i. 498; C.M. 160; Pr. A.; L.D. iii. 76-7); slab at Berlin (B.C. 103).

*Kherfu*, treasurer, royal scribe, keeper of the palace, adoring cartouches, Aswan (M.I. i. 44, 4); statue, Berlin (B.C. 83); base of statue, Bubastis (N.B. 33).

*Men*, son of Hor'ammu, sculptor. Stele in style of Tell el Amarna, at Aswan; adoration of Am. III. as a great statue, and his *ka*; by the chief of works in the red mountain, over the artists of great monuments of the king. (Tablet of his son Bak, see next reign) (M.I. i. 40, 174).

*Mermes*, royal son of Kush, adoration before cartouches, Aswan (P.S. 274); adoring, with Kherfu, Aswan (M.I. i. 39, 177); Konosso (L.D. iii. 82 b); Sehel (M.I. i. 91, 96); alabaster canopic jar (B. Mus.); cones.

*Mery*, *sam* priest. Soleb (L.D. iii. 84).

*Nebt'ka'bani*, nurse of princess Satamen. Stele, Abydos, G. Mus. (M.A. ii. 49).

*Nefer'sekheru*, royal scribe, keeper of palace (C.N. i. 524). Tomb, Qurneh.

*Pa'nehesi*, prophet of king, Turin, statue (Lb. D. 607).

*Pa'sar*, in tomb of Horemheb (B.R. ii. 66 c; not in M.A.F.).

*Ptah'mer*, noble, eyes and ears of the king, keeper of the palace of Maa'neb'ra. Stele, Leyden (Lb. D. 608).

*Ptah'mes*, A, father, Menkheperra; son, Paneterhon; noble heir, high priest of Memphis, *chancellor, sole companion*. Statue, breccia, Florence (S. Cat. F. 1505); naos, Abydos, G. Mus. (M.A. ii. 32; S. Cat. F. p. 203). Living under Tahutmes III. and Amenhotep III.

*Ptah'mes*, B, father, Tahutmes; brother (?) Ptah'mer; son, Khay; noble heir, high priest of Memphis, *overseer of all the prophets of the south and north*. Statue, grey granite, Thebes, Florence (S. Cat. F. 1506); stele, Memphis (S. Cat. F. 1570);

stele, Leyden (S. Cat. F. p. 205); cubit, Leyden (S. Cat. F. p. 205); palette, basalt (P.R. i. 93). A or B is adored on stele of Ptah'ankh (S. Cat. F. 1571). B living under Amenhotep III.

(The above persons have been confused, but their parentage and titles serve to distinguish them. Paneterhon of Florence, 1679, cannot be the son of Ptah'mes A, as his father is Mahuy. The very different styles of the Florence statues, 1505 and 1506, would well agree to the beginning and the end of the long reign of Amenhotep III.)

*Ptah'mes*, C, high priest of Amen, governor of south Thebes. Stele, Avignon (W.G. 395).

*Ra'men'kheper*, son of king Amenhotep II.? Stele, Bigeh (C.N. i. 161).

*Ra'mes*, A, vizier, at Soleb dedication (L.D. iii. 83); rock stele, Bigeh, adoring cartouches (P.S. 334); another stele, Bigeh (C.N. i. 614); rock stele, Sehel, adoring cartouches and Anket (M.D. 70, 21).

*Ra'mes*, B, general, overseer of palace. Tomb, Tell el Amarna (M.A.F. i. 10).

*Sa'ast*, called Pa'nekhu. Stele, Turin (Rec. iii. 125).

*Sa'mut, kher heb*, at Soleb dedication (L.D. iii. 84); = (?) treasurer, translator of the messengers in the palace, second prophet of Amen. Tomb, Thebes (C.N. i. 539).

*Sebek'mes*, treasurer. Rock stele, Aswan, by river (M.I. i. 44, 2).

*Sebek'nekht*, noble heir, keeper of palace. Stele, Munich (Lb. D. 611).

*Tahutimes*, father of Ptahmes B (? son of Ptahmes A). Stele, Leyden (S. Cat. F. p. 205); stele, Florence (S. Cat. F. 1570).

*Tahutimes*, overseer of serfs. Stele, B. Mus. (Lb. D. 605).

*Userhat*, keeper of palace of Tyi in Thebes; in tomb of Khonsu, Qurneh (Rams. II.).



Amenhotep was adored as a god after his death, but



FIG. 126.—Aged head of Amenhotep III., from his tomb.

not as much as might be expected. At Soleb his son Akhenaten (so written) appears in regular royal dress, and not in his peculiar style, adoring the king. At Aswan, Men, the sculptor, adores the great statue. At Memphis the king was also adored (Pap. Sall. iv., pl. 2, verso). A stele of a priest of Amenhotep III. bears an adoration to Osiris, Isis, Amenhotep, and Tyi (C.N. ii. 703). And a statue at Karnak bears a *du hotep suten* prayer to Sokar, Nefertum, Sekhet, and

Amenhotep III. (S.B.A. xi. 423).

#### ROYAL FAMILY.

We have already noticed the relation of the king to the Mesopotamian rulers of Mitanni and Kardunya; and the uncertainty about the parentage of his great queen Tyi, who appears to have had hereditary rights to the Egyptian kingdom—probably through her mother. The monuments of Tyi are numerous. She appears at the sides of the colossi of her husband, and with him in official scenes, as at Soleb. Her parentage is recorded on the large scarabs, which name her father Yuaa, and her mother Thuaa (A.Z. xviii. 82).

Her figure was sculptured in the tomb of Huy (No. 2), at Tell el Amarna (L.D. iii. 100c; Pr. A.). Two trial pieces left in sculptors' shops at Tell el Amarna show her face (P.A. i. 6). Her ushabtis of alabaster were found in the tomb of her husband (D.E. v. 60, 7). She dedicated altars to the *ka* of Amenhotep after his death, of which one has remained in the remote country town of Gurob (P.I. xxiv.). Toilet boxes bear her name, from Gurob (P.I. xxiv.) and at Turin (Rec. iii. 127), while numerous scarabs and cowroids show her name, sometimes conjoined with that of her husband; in two cases their figures appear together (B. Mus., Brocklehurst Coll., P. Sc. 1305-9), and on one scarab she is shown seated (B. Mus.; P. Sc. 1308). Her name appears alone in the quarry at Tell el Amarna, probably after her husband's death (P.A. 4, xlii.).

Of queen Kirgipa only one mention appears in Egypt, on a scarab recording her entry into the land with 317 women attendants, who, doubtless, spread the Syrian tastes in the Egyptian court (A.Z. xviii. 82). Her father is said to be Satharna; and this leaves no question but that she is Gilukipa, daughter of Su . . . king of Mitanni, named by Dushratta in his cuneiform correspondence (letters 4 and 11).

Of the children of Amenhotep III. but little is known. Beside his son, afterwards Akhenaten, there is one son, Tahutimes, who may be only a titular prince and not a relation (L.K. 385). Two daughters are known from the scenes on the temple of Soleb, named Ast and Hent'mer'heb (L.D. iii. 86 b); Satamen is named on an ebony slip from a toilet box (B. Mus.; Arch. Jour. viii. 397), and on a dish from Tell el Amarna (P.A. xiii. 16), and is shown seated as a child on the knees of her nurse, Nebt'ka'bani, on a stele from Abydos (G. Mus.; M.A. ii. 49); while Hent'ta'neb is only known by a piece of a glazed pottery kohl tube of hers found at Gurob (P.I. xvii. 20).

The princess Bakt'aten has been usually placed as a seventh and youngest daughter of Akhenaten. She occurs, however, in a tomb of his 12th year, or only six

years after the second daughter was born; and she never appears among the daughters where four (L.D. iii. 93) or six (L.D. iii. 99) are shown, hence there is a difficulty as to her position, unless she died very young. Her real origin is, however, intimated in the tomb of Huya, the only place where she is represented. She is there always associated with Tyi; she sits by the side of Tyi (L.D. iii. 100c), while the daughters of Akhenaten side by their mother; she alone follows



FIG. 127.—Court artist Auta painting a statue of Bektaten.

Tyi (L.D. iii. 101) in a procession where no other children appear; and her figure is painted by Auta, court artist to Tyi (L.D. iii. 100a). Moreover, she is never called other than a king's daughter, whereas all the other princesses in every inscription are entitled daughters of Nefertiti. Thus, by the difficulty about her position in the family, by her constant association with Tyi, and by her being differently entitled to all the others, it seems clear that she was the youngest and favourite child of Tyi.

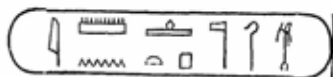
## XVIII. 10.

NEFER'KHEPRU'RA  
(*Nep'khura'riya*)



1383-  
1365  
B.C.

AMEN'HOTEP IV.  
NETER'HEK'UAST



Or later  
AKHEN'ATEN



Tomb	Valley at Tell el Amarna	(P.A. xxxiv.)
Heliopolis	Fragments of granite	(A.Z. xix. 116; Rec. vi. 53).
Memphis	Fragments in Cairo	(A.Z. xix. 116; S.I. ii. 48).
"	Tablet with cartouches	(M.D. 34 e).
"	Re-used blocks, Sydney Mus.	(N. Aeg. 117-134).
"	Stele of Huy	(M.D. 56, 2).
Gurob	Fragments of scene	(P.I. xxiv. 10).
Kahun	Papyrus, 5th year	(P.I. 50).
Eshmunen	Granite pedestal	(Rev. Arch. I. i. 730).
Tell el Amarna	Palace	(P.A. 7, pls. ii.-x.).
"	Temple of Aten	(P.A. 18).
"	Three rock steles, W. bank	(P.A. 5; Pr. M. xiv.; L.D. iii. 91 a-f).
"	Eleven rock steles, E. bank	(P.A. 5-6; Rec. xv. 36; L.D. iii. 110 b, 110 a; Pr. M. xii.).
"	(Private tombs, see list below).	
"	Death mask, G. Mus.	(P.A. front).
"	Statues, B. Mus., Amherst	(P.A. 18).
"	Colossi	(P.A. 9).
"	Ushabtis, G. Mus., F.P. Coll.	(P.A. 17).
"	Triad, F.P. Coll.	(P.A. i. 1).
"	Sculpture and trial piece	(P.A. i. 5, 9).
"	Steles, E. Coll., G. Mus., A. Mus., Amherst, in pavement house	(P.A. xii.; V.G. 150, 207).
"	Fragments of steles, sculptures, vases, etc.; A. Mus., F.P. Coll., Ph. Mus., etc.	(P.A.).

Tell el Amarna	Jar sealings, A. Mus	(P.A. xxi.).
"	Rings	(P.A. xiv. xv.).
Hammamat	Rock cuttings	(L.D. iii. 91 g; G.H. i. 6; G.H. i. 8, iii. 5).
Qus	Blocks	(W.M.C. iii. 52).
Thebes	Fragments used by Horemheb	(Pr. M. x.-xi.; L.D. iii. 110 c-g; 100 c= Berl., B.C. 2072, p. 101; Rec. vi. 51.)
"	Stone on quay, Luxor	(W.G. 399).
"	Three stones, Karnak	(W.G. 399).
Erment	Block	(W.G. 400).
Silsileh	Stele about building	(L.D. iii. 110 i).
E. Silsileh	Stele of Amen Ra	(S.B.A. xi. 233).
Aswan	Stele of Bak	(M.D. 26 u).
Soleb	King worshipping father	(L.D. iii. 110 k).
<hr/>		
Statuette	P. Mus.	(L.D. iii. 294, 44).
Shoulder of statue, limestone	G. Mus.	(W.G. 402).
Fragments of statues	of Amherst Coll.	(P.A. 18).
Body of quartzite	F.P. Coll.	
Head of statuette, limestone	T. Mus.	
Portraits, best	Young, Karnak	(L.D. iii. 294, 42).
"	Older, P. Mus.	(L.D. iii. 294, 43).
"	Death mask	(P.A. front).
Steles	Quartzite (G. Mus.)	(V.G. p. 72).
"	(Paris Cab. Med.)	(Rev. Arch. I. v. 63).
"	Alabaster (E. Coll., Berl.)	(B.C. 2045, p. 97).
"	Stone (Berl.)	(B.C. 10187, p. 101).
Door jamb fragment	(Berl.)	(B.C. 2069, p. 101).
Cartouche blocks, limestone (Turin)		(L.T. 1378).
"	red granite (Sabatier Coll.)	(Rec. xiv. 55).
"	limestone and blue glaze, (Amherst)	(P.A. 18, 19).
Part of altar, granite (G. Mus.)		(V.G. 708).
Part of mortar, red granite (F. Mus.)		(S. Cat. F. p. 53).
"	(F.P. Coll.)	
Vase, alabaster, Leyden.		
Rings, gold and copper, scarabs, plaques, etc.		
Gold plated heart scarab.	Maudsley.	

*Queen*—TADUKHIPA (?) NEFERTITI.

Fragments of	Amherst Coll.	(P.A. 18, i. 13, 15).
5 statues		
Portraits	Best	(L.D. iii. 111; P.A. 14, xii.).
Building	Tell el Amarna	(P.A. 8, x.).
Vases	Fragments	(P.A. xiii. 23-34).
Rings, etc.		(P.A. xv.).

*Daughters*—Mert'aten, mar. Ra'smenkh'ka (L.D. iii. 99 a).

Makt'aten, died before the king.

Ankh's'en'pa'aten = Ankhsenamen, mar. Tut'ankh'amen.

Nefer'nefru'aten (L.D. iii. 93).

Married son of Burnaburyas, see letter 16.

Nefer'nefru'ra (L.D. iii. 99).

Sotep'en'ra (L.D. iii. 99).

The dated documents of this reign are not many. Only one bears the name of Amenhotep, in

Vth year, Phamenoth 19, papyrus letter, Kahun (P.I. 50). Of Akhenaten there are the numerous dated rock steles, all of the VIth and VIIIth years (the doubtful reading IVth year in L.D. 110 b should certainly be VIth year, as shown by one daughter being figured).

XIIth year, Mekhir 8, visit of Tyi, recorded in tomb of Huya (L.D. iii. 100 c).

XVIIth year, series of wine jar inscriptions ceases; end of reign.

The beginning of the reign of Amenhotep IV. is obscure. That Tyi for a brief time held the power at Tell el Amarna, is indicated by her name appearing alone in a quarry at that place (P.A. 4, xlii.); but this may have only been for a few weeks.

We have already noticed that from Dushratta's letter (6) it appears that Amenhotep III. was negotiating for his son's marriage before his death; and from another letter of Dushratta (9) we learn that Tadukhipa was the daughter thus married to Akhenaten, and who was known in Egypt as Nefertiti. Moreover, Dush-

ratta alludes to the marriage in a letter addressed to Amenhotep III. This all points to Akenhaten's marriage having occurred just about the time of his father's



FIG. 128.—Young head of Amenhotep IV.

death, and certainly before he took over affairs from his mother Tyi (see Dushratta's letter 9). Now, from the monuments showing sometimes only one daughter (with a record inserted later) and sometimes two daughters in his 6th year, it is clear that his second daughter was born in the close of the 6th year of his reign. This would point to his marriage having taken place

early in the 4th year. And hence he may very probably have been co-regent with his father in the years before his marriage.

Now Manetho in Josephus states that Amenhotep III. reigned 30 years 10 months, and yet his latest monument is in his 36th year, Mekhir 9. But this is just capable of a complete explanation by the co-regency of his son. For, as Amenhotep III. was crowned on the 13th Epiphi, his reign of 30 years and 10 months would lead us to date the beginning of Amenhotep IV. about the middle of Pakhons in his father's 31st year. Hence the date of the Sarbut el Khadem stele on Mekhir 9 in the 36th year would be just 40 days before the earliest date of Amenhotep IV. on Phamenoth 19, year 5, which implies the decease of his father. The old king appears then to have died within the few weeks between these dates.

As there are many works of the 6th year of Amenhotep IV., his father was certainly then dead; and this

limits us to fix his father's death in any case within a few months after the stele of his 36th year. (See further the endorsement on Tell el Amarna, letter No. 8).

The parentage of Nefertiti has been assigned (Rec. vi. 52) to Tyi; a view which is contradicted by the express reference of Dushratta (letter 9) to Tadukhipa his daughter, Tyi's daughter-in-law. This view has been based on a misreading of the title of Tyi, *seten mut seten hemt urt*, as if it



FIG. 129.—Head of Amenhotep IV.

were *seten mut en seten hemt urt* (L.D. iii. 100 c). That the first is the true reading, is plain from a repetition of the title twice in the same tomb (pl. 101), where there is no *n* after *seten*, and where the titles are inserted as *seten hemt urt seten mut*, so that the meaning is evidently that Tyi was not "royal mother of the king's wife," but "royal wife and royal mother." This is also shown by Nezem mut being distinguished as "the sister of Nefertiti" (L.D. iii. 109), and not as "daughter of Tyi," which would have been the more important relationship had it existed.

That Nefertiti had an hereditary claim to the Egyptian throne, is shown by her titles: she was the *erpat urt, hent hemtu neb*, the "great heiress, princess of all women," and "the princess of south and north, the lady of both lands." These titles, like the titles of Tyi, imply an hereditary right to rule Egypt; and such a right would exist had Dushratta married an Egyptian



princess who became mother of Tadukhipa Nefertiti. Such a marriage is very probable, looking at the letters that passed, the equality of terms between Dushratta and his brother-in-law Amenhotep III., and his asking as a matter of course for an Egyptian wife for himself.

It seems, then, that we may approximately reckon that the accession of Amenhotep IV. was in Pakhons in his father's 31st year; that about Epiphi, or early in his 4th year, he married Nefertiti (= Tadukhipa, daughter of Dushratta), who did not at first take the name Aten-



FIG. 130.—Amenhotep IV. supporting the cartouches of the Aten: from a scarab. F.P. Coll.

nefer·neferu (P.A. xiii. 23); that in his 4th year he still worshipped Ra Har·akhti (Ostrakon, P.A. 33); that in his 5th year, Mekhir 9, his father was yet alive, but probably died before Phamenoth 19. That in the end of the 5th year the tomb of Rames at Thebes was begun before the artists had given up the boyish face of Amenhotep, and adopted the new style of art; also a great building of Silsileh stone was begun at

Thebes (L.D. iii. 110 i) under the old style of art. Then, early in his 6th year, he shook off the worship of Amen, and even of the hawk-headed Horus, adopted the Aten worship, took the name Akhenaten, established a new capital at Tell el Amarna, and erected the rock tablets defining the new city, before the birth of his second daughter in the 6th year. After the second daughter was born came the change of his name at Thebes (Pr. M. xi. 3), and still later the change of his facial type at Thebes (Pr. M. x. 1, 2).

Having now traced the detail of his earlier years, we

turn to the great phenomenon of this reign, the conversion of the king and the court. This change took place, as we have seen, early in the 6th year of the reign. The age of Akhenaten is an all-important factor in the question; and this is indicated in two ways. His marriage was only just before his conversion, perhaps two years at most. The conversion cannot then be put before his 18th year, or probably rather later. But, on the other hand, all his portraits before the change show a distinctly boyish type, and are like his father Amenhotep III., while after the change they are like his mother Ti. Such a transition from the type of one parent to that of the other on reaching adolescence is not unlikely, but it certainly could not be put later than the fixation of the features at about 15 or 16 years of age. The artistic recognition of the change lagged, no doubt, and more at Thebes than at Tell el Amarna; but the change being shown not earlier than his 18th year of age, points to his not being much beyond that age in any case. Now this consideration of his age points plainly to his not being a principal in the revolution, but being acted on by some older and more responsible party. A lad of 18 cannot be supposed to have thought out a new system of religion, ethics, and art for himself, and to have defied the whole feelings of his country. The steady rise of the Aten into notice in the later years of his father (even before the son was born, as in the boat-name *Aten-neferu* in the 11th year), shows that an older influence was working. And yet it was an external influence, as the whole system utterly vanished without any party remaining in Egypt to support it, when it once collapsed. Ti was undoubtedly the main mover in this change, as it was carried out completely just when she had the greatest power, as regent after her husband's death, and controlled the boy-king. Nefertiti—of the same race as Ti—was also a great supporter of the movement, and probably her marriage precipitated it.

But here we are met by the reminder that the Aten was the old worship of Heliopolis, that the high priest

had the title of that of Heliopolis, and that there was nothing new to Egypt but a few externals. This may no doubt be technically true so far as mere words go, but a glance at the feeling and character of the whole

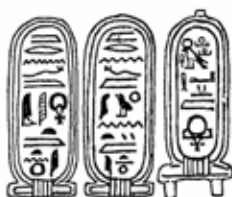


FIG. 131.—Cartouches of the Aten.

age marks it out as due to some completely un-Egyptian influence, which no Heliopolitan source could ever have originated. That the sun was worshipped as the Aten in what appears to have been the old centre of the invading Mesopotamian race and religion at Heliopolis, does not disprove that the Syrian Adon had any-

thing to do with it; but only points to the worship of the sun as lord, Adon, having come in ages before, and being used as an Egyptian stem on which to graft a re-importation of the foreign ideas in the later age. The old Aten worship does not exclude the influence of the Adon, but is rather the very thing itself, ready to revert to its foreign and un-Egyptian type when a fresh wave of Asiatic ideas came in. That the name Adon, for lord, was an old Syrian word, apart altogether from the Semitic influence of the Jewish conquest, is shown by the names of Adonizedek, king of Jerusalem, Adonibezek, king of Bezek, and the general use of the name Adonis in northern Syria, there applied not to the sun-god, but to the vegetation god.

The religious changes were profound. In place of the devotion to Amen, which had completely enthralled the previous kings, the very name of Amen was proscribed and erased throughout the country. One only of the old deities, Maat, appears on the sculptures of Akhenaten; once as a full-sized protecting deity before his conversion (tomb of Ra-mes, Thebes), and after that only as an emblem of truth, a small figure held in the hand. Maat is also constantly named by the king, but only as the abstract idea of truth, and not as a deity. Before each of his cartouches he adopted the title

*Ankh'em-maat*, "Living in Truth"; and in face of his overwhelming devotion to the Aten-sun, it is clear that this refers to the abstract quality and not to a concrete deity.



FIG. 132.—Akhenaten and Nefertiti. The rays holding a uraeus, an *ankh*, four supporting the king, another holding an *ankh*, and three supporting the queen.

The same tendency to the abstract is shown in the sun-worship. Other ages had worshipped the human-figured sun-god Ra, or a hawk as his emblem; and

when the sun itself was represented, it was as a concrete solid ball. But a more refined and really philosophical worship was substituted for this by Akhenaten, that of the radiant energy of the sun, of the sun as sustaining all life by his beams. No one—sun-worshipper or philosopher—seems to have realised until within this century the truth which was the basis of Akhenaten's worship, that the rays of the sun are the means of the sun's action, the source of all life, power, and force in the universe. This abstraction of regarding the radiant energy as all-important was quite disregarded, until recent views of the conservation of force, of heat as a mode of motion, and the identity of heat, light, and electricity, have made us familiar with the scientific conception which was the characteristic feature of Akhenaten's new worship. In every sculpture he is shown adoring the Aten, which radiates above him; an utterly new type in Egypt, distinct from all previous sculptures. Each ray ends in a hand, and these hands lay hold of the king and queen, and support their bodies and limbs, sustain their crowns, give the power symbolised by the royal uraeus, and the life symbolised by the *ankh* pressed to their lips. If this were a new religion, invented to satisfy our modern scientific conceptions, we could not find a flaw in the correctness of this view of the energy of the solar system. How much Akhenaten understood we cannot say, but he had certainly bounded forward in his views and symbolism to a position which we cannot logically improve upon at the present day. Not a rag of superstition or of falsity can be found clinging to this new worship evolved out of the old Aten of Heliopolis, the sole lord or Adon of the universe.

The great hymn to the Aten is evidently an original composition of this reign, and in view of the large share in the new worship taken personally by the king, it is probable that this hymn is partly or wholly his own composition. It has been fully edited by Professor Breasted, and is here translated by Mr. Griffith. After

an introduction stating that the king and queen adore the Aten, the hymn begins :—

*(Aten ruling the course of the day.)*

[*Morning*

Thy appearing is beautiful in the horizon of heaven,  
The Living Aten, the beginning of life ;  
Thou risest in the horizon of the east,  
Thou fillest every land with thy beauty.

[*Noon*

Thou art very beautiful, brilliant and exalted above earth,  
Thy beams encompass all lands which thou hast made.  
Thou art the sun, thou settest their bounds,  
Thou bindest them with thy love.  
Thou art afar off, but thy beams are upon the land ;  
Thou art on high, but the day passes with thy going.

[*Night*

Thou restest in the western horizon of heaven,  
And the land is in darkness like the dead.

[*Men*

They lie in their houses, their heads are covered,  
Their breath is shut up, and eye sees not to eye ;  
Their things are taken, even from under their heads, and they  
know it not.

[*Beasts*

Every lion cometh forth from his den,  
And all the serpents then bite ;  
The night shines with its lights,  
The land lies in silence ;  
For he who made them is in his horizon.

*(Aten ruling all living beings.)*

The land brightens, for thou risest in the horizon,  
Shining as the Aten in the day ;  
The darkness flees, for thou givest thy beams,  
Both lands are rejoicing every day.

[*Men*

Men awake and stand upon their feet,  
For thou liftest them up ;  
They bathe their limbs, they clothe themselves,  
They lift their hands in adoration of thy rising,  
Throughout the land they do their labours.

[*Animals*

The cattle all rest in their pastures,  
Where grow the trees and herbs ;  
The birds fly in their haunts,  
Their wings adoring thy *ka*.  
All the flocks leap upon their feet,  
The small birds live when thou risest upon them.

[ *Waters*

The ships go forth both north and south,  
 For every way opens at thy rising.  
 The fishes in the river swim up to greet thee,  
 Thy beams are within the depth of the great sea.

( *Aten the source of life.* )[ *Man*

Thou createst conception in women, making the issue of  
 mankind ;

Thou makest the son to live in the body of his mother,  
 Thou quietest him that he should not mourn,  
 Nursing him in the body, giving the spirit that all his growth  
 may live.

When he cometh forth on the day of his birth,  
 Thou openest his mouth to speak, thou doest what he needs.

[ *Animals*

The small bird in the egg, sounding within the shell,  
 Thou givest to it breath within the egg,  
 To give life to that which thou makest.  
 It gathers itself to break forth from the egg,  
 It cometh from the egg, and chirps with all its might,  
 It runneth on its feet, when it has come forth.

( *Aten omnipresent.* )

How many are the things which thou hast made !  
 Thou createst the land by thy will, thou alone,  
 With peoples, herds, and flocks,  
 Everything on the face of the earth that walketh on its feet,  
 Everything in the air that flieth with its wings.

In the hills from Syria to Kush, and the plain of Egypt,  
 Thou givest to every one his place, thou framest their lives,  
 To every one his belongings, reckoning his length of days ;  
 Their tongues are diverse in their speech,

Their natures in the colour of their skin.

As a divider thou dividest the strange peoples.

( *Aten watering the earth.* )

When thou hast made the Nile beneath the earth,  
 Thou bringest it according to thy will to make the people to  
 live :

Even as thou hast formed them unto thyself,  
 Thou art throughout their lord, even in their weakness.

Oh, lord of the land that risest for them.

Aten of the day, revered by every distant land, thou makest  
 their life,

Thou placest a Nile in heaven that it may rain upon them,  
 That it may make waters upon the hills like the great sea,  
 Watering their fields amongst their cities.

How excellent are thy ways !

Oh, lord of eternity, the Nile in heaven is for the strange people,  
 And all wild beasts that go upon their feet.  
 The Nile that cometh from below the earth is for the land of  
 Egypt,  
 That it may nourish every field.  
 Thou shinest and they live by thee.

*(Aten causing the seasons.)*

Thou makest the seasons of the year to create all thy works;  
 The winter making them cool, the summer giving warmth.  
 Thou makest the far-off heaven, that thou mayest rise in it,  
 That thou mayest see all that thou madest when thou wast  
 alone.



FIG. 133. —Akhenaten, Nefertiti, and daughters.

Rising in thy forms as the living Aten,  
 Shining afar off and returning,  
 The villages, the cities, and the tribes, on the road and the  
 river,  
 All eyes see thee before them,  
 Thou art the Aten of the day over all the land.  
*(Aten revealed to the king.)* -  
 Thou art in my heart, there is none who knoweth thee, except-  
 ing thy son Nefer'kheperu'ra'ua'en'ra;  
 Thou causest that he should have understanding, in thy ways  
 and in thy might.



The land is in thy hand, even as thou hast made them :  
 Thou shinest and they live, and when thou settest they die ;  
 For by thee the people live, they look on thy excellencies until  
 thy setting.  
 They lay down all their labours when thou settest in the west,  
 And when thou risest they grow . . . . .  
 Since the day that thou laidest the foundations of the earth,  
 Thou raisest them up for thy son who came forth from thy substance,  
 The king of Egypt, living in Truth, lord of both lands, Nefer-  
 kheperu'ra'ua'en'ra,  
 Son of the sun, living in Truth, Akhenaten, great in his duration ;  
 And the great royal wife, his beloved, lady of both lands,  
 Nefer'neferu'Aten,  
 Nefert'iti, living and flourishing for ever eternally."

In this hymn all trace of polytheism, and of anthropomorphism, or theriomorphism, has entirely disappeared. The power of the sun to cause and regulate all existence is the great subject of praise ; and careful reflection is shown in enumerating the mysteries of the power of the Aten exemplified in the animation of nature, reproduction, the variety of races, and the source of the Nile, and watering by rain. It would tax any one in our days to recount better than this the power and action of the rays of the sun. And no conception that can be compared with this for scientific accuracy was reached for at least three thousand years after it. The impress of the new Aten worship on the old formula is curiously given by a stele found at Sakkara. It reads, "a royal offering to the Aten" (or, on the other side, "to Aten, prince of the two horizons, the sole god"), "living in truth, made by the overseer of the merchants of the temple of Aten, Huy." Here not only is the god's name changed, but the *ka* has disappeared, and the offering is "made by" (*an*) such an one (M.D. 56, 2).

In ethics a great change also marks this age. The customary glorying in war has almost disappeared ; only once, and that in a private tomb, is there any indication of war during the reign. The motto "Living in Truth" is constantly put forward as the keynote to the king's character, and to his changes in various

lines. And domestic affection is held up as his ideal of life, the queen and children being shown with him on every occasion.

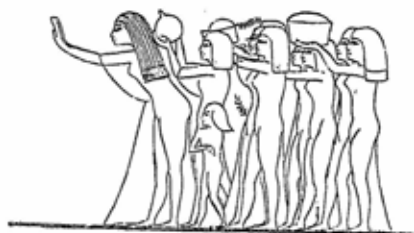


FIG. 134.—Group of women. Tell el Amarna.

In art the aim was the direct study of nature, with as little influence as possible from convention; animals in rapid motion, and natural grouping of plants, were specially studied, and treated in a manner more natural than in any other Oriental art. This may be best seen in the pavement frescoes, and the columns covered with creepers, found at Tell el Amarna (P.A. ii.-viii.).



FIG. 135.—Foliage on column. Tell el Amarna.

The length of the reign is indicated by the dating on the series of wine jar fragments found at Tell el Amarna. These extend to year 17, and point therefore to a reign of 17 or 18 years. From these same jar datings we glean that the succeeding king, Ra'smenkh·ka, was co-regent with Akhenaten for a time; there are no dates of the first year, and no wine dates of the third year, but plenty of the second. This points to Ra'smenkh·ka having been associated in his first year, independent in his second, and having left the place in

the third year. Such a co-regency is also pointed out by the frequency of the rings of his naming him "beloved of Ra-nefer-kheperu," or "beloved of Ua'n-Ra"; thus indicating his being dependent on Akhenaten. Of such rings there are 25 known, against only 18 with the name *Ra'ankh-kheperu* alone. So by the proportion he would seem to have lived at Tell el Amarna mainly as a co-regent.

#### MONUMENTS.

The tomb of Akhenaten was excavated in a branch of one of the great valleys which open on the plain of Tell el Amarna. The situation resembles that of the tomb of Amenhotep III. at Thebes, but is more remote, being seven miles from the river (P.A. xxxiv.). The entrance is at the floor of a small side valley; the passage, after descending a short way, has a chamber on the right hand, which is covered with scenes of the mourning for the second daughter, Makt'aten, showing that she died before her father. A passage also on the right side leads round to what seems to have been the beginning of a parallel tomb to the main one, but it was left unfinished. The main tomb passage descends onward until it reaches a level chamber supported formerly by four pillars; on the right side of this is a smaller chamber. The main chamber has been all carved and painted on a stucco coat; this has now dropped off, or been destroyed, leaving only traces of the work where it had been cut through to the limestone rock. In this chamber were fragments of a red granite sarcophagus covered with sculpture, and many pieces of granite ushabtis. The tomb was discovered by the natives many years ago, and a heart scarab with gold plate was then sold at Thebes. In 1891, M. Grébaut obtained knowledge of the tomb, and it was cleared irregularly and without continuous supervision, the men employed selling the objects that were found. I describe it here from memory; and the only plan yet published is a sketch in A.R., E.E. Fund, 1892, p. 12.

Near it are two other tombs in an adjacent branch of the valley; but these are equally unpublished, and, so far as I know, not yet cleared.

In considering the positions of the works of Akhenaten, it must always be remembered that (unlike those of any other reign) they were very extensive at Tell el Amarna, and were all completely swept away from there in a short time. Hence they would not be used up—like other buildings—simply for local purposes; but they had to be quickly got rid of, at any cost, somewhere. They are, therefore, likely to have been taken to far greater distances than the remains of other kings; and it is only when fragments are found in position, or state the locality of their erection, that we can infer that a building of this reign existed outside of Tell el Amarna.

At Heliopolis there certainly was a temple built, as a piece of red granite found there gives the name of Mertaten, and mentions the "building of Ra in An."

At Memphis slabs have been found re-used (N. Aeg. 117-134), bearing portions of the Aten rays and name of Akhenaten; and many other pieces about Cairo, by the mosque of Hakem and the Bab en Nasr, may have come from here or from Heliopolis. A stele at Sakhara of an "overseer of the merchants of the temple of Aten" named Huy, has been taken to prove the existence of a temple at Memphis; but the official might have been of Heliopolis. The remains at Gurob, Eshmunen, and Qus, may have come from Tell el Amarna.

At the capital of the new faith an enormous amount of work was done. The palace—a group of unconnected buildings—occupied a space of about 1500 × 500 feet or more (P.A. xxxvi.). The great temple of the Aten was about 250 feet square; it stood in an enclosure nearly half a mile long, within which were scattered various other buildings. Another temple, and many large buildings, taxed the royal resources; while a town of private mansions and houses was the work of the bureaucracy. The palace appears to have been deserted early in Ra'smenkh'ka's reign, and the town

was abandoned in the next reign of Tut'ankh'amen; but even apparently as late as Hor'em'heb a cartouche was cut on the temple (P.A. xi. 5), although that king destroyed the buildings of the new faith. Of the great

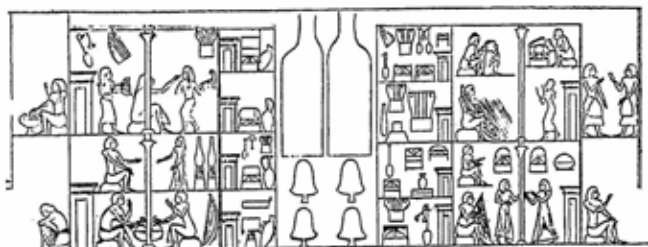


FIG. 136.—School of music and dancing.

temple most interesting views are given in the tombs; the most intelligible in connection with the plan (P.A. xxxvii.) is that in L.D. iii. 94; in side view it is less clear (L.D. 96); and another view abbreviates the long



FIG. 137.—Part of ushabti of Akhenaten.

enclosure (L.D. 102), but shows the position of the numerous statues of the king, queen, and Tyi, the fragments of which have been found (P.A. 18). Around the town many rock tablets were engraved, stating its boundaries. Of these, three are known on the west bank, and eleven on the east bank. They are fully stated in P.A. 5-6; but only some of the most striking have been published, and those not exhaustively or correctly (L.D. iii. 91 a-f, 110 a, b; Pr. M. xii.-xiv.; Rec. xv. 36).

The plaster cast taken from the head of Akhenaten after his death (P.A. front) was found along with the granite fragments of the working of his funeral furni-

ture, and the broken and spoiled granite ushabtis (P.A. 17).

In many collections are examples or portions of the stone steles with which the palace was profusely decorated. These steles are always curved and slightly slanting at the top, and bear the scene of the king, queen, and daughter, offering, without any inscription beyond the names and titles. They are cut in all materials, limestone, alabaster, quartzite, black granite, red granite, etc.; and their purpose is unknown. Such slabs are now in the Ghizeh Museum; in the room built over the pavement at Tell el Amarna; in the Ashmolean Museum; Berlin Museum; Cabinet des Medailles, Paris; Lord Amherst's Collection; and the Edwards Collection.

Many minor pieces of sculpture, artists' trial pieces, fragments of sculptures and of vases, etc., are scattered in the various collections. A large quantity of jar sealings are to be found in the storehouses at Tell el Amarna (see Ashmolean Mus.); they bear names of Amenhotep as well as of Akhenaten. A great variety of glazed pottery finger rings, as well as the moulds for making them, were also found in the town and rubbish heaps of the capital (P.A.).

South of the capital there are some rock tablets in the Hammamat valley; one by an official Amen-hotep (G.H. i. 6), and another by an Amen-mes (G.H. i. 8), both probably early in the reign: a tablet with a scene has been altered by Sety I., but shows the remains of the Aten rays (G.H. iii. 5).

At Thebes there certainly was building going on in the earlier years of the reign, the blocks there having the youthful figure of Amenhotep IV., and even showing the hawk-headed human figure of the god Har-akhti (L.D. iii. 110 c; see also Pr. M. 10-11). This building was all broken up, and re-used by Tut-ankh-amen and Hor-em-heb for other constructions at Karnak; and that it was at Thebes is proved by an inscription at Silsileh recording the making of "great sandstone obelisks of Hor-akhti in Apt-asut" (L.D. 110 i).

Another monument of importance at Silsileh (E. bank) is a large rock tablet showing the king adoring Amen Ra; it is, therefore, one of the earliest objects in his reign (S.B.A. xi. 233).

At Soleb, Akhenaten appears in the usual Egyptian style, adoring his father Amenhotep III.; unhappily the faces are destroyed (L.D. iii. 110 k). This concludes the public monuments of the king; and we now turn to minor remains.

The most important small work of the reign is the beautiful and perfect statuette of the seated king in the



FIG. 138.—Head of statuette in Louvre.

Louvre (well figured in L.D. iii. 295, 44). Beside the head (B. Mus.), and the mass of fragments (Amherst Coll.), from the temple statues, there is also a shoulder in limestone (G. Mus.; W.G. 402), a torso with cartouches in red quartzite (F.P. Coll.), and other fragments from the prolific ground of Tell el Amarna.

The best portraits are, in youth, the Karnak head (L.D. iii. 294, 42) and the head on the tomb of Ra'mes

at Thebes; in older life, the head in a group (L.D. iii. 111), and the head of the statuette (L.D. iii. 294, 43); and, at the end, the very facsimile of the man in his death mask (P.A. front). The poorer quality of portraits are found in uncounted instances on tombs and fragments carved in this reign.

A special class of objects of this king are the tablets bearing cartouches of the Aten on the face, and those of the king on the sides. These tablets were sometimes borne by kneeling statues of the king in adoration

(P.A. 18, 19); and larger ones stood separately as acts of devotion in the temple (L.T. 1378; Rec. xiv. 55). The tablets are sometimes of limestone, all in one with the statue; others are of red granite and of blue glaze.

Of minor objects of this reign there is a great amount (P.A. xiii.-xx.). Rings of pottery are the commonest; and rings of gold or of copper are frequent, as much so as scarabs. Some points indicate that the scarabs belong to the beginning of the reign; a large one with the king supporting the Aten cartouches gives his name as Amenhotep, showing it to be before his 6th year; other scarabs name him as "beloved of Amen," "beloved of Atmu," "beloved of Tahuti," "beloved of Hor'akhti," "lord of the sweet wind," etc. The rings, on the contrary, are severely Atenistic. For the letters found at Tell el Amarna, see the chapter on the Decline of Egypt in Syria.



FIG. 139.—Scarabs of Amenhotep IV.

### PRIVATE MONUMENTS.

The private tombs of this age are numerous, and afford nearly all the information that we possess for the period. The names of the principal persons are as follow, with the numbers of their tombs at Tell el Amarna as officially re-numbered in 1891, and published in the plan (P.A. xxxv.) The descriptions are from my own notes.

Aahmes, tomb 3. "True royal scribe, fan-bearer on right of the king, keeper of the storehouses, keeper of the palace." Not much sculpture, some unfinished painting; statue at end. Figure of Aahmes and prayer to the Aten (L.D. iii. 98 a; B.H. 449).

Aniy, tomb 23. Son of Pa'kha. A peculiar tomb in every way: the inscriptions are of black inlaid in



white plaster, and the face of Aniy is curious. He was keeper of the palace to Amenhotep II., and scribe of the royal table. Two princesses are shown (Rec. xv. 43).

Anui, stele from Tell el Amarna. G. Mus. (V.G. 691).

Apiy, tomb 10. Keeper of the palace. Figures of royal family, three princesses: fine work, no exaggeration, and heads perfect.

Apuy, tomb at Thebes. Overseer of the offerings of Amen in Apt. Scenes of Amenhotep IV.; architecture in the other scenes of same age. (Name of Ramessu II. painted on a boat probably later; like name of Alexander added on an amulet, in XVIIIth dynasty tomb of Sen-nefer.) (M.A.F. v. 604.)

Auta, court artist of Tyi (L.D. 100 a). Father Nauy and brother Kharu were scribes of sculptors; wife, Nezem-men-nefer, sister of Huy (?) (Lb. D. 1168).

Ay, tomb 25. Fan-bearer at right of king, keeper of the mares, true royal scribe, divine father, afterwards king Ay; wife Ty, nurse of the queen. Largest tomb, of splendid work, but quite unfinished, no tomb chamber. Five princesses. Scenes of the royal family and the populace (L.D. iii. 103-106 a; Rec. xv. 45-9; Br. A.). Three discs of ivory with the above titles and "*sem* in the divine feasts" are in Turin (Rec. iii. 127).

Ay, tomb 7. Same titles, and probably earlier tomb of same man; scenes of tribute: royal family, three princesses and queen's sister Nezem-mut (L.D. iii. 107 d-109; Rec. xv. 37).

Bek, "overseer of works in the red mountain for the pylons, chief of the artists for the very great monuments of the king in the temple of Aten in Akhet-aten, son of the chief of the artists Men, born of Roy in An," adoring the king and Aten on a rock tablet, Aswan (M.I. i. 40).

- Her'sekheper, tomb 13; or Nefer'kheperu'her'se'kheper: prince of Akhet'aten. Interior unfinished, inscription on door (Rec. xv. 38).
- Huy, overseer of merchants, stele Sakkara, wife Nezem'nefer (M.D. 56, 2).
- Huya, tomb 1. Scribe of treasuries of Tyi, overseer of works in the palace. Scenes of visit of Tyi in 12th year; Akhenaten borne on a throne; views of temple; prisoners of Kharu; two princesses and Bekr'aten (L.D. iii. 100-103).
- Kedet, ushabti with *suten du hotep* to the Aten for his sister Ket. Zurich Mus. (S.B.A. vii. 200).
- Kha'em'uas, tomb, Memphis (Ms. G. 427).
- Mahu, tomb 9. Chief of the Mazau (police). Much fine sculpture; scenes of king and queen in a chariot; of runners capturing a man; sentry-houses joined by a rope. One princess. Short hymn to Aten (M.A.F. i. 16).
- May, scribe, offering to Any in tomb 23 (Rec. xv. 45).
- Mery'neit, keeper of temple, tomb Sakkara, fragments. G. Mus. (M.M. 449). Berlin (B.C. 2070, p. 199); and sec worship of Neit at this time (P.A. 33).
- Nanay, statue, Thebes (B.G.I. i. p. 274).
- Nekt'pa'aten, tomb 12. Hereditary prince, seal-bearer, vizier (?); tomb only begun (Rec. xv. 38).
- Pa'ari, tomb at Thebes; priest of Amen; father, Shery; sons, Ptah'mes, User'hat, Amen'hotep. A hieratic inscription by a priest Atefsenb is dated in the third year of a king "Ra'nefer'kheperu, son of the sun Aten'nefer'neferu . . ." Probably this is an early variant of Akhenaten's name, which he afterwards transferred to his queen on his marriage (M.A.F. v. 588).
- Pa'aten'em'heb, tomb 24. Royal scribe, overseer of works in Akhet'aten. Chamber only begun (Rec. xv. 45).
- Pa'nehesi, tomb 6. Scenes of royal family adoring: four princesses; horses and chariots; palace front; etc. Sister, Abneba (L.D. iii. 91 h-p).

Penthu, tomb 5. Scene with fine gateway; royal family with three princesses: long wide passage to chamber (L.D. iii. 91 q).

Ptah'mery, tomb at Gizeh. Chief of goldsmiths of temple of Aten (Ms. G. 304).

Ra'mery, tomb 2. Scenes of king in garden canopy, queen straining wine into his cup, six princesses; dancers and wrestlers; Lybians, Amorites, and Syrians kneeling to the king. Mert'aten married to Ra'smenkh'ka, whose cartouches appear as the king in whose reign the tomb was finished (L.D. 98 b, 99 a, b).



FIG. 140.—Group of scribes. Flor. Mus.

Ra'mery, tomb 4. High priest of Aten. Large tomb, scenes with views of temple with altars of burnt-offering; palace and gardens; royal family with four princesses; guard carrying lantern; blind harper with blind singers (see W.M.C. Fig. 218) (L.D. 92-97 d; Pr. A.; C.N. ii. 319): name on shard (P.A. 33).

Ra'mes, tomb, Thebes, with portraits of the young Amenhotep IV. and older Akhenaten.

Ra'mes, tomb 11. Royal scribe, general, keeper of palace to Amenhotep III. Scenes of king, queen, and one princess (M.A.F. i. 9). Ushabti

and carnelian serpent head inscribed: with a dealer at Thebes, 1895.

Rud'ua, tomb o (before tomb 1); name over north corner of door.

Suta, tomb 19. Keeper of the treasury. Long passage unfinished, nothing on façade.

Suti, tomb 15. Fan-bearer behind the king; hall of columns begun, lintel and jambs inscribed (Rec. xv. 42).

Tutu, tomb 8. Am'khent; grand tomb, hall of 12 columns, long texts and scenes, but badly wrecked recently. Scenes of king, queen, and three princesses. The columns are decorated with groups of ducks, as in the palace (L.D. 106 b-107 c; Rec. xv. 37).

. . . amu, tomb 18; born of Pa'aten'ankh; wide passage, well cut, end unfinished.

. . . . tomb 14. Fan-bearer at the right of the king, general, keeper of the temple of Ra in Heliopolis, high priest of Aten, keeper of the temple of Aten, keeper of all the works of the king. Scenes of the king, queen, and three princesses; five boats, etc., all painted in black outline. The owner was degraded, and his name and his figure everywhere erased and covered with plaster (Rec. xv. 42).

For names of inspectors on ostraka, see P.A. 33.

#### ROYAL FAMILY.

The marriage of Tadukhipa, daughter of Dushratta, we have already noticed; and there can scarcely be a doubt but that she is the same person as the evidently foreign queen Nefertiti, who is the only wife ever represented with Akhenaten, and was mother of all his children that are known. Her hereditary claim to the throne, and probably Egyptian descent, has already been noted. She was married early in the 4th year of his reign, shortly before his father's death; at first she took only the name of Nefertiti (P.A. xiii. 23), while

her husband was known as Amenhotep (IV.). Before adopting the name Akhenaten, he seems to have occasionally (in his 3rd year)



FIG. 141.—Death cast of Akhenaten.

used the name Aten'nefer'neferu, or "the beautiful excellency of Aten" (M.A.F. v. 588), which name he transferred later to the queen, who on all the Aten monuments is known as Aten'nefer'neferu'nefertiti. She appears to have had six daughters, and to have survived Akhenaten, as she is shown actively waiting on him in his last days. From her age it is likely that she

lived on till Horemheb, or even Sety I.

The best portraits of the queen that are published



FIG. 142.—Nefertiti making an offering.

are in the large group (L.D. iii. 111), see Fig. 133, and the stele fragment (P.A. xii. 1), see Fig. 142; while

for detail of physiognomy and perfect vitality, nothing can exceed the fragment of a statue (Amherst Coll.; P.A. i. 15), see Fig. 117. Other portions of five statues of hers (or possibly some of Tyi, L.D. iii. 102) have been found by the Aten temple at Tell el Amarna (Amherst Coll. P.A. 18).

A building specially belonging to the queen, in the palace at Tell el Amarna, was probably her court or *harim* (P.A. xxxvi). The columns were of glazed tile-work (P.A. 9), the walls painted with scenes (P.A. v.), and the floors frescoed over with paintings of pools, birds, cattle, wild plants, and bouquets (P.A. ii. iii. iv.). In the courtyard of this building was a well, covered with a canopy on beautifully carved columns, and round the coping of the wall ran a band of inscription with the queen's titles (P.A. x.). Many fragments of sculpture and of vases bear the queen's name; and there are rings of hers, one of gold in the Louvre, others of pottery; but no scarabs are known, that form having been early renounced by the king, probably before his marriage.

Mert'aten, the eldest daughter, is shown on nearly all her father's monuments, standing behind her parents. She was born in probably the 4th year of his reign, as the second daughter was born in the 6th year; and she was married to Ra'smenkh'ka, probably just before Akhenaten's death, as her husband was co-regent with Akhenaten at the last, and his and her names are found together in a tomb of which the decoration was in progress under Akhenaten (L.D. iii. 99 a).

As Akhenaten reigned certainly 17, and probably 18 years, this would make her about 13 when she was married. Her husband appears to have reigned for 12 years, so that she was only 25 at his death. Rings with her name are known, but none show the transition to Amen worship; from this and the total absence of scarabs of hers, it seems that she passed into obscurity before the fall of Atenism.

Makt'aten, the second daughter, died very shortly before her father; she appears in a group of six

daughters (L.D. iii. 99 b), so she probably died between her 9th and 11th year. Her tomb was a side chamber in the passage of her father's sepulchre; and the royal family are there shown mourning for her.

Ankh's'en'pa'aten, born about the 8th year of her father's reign, must have been but 10 years old at his death. After that, therefore in her sister's reign, she was married to Tut'ankh'aten. After his accession he revived the Amen worship, and rings of his bear the double reading  $A \begin{Bmatrix} m \\ t \end{Bmatrix}$  en'kheperu'neb; while later he was solely named Tut'ankh'amen. Her name was changed to Ankh's'en'amen, "Her life is from Amen." She was probably only 31 at her husband's death, and nothing further is known of her. A few pottery rings with her name are found at Tell el Amarna, all apparently made at one time, perhaps for presents on her birthday.

Of the other daughters, Nefer'neferu'aten, Nefer'neferu'ra, and Sotep'en'ra, nothing is known beyond their figures and names on general monuments (L.D.

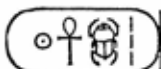


FIG. 143.—Three princesses, their two nurses, and Nezem'mut.

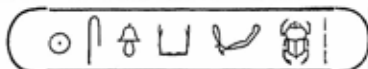
iii. 99). One of them married the son of Burnaburyas (see letter 16). The queen's sister, Nezem'mut, who is shown in one tomb (L.D. iii. 109), may be the same Nezem'mut who was the queen of Hor'em'heb. If she

were about 10 at the queen's marriage, she would have been about 24 at Akhenaten's death, and 62 at the death of Hor'em'heb. The difficulty is that his inscription implies that he did not marry her till his accession, when she would be 58. The marriage to a royal high priestess of Amen was, of course, purely a political necessity to legitimate the king's position; but it would be strange if no younger priestess of the royal line could be then found. The parentage of Bakt'aten has been discussed at the end of the last reign.

## XVIII. II. ANKH'KHEPERU'RA



RA'SMENKH'KA'SER'KHEPERU

1365-  
1353  
B.C.

Gurob	ring	(P.K. xxiii. 21).
Tell el Amarna,	name in tomb 2	(L.D. iii. 99 a; Pr. M. p. 3).
"	piece of vase and knob	(P.A. xiii. 37, 38).
"	rings	(P.A. xv. 92-105).
Queen—MERT'ATEN,	tomb 2 (above), rings	(P.A. xv. 106-7).

Excepting a ring found at Gurob, this king is solely known from his remains at Tell el Amarna; yet he does not seem to have lived there for more than two or three years after the death of Akhenaten, for in the great hall of pillars in the palace a heap of wine jars had accumulated, which bear dates of the 2nd year. This cannot be Akhenaten's 2nd year; nor is it likely to be Tut'ankh'amen's date, as there is but one mention of Ra'smenkh'ka in all the tombs here, showing that he did not spend much of his twelve years' reign in the place. It seems, therefore, that he abandoned the palace in his 3rd year, and may have moved from there before that. This will account for the rarity of his monuments, as any at Thebes would be worked up by Horemheb.



In the latest tomb at Tell el Amarna (No. 2), where Akhenaten has all six daughters figured, the decoration went on after his death, with the names of Ra'smenkh-ka and Mert'amen. This is the only sculpture giving the names of this king, and the reading of the personal name has been uncertain: Lepsius read it Ra'se·aa·ka·nekht·kheperu (L.D. iii. 99 a); Prisse as Ra'se·hek·ka·ser·kheperu, but he shows that it was injured in his time (Pr.M. p. 3); unhappily it has all been destroyed in the horrible mutilation which has recently befallen the tombs here. The rings which bear this name are now our best authority for it (P.A. xv. 103-105); they show that Prisse was certainly right as to *ser*; but they



FIG. 144.—Rings of Ankh-kheperu-ra.



FIG. 145.—Rings of Ankh-kheperu-ra.

1. "Beloved of Nefer-kheperu-ra."
2. "Beloved of Ua'n-ra."
3. *Ankh-kheperu-ra* (alone).

give a different reading to the *aa* of Lepsius, or the *hek* of Prisse, for they indicate *menkh* as the sign.

During his residence at Tell el Amarna this king always claimed his authority from his predecessor. His rings that belong to his residence here, being found in the palace rubbish, all read "beloved of Nefer-kheperu-ra," or "beloved of Ua'n-ra," the names of Akhenaten. Other rings found in the town bear only his simple names, belonging probably to the later part of his reign. A

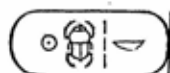


FIG. 146.—Ring of Mert'aten.

piece of an alabaster vase, and a green and violet glazed box handle, also bear his name (P.A. xiii. 37, 38).

His queen we have already fully noticed under her father's reign.

## XVIII. 12. RA-KHEPERU'NEB



AMEN'TUT'ANKH'HAQ'AN'RES

1353-

1344

B.C.



Memphis	Serapeum, burial of Apis II.	(M.S. iii. 2; M.S. Ms. 125).
"	Pottery rings	F.P. Coll.
Gurob	Alabaster vase	F.P. Coll. (P.K. xviii.).
"	Wooden cubit	F.P. Coll. (P.I. xxiv. 12).
"	Rings and pendants	(P.K. xxiii.; P.I. xxiii.).
Tell el Amarna	Rings and pendants	(P.A. xv.).
Ekhmin	Tomb	(B.I.E. ii. ser. 6, 87).
Abydos	Stele of Khonsu	G. Mus. (M.A. 1109).
Karnak	6 blocks in pylon	(A.Z. xxii. 41; Pr. M. xi. 1).
"	Block usurped by Horemheb	(L.D. 119 b).
"	Block and statue (?) (Temple of Mut).	
Thebes	Restored temple of Tahutmes IV.	} (S.B.A. x. 130).
	Inscription on wood	
	H. P. Coll.	
"	Tomb of Hui	(L.D. 115-8).
Scribe's palette with cartouche		(C.M. 191, 2).
Knob handles	Leyd. M.; G. Coll.; F.P. Coll.	
Kohl tubes	Leyd. M.; B. Mus.	(Rev. A. i. iii. 715).
Portrait		(L.D. iii. 296).
<i>Queen</i> —ANKH'S'EN'ATEN or AMEN.		
Alabaster vase		F.P. Coll. (P.K. xviii.).
Wooden cubit		F.P. Coll. (P.I. xxiv. 12).
Kohl tube		(Rev. A. i. iii. 715).
Scarabs and rings.		

Of this reign we know scarcely anything, except from the fine tomb of Hui. The paintings on that show that the princes of the Rutennu in Syria, and of

Kush in the Sudan, were both subject to Egypt, and brought offerings and tribute. This points to a continuity of Egyptian power, and shows that what-



FIG. 147.—Head of Tut'ankh'amen.

ever changes had gone on in the fall of Akhenaten's ideals, the vitality of Egypt abroad was not entirely destroyed.

The main feature of this reign was the reversion to the worship of Amen.



FIG. 148.—Rings of Tut'ankh'amen.

1. *Amen-Amen, Ra'kheperu'neb.*

2, 3. *Ra'kheperu'neb, Setep'amen'ra.*

This is indicated by the double reading of a ring as Amen or Aten (P.A. xv. 118); and also by the king's name, Tut'ankh'amen. In the long period

assigned to Horos, 36 years in Manetho, which cannot

be applied to the 17 or 18 years reign of Akhenaten, we may see perhaps the duration of the Aten worship under the orthodox name of Horos. This would point to the occurrence of the change in this reign.

The claim of Tut'ankh'amen to the throne was through his wife, Ankhsenpaaten, altered to Ankhsenamen, the daughter of Nefertiti and Akhenaten; he may also have been descended of the royal family, though the fact that he calls Amenhotep III. his father (on the Barkal lions, B. Mus.; Rec. xi. 212) cannot be taken as proving a natural relationship.



FIG. 149.—Ring of Ankhsenamen.



FIG. 150.—Pendant of Tutankhamen. Serapeum.

The monuments of this reign are not wide spread, for they only appear in the heart of Egypt, from Memphis to Thebes. At the Serapeum one Apis was buried in this reign. The tomb contained four canopic jars, and some glazed pendants with the name of the king, "beloved son of Hepu" (M.S. III, pl. 2, p. 8; M.S. Ms. 125).

At Gurob some objects of this reign were found; pieces of an alabaster vase, and a wooden cubit, inscribed for the king and queen, and rings and pendants also (P.K. xviii. xxiii.; P.I. xxiii. xxiv.).



FIG. 151.—Alabaster vase inscription of Tutankhamen and queen. F.P. Coll.

At Tell el Amarna there are no buildings or tombs of this reign, but the town was not yet deserted, as rings

of his are found scattered about. Private remains of a tomb at Ekhnim, and a stele from Abydos, are known (B.I.E. ii. ser. 6, 87; M.A. 1109).

At Karnak the only remains of buildings are in blocks re-used by Horemheb in his pylon X. (Pr. M. xi. 1; W.G. 404; and apparently in the same pylon, A.Z. xxii. 41); and a block in the temple of Mut. A large grey granite statue there is probably of this king also. On the western bank Tut'ankh'amen restored a temple of Tahutmes IV., as we learn from a fragment of the furniture (H.P. Coll., S.B.A. x. 130). The fine paintings of the tomb of Hui we have already noticed; unhappily they have been largely injured since the copying by Lepsius (L.D. 115-8).

A few small objects and scarabs, and many rings and ring moulds, are known. The best portrait of the king is that copied by Lepsius (L.D. iii. 296, 49). See Fig. 147.

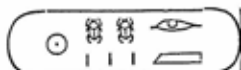


FIG. 152.—Bronze ring of Tutankhamen. F.P. Coll.

The queen, Ank'h's'en'amen, was very important, and her name is almost as often found as that of her husband. Such prominence points to her descent being more important than that of her husband, owing to her being the daughter of Nefertiti and Akhenaten. No children are known.

### XVIII. 13. RA·KHEPER·KHEPERU·AR·MAAT

DIVINE FATHER AY,  
NETER·HEQ·UAS



1344-  
1332  
B.C.

Tomb

Valley of kings' tombs

(L.D. 113 a-g).

Memphis	Rings	F.P. Coll.	
Gurob	Rings	F.P. Coll.	(P.K. xxiii. ; P.I. xxiii.).
Ekhmim	Shrine		(L.D. iii. 114 a-d).
Karnak	Blocks re-used		(C.N. ii. 45).
Shatawi (22° 17' N.)	Shrine of Pasar		(L.D. iii. 114, c-h).
Portrait	From tomb		(R.S. xv. 63).
Stele of Min'nekht, 4th year		Berlin Mus.	(L.D. 114 i).
" "		Louvre Mus.	(P.R. ii. 90 ; S.B.A.T. viii. 306).
" Tutu		B. Mus. 130.	
Rings, gold, Leyd. Mus. ; pottery, various.			
Scarabs.			
Queen—Ty.			
Head at Ekhmim shrine			(L.D. iii. 114 d).
Figure in king's tomb			(B.E. 226).

The descent of this king and his queen is unknown ;



FIG. 153.—Head of Queen Ty.

and we can only presume that one or other were of royal blood, from their being allowed to take

possession of the throne. The queen is called the "great heiress," which would indicate her royal descent (L.D. 113c). Ay was not a king's son, but only calls himself "divine father," a priestly title. There can be no doubt but that he is the same divine father Ay, whom we have seen to have the grandest tomb at Tell el Amarna; for that tomb being un-



FIG. 154.—Ay and Ty, from the great tomb, Tell el Amarna.

finished (as also a yet earlier one of the same man), there is no evidence against his having made a fresh tomb in the royal valley at Thebes when he there attained to power. The Ay of Tell el Amarna had a wife, Ty, and the same name appears for the queen of Ay. Ay had been fan-bearer at the king's right hand, keeper of the mares, true royal scribe, and divine

father; and Ty, his wife, was "great nurse, nourisher of the goddess queen, adorer of the king" (L.D. 105 f). The likeness of this nurse to queen Ty is evident in the above figures. And Ay the official is also like King Ay.

Ay shows a complete reversion to the older worship. His first tomb (7 at Tell el Amarna) has three princesses, and was therefore decorated about the 9th year of Akhenaten (about 1374 B.C.), so that he can hardly have been born later than 1400 B.C. His second tomb (25 at Tell el Amarna) has five princesses, so it belongs to about the 13th year, and was sumptuously worked during the last six or eight years of Akhenaten. These dates would place the working of his third tomb (Thebes) to as late or later than the 56th to 68th year of his age. There was thus plenty of time for him to forget the new faith, for which he had taken so strong a part in his early days. And in place of the suppression of the *ka* formula, as under Akhenaten (M.D. 56, 2), the figure of the king's *ka* is put forward in his tomb (L.D. 113 a). For a portrait from the tomb see R.S. xv. 63.

The principal monument of this reign is a shrine cut high up on the face of the cliffs behind Ekhmim. A grand rock-cut façade with figures and inscriptions, some twenty feet high, rises above a rock cell or chapel (L.D. iii. 114 a-d). The tomb of the king in the western valley at Thebes (L.D. 113 a-c) contains a red granite sarcophagus, with figures of Isis, Nebhat, Selk, and Neit at the corners, embracing the block with their wings (L.D. 113 d, g; Pr. A.). A re-used block at Karnak, on the south side of the pylon II., shows that Ramessu II. destroyed some building of Ay (C.N. ii. 45).

At Shatawi, a few miles south of Abusimbel, on the east side, is a rock-cut shrine made by Pa'sar, the prince of Kush. He there adores Anpu, Sebek, Usertesen III., and Anuke; while the king offers to Amen, Ra, Ptah, Mentu, Hor, and Sati (L.D. iii. 114 e-h).

Of private remains there are two steles of Min'nekht,



who was overseer of works in the temple of Ay, prince, first prophet of Min and Isis in Apu (Ēkhmim), overseer of storehouses of all the gods in Takahiti, and of Min in Khenti. These steles probably come from Ekhmim. One stele is in Berlin, dated in 4th year (L.D. iii. 114 i; S.B.A.T. viii. 312); the other in the Louvre (P.R. ii. 90; S.B.A.T. viii. 306). A stele of this reign, for Thuthu, royal scribe, keeper of the palace, is in the British Museum (Lb. D. 615).

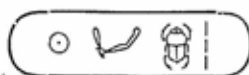


FIG. 155.—Scarab of Ay.  
F.P. Coll.

Of small objects the finest is a gold ring at Leyden (P.Sc. 1355). Pottery rings are found at Memphis; but such are not common, and the scarabs are even scarcer.

Queen Ty is only shown in the tomb (defaced), and on the Ekhmim stele (L.D. iii. 114 d). Her earlier figure (before accession) is at Tell el Amarna (L.D. iii. 105 f). No children are known.

XVIII. 14.  
RA·SER·KHEPERU  
(SOTEP·EN·RA)



1332—  
1328  
B.C.

HOR·EM·HEB  
(MER·EN·AMEN)



Royal tomb unknown.

Memphis	Tomb before accession	(M.D. 74, 75; S.I. ii. 92; A.Z. xv. 149; R.E. ii. 104-6).
"	Apis burials, Serapeum	(M.S. iii. 4, 1-6; M.S. Ms. 66).
"	Piece of stele	(F.P. Coll.).
"	Capital in Cairo	(W.G. 409).
"	Rings	(F.P. Coll.).
Gurob	Rings	(P.K. xxiii.; P.I. xxiii.).

Tell el Amarna	Fragment in Aten temple	(P.A. xi. 5).
Abydos	Frog with queen's name	(M.A. ii. 40 m).
Karnak	Pylon X.	(C.N. ii. 180).
"	Pylon XI.	(L.D. iii. 119 c; R.A. 64).
"	Connecting walls of pylons	(C.N. ii. 180; M.D. 88; B.E. 165-6).
"	Avenue of 128 sphinxes	(C.N. ii. 174; M.K. plan).
"	Wall between pylon V. and sanctuary	(C.N. ii. 139).
"	Stele	(A.Z. xxvi. 70).
"	Inscription in temple of Ptah	(M.K. 47 d).
"	Block in pylon of Khonsu temple	(C.N. ii. 217, 221).
Luxor	Usurped colonnade	(B.E. 129).
Deir el Bahri	Restoration inscription	(C.N. i. 574; L.D. iii. 119 c).
Medinet Habu	" "	(L.D. iii. 202 d).
Silsileh	Rock temple, scenes of gods	(L.D. iii. 119 f, g, h).
"	" " Sudan war	(L.D. iii. 120-1).
Kom Ombo	Block re-used by Ptolemies	(P.O.N. 479).
Kuban	Lion-headed statue	(My. E. 538).
Gebel Addeh	Rock shrine	(L.D. 122 a-f; plan in C.M. ii. 5).
<hr/>		
Steles (3) as general	P. Mus.	(P.R. ii. 57).
Stele	L. Mus.	(A.Z. xxiii. 80).
Fragment (from tomb?)	Zizinia Coll.	(S.B.A. xi. 424).
"	Vienna	(S.B.A. xi. 425).
<hr/>		
Statues, colossal, M. Habu	Berl. M.	(L.D. iii. 112 c).
" " seated,	Luxor Hotel	(W.G. 411).
" with queen	T. Mus.	(L.T. 1379; R.S. xliv. 5, A.; T.S.B.A. iii. 486).
" with Amen	T. Mus.	(C.F.E. pl. 85).
" with Horus (Castel Cattajo)	F. Mus.	(W.G. 411).
Bust from kneeling statue	F. Mus.	(S. Cat. F. 1507).
Hathor cow suckling king	F. Mus.	(S. Cat. F. 1225).
Portraits, best, from statue		(L.D. iii. 112 c).
" " from pylon		(L.D. iii. 112 a; R.A. 64).
Ostrakon, 21st year	B. Mus.	(B.I.H.D. 14; B.H. 473).
Papyrus, 6 lines broken	G. Mus.	(W.G. 411).
Wooden vase		(W.G. 412).

Bronze plaque	P. Mus.	(P.L. p. 108).	
Rings, amulets, and scarabs		(W.M.C. ii. 342, etc. etc.).	
<i>Queen</i> —NEZEM·MUT.			
Statue with king	T. Mus.	(L.T. 1379; R.S. xliv. 5, A.).	
Rings (F.P. Coll.) ; scarab (Berl. M.).			

The first question that arises in this reign is whether the king is the same person as the general Horemheb, the portions of whose tomb from Sakkarā are so well known. This tomb belonged to an official whose dignities closely correspond to those which king Horemheb states that he exercised before his accession. Not only is there a wide claim to having been only second to the king in all respects, by both the general and the hereafter king, but the precise positions occupied by each are practically exclusive of any other such official. We read on the statue at Turin about the king, and on other monuments about the general as follows:—

KING.	GENERAL.
King Horemheb before accession had been	the general Horemheb was
(6) Appointed to fix laws ;	chosen to regulate both lands, hearer of trials alone (M.D. 74) ;
(6) Alone without a second ;	sole companion, chief above the chiefs, great above the great (M.D. 74) ;
(7) He satisfied the king about quarrels in the palace ;	keeper of the palace (M.D. 74) ; judge in the palace, chief of secrets of the palace, fan-bearer of the king (R.E. ii. 104-6) ;
(9) Governed Egypt for many years ;	prince in the land to its limits (S.I. ii. 92) ;
(11) As chief and heir of the whole land.	chief general, great chief of the people, heir (M.D. 74).

When we further see that the "many years" of king Horemheb must extend through the reign of Ay, and perhaps back into that of Tut·ankh·amen; while the general's monuments begin at the end of the Aten period, which was under Tutankhamen, and go on into the full polytheism which succeeded that, it is evident that these two great viceroys were contemporary. Is it possible, then, to suppose that two different persons of the same name wielded the same unique powers over the whole country, at the same period? I think not. Horemheb the general must, in face of such statements, be the same as Horemheb the hereafter king, and as such we treat him here.

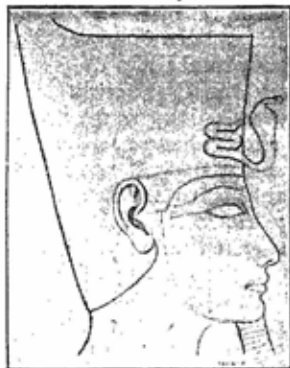


FIG. 156.—Head of Horemheb.

A discrepancy exists between Manetho and the monuments in the chronology of the reign. We have seen how in previous reigns the years, and even the months, stated by Manetho fit together with the monumental record, showing scarcely any signs of error; and we should therefore try all hypotheses before resorting to the rejection of the historian's statements. In Manetho, summarised by Africanus, we find 5 years, in the more detailed copy by Josephus, 4 years 1 month, a slight difference, due, perhaps, to the treatment of odd months in other reigns. But, beside monumental dates of the 1st and 3rd years on important work, we find on one ostrakon the 7th and 21st years are named. In judging between the short reign of 5 years and the long one of 21 years there are a few external points. It is true that two Apis burials probably belong to this reign; but one of these was added by cutting a side chamber in the tomb of

the other, and finishing it before the plastering and decoration of the outer tomb. The junction of the tombs points to one burial closely following on the other; and the decorating of the first tomb appears not to have been done till the second was used. The name of Horemheb is only found in the ruins of the chapel over the first tomb. Certainly the conditions do not impose a long reign on the history: for the second Apis seems to have been buried in an emergency, soon after the first, yet not necessarily in the same reign. Looking to the future, the reign of Ramessu II. is tied by the Sirius festival of Merenptah; but we might shorten the reign of Sety to make room for 21 years for Horemheb; yet if we did so, the relation of the era of Menophres to Men·peh·ra would be certainly thrown out.

There is one solution of the discrepancy which seems quite possible. If Horemheb dated his monuments from his accession for the first few years; and then, on his finally destroying the Aten worship, if he dated back his reign from the time of Amen being re-established under Tut·ankh·amen, we should have a solution. That Horemheb had helped to re-establish Amen appears very likely; but that he did not abolish the Aten until some way on in his reign, is shown by his name being carved in the Aten temple when not yet destroyed at Tell el Amarna. We conclude, then, that the 1st and 3rd years are dated from the accession to sole power, but that, on final abolition of the Aten worship, Horemheb glorified himself by dating back throughout his viceregal period to the time when he had come into favour as the restorer of Amen. The ostrakon dated in the 21st year, and referring to the 7th year, would then be of the 5th year of his sole reign, and refer back to the 3rd year of Ay, reckoned as the 7th of Horemheb. This is the best result yet attainable.

The earliest monument of Horemheb is a stele at Leyden (A.Z. xxiii. 80), where he is figured in the style

of Akhenaten, adoring the god Hor·akhti. He was already "great general." This may well be towards the middle of the reign of Tut·ankh·amen, say 1350 B.C.; and if the "great general" was then 40, he would have been born about 1390. Next come three steles in Paris, where he adores the gods of Abydos, Up·uat, Anpu, and Hathor; he is called royal scribe and general (P.R. ii. 57). Next he began the decoration of his tomb at Memphis, and a stele (B.M. 551) bears a hymn to Tum Hor·akhti, born of Hathor, son of Ptah, and names Tahuti, Maat, Osiris, and Horus (A.Z. xv. 149).

The door jambs show him bearing the royal uraeus (a sign of the supreme judge), and name him as "Heir, chancellor, sole companion, chief over the chiefs, great over the great ones, hearer of trials alone, keeper of the palace, great general, overseer of the prophets of Horus, follower of the king, royal scribe, great prince of the *rekhitu*, sent by the king at the head of his soldiers against the lands of the south and north, he whom the king has chosen to regulate both lands, general of the generals of the king, he who makes joy in the whole land, chief of the secrets of the palace, acting alone, treasurer of the royal guard, companion of his master on the field of battle that day he overthrew the Sati" (M.D. 74-5).

Somewhat later may be the other parts of the tomb, in which he is further entitled "Judge of the palace, and fan-bearer at the king's right hand" (R.E. ii. 104-6). While later still the door jambs (B. Mus.) add that he was "prince in the entire land, scribe of the recruits, overseer of works in the mountains of quarrying abundantly for the king in both lands" (S.I. ii. 92). Thus all military, judicial, courtly, religious, and business power had gradually come into the hands of this great noble during the feeble reign of Ay. The general cannot have been very strong at the beginning of Ay's reign, or the "divine father" would never have reached the throne. It seems as if there had been a great outburst of Amen worship at the close of Tut·

ankh·amen's reign, and a religious representative stood firmest in the kingdom; while real power steadily accumulated in the strong hands of the general who became viceroy.

A most valuable picture of his rise is given in his autobiography after his accession. On the granite group of him and Nezem·mut at Turin we read that "Amen king of the gods dandled him, and Horus was his protection like amulets on his body; when he came forth from the womb he was enveloped in reverence, the aspect of a god was upon him; the arm was bowed to him as a child, and great and small did obeisance before him. When he was a youth and unlearned, the form of a god was in his aspect, in beholding his figure one was strengthened. His father Horus stood behind him, forming and protecting him . . . knowing the day of his peace to give to him his kingdom. Behold this god advanced his son in the face of all people, he made wide his way until the day came when he should receive his office, until in his time the heart of the king was satisfied with his matters, rejoicing in his choice. He placed him at the head of the land to secure the laws of the two lands, as Heir of the whole land. He was alone without a rival, and the ways of the people were according to his command. He was called before the king, for if there were a quarrel in the palace he opened his mouth and answered and satisfied the king with his speech. All his ways were regulated even as the pace of an ibis, his wisdom was that of the lord (Tahuti) of Hesart (Eshmunen), rejoicing in truth like Khenty, pleased of heart therewith like Ptah.

"Behold he was governing both lands for many years, the controllers reported to him in obeisance at the gates of the palace, the chiefs of the foreigners (nine bows) both south and north came before him with their arms stretched out, they adored his face like a god. What was done, was done by his command; his reverence was great before the people, and they prayed for him wealth and health (part of the royal ascription). He was truly the father of both lands, with the perfect wisdom of the

divine gift to secure the laws. Years passed over these things while the heir of Horus was as chief and heir of the entire land.

“Behold this noble god Horus, lord of Hat-suten, desired in his heart to establish his son upon his throne of eternity. Horus proceeded in rejoicing to Thebes, the city of the eternal lord, with his son in his embrace, even to Karnak, until he came into the presence of



FIG. 157.—Negroes and Asiatics adoring the king.

Amen in order to give to him his office as king, to make his length of days. Behold Amen appeared in his noble feast in southern Thebes ; and when he saw the majesty of this god, even Horus of Hat-suten and his son with him, in the royal entry, to give him his office and his throne, then behold Amen·ra met him in rejoicing. In the day of giving his satisfaction then he conveyed himself to this chief heir and prince of both lands Horemheb ; he went to the house of the king, going before



him to the palace of his great and noble daughter. She made obeisance, she embraced his beauties, she placed herself before him, and all the gods rejoiced at his appearing."

From this account it would seem that Horemheb was not married to Nezem'mut until his accession, when he legalised his position by becoming husband of the high



FIG. 158.—Ring of Nezem'mut. F.P. Coll.

priestess of Amen, as in the arrangement under the later dynasties (M.A.F. i. 748-764). This marriage was an affair of politics solely, considering the age of the parties; Horemheb was probably between fifty and sixty at the time, and if the queen Nezem'mut was the same as Nefertiti's sister Nezem'mut, she must have been of about the same age as Horemheb. No children are known of this marriage

to contradict such a supposition.

Much confusion has arisen in modern works from a false identification of Horemheb with Horus of Manetho; even to the present time Horemheb is often called Horus, whereas it is clear from the lists that Horus is Akhenaten, or the duration of Atenism, while Horemheb is named as Armais. The confused account of classical authors about Sesostris leaving Armais in charge of the kingdom cannot refer to the king Horemheb, but probably to some other prince of this name. It is possible that the eldest son of Sety I. was called Horemheb (S.B.A. xii. 258; L.D. iii. 128 a); but the general Horemheb of the Memphite tomb cannot be as late as Sety by the style of his work.

Of the reign of Horemheb we know very little. By an inscription of the first year, Khoiak 22, we learn of his attention to the worship of Ptah (M. K. 47 d, in temple M.K. plan G). And in his third year the tomb of Neferhotep is dated (D.H. xl. e). But there is no evidence that his wars in the south and conquest in the Sudan, or his war with the Ha'nebu in the north, was during his brief reign. Such activities would be more

in place during his earlier life, and he may well have executed these monuments to record the triumphs of his generalship. The only later dates are on an ostrakon, on which a man petitions about the tomb of Hai his father, saying that it was granted in the 7th year of Horemheb, and now in the 21st year—no king named—he received title-deeds of it. There is no proof that the 21st year might not refer to Sety's reign; but, as we have noticed, it is quite possible that, after Horemheb abolished Aten worship, he dated his reign from his generalship. That the Aten worship, though displaced from its pre-eminence under Tut·ankh·amen, was not abolished, appears from Horemheb's name being carved on the Aten temple at Tell el Amarna (P.A. xi. 5), and the expression "Ra, his body is Aten" remaining in the 3rd year of this king (M.A.F. v. 499); but soon Horemheb swept away all trace of it, carrying away even the foundations of Akhenaten's work, and also re-using the buildings of Tut·ankh·amen and of Ay in his pylons at Thebes.



FIG. 159.—Scarab of Horemheb. "Founding the temple of Amen." F.P. Coll.

The great work of his reign appears to have been to regulate the country. Having come to the throne through the power of the soldiery, he found it needful to check that power and prevent the abuses of it which were only too certain in a military rule. A long inscription at Karnak might be entitled "The Justice of the King," being occupied with tales of his decisions against the plundering by the soldiers; set up much like a list of convictions by a railway company. We can only give an outline of the lengthy story: the first tale is of a poor man who made a boat and sail to follow the king, probably a sutler of the court-camp; he was robbed of his goods because he could not pay the duties. The king decided that anyone who oppressed a poor man "who pays taxes to the breweries and kitchens of the king by the two agents of the soldiers,"

should be punished by cutting off his nose and sending him to Zaru. This banishment to the eastern frontier is like the later mutilation of the nose and exiling to Rhinocolura, mentioned by Pliny and Diodorus. Also if a wood-seller had his boat plundered, the penalty should be the same on the thieves. The servants of the palace, when making requisition for the king, shall not take more for themselves. The two divisions of the soldiers, south and north, were incessantly plundering, and even took the skins or hides which were already stamped by the State for payment in kind. The collectors of the skins had this complaint made to them. Each soldier who after that date should go about plundering the skins, shall receive 100 blows so that five wounds are opened, and have the skins taken from him. These abuses had been inquired into under Tahutmes III., who went up and down the river examining them. But fraud had come even into the inspection, "and the officers put in charge also went to the officials, saying, Give us the profit of the fraudulent inspection." So now Horemheb himself goes on inspection on the feast of Apt (Rec. vi. 49; A.Z. xxvi. 70).

This account shows how bitterly the country was paying the price of its foreign conquests, in its oppression by a standing army. No form of tyranny in the East is so bad as that of an undisciplined army, as soldiers ravage over a whole country, and have not even the discretion which a local oppressor or robber has, to avoid destroying his future supplies.

Of the end of Horemheb we know nothing; but, considering his age, he may well have died a natural death.

At Memphis were the remains of his private tomb, and the burials of two Apis bulls in the Serapeum already noticed. A capital in the Derb el Gamamiz in Cairo probably came from here (W.G. 409), as also a piece of an inscription dated in year 5 +  $x$  (F.P. Coll.), and many green glazed finger rings.

At Gurob many rings of his were found (P.K. xxiii.; P.I. xxiii.): there were none, however, at Tell el Amarna, showing that the town was deserted, although the Aten temple was inscribed under this reign. From Abydos comes a frog with the queen's name (M.A. ii. 40 m).

At Karnak two great pylons belong to this king, as also the connecting walls at the sides of them. The pylons (X. and XI. of Baedeker) were built out of the blocks of a temple of Akhenaten (B.E. 165) and Tut-



FIG. 160.—Head of Horemheb.

ankhamen which stood here (Rec. vi. 53); pylon XI. has a magnificent doorway of red granite, sculptured with four scenes on each side of the door, and on both faces of the pylon, but the S.E. corner is now destroyed (L.D. 119 e; R.A. 64); pylon X. has had the doorway renewed by Ramessu II. (M.K. plan), and was re-inscribed by that king (C.N. ii. 180). On the E. wall joining the pylons are the figures of the chiefs of Punt (figures M.D. 88, inscription B. Rec. 57), and the captives of the Ha-nebu and Khita conquered by

Horemheb (S.B.A. xi. 423). On the W. wall of the court is figured the sacred bark of Amen (B.E. 165-6).

Before the pylons there stretched an avenue of 128 sphinxes, to the temple of Mut. These sphinxes are described as being the finest at Thebes; the form is a lion's body with a ram's head (C.N. ii. 174). A wall was built also between pylon V. and the granite sanctuary (C.N. ii. 139). The great stele of the king's justice at Karnak, about 16 feet high and 10 feet wide, we have already described.

At Luqsor, Horemheb placed his name on the grand columns of Amenhotep III. in the colonnade before his temple (B.E. 129). At Deir el Bahri he claimed to have restored the monuments of Tahutmes III., "father of his fathers"; and it really seems not unlikely that the recarving and painting of the scenes erased by Tahutmes III. might have been due to this king; his fervour for Amen would account for such care: also Punt had come forward into notice again in this reign,



FIG. 161.—Negroes, Silsileh temple.

and the re-working is too good for anything of the XIXth dynasty (C.N. i. 574). At Medinet Habu he also claims restorations, in a line of inscription on either side of the main entrance at the N. end of court M (L.D. iii. 202 d).

At Silsileh the large rock temple cut in the western cliff is specially devoted to scenes of the negro war. The soft sandstone is not adapted for fine work, and the execution is but poor compared with earlier carving. There is some good natural posing, however, in the figures and expressions of the negroes (L.D. iii. 119-121). At Kom Ombo a block of this king was re-used by the Ptolemies (P.O.N. 479). And at Kuban

in Nubia a lion-headed statue of this reign is said to have been seen (My. E. 538). A rock shrine at Gebel Addeh is an important work, but appears to be purely religious, and not to contain any reference to the Nubian war. This makes it the more likely that the war was past and over before Horemheb came to the throne, and that it was only brought forward as the great event of his life on the Silsileh temple, and not as an action of the time of the sculpture.

Of statues there are admirable examples. The upper part of a colossal figure from Medinet Habu (Berlin M.) is very fine (L.D. iii. 112 c); as also the group in white limestone of Amen and the king (T. Mus.). The group with the queen in syenite is valuable for the long inscription which we have quoted (T. Mus.). A colossal figure at the Luxor Hotel, and a group with Horus at Battaglia (in Castel Cattajo), are only mentioned by Wiedemann (W.G. 411). The bust in red basalt (?) at Florence evidently came from a kneeling statue leaning forward making an offering; but the face is not much like Horemheb, and there is nothing to show the name (S. Cat. F. 1507). The hinder half of a Hathor cow suckling the king, in red granite, is of rude work (Flor. Mus.; S. Cat. F. 1225). The best portrait published in the round is from the Berlin statue (L.D. iii. 112 c), and on the flat from the pylon (L.D. iii. 112 a, and another photographed in R.A. 64). The small objects of this reign do not need any particular notice. A fine gold ring in Leyden bears the Hor'nub and vulture and uraeus names of the king. Scarabs, plaques, and rings are all usual.

#### PRIVATE MONUMENTS.

There are not many private remains of this time, and this accords with the shortness of the reign.

*Amen-em-apt*, overseer of the palace and of the granaries of south and north, has left a wooden

cubit, bearing long inscriptions (Lepsius, Elle. No. 1).

*Hor·em·heb·pa·hor·ur*, priest of Amen, is on a stele at Leyden (Lb. D. 619).

*Khonsu·hotep*, priest of the *nub·kau* of the palace. Coffins and mummy at Leyden (Lb. D. 616).

*Nefer·hotep*, divine father of Amen. Tomb at Qurneh, N.E. of the tomb of Sen·em·aah. Dated in 3rd year of Horemheb; Aten not yet proscribed, the formula "Ra his body is Aten" being used. Published in M.A.F. v. 489, also in D.H. 40-40 e, portions in B.R. 37, and song of the harper in A.Z. xi. 58, 73; M.E.E. i. 130, 162; R.P. vi. 129. Patterns of the coloured ceiling in Pr. A.

*Penbui* offers to several kings down to Sety I., including Horemheb; T. Mus. (Rec. ii. 178).

*Roy*, royal scribe, overseer of the palace of Horemheb and of the temple of Amen. Tomb, Thebes, C.N. 544, 853. Whole scene, W.M.C. iii. pl. 68; portions, C.M. 177-8; R.C. 128-9; Pr. A.

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The queen Nezem·mut we have already noticed. There are not many remains of her of any kind. The sister of Nefertiti is figured in the tomb of Ay (No. 7) at Tell el Amarna (L.D. iii. 109), and is probably the same as the future queen. A statue of hers with the king is at Turin, but not published in drawing. The figure of the queen as a female sphinx, on the side of this group, is given by Rosellini (R.S. xliv., quin. A). One scarab is known (Berl. Mus.), and one ring (F.P. Coll.); and a frog with her name was found at Abydos (G. Mus.; M.A. ii. 40 m).

We may here notice some kings who have been attributed to the close of this dynasty.

TETA appears as Teta·mer·en·ptah, adored by Amen·uah·su, on a naos at Marseille. The figure of the king is placed in a triangle, which is suggestive of a pyramid (as *men·nefer* is written with the same triangle on this naos), and of the king being considered to be in a pyramid. Rather than suppose a new king at this period, we should see in this the worship of a pyramid king, Teta of the VIth dynasty (A.Z. xvi. 69). The same king appears to be indicated on a stele from the Serapeum (M.S. iii. 6), which has given rise to discussion. The cartouche is so rudely carved that it was read as "Akhenaten" at first, but afterwards as "Se·ra·Teta." If this be the correct reading, which is not certain, it need only imply that May, who set up the stele (in XVIII.-XIX. dyn.), was devoted to Teta (of VI. dyn.), and figured the king as making an offering from him to the gods. Such figures of kings making the *hotep·suten* for private persons are often seen on steles (see M.A. ii. 41, 47, 48, 51, 52). What points to this is that *Se·ra·Teta* is all in one cartouche, and this writing of the title along with the name does occur on the VIth dynasty monuments of Teta, but is rare otherwise; hence it seems that the old usage was copied from an early sculpture of this king. The scarabs that have been attributed to Teta are certainly not of this king.

NEFER·AY was read on an hieratic ostrakon in the Louvre, but it is much effaced and not certain in the reading (Dev. Cat. MSS. p. 202). Possibly it may be some variant of the divine father Ay.

Other names have been brought forward, but none stand on certain ground. Ra·en·tuy or Khutany may possibly be a name, or some connective between the names of Ramessu I. and Sety I. on either side of it (M.A. ii. 17). Ra·user·kheper is a mistake for Ra·kheper·kheperu, Ay. Mer·kheper·ptah is an error for Mer·neb·ptah (tale of Setna), and this is perhaps a Ptolemaic bungle for Maat·neb·ra·mer·ptah, Amen-hotep III. Rahotep is already placed about the XVIth dynasty; see vol. i. p. 246. Ra·pe·am is an error for



Horemheb. Ra'user'maat'ra'neb'maat is probably a combination of Ramessu V. and VI. Ses or Sesu appears to be a variant name of Ramessu II. Thus the various reputed kings which are not in the regular lists are not of historical substance, but are only linguistic questions.

## THE DECLINE OF EGYPT IN SYRIA

DURING the age of the decline of Egyptian power in Syria, when the great conquests of Tahutmes I. were all gradually lost, a splendid store of information was laid by for us in the cuneiform correspondence at Tell el Amarna. The clay tablets, mostly from Syria, but with a few duplicates of letters from Egypt, were deposited in "The place of the records of the palace of the king," as it is called upon the stamped bricks which I found still remaining there. A few years ago the natives, while plundering about the ruins and carrying off Akhenaten's bricks for their modern houses, lit upon this record chamber, containing many hundreds of tablets. These were shown to dealers; they sent some to Dr. Oppert, at Paris, who pronounced them to be forgeries; others were sent to M. Grebaut, then head of the Department of Antiquities, and were treated by him with customary silence. At last, when they were supposed to be almost worthless, a quantity were carried in sacks to Luqsor to hawk about among the dealers there, and these were largely ground to pieces on the way. What has been preserved, therefore, is but a wreck of what might have been, had any person equal to the occasion placed his hand upon them in time. The tablets thus reaching the dealers' hands became known, and were bought up mainly for the British Museum and the Berlin Museum. Some drifted to St. Petersburg, Paris, and the Cairo Museums; and some into the private collections of Murch, Rostowicz, and others. A similar miserable fate attends all discoveries in Egypt, unless made by a skilled observer, as witness the palace of Ramessu III. at Tell el

Yehudiyeh, the Deir el Bahri treasure, the cemetery of Ekhmim, the palace of Amenhotep III. at Thebes, as well as unnumbered cemeteries and towns throughout the land.

The tablets thus dispersed were published in many different ways and places; and the first synopsis of the whole was given in the first edition of this "History of Egypt." But since then a much larger number have been published, with a more critical and definitive text of the whole by Hugo Winckler, in "The Tell el Amarna Letters." The whole of these have been fully treated in the small volume, "Syria and Egypt," published last year. But as much of the material is not essential to the historical view, the letters and remarks that were less important are here omitted. Those who wish to study the history as such, will find it here. Those who wish for details of the letters and more of the geography of Syria, will find that fully discussed in the separate volume. In this shorter account of the letters it has seemed best, for facility of reference, to keep the same numbers as in the complete account; hence the numbers omitted in the series here will be found in the separate volume, but are not judged necessary for the present purpose.

The order of the letters has been determined by dividing them into three main classes: (1) royal letters and others during the peaceful times of Amenhotep III., and early in Amenhotep IV.; (2) the North Syrian war; (3) the South Syrian or Palestine war.

In the first class the letters of different places have no chronological interlocking, and therefore each kingdom and person is taken separately.

In the second class the main backbone of the sequence is in the history of Ribaddi; and in the third series the history of Abdkhiba (or Ebed-tob, as formerly rendered) is the main sequence.

The first step was to place the letters of each of these personal histories in the order of time, judging from the waning power of these allies of Egypt. The towns which they successively lost, and the difficulties in

which they were, serve to fit the letters very closely together one after the other. The frequent changes of residence of Ribaddi have particularly to be noticed, as otherwise all the letters from one residence of his might be supposed to be earlier or later than those from another residence. No change of residence has been assumed here, except what is clearly required by the sequence of events that are named.

A matter to be noted is the change of allegiance of persons and places. Such change is always shown in the indices of persons and of places by a star; the references before the star (if any) being friendly to Egypt, the references after the star (if any) being hostile to Egypt. In many cases, however, there is a dubious period in which there are conflicting statements from different parties; in such cases the references that are dubious are placed between two stars. Such dubious references arise from several causes. Sometimes a man was misrepresented by his enemies in order to prejudice him in the opinion of the Egyptians. Sometimes an enemy of the Egyptians continued to claim to be on their side as long as he could. But the more usual case seems to have been that the Egyptians had lost interest in Syria, lost the power of sparing troops to manage the country and to keep order, and lost heart in foreign matters since they were absorbed in the home politics of religious revolutions. So soon as the strong hand of the power of Egypt ceased to act in all emergencies, to interfere in every squabble, and to make capital out of the internal discords of the Syrians, —so soon the Syrians began their old life of aggression one on the other. It was just what we see every year in India; any place without a garrison is liable to outbursts of the old feud of Hindu faith against Muhamedan. So it was in Syria; all the petty chiefs and Shekhs whose ancestors had been cutting each other's throats for generations, and who, doubtless, had venerable blood-feuds unavenged, soon began to attack one another when not vigorously kept in hand by Egypt. Also any strong and capable man like

Abdashirta and his son Aziru, soon found that he could safely bully his neighbours, and gradually acquire power over them.

Hence the weakening of Egypt threw Syria into a state of internal discord unrepressed. The immediate effect of this was that various parties, without caring particularly about being for or against the Egyptians, began to fight with one another. Each tried to draw the power of Egypt to his own side by representing that he was loyally acting in the interest of his suzerain; and the weaker party was sure to place his trust most fully upon Egypt. It was only when a man had played his own hand for a long time, had strengthened himself by absorbing much of his neighbour's goods and lands, and had safely neglected the orders of the Egyptians on several occasions,—it was only then that he cared to throw off the mask and act openly in his own interest, and allow himself to be classed as an enemy. Hence we often find very different views of people, and might put them as being on the Egyptian side according to their own account long after they were on the enemies' side according to other accounts.

A very important consideration, which has not been worked out hitherto, lies in the few chronological details which can be gathered.

In the letter from an unknown king to the kings of Kinakhi (No. XL.), condolences on the death of a king, evidently Amenhotep III., are named. In letter CXXIII. is a reference to the 3rd year, which cannot be any but the year of Amenhotep IVth, and must have been written later, as his father did not die till the 5th year of his son's reckoning. At this time caravans seem to have been freely passing.

Two important letters (CXI. CXII.) of Akizzi of Qatna, near Damascus, addressed to Amenhotep III., show that serious troubles were in progress before his death, probably in the last year or two, the 4th and 5th year of Amenhotep IVth's joint reign. The political prospect then was that Nukhashi, Ni, Zinzar, and

Kinanat (or the Upper Orontes) were still faithful, but in danger. The Damascus plain was seriously threatened. The Lower Orontes, or Amurra, was already in revolt under Azira, and the Khatti were hostile.

From this point we may approximately start the reckoning of Azira's wars and attacks on Ribaddi, say in the 5th year of Amenhotep IV., the epoch of letter CXL., when Ribaddi first asks for troops to defend himself from Abdashirta and the Khabiri.

In letter CLXXIV. we read that Ribaddi had fought for five years, bringing this point to about the 10th year of Akhenaten.

Then in letter CLXXXVI. Ribaddi's son had been sent from Berut to see the king, but had not succeeded in doing so for three months. About a year must be allowed to this point, or the 11th year.

In letter CCIV. Ribaddi complains that Gubla has been besieged for three years, causing famine, owing to the cutting off of the arable land. As the complaints of the trouble of Gubla begin in letter CLXXXVII., this three years will date from about then, so that letter CCIV. will be at least as late as the 14th year.

In the tomb of Huya, No I., at Tell el Amarna, there are prisoners of the Kharu; and this tomb shows only two figures of princesses which are, therefore, about the 7th-8th year, and contains a date of the 12th year. The carvings occupied some time therefore, and the prisoners may well refer to some successes which Ribaddi seems to have had about the 12th year, when in letter CXCIV. he anticipates being able to drive out Azira. We therefore have approximate dates of—

	n.c. about.
Letter CXI., CXII.—4th, 5th year Akhenaten (end of Amenhotep III.) . . . . .	1379
„ CXXIII., referring to 3rd year, but after 4th year . . . . .	1379
„ CXL., 5th year (?) of Akhenaten . . . . .	1378
„ CLXXIV., 10th year (?) . . . . .	1373
„ CLXXXVI., 11th year (?) . . . . .	1372
„ CXCIV., 12th year (?) . . . . .	1371
„ CCIV., 14th year (?) . . . . .	1369
„ CCXXV., 17th year (? ?), end of Ribaddi . . . . .	1366

The questions of the positions of the various places named in these letters require to be systematically treated, and not dealt with by a haphazard system of verbal coincidence. Though the positions must be the first consideration in fixing places, yet we must not go to the opposite extreme and say that names cannot be trusted, and that nothing can be certain. When we see the names of Akka, Askaluna, Biruta, Danuna, Gazri, Lakish, Qideshu, Timasgi, Tsiduna, Tsurri, Tsumura, Tunip, Urushalim, Yapu, and Zinzar, all lasting with no change—or only a small variation in vowels—down to the present day, when nearly all the most important places might be named in cuneiform to the modern peasant, it needs no further proof that ancient names may be safely sought for in the modern map. Altogether, out of about 150 names of places in these letters, about 100 can be fixed with more or less certainty, and many of the others might probably be found if there were indications of the district in which to seek them.

The practical method followed in preparing the lists of places, and the map, has been to extract from the letters every mention of a place, with all other places which are mentioned with it, then by means of the other names to delimit what may be the possible ground for the unknown name. Next, considering the usual mutations between the transcription of cuneiform and the modern Arabic forms, to frame the shape in which it would be most likely to occur; and then to search the maps by reading over every name within the possible limits.

In dealing with names, there are several sources of divergence between the cuneiform transcription and modern Arabic. The name may have been variable in form anciently, as some names now are; it may have been changed in being transcribed into cuneiform; it may have changed during over three thousand years and many conquests; or it may have been changed on being transcribed into Arabic. Thus there are so many possibilities of change, which actually occur in

many cases, that we may wonder at the principal places having preserved their names so closely as they have done. In identifying names, another consideration is in the descriptive nature of many of them. In the present list we meet with 'Amq, the valley or deep place; Ginti, the gardens; Kirmil, the vineyard; Gubla or Gebal, the rock or mountain; Kharabu, the ruin; Magdali, a tower; Rubuta, a capital; and Yarimuta, the Yerimoth or high place. Being descriptive, such might be easily found repeated, and hence there is the more need to look fully at the indications of locality in fixing such names.

The references to the published sources of the letters are given to the latest and fullest edition by Winckler (W), "The Tell el Amarna Letters"; and in all cases the summary follows the edition of Winckler.

Before entering upon these letters, it will be well to give a sketch of the previous relations of Egypt to Syria. It was not until the rolling back of the tide of the conquering Syrians, in the expulsion of the Hyksos, that the Egyptians took any permanent hold outside of their own land. Aahmes, in the first rush of conquest, reached as far as Zahi, or the middle of the Syrian coast. Amenhotep I. seems to have done nothing in Syria, occupied probably in the consolidation and prosperity of Egypt. Tahutmes I. conquered the whole length of Syria as far as the Euphrates, having set up his tablet of victory at Naharaina or Northern Mesopotamia. Tahutmes III. did as much but no more. Amenhotep II. seems to have lost ground, as he found in his young days an enemy to repulse at Harosheth, on the Kishon, just beyond Carmel. Tahutmes IV. fought the Khita, who must at that time have been far in the north, up at Cilicia, and hence he seems to have occupied the whole of Syria.

Of Amenhotep III.—the first king of this correspondence—there are, unfortunately, very few records of his conquests or power. For the names of the subject peoples of Syria we are dependent on the decorative figures of captives around the columns of the temple at



Soleb in Ethiopia. There are three series of them, each series double ; part facing one way and part the other. The most probable order to read them is from the pair face to face, reading first those which face to right and then those which face to left. The series then appear thus (see Leps. Denk. iii. 88) :—

## FIRST SERIES.

Sengar . . . .	Singara, W. of Nineveh.
Naharain . . . .	Upper Euphrates, both sides.
Khita . . . .	N. end of Syria, Comagene.
<hr/>	
Kedesh . . . .	By Lake Homs ?
Tanepu . . . .	Tunip, Tennib.
(lost) . . . .	?
(lost) . . . .	?
Akarita . . . .	Ugarit, mouth of Orontes.
Kefa . . . .	N. Phœnicia.

## SECOND SERIES.

Karkamish . . . .	Karkhamish.
Asur . . . .	Assyria.
Apththena . . . .	Aphadana, 35° 30', E. of Chaboras. or Aphphadana, 34° 35', E. of Euphrates.
<hr/>	
Makuuatsh . . . .	Maguda, 35° 40', E. of Euphrates.
Mehpeni, or Shedpeni ?	?

## THIRD SERIES.

Kedina . . . .	Katanii, E. of Palmyra.
Aaro, or Atiro ? . . . .	Atera, 45' S., 20' W., of Palmyra.
<hr/>	
Pah . . . .	?
Punt . . . .	Punda, about 31°, W. of Euphrates.
Sha . u . . . .	Shasu ? Bedawin.
Thyta . . . .	?
Arerpaka . . . .	Arrapakhitis, N.E. of Nineveh.

In the first series there is the extreme north of Syria, and then the north-central and round to northern coast. For the place of Ugarit, see the notice in letter CLII. In the second series we begin on the Upper Euphrates and go down the valley. In the third series there is the Palmyra desert, and then the Lower Euphrates and up to Nineveh.

These lists show that Amenhotep III., either by

conquest or by treaty, had extended even the empire which had been acquired by Tahutmes I. and III. The whole Euphrates appears to be subject to him, down to 31° N., the Tigris up to Assyria and Arrapkhitis, and the Palmyra desert between Syria and Mesopotamia. This shows apparently the greatest extent of the Egyptian power ever known; in classical terms it comprised the whole of Syria, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and Assyria, stopping only at the frontiers of Susiana, Media, and Armenia.

It is now the breaking up of all this power that we have detailed before us in the letters from Tell el Amarna. Much had been already lost in the later years of Amenhotep III.; in letters CXI. CXII. the governor of Qatna, near Damascus, states that Azira, the centre of North Syrian independence, was in revolt, the Khatti were at war, and places round Damascus were rebelling. Yet up to the close of the reign of the third Amenhotep and beginning of the fourth, the letters passed regularly to and from Babylonia and Northern Mesopotamia, so that no serious break of communications had taken place. The serious overthrow belongs to the reign of Akhenaten, when, having openly broken with all the traditions of his Amenhotep youth, he threw all his energies into domestic reform, and abandoned foreign politics with disastrous results. It was not till a generation later, under Horemheb, that the Egyptians again obtained a hold on Syria. Even the boasted conquests of Sety I. and Ramessu II. did not more than half recover the length of Syria; while they did not attempt alliances with Mesopotamia and Babylonia, but were content to meekly make treaties on equal terms with the Khita, who had absorbed the greater part of Syria, and who had laid out that kingdom which was so familiar to the Israelites.

In later times the warlike Merenptah, Ramessu III. and Sheshenq I. claimed authority again over Palestine, but they did not venture to go beyond the Ramesside territory. In the XXVIth dynasty, Nekau (Necho) struck boldly through Syria to the Euphrates, only to

be defeated at Carchemish; and the Ptolemies, though holding Cyprus and much of Phœnicia, yet did not succeed in acquiring the Seleucid kingdom of Antioch. At no period, therefore, can we place the power of Egypt higher than it was under Amenhotep III., lord of the two great cradles of civilisation, the narrow valley of Nile, and the plains and highlands of Mesopotamia.

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### LETTERS OF THE PEACE.

#### *Kings of the Khatti.*

An early letter to Amenhotep III. cannot be regularly translated, as it is in an unknown language; but a few names can be transliterated, and may lead to some results. From the personal name it would seem that the sender was a Hittite king, the word *Tarkhun* being well known in the name of the king Tarqu-dimme of the silver boss, the same name as the king Tarkondemos of Greek times. From the letter can be gleaned the following:—

#### I.

TARKHUNDARAUSH to NIMUTRIYA (Amenhotep III.). T. sends Irshappa for a daughter of N.; and sends a *shuka* of gold, and will send a chariot, etc. Prince of the Khatti on the mountains of Igaid sends a *shuka* weighing 20 manehs, 3 *kak* of ivory, 3 *kak* of *pirkar*, 3 *kak* of *khussi*, 8 *kak* of *kusittu*, 100 *kak* of lead, 5 *kukupu* stones, 10 thrones of *usu* wood, 2 *usu* trees. (S.B.A. xi. 336.)

The throne name of Amenhotep III., which we render as Neb-maat-ra, was variously vocalised by the cuneiform scribes as Nimmuria, Nammuria, Nimutriya, or Mimmuria; these variations show how little exactness can be expected in cuneiform versions of names.

The reference to the mountain of Igaid is a clue, as

that is apparently the Ygatiy of the Travels of the Mohar of Ramesside times; and from the position of the name there it seems to have been about the Lebanon, perhaps connected with *Ain Yakut* on the old pass over the Lebanon, between Damascus and Beyrut. So this prince of the Khatti ruled on the Lebanon in the time of Amenhotep III., showing how the Hittites had already begun to occupy Syria.

*Dushratta of Mitani.*

The principal series of letters which show family relationships between the Egyptian kings and those of Syria are those sent by Dushratta, king of Mitani, to Amenhotep III. and IV. The earliest of these refers to the accession of Dushratta, and to his troubles from the invasion of the Khatti. The land of Mitani, in the north of Mesopotamia, bordering on the Euphrates, was close to the Hittite country, and would be naturally in the way of their attacks.

IV.

DUSHRATTA to NIPMUARIA (Amenhotep III.).

D. greets Gilukhipa his sister. Soon after his accession, Pirkhi attacked his land and his people; but D. repulsed him, and slew the murderers of D.'s brother Artash-shumara, whom P. supported. D. notifies N. of this, as N. was a friend of D.'s father, who gave him D.'s sister. The Khatti came into D.'s land, but D.'s god, Tishub, gave them into his hand. D. sends a chariot, 2 horses, a lad, and a girl, of the booty of the Khatti. Also 5 chariots and pairs of horses. Also to D.'s sister Gilukhipa a pair of breast ornaments of gold, a pair of earrings of gold, a *mash-hu* of gold, and a jar of oil. D. sends Gilia a messenger and Tunip-ipri. Let N. return them soon.

(W. 16.)

## V.

DUSHRATTA to NIMMURIYA. N. sent Mani to ask for daughter of D. to be mistress of Egypt. Giliya, D.'s messenger, reported words of N. which rejoiced D. And D. asks much gold, as N. sent to his father Shutarna a dish, cup, and brick of solid gold. D. sends Giliya, and a present of a gold goblet set with lazuli; a necklace of 20 lazuli beads and 19 of gold, in middle lazuli cased in gold; a necklace of 42 *khulalu* stones, and 40 gold beads; and an amulet of *khulalu* stone in gold, 10 pairs of horses, 10 chariots of wood, and 30 women.

(W. 17.)

Here Dushratta is sending grand presents, besides being willing to give up a daughter to Egypt. This points to his being a tributary, and not entirely independent. Amenhotep III. sends an envoy to negotiate for a princess to be the "mistress of Egypt"; and this was not for himself, but for his son, as the later letters show.

In the next letter Dushratta calls himself father-in-law to Amenhotep III., referring to some previous marriage, and not to the one just negotiated, as this last was of Amenhotep IV., as shown by letters IX. X. and XI. Two other letters to Amenhotep IV. refer to the family relationships.

## VII.

DUSHRATTA to NIMMURIYA. D. is father-in-law to N. May Istar bless N. Mani the messenger, and Khani, dragoman of N., have brought presents; D. sends lazuli and some gold.

(W. 19.)

## VIII.

DUSHRATTA to NIMMURIYA. D. greets Taduhipa his daughter, and Nimmuriya his son-in-law. Sends statue of Istar of Nina, to be honoured by N. and returned.

(W. 20.)

On the back of this is an hieratic docket, apparently in the 36th year of Amenhotep III., month of Pharmuthi. This is the very latest date in the reign, and would be two or three weeks later than the papyrus of Kahun dated under Amenhotep IV. Possibly in the last illness of Amenhotep III. the dating under his co-regent son came into use irregularly, and in any case official correspondence of the palace would receive the date of the king to whom it was addressed. By its date this must be the last letter of this reign.

After the death of Amenhotep III., Amenhotep IV. was but a youth of about eighteen years old; and hence Dushratta hesitated at addressing confidential diplomacy to him, and wrote in the first place to Queen Tyi. As we already know, from a quarry inscription at Tell el Amarna, this queen was for a short time apparently sole regent. Tyi appears from the following letter to have acted as regent independently of her son, and to have taken the position of sending out the diplomatic messengers to keep up the relation with foreign states.

## IX.

DUSHRATTA to TEIE. D. greets Teie, her son, and Tadukhipa his bride. Appeals to friendship with Mimmuria (Amenhotep III.), and Teie knows all the negotiations better than the messengers Gilia and Mani. Asks that certain gold statues be sent, along with presents to Yuni, D.'s wife. (W. 22.)

Gilia was the messenger of Dushratta, and was sent back with the news of the death of Amenhotep III., and a request for continuance of friendship. Hence he must have arrived just about the time of the king's death, and was therefore the bearer of letter VIII., which came just at that time. This letter IX. is Dushratta's next after No. VIII.

## X.

DUSHRATTA to NAPKHURIRIA (Amenhotep IV.).  
To N. my brother, my son-in-law, D. your

father-in-law, your brother : salutations to N.'s mother Teie, to N.'s daughter, Tadukhipa, N.'s other wives, sons, etc. Pirizzi and Bubri were sent by D. to condole with N. Mani, N.'s messenger, was kept by D. until the return of D.'s messenger. Teie knows all past discussions, and N. must consult her.

(W. 24.)

The name of Amenhotep IV., Nefer-kheperu-ra, was rendered in cuneiform as Napkhuriria. This letter is conclusive as to Tadukhipa being daughter of Dushratta and wife of Amenhotep IV. On no monuments is there any trace of any other wife of the king, and from the great prominence of Nefertiti, Akhenaten's devotion to her, and the absence of any children but hers (although all of hers were daughters), it seems that Nefertiti must be this wife Tadukhipa. It is true that Dushratta also greets other wives of Amenhotep IV., which would imply several such; but he also greets sons, whereas there is no trace of any son, and had there been one it is unlikely that he would have been ignored and only a long string of daughters put forward. The phrase, therefore, of "wives and sons" is merely a conventional presumption.

The next letter is the longest of the whole series, about 190 lines in all, filling over eight octavo pages even in its defective condition. It begins with the same relationships as the previous letter, therefore omitted here.

## XI.

**DUSHRATTA to NAPKHURIA.** From D.'s youth Nimmuria wrote to him, and Teie knows all that passed. When Nimmuria's father (Tahutmes IV.) sent to Artatama, D.'s grandfather, for his daughter, she was only granted at the 7th application. Nimmuria sent to Shutarna, D.'s father, for D.'s sister, who was only granted at the 6th application. Nimmuria sent to D. for D.'s daughter, and D. sent her,

with an exchange of presents, by Khamashi (Kha-em-uas), N.'s messenger. And Nimmuria rejoiced in Tadukhipa. (W. 21.)

This letter is very important as showing the long-standing relationships between the Mitanian kings and the Egyptian: it gives also the names of Dushratta's father, Shutarna, and grandfather, Artatama.

The last letter of this series touches on much the same lines, so that we must regard all these three letters as having been written within a short time. Thus this correspondence with Mitani must have been cut off by Aziru's attacks, which began in the north within the first year or two of the reign of Amenhotep IV.

## XII.

DUSHRATTA to NAPKHURI. Mani, N.'s messenger, has come. N. desired that as D. had been friends with his father, Mimmuria, so D. should be with N. D. will be ten times more so. M. sent Mani to D. with the price for a wife. M. promised golden images, lazuli, and instruments, and much gold, but N. has not sent them. Khamashi took message from N. Names Gilia and Perizzi. (W. 23.)

### *Kallimasin of Babylonia.*

Beside the alliance with Mitani, the north-western end of Mesopotamia nearest to Asia Minor, there was a similiar alliance with Southern Mesopotamia or Babylonia, then known as Karduniyash. The successive kings of this region were Karaindash, Kallimasin, Kurigalzu, and Burnaburyash, who is the best known.

## XIII.

NIBMUARIA to KALLIMA-SIN, king of Karduniyash. N. (Amenhotep III.) had asked for a princess from K. But K. complained that his sister, who had been given to N. by K's father, had



not been seen again. N. complains that K. never sent a messenger who could recognise his sister. Riqua, the messenger of Zaqara, was sent. K. complained that his messengers could not tell if the queen shown to them was a daughter of a beggar, or of Gagaia, or Khanigalbat, or Ugarit. But if K. doubts in this way, does he demand likewise tokens from all the other kings to whom his daughters are married? And N. is angry that K.'s messengers complain about not receiving gifts, when they always have presents given to them. N. asks that the messengers be not believed, as they plot treachery. K. said that N. had put his chariots among those of the vassals, so that K.'s agent could not find them. But both agent and chariots belong to K., and N. has no horses to spare. K. employs Riqua to write. (W. 1.)

The last sentence seems to mean that N. had no need of K.'s chariots, and his agent might as well take possession of them; and if K. was so particular, N. had no horses to give in exchange. It is evident that the distance made communication troublesome, and both parties became too particular about being satisfied, so that there was a good deal of ill-feeling. But the representations and assurances of Amenhotep III. seem to have satisfied Kallimasin, for he promised to send a daughter.

#### XIV.

KALLIMASIN to NIMMUWARIA. K.'s daughter, whom N. asked for, is grown up and will be sent. N.'s father used to return a messenger quickly, but N. has kept the messenger for six years, and then only sent 30 minas of gold like silver, tested before Kasi, N.'s messenger. K. sends 35 male slaves and 15 female as a present. (W. 2.)

The large present of slaves sent, after such a small return from Egypt, seems as if Babylonia was practically tributary to Amenhotep III., and so agrees to his representing places in that region as his subjects. Yet the king could ask plainly for return presents, as in another letter.

*Burnaburyash of Babylonia.*

The death of Kallimasin seems to have occurred very closely at the same time as that of Amenhotep III., as none of his letters are addressed to the IVth; and none of the letters of Burraburiash, his successor, are addressed to the IIIrd.

XIX.

BURRABURIASH to NAPKHURARIA. From the times of Karaindash, since N.'s father's messengers came to B.'s father, they have been friendly. N.'s messengers have thrice come without presents. When 20 minas of gold were sent it was short weight, and when smelted did not amount to 5 minas. B. offers furs; and if they are spoiled by keeping, let Shindishugab, the messenger, hasten to bring the chariots in order to get fresh furs. B. sends 2 minas of *uknu* stone; and for N.'s daughter, wife of B.'s son, a necklace of 1048 stones.

(W. 8.)

The daughter of N., being the wife of B.'s son, can only possibly refer to a betrothal, as this letter cannot be later than the 8th or 10th year of Akhenaten at the latest, and hence his daughters were none over six years old at the time.

Another letter refers to the subject of an earlier letter (XV.) of Kallimasin. In that letter the king was very anxious to get gold to decorate a work of his, and here we see that a temple was being adorned, and much gold was needed for it.

## XX.

BURRABURIASH to NIPKHURIRIA. Their fathers were allies, and sent presents, but now N. has sent only 2 minas of gold. "The work on the Temple is great, and vigorously have I undertaken its accomplishment; send me therefore much gold." In time of B.'s father, Kurigalzu, the Kinakhaiu sent to him to attack Egyptians, but K. threatened to attack them in that case. B. desires that the Ashuraiu should not be allowed to trade with Egypt. Presents sent: 3 minas of lazuli, 5 pair of horses, and 5 wooden chariots. (W. 7.)

Another letter from the same king seems to be the latest during the peace, as there has been an illness of the king. There is no mention of the temple affairs which he took over from his predecessor, and the caravans are beginning to be plundered.

## XXII.

BURRABURIASH to NAPKHURURIA. B. unwell, and annoyed at N. not condoling. Messenger explains distance to account for N.'s silence. Sends 4 minas blue stone and 5 pair of horses. Asks for much gold, last was base, because N. did not see to it himself, and much loss in melting. Caravan of Tsalmu, B.'s messenger, twice plundered—(1) by Biriamaza; (2) by Pamakhu, in N.'s land—so asks for compensation to Tsalmu. (W. 10.)

*King of Alashia.*

A third series of royal letters are those from Alashia, which by a docket in hieratic upon one of them is identified with the Egyptian Alasa. It has been usually supposed that this was in the north of Syria, but Winckler's identification of it with Cyprus seems much more likely. Every letter refers to sending quantities

of copper to Egypt, copper being commonly worked in Cyprus, but not on the mainland; silver is asked for in return, whereas silver was common among North Syrian Hittites; the ships of Alashia go to Egypt, whereas none of the Syrian ships are named there; all of these details point to Cyprus. And also Alashia was on the route followed from Gubla to Egypt; see letter CLXI.

## XXVI.

King of Alashia to king of Egypt. Congratulates him on his accession, sends 200 talents of copper, desires messenger back quickly, and a yearly embassy each way. (W. 30.)

## XXVII.

King of Alashia to king of Egypt. E. had inquired why a messenger had not come. A. did not know that E. was celebrating a sacrificial feast. A. now sends a messenger with 100 talents of copper. Asks for a couch of *ushu* wood gilded, a gilded chariot, two horses, 42 garments, 50 . . . garments, 24 logs of *ushu* wood, 17 boxes of good oil. . . . Proposes a bond of alliance, and interchange of messengers. Sends a flask of good oil to pour on E.'s head "now that you have ascended the throne of your kingdom." (W. 27.)

## XXVIII.

*x* to *y*, sends ivory, 5 talents of copper, 3 talents of good copper, and *ushu* wood, and desires that the customs officers shall not interfere with the men sent in the ship. (W. 33.)

## XXIX.

King of Alashia to king of Egypt. Asks for return of messengers quickly, and says they are his merchants, and desires that the customs officer shall not interfere with them or their ship. (W. 29.)

This bears a docket in hieratic "Letter from Alasa." These letters show the marine trade that was being carried on from Alashia.

## XXXI.

King of Alashia to king of Egypt. Protests that the king of Egypt is mistaken in supposing the Alashians to be allied with the Lukki; on the contrary, the Lukki yearly plunder the city of Zikhra in Alashia. If Alashians are proved to have plundered they shall be punished.

(W. 28.)

This letter is important as showing that the Lykian pirates, so well known in later times, were already at their trade in 1500 B.C.; and this gives more light on the early Mediterranean shipping, as certainly the rocky coast of Lycia is not the first place to start shipping, and the naval battle, under Ramessu III., at Medinet Habu, is quite in keeping with such pirate habits.

## XXXIII.

King of Alashia to king of Egypt. Sends his messenger with 500 talents of copper, apologises for not sending more in consequence of pestilence. Asks for silver, an ox, oil, and one of the "Eagle Conjurers." People quarrel with the king of A. about his sending wood to Egypt. An Alashian has died in Egypt, leaving son and wife at home. Asks for return of deceased's property by the messenger. Warns king of E. against kings of Khatti and of Shankhar, and whatever they send A. A. will send double to Egypt.

(W. 25.)

The above letter of the king seems to come at the end, when outlying people were beginning to be disaffected to Egypt, by the quarrel about supplying Egypt with wood. The reference to the claim on the property of a merchant who had died, is evidence that

some principles of international law were recognised, and that the king interfered to obtain justice for private rights.

These letters from Alashia, though not showing the pomp and wealth of Upper Mesopotamia or Babylonia, yet prove the establishment of an organised government, with regular foreign relations, legal rights defined, and an active trade going on. Such is a most interesting view of the early bronze age in Cyprus, and suggests a growth of such institutions during some considerable time before.

*Kings of Assyria and Nukhashi.*

Two isolated letters show that other kingdoms also kept up a friendly diplomatic correspondence with Egypt. From

XXXV.

ASHUR-UBALLITH, king of Ashshur, to NAPK-HURIA. A. received messengers, and sent a royal chariot with a pair of horses, two white horses, a chariot without horses, and a seal of blue stone. Asks for gold in return, for a new palace being built. A.'s father, Ashurnadin-akhi, sent to Egypt, and received 20 talents of gold: king of Khanigalbat sent, and had 20 talents of gold. A. asks for as much. The Eg. messengers had been waylaid by the Shutî; asks for messengers to be quickly returned. (W. 15.)

The other letter shows that Nukhashi had been conquered and made a vassal state by Tahutmes III.

XXXVI.

RAMMAN-NIRARI to king of Egypt. R.'s grandfather had been set up over Nukhashi by Manakhbîia (Men-kheper-ra, Tahutmes III.), who anointed him, and established him; names Takua; now the king of Khatti is against him; asks for help. (W. 37.)

As here an established king refers to his grandfather being set up, we must allow about 60 or 70 years to have elapsed. This letter was written at the beginning of the trouble with the Khatti at the close of the reign of Amenhotep III., about 1380 B.C. So the grandfather was set up about 1440 or 1450 B.C. This throws him decidedly to the time of Tahutmes III., 1481-1449, rather than Tahutmes IV., 1423-1414 B.C. We must read, therefore, Men-kheper-ra, and not Men-kheperu-ra.

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### THE NORTH SYRIAN WAR.

#### *Trouble in Amki with the Khatti.*

The next series are the letters which show the gradual breaking up of the state of peace, and the loss of Northern Syria. The troubles seem to have begun in Central Syria, and to have been provoked there by attempts of the Egyptian allies to secure more territory, trusting in their backing from Egypt to support them. In this they were disappointed, and so the power of Egypt first showed its waning by abandoning its friends.

The first four letters refer to attacks on Amki, which by its name (the "hollow" or "deep place") was a large valley, and by its position must have been the upper part of the Litâny river, inland from Beirut. The chiefs about the lower Litâny, at the bend of the river, thought that they could capture the upper part of the valley.

### CVII.

ILDAYA of Khazi to the king. Warred against cities in the land of Amki, but Idagama of Kinza with the Khatti drove him off. (W. 132.)

This is one of three letters almost verbally identical from three different chiefs, who had evidently leagued together to attack the upper Litâny valley. The position of the land of Amki is very probably shown by the place 'Ammîk, nineteen miles south-east of Beirut.

The result of this affair appears in an extension of Hittite power in the next.

## CX.

ADDU . . . IA . . . and BATTI-ILU to the king. Khatti and Lupakku have taken cities of Amki, and cities belonging to A-addu. Zitana and 9 men have arrived in Nukhashi, and writers go to see about them and inquire of king if they really come from him. Greeting to Ben-ili, Abd-urash, Ben-ana, Ben-zidki, Amur-addi, and Anati. (W. 125.)

*Trouble about Damascus.*

After this first opening of serious troubles, resulting in the Hittites becoming established in the Litány valley, the next difficulty is in Aziru coming down from the Orontes valley into the plain of Damascus, and this we learn took place even before the death of Amenhotep III.

## CXII.

AKIZZI to NAM-MUR-IA. King of Khatti tries to seduce A. Tiuwatti of Lapana (Helbon), Arzaui of Rukhizi, and Aidagama are leagued; but kings of Nukhashi, Ni, Zinzar, and Kinanat are faithful. Asks for troops soon, as if Arzaui and Tiuwatti come to land of Ubi, and Dasha is in land of Amma, then Ubi will be lost. They daily call on Aidagama to conquer Ubi. As Timashgi (Damascus) in the land of Ubi stretches out her hands so does Qatna. (W. 139.)

From this it seems that an alliance of the Hittites in their new possession of the upper Litány with the neighbouring chiefs, Itakama of the Upper Orontes, and Tiuwatti of the north of Damascus, had been formed to attack the fertile plain of Damascus, which included Qatna. But several chiefs around this alliance remained faithful.



*Namyawaza in Trouble.*

The other side of the matter appears in a letter from Itakama, complaining of the forward movement of the Egyptian party, which we noticed in letters CVII.-CIX. Very possibly letter CIX., of which the writer's name is lost, was from Namyawaza.

## CXIV.

ITAKAMA to the king. Namyawaza has maligned him, and occupied all the land of I.'s father in the land of Gidshi (Qedesh by Lake Homs). I. appealed to Pukhari the deputy. N. has delivered all the cities in the land of Gidshi and in Ubi (Upper Orontes and Damscus plain) to the Khabiri. I. offers to drive out the Khabiri and N. (W. 146.)

The politics are complex, as there appears to have been a triangular duel going on, owing to everybody fighting for their own hand. Itakama was opposed to Namyawaza (see CXIV.); Namyawaza was opposed to Biridashyi (see CXVI. CXVII.); and we can hardly doubt that Biri . . . is Biridashyi opposed to Idagama (see CVIII.). Namyawaza was certainly on the Egyptian side, as he was supported by the Egyptian resident, who reckoned Biridashya as an enemy (see CXXII.). The best way to understand this seems to be that at first Namyawaza was pro-Egyptian, and Itakama and Biridashyi neutral. Then owing to the aggression of N. and B. upon I., I. was thrown into opposition and was successful (CVIII. CIX.). Finding I. successful, B. changed sides and attacked N. with I., as we see in CXVI.

The Egyptian ally, Namyawaza, sends his own version in a very full historical letter.

## CXVI.

[NAMYAWAZA] to the king. Biridashya has made

the city of Yinuama rebel, and brought chariots to the city of Ashtarti, and delivered it to the Khābiri. Kings of Butsrūna and Khalunni join with Biridashya, and say, "Come on, we will kill Namyawaza." So N. took refuge in . . . (? Dimashqa). N. claimed to be an Egyptian subject, and Artsawaya went to Gizza, brought Azira's troops, took Shaddu, and gave it to the Khābiri. Itakama has destroyed Gizza, and Artsawaya and Biridashya will destroy Abitu. N. will defend Kumidi. (W. 142.)

The history of this fighting is obvious, with the map in hand. Itakama having repelled the Egyptian advance under Namyawaza, Biridashya turned and sided with the winning side. He attacked the land behind Tyre, at Yinuama (*Yanuh*); and fearing that Namyawaza would come down the Litāny and fight him at Khashabu (*Hōshaba*), or Yinuama, he crossed over eastward and drew the chiefs of Khalunni (Gaulonitis, *Jaulan*) and Butsrūna (Bozrah) to attack Namyawaza on the east, driving him to take care of himself and take refuge, perhaps in Damascus; but, unhappily, some words are missing at this part. Then Arzawaya and Itakama were at leisure, with Biridashya, to ravage northern Galilee, taking or threatening Gizza (*Gish*), Shaddu (*Shatiyeh*), and Abitu (*Abdeh*). But Namyawaza succeeded so far in holding the important post of Kumidi (*Kamid*), in the Litāny valley on the road from Damascus to Beyrut.

### *Galilee Rebelling.*

The next letter shows the rebellion spreading just south of this region, in southern Galilee. From the names of places of which news is sent, this letter must have been written from some place near Akka; and as it was a safe place, in communication with Egyptians, it was probably from Akka itself, but we know nothing more of Mutaddi.

## CXVIII.

MUTADDI to YANKHAMU. Aiab has fled, also the king of Bikhishi, before the Egyptian officer. Bininima, Tadia, and Yashuia are there.  $x$  was driven out of Ashtarti. Cities of the land of Gar (Gur) rebel, Udumu (Adamah), Aduri (*Et Tireh*), Araru (*Arareh*), Mishtu (*Mushtah*), Magdali (Magdala), and Khinianabi (*Anân?*). Also Tsarqi, Khawini (*Kâân*), and Yabishi (Yabesh) are taken.  $Y$  came to Bikhishi and heard the Egyptian orders. (W. 237.)

This land of Gar is the Heb. Gur, and seems from the places named to have included all the southern half of Galilee. Thus at this point we find that all Galilee was lost to the Egyptians. Further news comes from Akka.

## CXXII.

ZATATNA, of Akka, to the king. [Ziri]dayashda [*? Biridashya*] fled from Namyawaza . . . Shuta, the (Egyptian) officer. Egyptian soldiers are in Makida with a female. Shuta sent to Zatatna ordering Z. to deliver Zirdayashda to Namyawaza, but it was impossible to do so. Akka is like Magdali in Egypt, let it not be taken by these men. (W. 159.)

This last letter seems as if it might well refer to Biridashya, who had suffered a reverse from Namyawaza, and fled to the Egyptians in Akka.

## CXXIII.

AKIZZI to the king. Refers to a caravan (?) in the third year; names Bidinaza. (W. 290.)

This letter must have been written after the death of Amenhotep III., as otherwise the third year (of Amenhotep IV.) would not be named; so it must be subsequent to the other letters of Akizzi, CXI. CXII. The difficulty about caravans seems to have been felt now that

Galilee was in rebellion, thus cutting the road to Northern Syria and Mesopotamia. The last letter of Burnaburyash refers to this matter.

## CXXIV.

BURNABURYASH to NAPKHURURIA. B.'s merchants went with Akhithabu, and stayed in Kinakhi (E. of Merom) on business; Akhithabu went on, and then in the city of Khinatuni (Kanawat) in Kinakhi, Shumadda (of Merom, see CXXV.), son of Balumi, and Shutatna, son of Sharatu of Akkaiu, killed them and took the caravan. As Kinakhi belongs to Egypt, so Napkhururia must subdue these robbers and compensate the owners of the goods, otherwise trade will be cut off. Shumadda has kept one of the Babylonians with his feet cut off. Shutatna has taken another as his slave. These must be returned. Present sent 1 maneh of enamel (?). Desires messenger to be returned soon. (W. 11.)

Who Shumadda was is shown by the following short note, written probably earlier, while he was allied to Egypt.

## CXXV.

SHAMUADDU, prince of Shamkhuna, to the king.  
Has received message. (W. 220.)

The position of Shummada at Shamkhuna, allied with Akka, and attacking Kanawat, is clearly identified with the name of Lake Merom in Greek times, Semekhonitis. This seems derived from some district named Semkhon by the Lake, probably the region of the spring of *Semakh*, six miles to the north-east of the lake. The history of this plundering of the caravans is very clear, and shows that Galilee was more rebellious than the Hauran at that time. The names are some of them familiar in the Jewish writings of a later time, as Ahitub (Akhi-thabu), Shema-yah (parallel to Shamu-Addu), and Balumi (Balaam).

*Aziru in Peace.*

We now turn to the more northern part of Syria, where the rebellion of Aziru, which is seen beginning in Akizzi's letter (CXI.), was steadily successful until he became paramount in all that region. We begin a little before that letter of Akizzi (CXI.) in order to show the earlier position of Aziru, the most energetic son of Abd-ashratu, lord of Amurri, or the middle Orontes valley.

Three letters seem to show Aziru as an obedient subject. But he soon falls under suspicion, and seeks to excuse himself.

## CXXXI.

[ABDASHRATU?] to DUDU. Asks for the return of Aziru back quickly from Egypt. The kings of Nukhashi said to A. that his father sent gold to the king of Egypt but got nothing in return. Refers to his Suti troops. (W. 52.)

From this it seems that Aziru was in Egypt as a hostage or messenger, and his father was pointing out his fidelity in order to get his son back again. The great opponent of Aziru's advance was Ribaddi, the governor of northern Phœnicia, and the series of his letters is the most important of all.

## CXL.

RIBADDI to the king. Asks for troops to defend the king's land from Abdashirta and the Khabiri. (W. 73.)

## CXLII.

RIBADDI to AMANAPPA (Egyptian resident). R. asked A. to deliver him from Abdashirta and the Khabiri. R. was ordered to send a ship to Yarimuta; asks for soldiers to occupy Amurri. (W. 59.)

*Abdashirta stating his fidelity.*

But Abdashirta was not at all ready to be classed as an enemy of Egypt.

## CXLIII.

ABDASHRAT to the king. A. declares that his enemies are strong, and desires protection; will obey all commands, and sends ten women. (W. 39.)

## CXLIV.

The end of a letter apparently from ABDASHIRTA to the king. Khaya is hostile to the king. Let not the ships of Ziduna and Biruta come to Amurri to kill Abdashirta. Let the king seize the ships of Arwada which are in Egypt, and which were left by Mani with A. A. asks for a governor to be put in Ziduna and Biruta, who will supply him with a ship, or else the Amurri will kill him. (W. 124.)

Here we see Abdashirta striving to make out that he was in danger owing to his friendship for Egypt, and abusing Khaya, who was the regular Egyptian agent or officer. The request for a new governor in Zidon and Berut is evidently to supersede Ribaddi, who was sincerely in Egyptian interest, and against Abdashirta.

All the subterfuges of Abdashirta would not suffice to stifle the complaints against him, and a long and severe letter was sent to him from Egypt, of which fortunately a copy is preserved.

## CXLVII.

The king to the Chief of Amurra. The Chief of Gubla (Ribaddi?), living in Zituna, asked the Chief of Amurra to help him, but was not protected. Amurra has allied with the Chief of Qidsha (Itakama?), who is an enemy. The king does not wish to threaten the land of Kinakhi; and asks A. to send his son to Egypt as a hostage,

and allows this year for him to do so; next year will be too late. A. has asked for Khanni in place of the king, to deliver to him the enemies. A. is asked to help in bringing in Sharru and all his sons, Tuya, Liya, and all his sons, Yishiari and his sons, the son-in-law of Malia and his sons and wives . . . Dashirti, Paluma, and Nimmakhi the *Khapadu* in Amurri. (W. 50.)

Here we have the official Egyptian rebuke for the alliance of which we saw the effects in letters CVII.-CIX. And about this time we have Aziri's letters excusing him from going into Egypt as a hostage, in compliance with the Egyptian demand. The first refers probably to the bearer of the previous letter.

#### CL.

AZIRI to the king. A. and Paluia serve the king. A. and Khatib will come soon, but the king of Khatti is in Nukhashi; there are two roads to Tunip, and A. fears its fall. (W. 47.)

The successes of the Khatti, pushing south to the land of Hamath, in real agreement with Aziri, as we see by letter CXI., are skilfully used as a reason for his remaining where he was, and not leaving for Egypt. The fact of Tunip not being yet in the hands of the Khatti, while it seems to lie on the highway to Nukhashi, may point to one of the following conclusions: (1) the advance of the Khatti had been to the Euphrates first, then down the stream and striking across by the Sebkhah to the Orontes valley, thus cutting off Tunip; or (2) Tunip may have been in Aziru's hands, in real alliance with the Khatti, though he professes to fear them; or (3) Nukhashi must be placed as far north as Tunip. Of these the first seems the probable truth.

#### *Ribaddi attacked.*

We next enter on the long series of Ribaddi's letters.

## CLII.

RIBADDI to king. R. cannot send ships to Zalukhi and Ugarit because of Aziru. The Khatti are plundering the lieges of Gubla.

(W. 104.)

This and other letters belong to the beginning of the troubles, and it cannot be settled exactly where they were written. The sending of ships to Ugarit shows that it was on the coast, and not far inland as has been proposed. As we have already noticed, the mouth of the Orontes appears to be the place; and Ugarit or Akaritu seems to be the Okrad or Akrad—Kurdland—of modern times. Zalukhi must also be on the coast.

## CLVI.

RIBADDI, governor of Gubla, to the king. Tsumur is not taken, but in great danger. Yapa-addi afflicts R. Abdashirta's sons are tools of the kings of Mitani, Kash, and the Khatti. Let troops be sent with Yankhamu . . . Yarimuta . . . deputy of Kumidi (*i.e.* Bikhura). . . .

(W. 87.)

It appears that Ribaddi was chief of Gubla, and in more or less authority over all northern Phœnicia, as he stays to and fro in various cities during his troubles.

*Ribaddi in Simyra.*

## CLVIII.

RIBADDI to king. R. is distressed by sons of Abdashirta who occupy Amurri. Only Tsumura and Irqata are left, and R. is in Tsumura, for the deputy fled from Gubla . . . Zimrida . . . and Yapaaddu . . . against R., and would not attend to deputy. Ask for troops for Tsumura and Irqata, those of Tsumura having fled.

(W. 78.)



This last letter shows Ribaddi to have moved from Gubla to Tsumura in order to maintain its defence, the troops having deserted. The city of Irqata appealed also directly to Egypt; and this and the letter of the men of Tunip are interesting pieces of evidence of a municipal government then, which could conduct public affairs in its own name, without being headed by an individual. It begins, "Irqata and its elders fall down at the feet of the king."

## CLIX.

IRQATA, city, to the king. Babikha was sent by the king. People in land of Shanku are enemies. Strong appeal for help. (W. 122.)

*Ribaddi in Gubla.*

The next thirteen letters of Ribaddi are from Gubla.

## CLXI.

RIBADDI to king. May the goddess of Gubla give power to the king. Aziru is his enemy, has taken 12 of R.'s men, and asks 50 of silver ransom. A. has taken in Yibuliya men whom R. had sent to Tsumura. Ships of Tsumura, Biruta, and Ziduna all gone over to land of Amurri (i.e. to Aziri). Yapa-addi as well as Aziri attacks R., and have taken one of his ships, and sail out on the sea to capture his others. R.'s subjects will go over to enemy if not succoured. R. holds Tsumura, but is surrounded by enemies. Asks Amanma if R. did not accompany him to Alashia on his way to Egypt. R. asks for help to get food from Yarimuta. Yapa-addi would not let Amanma go to Alashia, and is joined with Aziri.

(S.B.A. xv. 359.)

This is the first mention of getting food for Gubla from Yarimuta; two earlier letters name Yarimuta

(CXLII. CLVI.), but its real importance to Gubla comes out during the siege and famine. It was obviously near to Gubla, and a prosperous city in a fertile country, as it exported provision. It was probably to the north of Gubla, as all the places to the south are referred to by Ribaddi as being in his charge, whereas Yarimuta was beyond his scope. All this agrees to the position of the next important place north of Gubla, now *Latakia*—Laodicea—at the mouth of a large river, the *Nahr el Kebir*. Yarimuta is obviously a Yerimoth, or Ramoth = a "high place"; and the pre-Greek name of Laodicea was Ramitha, which exactly agrees to this. The importance of shipping on this coast should be observed; there were sea-fights, when vessels put out on the high seas to intercept and capture others. The reference to going to Alashia on the way to Egypt is somewhat puzzling, as Cyprus is off the line that we should expect for shipping between Gubla and Egypt. Yet it is a valuable allusion in two ways: (1) it shows that Gubla could not be at Byblos as is often supposed, as that would be much farther from any possible site for Alashia; and (2) it almost shows that Alashia cannot be on the Syrian coast from the Orontes northward, as that would be an impossible position to take on the way to Egypt. It was possible to go across to Cyprus in order to get the larger and better shipping which seems to have regularly traded to Egypt with copper (see XXVIII. XXIX.); but any position farther up the coast would be impossible in this view.

## CLXII.

RIBADDI to king. Bumabula (?) son of Abdasherta holds Ullaza, Ardata, Yikhliya, Ambi, and Shigata; R. asks for help to Tsumura, for A.'s sons conquer the king's land for the kings of Mitani and Kash. If king waits till they take Tsumura, what will become of R.? who cannot go to help Tsumura. Ambi, Shigata, Ullaza, and Yada revolt, and R. fears that Gubla will fall into hands of Khabiri. (W. 86.)

Here we find that the rebels had seized most of the coast, and only the more important places were holding out against them. Ullaza (*El Ussy*), Ardata (*Arthûsi*), Shigata (*Sukât*), and Tsumura (*Sumra*), are all pretty certainly known; and they help us to gain some idea of the position of Yikhliya, which agrees well to *Qleidd* between Tsumura and Ardata; and Ambi, which is often named with Shigata, and was probably near it, may well be *Baldek*, an ancient port lying next to *Sukât*. The connections show that the Kashi were probably on or close to the sea. Possibly the name may remain in Mount Kasios, which belonged to the land of the warlike Kurds, the Akarit or Ugarit.

## CLXV.

RIBADDI to king. Tsumura is like a bird in a snare, let the king look to it. Sons of Abdashirta on land and Arwada by sea . . . sent . . . to Yankhami. . . . If ships come from Eg. they will not fear Abdashirta. A. has seized Ullaza, R. is not strong enough to aid Tsumura, for Yapa-addu is contrary, and has plundered R., who complained to Amanappa and Turbikhaza and Yankhami. No grain left. (W. 84.)

The fall of Tsumur was a main event in the history of the war; but before we proceed to that we should notice a letter that seems to come in during this rise of the power of Aziru.

## CLXX.

People of DUNIP to the king. Who would formerly have plundered Dunip without being plundered by Manakhbiria? The gods of Egypt dwell in Dunip. But we now belong no more to Egypt. For 20 years (on times) we have sent messengers, but they remain with the king; now we desire the return of Yadi-addu, who had been given by the king and then ordered to return to him. Azira has captured people

in the land of Khatat. A. will treat Dunip as he has treated Nii; and if we mourn the king will also have to mourn. And when Azira enters Tsumuri he will do to us as he pleases, and the king will have to lament. "And now Dunip your city weeps, and her tears are running, and there is no help for us. For 20 years we have been sending to our lord, the king, the king of Egypt, but there has not come to us a word from our lord, not one." (W. 41.)

This touching end to the letter is probably a picture of much of the state of Syria at this time, gradually forced by hard necessity and neglect to give up an alliance which had become a real bond of loyalty during the easy yoke of the great kings of the previous generations.

*Simyra lost.*

Henceforward Tsumura belongs to the enemy, and one great landmark in the history is passed.

CLXXII.

RIBADDI to the king. Abdashirta is strong against R., and sends to Mitana and Kash. A. has collected the Khabiri against Shigata and Ambi. "Tsumura, your fortress is now in the power of the Khabiri." (W. 56.)

CLXXIII.

AZIRI to the king. A. has carried out all his orders. The kings of Nukhashi are hostile, and therefore A. has not built up the city of Tsumuri, but will do so within a year. (W. 48.)

Here Aziri is playing the faithful subject, and excusing his wasting the city of Simyra by the plea that he is so much occupied in resisting the kings of Nukhashi.

*Abimilki of Tyre in trouble.*

Tyre next claims our notice, as it fell shortly after Tsumura.

## CLXXVIII.

ABIMILKI to the king. A. cannot leave his city to see the king because of Zimrida of Ziduna, who will attack him if he leaves. Asks for 20 men to guard the city in his absence. Is hemmed in without water or wood. Sent Ilumilki with 5 talents of copper and other gifts. King asked for news from Kinakhna. The king of Danuna is dead: his brother rules in peace. City of Ugarit is half burnt. The Khatti are quiet. Itakama took Qedesh, and Aziru has begun to fight Namyawaza. Zimrida has collected ships from Aziri's city against Abimilki. (W. 151.)

The city of Danuna named here is *Danian*, the Hebrew Danya'an, at the Tyrian Steps, on the headland south of Tyre.

## CLXXXIII.

ABI MILKI to the king. A. asks for Uzu to supply food and water. The prince of Ziduna takes away his people, and therefore he asks for Uzu. Princess of Ziduna and of Khazura have joined the Khabiri. Let the king inquire of his officer in Kinakhi. (W. 154.)

This Khazura was Hazor, 11 S.E. of Tyre, which prince had earlier reported his allegiance, in letters LXX. LXXI.

Abimilki seems to have found the force of circumstances too strong for him, as Ribaddi next reports his defection.

*Ribaddi in Beyrut.*

## CLXXXV.

RIBADDI to the king. Tsurri is rebelling under Ya milki (?). R.'s property was put into Tsurri

with R.'s sister and her sons, who have been killed with the commander; the sister's daughters were sent there to be safe from Abdashirta. Tsurri is not like the land of a feudal prince, but is as Ugarita.

(W. 70; R.P. xviii. 63.)

After Ribaddu went to Beirut, his brother Rabimur ruled at Gubla in his absence.

### CLXXXVIII.

RABIMUR to the king. Aziru killed Aduna king of Irgata, king of Ammia, king of Ardata, and the deputy. Also has Tsumura and other cities. Gubla alone remains . . . Ullaza . . . Itakama, and has taken land of Amki. And sent men to occupy Amki; kings of Khatta and of Narima (Naharain) are destroying . . .

(W. 119.)

We find here the echo of the earlier affairs about Itakama, given in letters CVII.-CIX. Probably recapitulated here by Rabimur because he had not corresponded with the king before.

The whole of northern Phœnicia, just to the north of Tripoli, seems to have been lost by this time.

Next come more excuses from Aziru.

### CXCI.

AZIRI to the king. A. is slandered. King wrote about Khani the envoy. A. explains that he was staying at Tunip, and knew not of K.'s coming. When he heard he started, but did not overtake K. A.'s brother and Bati-ilu waited upon K., and gave him full supplies and animals. When A. came to see the king, K. received him kindly. And now king accuses A. of neglecting K. A. appeals to the kings, gods, and the sun that he really was at Tunip. K. ordered A. to rebuild Tsumur; but A. says

kings of Nukhashi are hostile, and are taking A.'s cities by order of Khatib, so A. has not rebuilt Tsumur, but will do so quickly.

(W. 51.)

These letters show that the Amorite party of Abdashirta and his son Aziri were posing still as faithful subjects.

While Ribaddi was absent in Beyrut the people of Gubla wrote a municipal letter to the king. This is the third such letter from a community without any titular head, the others being from Irqata (CLIX.) and Tunip (CLXX.).

### CXCIII.

People of GUBLA to the king. Tsumuri is captured and people of Gubla are slain, Ask for 240 men, 30 chariots, and 600 people of Kashi to defend Gubla. Biwari, the "gate-keeper" of the king, is killed. Pakhamnata will not listen. There is no food or grain for the troops . . . names Yankhama. (W. 97.)

#### *Ribaddi in Gubla.*

Next we find that Ribaddi went back from Beyrut to Gubla in order to face Aziri in his attack on Shigata and Gubla.

### CXCVII.

RIBADDI to [KHAIAPA?]. Now that K. has entered Bit-tiri all is over. When K. wrote to R. to go and occupy Tsumur, K. should know that the enemy are too strong for R. Ambi is hostile; and the deputy and city governors are in alliance with Abdashirta's sons. R. cannot march. (W. 82.)

This Beit Tiri to which Khaiapa retreated seems to be probably the ruin of *Et Tireh* on the foot of the hills behind Akka. It seems as if, despairing of holding out against Aziri, the Egyptian officer had retreated south-

ward, and taken up a position outside Akka on the hills, where he could command the approaches to that city.

## CXCIX.

RIBADDI to the king. Abdashirta long afflicted R., who wrote to king's father for troops to rescue the land. Aziru has assembled Khabiri against Gubla. . . . Appeals to Yankhama as witness. Names Paya— . . . "they did not listen to the words of Khaib, their father." Khaib has delivered over Tsumura; and let not the king overlook the killing of the deputy. If help does not come Bikhura will be unable to hold Kumidi . . . (W. 94.)

This letter shows that Ribaddi, as well as Akizzi (letter CXI.), had written to Amenhotep III. about Aziru's hostility. In the next letter we see that Bikhura, not being able to hold Kumidi, had yielded it up and joined the enemy. He had been originally the Egyptian deputy or officer, who was appealed to by Itakama for help (letter CXIV.).

## CC.

RIBADDI to the king. An unexampled deed has been done against Gubla. Bikhura has sent Shuti men, who have slain the Shirdanu. When the king writes "Protect yourself," with whom is R. to protect himself? Send back the three people whom Bikhura sent to Egypt, namely, Abdirama, Natan-Addu, and Abdmilki. (W. 77.)

These letters show the use of auxiliaries by the Egyptians, the garrison of Gubla being of Shirdani, who, we know, are shown so frequently on the Egyptian monuments of the Ramesside times, and who were doubtless a Mediterranean people. As we afterwards find this deputy acting faithfully in the southern cam-



paign (letters CCXLI. CCLIV. CCLV.), it seems that either he misunderstood Ribaddi, or else the Shutî were acting irresponsibly and without his authority.

Next Gubla appears to be in serious straits, the presence of Ribaddi being quite insufficient to hold back the activity of Azîru.

## CCII.

RIBADDI to the king. Abdashirta's enmity is bitter. Only Gubla and Biruna are left to R. All the Khabiri have become like the city of Ammi[a] . . . names Shutî and Shirdana. R. remains shut up and cannot get out of his city; the people are like a bird caught in a net, their sons and daughters and timber of houses are gone, sold to Yarimuta for food. If troops do not come in two months Abdashirta will capture the two cities. (W. 64.)

The difficulties of famine, owing to the close siege, were being felt, and the neighbouring port of Yarimuta or Ramitha (Laodicea) being yet open, all valuable things—even the houses and the children—were being sold there for food. Ribaddi was feeling how hopeless it was to make head against Abdashirta, or even to get outside the gate of the city. So his favourite simile, of being like a bird caught in a net, is often used.

The difficulties yet increased, and the famine is even not noticed in the midst of more urgent perils.

## CCVII.

RIBADDI to the king. Since Amanappa came, all the Khabiri have been set against R. by Abdashirta. R. asks for troops. Abdashirta has the city of Mar . . . and the foe is striving to take Gubla and Biruna, and all will fall to the Khabiri. Two cities left to R. they strive for; and R. is shut up in Gubla as a bird in a net. (W. 60.)

This letter shows, like some earlier ones, that the

wilder enemies of the Egyptians, such as the Khabiri, Suti, etc., had been their allies in the times of peace.

Domestic treachery now began to work, and Rabi-mur, who was formerly faithful (letters CLXXXVII. CLXXXVIII.), now began to give up hope of Egyptian help and to turn to Aziru.

## CCVIII.

RIBADDI to the king. R. sent messenger to the court, but he returned empty without any troops. R. went to Khamuniri (Amunira), and his brother occupied Gubla in order to deliver it to Abdashirta's sons. And if no garrison is sent his brother will be hostile, and drive R. out of the city. R. cannot come to Egypt. Old age and disease press upon him. R. sent his son to the king and begs for troops for Gubla, which he still guards for the king, though his brother is inciting it to turn to the sons of Abdashirta. Let the king not neglect his city, for there is much silver and gold in it, and property in the temples. Let R. be allowed to live in Buruzilim. R. will go to Khamuniri if Gubla is lost; and he fears A.'s sons will attack Buruzilim if he goes to Khamuniri. R. now sends his son. (W. 71.)

This Khamuniri or Amunira was, as we see in letters CCXVI.-CCXVIII., the Egyptian governor of Beirut, to whom Ribaddi was soon obliged to flee for refuge.

At last he fled to Beirut, under its Egyptian governor Amunira, for shelter, though he finally managed to get back to Gubla, and there he disappeared from sight.

*Ribaddi in Beirut.*

We read from Beirut:—

## CCXVI.

RIBADDI to the king. The men of Gubla and R.'s house and wife say, "Attach yourself to Abda-

shirta's son so that we may all have peace." But R. did not consent, but often asked for more troops. No message was returned, so R. went to treat with Ammunira, and establish friendship; but when he returned they had closed his house against him. R. is still steadfast, but if the king will not help he is a dead man. Two boys and two women of his have been given to the rebel. (W. 96.)

Amunira's version of Ribaddi's affairs is instructive, and clears up the condition of matters.

### CCXX.

[AMUNI]RA to the king. A. has heard the words of the tablet. A. keeps close guard and watches Birutu for the king. "As to the man from Gubla (Ribaddi) who is with me, I am indeed guarding him until the king shall care for his servant." His (R.'s) brother, who is in Gubla, has given the sons of Ribaddi who is with me to the enemy of Amurri. (W. 129.)

This repeats about the treachery of Rabimur which Ribaddi states in letter CCXVI., and which is alluded to in CCXIV. CCXV. It seems, however, that Beirut was even in more danger than Gubla, for the next news that we have is of Beirut being taken, and the return flight of Ribaddi to Gubla, which he seems to have been able to re-enter safely, though he could hold it for but little longer.

### *Ribaddi in Gubla.*

### CCXXI.

RIBADDI to the king. Names Amma (=Ammia), Abdashirta is a dog, and attacked R., and has now taken Biruna, and will come against R. Shuarbi is the gate of Gubla. If the king will march A. will leave the gate, but R. cannot now get out of the door. If the king does not send troops Gubla will fall into A.'s hands,

and all the king's lands as far as Mitsri (Egypt) will fall into the hands of the Khabiri. Behold, Gubla is not like other towns, Gubla is the faithful city. (W. 65.)

These statements of Beyrut being lost, of the close siege of Gubla, of its fall entailing the loss of all the coast down to Egypt, and of Gubla being the faithful city, all show that this is one of the last letters from North Syria.

## CCXXV.

RIBADDI to AMANABBI. Why has A. told R. to send messenger to receive men and chariots from Egypt? R. did so, but messenger returned alone. And Biruna has fallen to y and the Khabiri, although troops were there. And the enemy do not depart from the gate of Gubla . . . (W. 67.)

This letter ends the history of Northern Syria. Ribaddi flying from one city to another to animate the Egyptian resistance was at last reduced to Gubla alone, and then he disappears altogether. Whether he succeeded in fleeing down to Egypt, or capitulated to his foe Aziru, or was killed by treachery or capture, we have no light. His resistance was faithful and hardy; and the Egyptian yoke cannot have been very oppressive to Syria when a native would be thus faithful in the face of the greatest discouragement and opposition. The Egyptian power had finally departed from Northern Syria after several generations of dominion, and there is only left the South Syrian war, where we shall see several of the former actors again continuing their support of the waning power of Egypt.

## THE SOUTH SYRIAN WAR.

*Abdkhiba in Trouble.*

The main series of letters from Palestine is that from Abdkhiba, king of Jerusalem. These show that Jeru-

salem was not merely a Jebusite village made into a capital by David and Solomon, but was the capital of South Palestine from early times.

## CCXXVII.

ABDKHIBA to the king. A. has been slandered, and accused of revolt. He was not an hereditary chief, but was set up by the king. He is slandered because he reproached the king's officer with favouring the Khabiri. Yankhamu has taken away a garrison. Cities of the king under Ili-milki have fallen away. A. continually tells the officers that all the dependent princes will be lost. Let troops be sent, for the king has no longer any territory, the Khabiri have wasted all. "To the scribe of my lord the king—Abdkhiba your servant. Bring aloud before my lord the king the words, 'The whole territory of my lord, the king, is going to ruin.'" (W. 179.)

This last injunction to the scribe, to impress the facts on the king, is curious; it bears such a stamp of sincerity that it seems alive in its earnestness even now.

*Milkili and allies doubtful.*

This Ili-milki or Milk-ili wrote also to Egypt to clear his character.

## CCXXIX.

MILKILI to the king. Yankhamu has taken 3(?)000 talents from M., and demanded his wife and sons that Y. might kill them. M. asks for chariots to bring him and family to the court. (W. 171.)

Here we see much what appeared in the north, several parties, Abdkhiba, Yankhamu, and Milkili, all acting in professed subjection to Egypt, but all quarrelling for their own success. The amount of 3000 talents

seized by Yankhamu seems prodigious, and is most likely an error or exaggeration.

*Abdkhiba attacked.*

The following letter is probably from Abdkhiba, though Winckler attributes to Addumikhir.

CCXXXII.

[ABDKHIBA?] to the king. What has A. done to Milkili that he should attack him? M. gave servants to his father-in-law, Tagi. Names Milkili and the sons of Lapaya. (W. 186.)

The next is certainly from Abdkhiba, as it was written from Jerusalem.

CCXXXIII.

[ABDKHIBA to the king.] . . . Urusalim. If this land is the king's, why is not Khazati? Ginti-kirmil is fallen to Tagi, and men of Ginti are fallen. And we will conquer in order that they may not give Lapaya and his lands to the Khabiri. Milkili sent to Tagi and sons. . . . people of Qilti. We will deliver Urusalim. The garrison sent by Khaya was taken by Adda-mikhir to Khazati. (W. 185.)

Here we see that the hill country west of Jerusalem was lost, also the coast town Gaza. The next letter gives more detail.

CCXXXIV.

ABDKHIBA to the king. A. has been slandered, but protests his fidelity. When Shuta, the officer, came, A. sent 21 women and 20 men as a present to the king. Land of Shiri, as far as Ginti-kirmil, its princes are wholly lost, and fight against A. So long as ships were on the sea the king occupied land of Nakhrima and

land of Kash. Now the Khabiri occupy the cities. Not one prince remains, all are ruined. Turbatsu was slain at the gate of Zilu. Servants conspire against Zimrida of Lakisi. Yapti-Addi was slain at the gate of Zilu. Asks for troops to Urusalim, or all will be lost. If not, desires to be fetched away, with his brothers, to the king. "To the scribe of my lord the king,—Abdkhiba, your servant. At your feet I fall. Bring these words plainly before my lord, the king; 'I am your faithful servant.' (W. 181.)

This letter shows that not only the west, but the north of Jerusalem was lost. The land of Shiri, as far as Ginti-kirmil, is Shaaraim (Heb.), *Khurbet es Sairah*, which is four miles nearer Jerusalem than En Gannim (Heb.), *Khurbet Umm Jina*, and these "gardens" would naturally be vineyards—kirmil—as it is in the Vale of Sorek, "the choice vine." Then Zilu, where two chiefs, Turbatsu and Yapti-Addi, were slain, is Zelah (Heb.), north of Jerusalem.

*Fighting round Gezer.*

We next turn to the Prince of Gezer, west of Jerusalem, close to Ginti.

CCXXXVIII.

YAPAKHI of Gazri to the king. Asks for help, as the Khabiri are powerful, and let the king rescue him from the Khabiri. (W. 204.)

We have seen before some mention of Lapaya, who in letter CCXXXII. seems to have been faithful. He fell into trouble, however, as follows:—

CCXXXIX.

LAPAYA to the king. The city was taken by an attack of the enemy, although in peace, and with an officer of the king with L.

(W. 162.)

The next, however, shows that he found it expedient to join the enemy, and that his next affair was attacking Yapakhi of Gezer.

## CCXL.

LAPAYA to the king. L. is a faithful servant, and has been slandered. Is it an offence that he has entered Gazri, and levied the people? Let the king take all that L. and Milkili have, and then decide between him and M. King wrote asking if Dummua had joined the Khabiri. L. had handed him to Adda-Dan. If king demanded L.'s wife he would send her; or if he ordered L. to run a sword of bronze into his heart he would do it. (W. 163.)

Here we see that Lapaya was against Gezer, and also against Milkili. This seems to be another three-cornered fight, in which no one quite knew who sided with Egypt. Another letter has lost the name, but belongs to this time.

*Fighting round Megiddo.*

After Lapaya rebelled in the south, at Gezer, he seems to have gone up through Samaria to Megiddo. First we have a letter from the chief of Megiddo early in the affair.

## CCXLIV.

BIRIDIYA to the king. Since the troops left, Lapaya has attacked B., who cannot go out of Magidda. Let the king rescue his city, that Lapaya may not take it. (W. 195.)

The following may probably be also from Biridiya, but it is only a second tablet of a letter, and the beginning cannot now be identified.

## CCXLVI.

$\alpha$  to the king.  $\alpha$  agreed with his brothers to capture Lapaya and bring him to the king, and go



with Yashdata to Egypt, for Y. is loyal, and goes into battle with  $x$ . But Zurata took Lapaya out of Magidda and said to  $x$  that Z. would send him by ship to the king. But Zurata sent him home from Khinatuna and took the money for his ransom. Zurata also let Addumikhir go. (W. 196.)

This shows that Zurata or Surata of Akka (letter CXIX.) was interfering, professedly in Egyptian interests, but really for his own profit: Akka being a port, he naturally proposed to send Lapaya by sea. His taking him over the Jordan to Kanawat to release him, is in accord with Shutatna son of Sharatu of Akkaiu seizing the caravan from Burnaburyash in Kanawat (letter CXXIV.). The princes of Akka seem to have ruled the country across to Bashan.

*Shuwardata in trouble.*

We now turn to Shuwardata, who we have seen was an Egyptian ally (letter CCXXX.), and was being attacked by the Khabiri (letter CCXXVIII.).

CCLI.

SHUWARDATA to the king. King ordered S. to war against Qilti. He has done so, and is successful. Why did Abdkiba write to Qiltites saying, "Take money and join me"? Let the king know that Abdkhiba has taken the city of S. Lapaya is dead who took cities of S. Lapaya was allied with Abdkhiba, and robbed cities of S. (W. 165.)

This last letter must then be after letters CCXL.-CCXLVI., describing Lapaya's warfare.

*Abdkhiba failing.*

We now turn back to Abdkhiba, in a later letter, written after the letters CCXXXIII. CCXXXIV. from

him; after CCXXXIX. CCXL. from Lapaya; after CCXLIV. from Biridiya; after CCXLVI. on Lapaya's capture; and after CCLI. on Lapaya's death. In this Lapaya seems to be dead, and his sons acting alone.

## CCLIV.

ABDKHIBA to the king. All the countries are hostile, Gazri, Asqaluna, and Lakisi; if no troops are sent, nothing will be left to the king. Milkili and the sons of Lapaya are delivering land to the Khabiri. A. is innocent about the Kashi (who seem to have been plundering). Until the officer Pauru went to Urusalim, Adaya was in revolt. Caravans of the king were robbed at Yaluna, so A. cannot forward them. "To the scribe of my lord the king,—Abdkhiba your servant. At your feet I fall. I am your servant. Bring plainly before my lord, the king, these words, 'I am an officer of the king.' May you be very well." And if A. has done evil to the Kashi, let A. be killed.

(W. 180.)

This letter has the curious little postscript to the scribe, like most of his other letters; and it seems as if the cuneiform scribe at Tell el Amarna were a personal friend of Abdkhiba's, and was expected to specially interfere on his behalf with the king.

## CCLVI.

ABDKHIBA to the king. Milkili and Shuwardata have taken soldiers of Gazri, Gimti, Qilti, and occupied the region of Rubuti. Men of Qilti have taken Bît-Ninib belonging to Urusalim. If no troops are sent the land will belong to the Khabiri.

(W. 183.)

These last three letters of Abdkhiba close his correspondence. We see how he was hemmed in more and more. Gezer, Ashkelon, and Lachish lost; the caravans

plundered at Ayalon; then Gimzu, joining the enemy in taking Rabbath; and a town by Jerusalem taken. It seems likely that Abdkhiba himself joined the Khabiri at last, as most of these princes and chiefs did when they saw that help could not be had from Egypt.

*Loss of South Palestine.*

The following letter is from a man otherwise unknown.

CCLVII.

ADDU-ASHARIDU to the king. Two sons of Lapaya rebel, and desired A. to join against men of Gina, who killed their father, or else they would fight him. Asks that an officer be sent to Namyawaza to order him to fight the sons of Lapaya. They ask A. to fight the king, as Lapaya did when he besieged Shuna . . ., and Bur . . ., and Kharabu, and Gitirimu . . . Messengers of Milkili also stir rebellion.

(W. 164.)

The places named here seem to belong to the Joppa region; Shuna . . . may be Shunama; Kharabu, El Khurab; and Gitirimu . . . Gathrimmon. This shows that Lapaya probably took Joppa. We see here how Namyawaza has drifted down into the southern seat of war, like so many other of the northern fighters, Arzawaya, Pakhura, Maia, Rianappa, etc. This shows that the southern war succeeded the northern, and was, probably, a sort of running fight from the Orontes down to the Egyptian frontier.

Addu-daian was another personage about this time, but his locality is unknown.

CCLX.

ADDU-DAIAN to the king. Ordered to defend his city, and will do so. City of Tumurka rebels, and A. has fortified Mankhatishum; but Maya has taken it from him, and put officer in it.

Asks for order to Rianap to return it to A. Biia, son of Gulati, has taken Gazri and Rubuti. Ransoms to  $x$  were 30 of silver, to Biia 100 of gold. (W. 239.)

From these letters it seems that Addu-daian was in the south of Judea. He names Gezer and Rabbah. Tumurka is probably Tumrah, near Gaza; and Mankhatishum seems from its length to be a compound name, including that of the Wady Menakh, near Gezer.

## CCLXIII.

DAGANTAKALA to the king. Asks for rescue from the Khabiri and the Shuti. (W. 216.)

This chief seems to have been in the South Palestine land, as the name of the god Dagon is used by him. Beth Dagon—now Dajun—is six miles S.E. of Joppa, and Dagon was worshipped at Gaza and Ashdod.

## CCLXV.

NINUR to the king. Land has fallen away to the Khabiri, who have sent to Aialuna, and to Tsarkha . . . two sons of Milkili . . . (W. 173.)

## CCLXVI.

[NINUR] to the king. Asks to be rescued from the Khabiri. City of Tsapuna has been captured. (W. 174.)

The latter letter is doubtless from Ninur, as in both she addresses the king as his handmaid, and writes in the same style.

The district of this queen was evidently in Judea, as she names Milkili, and the attack on Ayalon and Zorah, in the hills, half-way from Jerusalem to the coast. The city of Tsapuna is therefore somewhere near there, and Siffin, north of Ayalon, seems to correspond to this.

In taking a general view of these letters, and the history that they show, we may notice some broad con-

clusions. The gradually shifting of the peoples down Syria southward is regular and clear. In the early part of these letters the Khita, Hittites, are in the far north, and only one or two princes have established themselves southward. The Hittite prince who went farthest south at that time was that on the mountains of Igaid (letter I.) in the Lebanon; having come from the mountainous north it was natural that he should not do like other Syrians and settle in the fertile low plains, but rather on the colder mountain range. Then later the Khatti in general came south with Aziri, and plundered on the coast around Gubla (letter CLII.). After this age, about 1375 B.C., the Khatti advanced so that their chief city was Qedesh by Lake Homs, and Ramessu II. only obtained a frontier just beyond Beyrut by his fighting with them.

The Amurri, Amar, or Amorites show a similar and more complete shifting southward. Originally from the references here we glean that Amurri or Martu was the main part of the Orontes valley. Then in the time of Ramessu II. they appear side by side with the Khita at Qedesh. Later, the war of Ramessu III., which was mainly in southern Syria, found the Amar throughout that region. Lastly, when the Hebrews came in they found the "five kings of the Amorites" in Judea from Jerusalem down to Hebron and Eglon in the south. Here there is a continuous advance, and this is of value as bearing on the date of the Hebrew invasion. Had it been anywhere before Ramessu II. we ought not to find Amorites so far south, for there is not a single mention of the Amurri or of their chiefs Abdashirta and Aziru in the whole of the letters from Palestine, though they are the main factors in the North Syrian letters. We must, therefore, place all the accounts of the Hebrew conquest as after these letters and after the war of Ramessu II., at, in fact, the latest stage of the Amorite movement southward.

Another noticeable point is the variety of government in Syria at the time of this correspondence. Five different forms of government can be traced.

(1) *Chiefs appointed* by the king of Egypt, such as Ramman-nirari's grandfather (letter XXXVI.), and Yabitiri of Gaza and Joppa (letter CI.).

(2) *Hereditary chiefs*, as Ramman-nirari (letter XXXVI.), Itakama (letter CXIV.), Shumaddu (letter CXXVI.), and Aziri.

(3) *Female rule*, as by Ninur in Judea (letters CCLXV. CCLXVI.), reminding us of Deborah judging in Judea.

(4) *Elective chiefs*. Abdkhiba of Jerusalem repeatedly uses the formula, "Neither my father nor my mother appointed me in this place. The strong arm of the king established me over my father's territory." At first sight this would seem to be merely a statement of his being the king's nominee. But the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews had some document containing a similar statement about another king of Jerusalem, Melkizedek, being "without father, without mother, without genealogy" (Heb. vii. 3). Such cannot be a coincidence when it concerns two kings of the same city, and is a phrase never known elsewhere. We must recognise in it a formula familiar at Jerusalem, and so quoted by Abdkhiba in referring his elevation to the king. It is the formula of an elective rule distinctly, and shows that the main city of South Palestine for several centuries was familiar with elected chiefs.

(5) *Municipal government*. This occurs in three cities. Irqata addresses a letter from "Irqata and its elders" (letter CLIX.). Dunip also addresses the king as "The inhabitants of Dunip" (letter CLXX.). And in the absence of Ribaddi, Gubla managed its own affairs and wrote from "The people who are occupying (?) Gubla" (letter CXCI.). With these we may compare the deputation from "the elders and all the inhabitants" of Gibeon (Josh. ix. 11). It is clear that though government by chiefs was the more usual, yet municipalities existed under the Egyptian rule, much as they did in Asia Minor and other countries under Roman rule.

## BIOGRAPHICAL OUTLINES OF PRINCIPAL PERSONS

(Including references to letters only given in "Syria and Egypt").

ABDASHIRTA (B), ABDASHIRTA'S SONS (S), and AZIRI (Z),  
all linked together.

Z attacked Qatna and threatened Nukhashi . . . . .	111
Z troops used by Arzawaya to take Shaddu . . . . .	116
B makes obeisance . . . . .	127
Z sends slaves as messengers . . . . .	128
Z reports peace to Dudu . . . . .	130
Z reports overtures to him from Nukhashi . . . . .	131
B attacks Ribaddi . . . . .	140, 142
B sends tribute . . . . .	143
B dictates terms . . . . .	144
B ordered by king . . . . .	147
Z refuses to leave, as Khatti are in Nukhashi . . . . .	148, 149, 150
B attacks Ribaddi . . . . .	151, 154, 186, 202, 216
Z ties up Ribaddi's trade . . . . .	152
Ribaddi desires to attack Z, S . . . . .	155
S ally with Mitani, Kash, and Khita . . . . .	156, 162
B allies with Yapa-addi and Zimrida . . . . .	157
S descend into Amurri . . . . .	158
Z takes Ribaddi's men and ships . . . . .	161
Z allied with Yapa-addi . . . . .	161, 165
Bumabula holds Ullaza to Shigata . . . . .	162
B attacks Tsumura . . . . .	164
Ships needed to attack B . . . . .	165
S ally with Arwada . . . . .	165
Z attacks Gubla . . . . .	167, 168
S resist Egyptians . . . . .	169
Z took Ni and threatens Tunip . . . . .	170
Z has nearly all the coast . . . . .	171, 188
B allies with Mitani, Kash, and Khabiri . . . . .	172
B takes Shigata, Ambi, and Tsumura . . . . .	172, 188
Z has not rebuilt Tsumura . . . . .	173
S delivered men to Suri . . . . .	175
Z leagued with Zimrida . . . . .	177, 178
Z attacks Namiawaza . . . . .	178
Z and S attack Abimilki . . . . .	184
Z leagued with Ammiya, Ardata, and Ni . . . . .	187
Z smites Irqata, Tsumur, and Ullaza . . . . .	188
Z excuses to king . . . . .	191
Z attacked by Nukhashi and betrayed by Khatib . . . . .	191
B excuses to king, will yield Tsumur . . . . .	192
Amurri rebels against B . . . . .	195, 209
B ordered insurrection in Ammiya . . . . .	195, 203
Z leagued with Khabiri . . . . .	199
B took all but Gubla and Biruna . . . . .	202, 211

B writes to Bit Ninib . . . . .	203
S burn the cities . . . . .	205
Z has raided all the land . . . . .	205, 210
S Gubla betrayed to, by Rabimur . . . . .	208
Z obtains Gubla . . . . .	220
B takes Biruta . . . . .	221, 222
ABDĀHIBA accused of revolt . . . . .	227
(of attacked by Milkili . . . . .	232
Urusalim) at Urusalim . . . . .	233
sends 41 slaves . . . . .	234
attacks Shuwardata . . . . .	251
caravans robbed . . . . .	254
asks for Yankhamu . . . . .	255
lost all but Urusalim . . . . .	256
AMANAPPA demands sheep from Ribaddi . . . . .	132
(commis- named by Ribaddi . . . . .	134, 207
sioner) asked to deliver Ribaddi . . . . .	142
complained to by Ribaddi . . . . .	165, 225
in Tsumura . . . . .	169
appealed to by Ribaddi . . . . .	195, 203, 206, 209, (215), 225
ITAKAMA attacked Amki . . . . .	107, 108, 109, 188
(of Kinza against Akizzi . . . . .	113
and Qedesh) appeals to king . . . . .	114
takes Gizza . . . . .	116
(?) allied with Amurra . . . . .	147
took Qedesh . . . . .	178
named by Rabimur . . . . .	188
KHAI sent to Burnaburyash . . . . .	21
Khaya goes to Mutzu . . . . .	41
Khaya hostile to Abdashirta . . . . .	144
Khai addressed by Aziru . . . . .	149
Khaya ordered by king to Tsumur . . . . .	166
Khaib desired by Ribaddi to take message . . . . .	167, 169
Khayapa addressed by Ribaddi . . . . .	196, 197
Khaib yielded up Tsumura . . . . .	199
Khaya sends garrison to Urusalim . . . . .	233

(The above are all variants of the name of one commissioner.)

LAPAYA escorts caravans (?) . . . . .	40
named . . . . .	232
Abdkhiba desires to save L. . . . .	233
attacked and complains . . . . .	239
excuses attack on Gazri . . . . .	240
named with Tagi . . . . .	241
sons join Khabiri . . . . .	243
against Biridiya . . . . .	244
taken out of Megiddo and let go . . . . .	246
dead . . . . .	241
sons joined Milkili as enemies . . . . .	254, 255
sons defiant with Milkili . . . . .	257



MILKILI	sends tribute . . . . .	83
	writes to king . . . . .	82, 84
	perverts king's cities . . . . .	227
	and Shuwardata attacked . . . . .	228
	stripped by Yankhamu . . . . .	229
	attacks Abdkhiba . . . . .	232
	joins Tagi . . . . .	248, 233, 255
	allies with Lapaya . . . . .	240, 254, 255, 257
	joins Shuwardata . . . . .	256
	sons named . . . . .	265
NAMYAWAZA	attacks land of Itakama . . . . .	(109?), 114
(holding	reports to king with Khabiri and Suti . . . . .	115
Kumidi)	fled to Damascus from Biridashyi . . . . .	116
	asks that Biridashyi be punished . . . . .	117
	Zatatna ordered to deliver B. to N. . . . .	122
	attacked by Itakama and Aziri . . . . .	178
	named by Ribaddi . . . . .	212
	asked for by Adduasharidu . . . . .	257
PUKHARI	appealed to by Itakama . . . . .	114
Bikhura	king asked to send B. to Amurri . . . . .	155
"	holds Kumidi . . . . .	(156), 199
"	of Kumidi attacks Ribaddi . . . . .	200
Pakhura	same . . . . .	201
"	named . . . . .	241
Pauru	saves Urusalim . . . . .	254
Puru	went to Khazati . . . . .	255
(The above all act as Egyptian commissioner, and seem to be probably all variants of one name.)		
RIBADDI	ordered to supply sheep . . . . .	132
	named . . . . .	133, 147-8
	ships seized by Yapa-addi . . . . .	134
	will defend city . . . . .	139
	defends against Abdashirta . . . . .	140
	surrounded by Khabiri . . . . .	141
	ordered to send ships to Yarimuta . . . . .	142
	(?) asked Abdashirta to help him . . . . .	147
	attacked by Abdashirta . . . . .	151
	stopped by Aziru . . . . .	152
	names Tsumuri and Martu . . . . .	153
	names Tsumuri and Abdashirta . . . . .	154
(not in Tsu- mura)	desires king to occupy Amurri . . . . .	155
(in Gubla)	Tsumura in danger . . . . .	156
	fears for Tsumura . . . . .	157
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FIG. 162.—Syria under Amenhotep IV.



### THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE SYRIAN CAMPAIGNS.

THE long list of the names of conquered places given by the monuments of Tahutmes III., Ramessu III., and Sheshenq, beside various lesser records, have been studied by several authorities. The first impulse under Mariette and Brugsch was to care little for geographical relation, and to adopt forcible changes and inversions in the spelling, if a resemblance to well-known and important names could be thus produced. Their main principle was the presumed importance of the sites named. Maspero gave much more weight to the geographical order, and refused arbitrary alterations in the names. Conder proposed many new and probable identifications. Tomkins endeavoured to make more complete identifications of sites throughout, placing more reliance on similarity of name than on position. Max Muller was far more critical on the exact phonetic equivalence, but did not much use the geographical positions. As these writers came to very different results in some parts, it is desirable to re-examine the matter afresh with their various conclusions before us.

The first consideration is, from what materials these lists have been compiled, and what lies behind the monumental series of names. That the Egyptians had regular maps from which an artist would read off the places in order, is very unlikely, when we see the rudeness of the portions of maps which have been preserved to us. It would rather be from the papyrus records or cuneiform correspondence of the campaigns that the lists would have been compiled. These records would

recite the main course of the army, and the various lesser expeditions for plunder or punishment in the remoter parts of the country. Hence we should not expect to find an unbroken series of names, threaded in the neatest order; but rather a series of short lists, two or three of which might often radiate from one centre, and which might double back or cross one another. In treating the whole long list, then, we ought to find groups of several connected names; but we should be prepared for sudden breaks from one region to another, where one list ends and another begins.

The equivalence of the Egyptian names with those found in Hebrew or in modern Arabic is a very difficult question, from its vagueness and the many uncertainties of it. No doubt, in carefully transcribed and carefully preserved names, a thorough system of equivalence between hieroglyphs and the Semitic alphabet can be rigidly traced. But the fact of such a precise system existing must not lead us to ignore the many other sources of variation and change that affect the question. It is as well to specify these causes of difference, as they have not all been noticed.

(1) Original mutability of the name often exists. In the present day there is the hard and the soft *gim* side by side; the *g* or the hiatus for *'ain*, also together; the perversion of *gim* into *shin* (as in *wug*), and of *k* into soft *ch* (*chef* or *chelh*), inversions of syllables (as in *betâ* and *tebâ*, and even in place-names), and other variations, which are often enough to make two equally correct ways of writing a name appear very different.

(2) The errors of scribes in hearing and transcribing must certainly have affected the names. When we see the mistakes of Englishmen in writing foreign names of a new country, or, still more, the wild mistakes of the Norman scribes of Domesday Book in writing Saxon names, although they were living in the place for their business, and used almost the same alphabet, how much more in hasty military reports, drawn up in a totally different system of writing, may we credit the

scribes with making strange errors. The variability of spelling of some often-recurring words—as in the Sheshenq list—shows how little precision was sought.

(3) Our other versions of the names may often be altered from what they were in Egyptian days. The aboriginal forms have probably undergone some alteration in passing from Amorite into Hebrew or Arabic. How many different races were in the land at the Egyptian invasions we do not know, but their language, if Semitic, was certainly neither the Hebrew nor Arabic, through which we have the names preserved.

(4) Corruption of names by sheer wear—as Wokingham to Oakingham, or Brighthelmstone to Brighton, or Alexandria to Skandria—is a frequent change; and corruption by making sense of a name whose origin is forgotten is even commoner, as in Kentish Town, Leatherhead, Pepperharrow, Leghorn, the Campidoglio, or Hierosolyma.

Considering, then, the chances of alteration in names, we should give the more weight to the clue that we have in the sequence in the lists, and trust to that if any passable form of the name can be found in the correct order of place. The principle of tracing a Hebrew root-meaning for the Egyptian form by strict equivalence, and then requiring that Semitic root in the modern name, is excellent in theory; but as, in practice, two or three entirely different roots are often proposed for one Egyptian form, this shows how little real certainty there is in such a process, and how readily fictitious results may be gained. This system, moreover, ignores the sources of error (2), (3), and (4), which we have just noticed.

In determining the line of route of the lists, but little weight can be given to the presence or absence of common topographical terms, such as *Ain*, a spring; *Mejdel*, a tower; *Shuweikeh*, thorny place; *Negb*, a valley; *Gennein* or *Ganat*, gardens; *Abel* or *Aubela*, a meadow; *Hagarim*, apparently stone-walled fields, etc. Such names may easily vanish from their ancient places,

or be introduced, according as specific names or descriptive generalities are more in use.

We will now proceed to consider the list of Tahutmes III. of 119 places in the Upper Ruten country, or Palestine. Three versions of this exist on his monuments, and have been published (M.K. 17-21). In these transliterations G is used for the basket *k*, and F for the square *p*, as such is the constant usage in the forms of the Semitic names in this list. Where our present conclusion differs from that of previous writers, it is marked \*. Egyptian names are in capitals, and modern Arabic in italics. Positions are indicated by the distance and bearing from well-known places or the last-named site.

1. QEDSHU, named first, as being the most important conquest, *Kadas*, near Lake Homs on the Orontes.

- 
2. MAGETY, Megiddo, *el Lejjun*, 19 miles S.E. of *Haifa*.
  3. KHAZAY, *Tell el Kussis*,\* 9 N.W. of *Lejjun*.
  4. KITSUNA, *Kuddasuna* in cuneiform, *Tell Keisan*,\* 13 N. of *Kussis*.
  5. 'AN SHIU, now plural *Ayun Shâin*,\* 16 S.E. of *Keisan*, 3 E. of *Nazareth*.
  6. DEBKHU, *Tubikhu* cun., *Tabghah*? 16 N.E. of *Ayun Shâin*, on N.W. of *Sea of Galilee*. Or *Jebel Tubakat*, 17 N.N.E. of *Ayun Shâin*.
  7. BEM'AY, possibly *Bâneh*, 10 W. of *Tubakat*.
  8. KAMATA, perhaps *Kama*, 8 E. of *Nazareth*.
  9. TUTYNA, *Umm Tuteh*? 17 N.E. of *Akka*.
  10. LEBBANA, *Lebbuna*, 13 N.N.E. of *Akka*.
  11. QERET-NEZENA, *Kureiyeh*? 8 E. of *Umm Tuteh*.
  12. MARMA, *Lake Merom*, or *Marun*, 4 E.S.E. of *Kureiyeh*.

This circuit of places northwards through Galilee is evidently connected, and is perhaps continued southward in 20-27, the Damascus road (13-19) having been inserted at the most northern part.

- 
13. TAMESQU, *Dimesliq*, *Damascus*.
  14. ATARU, *Daraya*,\* 5 S.W. of *Damascus*.
  15. AUBIL, *Abila*,\* *Nebv Abel*, 14 N.W. of *Damascus*.

**SITES IN  
SOUTHERN SYRIA  
NAMED IN CAMPAIGNS  
TAHUTMES III.  
WITH ROUTE CONNECTS**

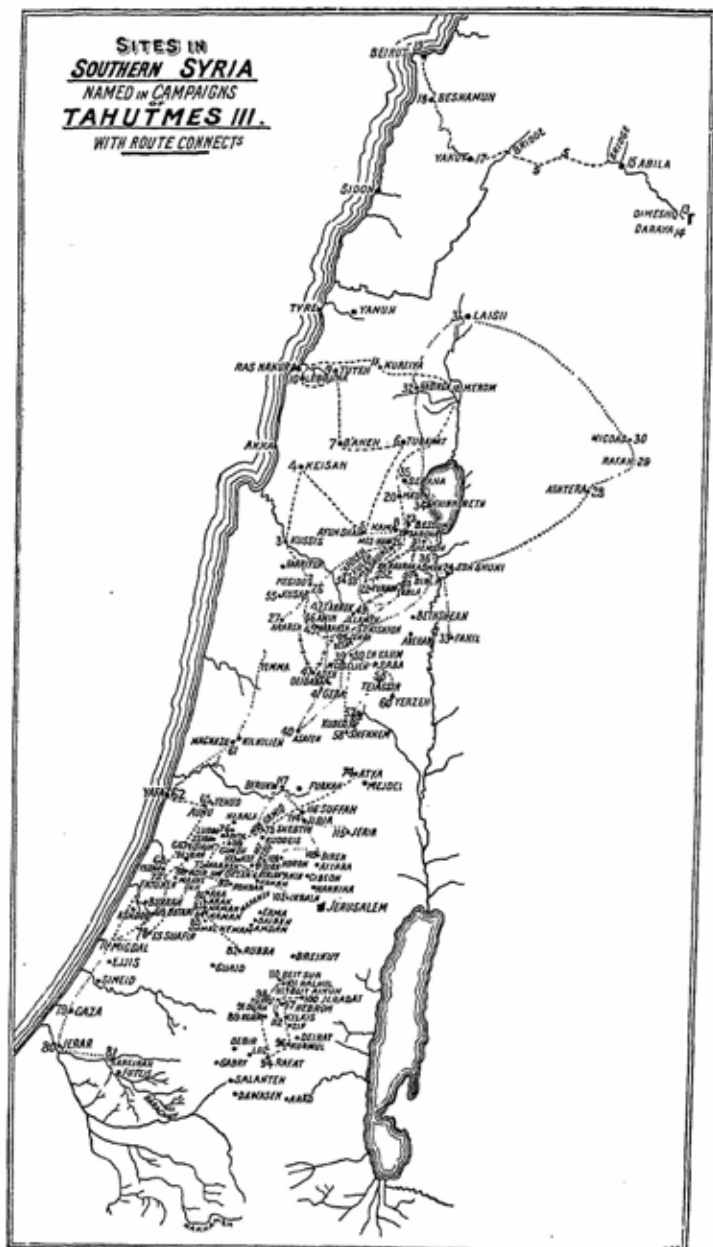


FIG. 163.—Map of Southern Syria.  
828

16. HEMTU, not found on this road, but perhaps brought in by confusion of the other E. Jordan road of Hamath to Abila.
17. AQIDU, 'Ain Yakut,\* pass on the Lebanon, 20 S.S.E. of Beirut.
18. SHEM'ANAU, Beshamun,\* 7 S. of Beirut.
19. BAARUTU, Beirut.\*

This line is the best road from Damascus to Beirut for slow transit or a large body, as it is better watered than the modern road on a ridge. These places are on the direct line of this old road.

- 
20. MAZNA, Madin, Madon, 5 W. of Tiberias.
  21. SARUNA, Sarona, 6 S.W. of Tiberias.
  22. TUBY, Tubann\* and well, 12 S.W. of Sarona.
  23. BAZNA, Bessum? 1 N. of Sarona.
  24. A'ASHNA, Esh Shuni,\* 10 S.E. of Sarona.
  25. MASAKH, Mes-hah, 3 S.W. of Sarona.
  26. QAANAU, waters of Qana by Megiddo in campaign.
  27. A'ARUNA, Aaruna in campaign, Ararah? 7 S.W. of Lejjun.

This group brings us from group 2-12 back to Megiddo, from which we started. There seems to have been a garrison at Sarona making sorties in various directions, which form the group 20-25. The site of Megiddo at *el Lejjun* or *Tell el Mutasellim*, and not at *el Mujedda*, is proved by the campaign, and the relation there to Taanakh.

- 
28. ASTARTU, Tell Ashterah, Ashteroth Karnaim, 21 E. of Sea of Galilee.
  29. ANAU-REFAA, Rafah, Raphon, 9 N.E. of Ashterah.
  30. MAQATA, Migdad,\* 4 N. of Rafah.
  31. LIUSA, Laish, Dan, Tell el Kady, 11 N. of Merom.
  32. HUZAR, Khazura cun., Hadireh, 6 W. of Merom.

- 
33. FAHEL, Pella, Fahil, 18 S. of Sea of Galilee,

- 
34. GENNARTU, Khinneroth, about Tiberias.
  35. SHEMANA, Sebana,\* 3 W. of Magdala.
  36. ATMEM, Admah, 5 S. of Sea of Galilee.
  37. QASUNA, Qishion\* of Issachar, about the head of river Kishon.
  38. SHENAMA, Shunem, Solam, 7 S. of Nazareth.

39. MASHAL, *Meselieh*, 15 S. of Shunem.
  40. AKSEF, '*Asäfeh*,'\* 9 S.S.W. of *Jeba*.
  41. GEB'A'SU'AN, *Geba*, *Jeba*, 6 S.W. of *Meselieh*.
  42. TAANAK, *Tännuk*, 4 S.E. of Megiddo.
- 
43. YEBLAMU, *Ibleam*, *Yebla*,\* 17 E. of Megiddo.
  44. GENTU'ASNA, *En Gannim*, *Jenin*, 11 S.E. of Megiddo.  
"The Gardens of Asnah" (a man's name; *Ezra* ii. 50).
  45. RETA'AREKA, '*Arrakeh*', 6 W. of *Jenin*.
  46. A'AYNA, *Anin*, 3 N.W. of *Arrakeh*.
- 
47. A'AAG, '*Ajeh*', 7 S. of *Arrakeh*.
  48. RUSH'QEDES, "The holy hill" = any hill sanctuary;  
possibly *Kudeis* on hi'l of *Shechem*.
  49. GELIYMNA, *Jelameh*, 9 E.S.E. of Megiddo.
  50. BAR, *Bireh*,\* 13 E.N.E. of *Jelameh*.
  51. SHEMASH'ATUMA, *Shemsin*, 6 N. of *Bireh*.
  52. ANUKERTU, *Anaharath*, *en Naurah*, 9 S.W. of *Shemsin*.
  53. 'AFEL, *el Fuleh*, 5 W. of *en Naurah*.
  54. 'AFEL, *el Afuleh*, 1 W. of *el Fuleh*, 7 E. of Megiddo.
- 
55. KHASHBU, *Khasabu* cun., *el Kusab*, 5 W. of Megiddo.
- 
56. TASURET, *Tusulti* cun., *Taäsur*, now *Teiasir*, 11 N.E. of *Shechem*.
  57. NEGEBU, "a pass" in the hills, *Wady Beidan*,\* ? N. of *Shechem*.
  58. ASHU-SHEKHEN, "Plain of Shekhem."\* *Ashedah*, the plain below hills, or place of streaming out, would be a root familiar to Egyptians as *Ash*, effusion, and therefore shortened to *Ashu*.
  59. LENAMA, *en Nahm*, 13 N. of *Shechem*.
  60. YERZA, *Yerzeh*, 11 N.E. of *Shechem*.
- 

This group, 28-61, begins by crossing the Jordan into Bashan, 28-30; thence striking N.W. round the head of the Jordan, 31; from 32 a branch expedition goes down the east of Jordan to Pella, while the main line goes south through Samaria to 40, and returns to Megiddo (41-42). Another expedition from Megiddo goes out east to 43, and back by a south circuit, 44, 45, 46. Then another expedition goes south to 47, and perhaps even to *Shechem*, 48; then up north to 49 and on to 50, returning by 52, 53, 54 to Megiddo. *Khashbu* (55) seems to be an isolated foray. Then another

expedition strikes out to Shechem and the eastern region, 56-60. The manner in which the line of these names recurs to the Megiddo region shows that though that city is not named (having appeared before), it was the garrison centre of these several raids, the records of which are strung together to form the list. Leaving Megiddo, the next itinerary is southward.

- 
- 61. MAAKHASA, *el Maghasun*, 14 N.E. of Joppa.
  - 62. YEFU, *Yafa*, Joppa.
  - 63. GENTU, "gardens" of Joppa.
  - 64. RUTHEN, LUTHEN, has been proposed at Ludd, 11 S.F. of Joppa.
  - 65. AUANAU, Aunu, Heb. *Ana*, 7 E.S.E. of Joppa.
  - 66. AFUQEN, *Peqidin*, between Yabneh and Ludd, Talmud.
  - 67. SAUQA, "thorny place," a common name.
  - 68. YEHEMA. There were mentioned probably two, and there now are three places of this name; as it is a very important key position, it must be cleared up. It occurs here between Joppa and Migdol; but in the Tahutmes III. campaign (p. 104) it is certainly near Megiddo, and just at the required place on the road is the name *Yemma*, 17 S.S.W. of Megiddo, before entering the hills. Therefore we can equate . . . YEHEMA = *Yemma*, 17 S.S.W. of Megiddo, and *Yemma*, 6 S.S.W. of Tiberias = *Jabneel*; . . . *Jabneel*, *Jamnia*, or *Yebnah*,\* 13 S. of Joppa = YEHEMA.

These equivalents prove that Yehema has changed into *Yemma*, *Yebma*, *Yebna*, *Yamnia*, and *Yabniel*. And the position of *Jamnia* is exactly in the right place to agree with the list.

- 69. KHABAZANA, a compound name by its length, *Butani*,\* 8 S. of *Jamnia*.
  - 70. GENTHU, "gardens," by Migdal.
  - 71. MAGTAL, *Migdal*, *Mejdel*, 13 N.N.E. of Gaza.
- 
- 72. AFTHEN, *Fatuneh*, 15 N.E. of Migdal.
  - 73. SHEBTUNA, *Shebtin*, 9 E. of Ludd.
  - 74. TAY, *Atya*? 19 E.N.E. of *Shebtin*.
  - 75. NAUN, *Naaneh*, 7 E. of *Jamnia*.
  - 76. HUDITA, *Haditheh*, 3 E. of Ludd.
  - 77. HAR, "a hill."
  - 78. YESHEFAR, *es Suafir*, 7 E.N.E. of Migdal, *Shaphir*.
-



79. LEGAZA, "unto Gaza." \* The position next to Gerar shows the name to be about this region, and Gaza is properly written in this manner. The particle *le*, "unto," has been accidentally retained in transcribing from the bulletin, or from a road list, like the Antonine itinerary prefix of *Ad*.
80. GERURU, Gerar, *Jerrar*, 6 S. of Gaza.
81. HARAR, *Abu Hareireh*, \* 7 S. of Gerar, up large valley.

In these groups, 61-81, we have the circuits about Migdal, like the previous expeditions around Megiddo. First is the line down from Megiddo to Migdal, 61-71. Then an expedition north-east into Dan, or perhaps Ephraim, returning by nearly the same line, 72-78. It must be remembered that often an isolated site of small importance may occur (such as Atya, 74) far ahead of an expedition, when a body of the enemy were chased and at last caught in some small village, the action and the capture of which gave it a place in the annals. The record of Chalgrove and Quatre Bras has no relation to their size. Objection has been made to 78 being es Suafir, on the ground that it would be more closely rendered Yusef-El, a place of the god Yusef. If so, it has been proposed that it be *Yasuf*, 23 N. of Jerusalem, and in that case the itinerary ends out in Ephraim without a return line to Migdal. The next itinerary, 79-81, is, however, from Migdal, through Gaza to Gerar, and on up the important Wady esh Sheriah to Hareireh, 81.

82. REBBAU, Rabbah, *Rubba*, 23 E. of Migdal.
83. NUMANA, *Deir Naman*, 9 N.W. of *Rubba*, 12 E. of Ashdod.
84. NAMANA, *Arak Naman*, 1 N. of *Deir Naman*.
85. MALEMAM, *Umm el Hemam*, 1 S. of *Deir Naman*.
86. 'ANI, 'Ana, 3 N. of *Arak Naman*.
87. REHEBU, *er Rohban*, \* 5 E.N.E. of Ana.
88. AQAR, *Aqir*, Ekron, 4 E. of Jamnia.
- 
89. HAYGERYM, 'Ain el Hejeri, 4 S.W. of Hebron.
90. AUBAL, "a meadow."
91. AUTAR:A'A, Autar the Great, Adoraim, Adora, *Dura*, 5 W.S.W. of Hebron.
92. AUBAL, "a meadow."

93. GENTHAU, "gardens."
94. MAQEREFUT, Maqor (Heb.), *Majur*, "reservoir," of *Rafat*,\* 10 S.S.W. of Hebron. (*Majur* appears in this district 5 W.S.W. of Hebron.)
95. A'AYNA, "a spring."
96. QAREMAN, Carmel, *Kurmul*,\* 7 S. of Hebron.
97. BATYA, supposed to be Beth Yah. Hebron\* is in the right position in the series, and an altar of Yahveh was there in early times: so Batya may be Hebron.
98. TAFUN, Taphon, *Tuffuh*, 5 W.N.W. of Hebron.
99. AUBIL, "a meadow."
100. YERUTA, *Jeradat*,\* 4 E.N.E. of Hebron (for Y changing to J, see Yotapata = Jefat).
101. HALKAL, *Halhul*,\* 2 N. of Hebron.

These two itineraries may well belong to the expedition which we last saw coming round from Migdal up the Wady esh Sheriah eastward; a party on such a line might well divide, and while one half pushed through by Rabbah to Ekron, 82-88, the rest might scour the hill country ridge in the sites 89-101.

102. Y'AQEBAAL, *Ikbāla*? 6 W. of Jerusalem.
  103. QAFUTA, *Kefrata*?\* 3 E.N.E. of Gezer.
  104. QAZIRU, Gezer, *Jesar*, 16 S.E. of Joppa.
  105. REBBATU, "a chief city."
  - 106-7. MAQELTU A'AMQU, *Wady el Miktely*,\* 7 E. of Gezer.
  108. SARUTA, *Sira*,\* E. side of *Wady el Miktely*.
  109. BAARUTU, Beeroth, *Bireh*,\* 10 E. of *Sira*.
- 
110. BAT-SHAR, Beth-sura, *Beit Sur*,\* 4 N. of Hebron.
  111. BAT-ANTA, Beth-anoth, *Beit Ainun*, 3 N.N.E. of Hebron.
  112. KHALQETU, *Kilkis*,\* 2 S.S.W. of Hebron.
  113. 'AN-QENA, *Ain el Qana*, 1 N.W. of Hebron.
- 
114. QEB'AU, *Jibia*, 16 N.N.W. of Jerusalem (or *Jebā*,\* 7 N.N.W. of Shechem).
  115. ZERER, *Jerir*,\* 13 N.N.E. of Jerusalem (or *Jerrar*,\* 8 S.S.W. of Megiddo).
  116. ZAF TA, *Suffah*,\* 1 N.W. of *Jibia* (or *Zebdah*,\* 4 S. of *Jerrar*).
  117. BERQENA, *Berukin*,\* 6 N.W. of *Jibia* (or *Burkin*, 9 S.S.E. of Megiddo).
  118. HUMA, *Hamid*?\* 4 N.E. of Gimzo.
  119. AGTAMES . . or AGMES . . Gimzo, *Jimsu*?\* 15 S.E. of Joppa.



FIG. 164.—Map of Northern Syria.

These three lists may perhaps be only two, the section 110-113 having been inserted in the middle; for Jibia, 114, is only 7 miles N.N.W. of Bireh, 109. Hence there may be one line from near Jerusalem going west to Gezer, then turning back and going north to Bireh, 109; Jibia, 114; and on to Berukin, 117, whence it turns back to Jimzu, 119, on the return to the centre at Migdal. If this be so, the Zafta, 116, cannot be the Zefta of the annals, which was near Megiddo; or, if the latter be adopted, some of the other names, 114-117, may be reasonably grouped in the same region, as entered above in parentheses. The group of four names, 110-113, is well established by the close relation of these places. This section has probably been transposed with 102-109; as, if reversed, the Hebron group continues naturally from 101, Halhul, to 110, Beit Sur close by; while 109 joins to 114, as we have noticed.

The general scheme of the original documents which were drawn upon to form this long list, appears to have been as follows:—

- 2 to 12. From Megiddo northward about Galilee.
- 13 to 19. Damascus-Beyrut road inserted at the most northern part.
- 20 to 27. Return route from 12 south to Megiddo.
- 28 to 42. Across Jordan and back round the north to Megiddo.
- 43 to 46. From Megiddo to east and south, and back to Megiddo.
- 47 to 54. From Megiddo to south and east, and back to Megiddo.
- 56 to 60. From Megiddo round Shechem region.
- 61 to 71. From Megiddo to Migdal.
- 72 to 78. From Migdal to north-east, and back to Migdal.
- 79 to 81. From Migdal to south and east into hills.
- 82 to 88. Part of army from hills across to Ekron.
- 89 to 101, 110-113. Rest of army around the Hebron ridge.
- 102 to 109, 114-119. Up to Jerusalem region, working west, then north and east, and back to coast region, return to Migdal(?).

Such seems to be the structure of these lists when examined in the obvious light of their being edited from a series of military reports. Their relative order

may not necessarily be the order in the history ; but it would be very reasonable to take it as such, knowing that Megiddo was the first centre of operations, and seeing that Migdal, on the road to Egypt, might well be the centre of later operations in the south country.

The lists of places in Northern Syria are far less certain, as our knowledge of the country is so poor. Some connections may be traced with more or less probability, and they are indicated by the map, though they scarcely need to be here discussed.

RELATIONSHIPS OF THE SEVENTEENTH  
DYNASTY.

For the obscure period of the rise of the Egyptian power against the Hyksos oppression, we have but little material to guide us. Few names remain, and the order and relationship of those is very uncertain. Two tombs at Thebes of officials (*sedem ash em ast maât*) attached to the service of the royal tombs, provide the best information we have; though, as the rows of figures of kings and princes whom they adored is not professedly in chronological order, and as they lived four or five centuries after those kings, the material is not satisfactory. We may first notice the structure of these tomb lists. Both tombs have an upper and a lower row of seated figures, each one with a cartouche, adored by the official. Anhur'khau (L.D. iii. 2 d), in the upper line, records Amenhotep I.; behind that king is his father and father's mother (Aahmes and Aah'hotep); and then his brothers and sisters (Meryt'amen, Sat'amen, Sa'amen, Kames, Hent'ta'meh, all known as such), Turs and Aahmes, probably also sisters, and Sa'pa'iri, his brother. In the lower line are the founders of dynasties, Nefertari of the XVIIIth, Ramessu I. of the XIXth, Mentuhotep III. of the legitimate part of the XIth dynasty; then Amenhotep I., Seqenenra, Uazmes, Ramessu IV. (the reigning king) (blank), and Tahutmes II. Thus the order has no obvious meaning in the latter part. In the other tomb, Kha'bekht (L.D. iii. 2 a) records in the upper line Amenhotep I., next his mother (Nefertari), and then, presumably, her father and mother (Seqenenra

and Aah·hotep), after whom come a row of Amen-hotep's brothers and sisters. In the lower line come the two founders, Mentuhotep III. and Aahmes; next, Se·khent·neb·ra and Uaz·kheper·ra; and then a line of princes and royal wives, who are probably the brothers and sisters of those who precede them.

Such a general structure of these lists is closely in accord with that of the lists on family tablets; first the parents, then grandparents and ancestors, and then a row of brothers and sisters or children. Not a single known fact of relationships in this dynasty disagrees with this presumed system here; and therefore, in some cases where we know nothing about the relation of the persons named, we may accept this scheme as a probable clue. The results indicated to us by this view of the lists are (\*feminine):—

PARENTS OF NEFERTARI.	BROTHERS AND SISTERS OF AAHMES	CHILDREN OF AAHMES.
Se·qenen·ra *Aah·hotep.	Kings { Uaz·kheper·ra S·khent·neb·ra Aah·mes Bin·pu Uaz·mes Ra·mes Ken·nu·aru Aah·mes *Ka·mes *Sat·iri·bau *Ta·khredqa	Amenhotep I. *Meryt·amen *Sat·amen Sa·amen *Ka·mes (or Sat·ka·mes) *Hent·ta·meh *Turs *Aahmes Sa·pa·iri *Ta·iri (mother, Kasmut)

(Note.—The children of Aahmes often compound "Aahmes" in their names.)

In only one point do these conclusions vary from these already stated by Professor Maspero, in his elaborate study of the mummies of Deir el Bahri. On the strength of the name of Sat·kames, the daughter of Aahmes and Nefertari, he supposes that Kames was probably her grandfather, and therefore father of Nefertari; whereas here, on the strength of the

position of Seqenenra and Aah-hotep next after Nefertari, it would seem likely that they were her father and mother.

From the stele of Iufi (Rec. ix. 92) it is certain that Aah-hotep was mother of Aahmes I., and hence Aahmes and Nefertari were of the same mother. But yet we cannot suppose them to have had both parents alike; Aahmes is always (except once) shown of the same colour as other Egyptians, while Nefertari is almost always coloured black. And any symbolic reason invented to account for such colouring applies equally to her brother, who is nevertheless not black. As Nefertari was specially venerated as the ancestress of the dynasty, we must suppose that she was in the unbroken female line of descent, in which the royal succession appears to have been reckoned, and hence her black colour is the more likely to have come through her father. The only conclusion, if these points should be established, is that the queen Aah-hotep had two husbands: the one black (the father of Nefertari), namely, the celebrated Seqenenra, who was of Berber type (Ms. M. 528); the other an Egyptian, the father of Aahmes and his elder brothers, Kames and Skhentnebra, which explains why those three kings are separated from the other children of Aah-hotep by her husband Seqenenra, and placed in a different line in the tomb of Khabekht.

Now Aahmes was rather over fifty when he died (Ms. M. 535), and he reigned 25 years; hence he was about 25 to 30 years old when he came to the throne. As there is but little memorial of the reigns of his presumed brothers (see above), Uaz-kheper-ra and S-khent-neb-ra, they are not likely to have reigned for 30 years between the death of Seqenenra and accession of Aahmes. Hence it is probable that her Egyptian husband, the father of Aahmes, preceded her black husband, Seqenenra, the father of Nefertari. Two other reasons appear for Nefertari being the daughter of Seqenenra, and not of his son Kames: (1) as Seqenenra died at about 40, and Kames probably



reigned but a short time, his daughter would be rather too young to be the great queen of his brother, Aahmes I.; (2) as Nefertari's daughter was named Aah-hotep, it is more likely that her mother was Aahhotep and not her grandmother, as names were repeated usually in alternate generations in Egypt.

It is needful to enter thus fully on this family history if we are to obtain any results; but for the less important members of the family we merely notice the occurrence of their names, and refer to the discussion by Maspero (Ms. M. 615-639) as the best statement known about them. When in the preceding details we have ventured to vary slightly from that memoir, it is not with any dogmatic assurance, but only to show the possibility of an alternative view which may be preferable in a doubtful detail.

## THE MUMMIES OF DEIR EL BAHRI.

As we have frequently referred to this deposit of mummies, we here give an outline of its history.

The tombs of kings as well as private persons were continually liable to be plundered by unscrupulous thieves; what we now find are but the last leavings of a hundred generations of incessant pillage. Such robbery began even during the life of the workmen who had been employed upon the construction; and though royal tombs were cared for by priests and officials, yet they were not secure from attack. In the 16th year of Ramessu X., a special commission investigated the state of the tombs, owing to various reports being spread as to their violation. They found, however, only one tomb opened, out of ten between the XIth and XVIIIth dynasties; but two others had been attacked, though unsuccessfully. The disorders of the close of the Ramesside period made the question more pressing; the officials, despairing of the safety of so many scattered and out-of-the-way tombs, gave orders to bring some of the royal mummies into the great tomb of Sety I. for safety (Ms. M. 551, 557, 560). This must have been done by the tunnel at the back of the tomb, now choked up, as the proper entrance was intact when opened by Belzoni. Hence this tunnel must lead through the cliff to the Deir el Bahri. The successive renewals and removals took place as follows, according to the endorsement of the scribes upon the mummies and the coffins:—

Pasebkhanu I.—

6th year, Paophi 7.	Herhor renewed wrapping of Sety I.
6th „ Phamenoth 15.	Herhor renewed wrapping of Ram- essu II.

Pasebkhanu I. (or Sa'amen)—

13th year, Pauni 27. Painezem I. restored mummy of Ramessu III.

Pasebkhanu I.—

17th year, Phamenoth 6. Painezem I. removed Ramessu II. and renewed his wrapping *in the tomb of Sety I.*

Sa'amen—

6th year, Phamenoth 7. Painezem I. restored mummy of Tahutmes II.

6th „ Pharmuthi 7. Painezem I. renewed wrapping of Amenhotep I.

7th „ Khoiak 8. Painezem I. moved mummy of Satkames.

8th „ Phamenoth 29. Painezem I. moved mummy of prince Sa'amen.

8th „ Phamenoth 29. Painezem I. moved mummy of Aahmes I.

16th „ Pharmuthi 11. Masahart renewed wrapping of Amenhotep I.

16th „ Pharmuthi 13. Sety I. taken *from his tomb to the tomb of Anhapu.*

16th „ Pharmuthi 17. Ramessu II. taken *from tomb of Sety I. to tomb of Anhapu.*

16th „ Khoiak 13. Ramessu I. taken *from tomb of Sety I. to tomb of Anhapu.*

Amenemapt—

7th year, Mekhir 9. Menkheperre re-wrapped Sety I.

10th „ Pharmuthi 20. Sety I. moved *into tomb of Amenhotep I.*

10th „ Pharmuthi 20. Ramessu II. moved *into tomb of Amenhotep I.*

Sa'amen is here treated as not being the same as Herhor; the names of the officials sufficiently prove this; and we see it also in Ramessu II. being in Sety's tomb under Painezem I., while he was removed from that place under Sa'amen.

For the discussion of the XXist dynasty, and the assignment of the dates in the above reigns, see S.B.A. xviii. 56-64.

We see here how the bodies were shifted into Sety's tomb; then again to the tomb of Anhapu; yet again to the tomb of Amenhotep I.; and lastly, though unrecorded, they were all carried into the burial-place of the priest-kings of the XXist

dynasty. There they remained until, about twenty years or more ago, the Arab dealers found the tomb, and gradually drew out one object after another for sale. By the arrest of the sellers in 1881 their secret was by threats—and they say force as well—wrung from one of them, and the confused mass of a dozen kings and queens of the XVIIIth–XIXth dynasties, many royal children, and a large part of the family of the XXIst dynasty, together with such portions of the funeral furniture of the various persons as had survived the many removals of the bodies, was all brought to the museum at Cairo. The list of personages is as follows, with the pages where the remains are described in Maspero's "Momies Royales de Deir el Bahari" (M.A.F. i. 4).

		P.	Pl.
XVII. 7?	Seqenen'ra III., mummy and coffin	526	iii.
	Ta'aa'qen		
	Rāa, nurse of coffin	530	
	queen Nefertari		
	Anhapu, queen mummy	530	
XVIII. 1.	Aahmes I. mummy and coffin	533	iv. a
	Nefertari mummy and coffin	535	v. a
XVIII. 2.	Amenhotep I. mummy and coffin	536	iv. b
	Sa'amen, infant mummy and coffin	538	
	Sat'amen, infant false mummy and coffin	538	
	Seniu, keeper of palace coffin, re-used	539	
	Merytamen mummy and re-used coffin	539	
	(Priestess of Amen, XX. dyn. coffin, re-used	540	
	Sat'kames mummy	541	
	Hent'temehu, mummy and coffin	543	
	dau. of Tent-hapi		
	Mes'hent'temehu, false mummy and coffin	544	
	infant		
	Aah'hotep II. coffin	545	v. b
XVIII. 3.	Tahutmes I. { coffin	545	
	{ mummy	581	vii. viii. b
XVIII. 4.	Tahutmes II. mummy and coffin	545	vii. viii. a
XVIII. 6.	Tahutmes III. mummy and coffin	547	vi. a
	Poisoned prince mummy and coffin	548	ix.

XIX. 1.	Ramessu I.	mummy and lid	551	
XIX. 2.	Sety I.	mummy and coffin	553	xi. a, xiii.
XIX. 3.	Ramessu II.	mummy and coffin	556	xi. b, xiv. -xvi.
XX. 1.	Ramessu III.	mummy and coffin	563	xvii., xviii. a
XX. 10.	Ramessu XII. (?) Khaemuas	mummy	568	
XXI. 1.	Nezemt, queen	mummy and 2 coffins	569	xix. a
XXI. 2.	Painezem I.	mummy	570	
XXI. 3.	Masahart	mummy and coffin	571	vi. b
XXI. 4.	Painezem II.	mummy and coffin	571	
	Zed'ptah'auf' ankh	mummy and 2 coffins	572	
	Nebseny	mummy and coffin	574	xviii. b
	Hent'tau	mummy and 2 coffins	576	xx. a
	Makara and Mut'em'hat	2 mummies and 1 coffin	577	xix. b
	Ast'em'kheb	mummy and 2 coffins	577	vi. c
	Hatet, altered for next	2 coffins	578	
	Tayuhert	mummy and 2 coffins	578	
	Nesikhonsu	mummy and 2 coffins	566, 578	
	Nesi'ta'neb' ashru	mummy and 2 coffins	579	xx. b

To these mummies of Deir el Bahri may now be added the names of the other royal mummies found in the tomb of Amenhotep II., which was opened by a native plunderer about 1894, and cleared out by M. Loret in 1898.

XVIII. 7.	Amenhotep II.	mummy in coffin.	
XVIII. 8.	Tahutmes IV.	mummy in coffin.	
XVIII. 9.	Amenhotep III.	mummy.	
	(Coffin of Ramessu III., lid of Sety II.)		
XVIII. 10.	Akhenaten	mummy (coffin of Setnekht).	
XIX. 5.	Sety II.	mummy in coffin, no lid.	
XIX. 7.	Siptah	mummy in coffin, reused lid.	
XIX. 8.	Setnekht	lid only; mummy doubtful.	
XX. 2.	Ramessu IV.	coffin and lid; mummy doubtful.	
XX. 3.	Ramessu V.	mummy in coffin.	
XX. 4.	Ramessu VI.	written on lid of coffin of.	
	Ra, first prophet of Tahutmes III.	mummy broken.	

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*Names of persons and places in Syria which only occur on the cuneiform correspondence, will be found separately indexed on pp. 312-320.*

*The references here in thick type show the beginning of the principal account of each royal person.*

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