THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION
1929–1930

THE MUSEUM’S EXCAVATIONS AT THEBES

If during the last season the Expedition accomplished any one thing which stands out from the rest, it was the bringing together of some of the long and widely scattered pieces of the statues of Hat-shepsüt of which so many had been unearthed in the preceding winters. The tale forms a sequel to the continued story whose instalments have been coming out in these reports, year by year, for the last three seasons.1

The reader may recall how we had discovered that after the death of Queen Hat-shepsüt, about 1479 B.C., her nephew and successor, Tuthmosè III, had ordered that all her statues in the temple of Deir el Bahri should be broken up and dumped into a near-by quarry. This quarry we had cleared slowly and methodically, carting away tons of the earth and sand and rocks with which the occasional cloud-bursts and the frequent windstorms had filled the hollow and the masses of rubbish dumped in on top by recent archaeologists, and underneath we had found and collected thousands of fragments of statues of granite, limestone, and sandstone.

One of our finds in the season of 1926–1927 had been the back of the head of a statue of hard, marble-like limestone, and not far away we had unearthed two elbows, a left forearm, and bits of a throne which seemed to belong with the head, and which suggested that we were on the track of a seated statue of the queen larger than life-size. In the following winter, digging about a hundred yards farther west, we had found the face and were in possession of what was probably the most beautiful portrait of the queen among all the score or more of statues from the temple.2 The quarry by now was completely cleared, and not another chip of this peculiar hard, marble-like stone had been found, but at just about this time we remembered a headless, seated statue which bore Hat-shepsüt’s name, in the Berlin Museum. In 1838 Nestor l’Hôte had seen and sketched it lying on the side of the quarry at Deir el Bahri, and in 1845 Lepsius, directing the great Prussian Expedition to Egypt, had taken it to Berlin. From the published descriptions it was apparently of the size, the material, and the pose of the statue from which our fragments came, and the notes of Nestor l’Hôte and Lepsius showed that both fragments and statue had come from very nearly the same spot. With so much for a start, we asked for more detailed information from Dr. Heinrich Schäfer, Director of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities in the State Museums in Berlin, and from him learned that the material of our fragments was identical with that of his statue. But, most important, the fragments which we possessed—the head, the elbows, the left forearm, and the corners of the throne—were lacking from the Berlin statue, and from Dr. Schäfer’s sketches it was obvious that every bit which we had found might well be fitted on it. As soon as possible I went myself to Berlin with photographs of our head and fragments, and, once face to face with the statue there, I felt perfectly certain that we were dealing with one and the same monument. In the division of finds with the

1 Bulletin, February, 1928, section II, p. 44; December, 1928, section II, p. 3; and November, 1929, section II, p. 3.
2 Bulletin, November, 1929, section II, figs. 4–6.
FERRYING THE STATUES ACROSS THE NILE

THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION
1929-1930

SECTION II OF THE BULLETIN OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK, DECEMBER, MCMXXX
Egyptian Antiquities Service at the end of our 1928–1929 season, the head and the other fragments fell to the share of the Metropolitan Museum, and last winter the head was exhibited in the Third Egyptian Room.

Among the other pieces brought by Lepsius to Berlin in 1845 there were two granite heads of Ḥat-shesuṣ, and one of them he had recognized as belonging to a sphinx. We had found six granite sphinxes in various states of incompleteness and dilapidation, and as we had parts of his seated statue, there was, of course, a chance that we had parts of his sphinx. That was another thing which I had gone to Berlin to see. Again, one glance was enough. The nature of the stone, the size, and above all the breaks on the beard, the neck, and the sides of the headdress recalled immediately one of our headless sphinxes which we knew only too well from having tried to fit on to it one head after another of those which we had found in the field. To make more certain, however, we took photographs of the head in Berlin, and again we made a composite photograph and again there was little doubt possible that the Lepsius find and ours completed each other.²

So much for the story as it stood when the last report of the Expedition was published. At that time it was not possible to state with certainty whether or not these statues were to remain separated between Berlin and New York merely because of the

³ Bulletin, November, 1929, section II, figs. 7, 8.
⁴ Bulletin, November, 1929, section II, figs. 9, 10.
accident that eighty-five years ago Lepsius had procured from the Arabs such pieces as then lay on the surface, and that the rest had remained deeply buried until we came along and dug the whole quarry out. Such accidents—and some of them far less excusable—have separated scores of mutilated works of art in the past, but for it to be admitted that such separations are final and forever hardly fits the modern way of looking at things. It smacks too much of the old-fashioned amateur—and just a bit of the collector of curios, to whom a meaning less scrap of rock becomes a treasure if it has been chipped off the corner of the Great Pyramid or fetched from the Great Wall of China. At least, to our intense mutual pleasure, Dr. Schäfer and I found each other feeling that way. As he expressed it, both as an archaeologist and as the director of a museum it seemed to him a shame that these things should be scattered in bits across the world with no one gaining from the fragments of the several pieces as much as could be gained from any single piece complete. M. Lacau, Director-General of the Antiquities Service in Egypt, had taken the same attitude and had assigned to our Expedition such fragments of sculpture as completed or were completed by other fragments in Europe, with the understanding that every effort was to be made to reunite as many as possible of these scattered statues.

The negotiations with Dr. Schäfer and with his colleague, Dr. Alexander Scharff, were of the pleasantest, without any beating about the bush, and almost immediately ended in a completely amicable arrangement. The Berlin Museum prized its sphinx head which had frequently been published as one of the outstanding things in its Egyptian collection. We set great store by our beautiful marble head, and the natural thing to do was to swap the two bodies. Thus, Berlin got a most imposing complete granite sphinx, and the Metropolitan Museum acquired a complete seated statue.

FIG. 2. LOADING STATUES ON THE TRUCK AT DEIR EL BAHR
FIG. 3. THE STATUE OF ḤAT-SHEPSŪT RESTORED
FIG. 4. STATUE OF HAT-SHEPSÜT FROM BERLIN WITH THE HEAD AND FRAGMENTS FOUND BY US REPLACED
which will always be one of the prizes of its Egyptian Department. For the head of the big kneeling statue we already had in New York something which could be offered. In 1922–1923 we had found five practically complete small kneeling statues.\(^6\) Two had been retained by the Cairo Museum, and of our three one could well be called an equivalent of the head.

The Director and Trustees of the Metropolitan Museum and the Prussian Minister of Education ratified these proposed exchanges, and during the past winter the sphinx and the little statue were shipped to Berlin, and the marble statue and the granite head were shipped to New York. Since then the work of putting together once more these long scattered fragments has gone on apace. I must confess to having felt considerable nervousness once the heavy stones had started on their respective ways. After all, it was only guesswork whether the fragments would fit, but when even the last sliver from the tip of a nose clicked into place, something louder than the proverbial sigh of relief escaped me.

So it happens that the Metropolitan Museum is placing on exhibition a practically complete seated statue of Queen Hathor (figs. 3 and 4).\(^6\) Since it was the only statue from Deir el Bahri of its creamy white, marble-like stone, and since it is by far the most beautifully carved of the temple statues, it is obvious that it must have been designed for a very important place—perhaps the center of the actual mortuary chapel of the queen herself. In any case, there is one very interesting point about it. Hathor as a woman had no right to be a sovereign of ancient Egypt, and her portraits almost invariably show her in the guise of a bearded king. This fiction was preserved in all the bas-reliefs upon the Deir el Bahri temple walls and on all of the

\(^6\) Bulletin, December, 1923, part II, pp. 32–33 and figs. 27, 28.

\(^6\) H. 196 cm. (6 ft. 5 in.).
statues and sphinxes which lined the way traversed by the procession of the bark of Amūn on its journey to the sanctuary. Only two comparatively small seated statues have been found—one in black granite (fig. 7)—whether he could show her as the woman she was. He has given her the headdress and the short kilt of a man, but her face is beardless and has a charm which is distinctly feminine (figs. 15 a, b), and her body

FIG. 7. FRAGMENTS OF A STATUE OF ḤAT-SHEPSŪT AS A WOMAN

and the other in red—showing her with the figure and the dress of a woman, possibly because they may have stood in the shrine of the goddess Ḥat-Hor. The marble statue would appear to be a compromise, as though it had been intended for some place where the artist had felt uncertain whether he must disguise his queen behind the beard and the rugged features of a man, or—while not a woman’s—is molded with a slenderness and grace in keeping with her features.

As for the granite head, the fragments belonging to it have been replaced, and it will be temporarily exhibited as it is, while the work of reassembling the body goes forward (figs. 5, 6). With its queer tall crown overtopping its face, the head may
seem ill proportioned at present, but this impression will be rectified once the big kneeling statue is reassembled to its full height of 272 cm. (8 ft. 11 in.). The head alone is a superb great thing—simplified almost to a fault, but this very economy of detail gives it the calm dignity appropriate to the row of eight such granite colossi which kneeling greeted the god Amûn on his visits to the temple. And, furthermore, it is

one of the most typical of the standard portraits of Ḥat-shepsût.

The satisfaction over the reuniting of these finds made by Lepsius is perhaps all the more acute after the failure of another similar attempt. The last report7 told how, in 1869, Prince Henry of the Netherlands had brought back to Holland as a souvenir of his trip to Egypt a red granite torso which he probably bought from the natives. It was seen in Holland shortly afterwards by Pleyte, who mentioned it in a short article, and then it disappeared entirely. We suspected that it belonged to one of our statues, and in an endeavor to test the

7 Bulletin, November, 1929, section II, pp. 8, 10–12 and figs. 11, 12.

the several pieces of Ḥat-shepsût sculpture which we offered to exchange for the original none tempted the authorities of the Leyden Museum, and it would seem that our statue must be restored in plaster, while one part lies on one side of the Atlantic and the rest on the other.

Meanwhile, the work of restoration and of assembling other fragments has been going on steadily. We believe that we have finished all that it is possible to do on the granite statues in the field. Among the pieces brought together during the past season was one of the two seated statues of Ḥat-shepsût as a woman (fig. 7), probably from the Ḥat-Ḥor Shrine, but, unfortunately, of the head only one fragment has

FIGS. 8 AND 9. THE HEAD OF A SPHINX OF ḤAT-SHEPSÛT WITH UNUSUAL FEATURES
been found. Of the sphinxes, the fragments of two gigantic creatures in red granite were sorted out, but neither one can be set up in the field. One will eventually go to Cairo and the other will come to the Metropolitan Museum. The much shattered head of still another sphinx is interesting chiefly as a further commentary on the dependability of Egyptian portraiture (figs. 8, 9). The face Cairo sphinx—shown in the last report in photographs taken in the field—has also been restored with remarkable skill, and in justice to Ḥat-shpsūt’s sculptors it is shown here again as it has been completed under the admirable direction of Mr. Engelbach, Keeper of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (fig. 10).

While work was proceeding on the statues

![Sphinx of Ḥat-shpsūt in Cairo restored](image)

**Fig. 10. Sphinx of Ḥat-shpsūt in Cairo restored**

is an elongated oval, very narrow across the eyes, with an almost straight nose, in marked contrast to the wide-cheeked and small-chinned faces with high-bridged and curving noses of the standard portraits.

In Cairo and in the Metropolitan Museum the long task of restoration is going forward as fast as such work can go. Cairo’s gigantic kneeling statue, having been broken into comparatively few pieces, has already been reerected and makes a most imposing monument (fig. 12). Our kneeling statues from the same row were shattered into uncountable pieces, and their restoration will take time (fig. 11). The there was still a great deal to be done on other material from the previous season. We had discovered the tomb of Queen Meryet-Amūn in the spring of 1929 and by the end of the season had made our records of the position of everything as we had found it, had cleared the tomb out and had sent the coffins of the queen to the Cairo Museum. But her mummy, which we had unwrapped, her furniture, and the later mummy and coffins of Princess Entiu-ny, buried in the tomb in Pay-nūdjem’s time, remained at Luxor, waiting until we should have a chance for photography and study. To this we devoted a good deal of time during the
past season, because it seemed advisable to prepare the material from the tomb for a detailed archaeological publication. It has been the hard and fast rule of our Expedition to defer any attempt to write the final scientific accounts of any phase of our discoveries until we felt a reasonable certainty that our excavations would not bring forth any further related material. To some of our scholarly colleagues this has been a cause for criticism, but it is a criticism which we have borne, we hope, good-naturedly, feeling certain that our delays have been justified. Too often have the conclusions of one season been modified by a discovery of the next winter. However, the case of Meryet-Amūn seems to have been very different. Hers was probably the only Eighteenth Dynasty royal tomb in our concession at Thebes, and the chances seem very slim of our making any similar discovery in future excavations. Therefore, we bent all our energies to preparing our final report on it, and the book is now near enough to completion for us to hope that it can be put in press during the coming winter.

The story of our discovery of the tomb of Queen Meryet-Amūn makes up a large part of the report of the Expedition for 1928–1929. Some of our conclusions, there set forth, were frankly tentative, and we got a certain amount of natural satisfaction as we saw that our supplementary work of this past season tended to confirm our first ideas in all of their essentials.

Taking all the data which we had been
FIG. 12. KNEELING STATUE OF ḤAT-SHEPSŪT IN CAIRO RESTORED
able to collect last year from the tomb and from other monuments, we had concluded that Meryet-Amūn was a daughter of King Thutmose III, and that at the very end of his reign she had been the ranking princess of his family, taking precedence directly after the King’s Great Wife, Meryet-Re’. Before her father’s death she had already been married to her brother, Amen-hotpe, who was to be her father’s successor. It was a fiction of the time that the god Amūn was the father of each successive Pharaoh, and since it was expected that Meryet-Amūn would be the mother of Amen-hotpe’s heir, she was married to Amūn and called the “God’s Wife” from the time of her marriage to the future king. In due course Meryet-Amūn’s mortal brother-husband, Amen-hotpe, was elevated to the dignity of co-regent with Thutmose III, and when the latter died in 1447 B.C. her husband, Amen-hotpe, became King Amen-hotpe II and Meryet-Amūn the “King’s Great Wife and Mistress of the Two Lands.” The more prized title of “King’s Mother” was never hers, however, and in a very few years Meryet-Amūn passed away and was buried in the tomb prepared for her at Deir el Bahri.

So much for what we could gather from the surviving historical data. The question was, would a careful examination of Meryet-Amūn’s body make our conclusions any more or any less probable?

Dr. Douglas E. Derry, Professor of Anatomy in the Cairo Medical School and a colleague whose help we have so often had occasion to acknowledge in these reports, came up to Luxor during the winter to help us once more. His visit coincided with one from Sir Arthur Keith of the Royal College of Surgeons, London, whose suggestions were—as one might expect—most inspiring. Together we made an examination of the body of the queen.

Meryet-Amūn was a delicately formed, graceful person, slightly below the average height of the known women of the Eighteenth Dynasty royal family. Her eyes were set wide apart under a broad, straight, intelligent forehead. Her nose had clearly been high bridged and well formed. Her chin was slender and pointed, and although it was receding, it was in nowise weak. In fact, if one desired to reconstruct a lifelike portrait of her from her mummy (fig. 14), one probably would arrive at something very close to the impression of Hatshepsūt which we get from the marble statue we have just reconstructed with the Berlin fragments (fig. 15). But we know that Thutmose III bore a strong resemblance to his aunt Hatshepsūt, and if Meryet-Amūn did too, then the latter must have had exactly the appearance which we should expect in a daughter of Thutmose III. Then another point—Thutmose III was the second shortest out of nine Eighteenth Dynasty kings whose bodies have survived to our time, and yet—quite in keeping with his remarkable genius—his head was larger than that of any other member of his family. Now Meryet-Amūn was below the average in height among her woman relatives, but her magnificent, well-formed head was larger.

**FIG 13. PERSEA TWIGS AND DISHES FROM THE FOOT OF THE COFFIN OF MERYET-AMŪN**
than that of any other queen or princess of the line whose body has survived. Again, this is just what we should expect of a daughter of Thut-mose III, and we felt that our conclusions of the year before had obtained support. Naturally, we do not claim that family resemblances are in the nature of absolute historical proof, but if we are advancing the claim that Meryet-Amûn was the daughter of Thut-mose, it is satisfying to find that she looked like him.

The next point of interest was the age of Meryet-Amûn when she died. So far as we could estimate, she seems to have been nearly fifty years old at that time, and if, as seems likely, she died between five and ten years after her father—say about 1440 B.C.—our estimate would put her birth close to 1490 B.C. That would have been the eleventh year of the reign of Thut-mose III, when he was a young man in his early twenties, and about the time that Hâshepsût's daughter, Nefru-Rê', the first wife of Thut-mose III, had died. On the death of Nefru-Rê', Meryet-Rê' had taken her place as principal consort. Since Meryet-Amûn appears to have been a daughter of Meryet-Rê', she was probably the first child of the marriage of Thut-mose and Meryet-Rê', which would explain perfectly her position as the ranking princess of the court. Amen-hotpe II was another of their children—and thus a full brother of Meryet-Amûn—but he was a child of their later life, born perhaps twenty years after Meryet-Amûn. Of course, in dealing with the anatomy of human beings after they are twenty-five years old, it is very rare that an estimate of age can be made closer than within say five or ten years, but even making this allowance for the individuals involved here, our story of Meryet-Amûn will still hold.

In fact, the story appears to be perfectly plausible. Meryet-Amûn was born in the days when Sen-Mût was building Queen Hâshepsût's temple at Deir el Bahri, and her birth must have made sorry news for the old queen and her architect. The future of both of them was wrapped up in the little Queen Nefru-Rê', and that Meryet-Rê', the rival, should have given birth to the king's

8 According to Elliot Smith, The Royal Mummies, p. 36, Amen-hotpe II was about fifty years old at his death. Since he died in 1422 B.C., he was born somewhere around 1470 B.C.
first child could hardly have been welcome. Then came the end of Nefru-Re', while the little princess, Meryet-Amûn, and her mother survived the ten remaining years of the régime of Ḥat-shepsût and her favorite, Sen-Mût, and lived on through the exciting and glorious years of her warlike father's freedom. When Meryet-Amûn was practically grown—we need not be too insistent, though, in our statement that she was exactly twenty—a boy was born to her father and her mother, and this little brother was destined to be heir to the throne. The dignity of co-regent was conferred upon him when he in turn was approaching twenty, and, according to custom, the ranking daughter of his father became his queen, in order that the line should be kept wholly royal and divine. In this case, the lot fell to his sister, Meryet-Amûn, now a mature woman, years his elder. In fact, she was so many years his elder that she survived his accession but a little while, and then she herself passed away and her place was taken by Queen Ti'-ô, the mother of King Thut-mosê IV.

We have already told, in last year's report, how the tomb of Meryet-Amûn was discovered and robbed in the Twenty-first Dynasty, almost exactly four hundred years after her death. The necropolis officials had discovered the robbery—or more probably the two robberies—and they had done what they could to make good the damage. They had rewrapped the disheveled mummy and across its chest had recorded the date of their restoration—the 19th Year of King Pay-nûdjem, Month 3 of the Winter Sea-

FIG. 15A. HEAD OF THE PORTRAIT STATUE OF ḤAT-SHEPSÛT

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flowers that some of them still retained a faint flush of color in their faded petals (fig. 18). Professor Newberry could point out, without any question, blossoms of the acacia, petals of the lotus and of the red field poppy, and leaves of the willow. Now the acacia tree blossoms just after the waters of the annual flood are off the land, in late November, and in Egypt the willow is then in leaf. The persea ripens today in Cairo in January. In Thebes it would have ripened a little earlier and the end of November would have seen its fruits still green. Thus the date on the docket and the fruits and flowers together gave a neat and unexpected confirmation to the work of the modern chronologists who have been equating the ancient Egyptian calendar with our own. As for the poppy, in Egypt it should blossom in its wild state among the grain fields in March and not with the acacia just after the flood, but the poppy is easily grown in the garden at almost any time, and hence these from the tomb of Meryet-Amûn must be garden-grown poppies.

It was understood that the mummy of Meryet-Amûn, being that of a queen of Egypt, should be taken to Cairo, and in the Cairo Museum it has recently been decided that no longer are the royal bodies to be exposed to the gaze of the curious. Outside the tourist agencies there has never been any serious criticism of this ruling. No valid reason can be given in favor of exposing in a glass case the dilapidated frame of the great Pharaoh whose ire was enough to keep Moses exiled for years, or the shriveled remains of the other Pharaoh, his son, who

FIG. 15B. HEAD OF THE PORTRAIT STATUE OF HAT-SHEPSÛT

stood up so long against that same Moses when he returned to work the wonders taught him by Jehovah as a preliminary to the Exodus. We were in perfect sympathy with the ruling and not at all averse to Meryet-Amûn’s being protected from the public eye; but completely wrapped up as we had found her, with the garlands on her breast and the docket of the old inspectors written across her shroud, she had been interesting without being in the least gruesome. We had saved every single linen bandage as we had taken it off, making careful notes of how she had been wrapped, and we decided to bandage the queen up once more exactly as we had found her. And
in doing it we had a very illuminating practical illustration of just how the ancient Egyptian had gone about his task. For one thing, we discovered that, in spite of the fact that some of the linen was now very frail and had to be handled with every care, the mummy could be rewrapped in one morning, and we feel quite sure that the restorers of the tomb of Meryet-Amūn could have done all that they did there between sunup and sundown on that No-\n
FIG. 16. MERYET-AMŪN’S BEER JAR

ber 25 of 1049 B.C. which they recorded as the date of their visit to the tomb.

The tomb of Meryet-Amūn had been very methodically plundered, and the Twenty-first Dynasty robbers had overlooked nothing of any value to them. Nearly everything gilt was carried off almost bodily, and to make any estimate of her funerary furniture we had to study mere chips and scraps dropped by the thieves. Not one single utensil of metal, and hardly a trace of alabaster, was left, but naturally pottery vessels of obsolete shapes were left behind as useless to the robbers. Among them we found a large amphora which still contained the yeasty sediment of Meryet-Amūn’s beer (fig. 16). Analyzed by Dr. Johannes Gruss in Berlin this yeast turned out to be remarkably interesting. It was the same yeast that the Egyptians had been using since the Prehistoric Period, before 3400 B.C., when it had been a wild organism, full of impurities. Samples which we had sent to Dr. Gruss several years ago from tombs of about 2000 B.C. showed a better culture of the same yeast, but it was only with Meryet-Amūn’s beer of 1440 B.C. that the yeast could be called pure. After two thousand years the Egyptian brewer had developed a culture almost comparable to the modern, without the aid of the modern paraphernalia of microscopes and filters.

Empty pots were left and so were four-hundred-year-old baskets out of which the bottoms fell whenever the thieves moved them, but to us they give a remarkable picture of the homelier furnishings of an ancient Egyptian house. Little baskets decorated with rows of strange primitive ostriches (fig. 17) are strikingly like the baskets made in Edfu and in Nubia today and sold to the tourists in Aswān. Bigger ones, without any decoration, were the clothes baskets of three thousand five hundred years ago (fig. 19). It is from such intimate articles of the baggage of an Egyptian

FIG. 17. SMALL BASKET FROM THE TOMB OF MERYET-AMŪN

8 Dr. Grüss first discovered the ancient yeast cells in these samples, and for that reason he named the organism Saccharomyces Winlocki.
lady on her voyage to the Underworld that we can piece together a picture of her life on earth.

It is interesting to find while on the subject of Meryet-Amūn that we in the Metropolitan Museum have two scarabs which must have belonged to officials of her household (figs. 20, 21). One, in the Ward Collection presented to the Museum by the late J. Pierpont Morgan, is inscribed “the King’s Great Wife Meryet-Amūn,” and the second, originally in the Amherst Collection and afterwards in the Carnarvon Collection presented by Edward S. Harkness, is inscribed “the Estate of Meryet-Amūn.”

When, in November, 1949 B.C., the restorers of Meryet-Amūn’s mummy had finished their work, they buried her tomb once more from the prying eyes of the necropolis thieves, and left it hidden for perhaps a score of years until it was opened again for the funeral of the King’s Daughter Entiu-ny.

We had found Entiu-ny’s mummy lying in her coffin (fig. 22), at her head a spare wig, remarkably preserved but almost solidified with the still sticky pomade in which it had been soaked (fig. 23), and over her breast a wreath of persea leaves and lotus petals. To unwrap the mummy carefully was clearly going to take more time than we could spare in the few busy weeks following the discovery of the tomb, and, therefore, we left it in its coffin until we had an opportunity to unbandage it. This winter we had the chance, and after a few layers of linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a papyrus linen had been removed, we found a

![FIG. 18. GARLANDS FROM THE BREAST OF MERYET-AMŪN](image)

The inscriptions on Entiu-ny’s funeral paraphernalia had informed us that she was a “King’s Daughter,” but they had not named the king, her father. It happened, however, that several years ago, but actually only a very few yards away, we had found the tomb of an aged Princess Ḥenet-towy, the daughter of King Pay-nūdjem. Entiu-ny’s coffins were so very much like Ḥenet-towy’s that we had concluded that Entiu-ny, since she was a King’s Daughter, the anatomist and the archaeologist could work together to puzzle out details of history.

must have been a daughter of the same Pay-nūjdjem who was Ḫenet-towy's father. Now Ḫenet-towy had been a very fat, short little old woman, and Pay-nūjdjem's son, Masaharty, the High Priest, had been a remarkably fat little man, and here was Princess Entiu-ny bearing a strong family likeness to the two whom we wanted to call her brother and her sister. Just as in the case of Meryet-Amūn, we realized that this could hardly be called proof of our historical theories, but at least it tended to make them reasonable.

The burial furniture of a Twenty-first Dynasty personage, even of Entiu-ny's rank, was never so elaborate as had been that of earlier times. There had been so many scandals in ancient Thebes, involving even the mayor and the district officials, that the Thebans had begun to realize how impossible it was for the dead to keep their treasures under a dishonest administration of the living. Furthermore, the subjects of King Pay-nūjdjem were no longer sure of the usefulness of the furniture their ancestors had taken on the journey to the next world. They began to foresee a future in which the trappings of this life did not hold so important a place after all. They thought more and more of the need of learning the proper way to conduct themselves when they came into the presence of the multitude of strange gods, genii, and demons who made up the population of the uncanny universe to which they were bound. This course of conduct was set forth in certain very old writings on scrolls of papyrus, which they might take along with them, to be memorized or consulted as occasion arose on the journey to the Underworld.

In the Twenty-first Dynasty the orthodox thing was to place on the mummy itself the "Book of Him who is in the Underworld," a sort of mystical guide containing a map and a description of that strange region under the earth, through which the sun must pass each night from the place of its setting back to where it was to rise again. The dead, according to one belief, accompanied the sun, sailing with him in a bark towed by twelve parties of gods, each party taking it through one of the twelve night hours. The papyrus which we found on Entiu-ny's mummy bears the name of this book, but at best it is only an abridgment of the whole work, showing some score of uncouth demons, difficult to identify, with as many pictures of Entiu-ny's mummy alternating among them (fig. 25).

The second vade mecum for the journeyings of the dead was the "Book of the Going Forth by Day"—which in modern times we call the Book of the Dead. While "He who is in the Underworld" was placed on the body, a small hollow replica of the mummy in the guise of the god Osiris was provided in the Twenty-first Dynasty to hold the "Going Forth by Day."
The Osiris figure made for Entiu-ny was a little wooden statue 64.5 cm. high (25 3/8 in.), modeled with childish crudeness (fig. 26). Through a crack in the front we had been able to get a glimpse of the roll of papyrus inside, and when we turned the figure upside down there was a circular patch of wood in the base, held in place with plaster. Carefully prying this patch loose we exposed the end of the papyrus and easily slipped it out, almost as fresh and solid as the day on which it had been put there, nearly three thousand years ago.

FIGS. 20 AND 21. TWO SCARABS OF MERYET-AMÜN IN THE MUSEUM

(fig. 27). In Egypt it was not advisable to unroll more than was needful to estimate the nature of the book inside. Once in New York, however, the task of opening the entire roll was undertaken. By leaving it overnight in a box with dampened cotton and letting the outer layers of the roll absorb moisture, in the morning we could unroll the first two or three feet, inch by inch. When the drier, inner layers were arrived at and the papyrus began to feel brittle and crackly, the unrolling was stopped and the damp box was placed over what remained of the roll until the next day. Thus, day by day and foot by foot, the great roll opened out to the end—564 cm. long (18 ft. 6 in.).

Entiu-ny's Book of the Dead is a very important accession to the Metropolitan Museum's Egyptian collection. The examples of funerary papyri of the period of the

FIG. 22. THE MUMMY OF ENTIU-NY IN HER COFFIN

Empire which we already possessed were either very short abridgments or were sadly damaged, and here is an example reasonably full, in perfect condition, and of very good and characteristic execution. The
brilliance of the colors in the illustrations is astounding. The drawing is skilled and rapid, graceful, and absolutely typical of the period of the High Priestly régime in Thebes. Perhaps one of the most interesting things about the papyrus is the fact that it is obviously the work of two men. The more skillful of the two drew the illustrations and boldly sketched, in solid black characters, their titles. The texts of the chapters were then filled in by an appren-

FIG. 23. ENTIU-NY'S WIG

tice, whose hand was far less sure and whose knowledge of the sacred writings was not entirely faultless. This was an eminently human division of labor, for although the texts were the whole sum and purpose of the papyrus, they were likely to be taken more or less for granted by the purchaser, who was expected to judge her acquisition by the charm of the delightfully fresh and pleasing drawings. And it is a fortunate division for us whose interest in Egyptian dogmas is more difficult to arouse than our ever lively interest in Egyptian art.

The “Book of the Going Forth by Day” was a very large collection of spells designed to help the dead justify themselves before the gods of the Osirian cycle, to provide the more material needs of the tomb, and to imbue the dead with the power of entering and leaving the tomb freely. Curiously enough, no definite canon seems to have been drawn up by the rather loose-thinking Egyptians, who never absolutely fixed the number or the order of the chapters, and who left to the professional copyists almost complete freedom in their selections. To be sure, certain chapters were usually recognized as more important than others, but the number of them in any given example seems to have depended entirely on how much one wanted to pay for a copy of the book. Thus, Entiu-ny’s scroll contained ten chapters with the appropriate illustrations to seven,11 but for fourteen others she got only the illustrations without the text.

The papyrus starts at the extreme right, now that it is unrolled, with the judgment of the dead. Entiu-ny, with flowers on her head, a golden sistrum in her hand, and a tall incense brazier in front of her, stands at the door of the “Hall of the Two Truths” within which the forty-two judges of the dead hold session (fig. 29). She calls upon each judge by name and to each one individually repudiates some sin—either a fault of impurity or of dishonesty—and the

FIG. 24. ENTIU-NY'S PECTORAL

11 The chapters have been numbered by modern scholars—not by the ancient Egyptians. The ten full chapters in this example are 125, 38, 75, 113, 152, 132, 94, 71, 72, and 105, in that order.
names of the judges and of the sins she must deny are all set forth in tabular form for her direction. Beyond, in thirty-four vertical columns of hieroglyphics, is set forth the “Chapter of the Last Day of the Second Month of Prôt”—the judgment day—and into Entiu-ny’s mouth is set a speech of justification addressed to the forty-two True Ones who dwell within the Hall, and even to the very bolts and hinges of the doors, to the floor, and to the walls of the place of judgment.

We are to presume that Entiu-ny comes forth from the cross-questioning of the lesser gods clear of all blemish so far as they can see, for somewhat beyond we find her in the Hall of Osiris having her heart, her eyes, and her mouth judged by the great god (fig. 32). Isis, the “Mother of the God,” stands sponsor for her, while she herself faces Osiris and holds out to him the hieroglyphics of eyes and mouth. Before her the jackal-headed “Anubis, who is in charge of the Scales of the Hall,” weighs the heart of Entiu-ny in the balance against a figure of the Goddess of Truth. Osiris, from his throne, says to him: “Take her eyes and her mouth into thy charge, if her heart is righteous,” at which Anubis, turning his head, replies: “Her heart is righteous.”

This part of the Book of the Dead has always been of interest to the modern mind. To say the least, some of the forty-two commandments which must not be transgressed are peculiar, and many of them are trivial, but the whole conception of a formal judgment of one’s life and the striking parable of the weighing of the heart against a symbol of truth and honesty belong to a stage of man’s moral development which was far from primitive.

In what follows there is perhaps less to strike a sympathetic note in our minds. “A spell for living on the breezes of the necropolis” and “A spell for going to Heliopolis to receive a seat therein” are the titles of the next two chapters, written in red. In the first, Entiu-ny identifies herself with the god of Heliopolis, Atūm, with a resulting happy and glorious state in the life to come, and in the second, she recounts her journeyings “from the ends of the earth” to Atūm’s in-
nermost sacred shrine in the ancient and holy city. At this point we begin to notice a lack of coördination between the scribe who wrote the texts and the artist who drew the illustrations. In looking along the papyrus we have already passed Entiu-ny with the sail which signifies the breezes of the necropolis, standing by the back door of the Hall of the Two Truths, and near there, in the upper row, is the illustration showing her kneeling with upraised hands at the doorway of her seat in Heliopolis.

The next two chapters are closely related to the Egyptian necropolis. "A spell for a man not to be ferried across to the East," with a statement of the calamities which will overtake the gods if they do so ferry him, derives its inspiration from the Egyptian s desire to be buried in the Western Desert. Following comes "A spell for the building of a house upon earth"—in other words, the tomb which the gods decree for Entiu-ny—describing it and endowing it with offerings for eternity. Here again the illustrations are scattered through the upper register. We have already passed the picture of Entiu-ny standing with upraised hands before the double façade of her tomb, behind which stand three "Lords of the
Houses of the West,” and we have not yet arrived at the picture of the interior of the funeral crypt showing the mummy lying on the bier with its birdlike soul upon its breast, and the wailing goddesses at its head and feet.

A chapter called “A spell for causing one to know oneself” is hardly any contribution to philosophy. In “A spell for asking for an ink jar and a palette,” Entiu-ny addresses the hawk god, Harakhty, and tells him that she has the writing materials of Thoth, and that she uses them to copy down only what is right and good. The illustrations are over the scene of the weighing of the heart and show Entiu-ny adorning the divine palette upon a table, behind which sits the ibis-headed god, Thoth.

Next follow two “ Spells for going forth by day and opening the Underworld” from which the whole book derives its name. They are queer, magical incantations in which the deceased calls upon the gods of the Underworld by name and tells them of her knowledge of them and of her ability to assume their attributes. Thus, having asserted her magic power over them, she demands that they give her protection and provisions with which she will be able to break from the fetters of the tomb. Finally, the last chapter of this collection, “A spell for opening the Underworld,” empowers her and her soul to journey together through that region.

Of the remaining illustrations, for which the texts are omitted from this papyrus, there is a delightful set of four little ones in the upper register toward the end representing Entiu-ny as a peasant on the estate of Osiris in the Elysian Fields. She drives a pair of cream-colored cows to the plough, cracking her whip over their backs. She cuts a luxuriant field of wheat, far taller than her own head, with a gold-colored sickle (fig. 28). She “rows the neshu-barque like Re” — a green canoe which she paddles on the lakes of Elysium.

And finally she guards a pile of yellow grain for her master, Osiris (fig. 31).

At the end of the papyrus there are two larger pictures showing Entiu-ny in the court of the Kingdom of the Dead. In the first the god Osiris sits enthroned, with his two sisters, Isis and Nephthys, standing dutifully behind him, while Entiu-ny stands...
before him with arms upraised in adoration. Behind her stands the weird goddess of the necropolis, reaching out to grasp her, and above is written the caption, “The West receives her” (fig. 31). Finally, to close the whole book the lady stands “adoring the Lord of Dēt, the Sovereign and Prince of the Living,” the god Osiris, with her own rank and titles set forth as “the praised of by Day” and inscribed in another hand with the owner’s name, “Te-net-entiu-bekhenu” — apparently a variant of Te-net-bekhenu — in spite of the fact that the figure itself was labeled as being Entiu-ny’s. Inside the papyrus Entiu-ny is everywhere shown as the owner, but in three places she is named as “born of Te-net-entiu-bekhenu.” Obviously, the latter’s name on

those who are Lords of Thebes, the Mistress of a House, the Chantress of Amen-Re’, King of the Gods, the Princess Entiu-ny” (fig. 30).

One curious fact comes to light in this papyrus. Last year we noticed that Entiu-ny’s coffins had originally been made for “The Mistress of the House, the Chantress of Amûn, King of the Gods, the Royal Princess Te-net-bekhenu.” When we came to take the papyrus out of the Osiris figure we found it labeled “The Going Forth the outside of the scroll was a slip of some scribe. After he had rolled the papyrus up he had confused the names of the mother and daughter and — we can scarcely blame him — had jotted down the name of the former instead of the latter. Then by coincidence the daughter was eventually buried in the mother’s coffins after the names had been changed here and there on them. Everything was very casual in a Twenty-first Dynasty funeral — at least at the funeral of the very elderly Princess Entiu-ny.
FIG. 31. ADORATION OF OSIRIS (BELOW), WITH SCENES OF ELYSIUM (ABOVE)

FIG. 32. THE WEIGHING OF THE HEART (BELOW) AND ENTIU-NY BEFORE HER TOMB AND ADORING THE DIVINE PALETTE (ABOVE)
While piecing together the statues of ḫat-šepšêt and unwrapping the mummies of Meryet-Āmûn and Entiu-ny, we had our gang of workmen digging in the Deir el Bahri neighborhood. Our first task was to clear thoroughly the whole of the ravine in the mouth of which we had found the tomb of Meryet-Āmûn. We started with high hopes, for the entire ravine was filled with ancient chip heaps which obviously represented far more extensive quarrying than took place in that tomb. For weeks we cleared every foot of rock surface between the temple and the cliff, turning over masses of rubbish. We had hoped that the excessive amount of quarry chip meant that there were other tombs on the hillside like Meryet-Āmûn’s, but in the end we had to admit that the chip heaps must have come from the grading of ḫat-šepšêt’s temple. There was no other tomb.

The men were then moved to the south slopes of the ‘Asāsif valley where we cleared out about thirty tombs which had never been scientifically explored although their existence had long been known. Nearly all of them were of the Eleventh Dynasty, and many of them yielded interesting objects, but the end of the season had arrived before we could photograph and study them, and they will have to be reserved for a future report.

The membership of the Expedition was essentially as it had been the winter before. As usual the photography was in Burton’s most competent hands. Hauser not only kept the survey of the current excavations up to date, but he finished for publication the plans of the tomb of Meryet-Āmûn and made drawings of the reconstructions of her jewelry from the impressions left on her mummy. Wilkinson continued the copying of tombs, practically finishing that of Sen-Mût, as well as making a start on the only partially published sanctuary of Deir el Bahri. Hayes, as in previous years, did among other things the greater part of the work of reconstructing the statues, and identified the texts and illustrations of the papyri of Entiu-ny. Charlotte R. Clark continued her work on the earlier archives of the Expedition, and, in addition, kept the notes and the catalogues of the season’s work. Donald F. Brown was charged with the accounts and the correspondence.

H. E. Winlock.