THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION
1925–1927

THE MUSEUM’S EXCAVATIONS AT THEBES

The winter of 1924–25 had by no means seen the end of our archaeological housecleaning. Innumerable details of the tombs and temples which we had been excavating remained to be planned and photographed and our storehouses were still crowded with a very mixed assortment of antiquities which we had never had a chance to overhaul. That we did not dig during the winter of 1925–26 was hardly a disappointment to us, therefore, for it gave us a chance to see some of the corners of our magazines which had been cluttered up for years, and to make space for the building of a sadly needed workroom. By the winter of 1926–27, when actual excavation began again, everything was set for a large piece of work; a gang of over five hundred men and boys was recruited, and digging was restarted under conditions far more satisfactory than they would have been if there had been no interruption.

Throughout both seasons much of Burton’s work has been, as usual, with Carter in the Tomb of Tutenkhamon and on the Museum’s records of Theban tombs, but nevertheless he has found the time to do all of the photography needed for our excavations as well. As in past years Hauser has made all of the plans and surveys of the work, and during the respite from active digging has had an opportunity to bring up to date his large-scale maps of the Eleventh Dynasty cemeteries. In the season of 1925–26 Edward M. Weyer was with us, and in 1926–27 James R. Brewster took over most of the burden of accounting and correspondence as well as the arranging of the file of archaeological records which had been installed in the Museum’s house at Thebes upon the renewal of active digging. And then there have been our daily dozen of pestiferous housekeeping details, engine troubles, negotiations with the Egyptian Government, the police court trial of an absconding guard, and the never-ending doctoring of the innumerable ills to which the Egyptian workman’s flesh is heir—jobs which have been shared by all of us, including Wilkinson who gave us the time he could spare from copying the tomb paintings of the Necropolis.

During both of the past seasons the expedition has had advantages of which it is difficult to say enough in appreciation. With Professor Percy E. Newberry as a guest, not only has the household had a delightful addition, but the work has benefited from the advice and assistance of one whose experience of Egypt covers a longer period than that of almost any living archaeologist, and whose inexhaustible fund of knowledge is dealt out with lavish generosity to all of his colleagues. Our debt to Dr. Douglas E. Derry, added to during the past two years, is one which the reader of these reports will recall as long standing. On every problem involving ancient Egyptian anatomy or medicine we have turned to him, confident of a zealous and ungrudging help which has been especially welcome during the last winter. Equally true is this of the aid given us by Dr. Alan H. Gardiner on the hieratic ostraca found during the renewed excavations. By giving us translations of them during the actual progress of the digging, he made it possible for us to arrive at some of our conclusions much more readily than might otherwise have been the case.
This matter of problems justifies a few more words of preface to any report such as this.

Digging in Egypt may seem an adventure to many. Possibly it is—but in a somewhat unexpected way. First, of course, there is the Orient, which must of necessity have a “glamour” whenever it is written about, but it is a somewhat tarnished glamour to the harassed excavator whose supply truck is suddenly stopped by an official regulation, ostensibly because automobiles are anachronisms but actually because they threaten to put out of business the tourist carriages whose native owners are not above a little devious politics. Then there should be the excitement of seeing things come up out of the ground, only it is the perversity of antiquities that they do not appear dramatically in full panoply like Athena from the brow of Zeus, or even neatly ticketed with reasonably explanatory labels. Usually they come in most efficient disguise and in most unexpected places, and here lies the real adventure—although it is often a somewhat belated one—interpreting what has been found. After all, without a pedigree antiquities degenerate into mere curiosities and it is the digger’s duty above all to supply the history which goes with his discoveries. Appreciation of their esthetic value—when they have any—can safely be left to others.

With this by way of preface the reader should be amply warned as to the nature of this report. It is an attempt to untangle, from a muddled mass of abandoned theories, those which seem the most probable explanations of the whys and wherefores of what we have found. Naturally, much of the uncertainty and guesswork of digging remains in the following pages, but the problems can be made somewhat easier to comprehend by dividing the work, not into the two seasons in which it took place, but into the two historical periods with which it has made us most familiar—the end of the Eleventh Dynasty and the middle of the Eighteenth.

I. THE ELEVENTH DYNASTY
ABOUT 2000 B.C.

So far as can be foreseen at present, our work is practically finished on the Temple of Mentuhotep and on the cemetery to the north of the temple avenue, at least as far along the hillside toward the cultivation as the tombs of the greater nobles extend. Most of these tombs we had cleared in former seasons, but we still had on our hands masses of fragments of the sculptures which had once decorated them, and months were spent trying to fit them together again.

With the limestone bas-reliefs it was a discouraging business. In the later dynastic periods, the chapels had been practically turned into factories for the making of limestone dishes, and the chips left after their walls had been turned into bowls and platters represented only a small fraction of the surfaces once sculptured. However, with the sandstone burial crypt in the tomb of Queen Neferu it was a different matter. The thieves had broken into it, smashed up the sarcophagus, and torn down the back wall looking for secret passages beyond, but either because sandstone was of little use or because the crypt was so deep

1BULLETIN, December, 1923, part II, p. 16.
2BULLETIN, March, 1926, part II, p. 11, fig. 7.
FIG. 2. THE BURIAL CRYPT OF QUEEN NEFERU LOOKING EAST. XI DYNASTY

FIG. 3. THE BURIAL CRYPT OF QUEEN NEFERU LOOKING WEST. XI DYNASTY
underground, no one had ever removed a single chip from the wreckage. Here it was possible to restore the entire chamber, sarcophagus and all. Raising large blocks of stone in a stuffy, narrow little space fifty yards underground and laying brick with a trowel in one hand and a candle in the other took time, but when the job was done the best of the Eleventh Dynasty burial crypts in Thebes was once more complete (figs. 2 and 3).

When our excavations were started once more there still remained undug the tombs of the less pretentious Theban burghers along the foot of the hillside below the great tombs of the grandees above. To clear them was one of the first undertakings of this past season and before the work was finished some thirty had been explored, and a solution had been gained to one, at least, of the minor problems of Egyptian archaeology.

Terracotta cones sometimes a foot long are found all over the Theban Necropolis (fig. 1). They turn up, scattered about the courts of all of the Eleventh Dynasty tombs, and for the Eighteenth Dynasty, when the names of the dead were stamped on their bases, cones have been found for most of the known tombs. What they meant, however, has always been a question. They look like representations of in an ancient picture of a tomb. There the problem stood.

Naturally, the tops of the tomb façades are the first things to go and the last things to be buried, but this year we were lucky enough to find a tomb at the bottom of the hill which had been covered over completely thirty-four centuries ago under the avenue leading up to Hatshepsut's Temple. The very first part of the tomb which we saw was the cones, set firmly in mortar above the façade in two rows, exactly as they had been placed by the Eleventh Dynasty tomb builders, and if we count in the fallen ones which we eventually found below, there cannot be any doubt that originally they made a frieze right across the top of the tomb (figs. 4-5). If we were

Naturally, the tops of the tomb façades are the first things to go and the last things to be buried, but this year we were lucky enough to find a tomb at the bottom of the hill which had been covered over completely thirty-four centuries ago under the avenue leading up to Hatshepsut’s Temple. The very first part of the tomb which we saw was the cones, set firmly in mortar above the façade in two rows, exactly as they had been placed by the Eleventh Dynasty tomb builders, and if we count in the fallen ones which we eventually found below, there cannot be any doubt that originally they made a frieze right across the top of the tomb (figs. 4-5). If we were
THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION 1925–1927

to hazard another guess now as to what these cones represent, we might suggest that they are the ends of the poles or logs of the roof of an ancient Egyptian house—a far cry from loaves of bread, and rather and drove his gang as the taskmasters of Pharaoh had driven the Chosen People. Down they went until they struck a neatly bricked-up doorway and that night they slept on the spot to guard their find. Early

Incidentally this tomb provided us with one of those blank disappointments that so often leave the digger flat.

As soon as we found the top of the tomb buried as it was under Hatshepsut's embankment, we knew that, barring a tunnel from behind, no one could have been inside since the Eighteenth Dynasty. The head man saw the point as quickly as anybody, the following morning began the most orthodox ritual of archaeology. Deliberately we photographed the walled-up door; methodically we drew plans and sections in such detail that every brick could have been duplicated, and then most gingerly we took down the wall. The bricks themselves had shown us, by their size and their texture, that they were of the Eighteenth Dynasty and therefore we did not expect to find the Eleventh Dynasty tomb furniture intact, but we did have every right to

FIG. 5. THE FAÇADE OF A TOMB WITH A FRIEZE OF TERRACOTTA CONES ABOVE. XI DYNASTY

an extreme example of the process of trial and error which must so often be followed in solving archaeological problems.
expect a burial of Hatshepsut's time behind that well-built masonry.

And yet within there was nothing but a mess of broken bones and coffins kicked around in confusion in every direction. Far from protecting a hidden treasure, the careful blocking-up of that tomb door could only have been done with the purpose of stopping a few baskets of dirt from running inside and being lost when the avenue embankment was heaped up above.

A wooden pillow would perhaps scarcely deserve mention, since they are so well known, if it had not been so remarkably preserved (fig. 8). At first thought it is hard to conceive of anybody sleeping with his head propped up on such a hard contraption, but so skilfully was this one shaped that it is really quite comfortable and in the heat of an Egyptian summer must have been much cooler than one of feathers. We tried it and found that it was not bad at all—provided you did not pinch your ear with it.

While we are on the toilet-sets and the pillows of the Eleventh Dynasty, it may be worth while to mention two little objects which shed other lights on contempo-

However, a number of smaller antiquities had survived among these tombs at the bottom of the hill, wherever the thieves had been least thorough and, more important, wherever the floods had been least destructive, for many of them on lower ground had served as catch basins for the torrential rains that occasionally burst over the desert. Sometimes we found the gravestone with the owner's portrait on it (fig. 6); sometimes his wife's little colored grass basket, just like those still sold in Assuan (fig. 7), or her boxes of alabaster perfume bottles (fig. 9).
FIG. 9. PERFUME BOTTLE BOXES. XI DYNASTY
The story of Theban life, retrieved from the rubbish that had accumulated in our magazines during the clearing of the tombs of the nobles high up on the hillside.

With a little game-board (fig. 10) we get an echo of one of the crazes which civilized man takes up, goes through, and then drops forever. It is the story of mah-jong four thousand years ago. Here we have a game suddenly appearing in Egypt at the end of the Eleventh Dynasty. It was played into the Twelfth Dynasty and its peculiar little boards are found from Palestine as far east as Susa in just the same period. Then suddenly it disappears forever. The finest board ever found is the delightful ivory one discovered by Lord Carnarvon in a Twelfth Dynasty Theban tomb, and recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum with his collection. Perhaps the oldest is this one from our own excavations. That it had been a great favorite of its owner can be seen in the way the holes in which the pegs were moved have been worn out all along one side until a patch had to be put in to renew them.

Other distractions were provided for the ancient Theban noble by his dancing girls. In a previous report there was mentioned a little faience figure of a tattooed dancing girl found in the tomb of Neferhotep. When we got a chance to clean and mend some sadly broken little figures from a nearby tomb we gained a further fact of unexpected interest (fig. 11). These figures obviously represent negro slave girls from far up the Nile, jet black and wearing strange skirts covered with barbarous designs in gaudy colors and many colored beads around their foreheads and necks. Derry had already noticed that the features of the tattooed dancing girls buried in Mentuhotep’s Temple showed marked Nubian traits and that Nubian blood had probably flowed through the veins even of such ladies of the King’s harím as Aashait and Henhenit. Furthermore, the pictures of Aashait on her sarcophagus gave her a rich chocolate Nubian complexion and her companion Kemsit was painted on hers an actual ebony black, just like these little figures.

It is evident that from above Assuan must have come many a girl in Mentuhotep’s palace and their dusky sisters have been beguiling Oriental potentates ever since. There was that mediaeval negress, Shagret ed Durr—“String of Pearls”—who came out of the Mameluke harím to defend Egypt successfully against the crusade of Saint Louis, and who made and murdered sultans to her heart’s content, until she herself was finished off. More of our own day—and less romantic—was the little black-skinned concubine of the Khedive Ismail whom Verdi and Mariette were commanded to take as their inspiration for the heroine of “Aida” when that opera was turned out to order for the open-

* * *

4Bulletin, December, 1923, part II, p. 20, fig. 15, and p. 26, fig. 20.
ing of the Suez Canal in 1871. That Men-
truhotep should have had his "String of
Pearls" and his "Aida"—and that his
nobles should have followed his example—
would account for more than a trace of
brunette complexion in the Theban aristoc-
racy of four thousand years ago.

A little wooden box with an ingenious
fastening (fig. 12) suggests a picture which
contrasts most incongruously with the
harims of the Eleventh Dynasty. We found
it among the rubbish from one of the tombs
above the Deir el Bahri temples in which
a certain Pleine the Less, a disciple of that
revered and austere early Christian anchor-
ite, Epiphanius, had sought refuge from the
flesh and the devil about A.D. 620. When
he left, he threw away the box in such a
filthy state that it was only after laborious
cleaning that we discovered what it was.

Far grimmer than games and dancing
girls was the next glimpse of the Eleventh
Dynasty which we got from these same
hillside tombs.

In the spring of 1923, just at the end of
the season, our men had uncovered the door
of a tomb in the row where the grandees
of Mentuhotep's court had been buried.
Since it was directly above the court of
the temple, next to the tomb of Khety
the Chancellor, its position must have been
regarded as enviable in its day, and having
been completely buried under a landslide
from the cliff above, it had clearly never
been entered in modern times. However,
hopes were blasted as usual at the first
glance into the dark interior, when it was
seen that the place had been completely
plundered ages ago, and had been left
strewn with torn linen rags among which
had been callously thrown a ghastly heap
of robbed and mutilated bodies. There
seemed very little likelihood that the
thieves had left anything for us, and as our
season was over anyway, we had sealed
the tomb up again until some more favor-
able chance arose for the extremely dis-
agreeable job of examining it carefully.

By this last spring we had finished every
other tomb in the neighborhood. The one
next west, and another directly below by

*Winlock and Crum, Monastery of Epiphanius,

the temple wall, had both turned out to
be multiple burying-places. They were
really catacombs, each with a corridor
which had been lengthened from time to
time as little independent tombs had been
tunneled off to either side. In the one by
the temple wall we had found a piece of
linen marked with the name of Queen

Neferu, just as the linen found in her own
tomb had been. As the Queen's tomb was
some little distance away, it did not seem
probable that this bit of linen could have
strayed in here, and we came to the con-
clusion that these peculiar catacombs were
intended for the dependents of the royal
family and that one of these dependents
had been given, or had otherwise acquired,
his or her linen from the Queen's linen
chest.

The one hasty examination which we
had made of the resealed tomb had shown
that, so far as arrangement went, it was
a third catacomb of the same type. That
made, then, two of these multiple burial-places in the row with the private tombs of such dignitaries as Khety, Meru, Ipy, and Horhotep, and a third right by the temple wall, curiously suggestive of cheap apartment houses squeezed into a restricted residential neighborhood. To open the sealed-up tomb seemed worth while, therefore, if only to study its plan.

The month-long Mohammedan fast of Ramadan was upon us in March this year, and we had kept on only a small gang of men for just such jobs as this. The tomb was re-opened and all of its gruesome tenants brought outside while Hauser measured and planned the crypts and corridor within. Not a single object was discovered in the tomb and although about sixty bodies had been brought out, we found chips of no more than two or three cheap Eleventh Dynasty coffins. That the bodies were late seemed at first unquestionable. In the hot sun they were extraordinarily unpleasant—to put it mildly—and they had all the look of the dried-up corpses of Copts of whom many had been buried in the neighborhood in the days of Epiphanius. Still, there was something not quite Coptic about the bandages, and the men were told to start early in the cool of the next morning, sorting out the linen which the thieves had ripped off of the bodies, to see if by any chance any of it was marked. It seemed unlikely, but to assure a conscientious search a bakshish was offered to any man who should discover a bit of inscription.

By seven o’clock next morning the men were down at the house with some thirty bits of marked linen and by noon the number had been doubled. What we never expected had happened. Here were sixty-two absolutely typical examples of Eleventh Dynasty linen marks, with such familiar names as Ameny, Sebekhotep (fig. 13), Sebeknakht, Intef, Intefoker, Mentuhotep, and Senwosret, and most striking—and also most numerous, for half of the marked bandages bore it—was a curious, enigmatic ideogram which we had already found on the bandages of Aashait and the women of Mentuhotep’s harim (fig. 14). Furthermore, only a few weeks before, we had recognized the same mark engraved on a chisel dropped by some stone-cutter in the catacomb tomb at the bottom of the hill (fig. 15), and we had concluded that it must have denoted property of the royal necropolis, or of its dead, in the reign of Mentuhotep III. After all, then, the sixty corpses in the tomb were four thousand years old, preserved in that dry hermetically sealed underground corridor in an unbelievable way.

From the point of view of physical anthropology the find had attained an unexpected importance. Of all of the Eleventh Dynasty tombs that we had dug, nearly every one had been plundered, had been re-used in later times, and then been plundered again, until it was impossible, generally, to tell whether the bones which we found in them were of the Eleventh Dynasty or later. The result was that we had obtained a disappointingly small amount of information on what physical manner of men had descended from Thebes about 2000 B.C., conquered Memphis, and started the second great period of Egyptian culture. Here, however, were sixty individ-
uals definitely of the very race we wanted to know about, and an urgent telegram was sent off to Derry to come up from Cairo to examine them.

As soon as Derry, Brewster, and I started in on our study, the first and most obvious thing which we remarked about these bodies was the simplicity in which they had been buried. As we had already seen, probably no more than two or three could have had coffins and in the crypts the rest and even all at the same time. Moreover, all were men, and as Derry’s examination proceeded they turned out to be remarkably vigorous men, every one in the prime of life. We found none who showed any signs of immaturity and only one whose hair was even streaked with gray. Another curious point was that there did not seem to have been a single shaven head among the lot. On the contrary, every one of these men had a thick mop of hair, bobbed off square at the nape of the neck as on the contemporary statuettes of soldiers from Assiut. Sometimes it was curled and oiled in tight little ringlets all over the head.

However, it was broiling hot, Derry’s time was short, and ahead of us lay a long unpleasant task. We were wasting no time on theories, therefore, and had methodically measured the first nine bodies when the tenth was put on the table and Brewster noticed an arrow-tip sticking out of its chest.

Physical anthropology immediately lost its interest, and another unexpected chapter was added to the story of the tomb. Up to that time our work-tent had been a mere laboratory. From this moment onward it took on some of the gruesomeness must have been stacked up like cord-wood with no other covering than their linen wrappings. These last, where enough had been left by the thieves to judge, seem to have averaged no more than some twenty layers of sheets and bandages, which are less than one may expect to find on even a middle-class body of the period. As our examination went on, this same hurried cheapness became evident in the embalming—or perhaps more accurately lack of embalming, for at the most little could have been done to these bodies beyond a scouring off with sand, and we differed among ourselves even as to that.

The second striking point was the absolute similarity these bodies bore, one to another. So far as we could see, all of them had been buried under identical conditions
of a field dressing station—only the front was four thousand years away.

Before we were done, we had identified a dozen arrow wounds and we felt certain that we had missed many others (figs. 17, 19). So neat and small were they that they would easily pass unnoticed in the dried and shriveled skin except in those cases where some fragment of the arrow had been left in the bodies. Of head wounds we noted twenty-eight and again we felt that others were probably lost in the rough handling of the ancient thieves (figs. 16, 18). But even so, we had seen two thirds as many wounds as there were bodies and we felt justified in concluding that every one of these sixty men had met a violent end. This seemed especially likely when we discovered that six of the bodies on which no wound was visible to us had been torn by vultures or ravens, and that could hardly have happened except on a battlefield.

Obviously what we had found was a soldiers' tomb. To judge from the cheapness of their burial they were only soldiers of the rank and file and yet they had been given a catacomb presumably prepared for dependents of the royal household, next to the tomb of the Chancellor Khety. Clearly that was an especial honor. If we were right in supposing that all had been buried at once, they must have been slain in a single battle. Considering the especial honor paid them it would follow that this fight must have been one which meant much to King Mentuhotep. To us, unfortunately, lacking a single line of inscription from the tomb—for the linen marks tell us nothing beyond the date—it was only a nameless battle of the dim past.
And yet, without unduly stretching our imaginations, we can see how it was fought.

It was not a hand-to-hand encounter. We saw nothing that looked like dagger or spear stabs; none of the slashes which must have been inflicted by battleaxes, and no arms or collar bones smashed by clubs, as one might expect from fighting at close quarters. Many of the head wounds—for the moment we will omit a certain class of crushing blows on the left side of the skull—were small depressed fractures in the forehead and face such as would be given by smallish missiles descending from above. From the same direction must have come several arrows which found their marks at the base of the neck and penetrated vertically downward through the chest, or one which entered the upper arm and passed down the whole length of the forearm to the wrist. Such would have been the wounds received by men storming a castle wall, and with this clue to guide us we had only to turn to the contemporary pictures of sieges at Deshasheh and Beni Hasan. The defenders line the battlements armed with bows and arrows, with slings and with handfuls of stones. The attackers rush up to the walls with scaling ladders, or crouch beneath them with picks, endeavoring to sap the defenses under a rain of missiles falling on their heads and shoulders, only precariously protected by their companions’ shields.

It must have been during an assault on a fortress, then, that our unknown soldiers fell, under a shower of sling-shots on heads protected by nothing but a mass of hair, or with lungs and hearts pierced by arrows aimed at their uncovered shoulders. The fire had been too hot, and their fellows had scurried away out of range, but not without some of them being overtaken by the storm of arrows. One of them had been hit in the back just under the shoulder blade by an arrow which had transfixed his heart and projected some eight inches straight out in front of his chest. He had pitched forward, headlong on his face, breaking off the slender ebony arrow-tip in his fall, and the ragged end between his ribs was found by us all clotted with his blood. It was only after he was dead that those who gathered up his body had broken off the reed shaft sticking out of his back, for that end had no trace of blood upon it.

With the attack beaten off there had followed the most barbarous part of an ancient battle. The monuments to Egyptian victories always show the king clubbing his captives in the presence of his god, and the battle pictures show the Egyptian soldiers searching out the wounded to despatch them. Usually they grab the fallen by the hair and dragging them half upright, club or stab them, and as they swing their clubs with their right hands their blows fall upon the left sides of their victims’ faces and heads. We recognized at least a dozen who had been mercilessly done to death in this way. One of the wounded had fallen unconscious from a sling-shot which had hit him over the eye, another had been stunned by an arrow which had all but penetrated one of the sutures of his skull, and a third probably lay helpless from loss of blood ebbing from the arteries in his arm torn by an arrow. None of those need have been fatal wounds. Lying helpless, the poor
wretches had had the life clubbed out of them with crushing, murderous blows on the left sides of their cheeks and heads, battering away nearly all semblance of humanity. Evidently, as soon as the attackers had retired out of range, a party had made a sortie from the castle to mop up the battlefield, and when the last breathing being had been finished off, their bodies had been left lying beneath the walls to be worried and torn by the waiting vultures and ravens. The ghastly evidence of their work was plain enough to see and

FIG. 17. ARROW IN THE SHOULDER OF A SLAIN SOLDIER. XI DYNASTY

the ancient pictures of the carrion birds devouring the slain were made only too real by these mangled corpses.

Unquestionably a second attack on the castle had been successful or these bodies never could have been recovered for burial in Thebes. Furthermore, the reed arrows with ebony tips used by the defenders show that the castle was in Egypt, and we know that no part of Egypt successfully resisted King Mentuhotep. Was it the stronghold of some noble who rebelled against Thebes after the conquest of the Two Lands? Or were these sixty soldiers especially honored because they fell in the assault of the last refuge of the defeated Heracleopolitan king of Memphis?

So far as one can see at present such questions will never be answered except in the unlikely event that the arrows themselves may give a clue.

Of Theban bows and arrows we have found a great number. Every one of the great nobles had enough to equip a whole bodyguard piled up in the crypt of his tomb, and of the lesser fry buried at the bottom of the hill each had his single bow and set of arrows beside him in his coffin. The bow was always of the long type with a twisted gut cord simply hitched around either tip. The arrow had a shaft of reed with three feathers, and a tip of ebony some eight or nine inches long, almost invariably pointed with a chisel edge of flint set in cement (fig. 21). Of the ebony arrow-tips used by the defenders of the castle, remarkably enough, not one had a flint point (fig. 20)—and yet they had been driven as cleanly into a man's body as one drives a nail into a pine board. Perhaps, some day, we may discover whether there was any particular part of Egypt where it was usual to dispense with the flint points, and if so, we will be a long way toward knowing where this battle took place. Apparently it was not near Thebes, at any rate.

Another glimpse of King Mentuhotep, like the battle picture vivid in some of its details but tantalizingly vague in others, had come to us in the season of 1925-26. We had no gang of workmen to tie us down to a daily routine at that time, and the chance to follow the Eleventh Dynasty away from Thebes seemed too good to be missed. We knew that there were two graffiti at Assuan and a rock carving at the Shatt er Rigaleh, and it seemed to Newberry and me that if we could get a look at them, our Deir el Bahri work might give us some useful clues as to their interpretation.

With the Assuan graffiti we had no luck whatever. We knew that they were records left on the rocks at the foot of the cataract by the Chancellor Khety and the Controller of the Eastern Heliopolitan Nome, whose name might be read Mery, when they were there in the 41st Year of Mentuhotep’s reign supervising a river expedition to the Sudan. But after hours of climbing among the rocks where they were said to be, we had to give up the search, feeling fairly certain that one of them at least had been destroyed not long before by some miserable peasant looking for rock to build a new house. After four thousand
FIG. 18. GLANCING BLOW ON THE CROWN (A) AND BLOW OVER THE RIGHT EYE (B) OF A SLAIN SOLDIER. XI DYNASTY

FIG. 19. ARROW IN THE LEFT EYE OF A SLAIN SOLDIER. XI DYNASTY
years it seems rather an ignominious end for the memorial of a high dignitary.

The Shatt er Rigaleh rock carving has already been mentioned in one of these Bulletin reports as portraying King Mentuhotep, his mother Iah (who was probably the mother of Queen Neferu as well), Intef (who was presumably the Crown Prince), and the Chancellor Khety.6 Neither Newberry nor I had ever seen it except in publications. In fact, very few archaeologists seem ever to have visited the Shatt er Rigaleh, a most out-of-the-way little valley seventy-five miles above Thebes, across the river and far from any of the steamer landings. We could only explain its position vaguely to our head man, Gilani Suleyman, and send him off with tents, tent strikers, and a cook, and orders to find a picture of a king and a queen with two people standing in front of them and to pitch camp beside it. We followed a couple of days later.

It was a desolate spot. Just to the south, the Nile breaks through a spur of the desert hills called the Gebel Silsileh, eddying and swirling against the low, naked, sandstone cliffs. Every mile or so a small arid valley cuts through the hills from the higher desert to the west, and at its mouth forms a narrow, sandy bottom and a few yards of thorny fields or space for a little grove of palms or scrubby acacia trees. Only in these valley mouths was there room to pitch a camp and it was to one of them that Gilani led us (fig. 22).

Stopping only to drop our few belongings into a tent, Newberry and I turned to the little valley behind it. A few steps from the river edge and we were on a flat floor of sand with the dark brown sandstone rocks rising abruptly on either hand. A few more paces, and there, high up on a rock on our left, stood King Mentuhotep, life-size, and his mother Iah, facing up the little valley toward Prince Intef and Chancellor Khety, who were approaching from the direction of the desert (fig. 23). We were taken completely by surprise. Somehow, we had expected to see a small, rather insignificant sketch hastily scratched on the rock, and we found ourselves gazing up at a magnificent monument, the work of professional sculptors who must obviously have labored for days on the cliff face, carving a memorial for some event of unusual importance.

As we made our way up the little valley, we came to a second stela forty or fifty yards beyond—lower down on the rock and smaller, but quite as well carved. This time the Chancellor Khety alone appeared before his sovereign. Still walking desertwards we noticed all along the southern, shady side of the little valley names scribbled everywhere. We must have seen fully two hundred graffiti before we got to a great sand dune that blocked our path about half a mile up from the valley mouth. There they stopped abruptly.

After a quick lunch we went back for a
more careful look. We had just reexamined
the big stela and were passing on to the little
one when midway between them we noticed
a group of some ten bold, well-carved in-
scriptions above us on the rock (fig. 24).
Notebook in hand we were scrambling up
over the boulders to get a closer view when
whose name should strike us but that of the
Mehenkwetre of the tomb with the model
boats and gardens and shops found by us in
Thebes some years before. And to say that
son Dagy; the Superintendent of Sculptors,
Woserener’s son Intef; and the Follower
Sebekhotepu were strangers to us, but
since their names were carved in the same
large, careful hieroglyphics and in the same
restricted group between the two stelae,
we took it for granted that they were con-
temporary.7
Each of these inscriptions was carefully
and painstakingly carved by skilled work-
men—doubtless the subordinates of the

FIG. 21. THEBAN BOWS AND ARROWS. XI DYNASTY

the name struck us is no exaggeration, it
came upon us so unexpectedly here. A mo-
moment later we recognized the Chancellor
of the North and Governor of the Eastern
Desert, Meru, whose tomb we had cleared
at Deir el Bahri not far from that of the
Chancellor Khety. Nearby there were the
names of Hepety, First under the King;
Yay, Scribe of the Royal Archives; and
Khety, Lector and Chief Scribe of the
Holy Writings, all of whom were pictured
among Mentuhotep’s courtiers in the Deir
eI Bahri Temple. Close at hand was the
name of a Mery (here called “Binder of the
King’s Region in all His Seats,” whatever
that may mean) who may have been the
Mery who went with Khety to Assuan in
the 41st Year. The Governor of the North-
land, Itu; the Herald of the King, Mahesa’s
Chief Sculptor Intef whose name was among
them. Each name was preceded by high
court titles and nearly every one was fol-
lowed by the phrase “truly beloved” or
“truly favored by his Lord.” If we include
the smaller stela of the Chancellor Khety
as among these inscriptions, three names
were those of identified owners of tombs
in the Mentuhotep Cemeteries at Thebes,
three more were names inscribed in the
Mentuhotep Temple, and a seventh name
was perhaps that of a Mentuhotep courtier
at Assuan.
Still another thing tended to make one
group of these inscriptions. The two stelae
bounded them to east and west, and looking
more closely we found that just before the
7See Petrie, A Season in Egypt, nos. 448,

19
first stela and just beyond the second, someone had carved in tall hieroglyphics "Year 39," bracketing as it were both stelae and inscriptions. Nothing had been added to show what the date applied to, but it is more than probable that it was that of the stelae and the names between them. Khety, we know, was active in Assuan two years later, and perhaps the Mery of the Shatt er Rigaleh was the Mery who was in Assuan with Khety on that occasion. Meru has left a stela elsewhere dated to the 46th Year and Mehenkwetre survived Mentuhotep and held high office under his successor. Thus at least three or four of the courtiers whose names we had identified belonged to Mentuhotep's old age and would have been active in the 39th Year of his reign.

Without doubt many of the other graffiti in the Shatt er Rigaleh name the lesser fry in the trains of King Mentuhotep and his nobles. The rocks were scribbled over by innumerable other Mentuhoteps, Intefs, Ipys, Khetyys—and even a Mehenkwet among them—all names common in the Eleventh Dynasty. But they were just such scribblings as any passer-by might scratch on the rocks for himself, and as they were not professional carvings we could not differentiate them from those of later visitors. Of these latter there seems to have been a continuous procession for the next five hundred years, from the reign of Sankhkare at the end of the Eleventh Dynasty to that of Thutmose III in the Eighteenth, and few of them seem to have been able to resist the temptation of adding their names to the crowd already there.

We were up the little valley as long as the light lasted, and were back again after dinner in the dark, for we found that some of the faintest of the graffiti could be made quite legible with electric flashlights after nightfall. And finally when we came back to bed, it was a long time before we could sleep, trying to puzzle out what under the sun could have brought the court of Mentuhotep to this desolate, out-of-the-way spot where our tent was pitched.

In the first place it could have had nothing to do with the quarrying which was so actively pursued in this region in ancient times. The Shatt er Rigaleh valley seems to have been the one spot in the neighborhood where no stone was ever cut. And in any case we should have to find something more imposing than the opening of a quarry to account for the presence of Mentuhotep himself, his presumably aged mother, the Crown Prince Intef, the great Chancellor Khety, at least ten other great grandees of the court, and an uncertain number of lesser followers. Whatever the occasion, it had to be one in which the chief actor after the royalties themselves was the Chancellor Khety and it was only natural to cast around in Khety's career for some clue. Two years later he and Mery were in charge of an expedition to the Sudan—how would such an expedition fit here?

Almost due west across the desert from us lay the southernmost tip of Khargeh Oasis, at a distance which could be covered in three days' marching time from water to water. Southwest of us, at two days' caravanning, lay the wells of Kurkur, a regular stopping-place on the desert roads to the Sudan. From Kurkur one could reach the Nile again at the bend near Amada in Upper Nubia in three days at the outside, or prolonging the desert trip from Kurkur through the little oases of Dungul and Selimeh one could easily descend into the Sudan between the Second and Third Cataracts. The Shatt er Rigaleh or any of the other little valleys nearby led up to the top of the rolling plateau, across which the natives of the neighborhood had said that the going was perfectly good, either to Khargeh or to Kurkur.

A desert expedition from this region was practical, then, and moreover it was very probable. The district of Gebel Silsileh and the Shatt er Rigaleh had been a favorite landfall for the nomads who crossed the desert wastes to the Nile Valley in very ancient times. For several miles along the river bank, northward from the Silsileh water-gap, the cliffs are covered with crude and primitive pictographs which are obviously more weathered and older than the Eleventh Dynasty carvings beside them. Their like is found at few places elsewhere along the Nile, but I have seen exactly the same type of thing two hundred
miles out in the desert between the Oases of Khargeh and Dakhleh, and Hassanein Bey has traced them much farther into the Sahara among the little-known oases of the far southwest. If these are records of desert trips made by the prehistoric Bedawin, we seem to have another of an expedition made by the Egyptians of historic times. Seven centuries after Mentuhotep, Harmhab chose the temple at Gebel Silsileh as the appropriate place to picture the return from a raid into the Sudan with all of the detail which we might expect if it had first re-entered Egypt at this very spot. Nor need it cause any surprise that, in preference to descending the river, the ancient Egyptians should sometimes have braved the desert roads to a neighborhood as far north as this. Until a generation ago the slave dealers from the Sudan followed the desert roads two hundred miles still farther north, all the way to Assiut.

The return of an Expedition from the Sudan under the Crown Prince Intef and the Chancellor Khety thus seemed a logical explanation of the presence at the Shatt er Rigaleh of Mentuhotep and his court. We could picture how a rendezvous could have been set for the Nile banks just below Silsileh. As the date approached, the King and his courtiers would have sailed up river from Thebes and have moored their traveling boats to the river bank at the mouth of this little valley—Mehenkwetre among them in his dahabiyeh with a kitchen boat trailing on behind just as he is among the models in the Museum. On the bank where our FIG. 22. THE MOUTH OF THE SHATT ER RIGALEH WITH A MAN STANDING BESIDE THE STELA OF MENTUHOTEP
FIG. 23. THE STELA OF MENTUHOTEP IN THE SHATT ER RIGALEH
FIG. 24. INSCRIPTIONS OF MEHENKWETRE, MERU, AND OTHER NOBLES ON THE ROCKS OF THE SHATT ER RIGALEH
less had been brought for this very purpose) to carve a suitable memorial of the King's presence, and obviously before they left

Before leaving King Mentuhotep and his Chancellor some mutilated portraits of them from Deir el Bahri might be mentioned. In the course of our excavations we had frequently run across the queer, wooden-looking Osiride statues of the King, scores of which once stood at rigid attention all the way along the avenue up to his temple. Every one which we have found has been headless, and the few heads so far discovered have been sadly battered (fig. 26), but we found one which came close enough to fitting on a body to show what these statues had once been like (fig. 25). The fate of Khety's statues had been no luckier. There once had been numbers of wooden portraits of the Chancellor in his tomb, but today it is only in mutilated fragments that we can see Mentuhotep's great courtier (fig. 27).

II. The Eighteenth Dynasty
About 1500 B.C.

To say that a whole new chapter in the history of Deir el Bahri Temple began for us with influenza among our Arabs sounds like a bit of facetiousness—but it is an actual fact. At one time last winter both of our head men had fevers and hacking coughs which naturally did not improve in the dust fog hanging over the dig. It looked as though another day would see both of them definitely on the sick list and the only thing to do—short of stopping the work—seemed to be to try to save one of them at least by finding him a job out of the dust. The east wall of the Hatshepsut Temple court was to windward of the work for the time being, and as it had to be cleared some day, the Reis Hamid Mohammed was told to gather together a scratch gang and to make his job the clearing of the fallen stones that covered it. Within the first few hours, one of the gang had stumbled on a foundation deposit near the northeast corner of the wall, and from
it as a starting point I believe that we have accumulated fairly definite information on the date when Hatshepsut founded the temple and the plan on which it was started.

At first glance another foundation deposit promised to be the same old story for us. We had already found five of them in the temple courtyard in previous years and had even reconstructed one of them in the Museum. However, as soon as we began to clear this one we found that not only had it turned up unexpectedly, but it turned out to contain an unexpected feature in addition to the usual objects—96 of the most perfect green-glazed steatite scarabs imaginable.

Here was a new and promising lead to follow up. Since we now had a foundation deposit about nine yards from the northeast corner of the courtyard (fig. 29, point I), it would seem reasonable to expect one at the same distance from the southeast corner. Fortunately, though, we put about twenty men to work over a fairly wide space, for the southeast deposit was directly under the corner of the court, and not where we had expected it (point G). This time we got 192 scarabs, every one as fine as those in the first lot. A trench was now dug along the entire wall and a third deposit unearthed at the north side of the gateway, with 11 more scarabs in it (point H). At this, the south side of the gateway was dug and redug throughout two days in a search for a corresponding deposit until finally, completely puzzled, we had to admit that there never could have been one there.

In a way it is amusing to think how many
its hoard of real scarabs only a foot or so below the surface.

Without much question this haul of scarabs is one of the most remarkable ever made. In fineness of cutting, in beauty, and in charm, they are clearly of the best lapi-

FIG. 27. FRAGMENTS OF A STATUETTE OF KHETY XI DYNASTY

dary work of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and most welcome additions to the collections both in Cairo and New York.

But it is their historical importance which struck us most forcibly. Of the 299 scarabs found in the three deposits, 153 give one or the other of the full names and the sonorous titles of Queen Hatshepsut—"The Horus, 'Mighty of Souls'; the Favorite of the Two Goddesses, 'Fresh in Years'; the Golden Horus, 'Divine of Diadems'; Sovereign of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Beautiful God, Mistress of the Two Lands, ‘Maatkare,' beloved of Amon; the King's Daughter, Divine Consort, Great Royal Wife, Princess of the Two Lands, 'Khmemit-amon-Hatshepsut.' She lives eternally!"

Only one fifth as many—to be exact, 31—were scarabs of "The Beautiful God, Menkheperre" (King Thutmose III). Of the "King's Daughter, King's Sister, and Divine Consort, Neferure" there were 18. The remaining 97 included 18 with invocations of Amon, and 2 with the name of Thutmose I—since Amon and Thutmose were to share the temple with Hatshepsut—and 77 with mottoes or with ornamental designs.

If there ever had been any doubt that it was Hatshepsut who founded the temple at Deir el Bahri, it should be dispelled by the proportion of her scarabs among those deposited on the founding day (fig. 28). Furthermore, we now have indisputable evidence that she founded it in the reign of Thutmose III—not in that of Thutmose II—and before the death of her daughter Neferure. Finally, the scarabs indicate a very early date in the reign of Thutmose III, for thirteen of them spell his prenomen “Menkheper-en-re” in the fashion current only during his first years on the throne.9

On this last point we can go still further with a bit of independent evidence found this last year. Covered, apparently, by the embankment where the temple avenue hid the Eleventh Dynasty tomb of the cones, we found a piece of a jar which had once contained preserved food, labeled “Year 7, Third Month of Winter, 15th Day.” Since the road to the temple site would probably have been the first thing constructed, the foundation ceremony could not have taken place before the 7th Year—of Thutmose III, as the scarabs demonstrate. On the other hand, as preserved foods were probably not kept in mud-sealed jars for long, this jar had probably been thrown away and perhaps buried in the embankment soon after the 7th Year, just as we should expect from the early spelling of the name Menkheperenre.

So far we have arrived at the point of dating Hatshepsut’s foundation of Deir el Bahri to about the 8th or 9th Year of the

9Sethe, Urkunden, IV, p. 191.
FIG. 28. SCARABS FROM THE FOUNDATION DEPOSITS OF HATSHEPSUT’S TEMPLE 
XVIII DYNASTY
reign of King Thutmose III, during the lifetime of Neferure. Now for the temple plan as it was first laid out.

The reader of the past reports in the BULLETIN may recall the other foundation deposits found by us. On the day of “the stretching of the cord,” the architect had traced an outline of the projected building upon the ground, and the surveyors’ lines had been drawn from point to point around it. At each important point and angle, a pit had been dug in which were deposited models of the tools that would be used in the building, and samples of the food which was to be the eternal provision for Hatshepsut and the god Amon in the finished temple. The similarity to our corner-stone layings is, of course, obvious.

Naturally the essential thing about foundation deposits is that they should mark important points on the plan. Nevertheless, when first Hauser surveyed these three new deposits and placed them on the plan of the temple as it had been built, they and the ones found in previous years had a most meaningless, haphazard look. Figure 29 shows this state of affairs. On it A is the deposit found by Naville years ago; B is the one found by us in 1922; C, D, E, and F are those which we found in 1924, and G, H, and I, the new deposits.

However, as time went on, certain combinations became evident. A, B, C, and G make an obvious southern boundary along the wall of the Mentuhotep courtyard, which, of course, was there when Hatshepsut’s architect, Senmut, laid out her temple. Once this is seen, then F and I should mark the northern boundary and Hauser’s plan showed that the line F-I was absolutely parallel to A-B-C-G. Hence it follows that Hatshepsut’s north wall as built does not conform to the original plan of the foundation deposits, and this must of necessity be true of the whole temple which is oriented with it.

Furthermore, if the width of the court was to have been G-I (or C-F), another fact becomes evident. H—since it never had a companion deposit—must have marked the center of the gateway as first planned and yet it is north of the midway point between G and I, while the two obvious ramp deposits D and E are south of the middle point between C and F. Here were striking similarities to the curious Mentuhotep Temple, of which the original plan had called for an enormous shield-shaped court (the dotted line in fig. 29) with an axis oriented nearly due east and west. This court plan had been changed when the direction of the avenue had been shifted to the southeast, without, however, moving the actual site of the temple pyramid. Revolving the plan had dislocated the original symmetry of the scheme, bringing the temple ramp to the south of the axis of the court and leaving the avenue gateway to the north. Hatshepsut’s foundation deposits demonstrated that these two unsymmetrical features had at first been blindly copied by her architect, and a little elementary arithmetic sufficed to show that this copying had been mathematically exact. The center of Hatshepsut’s ramp had been laid out relatively as far south of the center of her court, and her gateway relatively as far north, as the corresponding points in the Mentuhotep court. Furthermore, the solution of this problem developed a curious corollary. The measurements G-I, G-H, C-D, G-B, and G-A in each case stand in a ratio of $\frac{5}{2}$ to the corresponding measurements on the Mentuhotep Temple—a ratio which would have been quite practical to the Egyptian with his unit of measure a cubit divided into seven palms.

In the light of these facts the history of the plan of Deir el Bahri becomes fairly obvious. The change in the plan of the Mentuhotep Temple had left a large, triangular space to the north, walled in by an Eleventh Dynasty brick wall and vacant except for a little brick chapel built by Amenhotep I. When Hatshepsut and her architect, Senmut, planned to build a temple on the West of Thebes, the only imposing structure there was this Temple of Mentuhotep, the first Theban king of all Egypt. Its plan was their logical model, and the vacant space beside it an inviting building site. Clearly their ambitions did not, at first, rise to the point of attempting anything as large as the temple of the

FIG. 29. PLAN OF THE TWO TEMPLES AT DEIR EL BAHRI
founder of Thebes, and they decided to restrict their building to the available graded space, “stretching the cord” for a building (shown by the dot-and-dash line in fig. 29) which copied absolutely all of the features of their model at 5 palms to the cubit.

Such were the original plans and specifications. But architects have changed no more in the last thirty-five centuries than have the rest of mankind. Before Senmut was finished he had built a temple of which the actual structure, not counting its courtyard, covered over three times the area called for in his original plan—making its floor over double that of Mentuhotep’s temple—and had altered nearly every feature except the general scheme of terraces with colonnaded porches.

From this point on, Senmut became a very living person to us.

At the time that the Hatshepsut foundation deposits were found, the main gang of workmen were digging about seventy-five yards east of the temple enclosure near Cook’s Rest House, where the tourists lunch. We knew that the mound on which the rest house stood was an enormous dump made by Naville when the Egypt Exploration Fund cleared the temple about thirty years ago, and we knew that it filled part of the ancient quarry from which Senmut had dug shale for the embankment of the temple avenue. East of the rest house the quarry still remained a deep, open hollow. Between the rest house and the temple there was a flat space of apparently natural desert. The west end of the quarry thus appeared to be under Naville’s dump (fig. 30).

With over five hundred men and boys at work we discovered in a very short time how deceptive that bit of natural-looking desert was. Before we had found solid bottom the men had gone down from twenty-five to thirty feet below the surface. The fact was that the west end of the quarry was a very short distance from the temple wall (fig. 32), but that it had been filled up in ancient times with brick and rubbish upon which the thunderstorms that burst now and then over the desert had washed mud and gravel until all trace of it had been totally obliterated.

It was trying digging. The depth of the hole made the work slow (fig. 31). Days passed without finding a single thing. Then the men would come up against sheer-cut rock walls and, thinking that they were getting near a buried tomb, the work would hum for one day, only to take a slump the next when they found that they were merely clearing another bay in the quarry face.

Many of the broken bricks which made up a large proportion of the rubbish filling the northern side of the quarry (fig. 29) were stamped with the names of Amenhotep I and his mother Ahmose-Nefretiry. Naturally they had been originally made for the little chapel which had stood at Deir el Bahri before Hatshepsut’s day, but a number of considerations eventually made it evident that after Senmut had cleared away the little chapel, his engineers had re-used the bricks from it to erect the ramps and scaffolds that they needed for raising heavy stones in the new temple. In the first place, among the bricks in the quarry we found no Hathor votives, although it has been everyone’s experience that such votives permeate every level at Deir el Bahri which was exposed during the use of the Hathor shrine in the temple.11 This brick dump, therefore, antedated the opening of the temple. Secondly, there were none of the sculptors’ trial sketches of which we had found such quantities in other rubbish dumps around the temple.12 From this it would seem safe to conclude that the bricks had been dumped into the quarry even before the sculptors had begun their work on the temple decoration, encumbered as it had been up till then by the engineers’ scaffolds. What we did find intimately mixed with these bricks—and hence dumped into the quarry with them—were a number of ostraca of which three or four referred to Senmut. Two were fragments of wine jar labels of the Year 10 of Thutmose III bearing Senmut’s title and name, and another bore the caption “Year 16, First Month of Inundation, 8th Day. Separating the servants of Senmut under two headings,” followed by a list of people. Hence

12 Ibid., p. 33.
FIG. 30. BEFORE THE EXCAVATIONS OF 1926–27, THE HATSHEPSUT TEMPLE COURT IN THE FOREGROUND, COOK'S REST HOUSE BEYOND, WITH PART OF SENMUT'S QUARRY SHOWING BEHIND IT.
at least part of this brick could not have been dumped into the quarry before the 16th Year. On the other hand, the decorations of the lower porches of the temple show the obelisks erected by Hatshepsut at Karnak in the 16th Year and, of course, could not have been carved before that date. The coincidence gave us a sufficiently striking confirmation of our conclusion that the bricks had been used in the builders' charge of that particular part of the work, had some story about the dirt having slipped down alongside of the quarry face under the feet of his men in the southwest corner—but then he, like all the rest of us, had had lots of inspirations that had come to nothing. Still, a day or two later, two little brick walls were unearthed in that very spot, near the bottom of the quarry and pointing in toward the quarry face.

Scaffolds, and dated the removal of the last of them, perhaps, and the beginning of part of the work of the sculptors to the 16th Year, or shortly thereafter.

Such facts were extremely interesting, but it was a question whether or not that hole would ever repay the heartbreaking job of emptying it of broken bricks and rubbish. If we had not found so many objects at Deir el Bahri which others had missed by inches, we would probably have given up the job instead of sticking to it, week after week, to the bitter end. And of course virtue was duly rewarded in the best Sunday School style or there would be no more to this narrative.

One evening the Reis Gilani, who was in

There was no use getting too hopeful, but at the same time it seemed worth while to stick around that part of the work and to send home for an electric torch, preserving all the while as much of an air of indifference as it was possible to put on. The men, even, tried to assume the same air and seemed almost afraid to utter a single word that might change their luck, but the sweat with which they were dripping, their short sharp breathing, and the way they hurled the baskets of dirt up to the carrying boys gave them away. Then at last, about three o'clock in the afternoon, somebody's hoe started up a little puff of dust against the rock face, a stone rolled down out of sight, tinkling away into a dark hole which sud-
FIG. 32. AFTER THE EXCAVATIONS OF 1926–27. SENMUT’S QUARRY SHOWING ON BOTH SIDES OF COOK’S REST HOUSE
denly opened under foot—and we had found something in that quarry after all. I stopped the digging and gently widened the little hole enough to get in my torch. Inside it was very dark. Carefully I took away a little more dirt and stuck my head in and waited for my eyes to get used to the blackness. My shoulders were inside of a narrow doorway. In front of me I could see steps, down which a few bits of brick and stone had rolled, descending into a gloom on which the torch made no impression at all (fig. 33). It was important to know what was ahead of us, so I had a little more dirt scraped away and crawled inside. Throwing the light under foot to make sure that I was not stepping on anything, I started slowly down. One thing, that only occurred to me afterwards, was how cool and fresh was the air which had last been breathed by any human being thirty-four centuries ago.

The one thing which was on my mind was to see what was in the darkness at the bottom of those steps, and down I went, but they seemed unending. After about forty-five or fifty yards there was an opening on my left. The torch showed a rough little empty chamber and the beam of light sparked on a marvelous, eerie garden of pure white, feathery salt crystals growing up from the floor and hanging in a tangle of long curly hairs from the ceiling. From here on down to the bottom of the tomb they had grown everywhere in that deathly still, dry air, until some of the fine pendent hairs had attained a length of nearly three feet (fig. 34).

A few more yards down the steps, and my torch was darting around a chamber about ten feet square, half filled with chips left by stone-cutters. Before the chip had been piled there, however, all four walls had been minutely carved, and the light suddenly flashed on a sculptured panel beside the door. There, bowing in the conventional Egyptian salute before the cartouches of Hatshepsut, stood the somewhat mutilated figure of "The Prince and Count; the only mouth which speaks with silence (in other words, the only one whose silence, even, is eloquent); the Chief of the King's Dignitaries; the dearly beloved Companion; the Steward of Amon, Senmut, triumphant; the true servant of his affection, doing that which meets with the approval of the Lord of the Two Lands" (fig. 38).

So this was the tomb of Senmut. Well, there was plainly nothing in this room except chips of stone, and the stairway went on below. Another climb down; another chip-filled chamber—but undecorated this time; a third stair so choked with chips that I had to crawl down it flashing the light ahead—and I had gone a hundred yards from the entrance, down stairs all the way, and was in a little vaulted room, at the
FIG. 34. SALT CRYSTALS IN THE TOMB OF SENMUT
end of the tomb. Nor had I seen a single thing except stone-cutters' chips, bits of workmen's torn shirts, and broken water jars and dishes. The place was unfinished. We had always known that Senmut had fallen into disgrace, and now it was plain that he had never even been allowed burial in the tomb that he was preparing when his fate overtook him. Still this was no place for cogitations. By this time the men at creamy white stone had offered an irresistible temptation to one of the draughtsmen, and he had rapidly sketched in with his reed pen the head of his patron, labeling it "The Steward of Amon, Senmut" (cover and fig. 35). Undoubtedly he was a calligraphist, this draughtsman, and his style was strictly circumscribed by the limitations of penmanship. And yet, in spite of all his conventions, he has been able to con-

FIG. 35. THE STEWARD OF AMON, SENMUT. XVIII DYNASTY

the top would be getting worried and there was that hundred yards of stairs to toil up again.

However, it was obvious from the first that we had made an extraordinarily interesting discovery, and when we got the tomb cleared I realized that I had taken in only a small fraction of its interest in that hurried first descent into its depths.

Toward the bottom of the first long stairway, two round-topped stelae were to have been let into the wall on either side. The niche for one had been carved and the rock had been smoothed off for the outline of the other. The finished surface of the

3 The length of the tomb from the top step outside, measured along the stairs, is 99.15 meters; on the horizontal projection on the plan it is 88.80 meters.
It would be interesting if we could only prove that the handwriting was that of the Superintendent of All the Royal Works, Senmut himself.

All four walls are closely and carefully carved with vertical columns of hieroglyphs setting forth chapters chosen from the Books of the Underworld, of the Gates, and of the Dead, the religious works which best and one of the earliest astronomical charts yet found, drawn by the most skilful penmen of the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty. In the center of the northern half appears the bull-headed constellation “Meskhetiu”—our “Great Bear”—and the circumpolar star groups (fig. 42). Across the sky the twelve ancient monthly festivals are drawn, each as a circle with its round of guided the soul in the life to come when it voyaged with the sun across the ocean of the night, penetrated the fearsome corridors of Hades, or cultivated the Elysian Fields (fig. 37). Opposite the doorway is the stela, conventionally conceived as the door through which the soul of Senmut might come forth. Hence we see him with his brothers and his wives drawn in a group outside of it; we see him seated in converse with his father and his mother through a window above, and for a third time, seated alone before his dinner inside the door at the top (fig. 41).

The real gem of the little room is its ceiling, however (fig. 40). We have the heavens mapped out above us in one of the twenty-four hours and, below, the celestial bodies of the northern sky pass in procession (fig. 43). Opposite, in the southern skies, Orion stubbornly turns his face away from the smiling Sothis, who chases after him, beckoning fruitlessly year after year (fig. 44). Above them, in turn, come the lists of the Decans with the name of Hatshepsut herself introduced among the heavenly beings. We have here an earlier and a finer celestial chart even than that in the tomb of King Seti, and one which no future study of Egyptian astronomy can neglect.

The discovery of the tomb of Senmut gave us the solution of one problem which had been coming up with bothersome fre-
quency ever since the beginning of the dig.

Long before we suspected the existence of the tomb, we had unearthed a little foundation deposit just above the western end of the quarry (fig. 46). It seemed to belong to an Eighteenth Dynasty tomb, but as not a single inscribed object was in it, this could be only a guess. Shortly afterwards, another turned up a few yards away and our hopes of finding a tomb somewhere near rose higher. Then a third was found on the southwest corner of the quarry edge both of our guesses. These foundation deposits were for an Eighteenth Dynasty tomb and they did mark off the western end of the quarry. Having found the tomb, we could see how Senmut—in full charge of the works at Deir el Bahri—had “stretched the cord” all around the end of the quarry nearest the temple to stake out a claim for one of the best places in the neighborhood from which a tomb could be tunneled under the temple courtyard. As for the shells with their curious dedication to Montu, the god

and it began to look as though, after all, these deposits had been placed to mark off the western end of the quarry itself. This time there was an alabaster shell inscribed “The Beautiful God, Maatkare (Hatshepsut), given life, beloved of the God Montu, Lord of Thebes, the Bull which is in Hermonthis”—a curious dedication for a necropolis structure, which made us no wiser than we were before. Finally, just at the time of the discovery of the tomb of Senmut, two more identical deposits were unearthed in the floor of the quarry (fig. 45). In them there was another shell, inscribed “The Beautiful God, Maatkare, given life, beloved of Montu, Lord of Hermonthis,” and in addition, a little alabaster saucer labeled “The Overseer of the Fields of Amon, Senmut, devoted to Osiris.”

Curiously enough we had been right in of Hermonthis, even they could be explained. We know that Senmut was charged with work at Hermonthis as well as at Deir el Bahri. If he had had a lot of foundation deposit objects made for, say, a tomb of the Sacred Bull of Montu, why should he not have saved what was left over for his own tomb at Thebes?

One thing which had made our discovery quite unexpected was the fact that for the last century a tomb of Senmut’s had been known, high up on Sheikh Abd el Kurneh Hill a few hundred yards away from Deir el Bahri. That was a perfectly normal Eighteenth Dynasty tomb to all appearances. It had its open, public chapel for the celebration of the services due the dead on every festival day, in contrast to this new one, which was obviously a secret burial-place, never to be visited, or even
FIG. 38. SENMUT SALUTES THE NAMES OF HATSHEPSUT. XVIII DYNASTY

FIG. 39. DATES OF AN INSPECTION IN THE TOMB OF SENMUT XVIII DYNASTY
FIG. 40. ASTRONOMICAL CEILING IN THE TOMB OF SENMUT. XVIII DYNASTY
FIG. 41. STELA OF SENMUT. XVIII DYNASTY
known of, by the public. In fact, this new tomb had a very striking similarity to the tomb of Hatshepsut herself, in its plan, in the way that it was laid out to tunnel toward the sacred precincts of the temple, and even in its secrecy and its distance from any chapel—a comparatively new idea among the Egyptians at this time, adopted only by the kings, as far as we know.

That Senmut should have followed a scheme so unusual among his peers needs some explanation. Clearly his first intention was to be buried on the hillside among his contemporaries, for his tomb there is the earlier of the two, belonging to the lifetime of Neferure, while the new tomb was decorated, at any rate, only after her death. The idea of following Hatshepsut's example in having a secret burial crypt under her temple had come to him only while he was at work at Deir el Bahri, but still at some time before the 16th Year, when the scaffold bricks were dumped into the north side of the quarry—for he never would have put his foundation deposits around a part of the quarry already filled with rubbish. By this 16th Year, the southwest corner of the quarry had been selected for the tomb and the scaffold dump was contrived to leave it open. In fact, work may even have been started on the tomb before the 16th Year, because some of the chip from it seemed, perhaps, to have been buried under the dump.

FIG. 42. THE CIRCUMPOLAR CONSTELLATIONS XVIII DYNASTY

It is a pity that one cannot place the dates here more closely. We get the impression that the tomb was started about the 16th Year and we will see that Senmut died about the 18th or 19th Year. If we could only verify such impressions, we would know how rapidly the ancient stonecutters could quarry out a corridor like this one, a hundred yards long.

The reader who has persevered thus far will perhaps have gathered the impression that absolutely everything which turned up in our work was a surprise to us, and it may come somewhat unexpectedly by now to
FIG. 43. CELESTIAL BODIES OF THE NORTHERN SKIES. XVIII DYNASTY
read that occasionally we did find things very much where and as we had anticipated.

Five years before we had found broken statues of Hatshepsut in the large hole on the south side of the temple avenue, where they had been dumped when Thutmose III decreed the destruction of every portrait of her in existence.\(^\text{14}\) Early in the last century Lepsius had found fragments of others, so far as we could discover, in the quarry on the north side of the avenue where a few other fragments still lay on the surface east of Cook’s Rest House. It was reasonable to suppose that the wrecking gangs of Thutmose III had hauled the statues which they were destroying down the avenue and dumped them indifferently into the hollows on either side, as was most convenient at the moment. We therefore expected to discover broken statues of Hatshepsut north of the avenue.

Naturally it was very satisfying to begin to find fragments as soon as we began to clear the north side of the road, and in the western end of the quarry, as soon as we had recognized it. Here, among the first pieces we turned up, were parts of a little kneeling granite statue which fitted to others found by us south of the avenue in 1922-23; and almost on top of the entrance to the tomb of Senmut, big sections of the colossal Osiride statues which had formed the pillars of the topmost porch of the temple. Among these last there was one head which had miraculously escaped damage during all of the rough handling it must have suffered when it was dismantled, transported from the temple, and rolled into the quarry (fig. 47).

This had brought us close to Naville’s dump with the rest house upon it, and the next seventy-five yards of quarry were impossible to explore. The men were transferred, therefore, to the east of Naville’s dump to clear the quarry edge where Lepsius must have found his fragments (fig. 50). From the very foot of the dump for the next eighty yards or more we found a jumble of pieces of sculpture from the size of a finger-tip to others weighing a
ton or more (figs. 48 and 49). There were large sections of the limestone colossi from the upper porch; brilliantly colored pieces from the ranks of sandstone sphinxes which had lined the avenue; the greater parts of several large granite sphinxes, probably from the temple courts (fig. 51); and fragments of at least four or five kneeling statues of the queen in red and black granite, over six feet high. One seated red granite statue of the queen, about twice life-size, had been broken up on the spot and nearly all of its pieces were found lying together (figs. 52, 57), but most of the other sculptures had been scattered up and down the quarry in such confusion that it will take at least another whole season to find out what we really have.

The small statues which we found five years ago had been buried so easily and quickly that no one had taken the trouble to mutilate them. Unfortunately, this was not the case with the colossi and the sphinxes of this year. They could only have been dragged out to their burial-place slowly and laboriously and the workmen had plenty of opportunity to vent their spite on the brilliantly chiseled, smiling features. On the face of an exquisitely carved red granite statue a fire had been kindled to disintegrate the stone, and the features of the statue brought to the Museum have been battered entirely away and the uraeus on the forehead, the symbol of royalty, completely obliterated. Thutmose III could have had no complaint to make on the execution of his orders, for every conceivable indignity had been heaped on the likenesses of the fallen queen.

In one way, however, this ordered destruction has worked to our advantage. None of these statues could have been more than five or six years old when they were broken up, and because they had had so short an exposure to the elements, their colors were practically intact when they were buried. The paint on the limestone and sandstone fragments is in some cases as brilliant as when it was first applied, but it is on the hard stones that it is most interesting. In the nature of things, color has usually disappeared entirely from the granite temple sculptures found in modern times, but these sphinxes and statues show with unusual vividness how the Egyptian prized his hard stones and left their polished surfaces to be admired for their own sakes, picking out in paint only the details which needed emphasizing, such as the headdress, the eyes, and the jewelry.

For several years now, our excavations have been yielding facts on Hatshepsut's Temple at Deir el Bahri and on the career and personality of her architect, Senmut. Unfortunately, as told in most of the recent histories, the tale of Hatshepsut is given a plot of over-ingenious complexity into which such impressions of Deir el Bahri as we are gaining would have to be strained to fit, and some of the older histories, while they come nearer in their general lines to our experience, lack many a detail published in recent years. Naturally the BULLETIN is not the place to present a new solution of a problem in Egyptian history in the orthodox manner, with an elaborate ritual of notes and references, but nevertheless—even without all that—the tale of Hatshepsut and of Senmut is worth retelling as we understand it, if only to present to the reader the facts developed by our excavations in a connected narrative. Disconnected as they have been when made, these discoveries have been interesting, but when they are strung together with the previously known facts we begin to get some idea of the intertwined stories of a remarkable woman and an able man, the echoes of which have not been hushed up entirely in spite of every
effort on the part of their antagonist and the lapse of thirty-four centuries. Unless we slip unconsciously, we shall stick to the documents, all too meager though they are. Where they fail, the reader's own imagination must be trusted to supply the lack.

When, about 1514 B.C., Thutmose I “rested from life and went forth to heaven, having completed his years in gladness of heart,” he was a bald old man with a white beard, who had ruled Egypt for at least a quarter of a century. Three of his children sisters. The situation which King Thutmose was leaving behind him was one which arose with surprising frequency in the Eighteenth Dynasty. His real heir—the Great Royal Wife's eldest surviving child—was a girl. But the duties of kingship could be performed only by a man, and the Egyptian way out of the difficulty was to marry the young Hatshepsut to her half-brother, Prince Thutmose, and to crown him King of Upper and Lower Egypt. They were an ill-assorted couple to all appearances. The young King Thutmose II had already died—the eldest boy, Wazmose, at the very beginning of the reign and, during the years that followed, the second son, Amenmose, and a daughter, Neferubity. This last child, at least, was borne to him by the Great Royal Wife, Ahmose, the eldest daughter of his predecessor, Amenhotep I. Ahmose herself survived her husband, and with her another of her daughters, Hatshepsut, and a stepson, Thutmose, borne to the king by one of her own younger

Most of the documents are in Breasted's Ancient Records, II, and Sethe's Urkunden, IV. Important additional information is given in Gardiner and Peet, Sinai, and Elliot Smith, Royal Mummies. The two tombs of Hatshepsut are described by Carter in Theodore M. Davis, Tomb of Hatshpsut, and in the Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, 1917. Mention is made below of two statues of Senmut in the British Museum, Hieroglyphic Texts, V, and of another in the Field Museum of Chicago, a description of which I owe to the kindness of Dr. T. George Allen.

FIG. 47. COLOSSAL LIMESTONE HEAD OF HATSHEPSUT. XVIII DYNASTY
claims, and in spite of the strength of character which she undoubtedly possessed, from these years of her youth she has left no more of a name than did her young husband, it must be realized that so long as her mother lived, precedence was given to the Dowager Queen and to Hatshepsut was left only the duty of bearing children.

Two girls had been born to her—the elder, Neferure, and the younger, Meretet-Hatshepsut—and the young Pharaoh had scarcely more than turned his thirtieth year when, about 1501 B.C., “he went forth to heaven to mingle with the gods.” Thus Hatshepsut found herself, in her turn, the mother of an infant heiress to the throne and the unquestioned head of the royal family, before she was fairly on the threshold of middle age. And on her hands she had a question of succession exactly duplicating that which had arisen at the death of her own father. Iset, one of the concubines in the royal harem, had borne a son, a third Thutmose, still “a stripling, a youth in Amon’s temple, whose installation as prophet had not yet taken place,” and it was this boy who was chosen to share the patrimony of his little half-sister, Neferure, and “to stand in the place of his father as Lord of the Two Lands, having become ruler on the throne of the one who begat him.”

Ostensibly the boy Thutmose III was Pharaoh, but of right and custom the regency was in the hands of Queen Hatshepsut as long as he and his little consort, Neferure, were still infants, and there was nothing whatever unusual—except perhaps in his frankness—when the courtier Ineny wrote that at the boy king’s accession it was his father’s “sister, the Divine Consort, Hatshepsut, who managed the affairs of the Two Lands according to her own devices. Egypt was made to labor with bowed head for her, the mistress of command, whose plans are excellent and who satisfies the Two Lands when she speaks.” This was as it should be, and no objection could have been raised by the strictest legitimist. The calendar was dating the years from the accession of Thutmose III, and actually Hatshepsut was claiming no more than had her ancestresses, Tetishery, Ahhotep, and Ahmose Nefretiry, the first of whom had held a place second only to the king as late as her grandson’s reign, and the other two in the reigns of their sons. Hatshepsut, on the public monuments of the beginning of her stepson’s reign, kept well within precedent and styled herself merely “The Divine Consort and Great Royal Wife” and was shown standing behind Thutmose III just as her own mother had stood behind Thutmose II. Even in the tomb which she made for herself at about this time her pretensions did not overstep any of the attributes which custom allowed her, for on her sarcophagus she was styled “The Great Princess favored with charm, Mistress of all Lands, Royal Daughter and Sister, Great Royal Wife, Lady of the Two Lands, Hatshepsut.”

The old officers of government, some of whom had served the royal house from the days of its founder, Ahmose I, acknowledged her position and lost nothing in doing
FIG. 49. FRAGMENTS OF STATUES IN THE QUARRY XVIII DYNASTY

FIG. 50. CLEARING THE QUARRY EAST OF NAVILLE'S DUMP
so. Ahmose Pen-Nehbet recorded on the walls of his tomb at El Kab that Hatshepsut had "repeated honors to me. I reared her eldest daughter, the Princess Neferure, while she was an infant in arms." Ineny enthusiastically wrote, "Her Majesty loved me. She recognized my worth at court and filled my house with silver and gold and all the beautiful materials of the royal palace." Thure still retained his old post of commandant in Nubia and Peniaty was still in charge of the quarries at Gebel Silsileh.

None of the old men were ungratefully hustled out of the way, perhaps, but the young Queen Regent saw to it that there were places near her for those of her own generation, and among them the Steward of Amon, Senmut, striking-looking, energetic, able, and ambitious, saw his chance to make a place for himself at the very outset of the new régime. "I was in this land under Hatshepsut's command from the moment of the death of her predecessor" (Thutmose II), he wrote, having lost no time in getting into the favor of the queen who held the destiny of Egypt in her own very capable and—let us take her word for it—charming hands.

Without very much question Hatshepsut must have seen in Senmut a kindred soul. Her own future was wrapped up in the regency and it was from the moment of the establishment of the regency that Senmut dated his career. In fact, in that remarkable partnership that was to last for the next score of years, it would seem that one of Hatshepsut's first steps was to appoint Senmut "Chief Guardian of the King's Daughter, the Princess of the Two Lands, the Divine Consort, Neferure," and together with that office she made him High Steward of her own household and of Neferure's, and probably Steward of the other infant daughter, Meretre-Hatshepsut, as well. This was not far from making him a collaborator in the regency itself.

Of the antecedents of the new favorite we know little or nothing. His parents appear to have been of no great station in life—the Honorable Ramose and the Dame Hatnofret—and of his three brothers, Senmen alone rose to any sort of prominence and he, probably, only because Senmut made him his assistant in the management of the affairs of the little princesses. A second brother, Amenemhet, was merely a priest on the Divine Barque of Amon, and the third, Pairy, only a cattle overseer. Of wives he had two, one of whom was called Nofrethor. Incidentally, he seems to have had no children. At least in his later years he confided to his brother Amenemhet those funeral services which would more appropriately have been performed by a son if he had had one. Priestly preferment could have played no more part in his rise than family influence, for it is only in a perfunctory way that he mentions his unimposing places in the hierarchy—Prophet on the Divine Barque of Amon and Chief Prophet in the comparatively unimportant temple of Montu in Hermoshtis. Nor was he attracted by a military career in a singularly peaceful generation.

First and last, Senmut was an administrator, and probably it was in the administration of the vast estates of the Temple of Karnak that he had started, for no matter how high he rose, until his death he was always known as the Steward of Amon. As time went on, every detail in the management of the temple properties came under his control, and as High Steward he was also Overseer of Amon's Granaries, Storehouses, Fields, Gardens, Cattle, and Slaves, and Controller of the Hall of Amon. Likewise he was Overseer of the Works of Amon and, in time, Overseer of All of the Works of the King in the Temple of Amon as well, which amounted to being the chief architect of his generation. Once he was firmly established in Hatshepsut's favor we find him controlling the wealth of the royal family in the same detailed way. Starting as High Steward of the two queens, Hatshepsut and her little daughter Neferure, he became in time Controller, Overseer, and Overseer of Overseers of All of the Works of the King; Superintendent of the Royal Slaves, of the Treasury, of the Armory, and of the Red Crown Castle. With these offices Senmut held more intimate ones like those of the great nobles of France who were honored in being allowed to assist in the most intimate details of the royal toilet at the king's levees. Hence it
FIG. 51. FRAGMENTS OF GRANITE SPHINXES PARTLY REASSEMBLED. XVIII DYNASTY
came about that not only did he boast of being Governor of the Royal Palace, but he tells us that he was Superintendent of the Private Apartments, of the Bathroom, and of the Royal Bedrooms as well.

At the turning points of a narrative like this, it is hard to avoid imputing motives on flimsy evidence and perhaps giving the characters in the story rôles which they never filled in life. That is the case at this point especially.

While Senmut was adding one lucrative office to another in the management of the affairs of Karnak and of the Palace, Hatshepsut remained undisputed autocrat of Egypt. Actually, ever since her father's death she had been Mistress of the Two Lands, first with a colorless half-brother and now with her infant daughter and stepson. As long as these last two remained minors she was an absolute ruler in fact. Perhaps she felt that if due consideration were only given to her having been the heiress of Thutmose I, she should be absolute ruler by right. The difference was merely in the name and style of kingship, but that was a right which custom rigidly withheld from women and which had been usurped by none since the time of that Queen Sebekneferu who had lost the throne for the Twelfth Dynasty. Yet we find Hatshepsut on the verge of taking that very step, and Senmut must have been a conniver, if not an actual instigator, for it is difficult to see how any such course could have been successful without the assistance of the High Steward; how any encroachment could have been made on the rights of the royal children without the agreement of Neferure's chief guardian, or how any monuments could have been erected in the temples of Amon by a usurper who did not have the adherence of the Chief of Works. Senmut held all of these offices, and in the end it was on Senmut that the vengeance of Thutmose III fell first. He cannot, under such circumstances, escape the imputation of a share in the devious politics of his mistress. The only question for the reader to decide is whether it was through infatuation for her that Senmut followed her in a course of her own designing, or whether through ambition for himself he was encouraging her to break with the customs of her people.

How long Hatshepsut hesitated before declaring herself "King," it is difficult to say. It is perhaps possible that she did it as early as the fifth year after the death of her husband. Certainly by the 8th or 9th Year, when the foundations of Deir el Bahri were laid, she had taken the step and had proclaimed herself "The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Maatkare," and as such she was thereafter known. From our point of view it is difficult for us to see how mere extra trappings to a position which she already virtually held could have been so important to her. From an Oriental point of view they would seem utterly purposeless unless their seizure were followed up by the obliteration of her little stepson. But this last step she never took, and thenceforth Thutmose III was left in obscure peace and his name still given a perfunctory place on the monuments—but always after her own.

Hatshepsut was neither an Agrippina nor an Amazon. As far as we know, violence and bloodshed had no place in her make-up. Hers was a rule dominated by an architect, and the Hapusenebs, Nehsys, and Tehutys in her following were priests and administrators rather than soldiers. The one foreign expedition of which she has left a record was an entirely peaceful one, sent immediately after her usurpation, down the Red Sea to the Land of Punt. It returned in 1492 B.C. laden with the produce of the spice lands for the service of Amon and exotic trees for his gardens in Karnak—all to come eventually under the control of Amon’s High Steward and the Overseer of his Gardens, and Senmut was, appropriately enough, one of the three officials deputed to receive the expedition on its homecoming.

The characteristic opening which Hatshepsut and her confidant gave to this new phase of her career was an ambitious program of temple building, designed with an eye to political expediency. At Deir el Bahri they planned everlasting propaganda...
FIG. 52. RED GRANITE STATUE OF HATSHEPSUT XVIII DYNASTY
in stone to justify the Queen's act. The body of Thutmose I was to be moved from the burial-place which had been prepared for him by old Ineny, to a new tomb in the Valley of the Kings, in which one day the old king and the daughter who had succeeded him might lie side by side in twin sarcophagi.\(^{17}\) Above, in two adjoining chapels in the new temple on the other side of the hill, they were to be honored simultaneously. Furthermore, where every visitor to the temple might see it, a whole porch was to be devoted to the delineation of a miraculous and supernatural fiction purporting to show that Hatshepsut had been acknowledged as offspring and crowned as king by both her divine father Amon and her mortal father Thutmose, during the latte's lifetime. And since her father Amon was to share the temple with Hatshepsut and her father Thutmose, other porches were to be set aside to perpetuate the manner in which she had shown her filial piety to the god. The two episodes chosen eventually by her for this purpose were her expedition to Punt in the 9th Year and the transport of her obelisks from Assuan in the 16th.

The digging of the new tomb for Hatshepsut and Thutmose I was entrusted to Hapuseneb. The far more important work on the temple Senmut expressly states was his own. We have seen from our discoveries this year that its laying-out took place in the 8th or 9th Year, just at the time when the expedition was sent to Punt, about 1492 B.C. We have also seen traces of Senmut working there in the 10th Year, and at some such period his boatswain, Nebiry, must have dropped the whip which we found in 1923.\(^{18}\) Probably he was there in charge of a gang of sailors bringing Assuan granite for the doorways, because the limestone in the temple seems to have been from the neighboring hills and would not have come by ship. Finally we have seen how ambitiously the plan of the temple had been enlarged during the building, and that it was not until the 16th Year, about 1485 B.C., that the engineers' scaffolds were removed and the decoration well under way.

Meantime the activities of the Chief of All of the Royal Works had covered most of Upper and Middle Egypt. He had already quarried obelisks at Assuan and sandstone at Gebel Silsileh, probably before his mistress had adopted her new name and style. The necropolis landing stage opposite Karnak had been rebuilt at the time of the erection of the temple at Deir el Bahri. The Middle Egyptian temples, which were still in ruins after the Hyksos invasion, were restored after the 9th Year, and at the same time additions were being made to the great Karnak Temple. There the Chief of Works accomplished a triumph of engineering. Two granite obelisks, each a single stone about a hundred feet long, were quarried at Assuan, transported over one hundred and fifty miles down river to Thebes, and set upright in Karnak, all within the short space of seven months. Further undertakings recorded by Senmut were in the Luxor Temple, in the Mut Temple, where a statue to him was erected, and at Hermonthis, where he laid the foundations for a temple, or perhaps for a tomb of the bull sacred to Montu, as we have already noted.

Our impression of Senmut's professional attainments is somewhat mixed, so far as Deir el Bahri is concerned at least, and there only has his work survived to any great extent. Unquestionably, when it was completed the building was far more imposing than its Eleventh Dynasty model, and its plan had been adapted to fit its magnificent surroundings in a wholly masterful way. But whenever we have had occasion to examine its shoddy, jerry-built foundations, we have had an unpleasant feeling of sham behind all this impressiveness which up to that time had not been especially characteristic of Egyptian architects.\(^{19}\) Possibly Senmut was a victim of necessity and speed was required of him—

\(^{17}\) The sarcophagus made for Thutmose I in this tomb is now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. It was made a little too short for his coffin (which is not surprising considering that Thutmose had been buried some score of years, and the dimensions of his coffin forgotten) and had to be altered when the mummy of Thutmose was brought from his original tomb.

\(^{18}\) Bulletin, December, 1923, part II, p. 32.

FIG. 53. RED GRANITE STATUE OF HATSHEPSUT, SIDE VIEW
or perhaps there is some more venal explanation.

In any case Senmut does not seem to have lacked worldly goods himself at this time. He had built an expensive tomb high up on Sheikh Abd el Kurneh Hill. It was there that a century ago Athanasi found a granite statue of him holding the infant Neferure, which is now in Berlin, and it would not be surprising to learn that two other statues like it, in the British Museum, had been unearthed there too. It was there also that Lepsius found Senmut's quartzite stela, of a design very much like figure 41, and it is nearby that Davies has seen chips of a quartzite sarcophagus bearing his name. All the statues from his tomb are stated to have been royal gifts to Senmut and the same claim appears on his statue from the Temple of Mut, now in Cairo, and on another, perhaps from Karnak, now in Chicago. But then, naturally, it would have been easy for the man in charge of all the royal works to obtain for himself some of the products of the royal workshops.

How Senmut hoped to be regarded by the populace he set forth in public view upon these statues. This estimate of himself, gathered together from several different sources, went somewhat in this manner:

"I was the greatest of the great in the whole land. I was the guardian of the secrets of the King in all his places; a privy councilor on the Sovereign's right hand, secure in favor and given audience alone; a lover of truth who showed no partiality; one to whom judges listened and whose very silence was eloquent. I was one upon whose utterances his Lord relied, with whose advice the Mistress of the Two Lands was satisfied, and the heart of the Divine Consort was completely filled. I was a noble to whom one hearkened, for I repeated the words of the King to the companions. I was one whose steps were known in the palace, a real confidant of the Ruler, enter-

FIG. 54. ACCOUNTS DEALING WITH SENMUT

stela, of a design very much like figure 41, and it is nearby that Davies has seen chips of a quartzite sarcophagus bearing his name. All the statues from his tomb are stated to have been royal gifts to Senmut and the same claim appears on his statue from the Temple of Mut, now in Cairo, and on another, perhaps from Karnak, now in Chicago. But then, naturally, it would have been easy for the man in charge of all the royal works to obtain for himself some of the products of the royal workshops.

How Senmut hoped to be regarded by the populace he set forth in public view upon these statues. This estimate of himself, gathered together from several different sources, went somewhat in this manner:

"I was the greatest of the great in the whole land. I was the guardian of the secrets of the King in all his places; a privy councilor on the Sovereign's right hand, secure in favor and given audience alone; a lover of truth who showed no partiality; one to whom judges listened and whose very silence was eloquent. I was one upon whose utterances his Lord relied, with whose advice the Mistress of the Two Lands was satisfied, and the heart of the Divine Consort was completely filled. I was a noble to whom one hearkened, for I repeated the words of the King to the companions. I was one whose steps were known in the palace, a real confidant of the Ruler, enter-

ing in love and coming forth in favor, making glad the heart of the Sovereign every day. I was the one useful to the King, faithful to the God, and without blemish before the people. I was one to whom was given the inundation that I might control the Nile; one to whom the affairs of the Two Lands were confided. That which the South and the North contributed was under my seal and the labor of all countries was under my charge. And moreover I had access to all the writings of the prophets—there was nothing from the beginning of time which I did not know."

Admittedly most, if not all, of these ridiculously fulsome phrases are only the stereotyped forms of self-praise which had been used by many a worthy long before Senmut, but that in his case they were not entirely exaggerated and that Senmut was
actually one of the greatest of the great in the whole land, is attested by a homely little potsherd found last year in the quarry (fig. 54).

On it a scribe has jotted down an account covering the first five months of some year of the reign, to list items against "the Pharaoh" totaling 14; "the Estate of the Queen," 15; "the Treasurer," 19, and "Senmut," 19. Here are the four great powers of the land, and of them Senmut alone goes by his own name. To this scribe, Thutmose, Hatshepsut, and the Treasurer were merely institutions, but Senmut needed no titles to explain who he might be.

To what extent Senmut's boldness had grown we had a hint a couple of years ago when we noticed how he had ordered his portrait introduced behind every door in the Temple of Deir el Bahri, and now this past season we find him tunneling right under the temple enclosure to make a new tomb for himself, suggestively like Hatshepsut's own. And he had gone even further. Down the middle of the ceiling of the decorated chamber in this new tomb he had caused to be written in fine bold hieroglyphs: "Long live the Horus, 'Mighty of Souls'; the Favorite of the Two Goddesses, 'Fresh in Years'; the Golden Horus, 'Divine of Diadems'; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, 'Maatkare,' beloved of Amon, who lives, and the Chancellor, the Steward of Amon, Senmut, begotten by Ramose and born of Hatnofret." So written, without either break or qualifying phrases, this linking together of Senmut's name with Hatshepsut's would surely have made interesting reading to any partisan of Thutmose who might have seen it.

At this point in the story we sadly lack the diary of some Eighteenth Dynasty Pepys or Crewe, for surely in the court gossip of the day we should hear some rumor of all not going quite so well with the High Steward of Amon as he might pretend. His ward, the Divine Consort Neferure, had died and with her he had lost his earliest and, perhaps still, one of his strongest holds on fortune. She had been alive, of course, at the laying of the foundations of Deir el Bahri in the 8th or 9th Year, and still living in the 11th Year, as we know from an inscription at the mines in Sinai. She was alive at the time when Senmut built his first tomb and set up the statues now in Berlin, London, and Chicago. She had even survived until the sanctuary at Deir el Bahri was sculptured, but she never appears in the decorations of the rest of the temple, begun about the 16th Year, nor does Senmut any longer claim to be her guardian in his new tomb of about the same date, or on his statue in Cairo. In fact, when next we hear of a consort of Thutmose III, it is the younger sister, Meretite-Hatshepsut, who is the Great
Royal Wife and the mother of the heir to the throne.

Moreover, if Neferure was gone and Senmut's guardianship terminated, equally a thing of the past was the boyhood and youth of Thutmose. He had grown up a short, stocky young man full of a fiery Napoleonic energy, suppressed up to now but soon to cause the whole known world to smart. Long since he should have been sole ruler of Egypt but for Hatshepsut and we hardly have to stretch our imaginations unduly to picture the bitterness of such a man against those who had deprived him of his rights, or to see the danger in which Senmut now found himself.

The last definite date in the career of Senmut is that of the ostracon which we found last year, written about the middle of the 16th Year of the reign. If we assume that another year or so passed before the decorations of Deir el Bahri were finished and the last of the doors were hung, behind which he hid his portraits, we may suppose that he survived until the 18th Year—about 1483 B.C. If he was in charge of Hatshepsut's last works at Karnak, then he was alive in the 19th Year. But scarcely any longer could he have escaped the impatience of Thutmose to see an end of him. That he fell, in any case, before his mistress is one of the interesting new facts to be gathered from the tomb which we found this year. In it his portraits are mutilated, while her names are still granted due respect.

The exact circumstances of Senmut's taking off will have to be still another of the details left to the reader's imagination. The monuments are absolutely silent upon it—but we can construct some outline of the sequel to the tale.

As soon as news arrived of the end of the Great Steward, orders were given to close up his presumptuous new tomb. The job was done as quickly as possible. Workmen went down to the decorated chamber and smashed the faces of Senmut wherever they noticed them and in passing even scratched the sketch in the corridor (cover). They had no time to search out Senmut's name in the inscriptions—or perhaps none of them could read—and they did not dare to mutilate the cartouches of the still powerful Hatshepsut. Hastily gathering together bricks and stones at the mouth of the tomb, they started to wall it up, but the work did not go fast enough, and before they had finished their wall they gave it up and raked down dirt just enough to cover over the doorway. So the tomb stood for the next four or five years. The sun blazed on the rock above the buried doorway and one of the sudden thunderstorms of the desert flooded mud down over it, until the rock took on a yellowish tint that showed us quite distinctly the line of this first burying of the tomb (fig. 55).

Meantime, life at the court in Thebes must have been feverish. If we suppose that Thutmose had done away with Senmut, we may take it for granted that he did not stop there. Doubtless, as he saw his chance he knocked out from under Hatshepsut one prop after another—Hapuseneb, Nehsy, Tehuty, and Senmut's brother, Senmen. The names of all of them and of others have been erased everywhere. Of Hatshepsut herself we have a monument of the 20th Year, and then at the end of the 22nd Year we find Thutmose free at last, sole ruler of Egypt, at the head of his armies, making his first campaign in Syria. The chronicle used by Manetho seems to have given to her 21 years and 9 months of rule from the death of her brother, and since that agrees perfectly with our other information, we may date Hatshepsut's death in the latter part of January, 1479 B.C. 21

Once more Deir el Bahri rang with the sound of chisels and mallets. Some whip other than Nebiry's cracked over the backs of the slaves, and the statues, still bright in the first freshness of their paint, were hauled back down the avenue. This time they were to be broken up and dumped over the roadside into the quarry, and it was not without its appropriateness that some of Hatshepsut's portraits should have been rolled in on top of the empty tomb of Senmut and buried with it, deep under heaped-up rubbish.

H. E. WINLOCK.

21 Following Breasted's dates for the reign of Thutmose III.