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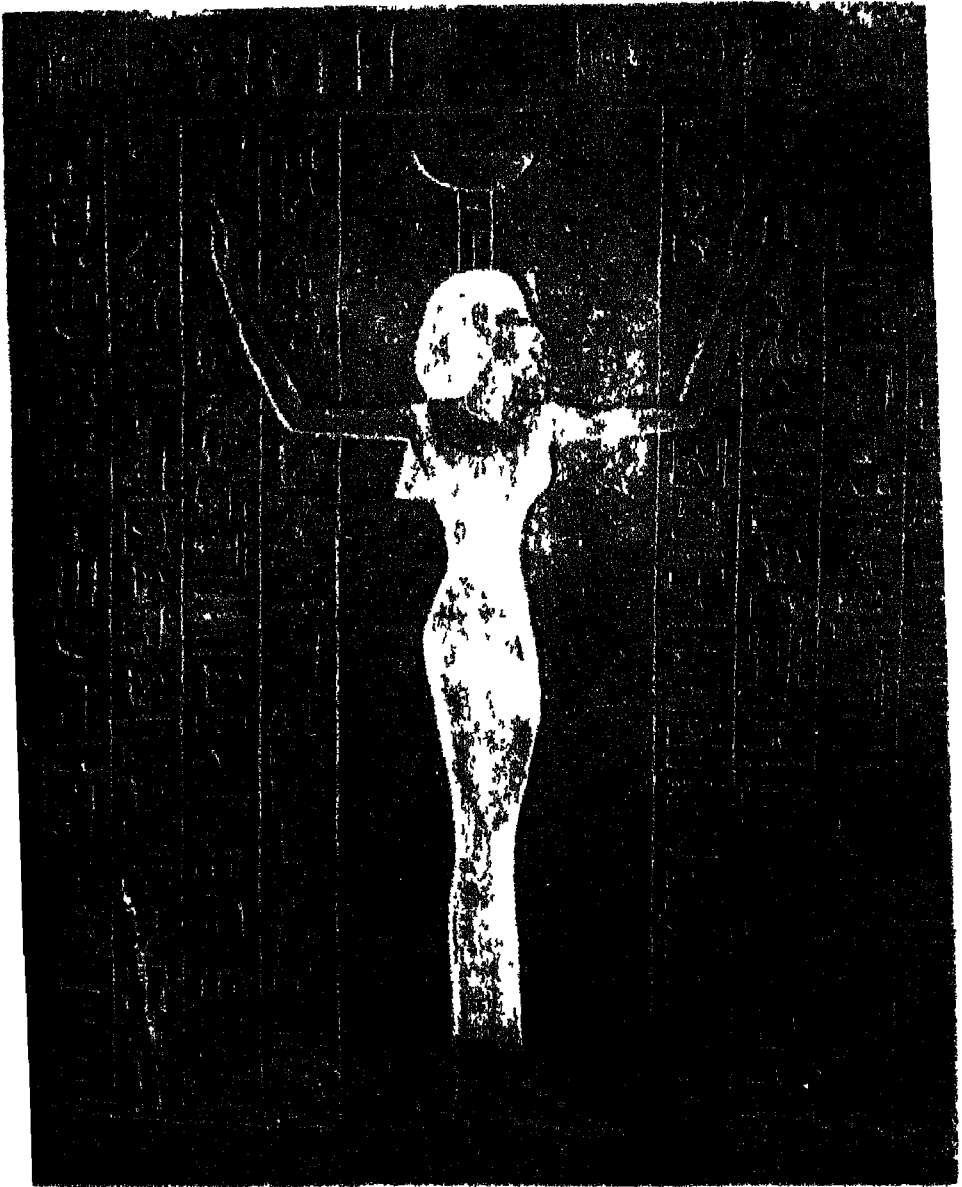


FIGURE OF THE GODDESS NEPHTHYS, ON THE HEAD-END OF THE SARCOPHAGUS OF TUTHMOSIS IV (H)
Bibân el Molâk, Tomb No. 43
(Ph. Gaddis and Seif, Luxor)

PRINCETON MONOGRAPHS IN ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY : QUARTO SERIES XIX

ROYAL SARCOPHAGI
OF THE
XVIII DYNASTY

WILLIAM C. HAYES

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PREFACE

The construction and arrangement of the following monograph, involving as it does a certain amount of repetition in the presentation of the material, requires explanation. In compiling this publication it has been the purpose of the writer to accomplish, insofar as possible, two ends.

The first of these is to present to the advanced student all the data concerning the nine royal sarcophagi hereinafter described in the clearest and most concise form—in short to remove from him the necessity of working through pages of matter, much of which may be open to dispute, in order to ascertain a straightforward statistic in regard to one or more of the monuments under discussion; and to avoid boring him with the interpretations and theories of the present writer, in which he may have no interest.

With this purpose in view, all of the material on the sarcophagi which is the result of purely mechanical recording has been grouped at the end of the book and will be found, stripped down to its essentials, in the text sheets (p. 183 ff.), in Appendices I and II, and in the plates. The sarcophagus texts are numbered according to the positions which they usually occupy on the monuments, and their numbers will be found in the drawings of Plates XVII ff. in the places where the texts actually occur in the decoration of the original sarcophagi, the arrangement and orientation of each individual text being as indicated in the drawings. The texts themselves are given in hand copy, taken in every case from the original monument and collated at least four times against the original and against parallel texts. The word *sic* may be applied to the whole of the copy, though there are few instances in these texts where it is required. Both the texts sheets and the line drawings may be checked by the photographs of Plates I–XVI. All of the material on the sarcophagi, aside from the texts and that which can be graphically illustrated in the plates, is contained in Appendix I, a tabulated catalogue of the monuments, and Appendix II, a list of parallels to the sarcophagus inscriptions found in the Pyramid Texts, Middle Kingdom coffin inscriptions, and the Book of the Dead.

The second purpose of this publication is to scrutinize the internal data gleaned from the monuments themselves and, by studying it in relation to such external considerations as may be pertinent, to present to the reader who is interested in Egyptian monuments and history as complete a story of the sarcophagi as is possible. Special attention has been devoted to the determination, through a detailed comparative method, of the true chronological order into which the sarcophagi of this series must fall, and to the important evidence on the history of the early and middle XVIIIth Dynasty which de-

velops from the establishment of that order. To these problems the whole of the four chapters of the text of the present book and the twenty-five illustrations contained in them are devoted.

In the writings of the Egyptian proper names appearing in the following pages the simplest and most familiar forms have been used throughout, with little or no thought of consistency (Cf. *Tuthmosis* and *Amenhotpe*) or to the latest (and probably temporary) fashions in writing such names. Hyphens, dots, and other diacritical marks have been kept down to the minimum and omitted wherever it is possible to arrive, without using them, at a reasonably accurate pronunciation of a name. So long as the reader is, with ease, able to recognize the names and, what is more important, the individuals to whom the names belong, the writer is well content.

The translations of the sarcophagus texts contained in Chapter III are the writer's own. An *apparatus criticus* and *notes on the translations* of the texts, which once formed part of this monograph, have been omitted from the publication as being of too little value to repay the use of the additional space which they would take up. The texts are nearly all fairly well known selections from the Pyramid Texts, Coffin Inscriptions, and the Book of the Dead; and to undertake a critical treatise on all or any part of these three great categories of funerary literature is both unnecessary to and beyond the scope of the present work. The bulk of the translations given in Chapter III are matters of course and, in the cases of the more difficult passages, the reasoning behind the present translations will be, to the student of ancient Egyptian, evident from the translations themselves.

It had been planned, in reproducing the sarcophagus texts, to use the Gardiner-Davies font of hieroglyphic type; but it was found that the expense involved in setting the one hundred and fifty-four lines would have been far out of proportion to the advantage gained. It is hoped that the less satisfactory but more economical method of reproduction actually employed will prove adequate to the requirements of the student reader.

Probably few books owe more than does this one to the gracious and generous assistance of the writer's older and more experienced colleagues in his field. Chief among those who have made possible this work are Mr. H. E. Winlock, Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York, Curator of the Museum's Department of Egyptian Art, and formerly Director of its Egyptian Expedition, who not only suggested the subject of the book, but has, since its inception, given me every kind of help and encouragement; Professor C. R. Morey, head of the Department of Art and Archaeology of Princeton University, under whose supervision the publication of the book was undertaken and carried to completion, and to whom my debt of gratitude antedates by far the commencement of the present work; Professor E. Baldwin Smith,

also of the Princeton Art Department, who was instrumental in obtaining funds for the publication; and Dr. Ludlow S. Bull, Associate Curator of the Department of Egyptian Art of the Metropolitan Museum, to whose careful and painstaking reading of the original manuscript and to whose many and valuable suggestions the book owes its present form.

Thanks are most gladly given to Mr. Harry Burton of the Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum, whose friendship, no less than his skill, are responsible for many of the photographic plates and text illustrations.

It is also a pleasure to acknowledge the kindness of Mr. R. Engelbach, Director of the Egyptian Museum Cairo, in permitting me to note, measure, and copy the three sarcophagi of the present series in the Cairo Museum; and that of Tewfik Effendi Boulos, ex-Inspector of Antiquities for Upper Egypt, for similar permission and aid in studying the sarcophagi still in their respective tombs in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes. The Egyptian Department of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston not only allowed me complete access to its very interesting sarcophagus of Ḥat-shepsūt, but also supplied me with the photographs of the monument which appear in Plates III–IV below. For their generosity I am extremely grateful.

The drawings of the hieroglyphic words and phrases appearing in the text of this book are from the skillful pen of Mr. Lindsley F. Hall of the Egyptian Department of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

A number of the photographs used as illustrations are from the files of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and several are from those of Messrs. Gaddis and Seif of Luxor. Permission to use these was, in both cases, graciously accorded the writer by their owners.

Wherever an illustration is taken from another publication, acknowledgment is made at the place where the illustration appears.

W. C. H.

New York

June 22, 1935

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CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

The twelve extant royal sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty divide themselves, by type, into two distinct groups: 1) those of the kings prior to Akhenaten (Amenhotpe IV, 1375-1358 B.C.), and 2) those of the kings who followed Akhenaten. The latter series differs widely from the earlier group, not only in the form of the monuments, but also in the choice and arrangement of the figures and texts with which their surfaces are ornamented.

The present work will confine itself exclusively to a discussion of the monuments of the first of the two groups, that is, all of the existent royal sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty down to and including that of Amenhotpe III. No sarcophagus having been found either for Aḥmose I or for Amenhotpe I, the first two kings of the Dynasty, the series would naturally start with the two sarcophagi which were prepared for Tuthmosis I, the third Pharaoh in the succession. One of these is, however, a sarcophagus originally made for Ḥatshepsūt,¹ and the other (as it is one of the purposes of this publication to prove) was probably made even later. The sarcophagus found in Tomb 42 in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings is almost certainly that of Tuthmosis II.² It was, however, never finished, while the small sarcophagus made for Ḥatshepsūt as Queen Consort to Tuthmosis II, that is, before the death of the latter, was completely executed at the time work was stopped on both monuments and is, therefore, the earlier of the two. The series, then, properly begins with this, the first of the three sarcophagi prepared for Ḥatshepsūt, the wife of the fourth king and, afterwards, herself the fifth "king" of the Dynasty.

For the sake of convenience in reference, the nine monuments of the group will be designated by the letters A, B, C, etc., to I, the list of sarcophagi being as follows:

A. Sarcophagus made for Ḥatshepsūt, as Queen Consort to Tuthmosis II (1520-1502 B.C.).³ From her cliff tomb in the Wady Sikkat Taḳa el Zeide at Thebes. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Published by Howard Carter and Alan H. Gardiner: *A Tomb Prepared for Queen Hatshepsut and*

¹ Sarcophagus C. See Appendix I, under this sarcophagus.

² See below, pp. 7-10, 16, 48-50.

³ The dates in parentheses which follow the names of the kings are those of their respective reigns and do not necessarily bear any relation to the dates of the sarcophagi, their only purpose here being to keep clear the order of the royal succession. The dates for Tuthmosis I-III and Ḥatshepsūt are taken (with minor variations) from Meyer: *Geschichte des Altertums*, ii, 1, pp. 75, 110, 120, 146; those for Amenhotpe II, Tuthmosis IV, and Amenhotpe III, from Breasted: *History of Egypt*, p. 599.

Other Recent Discoveries at Thebes, Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, iv, 1917, pp. 115-118, Plate xxii.⁴

B. Uninscribed sarcophagus found in an uninscribed early XVIII Dynasty royal tomb (No. 42) in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes. Probably that of Tuthmosis II (1520-1502 B.C.). Still in the tomb. Not published.⁵

C. Sarcophagus made for Hatshepsût, as King of Upper and Lower Egypt (1502-1480 B.C.), and altered by her to receive the body of her father, Tuthmosis I. From her tomb (No. 20) in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes. Now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Published by Howard Carter: *The Tomb of Hatshepsût* (*Theodore M. Davis' Excavations: Bibân el Molûk*), 1906, pp. 81-91 and Plate.⁶

D. Sarcophagus made for Hatshepsût, as King of Upper and Lower Egypt. From her tomb (No. 20) in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Published by Howard Carter: *The Tomb of Hatshepsût*, pp. 93-100, and 2 plates.⁷

E. Sarcophagus made for Tuthmosis I (ca. 1545-1520 B.C.) by "his son." From his tomb (No. 38) in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Not published.⁸

F. Sarcophagus of Tuthmosis III (1502-1447 B.C.). Still in his tomb (No. 34) in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes. Not published.⁹

G. Sarcophagus of Amenhotpe II (1448-1420 B.C.). Still in his tomb (No. 35) in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes. Not published.¹⁰

H. Sarcophagus of Tuthmosis IV (1420-1411 B.C.). Still in his tomb (No. 43) in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes. Published by Howard Carter: *The Tomb of Thoutmosis IV* (*Theodore M. Davis' Excavations: Bibân el Molûk*), 1903, pp. xxxv-xl, and plate.

I. Sarcophagus lid of Amenhotpe III (1411-1375 B.C.). Still in his tomb (No. 22) in the West Valley (Tombs of the Kings) at Thebes. Not published.¹¹

Aside from the contributions which they make to our knowledge of ancient Egyptian history, funerary beliefs, and religious literature, two factors make these nine monuments of more than passing interest: First, they constitute

⁴ For complete bibliography see Appendix I, under Sarcophagus A.

⁵ Discovery described by Carter: *Annales du Service*, ii, pp. 196-200, plates i-ii. For further bibliography see Appendix I, under Sarcophagus B.

⁶ For complete bibliography, see Appendix I, under Sarcophagus C.

⁷ Ibid., Sarcophagus D.

⁸ For publications in which it is mentioned see Appendix I, under Sarcophagus E.

⁹ Discovery described by Loret: *Bulletin de l'institut égyptien*, 3ème Série, No. 9, pp. 91-97, plates 1-6. For further bibliography see Appendix I, under Sarcophagus F.

¹⁰ Discovery described by Loret: Op. cit., pp. 98-112, plates 1 and 8-15. For further bibliography see Appendix I, under Sarcophagus G.

¹¹ Brief account of the discovery in *Description de l'Égypte*, 2nd Ed. 1821, ii, p. 193, x, p. 220; plate volume, plate 79. For further bibliography see Appendix I, under Sarcophagus (lid) I.

an extraordinarily homogeneous series, the same basic format dominating the design and decoration of every sarcophagus of the group. Second, the series, while always adhering closely to the skeleton plan laid down in its earliest unit, shows, from beginning to end, a definite development, which, in the main, consists of a gradual increase in the size and a gradual rationalization and elaboration of the form, decoration, and texts of Sarcophagus A.

Since the inscriptions which cover the surfaces of eight of the sarcophagi and of their lids are, with two notable exceptions—the dedication inscriptions on Sarcophagi C and E¹²—, of a purely religious nature, they do not contribute directly to our information on the history of the early and middle XVIII Dynasty. The monuments themselves and their order in the series are, however, of importance to a reconstruction of the history of the time and, especially, of the period between the reigns of Tuthmosis I and Amenhotpe II, in which occurs the so-called “Feud of the Tuthmosids”¹³ and of which the order of the royal succession is still being contested, modern scholarship being of two minds on the matter.¹⁴ The positive identification of the uninscribed sarcophagus in Tomb 42 in the Bibân el Molûk, as well as the tomb itself, as that of Tuthmosis II would be of considerable significance to the history of the period. The mere facts, moreover, that three distinct sarcophagi were made for Hatshepsût, the first for her as Queen Consort and the other two as King of Upper and Lower Egypt; that the second of these was altered for Tuthmosis I,¹⁵ whose mummy was found in the Royal Cache in

¹² Texts I and II. See Texts sheets

¹³ The phrase is Breasted's (*History of Egypt*, p. 266).

¹⁴ The old order (1. Tuthmosis I and Queen 'Ahmose; 2. Tuthmosis II and Queen Hatshepsût; 3. Hatshepsût and Tuthmosis III (joint reign); 4. Tuthmosis III) until 1896 was universally accepted. It has recently been most convincingly defended by Meyer: *Geschichte des Altertums* (May 1928), ii, 1, p. 110 ff.; by Winlock: *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*, February 1928, Section ii, p. 46 ff.; and by Edgerton: *The Thutmosid Succession* (Oriental Institute, Chicago, *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, No. 8), 1933.

In 1896 Sethe published his *Thronwirren unter den Nachfolgern Thutmosis I* (*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens*, i), giving a somewhat different order of succession (1. Tuthmosis I; 2. Tuthmosis III; 3. Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsût; 4. Tuthmosis III; 5. Tuthmosis I and II; 6. Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsût; 7. Tuthmosis III). This order is supported by Breasted: *History of Egypt*, p. 266 ff.; *Ancient Records of Egypt*, ii, § 128-130; etc.; and by Steindorff: *Baedecker's Egypt*, 1929, p. cv; etc. See also Sethe: *Das Hatshepsut-Problem noch einmal untersucht* (*Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Jahrgang 1932. *Phil.-hist. Klasse*, No. 4) wherein the writer again presents his theory, slightly altered, but not repudiated.

The present writer is in full accord with the originally accepted order and, in general, with the views of Meyer, Winlock, and Edgerton. This will become readily apparent as the present monograph progresses. For the moment there is no need to go more deeply into the matter than has been done in the foregoing outline or to clutter up Chapters I-III, which have as their main topic the publication of the royal sarcophagi, with points of history which have already been brought forward by Meyer and others. To the vast mass of evidence already adduced in favour of the old order may be added, however, the evidence presented by the sarcophagi of the kings in question, and this will form the backbone of Chapter IV, which is to deal with the part played by the royal sarcophagi in the history of the Dynasty.

¹⁵ Sarcophagus C. Its alteration is described in detail in Appendix I.

one of his own coffins;¹⁶ that this coffin could not possibly have fitted into Ḥatshepsūt's sarcophagus, however altered, but is of correct size for Tuthmosis's other sarcophagus, made for him by an anonymous "son";¹⁷ and that, finally, this latter sarcophagus may well be later in date than the altered Ḥatshepsūt sarcophagus—all indicate the great extent to which the events of the period are reflected in the contemporary royal sarcophagi and how pertinent to a correct understanding of the History of the Dynasty a careful study of the sarcophagi may well prove to be.

All of the sarcophagi are of the rectangular box type. A, B, and C are square at both ends; in D-I the head end of the sarcophagus is rounded. The lids develop from the thick rectangular block type, with flat top, to a vaulted type, hollowed on the under side and with convex upper surface. The form, as will be seen, is derived originally from rectangular wooden coffins of the Middle Kingdom. The development of the form is, however, a purely XVIII Dynasty phenomenon.

The decoration of the monuments is confined almost entirely to vertical and horizontal bands of incised hieroglyphic inscription and to figures of male and female deities executed in *relief en creux*. While always in the best stylistic tradition of the contemporary reign, it is the work of the expert craftsman and inscription-cutter rather than that of the progressive artist. The poses and costumes of the figures date back to the Old Kingdom. The framework of the composition is to be found on most of the private coffins of the Middle Kingdom and later. No single element is, in itself, new. Yet the decoration as a whole, as well as the forms of the monuments, is distinct from that of the royal sarcophagi of any other period in Egyptian history—a decoration made up of traditional elements, handed down from the very beginnings of Egyptian funerary art, but never before assembled into a single composition or used to decorate the walls and lid of a stone sarcophagus.

The funerary texts, which are the essential part of the surface decoration of the sarcophagi, are to be found, for the most part, in one or the other of the three great categories of early Egyptian religious literature: the *Pyramid Texts*, *Middle Kingdom Coffin Inscriptions*, and the *Book of the Dead*. While these texts do not, then, add materially to our fund of Egyptian literature, their special selection, from among several thousand possible funerary formulae, for use on the monuments of our group is of interest; and the inscriptions themselves are of value in providing us with intact, full, and accurate

¹⁶ Maspero: *Momies royales de Dêir el Baharî* (*Mém. miss. arch. fr. au Caire*, i), pp. 570, 581; Daressy: *Cercueils des cachettes royales* (*Cat. Gén. Mus. Caire*), No. 61025, pp. 50-63, plates xxviii-xxiv.

¹⁷ Sarcophagus E. Two dedication inscriptions on the left wall of the sarcophagus (Text II, a and b) read as follows: a) "It was his son who caused his name to live by preparing the monument of his father, for all eternity"; b) "It was his son who caused his name to live and made for him this excellent monument, for all eternity."

versions—often eight times repeated with minor variations throughout the series—of a number of spells from the Book of the Dead and of numerous sections from the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Inscriptions, in some instances nowhere else so well preserved. Finally, the fact that many of this group of sarcophagi are inscribed with definite chapters from the Book of the Dead and that, as will be seen, the whole lay-out of their decorative scheme is the same as that used in connection with one particular chapter from the Book of the Dead, found in a number of extant elaborately painted papyri, is extremely important, since the earlier sarcophagi of the series are certainly as early as, if they do not actually antedate, any papyrus version of the Book of the Dead (so-called "Theban Recension") which has come down to us.

By way of an introduction to the study of the nine monuments under consideration, it is proposed to devote the rest of this preliminary chapter to a brief survey of the settings in which they were found—the eight royal tombs of the early and middle XVIII Dynasty—and their positions in these settings.

The chronological order of these eight tombs, in contradistinction to that of several of the sarcophagi found in them, is the same as the order of the royal succession; and, since the tomb series, like the sarcophagus series, shows a type development throughout, it is desirable to take up the tombs in their proper chronological sequence, even though it is not the same as that in which the sarcophagi will be treated. Confusion of the two slightly divergent sequences can be avoided if strict attention is paid to the alphabetical letter which will in every case accompany the mention of a sarcophagus and which determines its proposed position in the monument series as given on pp. 1-2, above.

Plans and, in some cases, sections of the tombs are given in Figures 1-8.¹⁸

The tombs of Tuthmosis III¹⁹ (Fig. 5), Amenhotpe II²⁰ (Fig. 6), Tuthmosis IV²¹ (Fig. 7), and Amenhotpe III²² (Fig. 8) are inscribed and the identities of their owners are therefore certain beyond a doubt. Hatshepsut's tomb in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings (Fig. 4) was identified by a foundation

¹⁸ The eight figures are re-drawn from the following publications:

Fig. 1 = Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1929, p. 314, Tomb 38, figure.

Fig. 2 = Carter: *Annales du Service*, ii, pp. 197-8, Figs. 1-2.

Fig. 3 = Baraize: *Annales du Service*, xxi, pp. 175-182, figures.

Fig. 4 = Carter: *Tomb of Hatshepsut*, plan, p. 76.

Fig. 5 = Loret: *Bulletin de l'institut égyptien*, 3ème série, No. 9, plate 2.

Fig. 6 = Loret: *Loc. cit.*, plate 8.

Fig. 7 = Carter: *Tomb of Thoutmosis IV*, p. xxviii

Fig. 8 = *Description de l'Égypte*, 2nd ed. 1821, plate volume, *Antiquités*, ii, plate 79 (5).

¹⁹ Porter and Moss: *Topographical Bibliography*, i, *Theban Necropolis*, Valley of the Kings, Tomb No. 34; Bucher: *Les textes des tombes de Thoutmosis III et d'Amenophis II*, i (*Mém. miss. arch. fr. du Caire*, lx, 1932), plates i-xxvi.

²⁰ Porter-Moss: *Op. cit.*, Valley of the Kings, Tomb No. 35; Bucher: *Op. cit.*, plates xxvii-xlii.

²¹ Porter-Moss: *Op. cit.*, Valley of the Kings, Tomb No. 43.

²² *Op. cit.*, Valley of the Kings (West Valley), Tomb No. 22.

deposit, containing objects bearing her name, found at its entrance, and by two fully inscribed sarcophagi, a canopic box, and numerous other inscribed objects found in its sepulchral hall.²³ The tomb of Tuthmosis I (Fig. 1) contained not only a sarcophagus and canopic box of that king, but also a fragmentary stone vase bearing his name.²⁴ His ownership of the tomb has never been doubted and the identification seems certain. Practically the only object found in Ḥatshepsūt's cliff tomb in the Wady Sikkat Taḳa el Zeide (Fig. 3) was a sarcophagus inscribed with her name and her titles as Queen of Egypt.²⁵

In looking at the plans of these seven identified tombs (Figs. 1, 3-8) it immediately becomes apparent that they form a definite and closely knit group. All of them are of the same basic type and all of them contain the following essential elements: *a*, an entrance stair-well; *b*, an antechamber, lying between the entrance and the sepulchral hall; *c*, a pillared sepulchral hall, always placed at the inner end of the tomb; and *d* one or more small

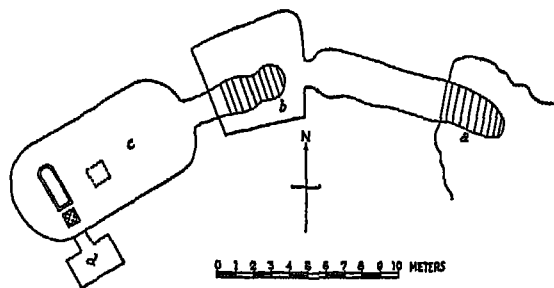


FIG. 1. PLAN OF THE TOMB OF TUTHMOSIS I, BIBÂN EL MOLÛK No. 38

storerooms opening off the sepulchral hall.²⁶ All of the five later tombs also contain: *e*, a protective well or corresponding feature,²⁷ situated just before the antechamber; and *f*, a flight of steps or stair-chamber located between the protective well and the entrance.²⁸ Another feature common to these tombs is the orientation of the sepulchral hall, the long axis of which in nearly every

²³ Davis, Naville, and Carter: *The Tomb of Ḥatshepsût* (*Theo. M. Davis' Excavations: Bibân el Molûk*).

²⁴ Daressy: *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois (Cat. Gén. Mus. Caire)*, No. 24976, p. 300; Cairo Museum, *Journal d'entrée*, No. 33864; Winlock: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, xv, pp. 59-60.

²⁵ Carter: *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, iv, pp. 114-118, plates xxi-xxii.

²⁶ Since the sepulchral hall in Ḥatshepsût's cliff tomb (Fig. 3) is itself not finished, it is impossible to say whether or not it was to have had the small storechambers off the hall.

In the tomb of Amenhotpe III (Fig. 8) the second store-room off the north side of the sepulchral hall has been replaced by a large square chamber with a pillar in its center, from which opens another and smaller room—a similar group of rooms opening off the rear end of the sepulchral hall. On these rooms, see below, p. 29.

²⁷ For example, the second stair-chamber (*e*) in Ḥatshepsût's Valley tomb (Fig. 4).

²⁸ Omitted from the tomb of Amenhotpe III (Fig. 8). See below, p. 29.

case lies approximately Local East-West (Figs. 1, 5-8).²⁹ The prescribed orientation of the sepulchral hall, in turn, necessitated at least one bend in the tomb plan, this bend usually being to the left and usually occurring at the antechamber (Figs. 5-8).

So much in general. It should, however, also be noted that, whereas the tomb of Tuthmosis I (Fig. 1) has but one storeroom off the sepulchral hall, Hatshepsut's Valley tomb (Fig. 4) has three, and those of Tuthmosis III (Fig. 5), Amenhotpe II (Fig. 6), Tuthmosis IV (Fig. 7), and Amenhotpe III (Fig. 8), four; that, while the tomb of Tuthmosis I has no element between the entrance and the antechamber, Hatshepsut's cliff tomb (Fig. 3) has one (*e*), and all the later tombs, two (*e* and *f*); that the protective well (*e*) appears first in the tomb of Tuthmosis III³⁰ (Fig. 5) and thereafter is a regular feature of the tombs of his successors; that the originally small and unpillared antechamber (Figs. 1 and 3) increases in size and, in the last four tombs, contains two pillars; that the number of pillars in the sepulchral hall gradually increases from one to six; etc., etc.—in short, that there is a definite and *invariably progressive* development throughout the tomb series, always in the direction of further elaboration of the type. The words "invariably progressive" have been put into italics to emphasize the fact that, when new elements are introduced into the plan of a tomb, they are likely to be carried on and elaborated in the succeeding tombs; and that, above all, when an element in the plan of one of the earlier tombs is once discarded, it is not revived in the later examples.

With these facts as a background we are now ready to consider the problem of Tomb 42 in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, itself totally uninscribed and containing, when found, no inscribed objects other than those belonging to some intrusive burials of private individuals, made during the reign of Amenhotpe II.³¹

A preliminary comparison of the plan of the tomb (Fig. 2) with those of the seven tombs just discussed (Figs. 1, 3-8) is sufficient to show that it is a king's tomb, even if its position in the royal Valley has not already suggested this

²⁹ In most of the tombs the long axis of the sepulchral hall continues that of the passage leading into it. In the Valley tomb of Hatshepsut (Fig. 4) the axis of the hall lies North-South, *across* that of the last descending passage—a characteristic which is found somewhat earlier in the tomb of Amenhotpe I (Carter: *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, iii, p. 147 ff., plate xx)

³⁰ Actually a reappearance, for the well is a feature of the tomb of Amenhotpe I (Carter: *Loc cit.*).

³¹ These objects include some inscribed canopic jars and inscribed vases, etc., of Sennefer, mayor of Thebes under Amenhotpe II (Legrain: *Repertoire génalogique et onomastique de Musée du Caire, Monuments de la XVIIe et de la XVIIIe Dynastie*, p. 113; *Statues et statuettes de rois et particuliers, Cat. Gén. Mus. Caire*, No. 42126; Maspere: *Guide to the Cairo Museum*, 1910, p. 139), of his wife, Sentnay; and of the Royal Ornament, Baketre' (Legrain: *Repertoire génalogique*, p. 114; Mariette: *Monuments divers recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie*, p. 10, plate 36)—Carter: *Annales du Service*, ii, pp. 196-200.

conclusion.³² A somewhat more careful inspection indicates that it must not only be placed fairly early in the royal tomb series, but that it is definitely midway in development between the tombs of Tuthmosis I (Fig. 1) and Tuthmosis III (Fig. 5). Tomb 42 would be identical with the tomb of Tuthmosis I, except for the fact that, in it, the second flight of steps has been moved to a position between the entrance and the antechamber and enlarged laterally

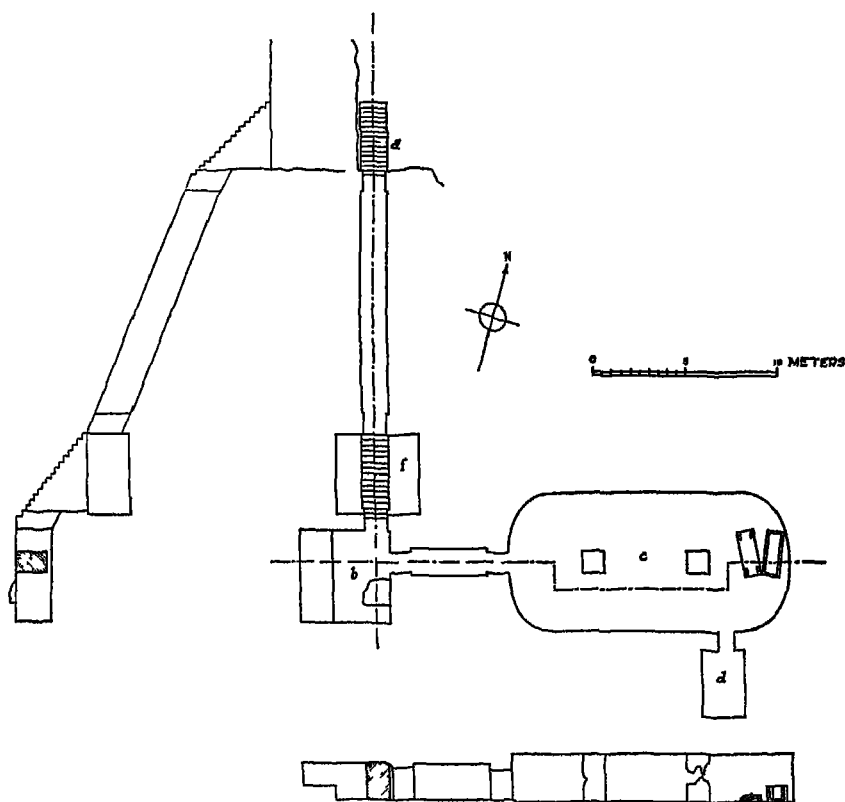


FIG. 2. PLAN AND SECTIONS OF TOMB NO. 42 (TUTHMOSIS II ?), BIBÂN EL MOLÛK

to form an additional chamber; that a second column has been added in the sepulchral hall; and that the bend to the left in the plan is now a right, instead

³² Until the reign of Amenhotpe II—and with very few exceptions thereafter—no person who was not a king is known to have even been buried in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, let alone to have had a tomb cut for himself there. Even queens were barred from the Valley (Carter: *Tomb of Tut-anhh-Amen*, i, p. 84) and thus we find Hatshepsut having her first tomb, as Queen, cut in the cliffs to the West of Deir el-Bahri—in a region which seems to have been “the cemetery of the royal families—the Kings’ wives and Kings’ children—of the Second Theban Empire” (Carter: *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, iv, p. 115); and Queen Merytamun, the wife of Amenhotpe II, being buried, not in the Valley of the Kings, but at Deir el Bahri (Winlock: *The Tomb of Meryet-Amun at Thebes*). It was only after she had become King that Hatshepsut commenced the execution of Tomb 20 in the Bibân el-Molûk.

of an oblique, angle. It would, on the other hand, be identical with the tomb of Tuthmosis III, were it not that it still lacks the protective well before the antechamber, the columns in the antechamber, and the three additional storerooms off the sepulchral hall. The most distinctive feature of its plan is the cartouche-shaped sepulchral hall—a feature which is found in only two other tombs throughout the whole of Egypt: the tomb of Tuthmosis I (Fig. 1) and the tomb of Tuthmosis III (Fig. 5); a feature which was, in short, inaugurated in the tomb of Tuthmosis I and made its last appearance in the tomb of Tuthmosis III.³³

The partially executed decoration of the sepulchral hall of Tomb 42 is of the type used only in kings' tombs and is—insofar as it is complete—an exact replica of the decoration of the sepulchral hall in the tomb of Tuthmosis III (cf. Plates II and VII) and of what we know of that in the tomb of Tuthmosis I.³⁴

The location of the tomb in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings supports the foregoing evidence. Tomb 42 is situated in the southernmost branch of the main Valley, less than 100 meters to the southeast of the tomb of Tuthmosis I and just below and to the North of the Tomb of Tuthmosis III.³⁵

Further evidence on the date of the tomb can be obtained by comparing its plan with that of Ḥatshepsūt's Valley tomb (Fig. 4). Neither has as yet the protective well, but the Ḥatshepsūt tomb shows two distinct developments over Tomb 42: the extra chamber (e) between the first stair-chamber and the antechamber, and the two extra storerooms (d, d) off the sepulchral hall. We therefore see that Tomb 42 is not only earlier in date than the tomb of Tuthmosis III, but that it is also earlier than the Valley tomb of Ḥatshepsūt. At the same time, it is clearly later than the tomb of Tuthmosis I. It must, then, be about contemporary with Ḥatshepsūt's first tomb in the Wady Sikkat Taqa el Zeide—a conclusion which a comparison of Figures 2 and 3 does nothing to contradict.

There is only one king of Egypt to whom Tomb 42 could have belonged,³⁶

³³ The sepulchral halls of the tombs of Amenhotpe I (Carter: *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, iii, p. 147 ff., plate xx) and of all the kings of Egypt who preceded him are rectangular. The sepulchral halls of the tombs of Amenhotpe II (Fig. 6) and of all the kings of Egypt who followed him are likewise rectangular.

³⁴ Scenes and citations from the *Book of Am Duat*, drawn and written in cursive fashion in black and red ink on a buff ground—in obvious imitation of a papyrus roll version of the Book.

Four fragments of the painted stucco decoration of the sepulchral hall of Tuthmosis I were found in the hall and are at present in the Cairo Museum (*Journal d'entrée du Musée*, No. 33863; Daressy: *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois*, No. 24990, pp. 303–304).

³⁵ See Sheet C-3 of the *Survey of Egypt* map of *The Theban Necropolis* (Surveyed in 1926).

³⁶ The only XVIII Dynasty kings whose tombs have not already been found and identified are 'Ahmose I and Smenkhkarē'. As 'Ahmose I's tomb would be earlier in the development of the royal tomb series than that of Amenhotpe I (See Carter: *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, iii, plate xx) and Smenkhkarē's is would be later than that of Amenhotpe III (See Fig. 8), both of these kings are clearly out of the question as possible owners of Tomb 42.

and that king is Tuthmosis II, son of Tuthmosis I, husband of Hatshepsut, and predecessor of Tuthmosis III. Direct inscriptional evidence is unfortunately lacking, but the archaeological evidence pointing to his ownership of the tomb is absolutely overwhelming, and the writer is convinced that the identification is correct.³⁷ That the form of the unfinished sarcophagus (B) found in the tomb fully bears out this conclusion will be seen in the next chapter.

In the royal tombs of the early and middle XVIII Dynasty the sarcophagus is placed at the far end of the sepulchral hall, that is, at the end which is away from the entrance doorway. The long axis of the sarcophagus is Local North-South and is, thus, at right angles to the main axis of the hall. The head-end of the sarcophagus is to the North, its left side—with the Eye-panel³⁸—to the East, its foot-end to the South, and its right side to the West. This is the case in all the tombs wherein the sarcophagus was found in or near its intended position (Figs. 1-2, 5-7), with the exception of the Valley tomb of Hatshepsut (Fig. 4). Even in this tomb the position of the owner's sarcophagus (D) bears much the same relation to the position of the entrance of the sepulchral hall as in the other tombs; and it is only as a result of conditions encountered during the excavation of the tomb that both the sarcophagi and the sepulchral hall itself are not in their proper orientations.³⁹ In the tombs of Tuthmosis I (Fig. 1), Amenhotpe II (Fig. 6; Plate XII), and Tuthmosis IV (Fig. 7; Plate XIV) the sarcophagus was found absolutely *in situ* in its prescribed position. In the tomb of Tuthmosis III (Fig. 5; Plates VIII, X) it had been hauled very slightly out of this position by tomb robbers. The sarcophagus in Tomb 42 (Fig. 2; Plate II) had never been set in place, but lay near the position intended for it and in approximately the proper orientation. Amenhotpe III's sarcophagus has completely disappeared, but its original position is determined by the position of its lid and by the slots for its plinth blocks in the floor of the sepulchral hall⁴⁰ (Fig. 8); and its original orientation is indicated by the orientation of its lid and by the position of the cavity for the base-block of the canopic box or for the box itself, which

³⁷ An identification first suggested by Weigall: *Guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt* (1910), p. 224-225.

The fact that foundation deposits containing objects with the name of Merytre'-Hatshepsut were found near the entrance of the tomb (Carter: *Tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen*, i, p. 84) need cause no concern as to the identification of the tomb as Tuthmosis II's. That the name of a daughter of the King should appear on objects prepared in connection with his burial is perfectly natural. Witness the vases from the tomb of Tuthmosis I, inscribed with the name of the elder Hatshepsut (see below, p. 20). The tomb is not that of a queen; and Carter (loc. cit.) has disposed of the possibility of its having been Merytre's by noting that "it would be contrary to all custom to find a queen in the Valley." (See above, Note 32).

³⁸ See below, p. 64-65.

³⁹ See below, p. 17.

⁴⁰ See below, p. 30.

appears to have been regularly placed at the foot-end of the sarcophagus (see Figs. 1 and 4). In Ḥatshepsūt's cliff tomb the sarcophagus had been brought into the tomb and deposited in the antechamber before the cutting of the sepulchral hall had been little more than just begun. When the tomb was abandoned, unfinished and with its sepulchral hall still in the early stages of excavation, the sarcophagus was left where it had been dumped, and was found in modern times lying across the top of the ramp leading down to what was to have been the sepulchral hall (Fig. 3).

In the three latest tombs (Figs. 6-8) the floor of the far end of the sepulchral hall is sunk below the main floor level and a special crypt thereby created for the reception of the sarcophagus, this crypt being approached by a short flight of steps leading down from the pillared section of the hall.

The positions in which the lids of the monuments were discovered are perhaps more interesting than the positions in which the sarcophagi themselves were found. In what may be called the "normal" cases, the lid was found on the floor of the sepulchral hall, beside the sarcophagus and lying parallel to it, bottom up and usually broken (So in the Tombs of Tuthmosis III, Fig. 5, Plates VIII-IX; Amenhotpe II;⁴¹ Tuthmosis IV;⁴² and Amenhotpe III, Fig. 8, Plate XVI. The position in which the lid of the sarcophagus in the tomb of Tuthmosis I was found is not recorded). This simply means that, when the tomb was broken into in ancient times, the robbers pried up the lid of the sarcophagus,⁴³ rolled it over laterally, and let it fall on its "back" on to the floor of the sepulchral hall or sarcophagus crypt—obviously the easiest way of removing the lid and one which would have been invariably chosen by those whose only thought was to get at the contents of the sarcophagus, regardless of damage done to box or lid. The finding of a sarcophagus lid in this position and condition is, moreover, a definite indication that its removal *was* the work of robbers; i.e. that the sarcophagus at one time contained valuable objects to obtain which it was necessary to remove the lid which had been set in place over them; in short, that the owner of the sarcophagus was once actually buried in it.

On the other hand, there is every reason to believe that no one was ever buried in Ḥatshepsūt's first sarcophagus (A). We are, therefore, not surprised to find that its lid has not been tampered with, but was discovered in perfect condition, resting on one of its edges and leaning against a corner of the sarcophagus (Fig. 3), where we must suppose it had been left by the workmen who brought it into the tomb.

By analogy, we must also conclude that the sarcophagus (B) in Tomb 42

⁴¹ On the position and condition of this lid, see below, p. 24.

⁴² The lid of the sarcophagus of Tuthmosis IV has, since the discovery of the tomb in modern times, been replaced on the sarcophagus. See below, p. 27.

⁴³ Often smashing the rim of the sarcophagus box in their efforts to insert their pry-bars under the lid. See Appendix I, under Sarcophagi F and H, Condition. See also Plates X and XIV.

had never contained a burial, for here the lid was found absolutely unscratched, right side up beside the sarcophagus, with the edge nearest the box blocked up on a heavy timber, and with the four rope-lugs on its top still intact (Fig. 2; Plate II, 1)—to the last detail the position and condition in which the lid would have been, *preparatory* to its setting in place, and with not the slightest indication that it had ever been handled by anyone save the necropolis workmen who transported it into the tomb. Of the fact that the tomb was broken into by robbers we have ample proof.⁴⁴ Of the fact that neither the sarcophagus nor its lid seem to have been manhandled by them there is only one explanation, namely that the lid was never on the sarcophagus and that the sarcophagus was always as empty as it was found. (There is more to be said on this matter, when Tomb 42 is taken up as a separate entity. See below, pp. 15-16.)

The positions in which the lids of the two sarcophagi (C and D) in Hatshepsut's Valley tomb were found demand attention (Fig. 4). The lid of Sarcophagus C was discovered unbroken and neatly stacked against the entrance wall of the sepulchral hall, fully three meters from the sarcophagus box. Its position, flat against the wall, leaves a clear path between the sarcophagus and the door, and it was probably to open this path that the lid was so placed—a job carried out, incidentally, with the utmost precision and tidiness and, of course, with no inconsiderable effort. One can hardly attribute the painstaking and care involved in the task to the common tomb-thief.

The lid of Sarcophagus D lay, not beside the sarcophagus, but to the south of it. Although bottom up, there is no reasonable way in which the lid could have been merely pried off the box so that it would land in the position in which it was found. It must have been either dragged to this position after its removal by robbers—which seems unlikely—; or left where it was found by the workmen who brought it originally, together with its sarcophagus, into the chamber. Its almost perfect condition supports the latter supposition, which, if correct, infers that the sarcophagus never contained a burial.

The XVIII Dynasty royal sarcophagus seems to have been regularly provided with a plinth or base, composed either of a single large block of stone or of a number of small blocks or slabs, which was let into a hollow cut in the floor of the sepulchral hall, its top almost flush with the floor level. While neither bases nor fragments of stone which can reasonably be assumed to have been parts of bases have been found along with Sarcophagi A,⁴⁵ B, or C, their absence in these cases is not conclusive, since none of the three sarcophagi were found *in situ*. The base of each of the four sarcophagi which follow C consists of a plain rectangular block of alabaster, unadorned in any way, 35-40 cm. high on the average, and projecting 10-11 cm. beyond the ends and sides

⁴⁴ Carter: *Annales du Service*, II, p. 196.

⁴⁵ Limestone slabs found in the antechamber of Hatshepsut's cliff tomb were clearly intended for the lining of the sepulchral hall. See below, p. 21.

of the sarcophagus which rests upon it. All of the blocks are now more or less fragmentary. Those of Tuthmosis III and Amenhotpe II are still *in situ* in their respective tombs (Plates X-XI, XII); while what remains of those of Sarcophagi D and E is to be seen in the Cairo Museum (Plates V, VII), where each of the monuments is mounted on the remaining fragments of its base. Instead of being set upon a single block, the sarcophagus of Tuthmosis IV rests upon a sort of pavement made up of a number of medium sized slabs of stone let into a shallow depression in the floor of the sarcophagus crypt (Plate XIV). A variation on both schemes was to be seen in the tomb of Amenhotpe III where, to judge from the cuttings made in the floor of the crypt, the sarcophagus rested on two rectangular blocks of stone, one under each end of the box.⁴⁶

There are certain details connected with one or another of the individual tombs of the royal series—special characteristics of the tomb proper, data noted at time of discovery, objects found in the tomb, objects associated with the burial of the king, but not found in the tomb, etc.—which, since they have definite bearings on our study of the royal sarcophagi, should be included in this introductory chapter.

Along with Sarcophagus E in the tomb of Tuthmosis I there was found the quartzite canopic box of the King. It lay at the foot-end of the sarcophagus, in the position shown in Figure 1. It matches the sarcophagus in every way—material, style, and workmanship—and was undoubtedly made at the same time and in the same atelier as its larger counterpart.⁴⁷

The only other item of interest found in the tomb is an inscribed alabaster vase.⁴⁸ The original inscription, which consists of three short vertical columns arranged to form a panel on one side of the vase, gives only the names and titles of Tuthmosis I. To this has subsequently been added two more columns of inscription, which give the titles and *prenomen* of Tuthmosis II and assert that “he made (it) as (his) monument (to his father?).”⁴⁹ At the end of the first three columns Tuthmosis I is spoken of as *ma'-kheru*: “true of voice,” i.e. deceased; while Tuthmosis II, in the first of the two additional

⁴⁶ A similar arrangement was employed in the burial chamber of the tomb of Tut'ankhamūn, but here, instead of two base blocks, there are four, one set under each corner of the sarcophagus (Carter: *Tomb of Tut'Ankh, Amen*, ii p. 49).

⁴⁷ Egyptian Museum, Cairo: *Journal d'entrée*, No. 36416; Winlock: *Journ. Eg. Arch*, xv, p. 58, plate xiv.

⁴⁸ Egyptian Museum, Cairo: *Journal d'entrée*, No. 33864; Daressy. *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois*, No. 24976, p. 300.

⁴⁹ The end of the inscription is destroyed, but the fact that Tuthmosis I is known to have been the father of Tuthmosis II and that the common formula “he made it as his monument to his father” appears on similar vases found in Hatshepsut's Valley tomb, some of which had been dedicated to Tuthmosis I by Tuthmosis II and very probably came originally from the Tuthmosis I tomb, makes the translation here reasonably certain of accuracy.

columns is "given life," i.e. living. It would seem, then, that the vase had been originally made under Tuthmosis I, but intended to be used as part of his tomb furniture, since he is mentioned as deceased; and that Tuthmosis II, on the occasion of the actual interment of his predecessor, commanded the addition to the inscription to be made in order that he might receive full credit for the filial devotion which he expended in carrying out the burial. Similar vases with similar inscriptions, all of which must have belonged to the original equipment of this tomb, were found in Ḥatshepsūt's Valley tomb, whither the body and inner coffin of Tuthmosis I were later moved.⁵⁰

A mummy, which is in all probability that of Tuthmosis I, was found, resting in the King's outer anthropoid coffin, in the burial place of the priest-kings of the XXI Dynasty at Deir el-Bahri.⁵¹ It is 154.5 cm. tall, is very well preserved, and is that of a man of about 60 years of age.⁵² The coffin is of cedar and seems, in its original state,⁵³ to have closely resembled that of Tuthmosis III.⁵⁴ A vertical column of inscription down the center of the lid contains a prayer to the sky-goddess Nūt, spoken by Tuthmosis I, and is identical with the inscription in the corresponding place on the lid of the sarcophagus found in the King's tomb. On the left side of the box, near the head-end, is a pair of great eyes (part of the original decoration), similar to those in the left side head-panels of all of our sarcophagi; and part of a vertical column of inscription, in which can be read: "The Son of Rē, Tuth(mosis)." The coffin is 232 cm. long, 72 cm. wide at the elbows, and 70 cm. high at the face (the foot being destroyed). It is, as we shall see, of correct size to fit snugly into the sarcophagus of the tomb of Tuthmosis I (E), but far too large to make an attempt to insert it into the sarcophagus which Ḥatshepsūt altered for her father (C) anything short of ridiculous. It is, therefore, evident that the Cairo sarcophagus of Tuthmosis I and this coffin were related to one another from the start and that either the coffin was made to fit the sarcophagus, or the sarcophagus ordered to contain the coffin.

Within this outer coffin, and fitting it perfectly, there was found a second coffin, which had at one time been used by Paynedjem I of the XXI Dynasty. Except for its size, there is nothing to show that this second coffin ever belonged to Tuthmosis I. Winlock is, however, of the opinion that it did actually belong to that king's original set of three coffins and bases the dimensions of a hypothetical third (inner) coffin on this assumption.⁵⁵ Daressy, on the other hand, calls attention to the fact that the coffin shows no signs of

⁵⁰ See below, pp. 20-21.

⁵¹ Maspero: *Momies royales de Dér el Baharî*, p. 581.

⁵² Smith: *Royal Mummies*, p. 27.

⁵³ It had been usurped and remodelled by Paynedjem I of the XXI Dynasty (See next note).

⁵⁴ Daressy: *Cercueils des Cachettes royales*, No. 61025, pp. 50-63, plates xxviii-xxxiv. See also Winlock: *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, xv, pp. 62-63. The coffin of Tuthmosis III also is published by Daressy: *Cercueils*, No. 61014, pp. 19-20, plate xiv.

⁵⁵ Winlock: *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, xv, pp. 62-3.

having been re-worked and believes that it was made in the XXI Dynasty and expressly for Paynedjem.⁵⁶ The coffin, at all events, like the outer of the Tuthmosis I set, is too long to have ever been placed in the Ḥatshepsūt sarcophagus. Its dimensions are: length 212 cm., width at elbows 60 cm., present maximum height 21 cm.

Except for the sarcophagus, the only object found in Tomb 42 which may date from the time of Tuthmosis II is a fragmentary wooden sledge⁵⁷—probably the one used to drag the sarcophagus into the tomb. It was found beside the sarcophagus where it must have been abandoned by the workmen at the moment when all work in the tomb was suddenly ordered to be stopped.

Otherwise, no single scrap of the original tomb furniture of Tuthmosis II has ever been found, either in this tomb, in its immediate vicinity,⁵⁸ or elsewhere. Many of the smaller objects from his burial could have been lost, but the absence of the larger items—especially of the bulky but essential canopic box—is difficult to explain unless we conclude that Tuthmosis II was never buried in Tomb 42, even though it was very obviously being prepared for him. This conclusion has already been suggested by the position and condition of the sarcophagus and, more especially, of its lid (see above, p. 12). It is further indicated by the presence of the workmen's sledge and by the failure to remove from the passages and chambers of the tomb much of the chip which had piled up in the course of its excavation. The complete absence anywhere in the tomb of the name of its royal owner is also suspicious; for it would have been a matter of seconds to establish the identity of the occupant by scribbling a cartouche either on one of the blank wall spaces or pillar faces of the sepulchral hall or on the sarcophagus; and it is not likely that any king of Egypt would have been buried incognito. Probably the strongest point against Tuthmosis II's ever having been buried in Tomb 42 is the fact that no later than the reign of his grandson, Amenhotpe II, it was occupied by a private individual and his family.⁵⁹

It then follows that the place in which Tuthmosis II and his burial equipment were actually interred has not as yet been found by modern excavators. The mummy of the King was, however, found, encased in an anthropoid coffin of the XX Dynasty, in the Cache of Royal Mummies at Deir el-Bahri⁶⁰—along with those of Tuthmosis I and III. Since the tombs of these two kings are situated in the near vicinity of Tomb 42, it is probable that the burial place of Tuthmosis II is not far removed from his tomb.

⁵⁶ Daressy: *Cercueils*, No. 61025.

⁵⁷ Carter: *Annales du Service*, p. 198, plate i, 2.

⁵⁸ The area about the tomb entrance has been carefully and repeatedly excavated: by Loret in 1899; by Macarios, Andraos, and Carter in 1900; and by Carnarvon and Carter in 1919-1920.

⁵⁹ See above, p. 7 and Note 31.

⁶⁰ Maspero: *Les momies royales*, p. 545; Smith: *Royal Mummies*, p. 27; Daressy: *Cercueils*, No. 61013, p. 18, plate xiii.

Our study of Tomb 42 and its contents has so far established three points in regard to it: 1) It is almost certainly the tomb of Tuthmosis II; 2) it was never completely finished; and 3) Tuthmosis II appears never to have been buried in it. A study of the sarcophagus (B) found in the tomb (to follow, p. 48-50) corroborates these conclusions and adds still another fact concerning the original preparations for the burial of Tuthmosis II.

A small but interesting point on the relative dating of this tomb is provided by a glance at the necessarily nearly contemporary tomb (immediately to be discussed) which *Hatshepsut*, as Queen Consort to Tuthmosis II, was having made for herself in the cliffs to the West of Deir el-Bahri. Work on both

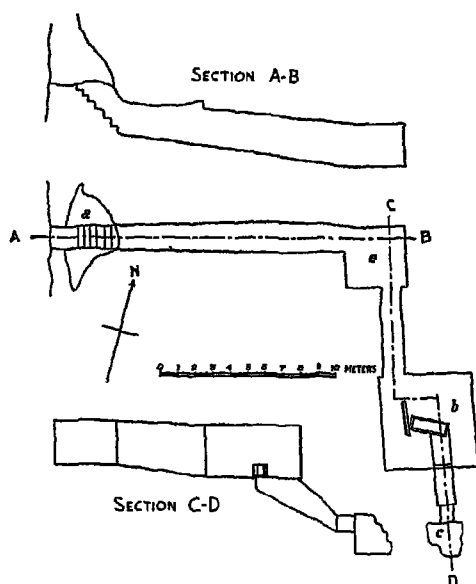


FIG. 3. PLAN AND SECTIONS OF *HATSHEPSUT*'S CLIFF-TOMB, WADY SIKKAT TAQA EL ZEIDE

tombs was presumably stopped at the moment of the death of Tuthmosis II.⁵¹ His tomb in the Bibân el-Molûk was entirely cut and partially decorated at this time, while the Queen's tomb still lacked the greater part of its sepulchral hall (Fig. 3). Assuming, then, that both tomb gangs could work at the same rate of speed, it is probable that the Tuthmosis II tomb was commenced somewhat the earlier of the two, although, as has been noted (above, p. 1), the opposite seems to be true in the case of the respective sarcophagi.

Hatshepsut's cliff tomb in the Wady Sikkat Taqa el Zeide was clearly made

⁵¹ The death of Tuthmosis II would naturally have brought to an abrupt close the work on his tomb; while *Hatshepsut*, at the death of her husband, seeing her way clear to assuming the titles of King, would have had no further use for the modest tomb and sarcophagus which were being prepared for her as Queen Consort.

for her at a time when she was still Queen Consort to Tuthmosis II. It lies in the region which, from the XVIII Dynasty on, was devoted almost exclusively to the tombs of the families of Pharaohs.⁶² In the inscriptions on the sarcophagus (A) found in the tomb Hatshepsut is mentioned only by her personal name and bears no title higher than *Great Wife of the King*. It is equally evident that the tomb was abandoned unused and when only partially completed. Its excavation is not finished; and, aside from the sarcophagus, the only objects found in the tomb were the necks of two broken pottery jars⁶³—undoubtedly once the property of the workmen employed to cut the tomb—and some limestone slabs probably intended for the lining of the sepulchral hall.⁶⁴ The cessation of work in the tomb must have taken place at the moment when Hatshepsut foresaw the possibility of discarding her titles and appertinences as Queen in favour of those of King of Egypt—this moment being almost certainly that of the death of Tuthmosis II in 1502 B.C. Hatshepsut realized her ambition of becoming King at some time between the death of Tuthmosis II⁶⁵ and the excavation of her second tomb, in the Valley of the Kings, for in this latter tomb she appears with the full titulary of Pharaoh.⁶⁶

Hatshepsut's second tomb, this time in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings (No. 20), lies just over the cliff from her mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri. Its position, the orientation of its entrance, and the extraordinary length of the tomb (Fig. 4) make it fairly evident that the intention of its architect⁶⁷ was to run it completely under the cliff and bring its sepulchral hall squarely under the temple. As a matter of fact, the tomb is over a hundred meters too short to have entirely accomplished this design; but, in view of the other incidents which accompanied its actual excavation, this item is of no great consequence. Crumbly rock was struck almost immediately upon the commencement of the cutting, to avoid which it was necessary to bend the plan of the tomb completely back upon itself. In spite of this, the original layout—the number of units in the plan and their relations to one another—was doggedly carried out. As a result the sepulchral hall, which bears the same relationship to the antechamber and preceding passage as was originally intended, has its prescribed orientation and that of the sarcophagi in it completely reversed.⁶⁸

⁶² See above, p. 8, Note 32.

⁶³ Carter: *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, iv, p. 118.

⁶⁴ Loc. cit.; see below, p. 21 and Note 78.

⁶⁵ Not until after the second year following his death. See below, p. 145-146.

⁶⁶ See below, pp. 19, 20, 21.

⁶⁷ The Vizier Hapusenb, as indicated by the inscription on a statue of this dignitary, now in the Louvre (Newberry: P.S.B.A., xxii, p. 94; Breasted: *Ancient Records*, ii, p. 160, ff.).

⁶⁸ It will have been noted that the sepulchral hall in this tomb has its long axis lying roughly North-South, across the axis of the passage leading into it, and that the long axes of the sarcophagi

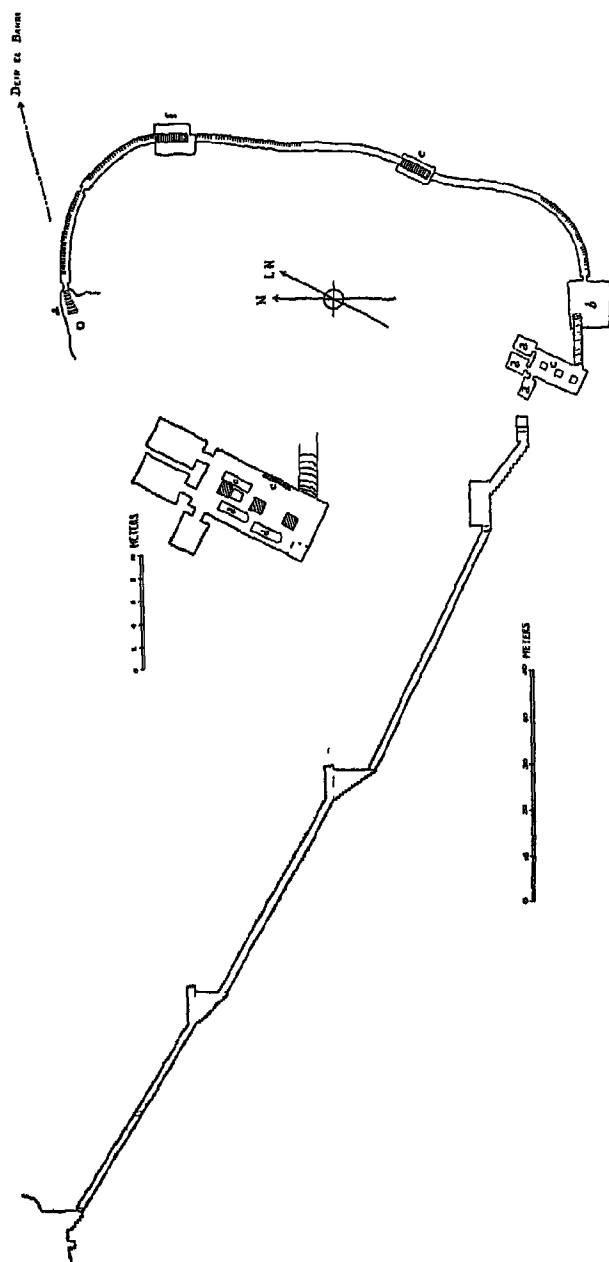


FIG. 4. PLAN AND SECTION OF Haishefuy's Valley-Tomb, BÉAN EL MOLÚK No. 20

Two pieces of evidence on the method used in lowering the sarcophagi into the sepulchral hall are to be found in the passages of this tomb. The passages, like many of those in tombs of this period, are provided with steps. The steps are, however, cut to only about half the width of the passage, along its left side (Fig. 4); the right side having been left smooth to serve as a slide for the descent of the sarcophagus. In several places mortises and slots are cut in the side walls of the passages to receive the ends of timbers to which the check ropes from the sarcophagus were snubbed, in order to retard the downward rush of the monument as it was slid into the tomb.⁶⁹

Resting in the sepulchral hall were found Ḥatshepsūt's second and third sarcophagi (C and D) and her canopic box.⁷⁰ The square-ended second sarcophagus (C) had been altered to receive the remains of Tuthmosis I and his name appears everywhere in its inscriptions, in many instances cut over the names of his daughter, which had been filled in with painted plaster—these latter names having been no longer those of the Royal Consort, Ḥatshepsūt, but of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ma'tkarē'-Ḥatshepsūt. A formal dedication inscription (Text I) on the right side of the sarcophagus states that the "Female Horus, Wosret-Kaw, the Nebty, Wadjet-Renpūt, the Horus of Gold, Neferet-Kh'w, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ma'tkarē', the son (l) of Rē', Ḥatshepsūt-Khnemet-Amūn made it as her monument to her father whom she loved, the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, 'Akheperkarē', the son of Rē', Tuthmosis, the deceased." The sarcophagus was found, lying on its left side, in front of the northernmost of the three piers, between the pier and entrance wall of the hall. This overturning of the sarcophagus was probably the work of thieves, who sought valuable deposits which they believed to be under it.⁷¹ Ḥatshepsūt's great round-headed sar-

are parallel to the axis of the hall and not perpendicular to it: an exception to the general rule in this respect.

In the tomb as actually made the head-ends of both sarcophagi are towards the South. It is, however, assumed that the tomb was planned to develop in a long straight line in order to end as nearly as possible under Ḥatshepsūt's temple at Deir el-Bahri. Had it done so, the orientation of the sepulchral hall and the sarcophagi would have been the reverse of what they actually were, the head-ends of the sarcophagi being to the North, as is regular. The belief that the plan of the tomb was intended to be straight is not based altogether upon the writer's supposition in regard to the original intention of its architect; for the Deir el-Bahri tomb of Senmūt, Chief Steward of Amūn under Ḥatshepsūt, which is modelled after the royal tomb now under discussion, has the long straight plan, with the bend to the right only at the passage into the proposed sepulchral hall (Winlock: *Bull. Met. Mus. Art.*, February 1928, Section II, pp. 32-42, figures 29 and 33-45).

⁶⁹ Similar slots are to be seen in the passage walls of the tombs of Sety I (Bibān el-Molūk, No. 17, XIX Dynasty. Plan and section in Lepsius: *Denkmäler*, I, plate 96. See also Porter-Moss: *Bibliography*, I, p. 21 ff.) and Merneptah (Bibān el-Molūk, No. 8, XIX Dynasty. Carter: *Annales du Service*, VI, p. 117, fig. 3).

⁷⁰ Made to accompany and to match Sarcophagus D. Cairo Museum, *Journal d'entrée*, No. 52460. Carter: *Tomb of Hatshepsut*, p. 101 and plate.

⁷¹ No traces of such deposits have been found in any of the XVIII Dynasty royal tombs; but the fact that four of our sarcophagi (C, D, F, and I) were hauled off their bases and the base-blocks

cophagus (D) rested in the place of honour in the hall: behind the northern and middle piers, between them and the west wall. It lay right side up, but tilted slightly over to the right on its broken alabaster base-block and on the heaped up rubbish on the floor of the hall. The positions in which the lids of both sarcophagi were found has been described above (p. 12). In both cases the long axis of the sarcophagus was parallel with that of the hall, in contradistinction to what is usually the case in this respect. The head-ends of both were toward the South and their left-side Eye panels to the West, just the reverse, as has been noted, of the regular orientation of the sarcophagus, not only throughout the XVIII Dynasty, but also in nearly all periods of Egyptian history. Had the tomb, however, been executed as planned and the relative orientations of the passages, the sepulchral hall, and the sarcophagi remained the same, the head-ends of the latter would have faced the North and the Eye Panels the East, as is normal.

In addition to the two sarcophagi and the canopic box, a number of other objects were found in the sepulchral hall. Carter,⁷² describing these, says: "Among the rubbish, and distributed over the chamber, fifteen limestone slabs were found, bearing chapters of the 'Book of that which is in the Underworld' written and drawn in red and black ink, and intended to line the tomb." . . . "Beyond the above antiquities only broken parts of funereal furniture were discovered; these were as follows: Fragments of diorite, alabaster, and crystalline limestone vases, bowls, and jars; a few red pottery vases, saucers, and a lamp (?); some burnt pieces of wooden coffins and boxes; a part of the face and foot of a large wooden statue covered with bitumen; some fragments of a blue glaze shawabti coffin and vases; and, lastly, some pieces of small inlay work."

Nearly all the stone vase fragments bear inscriptions and nearly all are of interest. Two of the vases⁷³ were made originally for 'Aḥmose-Nefertari, the sister and wife of 'Aḥmose I and the grandmother of Tuthmosis I. On one of them her titles and name are followed by the exclamation: "May she live!" On this same vase are two columns to the left of the 'Aḥmose panel, which rather inconsequentially state that Tuthmosis II "(made it) as his monument to his father." This vase was probably an heirloom, originally placed in the tomb of Tuthmosis I by his son on the occasion of his original burial and subsequently moved by Ḥatshepsūt to her tomb along with the body of her father. Two other vases,⁷⁴ with the titles and names of Tuthmosis I, followed

smashed must indicate that the custom of burying valuable offerings on the site of the sarcophagus did exist and was well known to New Empire and Late Dynastic tomb-robbers. An analogy to such a procedure is to be found in a number of Middle Kingdom tombs, wherein the canopic box is buried in a hole in the chamber floor under the coffin (Garstang: *Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 177-8, fig. 184).

⁷² *Tomb of Ḥatshepsūt*, p. 80.

⁷³ Carter: *Op. cit.*, pp. 106 and 108, figs. 1 and 2.

⁷⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 108, figs. 3 and 4.

by the epithet "justified with Osiris, etc.," i.e. "deceased," also bear the statement that Tuthmosis II made them as his monuments to his father. These, like the first two vases, probably came from the tomb of Tuthmosis I; as did also a fifth vase whereon one reads: "The beloved Wife of the God, the King's Daughter whom he loves, Ḥatsheps(ut, may she live!) made (it) for her father, King (Tuthmosis I, the justified), beloved of Osiris, Lord of Abydos."⁷⁶ A sixth vase⁷⁸ gives the titles and name of Ḥatshepsūt as Queen Consort and adds "May she live!" This was probably part of the Queen's early household furniture, before she had assumed her kingly titulary. Finally, there were found two vases bearing the kingly prenomen, Ma'tkarē', followed in one case by the wish "May she live!" only, and in the other by this exclamation and also (after the nomen) by the formula, "Justified with Osiris. . . ."⁷⁷ These two are unquestionably the latest of the series, since they were made for Ḥatshepsūt after she had become king.

The other items mentioned by Carter are of no very great significance. It is possible that the coffins of which fragments were found may have belonged to either Ḥatshepsūt or to Tuthmosis I, but there is no way of proving the point. The slabs inscribed with citations and scenes from the Book of *Am Duat* seem certainly to have been intended to adorn the walls of the sepulchral hall, since this identical decoration was used in both the halls of Tuthmosis I and Tuthmosis III, as well as in most of the early royal tombs. It is strange that Carter and Baraize, fourteen years later, should have supposed similar slabs found in the Queen's cliff tomb to be fragments of the plinth of the sarcophagus and should have arrived at this conclusion by comparing them with the slabs from the Valley tomb;⁷⁸ for in the latter there were also found, as we have just seen, in addition to the inscribed slabs, the two halves of the plain rectangular alabaster block which actually is the plinth of Sarcophagus D.

At the entrance of this tomb there was unearthed a foundation deposit containing objects inscribed with Ḥatshepsūt's prenomen as king of Egypt: Ma'tkarē'⁷⁹—certainly one of the earliest occurrences of the name which has come down to us.⁸⁰

No mummy which can definitely be identified as that of Ḥatshepsūt has as yet been found, although Loret has suggested that one of the unidentified female mummies found by him in the Tomb of Amenhotpe II may be hers. The evidence which he brings forward in support of this supposition is, however, altogether inconclusive.⁸¹

⁷⁶ Op. cit., p. 109, fig. 6.

⁷⁷ Op. cit., p. 110, fig. 8.

⁷⁸ Op. cit., p. 109, fig. 5; p. 110, fig. 7.

⁷⁹ Carter: *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, iv, p. 118; Baraize: *Annales du Service*, xxi, pp. 175-182.

⁸⁰ Carter: *Tomb of Hatshepsut*, pp. 104-107.

⁸¹ See below, p. 146, note 29.

⁸² Loret: *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, 3ème série, No. 9, pp. 98-112.

In the tomb of Tuthmosis III (Fig. 5) the introduction—or rather, the revival²²—of the protective well (e) is the principal contribution which its architect made to the development of the XVIII Dynasty royal tomb type. It appears from now on in all the royal tombs down to and including that of Amenhotpe III (see Figs. 6–8). That the well was originally planned and executed as a chamber, and only made into a well after the descent of the sarcophagus and other heavy furniture into the portions of the tomb beyond, is attested by a rough and slightly projecting ridge which is visible around its walls at the level of the passage floors and which marks the edges of the original chamber floor; and by the fact that the stucco work and painted decoration of the well ends abruptly at this floor level, the lower part of the well being left as subsequently cut.

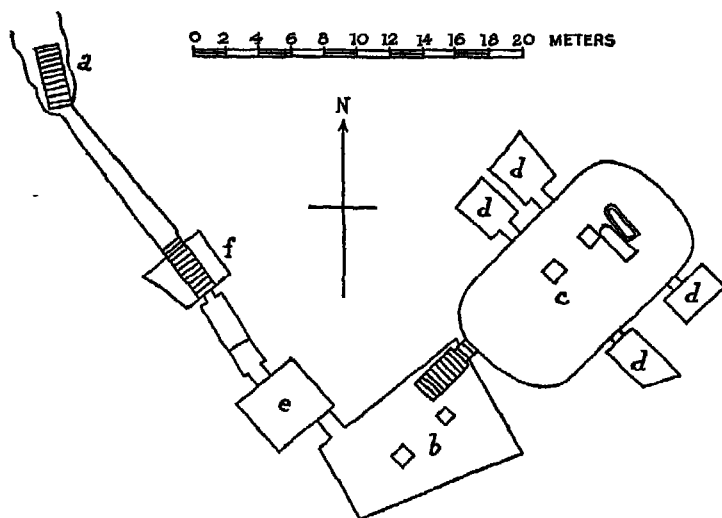


FIG. 5. PLAN OF THE TOMB OF TUTHMOSIS III, BÎÂN EL MOLÛK No. 34

The sarcophagus (F), which is placed near the east end of the sepulchral hall, lies North-South, its head to the North and its left side with the Eye-Panel to the East. The alabaster base-block of the sarcophagus is *in situ* in a cutting in the floor, but is badly broken. The sarcophagus had been partially hauled off the block and its lid pried up and thrown over on to the floor between the sarcophagus box and the second pillar, bottom up and snapped cleanly across the middle (Plate VIII)—obviously the work of tomb-robbers, who seem to have obtained their purchase on the under side of the lid by smashing in the rim of the sarcophagus at its head end (Plate X).

The bulk of the decoration of the sepulchral hall is of a purely religious na-

²² The protective well had already made an appearance in the XVIII Dynasty in the tomb of Amenhotpe I (Carter: *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, iii, pl. xx).

ture. On a face of the first pillar there is depicted, however, a scene of considerable historical importance. Here we see Tuthmosis III in a boat together with his mother, the harm favourite Isis, the latter referred to as living. Below is a curious scene depicting the King suckled by the same Isis, who has taken the form of a tree with arms and breasts. Finally, the King is shown followed by his wife, Merytrē' (-Ḥatshepsūt), who is mentioned as living; by a second wife, 'Aḥsat, labelled as dead; by a third wife, Nebetkhru, living; and by a deceased daughter, Nefertari. The scene is valuable as showing the state of the family of Tuthmosis III at the time of the decoration of his tomb.

Numerous fragments of the original funerary furniture of Tuthmosis III—wooden statues, broken vases, food offerings, etc.—were found in both the antechamber and sepulchral hall of the tomb.⁸³ Two intrusive burials of late date were discovered in one of the small store-chambers off the sepulchral hall.⁸⁴

The mummy and what must be the outer anthropoid coffin of Tuthmosis III were found in the Cache of Royal Mummies at Deir el-Bahri. The mummy is 161.5 cm. tall and is that of a man in his fifties.⁸⁵

The coffin, which is one of the original set, is 207 cm. long, 67 cm. wide at the elbows, with a maximum height of 63 cm. Its walls are about 4 cm. thick. It is of cedar and resembles in style the coffin of Sekenenrē'-Tao of the XVII Dynasty.⁸⁶ Its two inscriptions—one down the center of the lid on the exterior and the other down the center of the floor of the box on the interior—are identical with those which appear in the same places on the sarcophagus (Texts 1 and 54). The coffin is published by Daressy in the Cairo Catalogue.⁸⁷

The principal point of difference between the tomb of Amenhotpe II⁸⁸ (Fig. 6) and those which have gone before it lies in its sepulchral hall, which is, however, the model from which the later halls in the tombs of Tuthmosis IV and Amenhotpe III are taken. No longer cartouche-shaped, but perfectly rectangular, the great chamber is divided into two parts: the hall proper, with six piers arranged in two rows toward the northeast; and the sunken "sarcophagus crypt" at the southwest end, access to which is provided by a flight of five steps, set between the two southerly piers of the hall and connecting the two floor levels. (A section view of the arrangement is given in Fig. 7, which is, however, taken from the tomb of Tuthmosis IV).

⁸³ Daressy: *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois*, Nos. 24901-24970 and 5204-5217, pp. 281-298, plates lv and lvi.

⁸⁴ Smith: *Royal Mummies*, Nos. 61099 and 61100, p. 116, plate xcvi.

⁸⁵ Smith: *Royal Mummies*, p. 34.

⁸⁶ Daressy: *Cercueils des Cachettes Royales*, No. 61001, pp. 1-2, Pls. I-II.

⁸⁷ Op. cit., No. 61014, pp. 19-20, plate xiv.

⁸⁸ Loret: *Le Tombeau d'Amenophis II et la Cachette royale de Biban-el-Molouk* (*Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, 3ème série, No. 9, 1898, pp. 98-112, plates 1 and 8-15).

In the center of the crypt rests the excellently preserved sarcophagus (G), *in situ*, but with its base-block somewhat askew beneath it (Plate XII).⁸⁹ The base block is of alabaster, is 270 cm. long, 160 cm. wide, and about 45 cm. high. Sunk into a cutting in the floor of the crypt, its top is almost flush with the floor level. It is the best preserved of all sarcophagus bases, but lacks a great part of its right side and is battered and chipped along its edges and corners. The lid of the sarcophagus, when found, lay near the sarcophagus box, broken into thirty-five pieces. It now lies, partially assembled, beside the northwest wall of the crypt, beyond the head of the sarcophagus.

One-thousand seventy-seven articles of the original tomb furniture—all more or less fragmentary—were found scattered throughout the passages

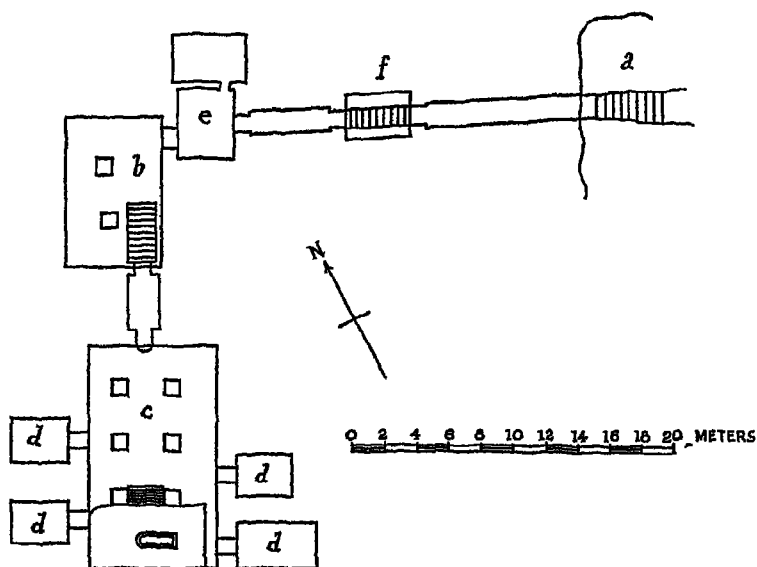


FIG. 6. PLAN OF THE TOMB OF AMENHOTEP II, BIBÂN EL MOLÛK NO. 35

and chambers of this tomb.⁹⁰ Of outstanding interest is the King's alabaster Canopic box.⁹¹ It is similar in form to the quartzite Canopic boxes of Tuthmosis I and Hatshepsut:⁹² a cubicle chest, 57 cm. on a side and 56 cm. high, its interior divided into four circular compartments. The exterior only is decorated. At each of the four corners of the box is sculptured a figure of one of the quartet of tutelary goddesses: Isis, Nephthys, Neith, and Serket,

⁸⁹ The photograph was taken from the steps which lead down into the crypt from the hall above.

⁹⁰ Daressy: *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois*, Nos. 24101-24889, 3859-5203, and 11494-11496, pp. 63-279, plates xviii-liv.

⁹¹ Op. cit., No. 5029, pp. 243-244, plate 1.

⁹² Cairo Museum, *Journal d'entrée*, Nos. 36416 and 52460; Winlock: *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, xv, p. 58, plate xiv; Carter: *Tomb of Hatshepsut*, p. 101 and plate.

their arms outstretched along the side walls as if to encircle in a protective embrace the vital organs of the deceased monarch which the box contained. This is the earliest known example on which relief figures of the Four Goddesses, with outspread arms, are carved on the four corners of the monument. The motif shortly after the time of Amenhotpe II became exceedingly popular and is a feature of the sarcophagi of Tut'ankhamūn,⁹³ Ay,⁹⁴ and Horemheb (Fig. 15).⁹⁵ The remarkable gilded figures of the Goddesses which were found surrounding the Canopic shrine of Tut'ankhamūn⁹⁶ are clearly only a further development of the use of this motif.

In the second small store-chamber on the northwest side of the sepulchral hall there was found a cache of nine royal mummies, all of which had been removed from their own plundered tombs, rewrapped, and hidden in this little room by the kings and priests of the XXI Dynasty, as is shown by the dockets written on their bandages. Among the mummies were those of Tuthmosis IV and Amenhotpe III. The cache had been plundered by a native of Qurnah in 1894, but sufficient evidence was left to permit of the positive identification of most of the bodies.⁹⁷

The mummy of Amenhotpe II was found in his own sarcophagus. It was not, however, in its original state, for the sarcophagus had been pried open, the mummy hauled out and robbed, and the original coffins destroyed. In the XXI Dynasty the wrappings of the mummy were restored and it was placed in a new and specially inscribed coffin. The coffin was then lowered into the sarcophagus, where it was found by Loret.⁹⁸

As far as the third passage, the plan of the tomb of Tuthmosis IV (Fig. 7) corresponds almost exactly with that of the tomb of Amenhotpe II. At the end of the third passage there is, however, a fourth stairway and a small rectangular chamber, which have been inserted into the plan between the antechamber and the sepulchral hall. At the small chamber the plan of the tomb takes a second right-angle bend to the left, thus making the orientation of the sepulchral hall the same as that of the entrance-way and the first two passages: compass southwest-northeast. Except for its size, the sepulchral

⁹³ Carter: *Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen*, ii, pp. 48-50, plates xvi, lxiv, and lxv.

⁹⁴ Cairo Museum, No. 624. Also, fragments in Berlin (Ägyptische Museum, No. 2073) and in London (British Museum, No. 1002). See Porter and Moss: *Bibliography*, i, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 29.

⁹⁵ Davis, Maspero, and Daressy: *The Tombs of Harmhabi and Touatankhamon* (Theo. M. Davis' *Excavations: Bibân el Molûk*), pp. 91-95, plates lxv-lxxiii.

⁹⁶ *The Illustrated London News*, February 4th, 1928, pp. 161-167. The canopic box itself also has the four figures at its corners.

⁹⁷ Loret: *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, 3ème série, No. 9, pp. 98-112.

⁹⁸ It is an interesting fact that, with the exception of Tut'ankhamūn, Amenhotpe II is the only king of Egypt, from the beginning of the XVIII to the end of the XX Dynasty, whose body was discovered in his own sarcophagus—even his presence there being due only to the solicitude of his royal successors and not to the fact that it had never been disturbed.

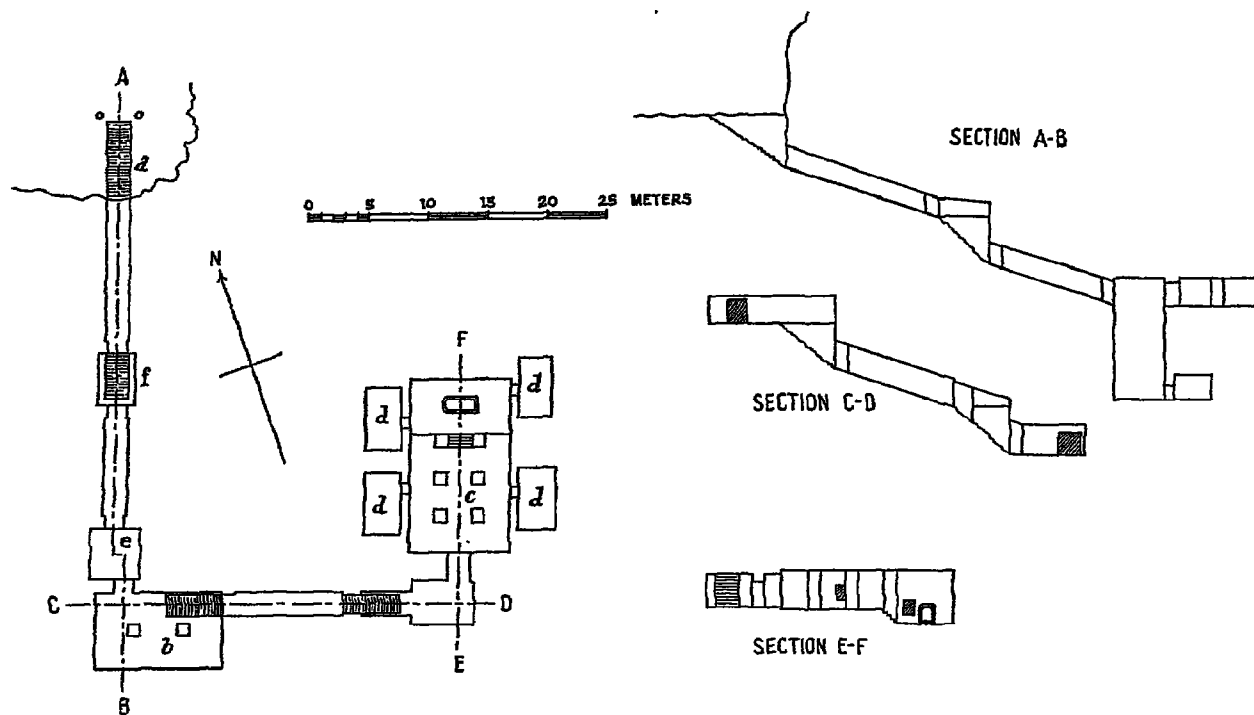


FIG. 7. PLAN AND SECTIONS OF THE TOMB OF TUTHMOSIS IV, BÎBÂN EL MOLÛK No. 43

hall differs only in the most minute details from that of the tomb of Amenhotpe II. It was, however, never decorated—a fact which, with others, indicates that the tomb was never completely finished. Since Tuthmosis IV died at the age of twenty-five,⁹⁹ this is not surprising.

The enormous quartzite sarcophagus lies in the center of the sunken crypt at the northeast end of the sepulchral hall (Plate XIV). Its head is to the northwest and its left side to the northeast (approximately north and east, respectively, as is regular). The box rests on a pavement of rough slabs of stone, let into a shallow depression in the crypt floor. The lid was found on the floor, to the southwest of the sarcophagus. It was bottom up and was blocked up on three piles of limestone slabs, its fourth corner being supported by a painted wooden cow's head,¹⁰⁰ evidently broken away from one of the animal figures which went to make up the original tomb furniture. The lower edge of the lid and the rim of the sarcophagus at the head-end had been smashed away at one point, probably by tomb-robbers seeking a purchase for their pry-bars. The lid was replaced on the sarcophagus by Carter at the time of his excavation of the tomb.

In addition to the sarcophagus, numerous pieces of the funerary furniture of Tuthmosis IV were found in the tomb,¹⁰¹ including: the body and other parts of a state chariot, wooden statues of the King, carved wooden panels from a throne, glazed shawabtis and shawabti-coffins, pottery vases of all kinds, glass vases, model throw-sticks, a quantity of assorted amulets, four emblems from niches in the walls of the sepulchral hall, and a large number of food-offerings. Immediately before the mouth of the tomb were found two complete and undisturbed foundation deposits of Tuthmosis IV. In the foundation deposits, in the rubbish outside the tomb, and in the tomb itself there were recovered objects bearing the names of Tuthmosis I, Hatshepsut, Tuthmosis III, and Amenhotpe II.¹⁰²

Tuthmosis IV's mummy was found in the tomb of Amenhotpe II, enclosed within a wooden anthropoid coffin of late date. The mummy is 164.6 cm. tall and is that of a person of delicate, almost effeminate, build and features. Careful examination of the mummy by Elliot Smith and others indicated that Tuthmosis IV was, as has been said above, about twenty-five years of age at the time of his death.¹⁰³

The tomb of Amenhotpe III (Fig. 8) is situated in the West branch of the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings. The plan of the tomb is very similar to

⁹⁹ G. Elliot Smith, apud Carter and Newberry: *The Tomb of Thoutmosis IV*, p. xliii.

¹⁰⁰ Carter and Newberry: *Op. cit.*, p. ix, figure 2, No. 46069, p. 15, plate v.

¹⁰¹ *Op. cit.*, passim.

¹⁰² *Op. cit.*, p. xi; inventory Nos. 46004, 46086-46092, 46526, pp. 2, 18-19, 143-144, plates i-ii.

¹⁰³ G. Elliot Smith: *The Physical Characters of the Mummy of Thoutmosis IV* (Carter and Newberry: *Op. cit.*, pp. xli-xlv).

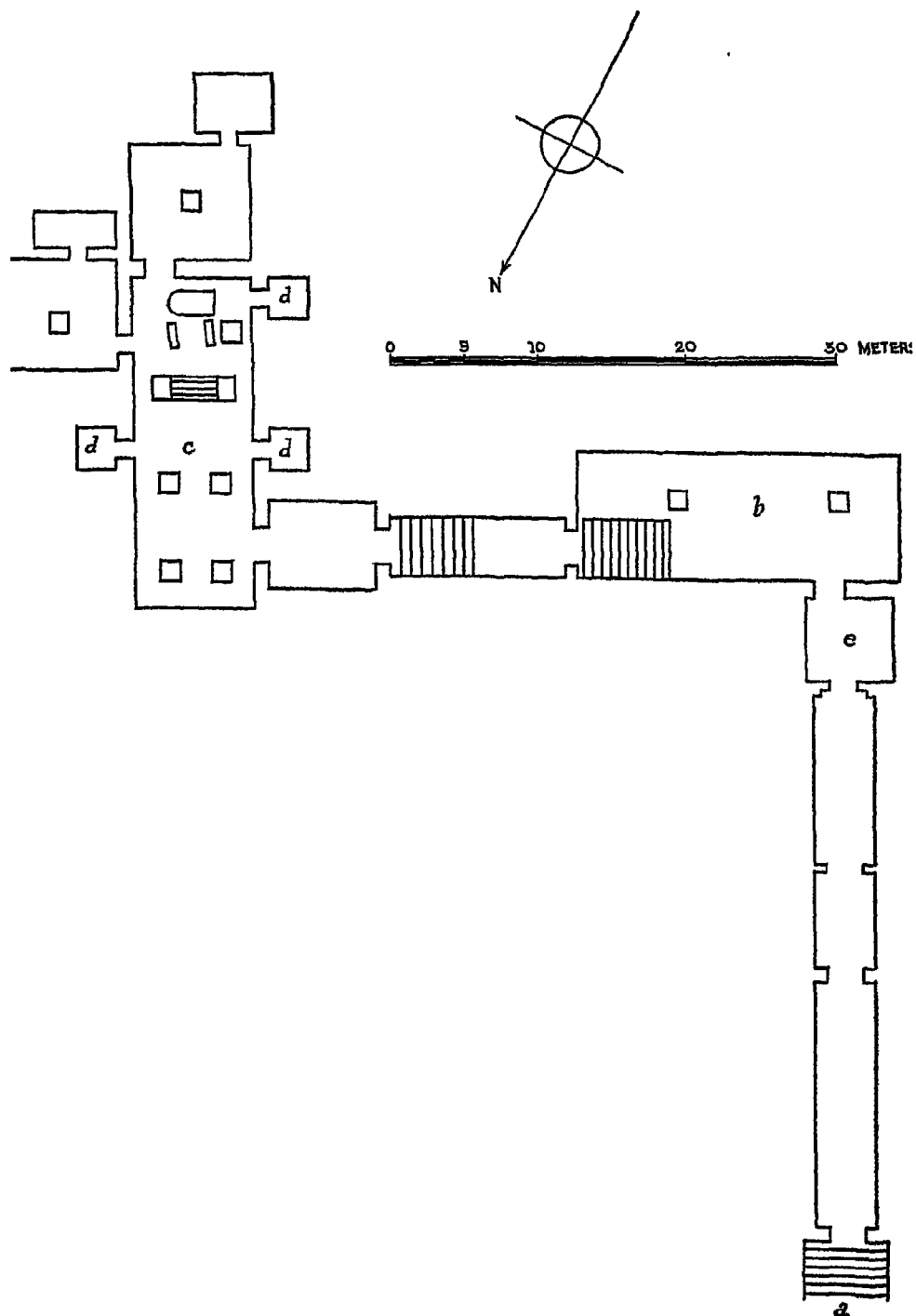


FIG. 8. PLAN OF THE TOMB OF AMENHOTEP III, BIRÂN EL MOLÚK (WEST VALLEY) No. 22

that of the tomb of Tuthmosis IV, containing all the elements which we have noted in the earlier example with the exception of the stair-chamber between the entrance and the protective well (cf. Fig. 7). The principal difference between the two plans lies in the fact that in the Amenhotpe III tomb the plan resumes its original direction at the entrance of the sepulchral hall, instead of curving back on itself as it does in the tomb of Tuthmosis IV: that is, the second bend in the plan is to the right instead of again to the left. Interesting is the fact that the entrance doorway into the sepulchral hall is in one of the room's long side walls, not in the end—a characteristic which has not been seen since the Valley tomb of Hatshepsut (Fig. 4). The second store-room off the north side of the sepulchral hall is here replaced by a fairly large square chamber with a pier in its middle and a small subsidiary room opening off one of its walls. A similar group of rooms open from the rear wall of the sepulchral hall. These chambers are believed to have been prepared for the burials of two of the queens of Amenhotpe III, the main room being in each case the burial chamber and the smaller room the store-chamber.¹⁰⁴

As in the tomb of Amenhotpe II, only the protective well and the sepulchral hall are decorated.¹⁰⁵ When excavated by Jollois and Devilliers of the Napoleonic expedition, the tomb was found to have been gutted from end to end. The only objects found in it, of which there is any record, are: a funeral box now in the Cairo Museum,¹⁰⁶ and a number of the usual funeral statuettes of the King.¹⁰⁷

Extraordinary is the complete disappearance of the great sarcophagus box, not a single fragment of which has come down to us. The three-meter granite lid, when first seen by the earliest modern excavators of the tomb, lay, as it still does (Fig. 8; Plate XVI), on its back beside the east wall of the sarcophagus crypt, smashed to pieces and caked with filth.¹⁰⁸ The head-end of the lid lies to the North. Its head- and foot-ends had been battered in, almost certainly by tomb-robbers, who by so doing were enabled to insert the ends of their pry-bars under the main mass of the lid and by means of these heave it up and off the sarcophagus. The principal break is a clean snap transversely across the middle of the lid, probably brought about by the impact which took place when the great hollowed slab of granite struck the stone floor of the crypt. Since there is no reason to suppose that the two very heavy main fragments were moved about in antiquity, it is possible, from the

¹⁰⁴ Queen Tyi, the wife of Amenhotpe III, was actually buried in the tomb. See Carter: and Mace: *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen*, i, p. 79.

¹⁰⁵ See Porter and Moss: *Bibliography*, i, p. 28 (Tomb No. 22).

¹⁰⁶ Mariette: *Monuments divers*, plate 36a.

¹⁰⁷ *Description de l'Égypte, Antiquités* ii, plates 80 (1-4, 6-7, 9-15), 81 (1-5); Maspero: *Notes sur différents points de grammaire et d'histoire (Mélanges d'Archéologie)*, i) p. 109.

¹⁰⁸ See Appendix I, under I, *Condition*.

indications presented by the position of the lid alone, to reconstruct the original position of the sarcophagus, i.e., somewhere about the middle of the crypt, head to the North and left side to the East. We are not, however, entirely dependant upon the present location of the lid fragments in determining the site of the missing sarcophagus, for an examination of the floor of the crypt provides us with evidence sufficient to make certain the box's position. In the crypt floor, about at its center, are two transverse slots, parallel to one another, 25 cm. deep, 50 and 60 cm. wide, 160 cm. long, and with their outer edges exactly 300 cm. apart. The fact that the last two dimensions correspond to the centimeter with the width and length, respectively, of the lid and, hence, with the width and length of the missing sarcophagus, makes it clear that these slots were cut to receive two base-blocks on which the ends of the sarcophagus rested. Their position in the crypt (Fig. 8), therefore, absolutely fixes the original position of the sarcophagus. The use of two or more blocks as the plinth of a sarcophagus is paralleled, not only in the tomb of Tuthmosis IV, wherein the sarcophagus is supported on a number of slabs; but also in the tomb of Tut'ankhamūn, wherein the sarcophagus rests on four blocks, one under each of its corners.¹⁰⁹ The square pit in the crypt floor immediately to the South of the slots is of considerable interest. The position of the Canopic box in the XVIII Dynasty royal tomb was, as we have seen (e.g., Fig. 1), at the foot of the sarcophagus. The position of the pit together with and in relation to that of the slots not only suggests that it was intended to take the base-block of the Canopic box or the box itself;¹¹⁰ but strengthens the conclusion that the slots were intended for the base-blocks of the sarcophagus, and indicates that the foot-end of the sarcophagus was, as usual, to the South, and its head-end to the North.

¹⁰⁹ Carter: *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen*, ii, p. 49.

¹¹⁰ As in a number of Middle Kingdom tombs. See Garstang: *Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 82, 105, 176-178, figure 184.

CHAPTER II

THE SARCOPHAGI

The material of which both the boxes and lids of the first eight sarcophagi of the present series are made is quartzite—a metamorphosed sandstone, composed primarily of quartz crystals, compacted by the introduction into its structure, usually through the medium of heat, of a considerable amount of siliceous cement—the hardest stone ever used on a large scale by any ancient people.¹ The stone employed for the eight monuments under discussion is, for the most part, fine grained and brownish yellow in colour. Its extreme hardness is attested by the fact that the sarcophagi, when tapped lightly on the side, give off a sharp metallic ring. It permits the utmost sharpness of detail in carving and its surface is susceptible of a very high polish. Its principal fault lies in the fact that it is apparently impossible to obtain a block of sufficient size for a sarcophagus which does not contain a considerable number of flaws. These flaws take the form of small round or oval pits, several centimeters across, which fleck the polished surfaces of the sarcophagi and do much to mar the appearances of the monuments.² In many cases the ancient mason has attempted to conceal this defect in his material by filling up the pit-holes with tinted plaster.

Quartzite does not seem to have been quarried on any scale in Egypt until the Middle Kingdom, an outstanding instance of its use in this period being the quartzite lining of the sepulchral chamber of the pyramid of Amenemhêt III at Hawara (XII Dynasty).³ Thereafter it takes its place as one of the more common materials employed in buildings and for statues, though never approaching the popularity enjoyed by the granites.

The stone occurs in numerous localities in Egypt, notably: at Gebel el Aḥmar, near Cairo; between Cairo and Suez; in the Wady Natrûn; in Sinai; at Gebelein; near Edfu; and at Aswân. Since, at every one of these places, it displays wide variation both in composition and colour—being either coarse or fine grained, and ranging in hue from deep red to pale gray—and since, in the case of the present monuments, we are totally without contributory

¹ Far harder than granite and more intractable to work, the quartz content in granite being more than equalled by the particles of feldspar, hornblende, etc.—softer elements—which go to make up its composition.

² These pit-holes appear to be due to small globular or oval lumps of black ferroneous matter which occur at intervals in the structure of the stone and which, being softer than the surrounding quartz crystals, are gouged out in the process of dressing the surfaces of the stone.

³ Petrie: *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara*, p. 16, plate iv; *Arts and Crafts in Ancient Egypt*, p. 69; Lucas: *Ancient Egyptian Materials*, p. 19.

evidence, documentary or otherwise, it is futile to attempt a definite assertion as to the individual quarry from which the blocks for the XVIII Dynasty royal sarcophagi were obtained. The most probable source is either Gebel el Ahmar or Gebelein: the former because we know that blocks were actually brought therefrom to Thebes during the XVIII Dynasty⁴ and because it appears to have been (as, indeed, it still is) the principal and most widely used quartzite quarry in Egypt;⁵ the latter because it is nearer to Thebes than any of the other localities named, lying a scant thirty kilometers south of the ancient capital.

Of Amenhotpe III's sarcophagus not a fragment remains. The lid (I) is of mottled red Aswân granite, a material popular in Egypt from the IV Dynasty onward and employed by the artisans of the XVIII Dynasty for buildings, obelisks, and statues; but not previously, in this dynasty, used for either sarcophagi or for their lids. The fashion for so using it, once set by Amenhotpe's stone-cutter, was quickly taken up by his successors. Granite fragments of some portion of a royal sarcophagus were found among the rubbish in the sarcophagus chamber of the so-called "Tomb of Akhenaten" at Tell el-Amarna.⁶ The quartzite sarcophagus of Tut'ankhamûn has a granite lid—a "crudely made granite slab," cut to the shape of the flat, gently sloping roof of an Egyptian *naos*, and seemingly out of keeping with the magnificent sarcophagus which it covers. Carter⁷ regards this lid as a makeshift, manufactured on short notice, in lieu of a more carefully worked lid of quartzite which he believes to have been intended for the sarcophagus. The choice of granite, however, as the material of the lid of Amenhotpe III's sarcophagus militates against this view. It is in the sarcophagi of Ay,⁸ of Horemheb,⁹

⁴ The block for a quartzite statue of Amenhotpe, son of Hapu, erected at Karnak (Mariette: *Karnak*, 36, 37; Rougé: *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, xxiii-xxviii; Brugsch: *Thesaurus*, vi, 1292-1298), and the blocks used probably for the Colossi of Amenhotpe III at Qurnah (Inscription on the dedication stela in Amenhotpe III's mortuary temple, line 4. Lepsius: *Denkmäler*, iii, 72; Breasted: *Ancient Records*, ii, § 906, pp. 369-370, and accompanying notes).

⁵ Called in antiquity either *qwr dšr* ("Red Mountain", cf. *Gebel el Ahmar*) or *qwr byḏ.t* ("Quartzite Mountain"), and appearing under one or the other of these names in numerous ancient inscriptions. See Gauthier: *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, vi, pp. 116, 126.

⁶ A. Barsanti: *Sulla scoperta della tomba del faraone Amenofi IV*, *Memoires of the Reale Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Seduta del 15 Aprile 1894*; Petrie: *Tell el Amarna* (1894), map, plate xxxiv; Bouriant: *Notes de voyage*, section 21, *Tombeau royal d'Hadgi-Qandil, Recueil des travaux*, xviii, 1896, pp. 144-150; Bouriant, Legrain, and Jéquier: *Monuments pour servir l'étude du culte d'Atonou en Égypte*, i, *Les tombes de Khoulatonou* (1903), pp. 2-3. All the above authors believe that the tomb at Tell el-Amarna, which was discovered by Barsanti in 1891, is in reality the tomb of Akhenaten. Ludwig Borchardt: *Voruntersuchung von Tell el-Amarna in Januar 1907* (*Mitteilungen des deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, No. 34, September 1907), however, refers to it as "das irrtümlich sogenannte Grab des Königs: die Gruft der königlichen Prinzessinnen."

⁷ *Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen*, ii, pp. 49-50.

⁸ Cairo Museum, No. 624. One side, the floor, and parts of the ends only remain. There are also fragments with Ay's name, which perhaps belong to this sarcophagus, in Berlin (Aegyptische Museum, No. 2073) and in London (British Museum, No. 1002). See Porter-Moss: *Bibliography*, i. p. 29.



FIG. 9. UNFINISHED SACOPHAGUS, SOUTH GRANITE QUARRY, ASH IN

and of Rameses I,¹⁰ the immediate successors of Tut'ankhamūn, that we see granite employed for the entire monument, both lids and sarcophagus boxes being of this material. Hereafter, certainly down to the XX Dynasty, it is the accepted material for royal sarcophagi.¹¹

In each of our examples the sarcophagus box is hewn in one piece from a single block of stone, a second block being used for the lid. To judge from the marks appearing everywhere on the unfinished sarcophagus (B) in Tomb 42 (Plate II 2) the entire operation, including the hollowing out of the block and the dressing of all the surfaces, was accomplished with the sole aid of the stone-mason's pick—"a hammer of metal, weighing nowadays somewhere about five pounds, pointed at both ends, and with a wooden shaft about two feet long."¹² The pick seems to have been, in antiquity as at the present day, the principal tool of the Egyptian stone-cutter. The thin, closely spaced cut marks made by the point of this implement hammering obliquely across the stone surface are to be seen, not only all over Sarcophagus B, inside and out, but appear also on the interior of Sarcophagus C, where portions of the end walls of the box have been roughly hacked away (Plate XXV C). The same tool was used in shaping a pair of partially executed sarcophagi in the south granite quarry at Aswān (Fig. 9); and Engelbach¹³ has noted its use in dressing the interior surfaces of two other Late Dynastic sarcophagi.¹⁴

In the initial shaping of the sarcophagus—probably carried out in the quarry¹⁵—provision was made to facilitate its handling in transport by

¹⁰ Still in his tomb (No. 57) in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings. Davis, Maspero, and Darnessey: *The Tombs of Harmhabi and Touatankhamōnou*, pp. 91-95, plates lxx-lxxiii.

¹¹ Still in his tomb (No. 16) in the Valley of the Kings. Lepsius: *Denkmäler*, iii, 123, c, d, cf. *Text*, iii, p. 216.

¹² The rectangular outer sarcophagus of Sety I, if such existed, has not been found. His alabaster anthropoid coffin in the Sloane Collection in London (Bonomi and Sharpe: *The Alabaster Sarcophagus of Olimenephthah I, in the Collection of Sir John Sloane*, etc.) does not rightfully belong to the class of monument with which we are, at the moment, concerned.

Rameses II's sarcophagus has not been found.

¹³ The lid of Merneptah's sarcophagus is of red granite. Carter: *Annales du Service*, vi, p. 118, plate ii. The rest of the sarcophagus is missing.

The sarcophagus of Amenmeses has not been found.

The sarcophagus of Siptah is of red granite. Burton: *Bulletin, Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, xi, January 1916, pp. 13-17, figs. 2-6.

The extant lid fragments of the sarcophagus of Sety II are of red granite. Champollion: *Notes descriptives*, i, p. 463; Lepsius: *Denkmäler, Text*, iii, p. 215.

The sarcophagus (Louvre, D. 1) and lid (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge) of Rameses III are of red granite. See Porter-Moss: *Bibliography*, i, pp. 17-18.

¹⁴ Engelbach: *Evidence for the use of a Mason's Pick in Ancient Egypt*, *Annales du Service*, xxix, p. 19.

¹⁵ Loc. cit.

¹⁶ On the ancient method of quarrying quartzite blocks see Clarke and Engelbach: *Ancient Egyptian Masonry*, p. 30 ff.

¹⁷ See Fig. 9.

leaving lugs, for the attachment of ropes, projecting from its surfaces (Fig. 9) and from those of its lid (Plate II). Upon the completion of the transport and the finishing of the monument these lugs were usually dressed off,¹⁶ partly because they were unsightly and partly because (this being especially true in the case of the lid lugs) they were bound to prove as useful to tomb plunderers as to the necropolis workmen themselves. The majority of the completely executed sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty royal series are entirely free of lugs or traces thereof, but have small slots cut in the bottom edges of their ends and in one or both ends of their lids to receive the butts of pry-bars¹⁷ (Plates IV, V, VIII, XVII, XIX, XXII, XXIV). These slots are unobtrusive, must have been exceedingly useful in the final working into position in the tomb of the monument and of its lid, and may well have been plugged up with plaster when the sarcophagus required no further moving. The fact that the rope-lugs were allowed to remain on the lid of Sarcophagus B (Plates II and XVII) can only be explained by the assumption that, when Tomb 42 was abandoned by the XVIII Dynasty authorities, these lugs had not as yet served their purpose—that is, that the lid had not as yet been hoisted into place on the sarcophagus.

The planing and smoothing of the surfaces of the sarcophagi appears to have been accomplished by prolonged rubbing with some sort of abrasive substance—probably lumps of ordinary sandstone.¹⁸ The interior surfaces of Sarcophagus B, the top and the central section of the under side of its lid have not been subjected to this “sand-paperying.” The sides and ends of the sarcophagus and lid on the exterior have been partly smoothed, the pick marks being, however, still visible on these surfaces (Plate II 2). On the tops of the box walls and the edges of the under side of the lid the smoothing has been completely carried out, the planes here being flat and true and the pick scars entirely erased. The final step in the preparation of the surfaces of the sarcophagi was the polish—achieved by the use of an evidently finer abrasive than the sand used in the planing—probably not carried out until after the cutting of the inscriptions. The polish is confined to the exterior

In general, it seems reasonable to suppose that a sarcophagus was hollowed out and dressed down as much as possible before its removal from the quarry, thus greatly reducing the weight to be transported.

¹⁶ See, for example, Fig. 12, a XII Dynasty sarcophagus from Lisht (Gauthier and Jequier: *Fouilles à Lisht*, p. 67, figs. 77–80), now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Accession No. 09.180.528). The rough circle on the end of the lid of this sarcophagus marks the position of a projecting lug, which, once the lid had been set into position on the box, was dressed off.

¹⁷ The pry-bars used must have been tipped with narrow “shoes” or “hooks” of metal, for the slots are too small (6 x 5 x 4 cm. on the average) to have received the butts of plain wooden bars sufficiently heavy to have moved the weight of the sarcophagus.

¹⁸ Cf. Newberry: *Life of Rekhmara*, plate xx, where masons are shown burnishing the surfaces of two statues with oval lumps of stone, held in the hand. In a V Dynasty relief from the tomb of T'y, the lumps of stone, used in a similar way, are lozenge-shaped (Erman: *Life in Ancient Egypt* (English translation of his *Aegypten* by H. M. Tirard, 1894), p. 414 and figure).

surfaces of the finished sarcophagi and is well illustrated on the unpainted Sarcophagus A (Plate I).

As in all ancient Egyptian craftsmanship of the better class, the cutting and dressing of the XVIII Dynasty royal sarcophagi shows an almost incredible regularity and accuracy. Even in the unfinished Sarcophagus B, neither the length nor the height of the rectangular box vary a millimeter from one point to another, regardless of where the measurement be taken; while the width varies only 2.5 mm. over the whole 240 cm. of the length of the monument. The errors in flatness of the plane surfaces on the exterior of the box and lid (as tested with a long steel straight-edge) are infinitesimal.

Since all the decorated monuments of the series are completely executed and, in seven out of the eight examples, have coats of paint and varnish applied over the decoration, they reveal very little concerning the technique used in either the drawing or the cutting of the figures and inscriptions which adorn their surfaces. On the fully carved but unpainted Sarcophagus A (Plate I) traces of ruled guide lines in red ink are still visible along the edges of the columns of inscription. It is also evident that the "floors" of the incised hieroglyphic signs in the inscriptions on all the sarcophagi were dressed with a pick, no effort being made to bring these sunken surfaces to a polish. For the rest, the decoration is too carefully worked over and too completely finished to betray any dependable evidence of the tools used in its execution. The incision of the inscriptions and of their border lines is very shallow—never exceeding 3 mm. in depth—that of the outlines of the figures, executed in *relief en creux*, very little deeper. It is clear that the sculptor depended for clarity and legibility more on the sharpness of the outline which he could obtain in quartzite and on the contrast in the colours with which the carving was to be painted than in the heavy shadows produced in deeply cut decoration. The only true relief work on any of the monuments of the group are the great cartouche-frames on the tops of the lids of Sarcophagi A and C-F. These are raised 3-4 mm. above the surrounding surfaces of the lids (Plates VII and XVII).

Over the final polish, on the majority of the sarcophagi, there is applied a coat of deep red stain, which reaches an even deeper shade where it is applied to the unpolished floor surfaces of the incised inscriptions and figures. The exceptions to this rule are: Hatshepsut's earliest sarcophagus (A), which was abandoned in her cliff tomb while as yet unpainted; Sarcophagus B, the actual cutting of which was never finished; and Amenhotpe III's granite sarcophagus lid (I). In the cases of the painted sarcophagi the stain is applied to every surface of the monument and its lid, inside and out, with the exception of the floor of the sarcophagus on the interior and, of course, its bottom on the exterior. The reason for its application is not difficult to reconstruct. The colour of the stain and the fact that no visible surface of the monuments is

without it gives the impression (undoubtedly intentional on the part of the artisan) that the stone of which the sarcophagi are made is the fine, dark red quartzite, much less common than the dingy brown-yellow variety actually used in their manufacture, and evidently much admired by the ancients.¹⁹ This colouring matter is apparently composed of powdered ochre mixed with sizing of some sort.²⁰ In a number of cases, the hieroglyphs of the inscriptions; the wigs, beards, eyes, clothing, jewelry, and flesh of the figures; and the large pair of eyes in the first or second panel on the left side of the sarcophagus are picked out in additional colours: blue, yellow, black, and white (See, for example, Plate XII). Frequently, a coat of transparent varnish was applied over all the painted surfaces. On the sarcophagus of Tuthmosis III (F), especially, this varnish has, with time, lost its transparency and has clotted in opaque red lumps over the figures and hieroglyphs, producing a most unsightly effect (Plates IX and XI).²¹

Except for the application of the colour, which would naturally be left until it was no longer necessary to move the monuments about, it is unlikely that any work was done on the sarcophagi after their introductions into the tombs. Passing over the extreme difficulty involved in doing finework in hard stone in the torch-lighted dimness of a subterranean room, we have, in Hâtshepsût's cliff tomb, definite proof that the sarcophagus was complete before it arrived at the burial chamber; for here, as we have seen, the sarcophagus never reached the chamber at all, the latter not having been finished when the tomb was abandoned. Yet the sarcophagus itself lay across the top of the last descending passage in a state of perfect completion, including surface polish and full sculptured decoration. It further appears to be true that, if the execution of

¹⁹ So successful is the device that even modern writers on the sarcophagi have been deceived by it. Carter (*Tomb of Hâtshepsût*, pp. 81 and 93) calls the material of Sarcophagi C and D "red crystalline sandstone"; while Loret (*Bull. Inst. Ég.*, 5ème série, No. 9, p. 91 ff.), when he first saw Sarcophagus F believed it to be made of porphyry and goes on to say concerning it: "je crois qu'en plein jour il ressemblerait à un bloc immense d'agate ou de cornaline".

Other examples of hard stone painted in antiquity the same shade of red—presumably to resemble red quartzite—are: the quartzite jambs and lintels in the Osireion at Abydos; and the granite lid of the sarcophagus of Tut'ankhamûn (Carter: *Tomb of Tut'Ankh'Amen*, ii, pp. 49-50).

²⁰ Concerning the sizing used in conjunction with ancient Egyptian colours, see Lucas: *Ancient Egyptian Materials*, p. 148.

The paint on the XVIII Dynasty royal sarcophagi is apparently soluble in water (see Loret: *Loc. cit.*).

²¹ On the subject of ancient Egyptian varnish Lucas (*op. cit.*, p. 151) says: "Varnish in appearance very like modern varnish was largely employed in Ancient Egypt. . . ." "The use of varnish dates principally from the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards. . . ." "Several specimens of old Egyptian varnish have been examined by the author, one from the Eighteenth Dynasty . . . and all were very much alike and consisted of resin." "In some cases the varnish is in the condition of a thin uniform coating, but in many cases it has been applied very badly and there are places where the layer is much too thick." "There can be no doubt that this varnish, which is now always yellow where the coating is thin and reddish where the coating is thick, was originally colourless or practically so. . . ."

Norman de G. Davies, in *The Tomb of Nakhî at Thebes*, remarks that: "The original transparency of the varnish is proved by the carelessness with which it was applied."

the sarcophagus had any relation whatsoever with the execution of the tomb for which it was destined, it was the sarcophagus that was completed first, the entirely finished sarcophagus in the far from completely decorated tomb being a regular occurrence in the XVIII Dynasty.²²

An objection to this statement may well be raised in the case of Sarcophagus B. In this example neither tomb nor sarcophagus is completed; and the sarcophagus is undeniably in the sepulchral chamber, though not in its allotted position. I think, however, it can be demonstrated that, when the sarcophagus was lowered into the tomb, it was because there was immediate and urgent need for it, regardless of its condition, and that no further work was ever intended to be carried out on it; its hurried removal from the workshop (or, perhaps, even quarry) and its introduction into the partially decorated tomb in a completely unfinished state being due rather to the press of circumstance than to the design of its maker.²³

While conforming to a standard plan, the sarcophagus type undergoes, as an inspection of the Plates serves to demonstrate, a gradual, but very definite development within the hundred odd years covered by this series of monuments. Aside from the intrinsic interest of the subject, it is only through close attention to the steps involved in the change in type, which takes place between the earlier and later sarcophagi of our group, that we can hope to assign every monument to its proper place in the chronological sequence. A detailed survey of the texts and other decoration on the monuments, which will be given in Chapter III, is naturally, of great value in helping to arrange the sarcophagi in their correct order; but a study of the forms, the "physical characteristics" of the boxes and lids, simple though these may be, is equally important in the general setting-out of the series, and absolutely essential in any attempt to find the hitherto anonymous royal owner of the totally undecorated Sarcophagus B.

²² The antechamber and the sepulchral hall of the tomb of Tuthmosis III are completely decorated. The decoration of the protective well is, however, only partly complete.

In the tomb of Amenhotpe II, although the decoration of the sepulchral hall is finished, that of the protective well is not, and the antechamber was, at the time of the closing of the tomb, entirely undecorated. That the latter was intended to receive painted ornament may be deduced from the fact that in both the preceding and following royal tomb this chamber is decorated.

The sepulchral hall of Tuthmosis IV lacks its decoration, while the decoration of the other parts of the tomb is far from being completed. Carter (*Tomb of Thoutmosis IV*, p. xi) says: "The whole tomb was itself in an unfinished state. . . ."

In the tomb of Horemheb (Davis, Maspero, and Daressey: *Tombs of Harmkabi and Touatankhamânou*, p. 64 ff.) the decoration of the sepulchral hall and of the adjoining passages and rooms was quite evidently suspended when less than half completed, being, for the most part, only laid out in outline ink drawing, though some sections of the walls are carved or blocked out in relief.

In every one of these tombs the sarcophagus was found in its appointed place in the sepulchral hall, completely finished.

²³ See below, p. 50.

As regards the bulk of the group, the chronological arrangement involves no difficulty from the start: The Boston sarcophagus of Tuthmosis I (C) was originally made for Ḥatshepsūt and subsequently altered by her to receive the inner coffin and mummy of her father, as is attested by the dedication inscription on its right side (Text I) and proved by the presence of her names in its altered cartouches, under those of Tuthmosis.²⁴ On the sarcophagus, as originally executed, Ḥatshepsūt's name appears accompanied by the kingly *premen*, Ma'tkarē, and by the full titulary of a king of Egypt. It is, therefore, evident that this sarcophagus is later in date than Sarcophagus A, which was made for her while she as yet bore only the titles of Royal Consort. There is, on the other hand, no reason to doubt that her great cartouche-plan sarcophagus in Cairo (D), which was found beside Sarcophagus C in her tomb in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings and which bears an even longer list of royal titles than does Sarcophagus C, is later than either of the two examples just discussed.

The sarcophagus of Tuthmosis III (F), who outlived Ḥatshepsūt by thirty-three years,²⁵ naturally postdates those of his former co-regent.

The sarcophagi of Amenhotpe II (G), Tuthmosis IV (H), and Amenhotpe III (I) follow that of Tuthmosis III in perfectly normal order.

When we turn to the sarcophagus of Tuthmosis I in Cairo (E), however, we see that its position in the series is far from being definitely settled. That it was not made by Tuthmosis I himself is proved by two dedication inscriptions which appear on its left side wall and which state that: "It was his 'son' who . . . made for him this excellent monument . . ." (Text II a and b). That it is the monument "which was prepared for the original burial" of the King, made at the time of his death or shortly afterwards, in the reign of Tuthmosis II, has been assumed by the majority of present day students of Egyptian history²⁶ because of the fact that it was found, along with a Canopic box bearing his name, in his tomb in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings.²⁷ If we accept this point of view, we must place this sarcophagus at the head of the series, since it would considerably antedate any of our other examples. This, in the light of a detailed study of the evidence presented by the sarcophagi themselves and of such external considerations as have a bearing on the question in hand, I am not prepared to do.

²⁴ See Appendix I, under Sarcophagus C.

The hieroglyphic signs in the names of Ḥatshepsūt which could not be re-used in the names of Tuthmosis I were filled up with plaster, tinted to match the surrounding paint surface, and the new signs cut in the surface thus provided. The plaster-filled signs of the original names are, however, clearly visible up to a distance of five feet or so from the sarcophagus.

²⁵ 32 years, 10 months, and 26 days, to be exact. Meyer: *Geschichte des Altertums*, ii, pp. 77-78, note 1; Breasted: *History of Egypt*, pp. 282 and 599; Petrie: *History of Egypt*, ii, pp. 79 and 97.

²⁶ The quotation is from Winlock: *Notes on the Reburial of Tuthmosis I*, *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, xv, p. 59. See also Breasted: *History*, p. 279.

²⁷ See above, p. 13.



FIG. 10 COFFIN OF AMINT (XI DYNASTY) FROM DEIR EL BAHRI
(Léon Sarcophages, 1, pl. v)

There is also to be considered the uninscribed sarcophagus in Tomb 42 in the Valley—believed by the writer, as by Weigall,²⁸ to have been made for Tuthmosis II. It has been given the letter "B" and will eventually take its place in the series as the second sarcophagus in order, for reasons which it is hoped will prove convincing. For the moment, however, it seems best to delay the discussion of this monument until after the three sarcophagi made for Hatshepsut have been taken up in order; just as the inspection of the Cairo sarcophagus of Tuthmosis I will be set aside until after the nature of the five other early sarcophagi, down to and including that of Tuthmosis III, has been established.

All dimensions and all the minor details of the forms of the sarcophagi are given in the plates (See, especially, Plates XVII–XXV) and in Appendix I; and may, therefore, be omitted from the following discussion except insofar as they have a bearing on the development of the series.

Within the main series, the three Hatshepsut sarcophagi (including that of Tuthmosis I in Boston) form an especially compact group, the form development of which can be traced with greater clarity than, perhaps, at any other stage in the course of the change undergone by the standard type.

The first of these, the sarcophagus made for Hatshepsut as Queen (A) (Plate I), is an almost exact replica in stone of a rectangular wooden coffin. Its lid is of the thick, solid block type found hitherto only on high grade coffins of the Middle Kingdom (Fig. 10).²⁹ The close imitation of a wooden original appears: 1) in the modest dimensions of the monument;³⁰ 2) in the

²⁸ *Guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt*, pp. 224–225.

²⁹ The example shown in Figure 10 is the wooden coffin of Amenet, XI Dynasty, from Deir el-Bahri, at present in the Cairo Museum, *Catalogue*, 1895, No. 117. It is dated by linen found with it which bears the name of one of the Mentuhotpes. It is 204 cm. long and 55 cm. wide. The box is 61 cm. high and the lid 9 cm. high, (Lacau: *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire*, Cat. gén. Mus. Caire, i, No. 28026, pp. 62–65, plate v; Daressy: *Recueil de travaux*, xiv, pp. 166–168).

The lids of what few and mediocre specimens of XIII–Early XVIII Dynasty rectangular coffins have been found are of three types:—

- 1) The flat cover, made of boards similar to those used in the construction of the box, dowelled together side by side, the thickness of the lid being only that of a single board (3–5 cm.). See Carnarvon and Carter: *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, 1907–1911, plate lix, 2.
- 2) The same flat lid, but with transverse vertical boards attached at the head and foot ends, and projecting upwards above the lid proper. Carnarvon and Carter: *Op. cit.*, No. 75, plate lx.
- 3) The vaulted lid with head and foot boards, commonly, if inaccurately, described as the *gable-ended* lid. This is the commonest of the three types and, like Type 1, goes back to the Old Kingdom. See Lacau: *Sarcophages*, Nos. 28028–28031; Carnarvon and Carter: *Op. cit.*, plates lviii 2 and lx.

³⁰ The box measures 199 x 73 x 73 cm.—small for a stone sarcophagus, but closely paralleled by the dimensions of the majority of extant rectangular wooden coffins, the following examples of the latter being chosen more or less at random: Lacau: *Sarcophages*, No. 28114 (XI Dynasty), 189 x 50 cm.; No. 28115 (XI Dynasty), 187 x 42 x 49 cm.; No. 28102 (XII Dynasty), 182 x 78.5 x 73 cm.; Mace and Winlock: *Tomb of Senestisi at Lishi*, the second coffin, 194 x 55 x 75 cm. (with lid); Coffin

sharp, square-cut corners of the box and lid, inside and out;³¹ 3) in the board-like thinness of the walls of the box (Cf. Fig. 11);³² and 4) in the method used

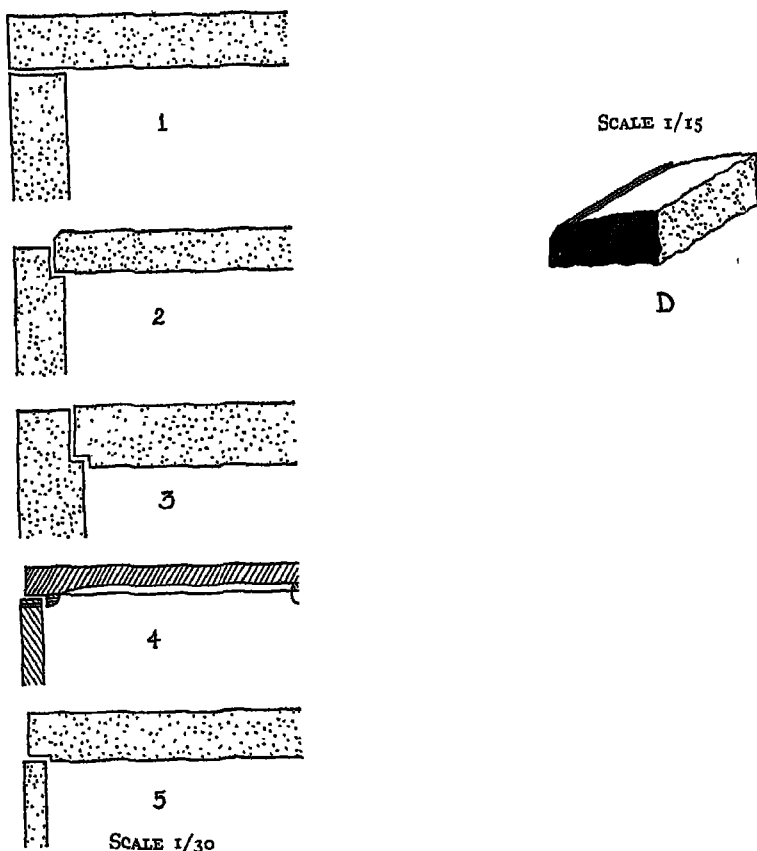


FIG. 11. SECTIONS OF MIDDLE KINGDOM AND XVIII DYNASTY SARCOPHAGUS LIDS AND BOX RIMS

of Khnumu-nakht (Metropolitan Museum, New York) (XII Dynasty), 204 x 49 x 56.5 cm.; Lacau: *Sarcophages*, No. 28028 (XIII-XIV Dynasty), 196 x 52 x 69 cm.; No. 28030 (XII-XIV Dynasty), 201 x 50 x 66 cm.; No. 28126 (XII-XIV Dynasty), 202 x 51 x - cm.

³¹ These sharp corners are altogether unsuited to a heavy stone monument where, in the course of the moving about which the sarcophagus and its lid necessarily had to undergo, they would tend to chip off or be ground away, as has actually been the case with this example (See Appendix I, Under Sarcophagus A, *Condition*). This structural error was soon recognized by the Tutmosid stone-cutters, for the inside corners of the later sarcophagi are rounded, while those on the exterior are bevelled flat.

³² In the majority of Middle Kingdom stone sarcophagi with block lids (e.g., those from which sections Nos. 1-3 in Fig. 11 were taken) the lid and the walls of the box are of about the same thickness. In the Hatshepsut sarcophagus the lid is more than twice as thick as the box walls, which are, if we compare them with the walls of the earlier stone sarcophagi, extraordinarily thin (Fig. 11, 5). This points to the derivation of the design of Sarcophagus A from a wooden prototype, where the discrepancy in thickness between the high built-together lid and the thin board walls of the box would be perfectly natural.

for engaging the lid with the top of the box walls (See Fig. 11).³³ The floor battens of the wooden coffin are not, as in the XII Dynasty sarcophagus shown in Fig. 12, reproduced in the Hatshepsut monument; but the origin of the rest of its peculiarities of form (as listed above) is clear—peculiarities which make it totally different from the great majority of earlier stone sarcophagi hitherto discovered. The feature of the form—as also of the decoration³⁴—of Sarcophagus A which is most important to the present study is the fact that it shows no development whatsoever over the type of coffin already known, in wood, in the XI–XII Dynasties.

The size of Hatshepsut's sarcophagus is, as has been said, close to that of the type of rectangular wooden coffin from which it is derived; but it must be noted that the dimensions of any sarcophagus depend, quite independently of any conscious imitation of another monument, on two main factors: the size and number of the coffins which it was to be made to contain; and the divisions of the ancient Egyptian metric system—the *cubit* and the *palm*. For example: The interior space in Sarcophagus A is 183 cm. long, 57 cm. wide, and 63 cm. high. It is therefore evident that the sarcophagus was planned to hold one, and only one small anthropoid coffin, about 175 cm. long. Allowing the existing 8 cm., about 1 *palm*, for the thickness of the walls of the finished monument, the Queen's head-mason probably ordered from the quarry a block 4 cubits long, 1½ cubits wide, and 1½ cubits high, which, after being dressed down, would result in a monument of the dimensions of the one with which we are dealing.

The only feature of the form of Hatshepsut's first sarcophagus not found on any earlier coffin or sarcophagus is the large single-band cartouche, carved in low relief of the upper surface of the lid, and serving as a frame for the figure and inscription cut upon this surface (Plate XVIII A). The cartouche is the

³³ The method used in the Hatshepsut sarcophagus (and, hereafter, in all the sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty series) for engaging the lid with the top of the box walls (Fig. 11, 5) is scarcely known in Middle Kingdom stone examples. The sarcophagi of this time almost always rabbet the tops of the box walls and sink the lid into these rabbets, as shown in Figure 11, 2 (Drawing taken from an uninscribed rectangular limestone sarcophagus, found in Pit 4, Mentuhotpe temple at Deir el-Bahri, North Temple Platform. Naville: *XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahri*, p. 45). This method is complicated in the limestone sarcophagus of Kawit in the Cairo Museum (No. 623. Found in Pit 7, Mentuhotpe temple at Deir el-Bahri. Naville: *Op. cit.*, pp. 48–9, plates xix–xx) (XI Dynasty) by putting a rabbet along the lower edge of the lid as well as along the tops of the box walls (Fig. 11, 3). In this example the lid is allowed to settle down between the walls until its top surface is flush with their tops. The type where the un-rabbeted block lid rests squarely on top of the un-rabbeted box walls, as shown in Fig. 11, 1, is rare—the example from which the diagram is taken being an XI Dynasty limestone sarcophagus at Deir el-Bahri (From Pit 5, Mentuhotpe temple, North Temple Platform. Naville: *Op. cit.*, p. 46). The system used in the Hatshepsut sarcophagus, on the other hand, is reminiscent of that employed in wooden coffins of the Middle Kingdom and later, as shown in Fig. 11, 4 (Drawing taken from the lid of the coffin of the Steward Khnum-hotpe, XII Dynasty, from Meir; now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Accession No. 12.182.131). In these examples the lid rests on top of the box walls and is held in place by dowels, run through the end walls of the box into battens, which, fastened to the under side of the lid, project down into the mouth of the box.

³⁴ See below, p. 66.

full size of the lid top, its side and foot outlines being uniform with those of the lid, but its rounded head cutting awkwardly across the lid's right-angle head corners.

The alterations which Sarcophagus C (Plate III-IV) underwent, when it was re-inscribed by Hatshepsût to receive the remains of her father, Tuthmosis I, apparently affected its actual shape as originally planned in no way. To make new surfaces for the recutting of the inscriptions 3 cm. of stone were cut away from either side of the box and lid, 1 cm. from the foot-end, and .5 cm. from the head-end on the exterior, as well as about 3.5 cm. from the interior faces of the end walls (except at the top); and, at the last moment, when it was found that even the inner coffin of Tuthmosis I was too long to fit into the sarcophagus, most of the inner surfaces of the end walls were roughly hacked away to a maximum depth of 6 cm. (Plate XXV C: The hatched areas in the thickness of the end walls in the longitudinal sections indicate the extent of the first paring off of the interior surfaces of these walls). The upper and lower surfaces of the lid, the interior surfaces of the side walls, the top surfaces of all the walls, and the surface of the floor of the sarcophagus were untouched, there being in these places merely changes in the names in the cartouches and erasures of the feminine endings from the nouns and adjectives in the inscriptions.³⁵ Any description of the form of the sarcophagus of Tuthmosis I, as it is today, will, therefore, serve equally well for the sarcophagus as it was originally executed for Hatshepsût.

Though somewhat larger, the sarcophagus is, in shape, the same as Sarcophagus A—a simple rectangular box. The four corners where the walls meet the floor on the interior are, however, rounded, not cut square, though the corners at the junctions of the walls with one another are still sharp right angles. The corners of the exterior of the box are, in the altered sarcophagus, bevelled. Whether or not they were also bevelled on the sarcophagus as first made there is no way of knowing.

The lid, however, displays a slight but important innovation on the lid of Sarcophagus A. Its upper surface is slightly convex, like the segment of a huge cylinder, there being no drop in the level of the ridge of the curve longitudinally from end to end of the lid (Plate XVII C). This rounding up of the top of a plain rectangular block lid, though rare, is not an altogether new development in the history of the ancient Egyptian sarcophagus. The lid of the XII Dynasty sarcophagus shown in Figure 12, while not exactly similar to that of Sarcophagus C, is, nevertheless, a plain block lid with a cylindrically convex upper surface. In the case of the lid of Sarcophagus C the ratio between the height of the vertical sides and that of the convex upper surface is about 8:1. As the sarcophagus series develops this ratio decreases, the con-

³⁵ See Appendix I, under Sarcophagus C, *Alteration*.

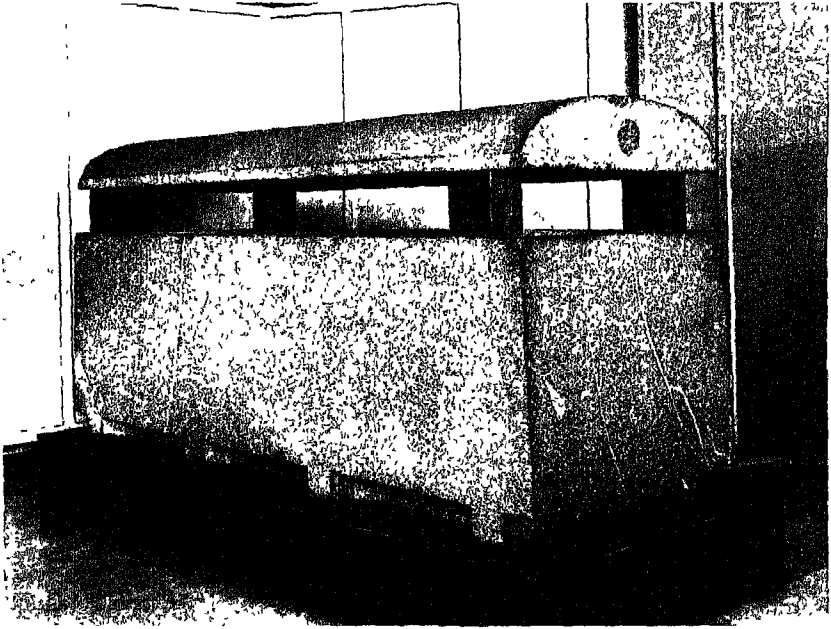


FIG 12 GRAY GRANITE SARCOPHAGUS FROM LISHT (XII DYN.)
(M M A Neg. No 80056)

vexity of the upper surface of the lid becomes more and more pronounced and the height of the vertical sides and ends, in relation to it, gradually reduced until, with Sarcophagus G, the heights of the two component parts are the same, and, at the end of the series (Sarcophagus Lid I), the vaulted portion is more than twice as high as the vertical edges (see Plate XVII). In Sarcophagi C and D the convex lid-top is a pure convention, for no additional space is gained thereby in the sarcophagus interior, the under sides of neither of these lids following the upward vaulting of the exterior, but remaining flat horizontal planes as in Sarcophagus A.

The top surface of the lid of Sarcophagus C is bordered, in the same manner as on Sarcophagus A, by a colossal cartouche in low relief, originally double-banded as indicated by the dotted lines in Plate XVIII (C), the removal, during the alteration of the sarcophagus, of the original surfaces of the sides of the lid—in order that it might fit the altered box—having carried with it the outer band of the cartouche along its sides, the remaining extra band along the head and foot curves having been then chopped away and the lashing at the foot altered for the sake of homogeneity.

Although the sarcophagus shows an increase of more than 12% in length and 22% in width over the dimensions of Sarcophagus A; owing to the thickness of its walls, the space in its interior was originally only 13.5 cm. longer than that of its predecessor. The extra 6.75 cm. at either end would not have been sufficient to permit of the introduction of even one extra coffin. It is, therefore, certain that this sarcophagus, like Sarcophagus A, was made to hold but one small anthropoid coffin—in all probability the same coffin, to contain which Sarcophagus A had been ordered.³⁶ It is strange that Hatshepsut, now King of Egypt, should have had made for herself a sarcophagus which was calculated to hold only the single coffin which she had chosen to use as a royal consort, at a time when, apparently, persons of royal rank were enjoying the luxury of at least two coffins,³⁷ Tuthmosis I, her father, having, in all likelihood, originally had three.³⁸ As Queen, one coffin would have sufficed, for the stone sarcophagus would have taken the place of the great outer coffin affected by each of the two earlier queens of the Dynasty concerning whose

³⁶ The coffin, which was probably encased in gold and, therefore, of considerable value, would, of course, have had to have the inscription on it altered, for Hatshepsut at the time of the making of her second sarcophagus was, as will be remembered, no longer Royal Consort, but had already assumed the full titles of a *King* of Egypt. This, however, would have been a simple matter as compared to the task involved in hauling the original sarcophagus out of its cliff tomb, entirely recutting the inscriptions on it, and transporting it to the new tomb in the Biban el-moluk. It is, therefore, not surprising that, whereas the original coffin was probably retained for use, the first sarcophagus was abandoned in its unfinished tomb and a new monument executed to meet the demand occasioned by the new and exalted position now occupied by its intended incumbent.

³⁷ There is space in the interior of Sarcophagus B (probably that of Tuthmosis II) for three. See below, p. 50.

³⁸ See Winlock: *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, xv, pp. 62-63.

burial equipment anything is known: 'Ahmose-Nefertari and 'Aḥhotep;³⁹ but, as King, one would certainly have expected an elaboration on her original and modest funerary paraphernalia.

The discrepancy was, however, soon corrected, for, after the completion of her second sarcophagus, Ḥatshepsūt conceived the idea of removing the remains of her father, Tuthmosis I, from his own tomb in the Bibân el-Molûk and re-burying them in the tomb she had had made for herself there, employing for this purpose (and there seems to have been some hurry about it) the sarcophagus which stood ready in the tomb or in the workshop,⁴⁰ the decoration of which was hastily altered for its new incumbent and the interior of which was very hastily enlarged to receive his inconveniently long inner coffin; at the same time ordering for herself a new and much more impressive monument.

The third and final sarcophagus (D) (Plate V) made for the exacting Ḥatshepsūt marks a revolution in the form of the box sarcophagus in Egypt. The head-end of the box and lid, instead of being flat like the foot, as has hitherto been the case with oblong sarcophagi, from the Old Kingdom down, is rounded, making the plan of the sarcophagus cartouche-shaped, so that it corresponds almost exactly with the outlines of the cartouche on the lid (Plate XIX D, which shows the plan of the lid—from the under side). That the lid cartouches on Sarcophagi A and C suggested the idea of making the sarcophagus itself of the same shape was no doubt the case. Certainly it rationalizes the design and does away with the awkward blank corners outside of the cartouche frame. Another contributing factor in the change was probably the experience of the mason who enlarged the interior of Sarcophagus C. The avoid thinning the already reduced⁴¹ end walls to a dangerous extent it was desirable to cut away from these walls, on the inside, just so much as was required to allow Tuthmosis I's inner coffin to be jammed into place, and no more. The cutting at the head end is, therefore, only deep at the center and tapers off at the sides—in other words, it is a curved scoop into which the rounded head of the coffin must have fitted snugly. The determination to *plan* his next sarcophagus to be rounded at the head-end to fit the anthropoid coffins which it was to receive was very likely born in the designer's mind at that moment. The

³⁹ The former, the sister and wife of King 'Ahmose I; the latter, the daughter of 'Ahmose I and the wife of Amenhotpe I. The enormous outer coffins of both are in the Cairo Museum (Nos. 3872 and 3892). That of 'Ahmose-Nefertari is published by Maspero: *Mummies royales de Dêir el Baharî*, p. 535.

⁴⁰ Probably still in the workshop. See below, p. 148.

⁴¹ Reduced in thickness, at the outset, from 13 to 8.5 cm. at the foot-end and from 13 to 9 cm. at the head-end by the removal of the exterior and interior surfaces of the head and foot walls. After the final gouging away of the inner surfaces had been carried out to make room for the coffin of Tuthmosis I, these walls were, at their centers, only 6 and 6.5 cm. thick, respectively.

change is logical from every point of view. Aside from affording a more suitable container for the coffins, it reduces the stone mass of the monument by doing away with the perfectly superfluous head corners and, in removing these corners, gets rid of two fragile projections on the exterior of the sarcophagus which would be liable to breakage in the course of the transportation of the monument.

Furthermore, the appearance of the monument now expresses in rational terms its purpose and its character: The body of the royal incumbent has hitherto been suggested only by its immediate containers—the anthropoid coffins. The *sarcophagus* now begins to become part of the general expressionistic scheme. It definitely has a *head* and a *foot*, which may be differentiated from one another at a glance; and here it begins to break with the old conception of the sarcophagus as a house—a ponderous fortress of stone—and to introduce a new point of view: the sarcophagus as a coffin, a utilitarian monument, the container of a human body. That the iconography of the sarcophagus decoration begins to show the same tendency, even earlier, we shall see in the next chapter.

The form of the lid further carries out the scheme. The vaulting-up of the top surface is much more decided than it is on Sarcophagus C and the height of the vertical edges less in proportion to it (Plate XVII D). The form of the top surface, moreover, is no longer that of the segment of a cylinder, for the longitudinal ridge of the curve now breaks at a distance of 30 cm. from the ends of the block and curves down to meet the vertical end edges of the lid (Plate XVII, Cf. C and D).

A feature peculiar to this lid is the manner in which the cartouche frame of the upper surface serves to make the transition between the vertical edge and the curved top: The edge, instead of ending at the top in a sharp corner, is here broken over gradually in a double bevel, the second facet of the bevel having its plane nearly parallel with the downward curve of the top surface of the lid. The face of this curved surface is, however, rabbeted below the level of the top of the inner facet of the bevel, so that a sharp break in contour occurs (Fig. 11 D). This whole arrangement is true only of the head and the long side edges, where the two bands of the cartouche actually are the two facets of the double bevel, the rabbet on the inside of the inner facet serving to throw the cartouche into relief above the surface of the lid top. Near the foot-end, where the rounded foot of the cartouche curves in and away from the edges, the double bevel stops; the sides meet the top at a sharp angle; and the cross-bar, lashing, and foot curve of the cartouche are executed in ordinary low relief upon the curved upper surface.

The whole sarcophagus has now assumed what may be called “royal proportions,” being no longer planned for the body and a single anthropoid coffin

only, but being capable of receiving three over-life-size anthropoid coffins, nested within one another, with a funerary couch beneath them.⁴² The relative proportions of the long sides and of the ends of the box have not, however, been notably altered since the execution of Sarcophagus A (Plates XXII–XXIII, Cf. A, C, and D). The thickness of the head and side walls shows a return to the normal as compared with those of Sarcophagus C (as originally

⁴² Neither coffins nor couch are extant in this case, but the contents of the sarcophagus of Tut'ankhamūn, the only complete example of an XVIII Dynasty royal burial which has been found, indicate that three anthropoid coffins, the outermost resting upon a couch, were part of the regular equipment of a king of this time.

Tuthmosis I appears to have had three anthropoid coffins (See above, p. 14) and the size of the extant coffin of Tuthmosis III is such that it is probably the outer of a set of three (see above, p. 23). Even with good private burials three coffins seems to have been considered essential, as in the case of Yuaa, the father-in-law of Amenhotpe III (Davis: *Tomb of Louiya and Touiyou*, p. 4–9, plates vii–ix).

The funerary couch, or *bier*, of Tut'ankhamūn is described by Carter (*Tomb of Tut'ankh·Amen*, ii, p. 89) as follows: "The only remaining object in the sarcophagus was the gilt bed-shaped bier with lion's head and feet. It stood on the bottom and served as a support to the first (outermost) coffin. It was made of stout and heavy wood covered with gesso gilt; but the astonishing fact was that, after supporting the weight of those three great coffins—more than a ton and a quarter—for over thirty centuries, it was still intact. . . . It stands about 12 inches in height, 7 ft. 6 ins. in length, and is curved so as to receive and to fit the base of the outermost coffin. The central panel is designed in low relief to represent a cord-mesh—like the string mesh of the Sudanese *Angaribes* (bedsteads) of today." We see from this account that the bier was no every-day article of furniture, pressed into service at the last moment, but that it was made specially to support the outer coffin in the sarcophagus. Tut'ankhamūn's bier is, in point of fact, just 5 cm. longer than his outer coffin, its top being shaped, as stated, to fit the undulations of the bottom of the coffin.

Square hollows are cut in the floor of the sarcophagus of Horemheb (Davis, Maspero, and Daressy: *Tombs of Harmhabi and Touatankhamon*, pp. 91–5), at the four corners inside, presumably to take the feet of a bier of the same type. Here, moreover, it is evident that the outermost coffin of the King was raised on some such support, since its top fitted tightly into hollows cut in the under side of the sarcophagus lid, at a considerable distance above the floor of the sarcophagus.

That a bed of this sort, on which the body or coffin-effigy of the deceased person might lie, as in sleep, was an item in the Egyptian burial ritual both before and after the time of Tut'ankhamūn and Horemheb is shown by its frequent appearance in scenes from tomb walls depicting the interments of the owners of the tombs, as, for example, in the tomb of Antefoker at Thebes (XII Dynasty) (Davies and Gardiner: *Tomb of Antefoker*, plates xviii–xix), where even the rectangular wooden coffin is shown resting on a bed-like bier with lion's legs, head, and tail; and in the tomb of Sen-nedjem, also at Thebes (Deir el-Medineh, No. 1) (Ramesside), where the god Anubis bends over a mummy figure resting on a bier of exactly the same type. The importance of the bier in ancient Egyptian burial cannot, then, be doubted. While it by no means appears under the coffins of all persons who enjoyed the luxury of a sarcophagus, in fact, is exceedingly rare in private tombs, it is not unlikely that a bier was employed or was intended to be employed in all the royal sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty series. In a sarcophagus of the great size of Tuthmosis IV's (H) it would seem to have been essential. In the comparatively small sarcophagus of Hatshepsut as a queen (A), if there was one at all, it needs must have been extremely low—little more than a frame on blocks—for the total available height in the interior of this sarcophagus is 61 cm., which is not much more than would have been required by the coffin itself. The inordinately low bed is, however, a common form in ancient Egypt. While no measurements are given, the frame of a complete bed found at Beni Hassan (Tomb No. 287) by Garstang and published by him in *Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt* (p. 122 and Fig. 118) is certainly not more than 12 cm. high. A bier of this sort could easily have been used in the first Hatshepsut sarcophagus, which is the smallest of the group.

made). The extra thickness of the foot wall is explainable if we suppose either that the length of the sarcophagus was intentionally "padded," beyond the length actually required to contain the outer coffin, by thickening the foot wall; or that, by some miscalculation, the block quarried was longer than proved to be necessary and that it was found to be easier to leave the foot wall thick than to shave the length of the block on the exterior. If the latter supposition, which seems the more probable, be true, it may be assumed that the XVIII Dynasty designer considered it essential that the interior space in the sarcophagus be of just the right size to take the outermost of the three anthropoid coffins; which, in turn, suggests that the dimensions of the stone sarcophagus depended on the proposed length and breadth of this outer coffin and upon the proposed combined heights of the coffin and funerary couch.

All the interior corners of Sarcophagus D are rounded, and all the right-angle corners on the exterior, save those along the bottom of the box, are bevelled.

It is unfortunate that, at the present writing, practically nothing is known of the sarcophagi, or even of the coffins, of private individuals of the early XVIII Dynasty, with which these early royal sarcophagi may be compared. An important exception is the fragmentary sarcophagus of the Great Steward of Amūn, Senmūt, the architect of Ḥatshepsūt's temple at Deir el-Bahri—a man supreme in favour with his royal mistress.⁴³ The fragments of this monument, discovered in Senmūt's Sheikh abdel Kurnah tomb and in its vicinity,⁴⁴ show that it was very similar to Ḥatshepsūt's last sarcophagus. It is of quartzite, was of about the same length, width, and height as Sarcophagus D, carries identically the same texts and figures, arranged in the same manner and executed in the same style, and is painted with the same deep red surface stain and subsidiary colours. The only points of difference between the two monuments are that the Senmūt sarcophagus is rounded at both ends, has a flat lid with concave under side,⁴⁵ and lacks the large cartouche on the upper surface of the lid and the elongated cartouches enclosing the inter-panel inscriptions.

That this type of sarcophagus was usual for private persons, even men of high rank, is, however, highly dubious. Senmūt was Ḥatshepsūt's right-hand man, the mainstay of her party, a familiar of the royal household in long standing, and, as such, enjoyed many privileges which the ordinary Egyptian official would not have dared to request. His recently discovered tomb which runs under the courtyard of Ḥatshepsūt's Deir el-Bahri temple, is of the contem-

⁴³ The best account of Senmūt, his position, his character, and his activities is given by Winlock, *Bull. Met. Mus. Art*, February 1928, pp. 50-52. See also Breasted: *History of Egypt*, pp. 272, 274: 277, and 283.

⁴⁴ Winlock: *Bull. Met. Mus. Art*, March 1932, Section II, p. 22, Figure 15.

⁴⁵ Similar to that of Sarcophagus B. See below, p. 49.

porary royal type, being almost identical in plan and section to Ḥatshepsūt's own tomb in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings.⁴⁶ He was allowed to put both his name and his image behind "every door" in the Deir el-Bahri temple⁴⁷—an unheard-of piece of impudence, but one which forbids any astonishment that he should have been permitted to model his sarcophagus on that of his sovereign. Interesting as is the very close similarity between this particular private sarcophagus and the contemporary royal type, it must not, I repeat, be taken on its own value as typical of the prevailing practice of the period in this respect.

Having examined in order the three sarcophagi made for Ḥatshepsūt and established the steps in the development of the form of the early royal sarcophagus of the XVIII Dynasty as demonstrated in these three monuments, we are now ready to consider the uninscribed and unfinished sarcophagus (B) which lies abandoned in Tomb No. 42 in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings.

The tomb, as we have already seen, because of its location, its form, and its decoration, is almost certainly that of Tuthmosis II. It naturally follows that the sarcophagus found in the burial chamber of this tomb is also his; and if this is so, we must expect the form of the monument to be most closely affiliated with that of Sarcophagus A—to which it must needs be almost exactly contemporary—and to show none of the developments which appear in the necessarily later Sarcophagi C and D.⁴⁸

This is actually the case. Like the sarcophagus made for Ḥatshepsūt as consort of Tuthmosis II, Sarcophagus B is, or was to have been, no more than an imitation in quartzite of a rectangular wooden coffin. The fact that the cutting of neither the interior of the box nor of the top of the lid is complete makes the imitation of the wooden original a trifle less obvious at first glance than in the case of Sarcophagus A; but, once the intention of the ancient stone-cutter in both instances is clearly visualized, little further exposition of the point is needed.

For the most part the interior of the sarcophagus is merely roughly scooped out to a sufficient extent to make it practicable as the container of a mummy or anthropoid coffin. At the top and to a depth of 5 cm. below the top the cutting of the interior is, however, finished and the surfaces dressed smooth (Plate XXI); and it is here that we see what the completed interior of the box was to have been: a perfectly rectangular cavity with sharp right-angle corners,

⁴⁶ Winlock: *Bull. Met. Mus. Art*, February 1928, pp. 38-42, Figures 29, 33, 36.

⁴⁷ Winlock: *Op. cit.*, March 1926, pp. 13-14, Figures 9-10; November 1929, pp. 33-34.

⁴⁸ Sarcophagus A was made before the death of Tuthmosis II at a time when Ḥatshepsūt was still his queen. Sarcophagus C was made some years after his death when, as its inscriptions show, Ḥatshepsūt had assumed the titles of King. Tuthmosis II's own sarcophagus, commenced at the latest at the time of his death and probably somewhat before, must have been about contemporary with Sarcophagus A and certainly earlier than Sarcophagus C.

in no way different in shape from the interior of a rectangular coffin of wood. Add to this the facts that the exterior corners are also cut square, that the walls were to have been exceptionally thin for a stone monument, that the shape of the box is completely rectangular, and that the dimensions, while greater than those of Sarcophagus A, are still well within the range of wooden coffin sizes; and we see that, so far as the box of Sarcophagus B is concerned, the reproduction of the wooden coffin is as complete as it is in the case of Sarcophagus A.

In their present state both the under and upper surfaces of the lid of Sarcophagus B are vaulted upwards (Plate XVII B). In the case of the under side it is clear that the vaulting was intended to constitute an element in the form of the lid when finished. That, however, this is not so in the case of the top of the lid is indicated by the extreme roughness and irregularity of the convex surface and by the manner in which the holes through the projecting lugs are drilled deeply into the flank of the present vault. In the finished monument both the lugs and the rope-holes were of course to have been completely removed and all traces of them erased (See above, p. 34). To do so in the case of the holes requires the dressing away of the top of the lid to at least the depth of the bottoms of the holes; and this, as the sections in Plate XVII show, would result in the lid top becoming a perfectly flat plane surface—as we must assume was the intention in regard to it from the start.⁴⁹

The form which the lid of Sarcophagus B was to have taken is, then, the low block cover with flat top and hollowed under side; and, since this type is as common with rectangular wooden coffins of the Middle Kingdom as is the solid block lid occurring on Sarcophagus A (see Fig. 11, 4),⁵⁰ it develops that the form of Sarcophagus B is derivable *in toto* from a type of wooden coffin which existed and was widely known before the XVIII Dynasty. It shows, more-

⁴⁹ The present shapeless and completely uneven surface of the top of the lid is clearly only that of the block as originally quarried, its general tendency toward convexity being largely accidental. In itself it is in no way indicative of what the finished upper surface of the lid was to have been, our only criterion in regard to this being the level of the bases of the lug-holes which is definitive in showing that the surface was to have been flat.

⁵⁰ The drawing is taken from the lid of a XII Dynasty coffin from Meir (see above, p. 41, note 33); but this type of lid is common to many Middle Kingdom sites, and in the extensive Middle Kingdom cemetery excavated by Garstang at Beni Hassan it was found to be the usual form, the great majority of coffin lids discovered there being concave on the under side. Garstang (*Burial Customs*, p. 165-6, fig. 168) explains the reason for this form of lid and its method of construction as follows: "The lid presented some greater difficulties; custom desired a solid appearance which the scarcity of wood made it difficult to reproduce throughout. The top, therefore, was usually made in three pieces, lengthwise, of which the central board was a plank of ordinary thickness, from 2 to 3 cms.; but the outer boards thickened from the point towards the edges, having thus the section of a right-angle triangle. The sides which contained the right angle were cut off square, forming the outer edges, while the side opposite the right angle, that is the inside, was sometimes slightly hollowed. . . . The section of the system . . . was thus flat over the top and concave below. The whole was made firm by suitable end-pieces, shaped according to the curve inside, and flat at the bottom, to which the boards were stoutly pegged."

over, not one of the developments which occur in the forms of either Sarcophagus C or D. It is clearly, then, one of the two initial monuments of the series: earlier in date than Sarcophagus C and, because of its unfinished state, slightly later in being started than Sarcophagus A—all of which is tantamount to saying that it is the sarcophagus of the only king who could have had such a monument made within the brief span of time between the commencing of Sarcophagus A and the commencing of Sarcophagus C: Tuthmosis II.⁶¹

It has been seen above (pp. 11-12, 15-16) that there are ample reasons for concluding that neither Sarcophagus B nor its tomb were ever occupied by their royal owner. A further inspection of the sarcophagus develops another point which is of equal interest. While by no means finished, the sarcophagus is practicable for use, that is, the box is hollowed out, the sides of the box and lid have been dressed to produce a uniformity of plan between the two units, and the surfaces of both box and lid where they come into contact one with another have been very carefully dressed in order to assure a tight fit. It is evident, therefore, that the sarcophagus had been ordered to be made ready for use. The fact that there seems to have been time to complete the monument *only* in the essential places indicates that this order was given on very short notice; in turn suggesting the conclusion that Tuthmosis II either fell suddenly and desperately ill or actually died a sudden death at a time when his sarcophagus was still either in the process of being quarried or in a recently quarried condition.

The interior of the sarcophagus was planned to measure 218.5 cm. in length, 69.5 cm. in width, and 73.5 cm. in height: a space sufficiently large to accommodate the outer of a set of three anthropoid coffins of average size,⁶² with a low bier beneath it. This, as has been stated (above, p. 43), was the standard equipment of a king of the period, Hatshepsut's second sarcophagus (C) being the only kingly monument of the series too small to contain the large outer coffin of a set of three.

The rope-lugs on the lid of Sarcophagus B, being something of a rarity, deserve special notice. The holes through the lugs taper in to a scant 3 cm. in diameter, indicating that the objects were actually intended for the attachment of ropes rather than for rods or carrying poles, which would have had to be too slender to be capable of bearing the weight of the lid. Moreover, as may be seen in Plate XVII B, no attempt has been made to bring the lugs on the two sides of the lid squarely opposite one another, the hole through the

⁶¹ This justifiable delimitation of the period within which Sarcophagus B could have been made definitely nullifies the claims to its ownership presented either by the foundation-deposit objects of Merytre'-Hatshepsut (wife of Tuthmosis III) or by the canopic jars of Sennefer and Sentnay (reign of Amenhotep II) found in the tomb (see above pp. 7, Note 31, and 10, Note 37).

⁶² Taking as average the size of the extant (outer) anthropoid coffin of Tuthmosis III, which measures 207 cm. in length, 67 cm. in width, and 63 cm. in height (Dareau: *Cercueils*, No. 61014, pp. 19-20, plate xiv).

lug on one side being in both cases widely offset in one direction or the other in respect to the hole on the opposite side. This definitely points to the use of ropes in hoisting the lid and in all probability to the use of four, rather than two, separate ropes.

In the sarcophagus of Tuthmosis III (F) we see the logical end toward which our four earlier forms have been slowly tending (Plates VIII–XI). The most arresting feature of the form of this sarcophagus appears in its lid, wherein there occurs, for the first time in the series, the use of the convex upper surface, derived from Sarcophagi C and D, combined with the concave under surface, derived from Sarcophagus B (Plate XVII). The result is a rational and well articulated cover, vaulted inside and out,—totally divorced from the old conception of the lid of a sarcophagus as a solid and inert mass of stone, distinguished more for its dead weight than for any other quality.

Other noteworthy advances in the design of the XVIII Dynasty royal sarcophagus which appear in Sarcophagus F are as follows: the convexity of the upper surface of the lid is much more pronounced than with Sarcophagus D, the ratio between the height of the sides and that of the vault being only about 3:2 (Plate XVII F); at the head end the profile of the top of the lid curves down to meet the horizontal top of the edge, as it does on the lid of Sarcophagus D, but at the foot the ridge of the curve continues horizontally to the end of the lid, giving the lid a square foot-end profile to correspond with the flat foot end of the box; the rounding of the head end of the box and lid is very full, almost semicircular, in contrast to the flat complex curve of the head of Sarcophagus D (Plate XIX, cf. D and F); the interior corners of both lid and box are rounded and *all* the outside corners, including the bottom edge of the box all around, are broadly bevelled (Plate XI).

A great double-band cartouche, in low relief, encircles the upper surface of the lid as on the three Hâtshepsût examples.

The interior dimensions of Sarcophagus F (with the lid in place) are: length 220 cm.; width 69 cm., and maximum height 81 cm.—dimensions which correspond excellently with those of the extant anthropoid coffin of Tuthmosis III⁵³ (length 207 cm., width 67 cm., height 63 cm.) and, incidentally, indicate that this coffin was the outer of the set. The length and width of the space within the sarcophagus and those of the coffin coincide very closely, especially the width where there is only a centimeter to spare on either side. The excess 18 cm. in the height of the available space over the height of the coffin points pretty clearly to the use of a low bier under the coffin.

The sarcophagus is a fine piece of stone magnificently worked. The errors in flatness of the surfaces, inside and out, are so small as to be imperceptible to the eye. The parallelism of the side and end walls and the level of their

⁵³ Daressy: *Cercueils*, No. 61014, pp. 19–20, plate xiv.

tops vary, at most, a millimeter or two. The cutting of the corners and of the curved surfaces is flawless. The whole monument rings like a tuning fork at the slightest touch. Certainly, from the point of view of workmanship, as well as from that of design, it is the finest specimen of the entire group.

The XVIII Dynasty royal sarcophagus has now passed through a considerable development. In examples A, B, and C the sarcophagus is a plain rectangular box with square-cut corners. In D it has become an articulated casing with a rounded head end, rounded interior corners, and bevelled exterior corners. Sarcophagus A has a thick block lid and relies on the dead weight of this lid to protect its contents from molestation. Sarcophagus B has the lighter type of lid, flat on top, but vaulted on the under side. Sarcophagi C and D continue the block-lid tradition of Sarcophagus A, but considerably reduce the massiveness of the block and at the same time round up its upper surface. It has remained for Tuthmosis III's sarcophagus maker to combine the progressive features of these early and, in a way, experimental sarcophagi in a monument which definitely sets the type of the pre-Tut'ankhamūn sarcophagus—a cartouche-plan box with a hollow, vaulted lid. The further development of this now established type, until its sudden and, for the moment, complete disappearance, following the "Aten Heresy" in Egypt, is no less interesting than the steps involved in its creation.

It is necessary, however, before taking up the later sarcophagi of Amenhotpe II, Tuthmosis IV, and Amenhotpe III, to inspect the form of the Cairo sarcophagus of Tuthmosis I (E), which rightfully belongs to the earlier part of the series. Whatever, from the start, we may assume its position to be, we are at least justified in not setting the *terminus ad quem* for the monument later than the reign of Tuthmosis III, the last king of Egypt who could have had any personal interest in the owner of the sarcophagus. The *terminus a quo* for the sarcophagus is a matter which only a careful examination of the form of the monument, of its decoration, and of the external considerations applicable to it can settle. For the moment we are interested only in its form.

The form of the sarcophagus of Tuthmosis I *differs from that of the sarcophagus of Tuthmosis III in three minor respects only*: it is a trifle larger, the profile of the upper surface of its lid curves down at the foot as well as at the head, and the curve of the head-end is flat and complex, instead of nearly semicircular (Plates VII; XVII, XVIII, XIX, XXIII, cf. E and F.) None of these points of divergence are, however, of the slightest importance in determining the relative date of the monument. The size of any sarcophagus depends, as has been said, principally upon the size of the coffins it was made to contain, the size of these latter having, in the case of Tuthmosis I, been determined before any of the sarcophagi of the group were planned. (The reader will recall the difficulty encountered by Hatching in trying to fit one

of this set of coffins into her own altered sarcophagus.) The lid profiles of both of the later sarcophagi of Amenhotpe II and Tuthmosis IV curve down at each end (Plate XVII G and H); and the sarcophagus lid of Amenhotpe III, the last member of the series, has the flat elliptically rounded head (Plate XIX I).

The rounded head-end of the Cairo sarcophagus of Tuthmosis I definitely places it later in the series than any of the group leaders, A, B, and C; as do also its rounded interior corners and bevelled exterior corners; and, quite aside from the fact that Hatshepsut had already dedicated one sarcophagus (C) to Tuthmosis I and that the dedication inscriptions on this sarcophagus definitely state that "It was 'his son' who made" it, the hollow, vaulted form of the lid (the lightest for its size of the series) makes it very improbable that the monument under discussion was turned out by the same atelier which executed Hatshepsut's third sarcophagus (D). It, therefore, must have been made after Sarcophagus D.

To say that Tuthmosis II was the "son who made this excellent monument" is tantamount to saying that Tuthmosis II made for his father a cartouche-plan sarcophagus of the type of Tuthmosis III's, which had not yet even been planned, and then proceeded to make for himself a rectangular sarcophagus (derived entirely from a Middle Kingdom coffin type) which he did not find time to finish; that Hatshepsut, after him, and entirely disregarding the supposedly earlier cartouche-plan monument, also made for herself, *as king*, a rectangular sarcophagus; and that it was not until her final monument that a return was made to the round-headed type, which, oddly enough, thereafter became the standard of all the later members of the group—most unlikely statements and ones which it would be, from an archaeological point of view at least, impossible to defend.

It then becomes increasingly apparent that the Tuthmosis I sarcophagus in Cairo was made at about the same time as that of Tuthmosis III, or very slightly earlier, and perhaps in the same workshop. The chapters which follow will attempt to demonstrate that the nature of the decoration of the sarcophagus and the external considerations connected with its manufacture make this conclusion highly probable, if not almost certain.

The interior dimensions of Tuthmosis I's sarcophagus are: length 233.5 cm., width 75.5 cm., and height, to the apex of the vault on the under side of the lid, 85.5 cm.—precisely the right size to take the outer coffin of the king, which is 232 cm. long, with a maximum width of 72 cm. and a maximum height of 70 cm.⁵⁴ It is therefore evident that the sarcophagus was made especially to contain this coffin and that the block was probably quarried and worked on very accurate measurements taken from the coffin; for the walls of the box

⁵⁴ Daressy: *Carcueils*, No. 61025, plate xxviii ff. See also Winlock: *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, xv, pp. 59 and 62-63.

are consistently 7.5 cm. thick, and the free space between the sides and ends of its interior and the exterior dimensions of the coffin would be consistently about 2-3 cm. across, making the exterior dimensions of the sarcophagus everywhere 10 cm. larger than those of the coffin—the same coffin which could not possibly have been fitted into the sarcophagus (C) which Ḥatshepsūt altered for her father.⁵⁵ The height of the lid is one-eighth the total height of the sarcophagus, the same relationship which exists between the two items in the sarcophagus of Tuthmosis III, the ratio between the height of the vertical sides and the convex upper face of this lid being, roughly, 1:1.

Purely, then, from an examination of the changing form of the monuments and those considerations closely bound up with the form development, we are able to establish the order of the first six sarcophagi of the series as follows:

- (1) Sarcophagus of Ḥatshepsūt as Queen (A).
- (2) Uninscribed sarcophagus from Tomb 42 (Tuthmosis II) (B).
- (3) 1st sarcophagus of Ḥatshepsūt as King (altered for Tuthmosis I) (C).
- (4) 2nd sarcophagus of Ḥatshepsūt as King (final Ḥatshepsūt sarcophagus) (D).
- (5) Sarcophagus of Tuthmosis I in Cairo (E).
- (6) Sarcophagus of Tuthmosis III (F).

With the sarcophagus of Amenhotpe II (G) the type becomes formalized; the constructive development, which we have been following through the first six units in the series, stagnates and even reacts upon itself (Plate XII). The only new tendency displayed by this sarcophagus is a change in proportion, brought about by an increase in the width of both the box and the lid and by a considerable increase in the height of the box. The width of the monument is 101 cm., showing an increase of 15 cm. over the width of Tuthmosis III's sarcophagus; while the height, which is 117 cm., overtops that of the preceding example by a full 31 cm. Neither the length of the sarcophagus nor the height of the lid have been materially added to, both dimensions being about the same as in the Cairo sarcophagus of Tuthmosis I. The resulting effect is, then, that of a rather stubby sarcophagus (as compared to its predecessors), with a somewhat skimpy lid, the ratio between the height of the lid and that of the whole monument being about 1:10. The increase in height we may assume to have been made to make room for a somewhat higher outer coffin than those in use heretofore and for a funerary couch, beneath this coffin, of the same height as the normal couch in daily use in the XVIII Dynasty,⁵⁶ instead of the low bier which must have been used up until now in the

⁵⁵ The coffin is 9.5 cm. longer than the whole of Sarcophagus C.

⁵⁶ Presuming Amenhotpe's outer coffin to have been more or less similar to those of Tuthmosis I and III, the height of the couch would work out to about 30 cm. Compare with this not only the funerary bier of Tut'ankhamūn, but also the several examples of ordinary bed (not the tall animal couches) found in his tomb. Carter: *Tomb of Tut'Ankh-Amen*, i, pp. 113-115, plates xvi-xviii; ii, p. 89.

Dynasty.⁵⁷ The additional width, to some extent taken up in the interior by the thickness of the walls of the box which has also been increased, was probably required by a similar change in the proportions of the outer coffin.⁵⁸ At all events, the box has now assumed proportions which are considerably greater than those of any of the earlier sarcophagi, as a glance at Plates XXII and XXIII clearly demonstrates.

The tendency toward formalization is shown in the simplification which the type undergoes at this point. The cartouche has disappeared from the top of the lid (Plate XVIII G)—never to reappear on any Egyptian sarcophagus hereafter, though the cartouche-plan sarcophagus is common enough. The rounding of the head is a perfectly mechanical affair: The curve of the head wall is almost the segment of a circle, with just a faint suggestion of angling-in at the sides, and joins the side wall at a sharp angle, creating a very definite corner at the junction point (Plates XII and XVIII G). The ratio between the height of the vertical sides of the lid and that of the vaulted upper face is about 1:1 (Plate XVII G). The downward slope of the top of the lid is exactly the same at either end. All the walls are of the same thickness (10 cm.). The interior corners are rounded; those on the outside, bevelled.

A comparison of the sarcophagus of Amenhotpe II with the probably contemporary wooden sarcophagus of the Royal Fan-Bearer, Maiherpri,⁵⁹ only serves to show how totally different in form the royal type was at this time from the private type. Maiherpri's sarcophagus is rectangular, with flat head and foot end, and has a double-pitched pointed lid with transverse head and foot boards which project upwards above the ridge of the lid proper.

The most striking feature of the sarcophagus of Tuthmosis IV (H) (Plate XIV) is its enormous size. It is in many ways the freak of the series. Although it conforms to the type, being a rectangular box with rounded head-end and a hollow vaulted cover, it seems to be quite out of touch with the fundamental principles from which was formulated the sarcophagus of Tuthmosis

⁵⁷ See above, p. 46, Note 42.

⁵⁸ The outer coffin of Amenhotpe II must have been of about the same length as that of Tuthmosis I (232 cm.); but, if it fitted its sarcophagus as closely as do those of Tuthmosis I and III (with only about a centimeter to spare on either side), would have been about 20 cm. wider than the earlier coffins. That a tendency to increase the girth of the royal anthropoid coffin, without adding materially to its length, was actually present in the latter part of the XVIII Dynasty will be seen by comparing the proportions of the coffins of Tuthmosis I and III (Daressy: *Caraueils*, plates xxviii and xiv) to those of even the second coffin of Tut'ankhamun (Carter: *Op. cit.*, ii, plate lxix).

⁵⁹ Cairo Museum, 2nd floor, Room H, Case E: *Notice sommaire des principaux monuments, Musée du Caire*, p. 133; Daressy: *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois*, No. 24001, p. 1 ff, plate i. Maiherpri's tomb is in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes (No. 36). Among the objects from the tomb there was found a scrap of linen bearing the cartouche of Hatshepsut (Daressy. *Op. cit.*, No. 24099, p. 58). The character of the other objects found in the tomb and the close similarity of the forms in the illustrations in Maiherpri's papyrus Book of the Dead (Cairo Museum, *Loc. cit.*; Daressy: *Op. cit.*, No. 24095, pp. 38-57, plates xiii-xv) to those of the reign of Amenhotpe II favour the dating of the tomb to the time of this king.

III. The high classic moment has been passed and the designer now either follows the established model in a formal and somewhat lifeless manner, as in the sarcophagus of Amenhotpe II, or resorts, to obtain his effect, to the impressiveness to be gained from sheer bulk; as here, where we have a throw-back to a tradition far older in origin than the XVIII Dynasty and find ourselves confronted with a monument of the class of the huge IV Dynasty sarcophagus of Khufu-'ankh.⁶⁰ Tuthmosis III's sarcophagus is a thin outer casing just large enough to contain the body of the King, plus the additional space required by his three close-fitting coffins. The monument under discussion is more in the nature of a complete free-standing stone chamber, into which the entire sarcophagus of Tuthmosis III, its lid in position and with the body of Tuthmosis IV resting on top of it, could be placed and still leave 5-10 cm. of free space all around.

As great size is achieved by an increase in the actual dimensions of the sarcophagus, so is a corollary massiveness expressed in the form of the monument. The box is over half as wide as it is long (Plate XVIII H, showing the plan) and well over half as high (Plate XXIV). Additional height is contributed by the lid, which is fully one-fifth as high as the box itself (Plate XVII H). The actual dimensions of the sarcophagus are: length 300 cm., width 160 cm., and total height 199 cm. The head-end is flat in the middle, over a space of 60 cm., and then curves ponderously back to meet the long sides at a pronounced angle. The square corners at the foot-end have a flat bevel of 15 mm. The lid rises vertically to a height of 16.5 cm. (almost the total height of the block lid of Sarcophagus A) and then vaults over in a cumbersome curve to the additional height of 17 cm.—again a ratio of about 1:1 between the two component elements. The walls of the box are 14.5 cm. thick and the bottom about 20 cm. thick. The under side of the lid is vaulted up to a maximum height of only about 5 cm.⁶¹ above the horizontal flange which rests on top of the box walls. The lid is, then, still a hollow cover, but has certainly lost all idea of the lightness which is a feature of the three preceding covers. Noteworthy is the manner in which the foot-end of the lid is differentiated from the head-end, as seen in profile. At the head the top of the upper rounded surface descends in a curve to the vertical edge. At the foot it breaks at a distance of 43 cm. from the end and slopes down in a flat plane, leaving corners at the edges of the slope.

The increased size and the altered form of the sarcophagus, aside from a desire to express massiveness, must certainly indicate some similar increase or

⁶⁰ Cairo Museum: *Notice sommaire des principaux monuments*, 1927, No. 44, p. 4; Perrot-Chipiez: *History of Ancient Egyptian Art*, pp. 188-9.

⁶¹ The gigantic lid is in place on the sarcophagus. The measurements of the interior of the box and lid had to be taken, therefore, by thrusting a folding measuring-rod through a small break in the lower edge of the lid at the head-end; and, while fairly precise, are by no means accurate to the millimeter.

change in the proportions or some alterations in the arrangement of the funerary items which it was to contain. The interior space now available is 271 cm. in length and 132.5 cm. in width, with a maximum height of about 155 cm. Making the same allowance for free space as was actually made in the case of the Cairo sarcophagus of Tuthmosis I, we see that Tuthmosis IV's sarcophagus is capable of accomodating an outer coffin and funerary couch about 268 cm. long and 129 cm. wide, with a combined height of 148 cm. This hypothetical coffin would be 36 cm. longer and 57 cm. wider than that of Tuthmosis I—certainly larger than would have been required to contain the two inner coffins, if we suppose the innermost to have fitted the bandaged mummy of the King reasonably well,⁶² but by no means impossible measurements for a royal outer coffin. As regards the height to be taken up in the sarcophagus, it is not unlikely that the outer coffin of Tuthmosis IV (as well as his funerary bier) showed a considerable increase in height in proportion to its length over the outer coffins of Tuthmosis I and III. A glance at the side view of Tut'ankhamūn's second coffin⁶³ shows that the tendency in the latter part of the Dynasty was to make the outer anthropoid coffins not only wider in proportion to their lengths, as compared with the extant earlier examples, but also much higher. Tut'ankhamūn's outer coffin is 223.5 cm. long; his bier is 228.75 cm. long and 30.5 cm. high; and his sarcophagus is 147 cm. high. It would not be surprising, therefore, that Tuthmosis IV, with an outer coffin about 260 cm. long, resting on a bier slightly longer and proportionately high, would have required a sarcophagus 199 cm. in height over all and with an interior 148 cm. high.

That the enormous sarcophagus and oversized outer coffin which it would have contained were not designed with any reference to the body which they were constructed to receive is certainly true (Tuthmosis IV was only 164.6 cm. tall).⁶⁴ Very likely, the sarcophagus, like the coffin inside it, was made of the size it is purely and simply to impress.

With Amenhotpe III's granite lid (I), the battered remnant of the last royal sarcophagus before the Aten heresy, the series comes to an abrupt end. From the indications given by the lid (Plates XVII and XIX I; and Plate XX) it is possible to make an accurate descriptive reconstruction of the entire sarcophagus, with the important exception of its height. The sarcophagus of Amenhotpe III was of exactly the same length, to the centimeter, as is the

⁶² Tut'ankhamūn's mummy is 164 cm. long. His innermost coffin is 187.4 cm. long on its exterior. Tuthmosis IV's mummy, with a length of 164.6 cm., would have required an inner coffin of about the same length as that of Tut'ankhamūn. See Carter: *Tomb of Tut'Ankh-Amen*, II, pp. 74 and 157; Smith: *Royal Mummies*, p. 43.

⁶³ Carter: *Op. cit.*, II, plate lxviii. No full-length illustrations of the outer coffin are given in the publication of the tomb. The outer coffin shows, however, the same characteristics of shape which we see in the second coffin to an even greater degree than in the latter.

⁶⁴ Smith: *Royal Mummies*, p. 43.

sarcophagus of Tuthmosis IV: 300 cm. The lids of the two monuments, though of distinctly different form, were both 34 cm. high. The identity of these two dimensions leads one to suppose that the sarcophagus boxes were also of the same height, which would make the missing dimension of Amenhotpe's sarcophagus 165 cm., the lid being, as in the preceding example, one-fifth the height of the entire monument. Amenhotpe's sarcophagus, though corresponding exactly in length and probably in height with that of his predecessor, was not nearly so massively formed, its other characteristics making it almost an oversized replica of the early round headed boxes of the series. It was 27 cm. narrower than the sarcophagus of Tuthmosis IV and its walls, 12 cm. in thickness,⁶⁶ were thinner. The curve of the head was identical with that already seen in the sarcophagi of Hatshepsut (D) and Tuthmosis I (E): rather flat in the middle, but sharply angled in at the sides (Plate XIX, cf. D, E, and I).

The lid itself is of extraordinary interest. First, it is, with the exception of that of Tuthmosis I in Cairo, the lightest for its size of the group. In spite of its length and height and a width of 133 cm., the thickness of the stone shell is only 19 cm., the other 15 cm. of height being entirely due to the pitch of its vault (Plate XVII I). The height of the rounded-up portion of the lid has finally reached the apex, to the almost complete obliteration of the vertical edges, which are now little more than a method of transition between the curved upper surface of the lid and the walls of the box, the ratio between the two elements being over $2\frac{1}{2}:1$ in favour of the curved face—quite the reverse of the relationship existing between the two parts in the earlier lids, and the climax toward which the lid forms of the series have been steadily tending.

The form of the lid shows two striking and noteworthy innovations (Plates XVII I and Plate XX). First, there is the treatment of the foot-end: As in the lid of the sarcophagus of Tuthmosis III, the upper line of the top continues at the foot without a drop to the very end of the lid (cf. Plate XVII F). In the earlier monument the lid is simply chopped off clean at the foot-end, so that the end elevation is the same as is the profile of a transverse section of the lid taken anywhere along its length. The flat foot-end of the sarcophagus lid of Amenhotpe III is, on the other hand, finished with a transverse "board," the flat-curved upper edge of which joins flush with the top of the curved upper surface of the lid; but the rounded corners of which project up beyond the down-curving sides of this surface on either side. This foot piece is 12 cm. thick, 28 cm. high at the sides, 34 cm. high at the middle, and extends the full width of the lid, its outer edges at their bases being flush with the low vertical sides of the lid.

This feature immediately calls to mind the end boards which are essential

⁶⁶ This being the combined width of the rabbet and the projecting flange on the under side of the lid.

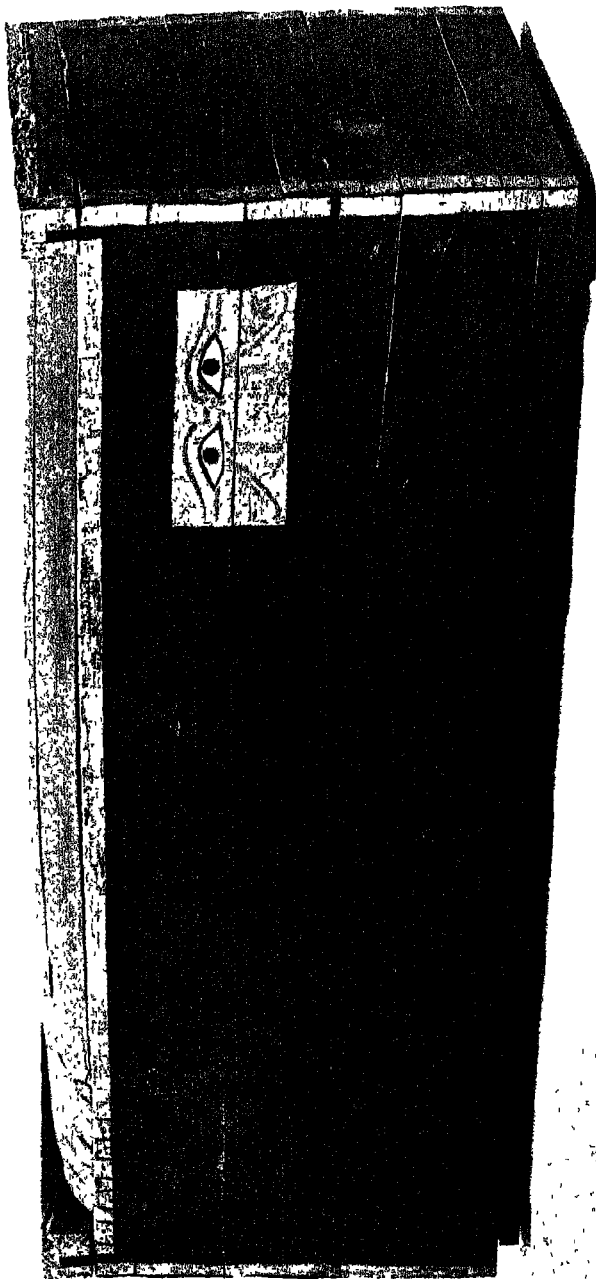


FIG. 13. SECOND COFFIN OF THE HOUSE-MISTRESS SENEPTISI (XII DYNASTY) FROM LISHT
(M. M. A. Neg. No. 11561)

elements of the so-called "gable-ended" type of coffin or sarcophagus lid, a representative example of which is shown in Figure 13.⁶⁶ It must be remarked, however, that, although the germ of the idea for the scheme of treating the end of the Amenhotpe III lid may well be sought in the gable-ended lid class, there are essential points of difference between this well-known type of lid and the form which we have in our royal sarcophagus. The gable-ended lid is only used, as indeed it is only possible to use it, in conjunction with boxes, both ends of which are flat, the foot-boards being in all cases, as is demanded by their origin,⁶⁷ employed at both ends of the lid. They are, moreover, the prominent feature of the lid and almost always project well above the low vaulted part of the cover. Here, on the other hand, the end-piece is used at only one end of the lid and its top is flush with the top of the curved vault, so that the fundamental character of the feature is, to a great extent, lost.⁶⁸ That the form which we have here is not a step in the development of the gable-ended lid is proved by that of the later sarcophagus of Horemheb (Fig. 15),⁶⁹ which is of the normal type, and by the nearly contemporary lid of Yuaa (Fig. 14),⁷⁰ Amenhotpe's father-in-law, which shows no tendency to swerve from the strict tradition.

The other point of interest in connection with the Amenhotpe III lid is the emphasis given the rim around the head-end and along the sides by interposing a narrow, slightly sloping plane surface between the base of the vaulted top and the outer edges of the lid. This treatment, in contradistinction to the foot-piece, seems actually to have grown out of a peculiarity in the construction of certain earlier wooden coffins of the gable-top class. In the XII Dynasty coffin, illustrated in Figure 13, the curved lid, instead of resting on top of the side walls of the box, fits down inside them, leaving the flat tops of these walls lying outside the springing of the lid curve. Thus, if for the moment we disregard the head and foot boards (which are actually separate from the rest of the lid), the transverse profile of the top of the coffin is a convex curve which

⁶⁶ The example shown in the figure is the second coffin of the House-Mistress Senebtisi (XII Dynasty) discovered in her tomb at Lisht by A. C. Mace and H. E. Winlock and published by them in *The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht* (1916), pp. 26-32, figs. 11-15, plate XVII. It is at present in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Accession No. 08.200.45).

⁶⁷ The shape of this variety of lid is derived from a form of ancient Egyptian roofing vault, wherein the courses of the vault are built up side by side without the use of centering by leaning the end courses against a heavy retaining wall, the other courses being then laid at a slant against the first courses and held in place at the far end of the roof by another retaining wall, which, like the first, projects well up above the ridge of the vault (See Choisy: *Histoire de l'architecture* (Paris, 1899), I, pp. 20-21, and figures in the text)

⁶⁸ The latter feature does, however, occur on the lid of a XII Dynasty sandstone sarcophagus from Lisht (Gauthier and Jéquier: *Fouilles de Licht*, p. 46 and fig. 40).

⁶⁹ Photograph of Figure 15 by Harry Burton, Met. Mus. Art, N. Y., Neg. No. T-2375, bis. See Davis, Maspero, and Daressy: *Tombs of Harmhabi and Touatankhamanou*, pp. 91-95, plates lxx-lxxiii.

⁷⁰ Davis: *Tomb of Louiya and Tuiyou, Description of the Objects* (Newberry), p. 1, plate vi; Quibell: *Tomb of Yuaa and Thuiu* (*Cat Gen Mus. Caire*, Nos. 51001-51191), pp. 1-3, plate i.

ends at a short distance inside each edge of the monument and is joined to these edges by a flat horizontal surface. The same transverse profile is carried down into the XVIII Dynasty and appears on the sarcophagus of Yuaa, mentioned above (Fig. 14). Here, however, the origin of the form has been forgotten and both elements—the convex top and the flat edges—are included on the lid proper, which now rests altogether on the top of the sarcophagus walls, giving us essentially the same transverse lid profile as on our royal sarcophagus, if we substitute only the slightly sloping flat surface for the horizontal one.

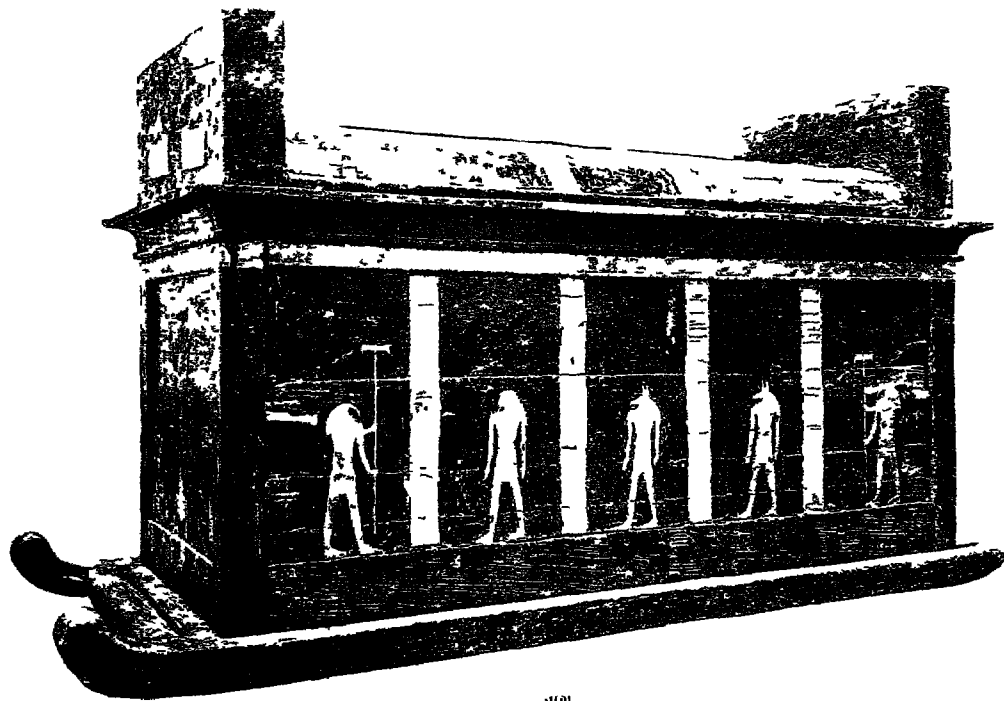
The probable indebtedness, in this one respect, of the designer of the sarcophagus of Amenhotpe III to the school of coffin makers who were responsible for the slightly earlier monument of Yuaa is an interesting point. Aside from this feature in common, however, the similarity between the royal sarcophagus of stone and the private sarcophagus of wood is not apparent. Yuaa's monument (Fig. 14) is essentially more of a *shrine* than a sarcophagus. It is square at both ends; has a prominent cavetto cornice with torus moulding along the top of the box, and recessed sides; and is mounted on a sledge which is a component part of the whole structure. Its influence upon the shrine-like stone sarcophagi of the post-Aten Pharaohs (Fig. 15) is not to be doubted; but its resemblance to the very slightly earlier sarcophagus of Tuthmosis IV⁷¹ is fully described when it is said that they are both outer casings made to contain the anthropoid coffins and mummies of their deceased owners; while its relationship with Amenhotpe III's monument is scarcely less vague. The sarcophagus of Thuiu, Yuaa's wife,⁷² is even less like the royal type. Its box is identical in form with Yuaa's sarcophagus, but its lid is of the flat "shrine-roof" type, to be seen on the sarcophagus of Tut'ankhamūn⁷³—a rectangular slab, shaped like the gently sloping lean-to roof of an Egyptian *naos*.

These two private sarcophagi, like that of Maiherpri cited above in connection with the sarcophagus of Amenhotpe II, belonged to persons of rank, who were familiar with the fashions of the Court and in close contact with the person of the King, and may therefore be taken as representing the nearest approach to the royal sarcophagus type that was considered desirable. Their almost complete lack of resemblance to the sarcophagus of either Tuthmosis IV or of Amenhotpe III strengthens the impression, already given by the sarcophagus of Maiherpri, that the use of the royal sarcophagus type which we have been studying was, at least in the latter half of the XVIII Dynasty, the

⁷¹ Yuaa, the father of Queen Tiy, the wife of Amenhotpe III, was presumably, a contemporary of Tuthmosis IV, the father of Amenhotpe III. Tuthmosis, however, died at an early age (between 25 and 28 years of age. Smith: *Royal Mummies*, p. 45), while Yuaa lived on well into the reign of Amenhotpe III. See Davis: *Tomb of Iouiya and Tuiyou*, pp. xvii, xxi, 46-47.

⁷² Davis: *Op. cit.*, p. 16 ff., plate xii; Quibell: *Tomb of Yuaa and Thuiu*, No. 51005, pp. 17-20, plates vii-viii.

⁷³ Carter: *Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen*, ii, plate lxiv.



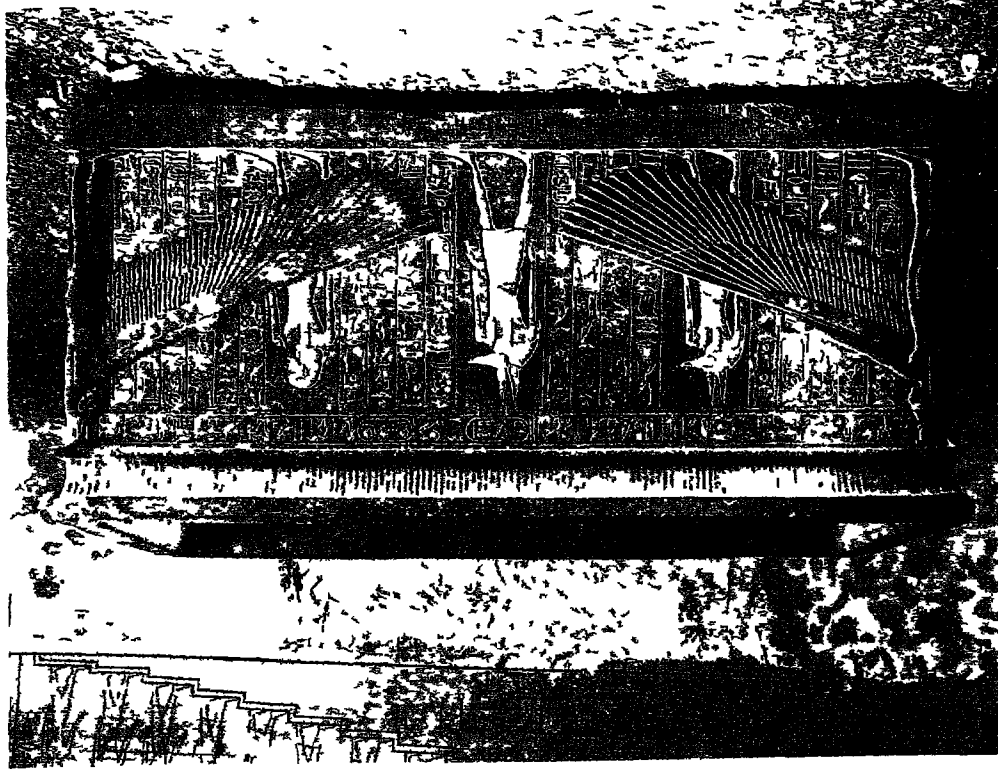
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FIG 14 OUTER COFFIN OF YUYA (REIGN OF AMENHOTEP III)

Cairo Museum

(Davis *Tomb of Louisa and Tomouou*, plate 1)

FIG 13. RED GRANITE SARCOPHAGUS OF KING HOREMHEB (END OF XVIII DYNASTY)
(M M A Eg Exped Neg No T1832)



prerogative of the Pharaoh only and was strictly forbidden to private individuals, no matter what their position might be—the single known exception to this rule in the whole of the Dynasty being the early Senmūt sarcophagus, mentioned in relation to the fourth monument of the royal series, that of Ḥatshepsūt.⁷⁴ The other privileges enjoyed by this Senmūt were, however, as we have seen, such that the identity of his sarcophagus with Ḥatshepsūt's may be ruled out as a valid objection to the assertion that the model of the XVIII Dynasty royal sarcophagus—even though many of its own features may have been borrowed from private monuments—once established as such, was far from being common property.

⁷⁴ See above, pp. 47-48.

CHAPTER III

THE DECORATION OF THE SARCOPHAGI

To arrive at an understanding of the composition, iconography, and purpose of the surface ornamentation of the royal sarcophagi of the early and middle XVIII Dynasty it is best to inspect forthwith that of the first monument of our series: Sarcophagus A (Plates I and XXII, XXIII, A).

The most striking feature of the decoration of this sarcophagus box is the fact that the vertical columns of inscription (enclosed between straight vertical lines), which descend from the horizontal bands along the tops of the walls, divide the sides of the box into panels (Plate XXIII), another panel of about equal size being formed on each end of the box by the columns across the top and down the edges of these ends (Plate XXII). The effect of the composition is highly architectural, the horizontal bands around the top edges of the box suggesting architraves or lintels, with the vertical columns serving as supporting pilasters. Nor is the effect the result of a chance arrangement, for the composition unquestionably derives from the panelled facades of the ancient Egyptian dwelling house, wherein the recessed door and window openings are separated one from another by flat pilasters.

The application of this essential feature of the design of the dwelling house to a sepulchral monument goes back to a very early date. It is to be seen on the interiors of some of the tombs of the kings of the I Dynasty at Abydos;¹ is almost immediately transferred to the exterior of the tomb monument;² occurs on coffins of the III Dynasty³ and on sarcophagi of the IV Dynasty.⁴ The tradition survives in stone sarcophagi of the XII Dynasty,⁵ where, as in the cases of the earlier examples referred to, the panelling is executed in relief; but it is in the painted wooden coffins of the Middle Kingdom that we find the real proto-type to the decoration of the Hatshepsut sarcophagus.

Figure 16 shows one of the long sides of a representative example of this

¹ Petrie: *Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty* (Egypt Exploration Fund, 18th Memoir, 1910), i, p. 10, plates xiii, lxiv, lxvi; ii, p. 8, plate lx.

² Petrie: *Tarkhan I and Memphis V* (British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 18th Year, 1912), pp. 13-20, plates xv, xvi, xviii; *Tarkhan II* (B.S.A. in Egypt, 19th Year, 1913), p. 3-6, plates xv, xviii; *Giseh and Rifeh* (B.S.A. in Egypt, 13th Year, 1907), pp. 2-3, plates ii, vi; Quibell: *Archaic Mastabas* (Excavations at Saqqara, 1912-1914) (Cairo, 1923), pp. 5-6, plate vii, 3 (Tomb No. 2185); Borchardt: *Das Grab des Menes*, *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, xxxvi, 1898, pp. 87-105, plates xiv-xvi, xviii, xix.

³ Petrie: *Tarkhan I*, p. 27, plate xxviii; Quibell: *Archaic Mastabas*, pp. 24-25, plate xxix; Garsang: *Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 28-30, figs. 17-18.

⁴ For example, the red granite sarcophagus of Khufu-ankh in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

⁵ Petrie: *Lahun II* (B. S. A. in Egypt, 26th Year, 1920), p. 6, plates xxiii, xxv 6.

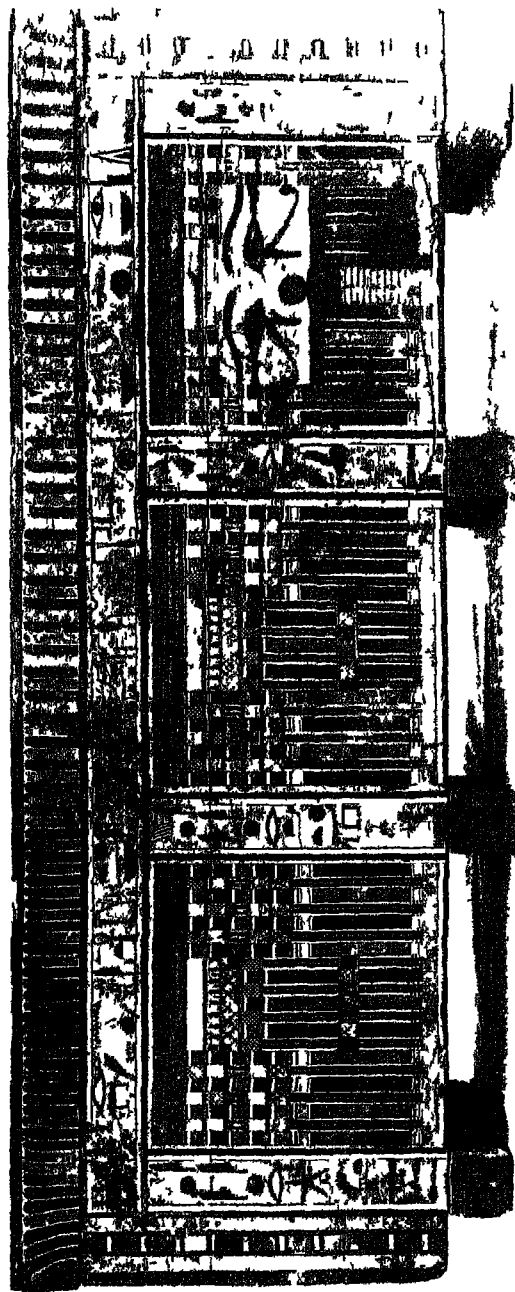


FIG 10. PAINTED WOODEN COFFIN OF THE XII DYNASTY FROM MEIR
 Metropolitan Museum of Art New York
 (M M A Neg No 14760)

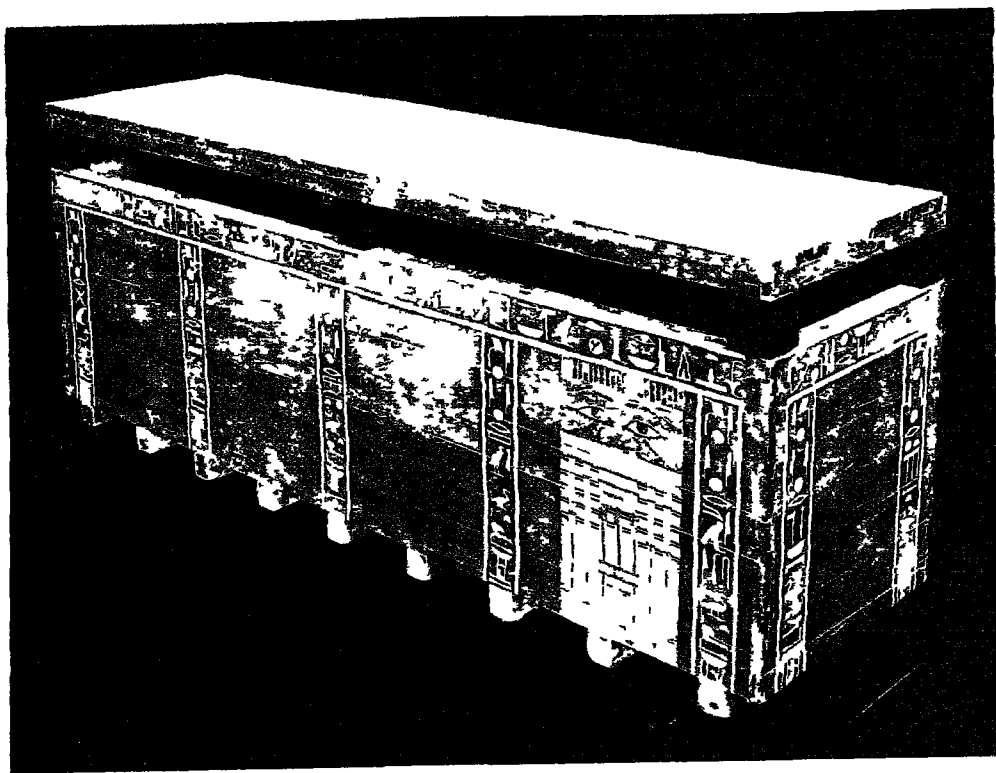


FIG 17 PAINTED WOODEN COFFIN OF THE VII DYNASTY FROM MEIR
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
(M M A Neg No 11150)

very common type of coffin.⁶ The decoration is entirely painted on and the effect is, therefore, slightly different from that produced by the carved or built-up tomb and coffin walls which have just been discussed. The conception is, however, exactly the same. The long horizontal and the vertical bands of inscription correspond to the flat projecting lintel and to the pilasters between the recessed panels; while the panels themselves are elaborately painted in imitation of the complicated system of architectural units which went to make up the door recesses in the Egyptian house facade.

The inscriptions on the lintel band and vertical pilaster stripes serve to combine the ancient thought of the coffin as the eternal dwelling with the equally ancient conception of the deceased as protected by certain deities: for the long horizontal inscription is a statement of the fact that the King intercedes, in behalf of the deceased person, with such powerful deities as Osiris and Anubis, that they may continue to supply the occupant of the coffin with the essential items of food, clothing, etc.; and the vertical bands carry dedications of the deceased to certain underworld divinities, e.g., Anubis and the Four Genii of the Dead. Thus, along the architrave of the eternal house, at each of its four corners, and between or in the panels of its façades are stationed, as the texts indicate, a set of tutelary divinities whose duty it was to protect not only the house itself, but also its owner from any evil or want which might beset him in the existence among the shades. The figures of these gods do not appear, but their names do, each in its more or less established position.

No less important than the presence of the name of each deity is the constant repetition (at least once in every formula) of the name and, in many cases, the title of the deceased. Thus, not only was the dead man assured divine protection, but was also certain that neither his identity nor his rank would pass into oblivion.

The conception of the rectangular coffin or sarcophagus as a house is never completely abandoned in ancient Egypt. As time passes, however, the imitation becomes less obvious, and in certain periods—notably the mid-XVIII Dynasty—the function of the sarcophagus as a house makes concessions to its function as a coffin, in the modern sense of the term.

In Figure 17 we see the left long side of another Middle Kingdom coffin⁷ and note immediately that the painted sections of house facade have been eliminated from all of the panels save only the one at the head end from which look out the pair of painted eyes. Thus, while the entire decoration of the coffin still retains the skeleton lay-out set down in the earlier examples, wherein

⁶ Coffin of the Steward, Khnum-hotpe (XII Dynasty), from Meir. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Accession No. 12.182.131 A-B. The photograph is from M. M. A. Negative No. 14769.

⁷ Coffin of the Countess, Nephthys (XII Dynasty), from Meir. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Accession No. 11.150.15. The photograph is from M. M. A. Negative No. 11159.

the imitation of the house form is more obvious, the actual representation of the house façade, with its great double-valve door, is confined to the panel behind which the head of the deceased rested and through which he looked out—as from the roof or window of his own house—or could pass (using the painted doorway) to the world outside.

The Eye-Panel is the essential feature of the decoration of every rectangular coffin or sarcophagus, from the Old Kingdom to the end of the New Empire. The eyes, which Garstang⁸ appropriately calls “the windows of the tomb,” are never missing from the side of the coffin. In many cases—notably a V Dynasty coffin from Beni Hassan⁹ and the XII Dynasty coffin shown in Figure 13—they are the only motif employed, the rest of the coffin being completely undecorated. What gradually grew to be the established position of the Eye-Panel on the coffin or sarcophagus—on the left side, at or near the head end—was determined by the position in which the body of the Middle Kingdom Egyptian was almost invariably placed in burial: lying on its left side, with the gaze directed out through the left wall of the coffin. As a general rule (which, however, is not without exceptions) the head of the dead man lies to the North, while he himself, and consequently his “false-door” and “eyes,” as regularly face the East—at once the land of the living and the rising place of the life-giving sun.¹⁰

While the form of the eye itself has a special and amuletic significance, being that of the *wedjat*, or “sound,” eye of the god Horus (destroyed by the evil Set and afterwards miraculously restored to its former condition);¹¹ emphasis is laid upon the fact that the *Wedjat* Eyes on coffins and the like¹² are by no means to be regarded *merely* as symbols of protection, sacrifice, and resurrection; but, rather, as almost entirely utilitarian features of the design—in-

⁸ *Burial Customs*, p. 82. See also pp. 166–167.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 32, 166, 244.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 166–167.

¹¹ Breasted: *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1912), p. 31; Gardiner: *Egyptian Grammar*, § 266, 1.

¹² See, on the general subject of the Eyes:—

Blackman: *The Ka-House and the Serdab*, *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, iii, 1916, pp. 253–254, fig. 2.

See, for:

a) Eyes on tomb walls—Blackman: *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, i, pp. 9, 12, 13, 17.

b) Eyes on stelae—*Op. cit.*, p. 8; Van Gennep and Jequier: *Le Tissue aux Cartons*, p. 34, fig. 35; Davies: *Five Theban Tombs*, plates iii, v, xx; Davies-Gardiner: *The Tomb of Amenemhät*, plate xxv, and cf. plate xxvii; *Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum*, ii, plates 32, ii, 20.

c) Eyes on the cap-stone of the pyramid of Amenemhät III—Breasted: *History of Egypt*, fig. 94.

d) Eyes on the bows of funerary boats—Reisner: *Models of Ships and Boats* (Cat. Gen. Mus. Caire, Nos. 4798–4976, 5034–5200), No. 4851, pp. 38–40, plate x; Schafer: *Priestergräber*, p. 97, fig. 354.

e) Eyes on the rudder-blades of funerary boats—Reisner: *Op. cit.*, p. 18, fig. 84, Nos. 4938, 4970, 4972, pp. 94, 95, 112, figs. 386, ff. plates xxvi–xxvii.

tended, in fact, to perform exactly the same function as the actual fleshly eyes of the deceased and being definitely substitutes for the real eyes.¹³

Since the Eye-Panel marks the position of the head of the deceased and the point from which his gaze is directed, it is the center in reference to which the rest of the decoration of the coffin is laid out. Thus, all the inscriptions on a correctly decorated coffin will be found to read away from the Eye-Panel in both directions (Fig. 17), those on either side continuing their respective original orientations all the way around the coffin and meeting back to back at the far right hand foot corner of the box. Similarly, the signs in the one or more columns of inscription down the center of the lid face toward the left side of the coffin, where the Eye-Panel is situated. The directions of reading of all the inscriptions on both the exterior and interior of a Middle Kingdom coffin

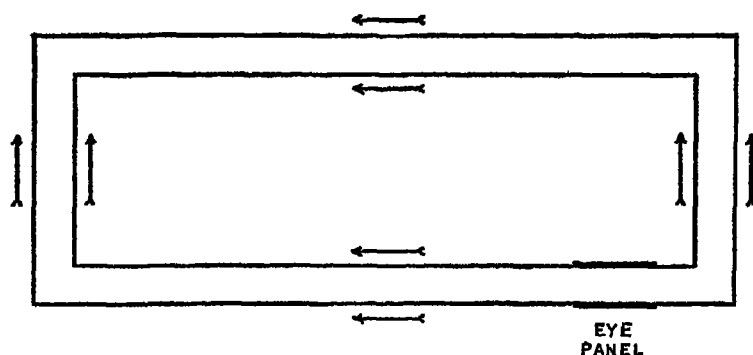


FIG. 18. DIAGRAM TO SHOW THE ORIENTATION OF THE INSCRIPTIONS ON A TYPICAL MIDDLE KINGDOM COFFIN

(Lacau: *Sarcophages*, i, p. iii)

are indicated by the arrows in the diagram given in Figure 18.¹⁴ When figures of divinities are represented on the sides, ends, or lid of a coffin they

¹³ Blackman (*Journ. Eg. Arch.*, iii, p. 252), for example, says of them:

"The eyes on the pyramid cap-stone and the coffins were not protective, but, as we learn from the inscriptions which accompanies them on the cap-stone and also on one coffin, enabled the dead to see the light of day (Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, p. 73; Erman, *Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, p. 129). . . . The eyes seem generally to have been placed where the presence of the dead was located to a special degree. They are on the coffins because the coffin was the repository of the corpse; . . ."

The inscription accompanying the Eyes on the cap-stone of the pyramid of Amenemhet III (Egyptian Museum, Cairo) reads:

"The face of N is open that he may behold the face of the Lord of the Horizon when he sails across the sky."

The same text is written over the Eyes on the left side of the second coffin of Hapy-'unkhtify, XII Dynasty, from Meir (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Accession No. 12.183. 11B). See also, below, p. 130.

¹⁴ The diagram is taken from that given by Lacau: *Sarcophages*, i, p. iii.

invariably face towards the Eye-Panel. All of the above is as true of the XVIII Dynasty royal sarcophagi as it is of their predecessors of the Old and Middle Kingdoms.

The coffin of Figure 19¹⁵ shows the ultimate simplification of the composition. Here only the skeleton lay-out remains to remind us of the panel arrangement in the elaborate built-up, sculptured, or painted house-coffins. Not only is the false door façade absent from the subsidiary panels, but has disappeared even from the Eye-Panel. The Eyes themselves, however, remain, as do also the inter-panel columns of text by means of which the imaginary circle of gods is drawn about the deceased person in the coffin.

A glance at Plates I and XXII-XXIII A is sufficient to show that we have now reached the stage in the development of Egyptian coffin decoration to which the first sarcophagus of the XVIII Dynasty royal series belongs; for the incised decoration of Sarcophagus A is to the last detail identical with that of the Middle Kingdom painted wooden coffin just discussed. Not only is the arrangement as a whole and, hence, the basic principles from which this arrangement was formulated the same in the two monuments; but the texts themselves and their exact positions around the sarcophagus can, as we shall see, be readily duplicated in the great majority of XI-XII Dynasty coffins.

A study of the form of the Hatshepsüt sarcophagus and lid has already revealed the fact that the closest prototypes to this sarcophagus are the wooden coffins of the Middle Kingdom, certain peculiarities of this form indicating clearly that the model was of wood, and not of stone. The present inspection of the decoration of the sarcophagus is conclusive in this respect; for the special form taken by the decoration, while regular with painted wooden coffins of Dynasties V-XVIII,¹⁶ *is found on no stone sarcophagus prior to the one under discussion.*

While the decoration of the sarcophagus proper introduces no element which is not already present in the Middle Kingdom model, the decoration of the lid is more elaborate than that to be seen on any earlier coffin or sarcophagus lid, and contains one feature (the framing cartouche) which is original with the XVIII Dynasty designer. The general conception of the lid decoration, however, dates back to the Middle Kingdom.

Prior to the XVIII Dynasty there are two principal types of coffin lid. The vaulted type with the prominent end-boards is, as has been said, an imitation of a common form of house roof and by its form completes the conception of the coffin as a dwelling house. In the simple flat type of lid, which is either a heavy block, sometimes vaulted on its under side, or a thin cover of planks cleated together side by side, the imitation of the house roof is less obvious,

¹⁵ The coffin of Ib-sen-hotep (XII Dynasty), from Lisht, Met. Mus. Art., New York, Acc. No. 14.3.64 A-B. The photograph is taken from M. M. A. Negative No. 32168.

¹⁶ Lacau: *Sarcophages*, passim; Carnarvon and Carter: *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, p. 51 ff., plates lviii-lxiii.

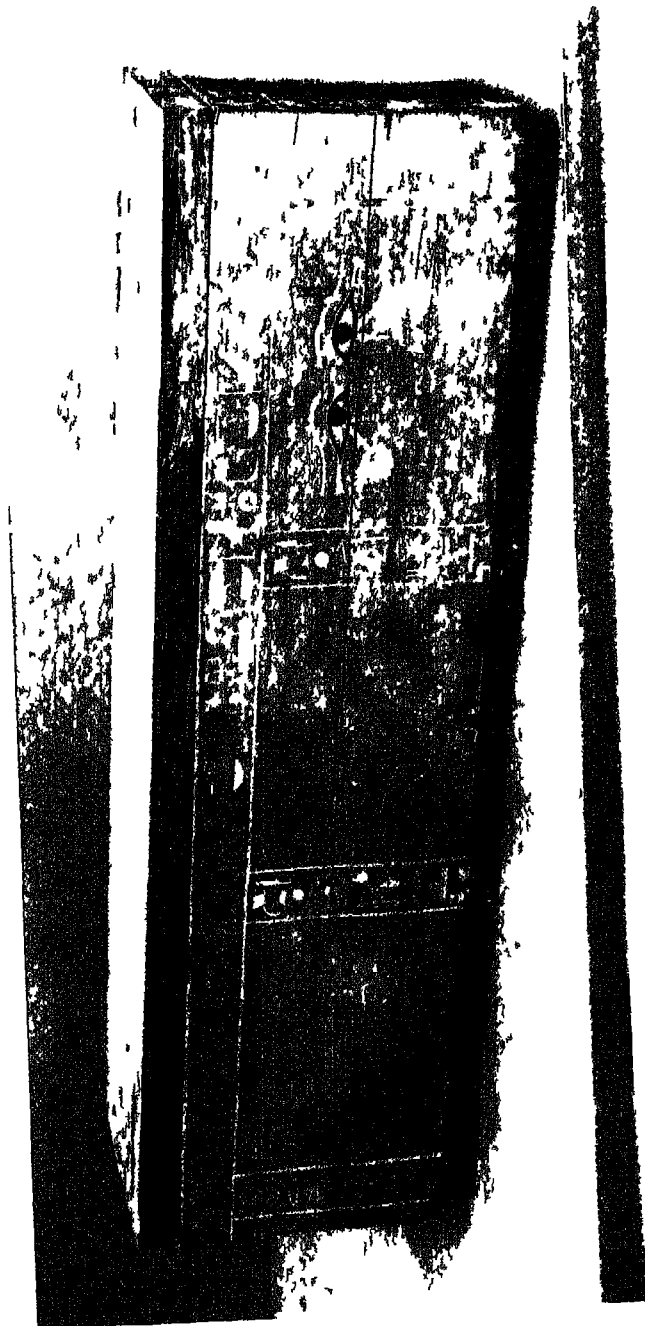


FIG. 19. PAINTED WOODEN COFFIN OF THE XII DYNASTY FROM LISHT
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
(M. A. Neg. No. 37165)

even though the edges of the lid are at times decorated to resemble the cornice which crowned the walls of elaborate houses (see Fig. 16). On both types of lid the decoration is the same and consists solely in vertical columns of inscription (one to three) down the center of the lid, from end to end, invariably dedicated to the sky-goddess Nüt, who is spoken of as stretching herself in protective gesture above the deceased person in the coffin below. We see, then, that the lid of a coffin was conceived to be not only the actual roof of the "eternal dwelling," but also, as the Egyptians themselves called it, the "heaven"¹⁷ above, as personified by the heaven goddess, whose name and, later, whose figure dominate the decorative scheme of the lid.

Having arrived at an understanding of the basic principles from which the decoration of the early New Empire sarcophagus was formulated, of the origin of the composition of the decoration, and, to some extent, of the significance of this composition and of its integral parts, we are now ready to make a detailed inspection of the texts and figures which go to make up the ornamentation of the eight decorated royal sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty. As the series progresses and the sarcophagi become larger, the decoration grows increasingly more elaborate, the texts fuller, new features are added and old ones are eliminated; but the same basic lay-out, which we see in skeleton form in Sarcophagus A, continues absolutely unaltered throughout all eight monuments.

On the upper side of the lid of Sarcophagus A there is a single long vertical column of incised hieroglyphic inscription, unbordered, running nearly the entire length of the lid, and parallel to its long axis. The inscription, which reads downward from head to foot of the lid, lies slightly to the left of the center line of the block (Plate XVIII A). The text (Text 1 A) is a prayer for protection addressed by Queen Hatshepsüt to the sky-goddess Nüt and runs as follows:

"Recitation: The King's Daughter, God's Wife, King's Great Wife, Lady of the Two Lands, Hatshepsüt says: 'O my mother Nüt, stretch thyself over me, that thou mayest place me among the Imperishable Stars which are in thee, and that I may not die.' "

The model from which this prayer ultimately derives is to be found in several places in the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts.¹⁸ A closely related text is written on the lids of the great majority of Middle Kingdom coffins and appears in Chapter CLXXVIII of the so-called "Theban Recension" of the Book of the

¹⁷ Gardiner: *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*.

¹⁸ See Sethe: *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*, 4 volumes, Leipzig, 1908-1922; Spelcers: *Les Textes des Pyramides Égyptiennes*, Brussels, 1923.

All parallels to our sarcophagus texts contained in the Pyramid Texts, inscriptions from Middle Kingdom coffins, and in the Book of the Dead are listed, with references, in Appendix II, below.

Dead. This latter text is not, however, in the form of a prayer, but is a statement of the fact that Nūt "has stretched herself over" the deceased person, etc. The prayer as it appears on the Ḥatshepsūt lid is rare on coffin and sarcophagus lids until the mid-XVIII Dynasty, when it becomes regular.¹⁹ The lids of the anthropoid coffins of Queens 'Ahmose-Nefertari and 'Aḥhotpe, which belong to the early part of the Dynasty, carry the familiar *hotep-di-nesu* offering formula.²⁰

Immediately to the right of the column of inscription, near the head-end and about on the long axis of the lid there is a figure of Nūt, 56.5 cm. high, executed in *relief en creux*. The goddess is represented full length, feet together, arms spread out to the sides and bent upwards at the elbows, the left arm cutting through the column of hieroglyphs. The hands are held open. The figure faces toward the left side of the lid and, hence, toward the inscription and toward the Eye-Panel on the left side of the sarcophagus. The writer possesses no photograph of this particular figure, but an altogether similar one is shown in Plate XV—the Isis figure on the foot-end of Sarcophagus H. The somewhat stiff and wholly conventional pose suggests the idea of "spreading over," of embracing from above, and the figure is therefore by way of being an answer to the prayer written beside it. The goddess is depicted as a young woman, clad in a single, long, transparent, and close-fitting garment, which reaches from just below the breasts to a point immediately over the ankles and is supported by two thin straps which go over the shoulders.²¹ The headdress is the unpleated, soft *ḥ3t* or wig-cover—a square piece of cloth stretched tightly across the forehead, drawn back over the ears, and caught together about the bottom of the wig at the base of the neck.²² On the

¹⁹ Appearing on all of the sarcophagus lids of the present series and on the lids of all the extant contemporary private coffins (See below, p. 131 ff.).

²⁰ Daressy: *Cercueils des Cachettes royales*, No. 61003, pp. 3-4, plate iii; and No. 61006, pp. 8-9, plates viii-ix. See also the coffins of Sekenenrē (XVII Dynasty), Senu (Early XVIII Dynasty), and Nebeni (Early XVIII Dynasty?): Daressy: *Op. cit.*, No. 61001, pp. 1-2, plates i-ii; No. 61010, pp. 11-12, plate xi; and No. 61016, pp. 20-24, plate xv.

²¹ This garment, which dates back to the Old Kingdom, was probably made of light linen. It is the only type worn by women in the reliefs in a series of III-V Dynasty mastabas at Saḥkara (Murray: *Saqqara Mastabas*, Egyptian Research Account, 10th Year, 1904, part i, pp. 8, 9, 13, 15, 23, 41, plates ii, vii, ix, x, xii, xiii, xxxi). The garment survives in tomb paintings in the New Empire, but in the XVIII Dynasty begins to give place, insofar as ladies of fashion were concerned, to a looser, more décolleté, and much more elaborate costume. See Davies: *The Tomb of Nakht at Thebes* (Met. Mus. Art., Tytus Memorial Series, Volume i), pp. 50, 56, 62, and, especially, plate xvii. See also Erman-Ranke: *Ägypten und ägyptisches Leben in Altertum* (Tübingen, 1923), pp. 241-243, figs. 89-91.

²² Mace and Winlock: *The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht*, pp. 43-44, fig. 27; Winlock: *Ancient Egyptian Kerchiefs* (Bull. Met. Mus. Art., November 1916, volume xi, part ii, pp. 238-240). A headdress of exactly similar form, but with a different name, is mentioned frequently in the Pyramid Texts (e.g. Pyr. 2204). The headdress also appears on V Dynasty statues of women (Borchardt: *Statuen und Statuetten*, 110 and 114); and in the reliefs of the mastaba of Raemka in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Accession No. 08.201.10. Lepsius: *Denkmaler*, ii, 47).

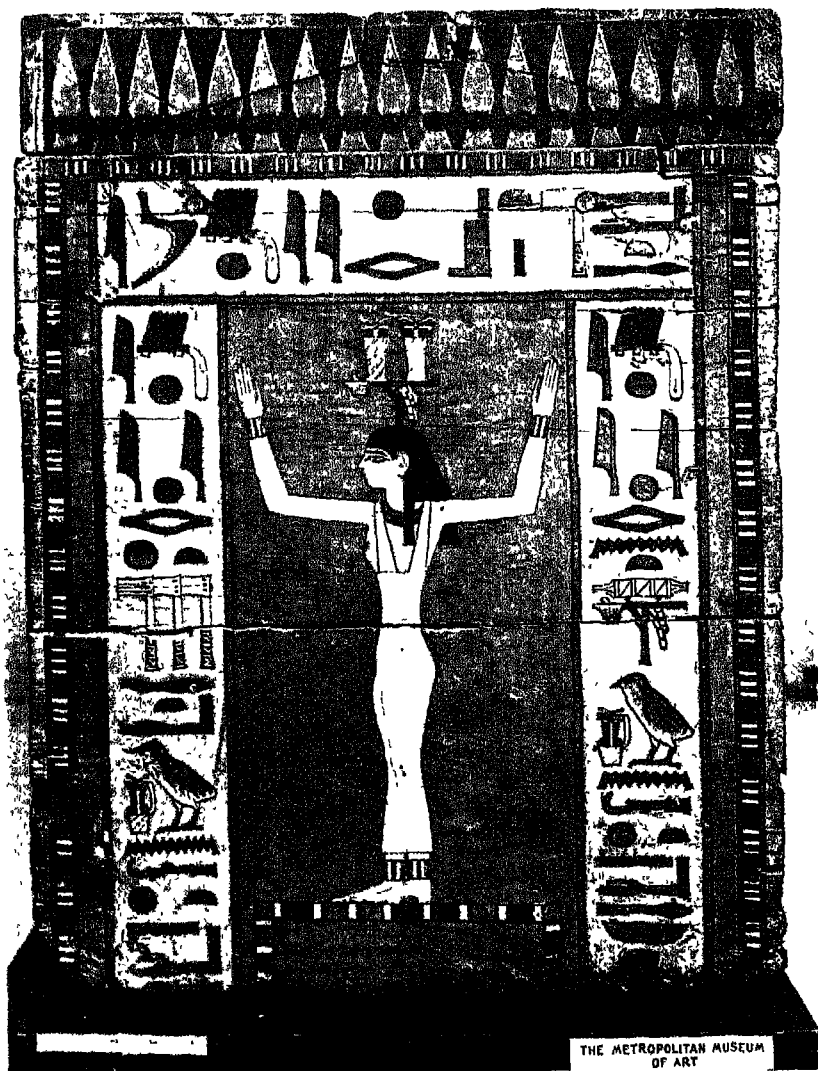


FIG. 20 FIGURE OF A GODDESS ON THE END OF A PAINTED WOODEN COFFIN OF THE XII DYNASTY,
FROM MEIR
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
(M. M. A. Neg. No. 27940)

forehead is the *uraeus*, or cobra, the symbol of royalty. A plain broad-collar encircles the throat of the goddess, who also wears broad flat bracelets on her wrists and anklets of similar design about her ankles. The figure, unlike the one shown in Plate XV, is completely unpainted, as is the rest of the sarcophagus.

While by no means the work of a progressive artist, the drawing of the figure is deft and sure and the execution of the sunken relief in the extremely hard stone betrays the hand of a skilled craftsman of high rank. The goddess is intended to be represented prone upon the lid with her arms embracing the deceased Queen in the sarcophagus beneath; but the Egyptian sculptor's treatment of the posture is in reality simply that of the usual standing figure, with one leg slightly advanced and the arms spread out to the sides. The figure belongs to a set type which may be called "the embracing goddess type" and is in every respect traditional. Derived from the standing goddesses who not infrequently appear on the ends of Middle Kingdom coffins (Fig. 20),²³ the figure is not used on the lids of coffins or sarcophagi until the New Empire, the example shown in Figure 22 being an anthropoid coffin from Thebes, which probably dates from the early XVIII Dynasty.²⁴ To the best of my knowledge, the Hatshepsut monument is the first rectangular sarcophagus or coffin which carries this representation of the Sky-goddess on its lid.

The name of the goddess, , is carved above the head of the figure, the hieroglyphs here being somewhat larger than those in the column of text.

The entire field of the upper surface of the lid is appropriately framed within a cartouche—the only example of true relief to be found on the sarcophagus (Plate XVIII A). Detailed representations of the cartouche show it to have originated as "a loop formed by a double thickness of rope, the ends tied together so as to offer to the spectator the appearance of a straight line."²⁵ Here the sculptor has neglected to represent the double strands of the loop and the perimeter of the cartouche consists in a single flat band. The rounded "head" of the cartouche is at the head-end of the lid and the flat, cross-lashed "foot" lies at the foot-end, while the outer edges of the cartouche's sides correspond exactly with the outer side edges of the lid. The cartouche is perhaps the outstanding "trade-mark" of Egyptian royalty; and its prominent use on the Hatshepsut sarcophagus lid serves immediately to identify the sarcophagus as a royal monument. Furthermore, it may be thought of as

²³ Coffin of Khnumu-nakht (XII Dynasty), from Meir. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Accession No. 15.2.2. The photograph is taken from M. M. A. Negative No. 27940. See also Lacau: *Sarcophages*, Nos. 28068 and 28072, plates xvii-xviii.

²⁴ Coffin of 'Aḥ-hotep Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Accession No. 12.181.303. The photograph is taken from M. M. A. Negative No. 15103. Carnarvon and Carter: *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, p. 74, No. 24.

²⁵ Gardiner: *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 74.

serving as a frame not only for the upper surface of the lid, but also for everything which lay beneath the lid, most especially the body of the deceased Queen, which was to lie forever beneath the symbolic loop just as her name was forever written within similar royal rings. The motif, which survives only on the next four decorated sarcophagi, appears to have been original with Hatshepsut's designer, being found on no earlier sepulchral monument.²⁶

With the exception of the pair of *Wedjat* Eyes, enclosed within a plain rectangular panel on the left (east) side of the box near the head-end, the decoration of the sarcophagus proper is entirely made up of horizontal lines and vertical columns of incised hieroglyphic inscription, each text being enclosed between straight incised border lines (Plates I, XXII A, and XXIII A). There is a horizontal inscription along the top of each wall of the box, just below its upper edge; a vertical column down each outside edge of either end; and four verticals, spaced to form three equal panels, on either of the long sides: 16 texts in all, in which are named and by means of which are located in the composition 12 different divinities of the ancient Egyptian pantheon. As in the vast majority of Middle Kingdom coffins, there are no figures represented on the sarcophagus proper, the panels between the columns of text being perfectly blank, with the exception of that which contains the Eyes.

The horizontal inscription (Text 25 A) along the top of the left (east) wall of the sarcophagus is a speech by Geb, the Earth-god, the brother and husband of Nut, and the father of Osiris. It reads from right to left—from the head to the foot of the sarcophagus—and is as follows:

"Recitation by Geb: 'God's Wife, King's Great Wife, Hatshepsut, raise thee to thy mother Nut that she may take hold of thee, that she may embrace thee. King's Sister, Hatshepsut, I stand up as one who tendeth thee. God's Wife, Hatshepsut, thy heart swelleth. Horus has rescued thee.' "

Although many of the expressions and phrases used in this speech are evidently derived from the Pyramid Texts, I have been unable to find any exact and complete parallel to it in either the Pyramid Texts (see Appendix II), on Middle Kingdom coffins, or in the Book of the Dead. Since this speech, spoken by Geb, is the principal inscription on the left, or east side of the sarcophagus, it is clear that Geb is the main divinity stationed on the east side of the deceased's eternal dwelling and that it is to him that the side is principally dedicated.

On the right (west) side of the box the main text is a speech by Nut (Text 35 A), the sky-goddess, sister and wife of Geb, who has already been encountered on the lid. This is in the same relative position as the leading text on the left side, being a horizontal line of hieroglyphs along the top of the wall. Reading from left to right, toward the foot of the sarcophagus, it runs:

²⁶ It must be noted, however, that very few royal sarcophagi or royal coffins, earlier in date than the Hatshepsut monument now under discussion, are extant.

"Recitation by Nût: 'I have examined the hereditary princess, great of favour and of grace, mistress of all lands, King's Daughter, King's Sister, God's Wife, King's Great Wife, Ḥatshepsût, may she live! Mayest thou not perish. I destroy thy disability. God's Wife, Lady of the Two Lands, Hatshepsût, mayest thou live! Thoth has given to thee the gods.' "

This speech, like the one on the left side of the sarcophagus, is composed of a number of short utterances, ultimately derived from the Pyramid Texts and juxtaposed in somewhat arbitrary fashion; and is probably not to be paralleled in its entirety by any one earlier inscription. Its indebtedness to the Pyramid Texts can, however, be demonstrated by arranging parts of three of these Old Kingdom spells in the order adopted by the XVIII Dynasty compiler, as follows: "Nût, thou hast examined thine offspring (Pyr. 823 d) . . . thou destroyest every evil which pertains to the Osiris N that he may not die, that his name may not perish (Pyr. 1812 a and c) . . . I have given to thee all the gods" (Pyr. 775 a). Some of the phrases which form it also appear on XII Dynasty coffins. Noteworthy is the manner in which the speech by Nût on the right side of the sarcophagus is arranged to form an exact pendant to the speech by Geb on the left side. Both speeches start with the address to Ḥatshepsût, in each case accompanied by a fairly complete list of her titles and epithets. Then follows an assurance of protection on the part of the speaker. Geb says: "I stand up as one who tendeth thee." Nût says: "I destroy thy disability." Finally, each speech ends with a short sentence wherein a divinity other than the speaker is mentioned as heaping benefits upon the deceased. Geb asserts: "Horus has rescued thee;" to which Nût replies: "Thoth has given to thee the gods."

One of the points of interest in this text lies in the very full titulary of Ḥatshepsût, as Queen of Tuthmosis II, which it contains. She is named as "Hereditary Princess"—an Old Kingdom title²⁷ which by the XVIII Dynasty had lost much of its original significance and become merely a formal term used in addressing persons of noble rank; as "Mistress of All Lands"—her position as wife of a king who claimed universal dominion; as "King's (Tuthmosis I's) Daughter;" as "King's (Tuthmosis II's) Sister"—really half-sister; as "God's (Amün's) Wife;"²⁸ and as "King's (Tuthmosis II's) Great (or "Chief") Wife," i.e. "Queen," as we now use the term—her functioning title and her highest one.

The vertical columns of inscription on the two long sides of the sarcophagus

²⁷ Erman-Grapow: *Wörterbuch des ägyptischen Sprache*, ii, p. 416. Compare the title *r-p'ty*, "hereditary prince" (Murray: *Index of Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom*, British School of Archaeology in Egypt, Studies, Vol. i, London, 1908, plate xxvi).

²⁸ On the title *hmt-ntr*, "the God's wife," see Winlock: *Bull. Met. Mus. Art*, November, 1929, Section ii, pp. 31, 32, 34; where it is demonstrated that "any princess who bore the title 'the God's Wife' must have been the wife of the king, or at least of a king's heir." The title first appears at the beginning of the XVIII Dynasty, when it is borne by Queen 'Ahmose-Nefertari, the wife of 'Ahmose I (Gauthier: *Le Livre des Rois d'Égypte*, *Mém. Inst. Franç. au Caire*, xviii, p. 183).

(four to a side) are short dedications of the deceased to eight divinities of the Egyptian pantheon. The ends of the sides, that is, the four corners of the box, are reserved to the "Four Genii of the Dead:" Mesti, Hapy, Duamutef, and Khebsenuet, one of whom is mentioned in each of these end inscriptions. The mid sections of the sides are dedicated to Thoth and Anubis-Khenty-Seh-Nefer, and to Horus and Anubis-Imy-Wet, respectively. Except for the names of the gods which appear in them, all of the dedicatory inscriptions are the same, and each consists of two parts: the dedication proper, and the title and name of the deceased which follow it.

At the head-end of the left side (the northeast corner of the sarcophagus) the vertical inscription (Text 2 A) reads:

"Honoured with Mesti—the King's Wife, Hatshepsut, justified with Osiris."

At the head-end of the right long side (the northwest corner of the sarcophagus) the inscription (Text 8 A) reads:

"Honoured with Hapy—the God's Wife, Hatshepsut, the justified."

At the southeast corner of the box (the foot-end of the left side) is stationed the Genius Duamutef and we read here (Text 5 A):

"Honoured with Duamutef—the Lady of the Two Lands, Hatshepsut, justified with Osiris;"

while in the corresponding position on the right side (the southwest corner) the text (Text 10 A) is:

"Honoured with Khebsenuet—the King's Sister, Hatshepsut, justified with Osiris."

In each case the unvarying formula not only establishes the dead Queen as under the tutelage of one of the Four Genii, but also serves to locate each Genius at his traditional post in relation to the deceased incumbent of the sarcophagus and in relation to the "eternal dwelling" itself: Mesti at the northeast corner, Hapy at the northwest, Duamutef at the southeast, and Khebsenuet at the southwest. This grouping of the Genii is according to fixed ritual and is the rule on the great majority of Middle Kingdom coffins (see, for example, Figs. 16, 17, and 19).

Noteworthy is the manner in which, with every repetition of the name of the deceased, the accompanying title is made to vary in each text; so that in the four inscriptions Hatshepsut is named successively as: "King's Wife," "God's Wife," "Lady of the Two Lands," and "King's Sister."

In each case the Queen is referred to either as "Justified with Osiris" or as simply "Justified" (Literally: "True of Voice"). This expression, because it universally and almost exclusively accompanies the name of the dead person,

comes in the course of time to mean little more than "deceased;" and, in the case of historical inscriptions, it can be assumed with confidence that a person referred to as "justified" was dead at the time the inscription was written—as opposed to the living persons mentioned, who are usually said to be "given life."²⁰

On the left or east side of the sarcophagus the vertical column immediately next to the Eye Panel and between it and the middle panel names the great god Thoth; while in the corresponding place on the right side it is Horus who is cited as Ḥatshepsūt's protector, the two inscriptions (Texts 3 and 7, respectively) reading:

"Honoured with Thoth—the King's Great Wife, Ḥatshepsūt, the justified."

and

"Honoured with Horus-Imy-Pet—the God's Wife, Ḥatshepsūt, the justified."

These two important divinities are named, it will be recalled, in the Geb and Nūt speeches, respectively, along the tops of the sides. They rank second only to the Earth-god and Sky Goddess, the principal protagonists of the sides of the box. The essential rôles played by Thoth and Horus in the resurrection and restitution of Osiris are well known. Thoth's part as spokesman for Osiris and restorer of the *Wedjat* Eye entitles him to his position beside the face of the deceased and next to the Eye-panel. Horus is his pendant on the west side of the sarcophagus. The title *Imy-pet* ("Who-is-in-the-Sky"), which is suffixed to the name of this latter god, refers to his function as a solar deity.

The remaining column on each side—that between the middle and foot panels—is dedicated to one of two forms of the ancient Underworld god, Anubis. On the east side he is named as *Kheny-Seḥ-Neter* ("—who-is-in-front-of-the-Divine-Booth"); on the west side as *Imy-wet* ("—who-is-in-the-bandage"). In both cases (Texts 4 and 9) it is "the God's Wife, Ḥatshepsūt" who is "honoured with" this deity.

The presence of Anubis by the side of the body of the deceased was reckoned to be so essential that, in the majority of the sarcophagi of the present series, although Horus and Thoth disappear from the long sides of the boxes, Anubis in both his forms is retained throughout. It is, moreover, noteworthy that, whereas the mention of Horus or Thoth is rare in the inter-panel dedications or in the long horizontals along the sides of Middle Kingdom coffins, Anubis

²⁰ The fundamental meaning of the term is clear if we recall the "Trial of Osiris," wherein the divine applicant for immortality was tested and found to be "justified," thereby winning his right to eternal life. By analogy with the case of the resurrected god, with whom he is always identified, the deceased Egyptian was regularly called upon to undergo a similar test of virtue in the Judgment Hall of the Underworld and could arrive at the blessed state of immortality only after he also had been declared "justified" by the assembly of divine judges. See pp. 13-14, 20-21.

is almost always invoked in one of the offering formulae which regularly top the sides of these coffins.³⁰ On the Ḥatshepsūt sarcophagus (and the ones which follow it) we have, as has been noted, two aspects of the god. Anubis-in-front-of-the-Divine-Booth, a god worshipped by the living in his sanctuary, quite properly takes his stand on the eastern side of the sarcophagus, in which direction lay the abodes of the living; while Anubis-in-his-bandage, a form more intimately connected with the process of embalming, of burial, and with the tomb in general, holds a position on the west, where was the city of the dead.

The ends of the sarcophagus—the positions at the head and feet of “the Osiris”—are watched over by the goddesses Isis and Nephthys, the sisters of the god. The place of Isis, the wife as well as the sister of Osiris, is at the feet of her dead lord, where she is later depicted as kneeling in mourning, like an ordinary bereaved wife of the Orient. On the sarcophagus under discussion her presence is made known only by means of three short texts with which the foot-end is inscribed: a horizontal line of hieroglyphs across the top of the end, and two vertical columns, one of which descends down each edge of the field. These texts, which are short speeches addressed to the deceased by Isis, read as follows:

Across the top (Text 20):

“Recitation: ‘O King’s Daughter, King’s Sister, God’s Wife, King’s Great Wife, Ḥatshepsūt, I am thy sister Isis.’ ”

Down the left side (Text 21):

“Recitation: ‘O God’s Wife, Ḥatshepsūt, I have come rejoicing through love of thee.’ ”

Down the right side (Text 23):

“Recitation: ‘O King’s Sister, Ḥatshepsūt, I have come that I may take hold of thee.’ ”

The earliest extant versions of Texts 21 and 23 are to be found in the Pyramid Texts, wherein each occurs no less than three times. They also appear on the exteriors of Middle Kingdom coffins and, through the latter, are handed down to the XVIII Dynasty sarcophagus decorator practically unchanged. The clause (Text 23) “that I may take hold of thee” finds an analogy on a few Middle Kingdom coffins, where figures of goddesses in the conventional pose of “embracing” (cf. the Nūt figure on the lid the Ḥatshepsūt sarcophagus) are depicted on the ends of the boxes (Fig. 20).

Isis also plays an important part in the texts which decorate the head-end of the sarcophagus, which is, however, properly the station of her sister-goddess,

³⁰ See Garstang: *Burial Customs*, pp. 188–190; Schäfer: *Priestergräber*, pp. 22–3, 28–9, 32–3, 35, 48–9, 56–7, 83–4, 91–2, 105, 109; Lacau: *Sarcophages*, *passim*.

Nephthys. The arrangement of the inscriptions on both ends is the same and the texts themselves form pendants to one another. Across the top of the head-end we read (Text 13):

"Recitation: 'O God's Wife, King's Great Wife, Ḥatshepsūt, I am Isis.' 'I am Nephthys.' "

Down the right side (Text 14):

"Recitation: 'O King's Daughter, Ḥatshepsūt, we have come that we may raise thee up, that thy heart may live.' "

Down the left side (Text 17):

"Recitation: 'O King's Sister, Ḥatshepsūt, we envelop thy flesh, we command thy limbs to live, and thou diest not.' "

The latter two recitations, which, like those on the foot-end of the sarcophagus, date back to the Pyramid Texts and are to be seen on XI-XII Dynasty coffins, are plain statements of the functions of the two goddesses in regard to the deceased. On the sarcophagi which follow tediously similar speeches are made by nearly all the deities who encircle the dead sovereign.

With the Isis and Nephthys inscriptions on the foot- and head-ends of the sarcophagus its decoration is complete. Unlike its Middle Kingdom models and a number of the royal XVIII Dynasty sarcophagi which follow it, its interior surfaces are totally uninscribed. As with the great majority of Middle Kingdom coffins, there are no figures of the divinities, mentioned in the inscriptions, on the sarcophagus proper, the only divinity represented anywhere on the monument being the Nūt on the upper surface of the lid. Because of this absence of figures, Gardiner, writing on the sarcophagus,³¹ concluded that its sculptural decoration had not been finished. The conclusion was based upon a comparison of the monument with one or two of the later royal sarcophagi of the Dynasty, all of which carry figures in their panels. To my mind, however, the facts that Sarcophagus A in other respects so closely imitates Middle Kingdom coffins, on which there are almost always no figures; that there are no traces in its panels of preparation for cutting figures, in spite of the fact that the rest of the decoration is complete and the panel surfaces are polished; and that the decoration of the later sarcophagi of the series displays a great many features which are not to be found on this earliest example makes Gardiner's supposition most unlikely. True, there are traces of red ink guide-lines for the assistance of the sculptor still visible on the sides and ends of the box;³² but these are confined to the edges of the columns of inscription and to the outlines of signs in the inscriptions, and are in no case parts of the outlines of figures in the panels. The presence of such guide-lines on fully

³¹ *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, iv, p. 115.

³² See Appendix I, under Sarcophagus A, "Miscellaneous Data."

executed monuments is by no means uncommon in Egypt and their survival on this sarcophagus can, at all events, be explained by the fact that the monument was never painted, as it was quite possibly intended to be.

A survey of the diagrams of the sides and ends of the sarcophagus given in Plates XXII and XXIII and of the photograph in Plate I shows that the orientation of a number of the inscriptions in the composition does not conform to the rule laid down in Middle Kingdom coffins and described on page 65. The inscriptions on the left side of the box (Plate XXIII A, left) are correctly oriented, all of them reading away from the Eye Panel. The same is true of those on the right side (Plate XXIII A, right), with the exception of the head-end vertical column (Text 8), which, like its pendant on the left side, faces in towards the first panel, instead of towards the head-end of the box, as it should in order to read away from the Eye Panel around the end, on the left side. This was probably due to the desire on the part of the designer to bind his composition in at both ends by facing both outer edge inscriptions towards the center of the field—a very common procedure in ancient Egyptian art, wherein the symmetrical and centrifugal composition is the rule, the same facing-in of opposed inscriptions being always employed on door-jambs and the like. Such a facing of the head-end vertical on the right long side is common enough on Middle Kingdom coffins and is the rule on all of the royal XVIII Dynasty sarcophagi. On the other hand, the orientation of the inscriptions on the ends of the box, all of which read away from the right side and against the Eye Panel, must be the result of a blunder on the part of the inscription cutter; for this orientation is found very rarely on coffins of the Middle Kingdom and on only two other sarcophagi (G and H) of the XVIII Dynasty series.

Whereas the composition of the decoration of Sarcophagus A imitates that of wooden coffins of the Middle Kingdom, the iconography of the decoration—the texts and the divinities named in the texts—goes back to a much more remote past. This is especially true of the group of gods and goddesses whose names (and, in the case of Nūt, whose figure) appear on the walls and lid of the monument. While the greater part of the texts derive ultimately from the V–VI Dynasty Pyramid texts, some of them have been extensively altered and some are found previously only on Middle Kingdom coffins. There is, on the other hand, no single deity named who was not already revered in the Old Kingdom and who does not figure prominently in the Pyramid Texts. In the eleven hundred odd years which elapsed between the close of the V Dynasty and the reign of Ḥatshepsūt not one addition was made to the list of divinities originally selected as guardians of the dead; nor do the sarcophagus designers who follow Ḥatshepsūt's break away from the established tradition, even to the extent of inserting into the texts a single Middle Kingdom or New Empire god. In Ḥatshepsūt's day, and for centuries after, the greatest deity in Egypt

and the one most worshipped by the Theban dynasts was Amen-Rē', the local god of Thebes, and, hence, the official god of all Egypt. Next in power to him came Mūt and Khonsu, the other two members of the "Theban Triad;" and Monthu, the formidable god of Hermonthis. Yet, not one of these divinities is mentioned in any inscription on any of the eight decorated sarcophagi under discussion. Ḥatshepsūt's mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri was dedicated to Amūn. Her very name, as king, (Ḥatshepsūt-khnemet-Amūn) is compounded with that of Amūn. Her favourite epithet on the bulk of her monuments is "beloved of Amēn-Rē'." Her famous expedition to Punt was dispatched to obtain myrrh trees for the terraces of Amūn. Her jubilee obelisks were erected in the great temple of Amūn at Karnak. Her whole official life was wrapped up in the adoration of Amūn. Yet, the name *Amūn* appears nowhere, except in the royal cartouches, on any of her three sarcophagi. In preparing her "eternal home" she forsook, as did all other Egyptians, the current leaders of the Egyptian pantheon, and turned for protection to the group of Old Kingdom gods who reserved for themselves the duty of protecting the deceased in regions where Amūn, Mūt, and Khonsu were never to become known and from perils over which they presumably had no control.

Space does not permit nor does necessity require descriptions of the characteristics and attributes of these ancient gods of the sepulchral chamber; divinities of the cosmos, gods of the dead, actors all in the drama of the death and resurrection of Osiris. What is known of them is presented in modern standard works on the Egyptian religion.³³ Their functions as regards the occupant of the sarcophagus and their stations around the occupant become clear from a study of the sarcophagi themselves and of their texts.

The sarcophagus of Tuthmosis II (B), which, as we have seen, is nearly contemporary in date to Sarcophagus A, is completely undecorated, having been only partially executed at the time it was abandoned.

In discussing the decoration of the sarcophagus of Tuthmosis I in Boston (C), which is in reality the second sarcophagus made for Ḥatshepsūt and re-decorated by her to receive the body of her father, it is futile to concern ourselves to any extent with the problem of what the nature of the original decoration of the sarcophagus may have been. The only surfaces of the sarcophagus as originally made which still remain are: the upper and under sides of the lid, the top edges of the box walls, the interior surfaces of the side walls, and the floor of the sarcophagus inside. Since there are no alterations visible in the inscriptions which cover the interior surfaces of the side walls, all of which carry the names, titles, and epithets of Tuthmosis I, it is evident that

³³ Breasted: *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, New York, 1912; Erman: *A Handbook of the Egyptian Religion*; Muller: *Egyptian Mythology*, Boston, 1923; etc.

these are the first inscriptions carved on these surfaces and that the surfaces were, therefore, completely undecorated when the sarcophagus was made for Ḥatshepsūt. The decoration of the remaining original surfaces dovetails so completely with that of the re-surfaced parts of the sarcophagus that it is probable that the decoration of these new surfaces reproduces exactly that of the monument as originally made, allowing only for the changes in the names of the deceased and the gender of the pronouns and adjectives used in the inscriptions. An important exception is the second panel from the head on the right side of the exterior of the sarcophagus. This panel, which now carries Ḥatshepsūt's dedication of the sarcophagus to her father (Text I), probably, in the original monument, contained the seventy-second Chapter of the Book of the Dead (Text 30), which, in the monument as it now is, is to be found in the corresponding panel on the *interior* of the box. With the exception of the instances named, however, the sarcophagus as it now rests in the Boston Museum is probably decorated just as it was originally. At all events, it is certain that no royal sarcophagus was made or decorated between the date of the original decoration of this sarcophagus and the time of its re-decoration. The monument, therefore, represents the second stage in the development of the decoration of XVIII Dynasty royal sarcophagi, following immediately upon the model laid down in Sarcophagus A.

That its decoration is a later development of that of Sarcophagus A will immediately become apparent. What is chiefly to be demonstrated is that the decoration of this sarcophagus (C) and of the one (D) which follows it are both at an earlier stage in the development of XVIII Dynasty sarcophagus decoration than is that of the Cairo sarcophagus of Tuthmosis I (E), the one which was found in that king's own tomb in the Bibān el-Molūk.

Down the exact center of the upper surface of the lid of Sarcophagus C (Plate XVIII C) runs a long vertical column of inscription, enclosed between bordering lines. The text (Text 1 C) is the same prayer to the Sky-goddess Nūt which we have already seen on the lid of Sarcophagus A: "Ho Mother Nūt, stretch thyself over me," etc. It is spoken by the "King of Upper and Lower Egypt, 'Akheperkarē', the justified" (Tuthmosis I); but the signs 'A and *kheper* in the cartouche are cut in plaster which illy conceals the sign *ma't* in the original "Ma'tkarē" (the prenomen of Ḥatshepsūt as king of Egypt), the original *ma't-kheru* ("justified") has been altered to the masculine *ma'-kheru*, and the phrase "she says . . ." changed to "he says. . ."

Above the top of the inscription, still on the long axis of the lid and near its head end, there is carved a figure of the goddess Nūt, 46 cm. high, executed in *relief en creux* and facing towards the left side of the sarcophagus. The figure is altogether similar to that upon the lid of Sarcophagus A, described on pages 68-9, and exemplified in Plate XV; with the single exception that the arms are spread out straight to the sides and not bent upwards at the elbows.

The name  is written in front of the face of the figure.

From either side of the central inscription three transverse vertical columns

branch off at equal intervals, the first pair being flush with the top of the main inscription, the second pair at about the middle of the lid, and the third near its foot end. Like the central column, each of the transverse bands of inscription is enclosed between incised border lines, which join directly to those of the center inscription. These bands, which contain the first parts of the same dedicatory inscriptions given in their entirety in the vertical columns on the long sides of Sarcophagus A, break off at the edges of the upper surface of the lid, just within the sides of the great cartouche with which the surface is framed. The remainders of the inscriptions are given in the three vertical columns which come between the panels on each of the long sides of the sarcoph-

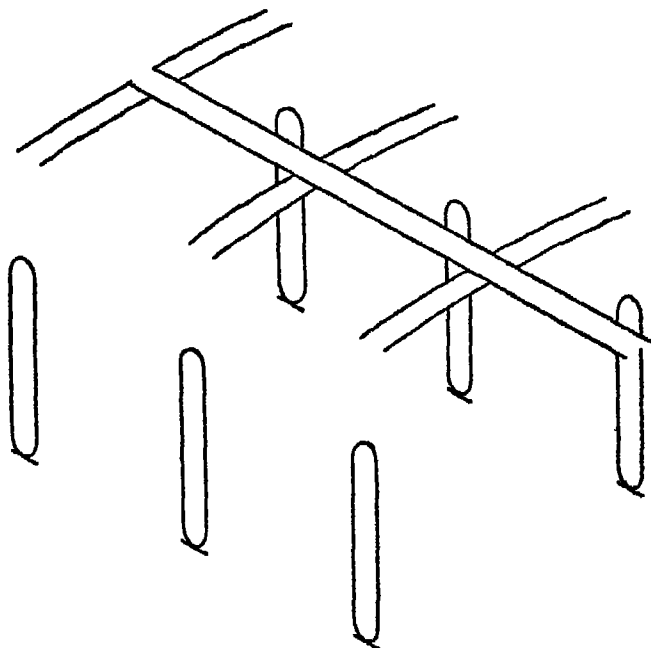


FIG. 21. DIAGRAM TO SHOW THE LAY-OUT OF THE LID AND INTER-PANEL BOX INSCRIPTIONS OF SARCOPHAGUS C

agus box (Plate XXIII C, Columns 8, 9, and 10). These vertical columns on the sides of the box are enclosed within elongated cartouches, not only because they contain the names and titles of the King, but also because in this manner are they differentiated from the columns containing the speeches of the various divinities included *within* the panels. They are spaced so that they lie directly under the transverse lid bands and, thus, are true continuations of the dedications on the lid (Fig. 21). Though perfectly continuous in sense, the inscriptions are intersected on this sarcophagus by the edges of the lid and the horizontal inscriptions along the tops of the sides of the box. A comparison of the texts with those on the sides of Sarcophagus A is sufficient to show, however, that the two parts do form a continuous whole and that the

bands are thought of as running from the center of the lid to the base-line of the box on either side. The complete inscriptions, with which we are now familiar, runs as follows, the section of the text which is on the lid coming before the dash, and that on the sarcophagus following it:

On the right side, near the head-end (northwest quadrant) (Text 2 C):

"Honoured with Mesti—the Son of Rē' of his body, Tuthmosis, justified with Osiris, Prince of the West."

On the left side, near the head-end (northeast quadrant) (Text 8 C):

"Honoured with Hapy—the son of Rē', Tuthmosis-mi-Rē', justified with Osiris, the Great God, Foremost of the Westerners."

On the right side, near the foot-end (southwest quadrant) (Text 5 C):

"Honoured with Duamutef—the Son of Rē' whom he loves, the Lord of the Two Lands, Tuthmosis, justified with Osiris, the Great God."

On the left side, near the foot-end (southeast quadrant) (Text 10 C):

"Honoured with Khebsenuet—the Son of Rē' of his body, Kh'-Tuthmosis-mi-Rē', justified with Osiris, the Great God."

Right (west) side, center (Text 4 C):

"Honoured with Anubis-khenty-Seh-nefer—the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of Rites, 'Akheperkarē', justified with Osiris, Lord of Life."

Left (east) side, center (Text 9 C):

"Honoured with Anubis-imy-wet—the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, 'Akheperkarē', justified with Osiris, the Great God, Lord of Life and Prince of Eternity."

In all of the lid bands the feminine suffix *t* of the original form *imakhyt* ("honoured") has been ineffectually concealed with plaster, giving the masculine *imakhy*.

The compositional arrangement seen here, where the dedicatory inscriptions which regularly appear in the vertical columns along the sides of Middle Kingdom coffins are split into two parts and their first halves carried up on to the lid and made to join the central lid column, marks a notable development in the design of the decoration of rectangular sarcophagi and coffins. It is the first step in the unification in composition and in thought between the decoration of the lid and that of the box. It was undoubtedly derived from decorated anthropoid coffins of the type shown in Figures 22 and 23.³⁴ When we

³⁴ Figure 23 shows the coffin of 'Aḥ-mose, early XVIII Dynasty, from Thebes. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Egyptian Department, Accession No. 12.181.298. The photograph is taken from M. M. A. Negative No. 15955. See Carnarvon and Carter: *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, No. 73, p. 74, plate lxii, 2.



FIG. 22 DECORATED ANTHROPOID COFFIN OF THE LATE XVIII DYNASTY FROM THEBES
Metropolitan Museum of Art New York
(M M A Neg No 15105)



FIG. 1. DISCOVERED ANTHROPOID COILIN OF THE I V I I I DAVYDIA FROM THE
Metropolitan Museum of Art New York
(M N I Neg No 1993)

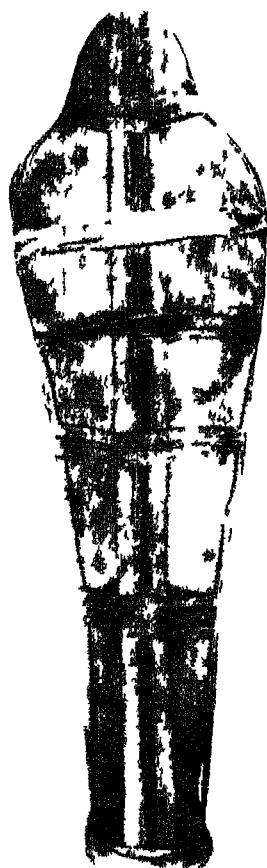


FIG. 1. LITH BANDAGED MUMMY WITH LONGITUDINAL AND TRANSVERSE BINDING STRAPS
AROUND THORAX.
(M. M. A. 14. Exped. Neg. No. M11C 2.1)

compare the decoration of the latter with the lay-out of the central lid band, transverse lid bands, and vertical side columns of Sarcophagus C, a diagram of which is given in Figure 21 we see that they are essentially the same. The continuity of the inscribed transverse bands around the anthropoid coffin is, of course, much clearer than in the case of the Tuthmosis I sarcophagus, simply because in the former they are not interrupted by the edge of the rectangular block-lid or by a horizontal line of inscription along the top of the box. These latter elements are proper to the Middle Kingdom rectangular coffin tradition, which the designer of Sarcophagus C now attempts to combine with a feature, belong, by its very nature, to the anthropoid coffin type. "By its very nature"—for the motif without doubt ultimately derives from the vertical and transverse tapes, regularly lashed about the winding sheet of the fully wrapped mummy (Fig. 24),³⁵ of which the anthropoid coffin is only a reproduction. Thus, the XVIII Dynasty stone sarcophagus, although on the whole it adheres to the old "dwelling house" tradition, is already making concessions, however cautiously, to its function as a coffin, the container of a bandaged mummy—the wrappings of which are suggested in the composition of its external surface decoration. A confirmation of the statement that the transverse bands on the sarcophagus lid and sides do ultimately derive from the wrappings of the mummy is provided by the ornate metal straps which covered the actual linen bands about the mummy of Tut'ankhamūn,³⁶ for these vertical and transverse straps are inscribed, and the texts which they carry are identical with those in the central and transverse lid columns and the vertical inscriptions on the sides of Sarcophagi C-I of our series. It is not, however, until the sarcophagus of Tuthmosis IV (H) that we see the designer carrying the transverse bands in one continuous sweep from the center of the lid to the base of the box by running them down over the edges of the lid and through the horizontal inscriptions at the tops of the sarcophagus sides (Plate XIV), and, thus, arriving definitely at the mummy-strap effect, which is only suggested in the earlier sarcophagi of the group.

The upper surface of the lid of Sarcophagus C is framed, as is that of Sarcophagus A, within a colossal cartouche, executed in low relief. When the lid was originally made for H̄atshepsūt, the loop of the cartouche and its cross-lashed end were double, the whole perimeter consisting of two flat bands side by side. This, as has been noted above (pp. 69-70), is regular with the properly represented cartouche. When, however, the sides and ends of the lid were cut down in the course of the alteration of the sarcophagus, the outer band of the cartouche was lost at the head-end and along the two sides, as was

³⁵ *Bandaged mummy of the Princess Entyu-ny (XXI Dynasty), from Thebes.* See Winlock: *Bull. Met. Mus. Art.*, December 1930, Section ii, p. 19, Figure 22. The photograph reproduced in Figure 24 here is from M. M. A. Eg. Exped. Neg. No. M11C.221.

³⁶ Carter: *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen*, ii, pp. 83-4, plate xxvii A.

also the outer straight band across the foot-end. To avoid an incongruous appearance, what remained of the outer band was dressed away and the cross lashing at the foot reduced in width. The parts so removed are indicated by the dotted lines in Plate XVIII C, wherein we also see the resulting single-band cartouche.

The left long side of the sarcophagus is shown in Plates III and XXIII C. It will be seen that the three vertical columns (enclosed within cartouches) in the mid-section of the side divide it into four panels of equal size. Although the Horus and Thoth dedications (Texts 7 and 3) have been done away with in this sarcophagus, by moving the two outer of the three remaining transverse lid bands and their corresponding verticals on each side in from the extreme ends of the monument, four panels, instead of three (as on Sarcophagus A), are created. Replacing the dedications to the Four Genii at the extreme ends of the sides are short speeches by the Sun-god Rē', by the Underworld-god Sokaris, by the Crown of Upper Egypt, and by the Crown of Lower Egypt (Texts 37, 34, 43, and 27). This does not mean that the Four Genii have been ousted from their traditional corner positions, for the two outside panels on both sides are dedicated to them and contain their figures and their recitations, the panel in each case being situated "behind" the vertical continuation of the lid band wherein each of the deities is named and so located. The reason for the change is the introduction on this sarcophagus of actual representations of the divinities, heretofore only mentioned, and of recitations which are made by them, heretofore omitted. The deities no longer stand at the vertical columns wherein they are named, but, of necessity, have been moved into the panels next to these verticals.

One of the results of this alteration in the Middle Kingdom lay-out is the moving of the Eyes from the head panel on the left side to the second panel from the head. The Eye panel is, as always, the axis point of the composition and still lies nearly opposite the head of the deceased person within the sarcophagus. It was, however, essential to have a Genius of the Dead located headwards of the Eye Panel, at the corner of the box. So long as the stations of the Genii and other deities were established by means of a single vertical column of inscription, it was possible to maintain the Eyes in the head panel and run the necessary column of text down the extreme end of the side. Now, however, the Genius (Hapy), with his figure and his two columns of speech, requires a full panel to himself and the slight alteration in the position of the Eyes was found to be absolutely necessary in order to make room for him in his accustomed place. Bounding the composition at the extreme ends of the sides are, as has been noted, the short speeches by Rē' and Sokaris and the Crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt.

The third panel from the head on either of the two sides is occupied by one of the two forms of Anubis, with which we are already familiar, and whose

names we have already met with on this sarcophagus in the two center transverse lid bands.

The feature which should be principally emphasized is the fact that, although the inter-panel verticals on the sides of the sarcophagus actually contain only the names and titles of the deceased king, by virtue of their being continuations of the dedicatory inscriptions on the lid (wherein are *named the sundry deities*), they serve to locate the positions of all of these deities on the box. Thus, it is an absolutely unvarying rule that the deity whose speech and figure are given in a panel on the side of the sarcophagus is the same deity who is named in the transverse lid band immediately above the vertical column by means of which that panel is defined.

The long horizontal inscription at the top of each side, which, like the inter-panel and end verticals, is an architectonic element in the composition, is enclosed within an elongated cartouche. The vertical columns are no longer, as on Sarcophagus A, continued to the bottom edge of the sarcophagus, but end at a base-line, which, in this case, is 7.5 cm. above the bases of the sides and ends.

The right side of the sarcophagus, which is not shown in either the drawing or the photograph, is altogether similar in lay-out to the left side and differs from the right side of Sarcophagus D (Plate XXIII D) only in its proportions and in the fact that the second panel from the head-end (the pendant to the Eye-panel on the left side) contains Ḥatshepsūt's four line dedication of the sarcophagus to Tuthmosis I (Text I), and not the Seventy-second Chapter of the Book of the Dead (Text 30), as it does in the latter sarcophagus.

The long horizontal inscriptions at the tops of the two sides of Sarcophagus C are speeches by Nūt (on the left, or east, side) and by Osiris (on the right, or west, side). Geb is no longer the deity to whom one of the sides is dedicated; but he retains his customary position of importance on the left side of the box by being the only deity mentioned in the main speech there, which is, however, spoken by Nūt (Text 36 C). It reads:

"Recitation by Nūt, great of glory: '(My) son, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Rites, 'Akheperkarē', the son of Rē', of his body, Kh'-Tuthmosis-mi-Rē' is the descendant of Geb, Prince of the Two Banks—his beloved son, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, 'Akheperkarē', justified with Osiris.' "

A very similar speech, made by "Nūt the greatly glorious," appears on the lid of the sarcophagus of King Teti of the VI Dynasty (Pyr. 1).

While the Sky-goddess and the Earth-god hold sway over the east side of the sarcophagus—as over the habitations of the living on the east bank of the Nile, towards which the Dead forever gazes—, it is Osiris, "First of the Westerners," who rules on the west side. His speech (Text 26 C), the pendant to Text 36, is addressed to the King (identified now with Horus) and treats of

benefits to be received by the latter in the regions of the west, the land of the tombs:

"Recitation by Osiris: 'O son, Horus Ka-nekht-Mery-Ma't, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of Rites, 'Akheperkarē', son of Rē', of his body, Kh'-Tuthmosis-mi-Rē', heir of the Prince of the West, thou Horus, born of Isis, I have given to thee the necropoleis, their arms behind thee. Mayest thou live forever!'"

In the panel next to the head-end on the right side of the sarcophagus—i.e. near the northwest corner of the box—stands the Genius Mesti. He faces in, towards the vertical column of inscription (Text 2 C) which separates the first and second panels; and immediately in front of him, in two and a half vertical columns bordered by straight vertical lines, is the speech which he makes to the deceased King (Text 29 C):

"Recitation by Mesti: 'O son, King 'Akheperkarē', justified, I have come that I might be thy protection; that I might make firm thy house, according to the command of Ptah, according to the command of Rē' himself."

The hieroglyphs read downwards and from right to left, that is to say, away from the inter-panel column, towards which the deity faces.

The text is to be found in the Pyramids, on Middle Kingdom coffins, and in Chapter CLI of the Book of the Dead (Section X).

On the left side of the sarcophagus the head panel (northeast corner) is occupied by the Genius Hapy and by his recitation (Text 39 C), which is written in two and a quarter vertical columns in front of the figure. Hapy faces in, towards the Eye-panel, as do also the hieroglyphic signs in his speech (Plates III and XXIII C). The text here is as follows:

"Recitation by Hapy: 'I have come that I might be thy protection, and that I might bind fast to thee thy principal members, when I have smitten for thee thine enemies beneath thee and given thee thy head forever.'"

Comparable to this speech are Pyramid Texts 9 and 572 b-c. Similar speeches are also found on Middle Kingdom coffins and the text is duplicated exactly in Chapter CLI of the Book of the Dead.

Duamutef stands in the panel next to the foot-end, on the right side of the sarcophagus (southwest corner). This Genius faces left, towards Mesti at the head-end of the same side. Before him in the panel are two and a half vertical columns of inscription (Text 32 C), wherein we read:

"Recitation by Duamutef: 'I am Duamutef. I am the son of Horus, beloved of him. I have come that I might rescue (his) father, the Osiris, King 'Akheperkarē', the justified, from him who molests him, and that I might place him (the molestor) beneath his (the king's) feet forever.'"

This text occurs in the Pyramids and in Chapter CLI of the Book of the Dead.

The last of the Four Genii, *Kebehsenuf*, stands near the southeast corner of the sarcophagus, occupying the panel next to the foot-end, on the left side (Plates III and XXIII C). He faces the Eye-panel. Two and a half vertical columns of inscription, enclosed between bordering lines, contain his speech (Text 41 C):

"Recitation by *Kebehsenuf*: 'I am *Kebehsenuf*; I am thy son. I have come that I might be thy protection, that I might unite for thee thy bones, that I might assemble for thee thy members, that I might bring to thee thy heart, that I might set it in its place in thy body, and that I might make firm for thee thy house with thee. Mayest thou live forever!'"

This speech (or parts of it) is found in the Pyramid Texts in numerous places (e.g. Pyr. 828 b-829 c; 835-836; 1640; and 1892); sections of it are common on wooden coffins of the Middle Kingdom; and the whole speech occurs, as do the speeches of the other Genii, in Chapter CLI of the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead.

The figures of the Four Genii are executed in *relief en creux*. They are 46 cm. high—the same height as the *Nūt* figure on the upper surface of the lid. All four figures are exactly alike. All four have human heads. The figure of *Hapy* in Plate III (in the panel nearest the head-end of the box) may be taken as typical. The Genius is depicted as an Egyptian in the prime of life; slender (the head is about $\frac{1}{3}$ the total height of the figure), broad of shoulder, with narrow waist and hips. He is represented in the traditional standing posture, with one foot advanced and the arms hanging straight down by the sides. The chest and shoulders are seen as from the front; the head, arms, legs, and feet in side view; and the hips in three-quarter's view. The only distinguishing mark of divinity is the beard which the figure wears. Narrowing and slightly curved forward at the bottom, it is distinct from the kingly beard, which is perfectly straight and tends to widen towards the end. It is the type regularly worn by *Osiris*³⁷ and other gods, and appears on anthropoid coffins³⁸ only because the deceased person whom the coffin represents is identified with *Osiris*.

The Genius is clothed solely in a knee-length dress kilt, of a type actually worn only in the Old Kingdom.³⁹ This type of kilt consists of a wide band of linen, of sufficient length to go one and a half times around the hips, the over-

³⁷ See, for example, Renouf. *Facsimile of the Papyrus of Ani in the British Museum*, plates 4, 20, 23, 30, 32.

³⁸ Gauthier: *Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres de Montou* (Cat. Gén. Mus. Caire, Nos. 41042-41072), ii, plates xi, xiii, xix, xxx, xxxiii.

³⁹ Engelbach: *An Ancient Egyptian "Dress-Bow," Annales du Service*, xxix, pp. 40 and 45, figs. 1-4; Murray: *Saqqara Mastabas*, i, plates xix, xxi, xxii, xxv.

lapping outside end being carried around and fastened in front so that its curved edge falls slantwise across the front of the kilt. All of the kilt is plain, except the over-fold, which is pleated. For this reason the garment is usually called "the half-goffered kilt"—as opposed to other types of kilt, which are either entirely plain or entirely pleated. The kilt is held in place by a belt of linen about the waist of the wearer, which is sewn to the top of the skirt proper and fastens over the thorax with an ingenious buckle-like knot.⁴⁰ The piece which projects up from under the belt in front is a tab, either sewn to or cut in one piece with the under-fold of the kilt. When the belt is buckled tightly over this tab, the under-fold is prevented from sagging or slipping out of place.⁴¹ On its head the figure wears a wig, also of Old Kingdom type, the long ends of which fall down the back and over the chest. The costume is completed by a broad-collar about the throat and flat bracelets on the wrists. The feet are bare. The rims and corners of the eyes are, as usual, represented as emphasized with cosmetic by throwing them slightly into relief over the rest of the surfaces of the face. Traces of blue paint remain on the wigs, beards, bracelets, and belts of the figures.

Like the Nūt figures on the lids of Sarcophagi A and C, these figures are executed with great care, apparently by an artisan-sculptor of high standing in his craft. The technique is clean-cut and unwavering; the postures, though stilted, have withal a certain springiness and vitality; and the modelling of the torsos is by no means inexpert. But, as is so often the case in Egypt, whatever abilities their maker may have had for rising above the level of fine craftsmanship and becoming a creative artist have been stifled by the strict conventions under which he was working. The figures are wholly traditional; and, except for their proportions, certain details of style, and the facial types, might well have been produced in the Old Kingdom.

Thanks to his strict canons of proportion (controlled by the use of proportion squares) and his established set of conventions for the execution of heads, hands, feet, etc., the sculptor has succeeded in producing four figures which are so exactly alike to the veriest detail as to give the impression of having been cast from a single mould or impressed on the sides of the sarcophagus with a stamp—instead of having been painfully and slowly gouged and chiselled into the quartzite surfaces.

The name of each Genius is written over the head of the figure in hieroglyphs 7 cm. high.

When the lay-out of the decoration of Sarcophagus C is compared with that of Sarcophagus A, it will be noted that Mesti and Hapy have changed places, as have also Duamutef and Kebehsenuf. On Sarcophagus A Mesti and Duamutef are on the left side of the box; on Sarcophagus C they are on

⁴⁰ Engelbach: *Op. cit.*, pp. 40-46, figs. 1-11, and plate.

⁴¹ Engelbach: *A Peculiarity of Dress in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, Annales du Service*, xxix, pp. 31-2.

the right side, their positions on the left side being taken by Ḥapy and Ḳebeḥ-senuēf, respectively. Thus, there is no set rule as to which long side of a sarcophagus or coffin is to be occupied by which pair of Genii. There seems, however, to be an unchanging regulation that Mesti and Ḥapy shall stand at the head-end corners, while Duamutef and Ḳebeḥ-senuēf hold their stations at the foot-end; and that Mesti is always paired with Duamutef on one of the long sides, while Ḥapy and Ḳebeḥ-senuēf hold the other (See Plates XXIII and XXIV sides).⁴²

The third panel from the head-end on either side is occupied by one of the two forms of Anubis: Khenty-seḥ-neṯer on the right, or west, side; and Imy-wet on the left side. On Sarcophagus A the position of the two forms is the reverse, as it is on Sarcophagi E and F. There is, then, no established rule as to which side shall be held by which form of the god. The two forms do, however, always occupy the third panels—the mid-sections of the sides.

The figures of Khenty-seḥ-neṯer and Imy-wet are identical with those of the Four Genii, except for the fact that each of the two Anubis figures wears the head of some canine animal, with long snout and long pointed ears (Plate III, 3rd panel from head-end). The old theory that the head is that of a jackal, the prowler of the cemeteries, is weakened by the fact that the head, as usually represented, resembles that of the common Egyptian jackal only slightly. It seems far more probable that some species of dog is represented, a view which is strengthened by the fact that the animal, when depicted full length, wears a collar and leash.⁴³ Wooden statuettes of the creature in recumbent position are common in tombs from the XVIII Dynasty onwards, and seem to have been placed there in the capacity of guardians. The function of the Anubis animal in relation to the deceased is, therefore, that of watch-dog, just as the god himself was regarded as the special protector of the dead. Combined with the animal head is the long wig worn by the other male figures on the sarcophagus. It starts behind the upstanding ears and cascades down over the shoulders of the figure, part falling down the back and part over the chest. Both figures face towards the head-ends of their respective sides. Thus, Imy-wet, on the left side, faces the Eyc-panel; while Khenty-seḥ-neṯer is turned towards the corresponding panel on the right side.

The speeches of the deities are written in their respective panels, in two vertical columns, before the figures.

That of Khenty-seḥ-neṯer, on the right side (Text 31 C), is somewhat enigmatical:⁴⁴

⁴² For the same, regular pairing, see Schafer: *Priestergräber*, pp. 23, 29, 33, 35; Lacau: *Sarcophages* Nos. 28033, 28038, 28039, 28061, 28066, 28087, 28088, 28090, 28099, 28116.

⁴³ Budge: *Papyrus of Ani*, plates 5 and 34; Carter: *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen*, iii, p. 41, plate VI.

⁴⁴ Khenty-seḥ-neṯer is here apparently speaking in behalf of the deceased, since the request comes more appropriately from the lips of the dead king than it does from the tutelary divinity. The

"Recitation by Anubis-khenty-seh-neter: 'O Mother Isis, come that thou mayest destroy the wrappings which are upon me together with him who acts against me.' "

The text, while rare, occurs in the Pyramid Texts and on Middle Kingdom coffins.

Imy-wet's recitation (Left side; Text 40 C) resembles closely those of the Four Genii. The text is one of the many which go to make up the one hundred and fifty-first chapter of the Book of the Dead:

"Recitation by Anubis-imy-wet: 'I have thrust down the weariness of King Kh'-Tuthmosis-mi-Rē', the justified, and these his limbs are not tired.' "

The positions of the speeches, written in single vertical columns and enclosed within cartouches, which bound the ends of each long side of the sarcophagus, are especially significant. At the head-end on the left side is the speech by Rē', the sun-god, set on the east side of the head of the deceased, in the direction of the sun's rising, and immediately next to the Eye-panel. The speech of Sokaris, ruler of the Underworld, occupies the corner diagonally opposite to that held by Rē': that is, the foot-end corner, on the right side. Thus, Sokaris, the god of the Dead, is stationed on the west side; while the sun-god, personifying life, holds the east side; and again we meet with the old conception of the east's being the region of the living, while the west is the abode of the dead. At the north end of the sarcophagus, on the right side, is the speech of the Northern Crown, or, as it is more commonly called, the Crown of Lower Egypt. The Southern Crown, or Crown of Upper Egypt, speaks, quite naturally, from the southern end of the left side, its position being diagonally opposed to that of the Northern Crown, just as Rē' and Sokaris are placed at opposite ends of the other diagonal.

The four recitations follow (Texts 37, 34, 27, and 43, respectively):

"Recitation by Rē': 'I establish King 'Akheperkarē' Chief of the stars.' "

"Recitation by Sokaris: 'I have given a goodly venerated state to King 'Akheperkarē', the justified.' "

"Recitation by the Northern Crown: 'I am content on account of it: I have loved King 'Akheperkarē', the justified.' "

"Recitation by the Southern Crown: 'I am content on account of it: I have loved King 'Akheperkarē', the justified.' "

All four speeches are very common on wooden coffins of the Middle Kingdom, whereon they usually occupy the corners of the boxes, as here.⁴⁵

address to "mother Isis" is confusing. Unless the king, for whom Anubis speaks, is here identified with Horus, the title "mother" can have no real significance. Possibly it is used with purely honorific intent, as one might say "Madam Isis," being simply a common epithet of Isis, or of any mother-goddess.

⁴⁵ See, for example, the second coffin of Hapy-'ankhtify (XII Dynasty. From Meir) (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Accession No. 12.183.11b); and the coffin of Nūbhererdi (XIII-XIV Dynasty. From Deir el-Bahri) (Lacau: *Sarcophages*, No. 28030).

With these four texts the decoration of the long sides of the sarcophagus is complete, with the exception of Ḥatshepsūt's dedicatory inscription (Text I) in the second panel on the right side, the pendant to the Eye-panel. This inscription, which has been arbitrarily inserted in place of the LXXIInd Chapter of the Book of the Dead, is purely historical in character and has no connection with the decorative composition of the sarcophagus. For this reason it seems best to delay the treatment of it until after the remaining figures and other inscriptions on the sarcophagus have been viewed.

As on Sarcophagus A, the head- and foot-ends of the sarcophagus (Plates IV and XXII C) are dedicated to the goddesses Nephthys and Isis, respectively; and exactly the same three texts appear in exactly the same positions on either end (Texts 13 C, 14 C, and 17 C; 20 C, 21 C, and 23 C) as on the earlier monument, the only difference being that on the present sarcophagus the inscriptions are oriented correctly—to read away from the left side—and that all six of them are enclosed within cartouches, as are the texts which define the panels on the sides of the box. Within the panels framed by the three cartouches are kneeling figures of the goddesses, worked in sunken relief: Nephthys on the head-end and Isis on the foot-end. The heads of the two goddesses are surmounted by the large hieroglyphic signs  and , respectively, which are the abbreviated forms of their names; and before each figure is a recitation spoken by the goddess (Texts 15 C and 22 C), written in two vertical columns and bordered by vertical incised lines.

In the head-end panel before the figure of Nephthys is Text 15:

"Recitation by Nephthys: 'I have encircled my brother, King 'Akheperkarē, the justified, and these his limbs are not wearied.' "

and, on the foot-end in front of the Isis figure, Text 22:

"Recitation by Isis: 'O Geb, thine arms are around King Tuthmosis. Thou makest bright his face. Thou hast opened for him his eyes.' "

Both speeches are to be found in either the Pyramid Texts, on XI–XII Dynasties coffins, or in the Book of the Dead.

In addition to the inscriptions written on the ends of the *box* there is also a horizontal line of text, enclosed within an elongated cartouche, inscribed on each end of the lid (Plates III, IV, and XVII C). When the lid is in place on the sarcophagus this inscription lies immediately above the horizontal which tops the end wall of the box. It, therefore, forms a component part of the lay-out of the end of the monument. Sarcophagi C and D are the only ones which have these inscriptions on the ends of their lids, being, in fact, the only sarcophagi of the series, with the exception of A and H, the vertical edges of whose lids are high enough to accommodate an inscription. The same two texts appear on Sarcophagi E and F, but are written on the ends of the boxes

proper, in vertical columns behind the figures of the goddesses. They are absent from the interior faces of the end walls of Sarcophagus C, but on the interior of Sarcophagus D they are written across the tops of the walls proper. Both texts are speeches by Nût and both are to be paralleled in the Pyramid Texts, Middle Kingdom Coffins, and Book of the Dead.

Text 12 (C) is written on the head, or north, end of the lid:

"Recitation by Nût, mistress of the House of Sokaris: '(My) son, 'Akheperkarê', whose father is Shu, is one whom his beloved mother Tefnut loves.' "

This recitation, which is ultimately derived from a text written on the sarcophagus of King Teti of the VI Dynasty (*Pyr.* 5), is a badly corrupted version of its original.

Text 19, on the foot-end of the lid, is of the usual type. Similar phrases are to be found in Pyramid Texts 639 b, 828, 1815 a, and 2145 b:

"Recitation by Nût: 'O King 'Akheperkarê', justified, I have given to thee thy head and thy body, and these thy limbs are not wearied.' "

The figures of Isis and Nephthys (Plates III and IV; see also Plate XIII) are no more than kneeling versions of the Nût figure on the upper surface of the lid and, like it, are purely conventional as to posture and accessories. On the whole the kneeling goddesses are less successful than the standing figures along the sides of the sarcophagus. The head and legs, seen in profile, presented no difficulties; but the problem of representing the breast, shoulders, and arms in side view was too much for our stone-cutter. The articulation here is simply ridiculous. The upper part of the body is twisted around so that it is seen from an indefinite, three-quarters rear view. The left shoulder, thrown forward, is seen in full back view and from it dangles the left arm, part of the right forearm being allowed to project above it. Chaos is created by showing the broad-collar in full front view and the left breast in full profile; and the final touch is added by twisting the hand completely around and allowing the thumb to project from the near, instead of from the far, side of the palm. The fault is not entirely that of the XVIII Dynasty artisan, who was working from a long established formula for depicting the kneeling figure in two dimensions—a formula which, however, he did nothing to improve. The actual cutting of the figure and of the considerably more graceful hieroglyphs which surround it displays, as usual on these ultra formal monuments, superb technical skill, which would perhaps show up to more advantage in a less traditional subject and in a less sacro-sanct context.

The headdresses of the figures seem originally to have been painted white; and faint traces of blue paint are still to be seen in the outlines of the forms.

The pedestal upon which each of the goddesses kneels takes the form of the hieroglyphic symbol for "gold," *nebu*. Actually it represents a collar of beads (*nbyf*). Used in the writing of the place-name, Ombos, it is the in-

signia of the defeated enemy of Osiris, Set of Ombos; and for this reason is often used as a pedestal on which beneficent divinities stand or kneel, as a perch for the falcon of Horus, and as a base motif below a royal cartouche.⁴⁶ Here the idea is obviously that the enemies of "the Osiris" Tuthmosis I, represented collectively by the arch-fiend Set, are subdued by the sister goddesses, Isis and Nephthys, who kneel upon the accursed symbols and press them into oblivion with the small circular cartouches (*ḥmw*)⁴⁷ which rest beneath their outspread hands.

Comparing the decoration of the exterior of Sarcophagus C with that of Sarcophagus A, from which it very clearly derives, we see that its advance in development over the Middle Kingdom model, as represented in the earlier sarcophagus, depends mainly upon the addition of two features not found in that model. These are: (1) The transverse inscriptions on the lid, which are continued in the vertical columns on the sides of the box; and (2) the figures and texts in the heretofore blank panels.

The first of the two features appears, as has already been noted, to have been borrowed primarily from decorated anthropoid coffins of the late XVII—early XVIII Dynasties, and ultimately from the transverse binding-straps of the fully bandaged mummy.

In spite of the fact that figures of goddesses are occasionally found in the panels on the ends of Middle Kingdom rectangular coffins (See Fig. 20) and that the speeches of deities—some of them identical with the ones on our sarcophagi—are written in vertical columns between the main verticals on the sides of these same monuments, it seems probable that the second of the two innovations also derives from the early New Empire anthropoid coffins.

The left side of a representative example of this class of coffin is shown in Figure 23. The figures in the panels are those of the Genii Ḥapy and Duamutef, as is shown by the dedicatory inscriptions ("Honoured with Ḥapy," "Honoured with Duamutef") in the bands immediately in front of them and by their speeches (our Texts 39 and 32) which are written in the bands behind them. The two small columns of inscription written in the foot-end panel is our Text 31 (spoken on the royal sarcophagi by Anubis-khenty-seḥ-netjer). Not only are the figures themselves identical with those on the royal sarcophagi, but their positions on the coffin are the same as on our series of monuments: Ḥapy in the panel nearest the head, on the left side; and Duamutef in the panel next to the foot. The coffin illustrated comes from a tomb at Thebes; dates from the reign of Tuthmosis I or just before; and is one of a considerable number found. It is, therefore, typical of a class of coffin which was being produced in some quantity at Thebes during the lifetime of the

⁴⁶ Erman-Grapow: *Wörterbuch*, ii, pp. 240, 243; Sethe, apud Garstang: *Mahasna and Bêt Khallaf* (Egyptian Research Account, 7th Year, 1901), p. 19. When used in connection with the "Golden Horus" name of a king, the sign has, as Gardiner (*Grammar*, p. 73) points out, a different significance.

⁴⁷ Gardiner: *Grammar*, p. 74.

decorator of Sarcophagus C. Add to these items the fact that figures of deities appear in the side panels of no other known class of coffin or sarcophagus before the middle of the XVIII Dynasty, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Hatshepsût's designer was indebted to the contemporary anthropoid coffin makers for, not only one, but both of his iconographical innovations.

The decoration of the exterior of Sarcophagus C sets the style for those of all the remaining sarcophagi of the royal series and for a number of private sarcophagi of the period, later to be discussed. There is traceable, to be sure, a steady stream of minor developments in the texts and in the iconography of the decoration of the next six royal monuments, which keeps step with the developments in the forms of the boxes and lids (described in Chapter II) and is of the utmost value from the point of view of the historian, the philologist, and the student of ancient religion and thought; but, details excepted, the foregoing description of the texts and figures of Sarcophagus C will serve adequately for those of Sarcophagi D, E, F, G, H, and I—a fact which makes it unnecessary to go over each of the decorative layouts of these later monuments in full. From now on it is of interest to note only such features as are added to or eliminated from the type as established in Sarcophagus C and to show what bearing these developments have on the dating of the monuments and on the study of early New Empire religious and funerary doctrine.

We have had occasion to note that the vast majority of the texts written on the exterior of the royal sarcophagus are also to be found (aside from the Pyramid Texts and Middle Kingdom coffins) in Chapter CLI of the New Empire Book of the Dead—a work, the earliest extant papyrus version of which dates from the mid-XVIII Dynasty.⁴⁸ The texts referred to are, more specifically, the speeches made by the four Genii, by the two forms of Anubis, and by Isis and Nephthys. We have already seen how the speeches and the figures of the divinities which accompany them are arranged on the sarcophagus. It is, I think, of more than passing interest to discover that they are arranged in exactly the same manner in illustrated papyri of the Book of the Dead. Figure 25 shows the illustration and texts for the Hundred and Fifty-First Chapter as it appears in the well known XVIII Dynasty papyrus of the Scribe Ani.⁴⁹ In the central rectangle the mummy of the deceased is represented lying on a bier, with Anubis-Imy-Wet, depicted in human form with a dog's head, standing at his left, completing the preparations for burial. In the panel immediately below, i.e. to the left of the deceased, is Anubis-Khenty-

⁴⁸ Papyrus Book of the Dead of the Scribe Nebseni, British Museum, Papyrus No. 9900 (Naville: *Das ägyptische Totenbuch des XVIII bis XX Dynastie, Einleitung*, pp. 48–54). This papyrus probably dates from the reign of Tuthomosis III. It is entirely written and drawn in black ink, the same hand having produced both the text and the vignettes.

⁴⁹ British Museum, Papyrus No. 10,470. Renouf: *Facsimile of the Papyrus of Ani in the British Museum* (London, 1890), plates 33–4; Budge: *The Papyrus of Ani in the British Museum* (London, 1895), pp. 358–362.

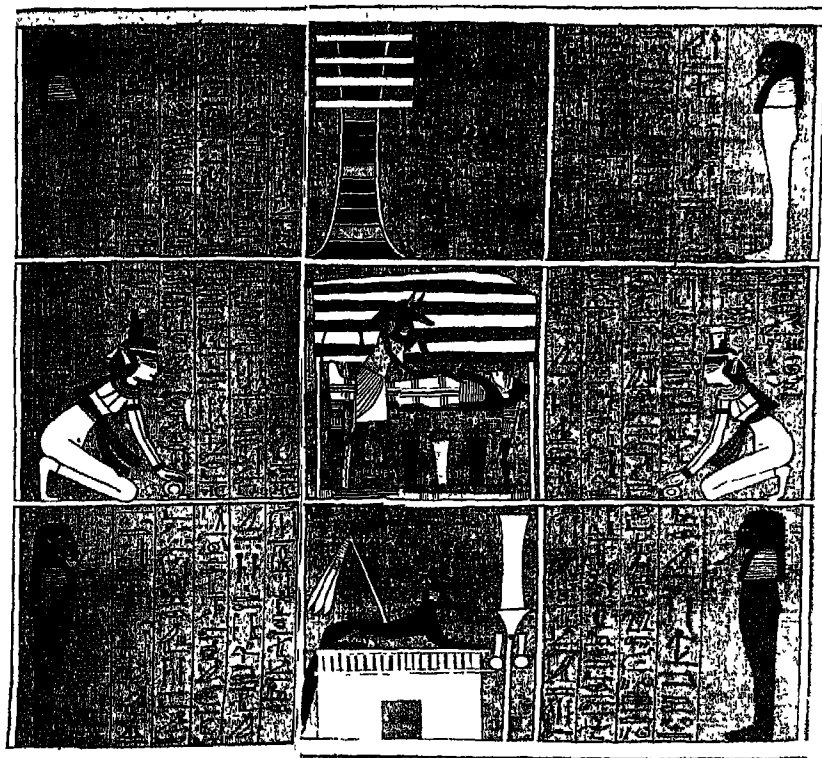


FIG. 25. VIGNETTE AND TEXT OF CHAPTER CLI OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD, FROM THE PAPYRUS
OF THE SCRIBE ANI. XVIII DYNASTY
(Renouf. *Facsimile of the Papyrus of Ani*, Sheets 33-4)

Seh-Neter, represented as a black dog with a leash about its neck, *couchant* upon a shrine. In the panel at the head of the bier kneels Nephthys, while Isis occupies the panel at the foot. The four corner panels contain mummi-form figures of the Four Genii of the Dead. Each of the deities depicted occupies exactly the same position in relation to the dead man as he does on the royal sarcophagus and each is accompanied by the same speech which appears with him in his panel on the stone monument. The whole vignette is, in short, nothing more than a diagram (orthographic projection) of the exterior decoration of one of our sarcophagi, the only difference being that Imy-Wet has been moved down beside the bier and his customary panel occupied by a large *djed* sign, the symbol of stability. Even this feature is quite in keeping with the sarcophagus scheme, a large *djed* in wood having been found leaning against the left side of the sarcophagus of Tut'ankhamūn,⁵⁰ and, hence, having been throughout the Dynasty probably one of the customary adjuncts to the sarcophagus proper. This chapter of the Book of the Dead was written in antiquity without a title. In modern times it is usually referred to as "The Chapter of the Sepulchral Chamber." The parallels just established between it and the contemporary, or, if anything, slightly earlier, royal sarcophagus decoration indicates that a more pertinent title would be: "The Chapter of the Sarcophagus."

The decoration of the interior surfaces of the four walls of Sarcophagus C (Plate XXV C, longitudinal and transverse sections) and of the under side of the lid (Plate XIX C) is an almost exact duplication of that seen on the exterior of the monument. There are, in addition, a figure and text on the floor of the sarcophagus and texts written along the top edges of the walls (Plate XXV C, plan). All of the interior surfaces of the sarcophagus are original, with the exception of the inner sides of the end walls.

These underwent two alterations in the course of the monument's being prepared to receive the coffin and the mummy of Tuthmosis I: The first, made at the time when the rest of the sarcophagus was altered, consisted in shaving 3.5 cm. of surface off each end (except the top) and decorating the new surfaces to duplicate that on the outside of the ends. The second, made after the discovery of the fact that Tuthmosis I's smallest coffin was still too long to fit into the sarcophagus, consisted of hurriedly chopping away most of these new surfaces to a maximum depth of 2.5 cm., leaving only sections of the sides remaining (See Plate XXV C, plan and sections). This naturally resulted in the complete obliteration of the figures of the goddesses and of most of the inscriptions. Only portions of Texts 13, 14, and 17, and 20, 21, and 23 are still to be seen; but the figures of the goddesses were renewed (for the second time) on the rough surfaces of the gouged-out center sections. The greater part of each of the present figures is merely painted on, but the outlines of the

⁵⁰ Carter: *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen*, ii, p. 49, plate lkv.

shoulders and head are incised, the incisions being subsequently filled with paint. The colours here are better preserved than on any other part of the sarcophagus. The outlines of the figures are red; the headdresses and the car-touches under the hands, white; and the eyes, eyebrows, and broad-collars, blue. The figures and the remaining hieroglyphs of the texts face in the same direction as do those on the exterior sides of the walls, i.e. towards the Eye-Panel on the left wall of the sarcophagus. Since they are on the opposite sides of the walls from the exterior figures and texts, each unit faces in the opposite sense in relation to the surfaces on which they are carved, the effect produced being that the decoration on the outside surfaces of the sarcophagus is seen *through* the walls, as if the latter were transparent (cf. Plate XXII C and Plate XXV C, transverse sections). The same holds true of the figures and texts on the inner surfaces of the side walls (cf. Plate XXIII C and Plate XXV C, longitudinal sections); and on the under side of the lid (cf. Plate XVIII C and Plate XIX C). The inscriptions written on the ends of the lid outside (Texts 12 and 19) do not reappear on the interior surfaces of the walls of the box. The decoration on these surfaces ends at a distance of 8 cm. above the actual floor of the sarcophagus (Plate XXV C, sections).

The interior surfaces of the side walls are, as has been noted, original; but the figures and texts which now cover them were not carved until the sarcophagus was redecorated for Tuthmosis I⁵¹ and are, therefore, not part of the original scheme of the decoration of the monument. Why they were added at all is a moot point, for on all the other sarcophagi of the series these surfaces are left unadorned. Possibly it was for the sake of the important text which is written in the second panel from the head on the left side, and which had been dispossessed from its customary position in the corresponding panel on the exterior by Hatshepsut's dedication. Except for this item, the decoration of the interior surfaces of the side walls is almost identical⁵² with that on the exterior faces and, as a whole, requires no further exposition.

The inscription referred to (Text 30 C) is the longest and the most important single text on the sarcophagus. It is written in fourteen horizontal lines, which, although the hieroglyphs are but 2.25 cm. high, fill the whole of the second panel on the right side of the box—the pendant to the Eye-Panel. The lines are closely spaced and are unbordered. (Plate XXV C, right longitudinal section, Text 30.) The text is a spell to be recited by the deceased King in order that he may gain admission to the halls of *Imhet* (the Under-world). While composed of excerpts from the Pyramid and Coffin Texts, it appears in its entirety only in the Book of the Dead, of which it is one of the

⁵¹ See below, p. 101; and Appendix I, under Sarcophagus C.

⁵² There are no base-lines on the interior surfaces of the side walls; and the first panel on either side is cut into by the upward projecting forearm of the Nût figure on the floor of the sarcophagus. Otherwise, allowing for the reversal in the composition noted above, the decoration of the exterior and interior surfaces of the side walls is the same.

oldest, most essential, and most frequently used Chapters, or, more properly, "Spells"—i.e. No. LXXII. In Papyrus versions of the book it is accompanied by the rubric title: "A Spell for Going Forth by Day and Opening Imhet." On the Tuthmosis I sarcophagus it reads:

"Recitation by King 'Akheperkare': 'Homage to you, O Lords of the *Kas*, who are free from evil and who exist forever, (even to) the two limits of eternity! I have opened the way to you, being glorious in my forms, powerful in my magics, and counted among the Spirits. Deliver ye me from the Crocodile of this land of the righteous, and my mouth, that I may speak therewith, (while) my offerings are set forth in your presence; forasmuch as I know you, I know your names, and I know the name of this great god to whom ye are wont to give food-offerings. *Tekem* is his name. He appears at the eastern horizon of the heaven. He sets in the western horizon of the heaven. When he wanes, I wane; and I wax when he waxes.' 'I shall not be driven from Mesket; rebels will not have power over me; I shall not be repelled from your gates; ye will not seal your doors against me—forasmuch as my bread is in Pē, my beer is in Dep, and my arms are clasped in the Temple. My father Atum has made me a grant: He has established for me a house (as) of one who is on Earth. Northern corn and spelt are in it in unreckonable quantity; and my festivals are made for me therein by the son of my body.'

'Give ye to me invocation, (consisting of) bread and beer, beef and fowl, incense and anointing oil, and all things good and pure on which a god lives. Then shall I endure to eternity in all the forms beloved of 'Akheperkare.'

'He fares downstream in the fields of Yaru. He reaches the Feast Field. 'Akheperkare', the justified, is Rūty.' "

The rationalism which ordered the iconography and composition of the decoration of the royal sarcophagus is particularly well illustrated by the nature and position of this text. The Wedjat Eyes in the pivot panel on the left side are the means whereby the deceased may have access to the regions of the *East*, where the rising sun appears and where life, in the Earthly sense, is to be refound. The foregoing spell—a passport to the realms of the *West*, the necropolis, the Underworld—finds its place in the pivot panel on the right side; and the two all-important units form perfect complements, one to the other.

The text is the second definite point of contact between the decoration of the XVIII Dynasty royal sarcophagi and the great New Empire cycle of magical spells—the so-called Book of the Dead. The earliest extant Book of the Dead written on papyrus is that of the Scribe Nebeni (reign of Tuthmosis III?); but complete spells from it (including No. LXXII) are found on the walls of XVIII Dynasty tomb chambers of slightly earlier date,⁶³ and it is here that

⁶³ For example, in the decorated chamber of the Deir el-Bahri tomb of Senmūt (latter part of Hatshepsūt's reign) (Winlock: *Bull. Met. Mus. Art*, February, 1928, p. 37). See also Davies-Gardiner: *The Tomb of Amenemhāt*, p. 109, plates xxxvi-xlv.

the closest parallels to the text as written on the Tuthmosis I sarcophagus are found. Of primary importance is the fact that, hitherto, no New Empire versions of the Seventy-Second Chapter, or, for that matter, of most of the Chapters of the Book have come to light which are not later in date than our Sarcophagus C.

On the under side of the lid, on the floor of the sarcophagus, and on the top edges of the four walls both the surfaces and the decoration date from the original manufacture of the monument. In these places the only results of the alterations are the facts that the name of the incumbent of the sarcophagus and the genders of the adjectives, nouns, and pronouns have been changed in the inscriptions where necessary;⁶⁴ that the inscriptions on the tops of the walls now lie near the outer edges instead of in the centers of the spaces provided; and that the middle sections of those on the tops of the end walls have been partially destroyed by the final gouging-out which the inner surfaces of these walls received (See Plate XXV C, plan).

The decoration of the under side of the lid (Plate XIX C) is, as has been said, practically identical with that on the upper surface. The enclosing cartouche has, however, no lashing and cross-piece at the foot-end, but is a plain, double oval, and the central inscription (Text 44 C), while still a prayer addressed by the King to the Sky-Goddess Nūt, is a different one from that on the top of the lid. It reads:

"Recitation by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, 'Akheperkare': 'O Mother Nūt, raise thou me. I am thy son. Destroy thou my fatigue together with him who acts against me.' "

The single text (Text 54) on the floor of the sarcophagus is written in a long vertical column enclosed between incised border lines, running along the left side of the field, and extending nearly the whole length of the interior box. The speech, since it is proper to the floor of the sarcophagus, is quite logically spoken by the Earth-God, Geb:

"Recitation by Geb: '(As for) this my son, 'Akheperkare', the justified, whom I love, I give to him purity on Earth and glory in Heaven.' "

Oddly enough, it is not Geb, but Nūt who is represented in company with this speech. The figure, executed as usual in *relief en creux*, is an exact replica of those on the upper and under sides of the lid. It is, however, very much larger than any of the other figures on the sarcophagus, being 96 cm. long, from crown of head to soles of feet. The head of the goddess lies near the head-end of the box, but, owing to its great size, the figure stretches well over half way down the length of the floor. It lies along the center line of the field and faces, as do also the hieroglyphs in the inscription, towards the left side

⁶⁴ See Appendix I, under Sarcophagus C, *Alteration*.

of the sarcophagus. The arms of the goddess, spread out at the sides in a gesture of embrace, reach beyond the confines of the floor proper and extend up the inner surfaces of the side walls, the hands and forearms cutting into the decoration on these surfaces. Thus, the coffins and bier of the King, when in place in the sarcophagus, not only figuratively, but actually rested within the embrace of the tutelary deity. The name of the goddess,  is carved above the head of the figure.

In addition to the spells and divine figures which hem about the coffins of the deceased King on every side, above, and below, there are four texts (Texts 50, 51, 52, and 53) the special function of which seems to have been to form a magical sealing between the lid and the sarcophagus; for they are carved on the tops of the four walls of the box, whereon rest the rabbeted edges of the lid—the only actual point of contact between the sarcophagus and its cover.⁵⁵ The texts on the tops of the head and foot walls are written horizontally and read from left to right. Those on the tops of the side walls are written vertically, reading from head to foot of the monument, with the signs all facing, as usual, towards the left side. None of the inscriptions are bordered. All four are recitations by the king himself. Text 52, on the right side-wall, is identical with Text 31 (Speech by Anubis-khenty-seh-neter on the right side of the sarcophagus), but is addressed to Nūt, instead of to Isis. 51 is a variation of the Nephthys recitation (Text 15) on the head-end of the box. Texts 50, 51, and 53 are confirmations of the fact that the assurances of preservation and resurrection made by Isis (Text 22), by Nephthys (Text 15), and by Anubis-imy-wet (Text 40) have been fulfilled. All of the texts are to be paralleled in the Pyramids, on Middle Kingdom Coffins, and in papyrus versions of the Book of the Dead. The four speeches read as follows:

Text 50, on the top of the head-wall:

"Recitation: 'O Geb, thine arms are around me. Thou makest bright my face. Thou hast opened for me mine eyes.' "

Text 51, on the foot-wall:

"Recitation by King 'Akheperkarē': 'My companions have encircled me and these my limbs are not wearied.' "

Text 52, right side wall:

"A Horus-recitation by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, 'Akheperkarē', the son of Rē, Tuthmosis, the justified: 'O Mother Nūt, come that thou mayest destroy the wrappings which are over me together with him who acts against me.' "

⁵⁵ In Sarcophagi E and F the floor of the lid rabbet is also inscribed with a magical text, thus making the magical sealing doubly sure. The idea here is clearly the same as that which led the ancient Egyptians occasionally to write short spells on the tenons wherewith the lids of their wooden coffins were attached to the boxes.

Text 53, left side-wall:

"Recitation by the Horus, Ka-nekht-mery-Ma't, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, 'Akheperkarē', the son of Rē', Tuthmosis, the justified: 'I thrust down my fatigue and these my limbs are not wearied by Set.' "

These four recitations are the last of the thirty-six religious and magical texts inscribed on the sarcophagus.

Only one inscription remains to be discussed: Ḥatshepsūt's dedication of the sarcophagus to Tuthmosis I—written in four horizontal lines in the second panel from the head on the right side of the box. It has been left till last because it plays no part in the decorative scheme of the sarcophagus, as originally conceived, having been arbitrarily inserted into the middle of the decoration purely and simply as a record of Ḥatshepsūt's alleged filial piety. While of maximum importance to the historian of the XVIII Dynasty, it holds no interest whatsoever for the student of ancient Egyptian religious and funerary beliefs. *Highly significant is the fact that the present monument and the other Tuthmosis I sarcophagus (E) are the only ones of the series which carry dedications.*

The inscription on Sarcophagus C (Text I) reads:

"Long live the Female Horus, Wosret-Kaw, the Two-Ladies, Wadjet-Renpūt, the Horus-of-Gold, Nejeret-Kh'w, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ma'tkarē, the son of Rē', Ḥatshepsūt-khnemet-Amūn! May she live forever! She made it as her monument to her father whom she loved, the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, 'Akheperkarē', the son of Rē', Tuthmosis, the justified."

The ineffectual attempts to cover over the names of Ḥatshepsūt in the altered texts on this sarcophagus have already told us that the monument originally belonged to her and was only remodelled for Tuthmosis I. The foregoing inscription now makes it perfectly clear that it was Ḥatshepsūt herself who ordered the alteration. Considering the facts, the stereotype sentence "She *made* it as her monument to her beloved father" is something of an overstatement, the "Female Horus" having allotted to herself a great deal more credit than her shopworn donation justified.

We know, of course, that Ḥatshepsūt was living when this inscription was carved and that Tuthmosis I was dead. Thus, the exclamation "May she live forever!" in connection with the former, and the reference to the latter as "justified" are excellent examples of the point made as regards these two epithets on pages 72-3, above.

Having dedicated Sarcophagus C to Tuthmosis I, Ḥatshepsūt would have naturally wasted no time in ordering another one (her third) for herself. It is therefore probable that work was commenced on Sarcophagus D either at the same time as or immediately after the alteration of Sarcophagus C, and

that the same group of designers and artisans executed and decorated both monuments.

An inspection of the decoration of Sarcophagus D (Plates V, VI, XIX D, XXII D, XXIII D, and XXV D) makes the foregoing supposition practically a certainty. Even assuming the two monuments to have been turned out by the same atelier, one is surprised at the extent to which the composition and iconography of the ornamentation of Ḥatshepsūt's third sarcophagus is a replica of that of her second. What new developments there are in the decoration of Sarcophagus D are to be found principally in its interior, and even these are mainly eliminations of elements which either were not in the lay-out of Sarcophagus C as originally executed or were thought to be unnecessarily redundant.

The decoration of the exteriors of the two sarcophagi are almost identical.

Sarcophagus D is, of course, much larger than its predecessor and there is space on its walls for somewhat larger figures and somewhat longer inscriptions. Its figures, therefore, while exact reproductions of those on Sarcophagus C, are 54 cm. high, as compared with the 46 cm. height of the earlier figures. The texts adhere amazingly closely to the C texts, but incline towards rather fuller writings (Compare, for example, the writings of the plural of the word *smt*, "necropolis" in Text 26 C and D).

The second panel from the head-end on the right side of Sarcophagus D is occupied by Text 30 (Chapter LXXII of the Book of the Dead), written in 14 unbordered horizontal lines (Plates V and XXIII D). This, as has been said, is the proper place for the text and was probably the one so utilized on Sarcophagus C in its original state.

The double-banded cartouche on the lid of Ḥatshepsūt's third sarcophagus is, as explained in Chapter II, not carved in low relief on the upper surface, but is, for the most part, one with the double bevel along the edges of the block.

Owing to the fact that the head-end of Sarcophagus D is rounded, there is a considerably wider surface available for the decoration than there is on the flat head-end of Sarcophagus C. While the actual decoration of the head-end is the same on both monuments, the elements in the composition are spaced more widely apart on the head of Sarcophagus D than they are on that of the earlier sarcophagus or, for that matter, on D's own foot-end (Plate XXII, Cf. C and D, head-ends; and D, foot-end).

Except for these few and insignificant discrepancies, none of which is due to any change in the decorative lay-out proper, the exterior ornamentations of Sarcophagi C and D are absolutely alike.

Far more striking and far more important than the inconsequential points of difference between the exterior decorations of the two monuments are

certain exclusive and, hence, significant minor peculiarities which are common to both of them. These include not only several special features in the iconography and composition of the decoration, but also a quantity of unnecessarily exact parallels between the texts. They may be listed as follows:

1) Texts 12 and 19, though integral parts of the decoration of the ends of the sarcophagi, are actually written on the ends of the lids (Plates IV, V, and XVII, C and D, end elevations).

2) Although the inter-panel columns of inscription on the sides of the sarcophagi are enclosed within elongated cartouches, the transverse lid inscriptions, of which the former are continuations, have plain line borders (See Plates XVIII C, Texts 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10; and XXIII C and D, Texts 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10).

3) Text 30 is written in 14 unbordered horizontal lines on both sarcophagi (See Plates XXV C, right side longitudinal section; and XXIII D).

4) Khenty-seh-neter appears on the right side and Imy-wet on the left side of both monuments (See Plate XXIII, C and D). On Sarcophagi A, E, and F the arrangement is just the reverse.

5) Of the inter-panel vertical inscriptions on the sides of the sarcophagi Text 4 (on the right side) and 9 (in the corresponding position on the left side), only, contain the prenomen of the incumbent; the four other texts (2, 5, 8, and 10) being all written with the nomen. The prenomen is in each case, then, written in the center column of the three on each side—that between the important second panel and the third panel. Thus, the Eye-panel on the left side and the "Chapter-Panel" on the right side are flanked on the north by the nomen of the king, and on the south by the prenomen (see Plates VI and XXIII C). This arrangement is not found on any of the other sarcophagi of the series.

6) In these inscriptions the deceased is referred to as "justified with Osiris," and the name of the god is followed in each case by one or two epithets. The epithets of Osiris are almost without number and are usually chosen at random; but on Sarcophagi C and D the epithets used in the corresponding pairs of texts are, with one exception (Text 10), the same ones. Thus, in Text 2 on Sarcophagus C Osiris is "Prince of the West." In the same text on Sarcophagus D he is "First of the Westerners." In Text 4 on both monuments he is called "Lord of Life;" and in Texts 5 and 9, "the Great God." In Text 8 the parallelism is most striking. Here the god has two epithets in each version of the text, the same two epithets being used on both sarcophagi, namely: "the Great God" and "First of the Westerners."

7) In Text 12 the proper name *Hmw* ("Sokaris") has as its determinative the *Hmw* barque of Sokaris, on both sarcophagi—the only monuments of the series in which the name is so determined.

8) *Bty* ("spelt"), Text 30, line xi, is written   in the C and D ver-

sions and nowhere else throughout the series. The same is true of *sh* ("field") in line xiii, written simply .

9) The ideogram  (*sh ntr*, "divine booth") in Text 31 appears in texts in the series only on Sarcophagi C and D.

Just such parallels can be found at random throughout most of the texts of the two sarcophagi. The ones given above are sufficient indication that it was almost certainly the same priestly scribe who drew up the texts for both monuments; for the parallel forms cited are purely matters of choice with the

scribe, who could have written  for ,  for ,  for ,

for , or could have called Osiris "Great God" in Text 4 on Sarcophagus

D, instead of "Lord of Life" as on Sarcophagus C, without in any way offending tradition or altering the imports of the texts. More conclusive than all of the foregoing comparisons is the fact that in Text 54 the sign 

is written, *by error*, in place of the correct sign  on both sarcophagi.

The same four texts (50, 51, 52, and 53), which we found on the tops of the walls of Sarcophagus C, are written on the wall-tops of Sarcophagus D; each text being unbordered, oriented in the same direction, and inscribed on the same wall as on the earlier monument (cf. Plate XXV C, plan).

On the interior of Sarcophagus D its decorator has taken a step towards retaining only those elements which are complementary to the decoration on the exterior—the Second Prayer to Nüt on the under side of the lid and the speech by Geb and figure of Nüt on the floor—; and, except for the decoration of the inner surfaces of the end walls, has eliminated the texts and figures which would merely repeat those on the outside of the monument.

Thus, the interior faces of the side walls are completely undecorated, as, indeed, they were in Sarcophagus C in its original state.

The transverse bands and the framing double oval are missing from the under side of the lid, leaving only the central column of inscription (Text 44 D; enclosed now within an elongated cartouche), and the figure of Nüt, as heritages from Sarcophagus C (Plate XIX D). The Nüt figure is 45 cm. high, filling the space, along the center line of the lid, between the top of the inscription and the head-end of the field. The goddess faces the left side and her arms are outspread to the sides and bent upwards at the elbows. Her name is carved over her head.

The decoration of the floor of the box is identical with that of the preceding sarcophagus. The Nüt figure here is, however, much larger than the one in

Sarcophagus C. It is 116 cm. long and the outspread arms extend well up the inner surfaces of the two side walls, the tips of the fingers being but 34.5 cm. below the wall-tops. In front of and descending from under the left arm of the figure is a single vertical column of inscription, containing the speech by Geb (Text 54), enclosed between incised border lines (cf. Plate XXV, C, plan).

The interior faces of the end walls of Sarcophagus D (Plate XXV, D) for the most part carry the same designs as are seen on their exteriors (Plate XXII D), and as appear on the outer and, at one time, on the inner sides of the end walls of Sarcophagus C (Plates XXII C and XXV C, transverse sections). There are, however, two horizontal lines of text across the top of each field, instead of one, as heretofore; the lower lines being the usual short recitations by Isis and by Isis and Nephthys (Texts 13 and 20), while the upper ones are the two Nût speeches (Texts 12 and 19) which are written on the ends of the lids of Sarcophagi C and D, but are omitted from the interior of the former. The inclusion of these two texts along the tops of the walls proper has crowded the other horizontals down into the fields, so that the large hieroglyphic signs on the heads of the goddesses in the panels below cut into the midst of the lower lines of inscription. It also seems as if more space was required laterally than was available on the end walls themselves, for the outside vertical columns on each side of the compositions (Texts 14 and 17; 21 and 23) are pushed out to the extreme edges and overlap a few centimeters on to the side walls. Worth noting is the fact that all the texts on these end surfaces are bordered by straight lines only, the elongated cartouche having been completely abolished here. This is perhaps a forecast of what is to happen in the latter part of the series, for, although the next two sarcophagi (E and F) still enclose certain texts within cartouches, thereafter, on Sarcophagi G, H, and I, they are dispensed with entirely.

In spite of these innovations, and the very important ones in the form of the monument, we see, in summing up the decoration of Sarcophagus D, that really very little development has taken place since the scheme for that of its predecessor was formulated. As on Sarcophagus C, there are thirty-six different magical recitations employed, in which are mentioned, either as spokesmen or in the bodies of the speeches, twenty tutelary divinities. Figures of nine of these protectors appear next to the recitations made by or addressed to them. Including repetitions of the same texts and figures of the same deities, there are actually on the surfaces of Sarcophagus D fifty separate inscriptions and thirteen divine figures; as compared with the sixty-nine inscriptions and nineteen figures on Sarcophagus C—the difference, of course, being due only to the elimination from the later sarcophagus of the decoration of the interior surfaces of the side walls. All of the texts and figures employed appear in exactly the same relative positions on both monuments; and most of the incidental ornamentations—lid cartouches, text cartouches, border lines, base-lines, names of deities, etc.—coincide.

This close similarity is, as has been noted above, precisely what we should expect of the two sarcophagi—ordered by the same person, executed in the same workshop, and completed a very short time apart. They are “trade-marked” by the Ḥatshepsūt designer, just as Sarcophagi E and F, which form an equally compact pair, both bear the stamp of another royal atelier.

It will have been noted, on each of the three sarcophagi so far discussed, that, whenever the name of the royal incumbent occurs in the inscriptions, it is accompanied by at least one title denoting the exalted rank of its possessor. On Sarcophagus A there appear seven distinct titles which were held by Ḥatshepsūt as queen. All of these, with the exception of “Lady of the Two Lands,” which occurs spasmodically on her later monuments, had been discarded when Sarcophagus C was executed; and in their places we find six kingly titles: “King,” “King of Upper and Lower Egypt,” “Lord of the Two Lands,” “Lord of Rites,” “Good God,” and “Son (or Daughter) of Rē.” All six appear in company with the names of Tuthmosis I on the monument as altered; but it is certain that at least three accompanied the names of Ḥatshepsūt on the sarcophagus as originally made.⁸⁰

In addition to these six titles, or epithets, the inscriptions of Sarcophagus D contain five others: “Beloved Son of the Lord of Eternity” (Text 52), “Lord of Joy” (Text 53), “Lord of Appearances-in-Glory” (Text 53), “Seizer of the White Crown” (Text 53), and “Uniter of the Double Crown with Life and Prosperity” (Text 53). These less common examples swell the number of the kingly epithets on Ḥatshepsūt’s third sarcophagus to eleven—a number which is not equalled on any other sarcophagus of the group. The use of this florid titulary, though to some extent typical of the first five decorated sarcophagi of the series, throws an amusing sidelight on what we already know of the female ruler, whose seat on the throne of the Pharaohs was at no time altogether free of uncertainty, and is quite in keeping with Ḥatshepsūt’s consistent attempts to impress her subjects with her exalted ancestry, the divine approval accorded her reign, and the incontestability of her right to the crown of Egypt. In contrast to the eleven titles on Sarcophagus D are the meagre kingly attributes displayed on Sarcophagi G, H, and I—monuments whose owners never had any real reason to suppose that their positions were insecure. Tuthmosis IV (Sarcophagus H) uses but seven titles; Amenhotpe III (Sarcophagus-lid I) but three; while Amenhotpe II (Sarcophagus G) is content with the two titles, “King” and “Son of Rē.”

Before leaving the decoration of Sarcophagus D, a word should be said about the colours with which its sculptured surfaces are enhanced. The ground colour is, as usual, a deep, rich red. Its state of preservation, as can be seen in the photographs (Plates V and VI), is far better than is the case with Sar-

⁸⁰ The three titles are “King” (Text 51), “King of Upper and Lower Egypt” (Texts 1, 44, 52, 53), and “Daughter of Rē” (Texts 52, 53), all of which appear in texts where the plaster-filled names of Ḥatshepsūt are still visible under those of Tuthmosis I. See Appendix I, Sarcophagus C.

cophasus C. Only traces of the auxiliary colours remain, but enough is still visible to show that the wigs, beards, and bracelets of the figures were painted the conventional blue, as were also the great pair of Wedjat Eyes on the left side.

An inspection of the decoration of the Cairo Sarcophagus of Tuthmosis I (E) (Plates VII, XVIII E, XIX E, XXIII E) confirms beyond a reasonable doubt the three main impressions in regard to the monument already produced by the examination of its form (Chapter II), namely: that it is later in date than Sarcophagus D, but slightly earlier than the sarcophagus of Tuthmosis III; that, in the principles and in many of the details of its design, it is indebted to the second and, especially, to the third of the H̄atshepsūt monuments; and that, at the same time, it is the product of an entirely independent atelier.

A comparison of Plates V and VII, XVIII C and E, and XXIII C, D, and E is sufficient to show that the decoration of Sarcophagus E, insofar as its composition and the bulk of its iconography are concerned is a development of that of Sarcophagus D; hence, of that of Sarcophagus C (Plate III); and, ultimately, of that of Sarcophagus A (Plate I). Its relationship with the decoration of Sarcophagus D is much the closest of the three; that is to say, it is noticeably more advanced than the decoration of Sarcophagus C; and can be associated with the decoration of Sarcophagus A only through the media of the two later H̄atshepsūt sarcophagi.

A quantity of new features and developed characteristics in the decoration of the Tuthmosis I monument show very definitely that it is well in advance of that of even the last of the H̄atshepsūt sarcophagi. Some of these, being concerned with the decoration of its interior, do not appear in the photograph; while others are of a character which cannot be strikingly illustrated in drawings.

In Sarcophagus D we have seen that the tendency was to avoid, insofar as it was then deemed possible, repetitions in the interior of the monument of texts and other elements which formed part of the decoration of the exterior; and to apply to the interior surfaces only such texts and figures as would be complementary to those on the outside. To this end, there were eliminated from its lay-out not only the cartouche-frame and the transverse bands on the under side of the lid, but also all of the decoration on the inner surfaces of the side walls; leaving only—in deference to the scheme as originated in Sarcophagus C—the decoration of the inner surfaces of the end-walls. The designer of Sarcophagus E has gone one step further and has done away with the decoration of these surfaces also, leaving the inner sides of the four walls of the box completely unadorned.

The decoration of the floor of the sarcophagus was allowed to remain un-

changed and here we have, as before, the enormous figure of Nût, with arms stretched high up the side walls, and the single vertical column of inscription with the usual speech by Geb (Text 54 E).

On the under side of the lid (Plate XIX E) there are retained the slightly smaller figure of Nût (91 cm. high), toward the head-end, and the Second Prayer to the goddess (Text 44 E). The second prayer is not written in a single long vertical column, stretching from beneath the feet of the figure, but is split into two unbordered verticals, one of which is carved on either side of the goddess, immediately under the outstretched arm. The reason for this distribution is not far to seek; for the space beneath the figure, which in Sarcophagi C and D was free for the inscribing of Text 44, is now occupied by eight horizontal lines of inscription, spread clear across the field and taking up most of its mid-section (Plate XIX E). These contain a single, long text (Text 45), which hitherto has appeared on no sarcophagus of the series. It is a speech by Nût, addressed to the king; and, as will immediately become apparent, is an answer to the prayer in the central inscription on the upper surface of the lid. It runs:

"Recitation by Nût: 'I have stretched myself over this my son, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, 'Akheperkarē', the justified, in my name of Nût, I have not removed myself from this my son, the Son of Rē', of his body, his beloved, Tuthmosis, justified like Geb, beloved of Osiris and of the primæval gods who appeared as kings of Upper and Lower Egypt.'

' "Oh!" says Rē', "He shall live forever among the Imperishable Stars which are in thee; nor shall die this my son, this my beloved, the Good God, 'Akheperkarē'. May he live forever!" "

'I have stretched myself over this my son in my name of "Mistress-of-Heaven." Thou art the son of Geb, his first, his noble one. Thou shalt live in him forever; and sorry is he who acts against thee.' 'O Son of Rē', of his body, Tuthmosis, justified, I am Nût. I raise thee up that thou mayest see me and the gods.' "

This text, while new to our series, is highly reminiscent of an inscription—also a speech by Nût—which is common on the lids of Middle Kingdom coffins (see above, p. 67). There are, moreover, parallels to it in the Pyramid Texts and in the Book of the Dead. It is a clear statement by Nût to the effect that she has complied with every one of the requests made by the king on the upper side of the lid (cf. Text 1). It therefore forms an excellent complement to the main text on the exterior of the lid; lends meaning to the figure of the embracing goddess which accompanies it; and is wholly appropriate to the inside of the sarcophagus—the immediate presence of the deceased Pharaoh. It is one of the many new features in XVIII Dynasty sarcophagus decoration which make of this monument and of that of Tuthmosis III the most highly rationalized examples of the whole series.

Another text (Text 49), not heretofore encountered in the series, is written

on the floor of the rabbet around the outer edge of the under side of the lid (Plate XIX E). This, it will be recalled, is the surface of the lid which comes into contact with the upper edges of the sarcophagus walls, so that the new text rests squarely all around on the four inscriptions (Texts 50-53) written on the wall-tops, and makes the magical sealing of the sarcophagus doubly sure. The text is a single, long speech by Nût. Starting at the center of the head-wall, it runs, in one continuous column, clockwise around the whole perimeter of the lid, reading as follows:

"Recitation by Nût, the very great: 'I was mighty, I was glorious, I was powerful in the body of my mother, Tefnût, before I was born. I have come that I may join King 'Akheperkarë', the justified, with life, stability, and prosperity; that he may not die. I am Nût. Powerful was my heart when I moved in the body of my mother, Tefnût, in my name of *Nût-Who-Was-Complete-and-Powerful-in-Her-Mother*. I have filled all places with my beauty, the entire Earth being under me. I have seized it. I have seized Upper and Lower Egypt. I have encompassed all things in the embrace of my arms. I cause to live the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Rites, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, 'Akheperkarë', the Son of Rë', of his body, his beloved, Tuthmosis, justified with the gods and goddesses who are in the necropolis.' "

The text, while new to the XVIII Dynasty royal sarcophagus series, is common to both of the earlier categories of religious literature.

Two interesting developments have taken place on the upper surface of the lid of Sarcophagus E (Plate XVIII E). The bands of the framing cartouche are wider than on Sarcophagi C and D, and the whole motif has received far more emphasis than has hitherto been accorded to it. More important is the fact that both the central inscription and the transverse columns are now enclosed within elongated incised cartouches, thus making them homogeneous with the vertical columns on the sides of the sarcophagus. Since the transverse lid-band and inter-panel vertical on the side of the box form one continuous text, logic demands that the two inscriptions be similarly framed; and the incongruity in this respect which was noted on Sarcophagi C and D has here been corrected.

Turning to the ends of the monument, we see that Texts 12 and 19 (the Nût recitations) are no longer written on the end surfaces of the lid—where, indeed, there is no longer room for them—but have been carried down into the panels on the ends of the sarcophagus, where they appear in two vertical columns behind the kneeling figures, forming pendants to the speeches by the goddesses in front of the figures, and thus producing perfectly symmetrical compositions (Plate VII. See also Plate XXII F, which has the identical arrangement).

The Wedjat Eyes are no longer alone (see Plate VI) in their panel on the left side of the sarcophagus, but are now surmounted over a conventionally

represented building façade (Plates VII and XXIII E). With the addition of the façade the whole panel assumes the outlines of a building known as the *srḥ*, which was either the king's palace or his tomb.⁵⁷ The building is commonly so represented on all manner of monuments, an interesting example of its use being in connection with the Horus names of kings, where it serves not only as a perch for the divine falcon, but also as a frame for the name itself.⁵⁸ The building façade, either carved or painted, is, as has been noted at the beginning of this chapter, a regular and essential feature of the decoration of rectangular coffins and sarcophagi of the Old and Middle Kingdoms (see Figs. 16 and 17). When absent elsewhere on these monuments, it is almost always retained in the Eye-panel (Fig. 17). Its revival in the Eye-panel of Sarcophagus E reminds us that the conception of the sarcophagus as a house or, as here, a palace, in which its owner might dwell secure and from which his eyes might gaze out, was ever in the mind of the ancient Egyptian. The other panels of the sarcophagus are occupied by figures of protective deities, but the Eye-panel is the deceased's own and it is here that the front of his dwelling survives in tangible form.

A slight alteration has also been made in the pendant panel—that on the right side of the sarcophagus, containing Text 30. The inscription is no longer in fourteen unbordered lines, but is now written in sixteen lines, between which are horizontal border-lines (cf. Plates IX and XXIII F).

Over and above the features actually added to the iconography of XVIII Dynasty royal sarcophagus decoration as developed on Sarcophagus D, the decoration of Sarcophagus E also displays a number of alterations in the composition of the existent lay-out.

Chief among these is the reversal in position of the two forms of Anubis. Anubis-khenty-seḥ-netjer now stands on the left side of the sarcophagus, next to the Eye-panel; while Anubis-imy-wet has been moved to the pendant panel on the right side (Plates VII and XXIII E). All of the other deities are in the same positions as on Sarcophagus D and even the speeches made by Khenty-seḥ-netjer and Imy-wet (Texts 31 and 40) remain as before. The names above the dog-headed figures in the panels next to these texts and those written in the preambles to the actual speeches have, however, been switched about; so that the speech made by Khenty-seḥ-netjer on Sarcophagi C and D is, on Sarcophagus E, spoken by Imy-wet, and vice versa (cf. Text 31 and 40 C, D, and E). In short: Although the speeches have not been altered, as regards either content or position, the speakers have, Khenty-seḥ-netjer now being on the east side and Imy-wet on the west. The latter arrangement, employed on Sarcophagus A (see above, p. 73-74) and on the majority of Middle Kingdom coffins, is the correct one; for Anubis-in-front-of-the-Divine-

⁵⁷ Gardiner: *Grammar*, p. 72. See also *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, xxxiv, p. 167.

⁵⁸ Gardiner: *Loc. cit.*

Booth is logically associated with Earthly worship, on the east, while Anubis-in-the-bandage belongs to the regions of the dead, on the west; and again we see that the designer of Sarcophagus E has adjusted an inconsistency into which the designers of Sarcophagi C and D had fallen.

It has been said above that the positions of the deities in the panels along the sides of the royal sarcophagi determine or are determined by the positions of the transverse inscriptions on the lids, each deity being located by the vertical column on the side of the sarcophagus which completes the inscription on the lid wherein the name of that deity is written. No better proof of the truth of this statement is needed than the fact that on Sarcophagus E the names of the two forms of Anubis have also been changed about in the middle cross-bands on the lid of the sarcophagus, so that they correspond with the names in the panels immediately below them.

We saw that on Sarcophagi C and D the prenomen of the kings were written in only one vertical, the center one, on either side of the sarcophagus; while the nomens appeared twice on either side, written in the two outer of the three verticals. On Sarcophagus E exactly the reverse is the case, the premenom figuring four times in all (Texts 2, 5, 8, and 10), while the nomen appears but twice (Texts 4 and 9).

A number of unimportant, probably unconscious, and, hence, highly significant differences between the writings of the texts of Sarcophagi D and E point to the fact that an altogether different scribe prepared the inscriptions for each of the two monuments. To demonstrate the point it will be sufficient to call attention to a few of the forms used in the texts of Sarcophagus E, which may then be compared with the corresponding items in the D texts, printed immediately above. In Text 1 E the suffix pronoun after *mw* is written



The insertion of  after  in Text 12 completely changes the meaning of the statement. In Text 17 E the words 'nh and *mw* are both

written out in full. In Text 19 E the determinative  is used after the

verb *gh*. Text 26 E writes "arms" . In Text 30 E, line iii, the suffix

pronoun after *hk3w* is written , and the syllable *m3'* in *m3'tyw* is written



The same text, line iv, writes  after *r'.i*, thus altering the sense of the sentence. Etc., etc.

Having discussed the features of the decoration of Sarcophagus E which are definite additions to or developments from that of Sarcophagus D, and the points which show that two quite distinct groups of scribes and artisans produced the two decorative lay-outs; there still remains, in addition to the treatment of a few final specifications, the inspection of two short, but very important inscriptions carved on the left wall of the sarcophagus box.

These two inscriptions, like Text I (Sarcophagus C), are of purely historical significance. They are, in fact, dedication inscriptions. Almost identical formulae, one (Text II a) joins immediately to the end of Text 36, along the top of the outside of the left side of the sarcophagus (Plates VII and XXIII E); while the other (Text II b) is written on the top edge of the same wall and is an appendage to Text 53. Neither has any relation in sense to the magico-religious text which it follows; but, possibly, the presence of both of them on the east, or "life," wall of the sarcophagus, nearly contiguous one to another, is connected in idea with the fact that, in both, the main boast on the part of the king's benefactor is that he has caused his name to live. The name of Tuthmosis I, written at the end of each of the religious texts (36 and 53), just in front of the dedications, makes it clear to whom the first "his" refers. The inscriptions read as follows:

Text II a:

"It was his son who caused his name to live by preparing the monument of his father, for all eternity."

Text II b:

"It was his son who caused his name to live and made for him this excellent monument, for all eternity."

Both texts make it perfectly clear that Tuthmosis I did not himself see to the manufacture of this sarcophagus, but that it was a son, or, at least, a direct male descendant (the word *s3* is frequently used in the latter sense in ancient Egyptian)⁸⁹ who ordered its preparation. Apparently the benefactor of Tuthmosis I was sufficiently well known as such at the time the sarcophagus was made that he deemed it unnecessary to include his own name in the dedications—a contrast to the earlier dedication (Text I), the bulk of which is taken up with the titulary of Ḥatshepsūt. That the donor of Sarcophagus E did, nevertheless, feel it essential to call special attention to the fact that the monument was not of the owner's own ordering—as was usually the case⁹⁰—

⁸⁹ Legrain: *Annales du Service*, viii, pp. 259-261; Winlock: *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, xv, p. 56, note 3.

⁹⁰ Sarcophagi A and C we know to have been made for Ḥatshepsūt during her lifetime, for she herself ordered the later of the two (C) to be altered for Tuthmosis I. All evidence points to the fact that Sarcophagus D was ordered by her immediately after or at the same time as her alteration of Sarcophagus C. Tuthmosis III reigned for thirty years after the death of Ḥatshepsūt and, as it is extremely unlikely that he would have ordered a sarcophagus for his hated co-regent, for whose death he was probably responsible, it seems clear that Sarcophagus D was made for Ḥatshepsūt during her lifetime. Sarcophagi F-I were all found, completely executed, in partially decorated tombs. Since it is probable that the preparation of a king's tomb continued only until the moment when the tomb was called into use—i.e. the moment of the king's death—it is almost certain that these sarcophagi also were completed during the reigns of their respective owners. That it was customary for ancient Egyptians, especially kings, to order their own sarcophagi prepared well in advance of their deaths is shown by the quarry inscriptions of the reign of Mentuhotpe IV in the Wady Hammamat (Lepsius: *Denkmäler*, ii, 149 d; Golenischeff: *Hammamat*, xi; Breasted: *Ancient Records*, i, pp. 211-216). Clearly, the dedication inscriptions on Sarcophagi C and E were intended to call attention to the unusual authorship of these two monuments.

but was the symbol, rather, of pious concern for the welfare of Tuthmosis I on the part of one who could claim linear descent from him, is proved by the presence of the inscriptions at all. For, as has been noted, such dedications appear, with the exception of Sarcophagus C, on no other monument of the series.

Ten kingly titles appear in the texts of Sarcophagus E. The six more common of these we have already seen on Sarcophagi C and D: "King," "King of Upper and Lower Egypt," "Good God," "Lord of the Two Lands," "Lord of Rites," and "Son of Rē." Three others, "Lord of Joy," "Lord of Appearances-in-glory," and "Seizer of the White Crown," have occurred hitherto only on Sarcophagus D. In addition, there is one title which has not yet been encountered in the series, namely: "Beloved Son of Osiris" (Text 9). On one occasion the name of Tuthmosis I appears unaccompanied by any title (Text 27). Only the king's two most common names are used on Sarcophagus E: the prenomen and the nomen; but his Horus name has already occurred on Sarcophagus C (Text 26 C).

Sarcophagus E, while a trifle longer than Sarcophagus D, is not so high. The figures along its sides and on its ends are, therefore, 9 cm. shorter than those on the earlier monument, being 45 cm. high. The Nūt figure on the under surface of the lid is the same height, while that on the upper side is but 37.5 cm. high. The Wedjat Eyes on the left side of the box are 15 cm. high, and the height of the *srh* façade is 28.5 cm.

While the sarcophagus itself is in good condition, very little of the paint which originally covered its walls is preserved. No trace of the auxiliary colouring of the figures and hieroglyphs remains, and of the ground colour only spots of reddish tinge are left. The wearing off of the paint in the course of centuries has allowed the natural colour of the stone to reappear, and the whole monument is of a dingy yellow hue.

Were it not for one oversight on the part of the artisan who executed it and for several minute variations within its texts, the decoration of the exterior of the Sarcophagus of Tuthmosis III (F) (Plates VIII-XI, XXII-XXIII F) would be identical, to the smallest detail, with that of Sarcophagus E.

A curious error was, however, made either in the laying out of the decorative scheme or in its execution: The name of Anubis-khenty-seh-neter was originally carved over the head of the figure and at the beginning of the text in the third panel on the *right* side of the sarcophagus, while Anubis-imy-wet was made to occupy that on the left side; the center cross-band on the lid being, of course, accordingly inscribed. This, as we have just seen, while quite in keeping with the decorative scheme of Sarcophagi C and D, was just the reverse of the arrangement employed on Sarcophagus E. Discovering what he evidently regarded as a mistake before the monument left his hands, the sculp-

tor of Sarcophagus F filled up the hieroglyphs of the name *Khenty-seh-neter*, wherever it appeared on the right side, with tinted plaster, and, in the new surfaces, cut the name *Imy-wet*, reversing the procedure on the left side. Thus, each of the two forms of Anubis was restored to the position which the designers or, more properly, the designer of Sarcophagi E and F considered essential for it. (The original names, filled with painted plaster, can just be discerned under the hieroglyphs over the heads of the animal-headed figures in Plates IX and XI.) Having taken the pains to correct the inscriptions in the places named, the artisan then proceeded to forget completely those in the center transverse columns on the lid, so that here the original arrangement still remains (*Khenty-seh-neter* on the right and *Imy-wet* on the left); and these two lid-bands, for once, do not match the inscriptions in the side panels below them.

With the exception of this one slight and patently unintentional discrepancy, the decoration of the exterior of Sarcophagus F differs in absolutely no way from that of Sarcophagus E. Having as its basis the iconography and composition developed in the first three decorated monuments of the series, it also displays every one of the new developments and minor peculiarities listed above in connection with the decoration of the Cairo monument of Tuthmosis I: the prominence accorded the great cartouche-frame on the lid; the enclosing of all the lid inscriptions within elongated cartouches; the shifting of Texts 12 and 19 to two vertical columns behind the Isis and Nephthys figures on the ends of the box (Plates VIII, X, and XXII F); the positions of the two forms of Anubis; the *srh* building façade in the Eye-panel (Plate XI); the writing of Text 30 in 16 horizontal lines, with horizontal borders between the lines (Plates IX and XXIII F); the appearance of the prenomen in the two outer of the three inter-panel verticals on each long side (Texts 2, 5, 8, and 10), and of the nomen in each central vertical (Texts 4 and 9); and, with others, all of the special writings in the texts already noted (p. 108, above) in the texts of Sarcophagus E. In this latter connection it is interesting to observe that every single one of the inter-panel inscriptions on both sarcophagi begins with the title "the Good God," which, in the majority of them, is followed by the title "Lord of the Two Lands" (Texts 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, and 10).

The special features listed above are not only found on both Sarcophagi E and F, but are *peculiar to them*, appearing on no other monument of the series.

The top edges of the four walls of the Tuthmosis III sarcophagus carry the same four inscriptions (Texts 50, 51, 52, and 53) as do those of Sarcophagi E, C, and D, distributed in precisely the same manner (Plate XXV F; cf. C, plan).

Except for the Cairo sarcophagus of Tuthmosis I, Sarcophagus F is the only one of the whole group which has Texts 45 (Nût's answer to the prayer on the upper surface of the lid) and 49 (the other long speech by Nût) written on the

under side of its lid (Plate XIX F). The position and arrangement of Text 49 are the same as on Sarcophagus E. The other texts (44 and 45) are distributed over the concave center portion of the lid's under side in a way which, from a compositional point of view, is a distinct improvement over that employed on Sarcophagus E. Text 45, instead of cutting abruptly across the center of the field (cf. Plate XIX E), is written to the left of the figure of Nût, in three vertical columns, which stretch almost the whole length of the surface. The outspread left arm of the goddess and the tips of her feet cut into these columns, as indicated in the drawing. Text 44 (the second prayer to Nût) is written in a single vertical column, enclosed within an elongated cartouche, which extends along the center line of the field, from beneath the feet of the goddess to the foot-end of the lid.

The inner surfaces of the four walls of the box are, as in Sarcophagus E, completely unadorned.

On the floor of the sarcophagus (Plate XXV F) is the familiar figure of Nût. Extending nearly the whole length of the floor, and with finger tips nearly reaching the tops of the side walls (Plates VIII and IX: the tips of the hands can be seen just below the edge of the inner side of the far wall), this figure is far and away the largest which appears anywhere on any of the sarcophagi of the series. It is 180 cm. long (over life-size), with an arm spread of 146.5 cm. Texts 55, 56, and 57 are written around the perimeter of the field: Text 55 curving around the head-end, Text 56 descending down the right side, and Text 57 down the left side. (The breaks in the border-lines of the side inscriptions indicate where the arms of the Nût figure cut through the columns.) The three texts are all speeches by the king, and, as they are practically the same as Texts 50, 51, and 53 (written in the corresponding positions on the tops of the head and side walls), need not be given in translation here. Text 54—the speech by Geb written on the floors of Sarcophagi C, D, and E—no longer appears. Its elimination is probably due to the fact that, even while laying it out on the floor of Sarcophagus E, the designer saw the incongruity of having a speech by Geb accompanying a figure of Nût.

There are, then, in the decoration of the interior of Sarcophagus F a few minor developments, all of them improvements, over the design as seen in Sarcophagus E. They are, I think, sufficient to prove that the Tuthmosis III sarcophagus was made a short time *after* that of Tuthmosis I. How brief a space that must have been is indicated by the fact that, were it not for these developments, those noted in the form of the monument, and certain external considerations, it would be impossible to tell which of the two sarcophagi was made first. Certainly, there can be no doubt that they were both made in the same workshop and, one cannot help but feel, by order of the same Pharaoh.

The three standing figures on each side of Sarcophagus F are 45 cm. high.

The kneeling goddesses on each end of the box are but 30 cm. high, the rest of the height in the panel being taken up by the *nebyl* signs on which the figures kneel. The Nūt figure on the under side of the lid is 80 cm. long, being just an even meter shorter than that immediately opposite, on the floor.

All of the decoration of the monument is in an excellent state of preservation, and even the auxiliary colouring of the figures and hieroglyphs is uninjured. Due to the fact that the varnish with which this colour was coated has turned opaque in the course of time, the paint appears in the photographs (Plates VIII–XI) to have flaked off in places. Actually, under the thick, reddish brown film of varnish it is as fresh as when originally applied. The ground colour with which the polished surfaces are coated is, as usual, a deep red. The figures, hieroglyphs, and the *srh* façade are painted a bright, golden yellow. The corneae of the eyes in the Eye-panel (Plate XI) are white; the pupils black.

The execution of the decoration is above criticism. The figures are carved with expert deftness, great attention being paid to the details of their forms and accessories. The cutting of the hieroglyphs is exquisite, especially that of the tiny signs in Text 30 (Plate IX), which are less than 3 cm. high.

For sheer rationalism in design the decoration of the sarcophagus of Tuthmosis III marks the high point of the series and, I venture to think, of the entire history of ancient Egyptian coffin and sarcophagus decoration. On the four walls of his sarcophagus, on its floor, on the upper and under surfaces of its lid, and at the point of junction between the box and lid—in short, in every possible quarter—the king is protected by a series of carefully chosen and carefully placed magical texts and divine figures. There is no confusion of ideas, no unnecessary repetition, no awkwardness of arrangement. Every group of texts and figures is composed to fit the surface to which it is applied; and each single text and figure is appropriate to the position in which it appears and to no other. From the point of view of logical religious thought, as well as from that of properly applied ornamentation, the whole scheme functions without a single incongruity. Although modest in size, the sarcophagus of Tuthmosis III is not only worthy of its stupendous duty and of its glorious incumbent, but is also a fitting climax to two thousand years of development in the design and decoration of funerary monuments.

In the sarcophagus of Amenhotpe II (G) we see the decorative lay-out of the mid-XVIII Dynasty royal sarcophagus cut down to its bare essentials (Plates XII, XIII, XVIII G, XXII G, and XXIII G). The interior of the sarcophagus, the top edges of its walls, and the whole of the under side of its lid are completely undecorated; and even on the exterior the established design has been simplified as much as was thought permissible.

Most striking of the simplifications is the elimination of the elongated car-

touches, used, on Sarcophagi C-F, to enclose those texts which have architectonic functions in the composition: the longitudinal and transverse bands on the lid, the horizontal inscriptions along the tops of the walls of the box, and the inter-panel and outside verticals on its sides and ends. On Sarcophagus G every text, regardless of its nature, is bordered merely by straight, vertical or horizontal lines. As a result no one text is emphasized more than another and the articulation of the composition becomes far less clearly defined than on the earlier sarcophagi, where, for instance, the interpanel inscriptions are sharply differentiated from those within the panels. On the other hand, the new arrangement has certain undeniable advantages over the old in that it creates absolute uniformity throughout the decoration and avoids distracting attention from the texts themselves.

The doing away with the cartouches also permits the decorative lay-out of any one surface to be knit into a compact rectangular composition. Not only has the designer been quick to take advantage of this fact, but has also had the perspicacity to raise the base-line of his rectangle well (28 cm.) above the bottom of the surface decorated and to leave generous blank margins between its top and sides and those of the field (See Plates XII, XXII G, and XXIII G). That he was able to do so without reducing the size of the figures and hieroglyphs on the sides and ends of the box from what it had been heretofore is due to the fact that the sarcophagus itself is higher and wider than any of its predecessors. The result achieved is highly satisfactory, for the texts and figures no longer overrun the surface on which they are carved (cf., for example, Plates V and XXIII D), but are composed within a restricted panel and assume for the first time in the series the nature of real applied decoration, as we now use the term. Without seriously offending against the established canon in this respect, the decorator of Sarcophagus G has succeeded in producing a decoration which has an aesthetic as well as a utilitarian function.

Additional uniformity has been attained by reducing all of the inter-panel columns of inscription on both sides of the sarcophagus (Texts 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, and 10) to the one form: "The Osiris, King 'Akheperūrē', justified with the Great God." One result of making all of these inscriptions the same is to cause them to stand out from among the other texts, and so partly to compensate for the elimination of the distinctive cartouche frames.

The two forms of Anubis have been changed back on this sarcophagus to the sides which they occupied on Sarcophagi C and D: Khenty-seḥ-neḥter in the third panel on the right side, and Imy-wet in the corresponding panel on the left side (Plates XII and XXIII G). Since these are the sides which they continue to occupy on Sarcophagus H and on the lid of the missing sarcophagus of Amenhotpe III, it is more than ever evident that, after Sarcophagus A, the reversal of this arrangement was by special plan of the designer of Sarcophagi E and F only.

In Plate XII we see the simplification of the decoration carried out in the Eye-panel, from which the building façade has been eliminated, leaving the Eyes alone in the middle of the otherwise blank rectangle.

In the pendant panel, on the right side of the sarcophagus (Plate XXIII G, right side), a much more drastic elimination has taken place. The panel is left completely blank; and the important Text 30 is, therefore, missing altogether from the monument. The cool shelving of this really essential text—absent from the decoration of no other complete sarcophagus of the series, except A—shows to what extremes Amenhotpe II's designer was willing to go in order to maintain the clarity and simplicity of his decorative design. The sixteen lines of small hieroglyphic text, crowded into the panel, would have created a congested spot in the center of the lay-out of the right side (See, for example, Plate IX); and the text was, therefore, discarded.

The long speech by Kebeh-senuef (Text 41 G) in the last panel on the left side of the sarcophagus gave the designer some trouble (Plate XII). Unable to include the whole of it in the two vertical columns in front of the figure, he was forced to crowd in three quarter-columns at the top of the panel. As a result no room was left for the name of the Genius, which, as we have seen, was customarily written over the head of the figure; and it was of necessity omitted.

The decorative scheme of the ends of the box (Plates XIII and XXII G) is simplicity itself. In the center of the field the goddess kneels as usual upon a *nebyt* sign; and is flanked on either side by a single vertical column of inscription. Each of the pairs of columns contains a single text, which starts in the column in front of the figure and is continued and concluded in that behind the figure. The texts are Nos. 15 and 22—the speeches addressed to the king by Nephthys and Isis, respectively. The *nebyt* signs (bead collars) are here rendered with great simplicity. On Sarcophagi C–F the corner pieces and the rows of beads in the collars are represented (See Plates IV, V, and XXII C–F). On the Amenhotpe II sarcophagus the signs are given merely in silhouette, all interior details being omitted. Due either to the carelessness or indifference of the designer, the figures and texts on these end walls face towards the *right* side of the sarcophagus and *away* from the Eye-panel—a breach of the compositional rule, which is, however, paralleled elsewhere in the series on Sarcophagi A and H (See Plates I and XV).

The decoration of the upper side of the lid (Plate XVIII G) consists solely of seven vertical columns of inscription, all bordered by plain incised lines: the central column (Text 1), stretching nearly the whole length of the block; and the six transverse bands (the first parts of Texts 2, 4, and 5; 8, 9, and 10), three on a side, extending from the center column to the edge of the lid. There is neither Nū figure, nor great cartouche frame—the latter having now disappeared forever from the lids of sarcophagi. The ends of the longi-

tudinal column are closed: at the foot-end by a simple cross-line; and at the head by the hieroglyphic sign for *sky* () marking the "top" of the inscription. This column is given special emphasis in the composition by increasing its width to 12.5 cm. and thus making it 4 cm. wider than any of the other bands on the lid. In connection with this, it is interesting to note that the longitudinal binding strap down the length of the elaborately wrapped Egyptian mummy is usually appreciably wider than the transverse bands (see Fig. 24). The longitudinal piece of the inlaid mummy harness of Tut-'ankhamūn is double the width of the cross pieces.⁶¹

The only kingly titles which appear in the inscriptions on this sarcophagus are the simple "King" (used with the prenomen) and "Son of Rē" (accompanying the nomen). Of the Great Names of the king only the prenomen 'Akheperūre' and the nomen *Amenhotpe*, *Amenhotpe-hek-Wast* or *Amenhotpe-hek-Yunu* are used.

The appearance of the well conceived and magnificently executed decoration of Amenhotpe II's sarcophagus is considerably enhanced by its fine state of preservation (see Plate XII). The relief and incised work, except for that on the broken lid, has suffered no mutilation whatsoever; and the paint which covers the polished surfaces and that which is applied to the figures and hieroglyphs is extraordinarily fresh and bright. The golden yellow of the hieroglyphic signs and of the flesh parts of the figures stands out strikingly from the deep red of the ground colour. The eyes, wigs, beards, chin-straps, collars, and bracelets of the figures and the over-folds of their kilts are blue. The Wedjat Eyes are in two colours: the rims and eye-balls, yellow; and the brows, corner-pieces, and falcon-head markings, blue.

A glance suffices to show that the decoration of the sarcophagus of Tuthmosis IV (H) (Frontispiece, Plates XIV, XV, XVIII H, and XXIV) is, in the essentials of its iconography and composition, the same as that of the six decorated royal monuments which have already been treated. A closer inspection only serves to confirm the impression; for on Sarcophagus H we find the majority of the same texts as on the earlier sarcophagi, written in the same places, and accompanying the same relief figure of deities, the bulk of which have already appeared. There are, however, a number of important changes in the composition, and a quantity of important additions to the repertory of texts, divinities mentioned, and divinities represented.

The alterations in the composition of the decorative lay-out are to be attributed largely to the enormous increase in size which we now see in the monument itself, and to radical changes in the proportions of the box and lid. Although three meters long, the sarcophagus of Tuthmosis IV is much wider and

⁶¹ Carter: *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen*, ii, pp. 83-4, plate xxvii, A.

very much higher in proportion to its length than are any of those of his predecessors. In order to decorate the huge surfaces of the box and lid without breaking away from the essentials of the established design and without increasing the scale of the ornament to the point where it would spoil the monumental effect of the great sarcophagus, the sculptor had recourse to a number of interesting expedients.

First: He increased the number of the transverse bands on the lid to four, and, carrying these inscriptions in one continuous sweep from the center of the lid to the base-lines of the long sides of the box, created five panels, instead of four, on these long sides.

The second and fourth panels on either side contain the usual speeches and figures of the Four Genii of the Dead, the positions of the Genii, relative to one another and to the deceased king in the sarcophagus and as regards the points of the compass, being the same as always. In the third panel—i.e. between the two Genii—at the middle of each side stands the animal-headed figure of one of the two forms of Anubis, accompanied by his customary recitation. Thus, the old composition, figures of the usual deities, and the now familiar recitations by them remain unaltered (cf. Plates XXIII and XXIV).

The fifth panel on the right side contains a figure of and speech by Horus; that on the left side, a figure of Geb and a speech by him.

In the head-panel on the left side is the pair of Wedjat Eyes, set in the midst of five long vertical columns of text. The pendant panel on the right side is completely filled by five more columns of inscription.

Across the tops of the sides are the customary long recitations by Osiris and Nūt (Osiris, as usual, on the right; Nūt on the left). These horizontal lines of hieroglyphs no longer run perfectly continuously from head to foot of the sides, but are interrupted in four places by the inter-panel vertical columns, which cut straight through them to join immediately to the ends of the transverse lid-bands above.

As always, the deity named in any one of the lid columns is the same as the one who appears in the corresponding panel on the same side of the box.

There are no vertical columns on the extreme ends of the sides, the speeches by Rē', Sokaris, and the Crowns of Egypt, which have heretofore been written in them, not appearing anywhere on Sarcophagus H.

Since the Eye-panel and its pendant on the right side have been shifted to positions next to the head-end of the sarcophagus, all the figures and inscriptions on each side face in the same direction, i.e. towards the head.

It is interesting to note that, for the most part, the changes made are no more than returns to the decorative lay-out of Sarcophagus A and, hence, of Middle Kingdom coffins. As on our first sarcophagus, four deities are named on either side, and, with the exception of Geb, they are the same eight deities named on the earlier monument. The Wedjat Eyes on the left side are back

in the panel next to the head-end, the position held by them on Sarcophagus A and on its Middle Kingdom predecessors. The speeches by Rē', Sokaris, and the Northern and Southern Crowns at the ends of the sides do not appear on Sarcophagus A, and they are also omitted on Sarcophagus H.

The extra dedicatory column and panel take up the excess length of the sarcophagus of Tuthmosis IV. The problem of its height was solved by the decorator in a number of ways. First of all, the base-line of the decoration is a good 36 cm. above the bottom edge of the box. The figures in the panels are themselves 90 cm. high. Since they are proportionately wide, they take up all of the lateral space in the panels, and their speeches are, therefore, written in five quarter-columns over their heads—the combined height of figure and inscription being 116 cm. This, with the 36 cm. of blank dado below, carries the decoration to within 16 cm. of the tops of the walls; and this remaining space is taken up by the Osiris and Nūt speeches in horizontal bands of hieroglyphs, 11.5 cm. wide and set 4.5 cm. below the wall top.

On each end of the sarcophagus almost all the space between the base-line and the horizontal inscription across the top of the wall is filled with a long, continuous text, written in full-length vertical columns (Plate XXIV, ends). There are 18 columns on the rounded head-end and 14 on the foot-end. In the center of the end a narrow panel (34 cm. wide) is left in the midst of the columns of text; and in this tall, slender rectangle is a standing figure of the goddess to whom the end is dedicated: Nephthys, as usual, on the head-end (Frontispiece) and Isis on the foot (Plate XV). On this sarcophagus the goddesses stand probably in order better to fill the space; but it is worth noting that, in the rare instances where goddesses appear on the ends of Middle Kingdom coffins, the standing posture is regular (see Fig. 20). The figures on Sarcophagus H stand directly on the base-line and their outspread arms cut into the first three columns of inscription on either side. They themselves are 110 cm. high over-all and are identical, except for the symbols on their heads, with the Nūt figure on the lid of this sarcophagus and with those on the lids and floors of the earlier monuments. The horizontal texts across the tops of the end-walls (Texts 16 and 22 H) are the customary recitations by Nephthys and Isis found on the ends of the other sarcophagi of the series, Text 16 varying only very slightly from the usual Nephthys speech (Text 15) seen heretofore. The long inscription in the first sixteen vertical columns on the head-end is the LXXIInd Chapter of the Book of the Dead (Text 30 H)¹, which has hitherto appeared exclusively in the main panel on the right long side of the royal sarcophagus. On the foot-end, the first four columns of inscription are Text 49 (written on the floors of the rabbets of the lids of Sarcophagi E and F); and the last column a section of Text 30. The last two vertical columns on the head-end and the fourth to thirteenth of those on the foot-end contain texts which are new to the series and which will be treated with in

full below. As on Sarcophagi A and G, the figures and texts on the ends face towards the right side of the sarcophagus and, hence, not towards the Eye-panel, as they properly should.

Of major interest in the decoration of the lid is the return to the composition of the figure of Nūt (Plate XIV), which, as we saw, was missing from the lid of Sarcophagus G. The figure, which is but 48 cm. long, springs immediately from the top of the central column of inscription, the left border-line of the latter being continued up behind the goddess to just below her left arm (Plate XVIII H). The arms of the goddess are stretched straight out to the sides, but otherwise she is identical with the Isis and Nephthys figures on the ends of the box (Plate XV).

The red ground-colour of both sarcophagus and lid is well preserved, and the auxiliary colouring of the figures and hieroglyphs is almost as fresh as on the day it was applied. The hieroglyphic signs in the inscriptions and their border-lines are yellow. The flesh-parts of both the male and female figures are also yellow. Blue is, as usual, the colour of the hair, beards, eyes, collars, and bracelets of the male figures, and of the over-folds of their kilts. The under-folds of the kilts are white (Plate XIV)—a paint hitherto used only very sparingly on the royal sarcophagi. The dresses and headdresses of the Isis and Nephthys figures are white; while their eyes, bracelets, and anklets are blue. Black, white, yellow, and blue are all used in the Wedjat Eyes in the first panel on the left side of the sarcophagus: the eyeballs being black; the corneae, white; the rims, yellow; and the brows, side stripes, and falcon-head markings, blue.

Of the H texts, Nos. 1, 2, 4, 8, 9, 10 (for position, see Plates XVIII H and XXIV, sides), 22 (Plate XXIV, foot-end), 26, 29, 30, 31, 32 (Plate XXIV, right side), 36, 39, 40, and 41—all familiar texts—are essentially the same as they are on the earlier sarcophagi. Due, undoubtedly, to the greater space available for them on Sarcophagus H, the majority of them do, however, show fuller writings than seen hitherto and a few even contain additional sentences, phrases, and words.

Thus, Text 1 H, the king's prayer to Nūt, down the center of the lid, is written:

"O My mother Nūt, stretch thyself over me. Raise up whatsoever is related to me. I am thy son. Place thou me in the Imperishable Stars which are in thee. Then shall I—the Osiris, King Menkheperūrē—not die."

Typical of the now perfectly continuous and greatly elaborated dedicatory inscriptions is Text 2 H:

"Honoured with Mesti, the great god, Lord of the Holy Land—the Osiris, the king, the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperūrē, the son of Rē, of his body, his beloved, Tuthmosis, justified with all the gods of the Holy Land."

The speech by Osiris along the top of the right side (Text 26 H) has been lengthened to:

"Recitation by Osiris: 'My son, King Menkheperurē', justified! Heir of the prince of the West! Thou Horus, born of Isis! She causes thee to rejoice. I grant thee to fraternize with the Gods of the Hall. I have given to thee the necropoleis, their arms behind thee. Mayest thou live forever!'"

Line iv of Text 30 reads:

"Give me my mouth that I may speak therewith. . . ."

while the request for offerings in the same text (Line xii) has been lengthened as follows:

"Give ye to me invocation (consisting of) bread and beer, beef and fowl, libations of wine and milk, all things good and pure, and all fresh offerings, on which a god lives."

Of the new texts, 6 and 11, the dedications to Horus and Geb (Plates XVIII H and XXIV, sides) are similar to the other inscriptions of the same series. They read:

"Honoured with Horus, the great god, Lord of Heaven—the Osiris, the king, the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperurē', the son of Rē', of his body, his beloved, Tuthmosis, justified with the Great God."

"Honoured with Geb, the father of the gods—the Osiris, the king, the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperurē', the son of Rē', of his body, Tuthmosis, justified with the Great God."

Text 16, the Nephthys speech across the top of the head-end, is no more than a variation of the old text, No. 15:

"Recitation by Nephthys: 'I have come that I may be thy protection, O Osiris, King Menkheperurē', justified. The Osiris, King Kh'-Tuthmosis-kh'w, the justified, shall not be wearied. These his limbs shall not be fatigued.'"

The recitation by Horus, in the last panel on the right side (Text 33) is new:

"Recitation by Horus: 'I have come that I may be thy protection, O Osiris, King Menkheperurē', justified with the Great God. I have caused thee to be a god together with all the gods. Mayest thou live forever!'"

but that of Geb, in the corresponding panel on the left side, (Text 42) is only an excerpt from the speeches of Nephthys (Text 16), Mesti (Text 29), and Hapy (Text 39):

"Recitation by Geb: 'I have come that I may be thy protection, O Osiris, King, Good God, Lord of Rites, Menkheperurē', justified with all the gods.'"

Text 38, in the Eye-panel on the left side of the sarcophagus, is a speech by the king, which starts with an elaborate repudiation of sin and assertion of righteousness, as follows:

"There is neither wrong, nor crime, nor fault of mine. There is no witness (against) me. There is no one against whom I have done anything (blame-worthy)—forasmuch as I live on truth and wash it down with truth. I did that concerning which men spoke and at which gods were content. I satisfied the gods with that which I did for them.

O Spirit, great of dignity, behold I am come that I may see thee; that I may open the Duat; that I may see my father, Osiris; that I may drive away the darkness. I am his beloved. I have come that I may see my father, the Lord of the Holy Land—(I), the Osiris, King Menkheperürë, the justified."

The latter part of this recitation, which speaks of "opening the *Duat*" (Underworld), "driving away darkness," and, above all, of "*seeing* Osiris," expresses its true function; for the text, it must be remembered, is written immediately around the Wedjat Eyes (see Plate XXIV, left side) through which the deceased Pharaoh might indeed escape from the confines of his sarcophagus, dispel darkness, and see his proto-type in immortality. Most of the text is found in the so-called "Address to the Gods of the Judgment Hall" of the important CXXVth Chapter of the Book of the Dead; the rest of it in Chapter IX.

The first panel on the right side of the sarcophagus (Plates XIV and XXIV, right side) also contains an address spoken by the king to his divine Judges (Text 28), which, like its pendant in the Eye-panel, is to be paralleled in Chapter CXXV of the Book of the Dead:

"Homage to you, ye gods in whose bodies there are no falsehoods, who live on the Righteous in Heliopolis and wash (them) down with their intestines in the presence of Horus-who-is-in-his-Solar-Disk! Deliver ye the Osiris, King Tuthmosis, the justified, from every evil thing. (Then) shall none of his enemies be ignorant of him. He shall not be restricted in the necropoleis, in Heaven, nor on Earth. He shall be laden with food, his offerings being established every day in Heaven, on Earth, and in every place whence he shall go—the Osiris, the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Rites, Lord of Appearances-in-glory, Seizer of Every Land, Menkheperürë, the justified."

A short excerpt from Chapter CXXV of the Book of the Dead (Text 18) is added to the end of Text 30 on the head-end of the sarcophagus (See Plate XXIV, head-end). In it we are introduced to the Underworld monster *Baba*, who, with the exception of the arch-fiend Set, is the only hostile demon mentioned by name on the royal sarcophagi. The recitation, or prayer, like that which immediately precedes it, is obviously spoken by the king himself:

"Deliver ye me from *Baba*, who lives on the entrails of the Great Ones, this day of counting the offerings. Take ye me, who am come before you, (me), the Osiris, King Menkheperürë, the justified."

The four columns on the right and the six columns on the left of the figure of Isis on the foot-end of the box (Plates XV and XXIV, foot-end) contains a long recitation, commencing with an address to a quartet of four great goddesses: Isis, Nephthys, Tefnūt, and Serket; and concluding with a short repudiation of sin by Tuthmosis IV. The text (No. 24) is made up of several excerpts from the Book of the Dead. The preliminary address to the goddesses and to the king, since it follows immediately upon the speech by Nūt (Text 49, see above, p. 106), is apparently also spoken by her. The last column of inscription on the foot-end is a line from Text 30. Text 24 reads as follows:

"O thou Isis, and Nephthys! Thou Tefnūt, and Serket!"

"These four goddesses shall be with thee, accompanying thee, expelling every evil which is in thy flesh, exterminating those who come against thee, setting thy magics against them. They shall be in the van of his (*sic*) companions. Isis and Nephthys shall place their arms upon the sarcophagus. Geb here, the greatly aged, he-who-is-in-his-offspring, has come before thee (saying): 'I envelop thy flesh; I bind to thee thy members, in this thy name of *Great-Enveloped-One*, in this thy name of *Raised-of-Horus*. I have come before thee that I may make an accounting of thy bones; that I may cause thy limbs to prosper, thou Great-United-One; that I may set thine enemies beneath thee, that thou be not wearied by them; that I may cause thy bones to flourish. Osiris, King, Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Rites, Menkheperūrē, justified, mayest thou go forth to Heaven with Rē; mayest thou fraternize with the Gods of the Hall.' "

"(Says) the Osiris, King Menkheperūrē, the justified: 'I am faultless, I am without evil.' "

This text marks the first and only mention on the pre-Aten, XVIII Dynasty royal sarcophagi of the scorpion-goddess Serket. Like the other members of the quartet she is an Old Kingdom deity, her name appearing with great frequency in the Pyramid Texts.⁶² With Isis and Nephthys she is one of the quartet of goddesses who figure prominently on sarcophagi, canopic boxes, and other tomb furniture of the post-Aten Pharaohs (see, for example, Fig. 15); and who have already appeared on the alabaster canopic box of Amenhotpe II (see above, p. 24-25).

The fourth member of this latter quartet is the goddess Neith. Isis, Nephthys, Neith, and Serket appear, as seen, on the four corners of the canopic box of Amenhotpe II; on the corners of the sarcophagus and canopic box of Tut'ankhamūn, as figures about his canopic shrine, and on the doors of the innermost of his great gesso-gilt shrines;⁶³ on the corners of the sarcophagus of

⁶² E.g., Pyr. 606. See *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, xxxix, p. 34; Gardiner: *Grammar*, p. 468, under Sign L 7.

⁶³ Carter: *The Tomb of Tut'Ankh'Amen*, ii, plates xiv, lviii, lix, lxxv; *Illustrated London News*, January 22, 1927, pp. 117, 120; April 23, 1927, p. 728; February 4, 1928, pp. 162-4, 166-7; June 22, 1929, p. 1095.

King Ay;⁶⁴ and on those of the sarcophagus of King Horemheb. The mention of a quartet of goddesses in our Text 24, even though Tefnūt is here substituted for Neith, is important as being the first instance of the use of this combination on a royal sarcophagus, where, hereafter, it was to enjoy such great popularity. It is one of the several features in the decorative lay-out of the later sarcophagi of the pre-Aten series which forecast that of the post-Aten type of royal monument.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the group of "new" texts on Sarcophagus H is the fact that all of them find exact parallels in the Book of the Dead, most of the spells of which had, by the time of Tuthmosis IV, been definitely formulated.⁶⁵

The nomen of Tuthmosis IV, as written in the texts on this sarcophagus, is usually simply *Tuthmosis*; but in three places (Texts 16, 22, and 30, line xiv) it is given the distinctive form *Kh'-Tuthmosis-Kh'w*. His prenomen is invariable: *Menkheperure*. His list of kingly titles numbers seven, being far more elaborate than that of Amenhotpe II, but less full than those of Hatshepsut, Tuthmosis I, and Tuthmosis III. The titles are common enough and every one of them has appeared at least once on one or another of the earlier monuments of the royal group. They are: "King," "Good God," "Lord of the Two Lands," "Lord of Rites," "Lord of Appearances-in-glory" (Text 28), "Seizer of Every Land" (Text 28), and "Son of Rē". Noteworthy is the complete absence of the heretofore very common title, "King of Upper and Lower Egypt," which is also omitted on the two other late sarcophagi: G and I.

Since not a single fragment of the sarcophagus box of Amenhotpe III has been found, a study of the decoration of this last monument of the pre-Aten royal series must depend altogether upon an inspection of that of its shattered, but nearly complete, granite lid (I) (Plates XVI, XVII, XIX I, and XX). The decoration of the lid is interesting for three principal reasons: First, while clearly belonging to and deriving from the tradition for the decoration of royal sarcophagus lids which we have studied in the other seven decorated lids of the pre-Aten group, it displays a number of new developments, at least two of which may be called revolutionary; second, a study of the decoration of this lid, in conjunction with what is known of the decorative lay-outs of the earlier lids and boxes, gives us certain indications as to what the iconography and composition of the decoration of the totally destroyed sarcophagus must have been; and, third, combining what can be seen in the decoration of the lid with what may be deduced of the decoration of the sarcophagus,

⁶⁴ Frisse d'Avennes: *Histoire de l'art égyptien d'après les monuments*, Atlas, I, plate 6, lower.

⁶⁵ The Turin hieroglyphic papyrus of the Book of the Dead (Lepsius: *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter nach dem hieroglyphische Papyrus in Turin*, Leipzig, 1848, see especially pp. 17, 21-4) contains, for example, 105 of the 186 spells listed by Naville: *Totenbuch, Einleitung*, pp. 193-203.

we see that the Amenhotpe III monument, in its decoration as in its form (see above, p. 58), not only represents the end of the pre-Aten tradition, but also forecasts, in several ways, the type of royal sarcophagus in vogue after the reign of Akhenaten.

An inspection of the form of the lid has already revealed the fact that in a number of ways— notably, in the elliptical curve of the head-end, in the square profile of the foot-end, and in the lightness of the whole cover—it is a throw-back to the type of lid executed some seventy-five years earlier, in the reign of Tuthmosis III (cf. the lids of Sarcophagi E and F; see above, p. 58). The same holds true of its decoration. The Amenhotpe III lid is decorated on both its upper and under surfaces; while those of Amenhotpe II (G) and Tuthmosis IV (H) carry decoration on their upper sides only. As on these two latter monuments, no cartouche-frame is actually represented, either in relief or otherwise, on the upper surface of the cover; but one is certainly suggested by the narrow ledge around the perimeter of the head-end and sides and by the heavy "board" across the foot-end (Plate XX). The lay-out of the inscriptions on the upper side of the lid is common to nearly all of the lids of the series; and, since there are four transverse bands, is to be most closely paralleled on the sarcophagus lid of Amenhotpe III's immediate predecessor, Tuthmosis IV. The decoration of the under side, however, harks back to that seen in the lids of Sarcophagi F, E, and even D (see Plate XIX). Near the head-end, on the longitudinal axis is the familiar, rather small figure of Nüt; on each side of her a short, unbordered line of inscription (Text 48; for the general arrangement cf. Plate XIX E); and below her feet, descending down the axis of the field, a long vertical column of inscription which is Text 44—the second prayer to the goddess (cf. Plate XIX, D and F). The floor of the narrow rabbit around the outside of the under surface of the lid is not inscribed; but a frame is formed about the central field by two long texts which start at the center of the head-end and run continuously down either side of the field, terminating near the foot-end. This arrangement parallels not only the rabbit inscriptions on Sarcophagi E and F, but also the framing texts on the floor of Sarcophagus F (Plate XXV F).

Plate XX shows the lay-out of the decoration of the upper surface of the lid. As on that of the sarcophagus of Amenhotpe II (G) and, what is more interesting, as on those of the sarcophagi of Tut'ankhamün⁶⁶ and Horemheb, there is no figure of the goddess Nüt. The long central inscription, which runs from end to end of the lid, is, however, the familiar prayer addressed by the king to Nüt (Text 1 I). This column of text and the eight transverse columns are all bordered simply by incised vertical lines. The four transverse bands on the right side of the center column are (from the head-end) dedications of the king to Hapy, to Anubis-khenty-seh-nefer, to Horus-Avenger-of-his

⁶⁶ Carter: *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen*, ii, plate lxxv.

Father, and to Horus (Texts 8, 4, 6, and 7, respectively), those on the left side, similar dedications to Mesti, to Anubis-imy-wet, to Duamutef, and to Geb (Texts 2, 9, 5, and 11, respectively).

The wording of the transverse inscriptions is the same as heretofore; but the texts are *complete on the lid*, both the dedication proper and the title and name of the king being written in each of these bands. For example, Text 6 reads perfectly continuously, as follows:

"Honoured with Horus-Avenger-of-his-Father, the Osiris King Amenhotpe-Prince-of-Thebes, the justified."

On Sarcophagus A these texts are written in their entireties on the sides of the box (see Plate I). The next step is represented by Sarcophagi C-H, where the first parts of the texts are carried up on to the lid, only their second halves remaining on the sarcophagus proper. The final stage appears on the Amenhotpe III monument, whereon we see the two halves again united, both, however, being now written on the lid. On the later sarcophagus of Horemheb, also, both halves of the texts are written together; but, as on Sarcophagus A, between the panels on the sides of the box.

It is improbable that the same inscriptions or any part of them were repeated on the sides of the Amenhotpe III sarcophagus box; and that, therefore, in this respect, the decoration of the sarcophagus differed from that of the other monuments of the pre-Aten group.

The panelling of the upper surface of the lid, as heretofore, points to the supposition that the sides of the missing sarcophagus were also divided into panels, as are those of all other XVIII Dynasty sarcophagi now known. The single columns of inscription which divide the panels on the sides of the sarcophagus of Tut'ankhamūn are speeches by tutelary divinities,⁶⁷ and it is probable that the panels on the long sides of the sarcophagus of Amenhotpe III were separated one from another by similar speeches, each speech-column being placed below one of the transverse lid-bands and being, physically, a continuation of it.⁶⁸ Thus, as on the sarcophagi of Tuthmosis IV (H) and Tut'ankhamūn, there must have been five panels on each of the sides of the sarcophagus box of Amenhotpe III.

As indicated by the lid inscriptions, the second to fifth panels on the right side of the sarcophagus were dedicated to Hapy, Anubis-khenty-seh-netjer, Horus-Avenger-of-his-Father, and Horus, respectively; while those of the left

⁶⁷ Op. cit., plates lxiv-lxv. In plate lxiv it is possible to see that the vertical column between the first and second panels on the right side begins "Recitation by Osiris . . ."; while that between the fourth and last panels starts "Recitation by Geb. . . ." (See also Plate lxv); the intermediate verticals all beginning "Recitation by. . . ."

⁶⁸ On the long sides of the sarcophagus of Horemheb (Davis-Maspero-Dareasy: *The Tombs of Harmhabi and Touatankhamanou*, plates lxv, lxx, lxxi, lxxiii) the dedication to and the speech by each of the divinities are grouped together in one continuous inscription, the  ("Recitation") coming in every case before the dedicatory part of the text.

side were watched over by Mesti, Anubis-imy-wet, Duamutef, and Geb, in the order named. The substitution of Horus-Avenger-of-his-Father for the Genius Kebehsenuf is curious. The two forms of Anubis retain the positions held by them on Sarcophagi C, D, G, and H; and Horus and Geb are in the same places which they occupied on Sarcophagus H: the foot panels on the right and left sides, respectively. The Genii Mesti and Duamutef have been moved together to the left side, while Hapy replaces Mesti on the right side. The closest parallels to this lay-out in the pre-Aten series are Sarcophagus A and that of Tuthmosis IV, whereon all eight of the deities named, with the exception of Horus-Avenger-of-his-Father, appear. Both the deities and the respective positions held by them are, however, almost exactly duplicated on the sarcophagus of Horemheb (Fig. 15), made about forty-five years later, after the collapse of the Aten Heresy.⁶⁹

It is probable that the panels on the long sides of the sarcophagus of Amenhotpe III contained the usual divine figures, executed in sunken relief. The sarcophagus of Tuthmosis IV carries figures in the second, third, fourth, and fifth panels on each of its sides (Plate XIV). All of these, as we have seen, face towards the head-end, that is, towards the first panel on either side. As the Amenhotpe III sarcophagus also had five panels to a side, and since four deities are named in the transverse inscriptions on either side of its lid, it is likely that the arrangement and orientation of the figures in its side panels was the same as on its predecessor. Although the sarcophagus of Tut'ankhamun carries no figures, other than those of the four goddesses, worked in high relief on its corners; that of Horemheb has the usual *relief en creux* figures of the Four Genii and of the two Anubis forms in the panels on its long sides. The tradition for relief figures in these panels, therefore, survived the Aten Heresy or was revived after the return of orthodoxy; and there is certainly no reason to suppose that they were missing from a monument which was made before the upheaval took place.

Considerably more interesting than the decoration of the upper side of the Amenhotpe III lid is that of its under, or interior, surface (Plate XIX I). Derived, as we have seen, for the most part from the decorative scheme established for the under side of the lid on some of the earlier sarcophagi of the group, it displays a number of important innovations, many of which are interesting, not only in themselves, but because they have a distinct bearing on certain features of the decoration of the destroyed sarcophagus.

The Nût figure, carved in *relief en creux* near the head-end of the central field and lying along its longitudinal axis, is 45 cm. high. The goddess faces towards the right and her arms are, as usual, spread straight out to the sides.

⁶⁹ See Davis-Maspero-Daressy: *The Tombs of Harmhabi and Touatankhamon*, pp. 91-94, plates lxx-lxxiii. On the Horemheb sarcophagus, however, Kebehsenuf (not Horus-Avenger-of-his-Father) occupies the third panel on the right side (Davis-Maspero-Daressy: *Op. cit.*, plate lxx).

In almost every respect she is no more than a replica of the "embracing" female figures seen on the other sarcophagi of the series; but, unlike any of those encountered to date on the seven decorated royal monuments studied, she is winged. The wings are those of the *Nekhebet* vulture (*Gyps fulvus*) and are usually associated with the vulture-goddess *Nekhebet* of the Upper Egyptian city of el Kab. They are attached to the sides of the body of the goddess below the arm-pits and follow the arms out to the sides as far as the hands, where they sweep diagonally downwards and outwards, the tips of the great pinion feathers cutting into the lines of inscription which frame the field on its outer edges. The name of the goddess is carved over the head of the figure, a fact which suggests that the figures on the sides of the sarcophagus were, likewise, accompanied by their respective names. If this is so, the Amenhotpe III monument was the last royal sarcophagus of the XVIII Dynasty to adhere to this custom of affixing explanatory labels over the heads of the divinities represented. Though a regular feature of Sarcophagi C-G, it had already lapsed on the sarcophagus of Tuthmosis IV and does not occur on those of Ay or Horemheb, both of which carry relief figures.

Although references to deities as winged are by no means uncommon in Egyptian religious literature as early as the Pyramid Texts,⁷⁰ representations of winged deities are comparatively rare prior to the reign of Amenhotpe III, after which they become exceedingly popular. In all the cases where they do appear in Egyptian art, the principal function of the wings seems to have been not so much to enable their owner to fly as to provide shelter for the fortunate mortal whom the deity has chosen to protect. In the anthropoid, *ršh* ("feathered") coffins of the XVII and early XVIII Dynasties⁷¹ the entire form is represented as enveloped within a great pair of wings, which start at the shoulder blades and extend over the front, as far as the foot of the coffin. In the XVII Dynasty there also occurs on the lids of anthropoid coffins the *nekhebet* vulture, with wings outspread, which, in the mid-XVIII dynasty appears over the head of a figure of the Goddess Nūt, with outstretched arms (see below, p. 134). It is, doubtless, from a combination of these two motifs that the type of figure on the Amenhotpe III sarcophagus lid derives. Very shortly after the reign of Amenhotpe III, the winged-goddess type comes into its own, and on the main items of the tomb furniture of Tut'ankhamūn we see it everywhere, notably on the doors of the third and fourth of the gilded shrines,⁷² and on each corner of the sarcophagus,⁷³ this latter monument being

⁷⁰ *Pyr.* 250, 387, 461, 463, 594-6, 748, 976, 1048, 1122, 1176, 1235, 1254, 1370, 1377, 1742, 1948, 2043.

⁷¹ Winlock: *The Tombs of the Kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty at Thebes*, *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, x, 1924; plates xiv, xvi, xxi; Daressy: *Le cercueil du roi Kames*, *Annales du Service*, ix, pp. 61-3, and plate; Steindorff: *Die Königssärge mit dem Namen Inti*, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, xxxiii, pp. 84-87.

⁷² Carter: *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen*, ii, plates xiii, xiv, lviii, lix.

⁷³ *Op. cit.*, ii, plates xiv, xvi, lxiv, lxv.

completely encircled by the wings of its tutelary figures. The same winged goddesses also appear on the sarcophagi of Ay and Horemheb (Fig. 15); and from the end of the XVIII Dynasty onwards the winged goddess is one of the favourite motifs in Egyptian funerary art.

The central of the three vertical columns of inscription which descend from below the feet of the Nūt figure (Plate XIX I) is, as has been said, the usual "Second Prayer," spoken by the king to the goddess (Text 44 I). It differs here in no way from Text 44 as it appears on the other lids of the series.

The columns on either side of this prayer contain short excerpts from Chapter LXXII of the Book of the Dead (Text 30 I, lines i and xii; x, xi, and xiv). It is amusing to see how Amenhotpe's scribe has shortened the long spell down to what he considered its most pertinent parts. The passage selected reads:

(Right column)

"Recitation by the Son of Rē, of his body, Amenhotpe-hek-Wast: 'Homage to you, Lords of the *Kas*, free from evil! Give ye to me invocation (consisting of) incense and anointing oil.' "

(Left column)

" 'My father Atum has made a grant to me. He has established for me a house as of one who is on Earth. Northern corn and spelt are in it in unreckonable quantity; and festivals are made for me therein. . . ' "

From here on, until we reach a solitary hieroglyph, , at the end of the column, the inscription is missing, along with a great piece of the right side of the lid; but it is probable that the text went on through lines xiii and xiv of the Chapter, which continue to speak of the benefits to be received by the king in the After-World.

The eight short vertical columns of inscription over the head of the goddess contain a curious jumble of brief excerpts from some of our more common texts. Lines 4-8 (from the right), which I have taken as forming one continuous recitation (Text 46), contain a speech by Nūt—evidently an answer to the king's prayer on the upper side of the lid. It starts in a way which is reminiscent of Nūt's "answer" on the under sides of the lids of Sarcophagi E and F (Text 45), but soon switches to a section of a Nephthys speech (Text 15), and ends with a confused extract from a speech by Isis (Text 22). It may, however, be given a logical continuity, as follows:

"Recitation by Nūt: 'I have come that I may stretch (myself) over thee, that thy heart may live. I have encompassed the Osiris, King Nebma'trē, the justified, that I may make bright his eyes.' "

The text of lines 1-3 (Text 47) merely gives the names (prenomen and nomen) of Amenhotpe III, accompanied by a title and an epithet. It may

possibly belong at the end of Text 46, but is written before that text and reads in the opposite direction. It is:

"The Osiris, beloved of Nūt, the Good God, Nebma'trē, the Son of Rē, Amenhotpe-ḥek-Wast, the justified."

Texts 26 I and 36 I, which frame the whole of the field, are written horizontally. The two inscriptions start face to face at the center of the head-end and read away from one another, around the curve of the head and along each of the long sides of the inner, concave surface of the under side of the lid. Text 26 is a long speech by Osiris, Text 36 a similarly lengthy recitation by Nūt. Up until now these texts have been written along the tops of the long walls of the sarcophagus box on its exterior (see Plate XXIII). Since the repetition of the same text is rare on any one sarcophagus of the series, it is probable that a different pair of inscriptions topped the long walls of Amenhotpe III's sarcophagus, or that the usual horizontals at the tops of these walls were omitted. While it is true that the sarcophagus of Ḥoremḥeb (Fig. 15) displays our Texts 26 and 36 in their customary places on the sides of the box, that of Tut'ankhamūn has totally different texts in these places.⁷⁴ On the Amenhotpe III lid the two inscriptions occupy the same respective sides of the monument as heretofore: Text 26, the speech by Osiris, on the right, or west, side; and the Nūt speech, Text 36, on the left, or east, side. Text 36 I shows practically no variation from Text 36 C-H; but 26 I varies sufficiently from the version given from Sarcophagus C to warrant giving its translation here:

"Recitation by Osiris, the Great God, Prince of the West: 'My son, King Nebma'trē, my beloved heir, Amenhotpe-ḥek-Wast, thou hast fraternized with the Gods of the Hall. I have given to thee the necropoleis of the West, their arms behind thee. Mayest thou live forever!'"

The most arresting and, at the same time, the most interesting feature of the decoration of the under side of this lid is the pair of Wedjat Eyes, carved one on each side of the legs of the Nūt figure. The Eyes are placed at a distance of 78 cm. from the extreme head-end of the under side of the lid, and were probably calculated to lie immediately over the eyes of the mummy of the dead king, as it rested within the innermost of the three great anthropoid coffins which the three-meter sarcophagus must have contained. There can be no doubt but that the presence of the eyes here indicates, not a duplication, but an actual transference of the motif from the left side of the sarcophagus box to the much more logical position on the under side of its lid.⁷⁵ During the

⁷⁴ See Op. cit., ii, plates lxiv and lxvi.

⁷⁵ A transference which had already been made on the rectangular coffin of Maiherpri (reign of Amenhotpe II). On this coffin the Eyes appear nowhere on the box proper; but occupy the second panel from the head-end on the top of the lid (Daressy: *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois*, p. 2, plate i).

Middle Kingdom, when the deceased was regularly buried lying on his left side, there was every reason to represent his "Eyes" on the left side of the coffin or sarcophagus; but in the XVIII Dynasty, when the dead person was always interred lying on his back, their presence there could have served no utilitarian function and must be regarded merely as the result of a long established tradition. The fact that it was not until after a hundred years of sarcophagus designing, and only on the eighth decorated monument of our series, that the XVIII Dynasty designer was able to tear himself away from an antique tradition to the extent of carving the Eyes where they would be of some real use, is eloquently indicative of the conservatism of the ancient Egyptian in relation to matters funerary.

The short, unbordered, line of horizontal inscription written under the left Eye (the second part of Text 48: "I have placed thy heart in thy body for thee.") is not particularly illuminating. Under the right Eye, however, we read: "I have opened for thee *thine* eyes"—conclusive evidence that the sculptured motif was thought of, not as amuletic in nature, but as serving a real function: that of enabling the deceased occupant of the sarcophagus to look forth from his confinement, as with his own, physical eyes.

As on the majority of the monuments of the pre-Aten series, the names of Amenhotpe III, in the inscriptions on the lid of his sarcophagus, are confined to the two most common ones: the prenomen *Nebma'tr'ē*, and the invariable nomen *Amenhotpe-hek-Wast*. The prenomen appears eleven times—twice in Text 1 and once in each of Texts 2, 4, 5, 7, 26, 36, 44, 46, and 47; and the nomen, eight times (Texts 6, 8, 9, 11, 26, 30, 36, and 47). The prenomen alternates with the nomen in the four transverse columns of inscription on each side of the upper surface of the lid. Only four titles accompany the names of the king, but it is not unlikely that additional ones appeared on the now missing sarcophagus. The extant titles are the very common "King," "Good God," "Lord of the Two Lands," and "Son of Rē'."

Traces of bright yellow paint are still to be seen in some of the hieroglyphs on the Amenhotpe III lid. Otherwise, it is impossible to say with any assurance what or how many colours were originally used in its decoration. Since the lid is of attractively mottled, red, Aswān granite, and since no traces of any ground colour remain, it is probable that, unlike the quartzite monuments which preceded it, its unsculptured surfaces were left unpainted. The lid has, however, been repeatedly subjected to drenchings from the rains which have flooded the tomb from time to time since 1375 B.C. and large portions of its surfaces are still coated with a cement-like crust of mud, salt, lime, and bat dung—putting any definite statement as to its original colouring out of the question. (On the matter of ground colour, it should not be forgotten that Tut'ankhamūn's sarcophagus lid, although also of granite, is tinted to match its quartzite box.)⁷⁶

⁷⁶ Carter: Op. cit., ii, pp. 49-50.

The fine, thoroughly sophisticated draughtsmanship and the exquisite stone-cutting which typifies the work on all of the sarcophagi of the royal series appears in the decoration of Amenhotpe III's sarcophagus lid; but the monument is so smashed to pieces and so caked with filth that its appearance (Plate XVI) is far less prepossessing than are those of its more fortunate predecessors.

While the form of the sarcophagi of the kings of the XVIII Dynasty seems to have been regularly reserved for the royal monuments themselves (see above, p. 60-61), such was not the case either with the composition of their surface decoration or with the texts and figures used in the decorative scheme, both of which appear in the decoration of all the extant rectangular and anthropoid coffins of private individuals of the period covered by our series.

The very close similarity, both in form and decoration, of the sarcophagus of Senmūt, Ḥatshepsūt's favoured official, to those of his royal mistress is, of course, exceptional among the private monuments of the mid-XVIII Dynasty (see above, p. 47-48). The great lid cartouche and the smaller ones which frame many of the inscriptions on Ḥatshepsūt's sarcophagi are, naturally, omitted from Senmūt's; but otherwise there are few points of difference in composition, iconography, texts, style, or colouring between the private monument and the contemporary royal examples.

Probably far more typical of the decoration used on private coffins of the period is that of the small rectangular coffin of Gemesh, discovered at Medūm in 1930.⁷⁷ While the form of the modest wooden box, with its "gable-ended" lid, in no way resembles the great cartouche-plan sarcophagi of the Pharaohs of the Dynasty, its decorative scheme and many of its texts are the same as those which we have just been studying. There is a long vertical column down the center of the lid, from which branch transverse bands, containing dedications of Gemesh (whose name and epithets appear in the inter-panel verticals on the sides of the box) to Anubis and to the Four Genii of the Dead. These bands carry down on to the sides of the box and divide the sides into a series of panels, in which are painted figures of the deities invoked. The head-end panel on either side contains a Wedjat Eye, while in each foot-end panel is an Anubis animal, *couchant* upon a shrine. On the head-end of the box there is a figure of Nephthys, with arms outspread, standing upon a *neb* sign (☩); while a similar figure of Isis occupies the foot-end. The composition of the decoration as a whole is, as we have seen, an heirloom from the Middle Kingdom; but the transverse bands on the lid, the figures in the panels, and many of the texts chosen are unmistakable XVIII Dynasty features, seen altogether, until

⁷⁷ Rowe: *A Link between Egypt and Cyprus, A Cypriote's Tomb—and Other 18th Dynasty "Intrusive" Burials—in the Great Mastabah at Medūm*, *Illustrated London News*, April 5, 1930, pp. 564 and 565.

now, only on the royal sarcophagi of that Dynasty. The coffin is dated, by a scarab which it originally contained,⁷⁸ to the reign of Tuthmosis III.

Almost identical in decoration as well as in form is the much larger and more pretentious outer coffin of Maiherpri, Fan-Bearer to Amenhotpe II.⁷⁹ This coffin, a great rectangular box with a gable-ended lid, is made of wood and covered on the exterior with a thick coat of pitch, to which the decoration is applied in gold leaf. Near the head-end, on the lid, stands the familiar figure of Nūt, with arms outstretched to the sides. Below her feet, in a long vertical column, is our Text 1. The transverse bands are dedications of Maiherpri (whose name and titles are written in the inter-panel verticals on the sides of the box) to Mesti, Anubis-imy-wet, Duamutef, and Horus, on the right side; and to Hapy, Anubis-khenty-seh-nefer, Kebehsenuf, and Geb, on the left. The long horizontal inscription at the top of the right side of the box is Text 26—the Osiris recitation, here spoken by Geb—, while that in the corresponding place on the left side (but continued across the top of the foot-end) is Nūt's speech (Text 36). Text 15 is written across the top of the head-end, above a figure of Nephthys, standing upon a *nebyt* symbol. A similar figure of Isis occupies the foot-end. In the panels on the sides are figures of Anubis and of the Four Genii (Hapy, Duamutef, and Kebehsenuf, as well as the Anubis forms, with zoöomorphic heads). The first panels are occupied by Anubis animals on shrines. Especially interesting, in view of the recent discussion of the decoration of the sarcophagus lid of Amenhotpe III, is the fact that the pair of Wedjat Eyes are represented on the *lid* of the Maiherpri coffin, between the first and second pair of transverse bands. Thus, we see that a designer of private coffins—probably less bound down by tradition than were his colleagues who decorated the royal monuments—was the first to make the very logical change in the position of the Eyes, noted in connection with the Amenhotpe III lid.

The enormous outer coffins, or "canopies,"⁸⁰ of Yuaa⁸¹ (Fig. 14) and Thuiu,⁸² the parents-in-law of Amenhotpe III, carry, with a few minor exceptions, the same decoration as that of Maiherpri. Texts 12 and 20 appear on the head- and foot-ends, respectively, of the Yuaa coffin; while Texts 15 and 22 occupy the corresponding positions on that of Thuiu. The Thuiu monument omits the inter-panel columns on its sides and the transverse bands on its lid, having in place of the latter and in addition to the usual central column of inscription (Text 1), two other longitudinal columns, one on each side, containing Texts 26 and 36. The long horizontals at the tops of the sides of the box, heretofore occupied by these texts, contain others—speeches by the "Regions

⁷⁸ Op. cit., p. 564.

⁷⁹ Daressy: *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois*, pp. 1-3, plate 1.

⁸⁰ Quibell: *Tomb of Yuua and Thuiu*, p. 1.

⁸¹ Op. cit., pp. 1-3, plate 1.

⁸² Op. cit., pp. 17-20, plates vii-viii.

of the West" and by the "Goodly West." Quite possibly these latter recitations also topped the side walls of the missing sarcophagus of Amenhotpe III; for, it will be remembered, Texts 26 and 36 there, as on the Thuiu monument, are written on the lid (on its under side). As on Maiherpri's coffin, the Wedjat Eyes appear on the upper surface of the Thuiu lid. At the ends of the two long sides of the coffin are single vertical columns of inscription, interesting because each of them is a speech by one of the Four Genii of the Dead, and because they are the same set of recitations made by these deities on the royal sarcophagi (Texts 29, 32, 39, and 41). As on the royal sarcophagi, the figures of all the Genii have human heads. The side walls of the interior of the coffin are covered with closely spaced columns of inscription, containing, among others, the Seventy-second Chapter of the Book of the Dead.⁸³

The outer coffins of the architect Kh' and of Meryt, his wife, which are similar in form to those of Maiherpri, Yuua, and Thuiu and similarly coated with pitch, are undecorated.⁸⁴ Of the same type was the outer coffin of the Princess 'Aḥmose and of that of Imhotep, Mayor of Thebes (both XVIII Dynasty), only fragments of which, however, have been found.⁸⁵

So far the discussion of mid-XVIII Dynasty private monuments has been confined to the rectangular outer coffins, which, by reason of their general form and their functions as protective outer casings, are the closest parallels to the royal stone sarcophagi. As regards decoration pure and simple, however, the four sets of anthropoid cases which the last four of these great rectangular coffins contained, inconsistent as it may seem, approach much nearer to the contemporary royal type than do their containers; for, not only do they display all the features of the royal sarcophagus decoration, already noted on the rectangular coffins, but, in addition, many of them⁸⁶ have speeches made by the deities written in vertical columns in the panels, immediately in front of the figures—thus making the parallelism with the decoration of the royal monuments complete. Of these elaborately decorated anthropoid cases, Maiherpri had three;⁸⁷ Kh', two;⁸⁸ Meryt, one;⁸⁹ Yuua, three;⁹⁰ and Thuiu, two.⁹¹ Space does not permit anything like a detailed comparison of the

⁸³ Op. cit., p. 20, plate viii.

⁸⁴ Schiaparelli: *La tomba intatta dell'architetto Cha, Relazione sui lavori della missione archeologica italiana in Egitto, Anni 1903-1920, volume ii (1927), pp. 17-20, fig. 18, p. 28, fig. 27.*

⁸⁵ Schiaparelli: *Relazione sui lavori*, etc., volume i, pp. 18 and 25.

⁸⁶ Namely: the outer and inner anthropoid coffins of Kh' (Schiaparelli: Op. cit., ii, p. 20 ff, fig. 23); the second anthropoid coffin of Yuua (Quibell: *Tomb of Yuua and Thuiu*, pp. 5-10, plate iii); the outer and second anthropoid coffins of Thuiu (Quibell: Op. cit., pp. 20-23, plate ix, pp. 23-27, plate x).

⁸⁷ Daressy: *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois*, Nos. 24002-4, pp. 4-7, plate ii.

⁸⁸ Schiaparelli: Op. cit., ii, p. 20 ff., figs. 21-24.

⁸⁹ Loc. cit.

⁹⁰ Quibell: *Tomb of Yuua and Thuiu*, Nos. 51002-4, pp. 4-17, plates ii-iv.

⁹¹ Op. cit., Nos. 51006-7, pp. 20-27, plates ix-x.

decoration of these excellently preserved coffins with that of the royal sarcophagi; but a few points of outstanding interest may be noted in passing.

Whereas the rectangular coffin of Maiherpri carries the Wedjat Eyes on the top of the lid, on the second of his anthropoid coffins they appear in their old position: set in a small rectangular frame in the first panel on the left side of the box.⁹²

The third, or innermost, anthropoid coffin of Maiherpri has a Nüt figure, with outstretched arms, drawn on the under side of its lid—similar to the ones on the under sides of the lids of Sarcophagi C, D, E, and F.

A *Nekhebet* vulture, with outspread wings and grasping a *shen* sign in either claw, is painted above the top end of Text 1 on the upper sides of the lids of both the anthropoid coffins of Kh⁹³ and of the outer anthropoid coffin of Yuaa.⁹⁴ This motif, which appears on anthropoid coffin lids as early as the XVII Dynasty,⁹⁵ is, on the second and third anthropoid coffins of Yuaa,⁹⁶ set over the head of a figure of the goddess Nüt, with arms outstretched, standing upon a *nebyt* sign. On the lids of the two anthropoid cases of Thuiu the two motifs are combined and we see a kneeling figure of Nüt, with arms outspread, and, attached to the body under the arms, a pair of great vulture wings. Nüt figures are known on the lids of anthropoid coffins which date at least as early as the reign of Tuthmosis I (Fig. 22), but the design on the Thuiu coffins is the first extant example of the winged figure—a motif which may have developed in the manner outlined above. These figures on the anthropoid coffins of private individuals, all of whom died in the reign of Amenhotpe III, form, at all events, interesting parallels to the winged Nüt figure on the under side of that king's sarcophagus lid.

All of these anthropoid coffins have the inscribed longitudinal strap down the center of the lid and the inscribed transverse bands running around the body, and are therefore excellent illustrations of the distribution of Texts 1-11 over a coffin or sarcophagus so as to form a replica of the lay-out of the binding straps of the bandaged mummy—far better illustrations, in fact, than the class of coffins shown in Figs. 22-23, which were chosen, however, because they antedate the first of the royal sarcophagi whereon this effect is attempted.

The principal points brought out in this chapter in regard to the origin, development, and affinities of the decoration of the XVIII Dynasty, pre-Atenian series of royal sarcophagi may be briefly summarized as follows:

The two main bases of the scheme of the decoration of the royal sarcophagi

⁹² Daressy: *Fouilles*, plate ii, p. 5.

⁹³ Schiaparelli: *Relazione*, ii, p. 20 ff., figs. 21 and 22

⁹⁴ Quibell: *Op. cit.*, pp. 4-5, plate ii.

⁹⁵ For example, on the lid of the coffin of King Sekenenrē Ta'o (Winlock: *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, x, pp. 248-9, plate xvi; Daressy: *Cercueils des Cachettes Royales*, pp. 1-2, plates i-ii).

⁹⁶ Quibell: *Op. cit.*, plates iii and iv.

of the XVIII Dynasty—that is to say: the conception of the sarcophagus as a house wherein the dead person was to dwell and the conception of the deceased as surrounded by a circle of protective deities—date back to the very beginnings of formal funerary art in Egypt.

These two principles, perpetuated in the decoration of the rectangular wooden coffins of the Middle Kingdom, are handed on, through them, to the XVIII Dynasty group, the earliest example of which (Sarcophagus A) is little more than a replica in stone of one of its wooden predecessors of the XI–XII Dynasties.

With Sarcophagus C the Middle Kingdom scheme is embellished by the addition of figures of the deities heretofore only mentioned, of speeches addressed by the deities to the deceased Pharaoh, and of transverse bands on the lid, which, joined with the old inter-panel verticals on the sides of the box, give the effect of inscribed mummy-straps.

Through Sarcophagi D to F the development is an unbroken one, consisting principally in the gradual rationalization of the decorative scheme as established in Sarcophagus C. Redundant elements are eliminated, new features are introduced, and inconsistencies are corrected; until, with the sarcophagus of Tuthmosis III, the climax—from the point of view of rationalism of design, proper articulation and coordination of the parts of the decorative lay-out—is reached.

The now fully developed scheme is greatly simplified on the sarcophagus of Amenhotpe II (G), where we see the designer deliberately discarding many of the features perfected by his predecessor in order to obtain a pleasing decorative effect.

With Sarcophagus H, the enormous increase in the size of the monument and the radical changes in its proportions required slight revisions in and numerous additions to the decorative plan; so that, in spite of the fact that, like Sarcophagus G, its interior is completely undecorated, this sarcophagus carries as many texts and figures as any monument of the group.

The decoration of the sarcophagus-lid of Amenhotpe III (I), the last monument of the series, is interesting because, although it still adheres closely to the established plan and even reverts in some particulars to the scheme as exemplified in some of the earlier sarcophagi of the group, it displays a number of features which carry over the Aten Heresy and appear in the three royal sarcophagi made at the close of the Dynasty.

We are, thus, able to trace in eight continuous steps the development of XVIII Dynasty royal sarcophagus decoration from its origin in the pure Middle Kingdom tradition to its passing over into the full blown New Empire type as represented by the monuments of the post-Aten Pharaohs. Throughout, however, it is impossible to lose sight of the fact that the basic scheme—springing as it does from the very essence of ancient Egyptian funerary belief—remains unchanged.

From the point of view of the XVIII Dynasty Egyptian by far the most important, in fact, the *essential* feature of what we term the "decoration" of the sarcophagi were the hieroglyphic texts. The texts are of three types: 1) Dedications of the deceased to a chosen set of deities, 2) prayers for protection addressed by the deceased to the deities, and 3) speeches assuring protection addressed by the deities to the deceased. The greater part of these "Sarcophagus Texts" are the same as those which were used extensively on the exteriors of Middle Kingdom coffins, many of them being derived ultimately from the Old Kingdom collection of magico-religious spells, the so-called *Pyramid Texts*. On Sarcophagus C we see a number of excerpts from the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Inscriptions combined to form a long and continuous spell, which we recognize as a "chapter" of the Middle Kingdom and New Empire collection of spells, the Book of the Dead. In the early part of the XVIII Dynasty this "book" was still in a formative state; and the fact that complete chapters from it appear on the earlier of our sarcophagi—in the midst of an assortment of short coffin inscriptions—and on no other class of contemporary monuments, indicates the important part played by the sarcophagi in the formation of the New Empire version (so-called "Theban Recension") of the Book. It is, perhaps, not too much to say that their repertory of texts forms the link between the Middle Kingdom coffin inscriptions (including the few scattered chapters found on these coffins) and the elaborate papyrus-roll selections of spells (Books of the Dead) which were immediately to become popular. Significant in this respect is the fact that one spell found in the Book of the Dead (Chapter CLI) parallels absolutely the decoration of the royal sarcophagi, being composed exclusively of the particular set of speeches which occurs on these monuments. As the series progresses, fully formed chapters of the Book become more and more common, so that, whereas one only is found on Sarcophagus C, Sarcophagus H carries as many as five, all of which now find parallels in the half-dozen or so extant papyrus-roll Books of the Dead which had come into being between the reign of Hatshepsut and that of Tuthmosis IV.

Unlike their form, material, and distinctive colouring, neither the decorative scheme nor the texts of the sarcophagi seem to have been special prerogatives of the royal monuments, for the same decorative lay-out and the same texts appear on nearly every one of the contemporary private coffins.

The iconography, the style, and the execution of the figures, of the hieroglyphic signs in the inscriptions, and of the other motifs on this group of monuments betray the characteristics of the artists, or, more properly, the artisans whose work they are. Only in their style do the figures and hieroglyphs differ from those executed a thousand years earlier. The style throughout the series is one and the same, the style of the decorative elements on any one sarcophagus being that of a period, rather than that of a single reign or, even less,

of a single artisan. To conform, as closely as his design permitted him, to the established tradition seems to have been the sole aim of the court sculptor; with the result that the individuality of any one artisan or, for that matter, of any one atelier was completely submerged in the standard set up by the whole school of early New Empire, formal religious art. Even more unwavering than the adherence to a fixed stylistic format is the maintenance throughout the series of an extraordinarily high quality of workmanship. From Sarcophagus A to Sarcophagus I there appears, without a single let-down, the same assured, clean, precise, and uncannily regular draughtsmanship and stone-cutting.

Of major importance is the fact that the development of the *decoration* of the royal sarcophagi checks absolutely with that of their *form* and makes doubly sure the order and grouping of the monuments established on the basis of the latter in Chapter II. The three Hatshepsut sarcophagi form a compact group of their own at the very beginning of the series. Sarcophagus A, on the evidence of its decoration as well as on that of its form, is the earliest of the group and of the entire series. Then follows Hatshepsut's second sarcophagus (C) (made for her as king and altered at her command for Tuthmosis I), wherein we see the XVIII Dynasty royal type established, but still in an embryonic stage of development. In spite of its extreme similarity to that of its predecessor, the decoration of Sarcophagus D is evidently more advanced. The unbroken development of the decoration of the three sarcophagi at the end of the series (G, H, and I) shows clearly that they follow one another, as was naturally to be expected, in the same order as the Pharaohs who commanded their manufacture: Amenhotpe II, Tuthmosis IV, and Amenhotpe III. At the middle of the series, both later than Sarcophagus D and both earlier than Sarcophagus G, come the twin monuments, E and F, made in the latter half of the reign of Tuthmosis III and by the same group of scribes and artisans. F is the sarcophagus of Tuthmosis III; while E is the Cairo sarcophagus of Tuthmosis I—a monument which every particle of evidence so far examined shows to have been made for him long after his death, unquestionably later than his Boston sarcophagus (C), and at the express command of his grandson, Tuthmosis III.

To what extent these conclusions are checked by the external data which we possess concerning the period covered by the group of sarcophagi, and what bearings the order and characteristics of the monuments have on the history of that brilliant epoch forms the subject of the chapter immediately to follow.

CHAPTER IV

THE ROYAL SARCOPHAGI IN RELATION TO THE HISTORY OF THE XVIII DYNASTY; GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The discussion which is to follow deals with the history of the XVIII Dynasty from about the year 1520 B.C. (the death of Tuthmosis I) to the year 1375 B.C. (the death of Amenhotpe III)—insofar as it is related in any way to the nine royal sarcophagi made within that period—, special attention being devoted to those years in which fall the reigns of Tuthmosis II, Hatshepsüt, and Tuthmosis III (1520-1447 B.C.), and special emphasis being placed upon the known historical data which has a bearing on the date and authorship of Sarcophagus E.

Whatever our views may be as regards the order of the royal succession between the accession of Tuthmosis I and the independent reign of Tuthmosis III, no one has ever attempted to deny the fact that, at some time subsequent to the death of Tuthmosis I, Hatshepsüt and Tuthmosis III ruled Egypt together and that, immediately following the end of their joint reign, Tuthmosis III reigned alone over a long period of years.¹

Two more facts of which we may be perfectly certain are: 1) that Tuthmosis III obtained supreme control over Egypt only after many years of humiliating subordination to Hatshepsüt and only as the result of a long and bitter struggle against his royal aunt and against the capable members of her party;² and 2) that, as a result of this, he came to independent power with a loathing for Hatshepsüt, her partisans, her monuments, her name, and her very memory which practically beggars description. Probably, the monuments of no other ruler have been submitted to such ferocious and methodical persecution as that which Hatshepsüt's suffered at the hands of Tuthmosis III.³ By him and by his successors long after him she was always regarded as the vilest type of usurper, and her name is omitted from every list of the kings of Egypt which we now possess.

Altogether different from his attitude towards Hatshepsüt were the feelings evinced by Tuthmosis III towards the memory of her father, Tuthmosis I,

¹ Meyer: *Geschichte des Altertums*, ii, 1, pp. 77 and 120; Breasted: *History of Egypt*, p. 267; Winlock: *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, February 1928, Section ii, pp. 47-48, 58.

² Meyer: *Op. cit.*, p. 120; Breasted: *Op. cit.*, pp. 282-283; Winlock: *Op. cit.*, p. 58.

³ Meyer: *Loc. cit.*; Breasted: *Loc. cit.*; Winlock: *Bull. Met. Mus. Art*, December 1923, Part ii, p. 32, February 1928, Section ii, p. 44 ff., December 1928, Section ii, p. 8.

who was also, be it remembered, his own grandfather. Respectful devotion to one's ancestors was at all times the most elaborately protested virtue of a king of Egypt; and Tuthmosis III was no exception to the rule. His first duty was, of course, to honour his own father, Tuthmosis II, from whom he had inherited the throne. It is probable that he had never actually seen Tuthmosis I alive. Yet, in the XVIII Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu it is the name of his grandfather which we find him inscribing over the erased cartouches of Ḥatshepsūt;⁴ and even at Deir el-Bahri he occasionally replaces the names of his former co-regent with those of Tuthmosis I.⁵ At Karnak he restored the inscriptions of Tuthmosis I on the 9th pylon, again setting the names of his grandfather over those of Ḥatshepsūt.⁶ In the sanctuary of Ḥatshepsūt's temple at Deir el-Bahri he permitted himself to be represented as kneeling and making offerings to the deceased Tuthmosis I;⁷ and on a stela dating from his reign, now in the Cairo Museum, he is shown standing in adoration before a figure of his grandfather.⁸ In his *Annals* for the Thirty-Third Year he records with pride that he erected a tablet next to the "tablet of his *father*, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, 'Akheperkarē'" (Tuthmosis I).⁹ It is therefore clear that Tuthmosis III not only recognized Tuthmosis I as unquestionably legitimate king of Egypt, but also held his memory in the greatest reverence and took pleasure in claiming descent from him.

What his feelings must have been when the hated Ḥatshepsūt broke open the tomb of Tuthmosis I and removed the body of the king, one of his coffins, and some of his funerary equipment to her own tomb we can well imagine. Tuthmosis III must have been well aware of the fact that the sarcophagus in which Tuthmosis I was subsequently buried was one of Ḥatshepsūt's own and that she had advertised her act of filial piety—i.e. the providing of her father with a stone sarcophagus—in monumental hieroglyphs on the side of the monument.

That, knowing all these facts, upon finding himself supreme master of Egypt he should have permitted the body of his revered ancestor and predecessor on the throne to lie buried in the tomb—in the very sarcophagus—of the accursed usurper is, to the mind of the writer, incredible. That, in restoring the body of Tuthmosis I to the latter's own tomb, he should have publicly proved himself less generous in providing a sarcophagus than Ḥatshepsūt had been is equally hard to believe. On the contrary, one would expect him to have striven to surpass his former co-regent in lavishness and to have scorned the

⁴ Lepsius: *Denkmäler*, iii, 27, 1, 2; Champollion: *Monuments*, 195; Petrie: *History of Egypt*, ii, pp. 65 and 131.

⁵ Naville: *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, ii, 25, 27; Sethe: *Urkunden*, iv, p. 296; Meyer: *Geschichte des Altertums*, ii, 1, p. 110, note 1.

⁶ Maspero: *Mélanges d'archéologie égyptienne*, i, 46; Petrie: *History of Egypt*, ii, p. 66.

⁷ Naville: *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, v, plates cxliii and cxlv.

⁸ *Musée égyptien*, ii.

⁹ Sethe: *Urkunden*, iv, p. 697.

shoddy expedient of "doing over" a second-half monument or of failing to provide one at all.

Tuthmosis I's outer coffin, discarded by Hatshepsût, was presumably still lying in the king's tomb. Anything short of the sacrilege committed by Hatshepsût demanded its use in the king's second reburial. It was, however, too long to fit into any of the existent royal sarcophagi. The ordering of a new sarcophagus was, for every conceivable reason, demanded, and one can hardly avoid the conclusion that Tuthmosis III *did* order the making of one—the one which Loret found in the tomb of Tuthmosis I—a sarcophagus ordered from the measurements of Tuthmosis I's outer coffin (see above, p. 53), a monument as worthy of its incumbent as it was of its donor.

It was a costly gesture, but the expense of quarrying the monument would have been lessened appreciably by the fact that Tuthmosis III was probably at this time planning his own sarcophagus and that the same quarry gang and the same stonebarge could have accounted for both of the necessary blocks simultaneously.

Having seen that Tuthmosis III had every conceivable motive for making a sarcophagus for Tuthmosis I—indeed, could scarcely have failed, with any self-respect, to have done so—it now remains to deal with the possibility of the Cairo Museum's sarcophagus having been prepared for the *original* burial of Tuthmosis I.

Oddly enough, it is the somewhat enigmatical dedication inscriptions on the monument which are definitive in making this supposition untenable. On the face of it, the words "It was his *son* who . . . made for him this . . . monument" would seem to refer to Tuthmosis II. Actually, it is this very phrase which makes it impossible that Tuthmosis II should have had any connection with Sarcophagus E at all.

The fact is that, although Tuthmosis II and Hatshepsût supervised the actual funeral of Tuthmosis I, it was Tuthmosis I *himself* who prepared almost all of his own funerary equipment: his tomb, his three anthropoid coffins, and even some of the alabaster jars which were to be used in his burial.¹⁰ Now, we know that, in the XVIII Dynasty, the sarcophagus was not only by far the most important single item of tomb furniture, but was the feature of the burial equipment which was almost invariably executed first—usually being finished before the tomb itself had been completed (see above, p. 36-37). Since, as the dedications definitely prove, the sarcophagus found by Loret in the tomb of Tuthmosis I was not made by that king himself,¹¹ we are, then, forced to one

¹⁰ Sethe: *Urkunden*, iv, 53-62 (20); Daressy: *Cercueils des cachettes royales*, No. 61025, pp. 50-63, plates xxviii-xxxiv; Daressy: *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois*, No. 24976, p. 300; Cairo Museum, *Journal d'entrée*, No. 33864.

¹¹ This monument and the other (Hatshepsût-) Tuthmosis I sarcophagus (C) being the only examples of the entire series which were not made during the lifetime of the person for whom they were eventually intended.

of two conclusions: Either Tuthmosis I prepared for himself a sarcophagus which has since totally disappeared, or—what is far more likely—he *never intended to have a sarcophagus at all and was not, in his first interment, buried in one*. Whatever our decision may be on this point, it is clear that the Cairo sarcophagus cannot have been used in the original burial of Tuthmosis I; that, therefore, Tuthmosis II could have had no hand whatsoever in its preparation; and that the phrase *s3.f* ("his son") must refer to the only other Egyptian who ever called himself the son of Tuthmosis I—i.e. Tuthmosis III.

The facts listed above, in conjunction with the evidence derived from the monument itself (See Chapters II–III)—especially as regards its logical position in the series—, make it fairly certain that the Cairo sarcophagus of Tuthmosis I, long accepted as being contemporary with the tomb in which it was found and with the original burial of the king, is actually nothing of the sort, but was made by Tuthmosis I's grandson many years after his death and placed in his long deserted tomb by that grandson.

The same must be true of the base-block on which the sarcophagus stood, no example of which, earlier than the kingship of Ḥatshepsūt, has yet been found;¹² and of the quartzite canopic box found with the sarcophagus and clearly a product of the same atelier which produced the larger monument.¹³

Since, then, Sarcophagus E was made during the independent reign of Tuthmosis III and Sarcophagus C (Tuthmosis I, in Boston) was made for Ḥatshepsūt after she had become "king" of Egypt, it is clear that Sarcophagus A, completed for Ḥatshepsūt while she was still only royal consort, is the earliest monument of the series.

Four very important considerations indicate that it is also the earliest royal, stone sarcophagus made in the New Empire and that 'Aḥmose I, Amenhotpe I, and Tuthmosis I were all originally buried in wooden coffins only.

In the first place, Sarcophagus A (like the slightly later, but nearly contemporary Sarcophagus B) is an exact replica in stone of a Middle Kingdom rectangular wooden coffin (see above, pp. 45–46, 48–50 and 66). So close is the imitation that several features of the form of the wooden original, although totally unsuited to a stone monument, are, nevertheless, copied in this quartzite sarcophagus. In short: no adaptation of the XI–XII Dynasty wooden model has as yet taken place in the XVIII Dynasty monument; and, were it not for the names of Ḥatshepsūt inscribed on the sarcophagus, it might well be taken as dating from the Middle Kingdom. It is, in view of this fact, impossible to suppose a stone predecessor to the Ḥatshepsūt sarcophagus in

¹² The earliest example of base-block being that found with Ḥatshepsūt's third sarcophagus (D), made about 1495 B.C. The inscribed slabs found in the antechamber of Ḥatshepsūt's first tomb cannot, as we have seen above (p. 17, 21), be regarded as pieces of a plinth for Sarcophagus A. No blocks of any kind were found with either Sarcophagi B or C.

¹³ Cairo Museum, *Journal d'entree*, No. 52460; Winlock: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, xv, pp. 57–8, plate xiv.

the XVIII Dynasty; for some adaptation to the material, some development in the form and decoration would almost certainly have taken place between the making of the hypothetical earlier monument and the making of Sarcophagus A. We have already seen what marked and important developments over the form and decoration of Sarcophagus A appear in Sarcophagus C—a monument likewise made for Hatshepsūt (probably by the same atelier which produced Sarcophagus A) and certainly not long after her earliest sarcophagus.

The fact that no trace of an original sarcophagus of Tuthmosis I was found in his tomb or elsewhere is practically definitive in proving that there never was one. Wooden coffins were, of course, natural prey to decay or to the prevalent wood-thief, and, of the thirty or so XVIII Dynasty kings' coffins, which must have at one time existed, only six are now extant—two of the extant examples, incidentally, being those of Tuthmosis I (see above, p. 14-15). The stone sarcophagus, on the other hand, is subject to no decay or natural disintegration; is too ponderous a monument to make its removal from the tomb, for any reason, worth while; is of a material which in Egypt is more plentiful than any other and therefore of no worth to the plunderer; and, owing to its form, is useless for any purpose except the one for which it was made. It cannot be mere coincidence that the king's sarcophagus has been found—complete or represented by large fragments—in every royal tomb from *Hatshepsūt's time onwards*, hitherto discovered. Even in the unique case of the sarcophagus of Senmūt, which was maliciously smashed to pieces solely in order to do violence to the memory of its owner, fully half of the original monument has been recovered in Senmūt's tomb and its vicinity.¹⁴

It is unthinkable that Tuthmosis III should have removed a sarcophagus made by Tuthmosis I from the latter's own tomb in order to make room for the one which he himself had executed for his grandfather's reburial. Indeed, the mere fact that Tuthmosis III did go to the trouble and expense of ordering Sarcophagus E—especially, since he showed no hesitation in using Tuthmosis I's original anthropoid coffins¹⁵—indicates clearly that there could have been no original sarcophagus of Tuthmosis I in the tomb. Otherwise, Tuthmosis III would surely have used it in the reburial, as he did the coffins. Certainly, one cannot conceive of his doing away with the monument to the extent that not a scrap of it remains.

Finally, there is the evidence of the tomb of Amenhotpe I, Tuthmosis I's immediate predecessor on the throne, which, when opened by Carter in 1914, was found to contain not a single trace of a sarcophagus, although numerous fragments of other articles used in the king's burial were discovered.¹⁶

¹⁴ Winlock: *Bull. Met. Mus. Art*, February, 1928, Section ii, p. 56; March 1932, p. 22, Figure 15.

¹⁵ In the outer of which the mummy of Tuthmosis I was eventually found in the Deir el-Bahri Cache. See above, p. 14.

¹⁶ Carter: *Journ. Eg. Arch.* iii, pp. 147-154, plates xvii-xxiii.

The tomb of 'Ahmose I has not yet been found; but, in view of the evidence presented above, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that none of the three first kings of the XVIII Dynasty had stone sarcophagi; in short, that the royal stone sarcophagus definitely did not come into use in the XVIII Dynasty until after the death of Tuthmosis I.

Although Sarcophagus A is the earliest royal sarcophagus made in the XVIII Dynasty, it must, then post-date the death and burial of Tuthmosis I.

On it, however, Hatshepsut still bears the titles of royal consort and the single, personal name *Hatshepsut*. She could not, therefore, have assumed the names and titles of "king" until Tuthmosis I had been dead for an appreciable length of time. Hence, it is patently impossible that, as Sethe¹⁷ suggests, Tuthmosis I should have regained the throne *after* Hatshepsut, with Tuthmosis III as co-regent, had ruled Egypt in her own right for a number of years; and equally impossible that he should have *himself* written his names over the kingly prenomen Ma'tkarë and the kingly nomen Hatshepsut-khnemet-Amun in Hatshepsut's Deir el-Bahri temple. Since it is only under these names and only with the full titles of a king that Hatshepsut is ever mentioned at Deir el-Bahri, it is, indeed, perfectly clear that this temple—the erased and recut inscriptions of which form the basis of Sethe's reconstruction, was not even built until long after Tuthmosis I had died.

From the inscriptions on the alabaster and crystalline limestone jars from the tomb of Tuthmosis I (see above, pp. 13 and 20-21) it seems certain, as Winlock¹⁸ has pointed out, that Tuthmosis I was buried by Tuthmosis II and Hatshepsut, acting together. The same inscriptions prove that, at the time, Tuthmosis II was king of Egypt; and suggest the association of Hatshepsut with him as his queen. Other evidence, brought forward by Winlock¹⁹ and Meyer,²⁰ has shown this association to be practically certain.

The fact that Sarcophagus A was completely executed at the time when both it and the unfinished sarcophagus of Tuthmosis II (B) were abandoned in their respective tombs has been demonstrated above (pp. 16, 17, 36, 75-76). Since cessation of work on the latter monument can only have been occasioned by the death of Tuthmosis II, it follows that Sarcophagus A must have been completed before Tuthmosis II died and that its abandonment must also have been associated with his death. On the sarcophagus (C) which Hatshepsut had made to replace Sarcophagus A she appears, no longer as queen, but with the full titulary of a king of Egypt. The logical conclusion suggested by these clearly inter-dependant events is that, at the moment of the death of Tuthmosis II and the succession of the youthful Tuthmosis III, Hatshepsut saw the opportunity to advance her position, to discard her titles of "queen,"

¹⁷ *Die Thronwirren unter den Nachfolgern Thutmosis I.*, p. 17 ff.

¹⁸ *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, xv, p. 60.

¹⁹ *Loc. cit.*, Note 4.

²⁰ *Geschichte des Altertums*, ii, 1, p. 112, Note 1.

and to assume those of "king"; and that it was with this in view that she abandoned the tomb and sarcophagus made for her as queen and started immediately to plan those which would be suited to her impending rank as king—both of the latter monuments (tomb and sarcophagus) being completed in the early years of her co-regency with Tuthmosis III.

The historical facts so far established, largely on the basis of the royal sarcophagi, may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. When Tuthmosis I died he was succeeded by his son, Tuthmosis II, and by his daughter, Ḥatshepsūt, who together supervised his burial.
2. During the entire reign of Tuthmosis II, which lasted from the death of Tuthmosis I to his own death, Ḥatshepsūt was associated with him as his queen.
3. From the time of the death of Tuthmosis I to that of the death of Tuthmosis II Ḥatshepsūt bore no higher title than "Great Royal Wife."
4. Immediately coincident with the death of Tuthmosis II, and obviously as a result of it, Ḥatshepsūt saw her way clear to eventually discarding the titles of "queen" and assuming those of "king."

It was about 1502 B.C. when Tuthmosis II died.²¹ His mummy shows him not only to have been fairly young at the time, but to have been of a frail and sickly constitution (see above, p. 15, note 60). These considerations, coupled with the evident haste attendant upon the attempt to make his only partially executed sarcophagus ready for occupancy (see above, p. 50), suggest that he died of a sudden illness. The condition of complete unreadiness in which both his sarcophagus and tomb were found indicates that this illness was of no very long duration. The fact that neither tomb nor sarcophagus seem to have been occupied by Tuthmosis II, or by any royal personage (see above, p. 15-16), is not surprising. Ḥatshepsūt was the only living adult member of the royal family at the time of her husband's death. The responsibility of his burial naturally fell on her. Since, however, she seems to have borne not the slightest trace of affection for Tuthmosis II and since, at the time of his death, her every waking thought must have been taken up with the stabilization of the government and the consolidation of her own position, one could hardly have expected her to have had either the inclination or the opportunity to make elaborate preparations for Tuthmosis II's burial. Now, to prepare the Tuthmosis II tomb and sarcophagus for occupancy would have required a considerable length of time and no small outlay of money and labour. It is, therefore, logical to suppose that Ḥatshepsūt allowed the tomb of her husband to remain in the state in which his death had left it and buried him—probably quite decently and with whatever of his funerary equipment happened to be ready at the time—in some secret cranny in the Valley of the Kings. Neither

²¹ That Tuthmosis II ruled at least eighteen years is proved by a fragmentary inscription (Daressy *Annales du Service*, i, p. 99), dated to the 18th Year of his reign.

this burial place nor—as we should expect—one single fragment of any item of Tuthmosis II's funerary equipment has yet been found. The fact, however, that his mummy was discovered, in a Late coffin, in the Deir el-Bahri Cache (see above, p. 15) along with the mummies of Tuthmosis I and III, whose tombs are in the vicinity of his in the royal valley, indicates that this actual burial-place is at no very great distance from his tomb.

Even during the lifetime of Tuthmosis II, Ḥatshepsūt, although acting officially only as queen consort, seems, in actuality, to have taken over the reins of government to a large extent.²² Much older than Tuthmosis II, who cannot have been more than a boy at the time of his succession,²⁴ she was also the only living child of Tuthmosis I's official queen, 'Aḥmose, and had been associated with her father in the government before the death of the latter.²⁴ Her claim to the throne—deriving naturally from the fact that she was the sole surviving child of the "Great Royal Wife" and having been publicly approved by Tuthmosis I in person—was, then, excellent. Of her aspirations to power, of her ability, and of her energy subsequent events leave us in no doubt. That Tuthmosis II foresaw the bid to power that Ḥatshepsūt was to make subsequent to his death is indicated by the fact that, towards the end of his reign, he arranged to have his heir, the boy Tuthmosis III, publicly and solemnly proclaimed sole king of Egypt.²⁵

This move was, for a time, successful in achieving its purpose. As an inscription in the tomb of the aged Ineny definitely states: "When Tuthmosis II proceeded to heaven, his son arose in his place as King of the Two Lands and ruler on the throne of him who begat him."²⁶ That, however, the balance of power was from the first in the hands of the dowager queen is indicated by the sentences in the Ineny inscription which immediately follow the one just quoted: "His (Tuthmosis II's) sister, the God's Wife Ḥatshepsūt, settled the affairs of the Two Lands by reason of *her* plans. Egypt was made to labor with bowed head for *her*, the excellent seed of the God which came forth from him."

Ruling Egypt and assuming the formal titular of *king* of Egypt were, however, for a woman, two quite distinct attainments. Following the death of Tuthmosis II, Ḥatshepsūt, certainly as late as the 2nd year of the reign of Tuthmosis III, permitted herself to appear with him with no higher title than "Great Royal Wife."²⁷ Between the 2nd and the 5th Year, when—if Petrie²⁸

²² Meyer: *Geschichte des Altertums*, ii, 1, p. 112; Petrie: *History of Egypt*, ii, pp. 75-76.

²³ Since, after having reigned at least eighteen years, he was, as his mummy (Smith: *Royal Mummies*, No. 61066) shows, still a young man when he died.

²⁴ Petrie: *History of Egypt*, ii, pp. 61, 80, 87; Breasted: *History of Egypt*, p. 296.

²⁵ Meyer: *Geschichte des Altertums*, ii, 1, p. 112 and Note 1; Sethe: *Urkunden*, iv, p. 135 ff., 177 ff.; Legrain: *Annales du Service*, ii, p. 274 ff.

²⁶ Sethe: *Urkunden*, iv, p. 59 ff.

²⁷ As dowager queen (wife of Tuthmosis II). She so appears in an inscription at Semneh, dated to the 2nd Year of Tuthmosis III (Sethe: *Urkunden*, iv, p. 193 ff.).

²⁸ *Researches in Sinai*, p. 102.

is correct in his reading of an inscription at Serabit—Hatshepsūt had taken over the names and titles of king, there is no dated document to tell us of her official status.

On Sarcophagus C—both in what remain of its original inscriptions and in the slightly later inscription dedicating the sarcophagus to Tuthmosis I—Hatshepsūt appears with the kingly titulary. Probably it is one of the earliest extant monuments on which she certainly so appears.²⁹ The determination, or, at least, an approximation of its date is, therefore, a subject of considerable importance to the history of the Hatshepsūt-Tuthmosis III reign.

Two points have already indicated that the sarcophagus was made for Hatshepsūt fairly early in this reign: 1) There was time between its original manufacture and the disappearance of Hatshepsūt in her 21st Year to remodel it completely for Tuthmosis I, and to quarry, execute, and set in place another Hatshepsūt sarcophagus (D). 2) It was made to replace Sarcophagus A, which Hatshepsūt had abandoned at the time of the death of Tuthmosis II.

Since Hatshepsūt's mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri was, as we have seen (p. 17), constructed in conjunction with the tomb in the Valley of the Kings in which Sarcophagus C was found, it is almost certain that the date of the founding of the temple has a direct bearing on the date of the sarcophagus, and *vice versa*. While the exact date of the temple foundation is, unfortunately, not known, the early writing Men-kheper-*en*-Re' for the prenomen of Tuthmosis III on numerous scarabs found in the foundation deposits of the building³⁰ indicates that work was commenced on it not much later than the 4th or 5th year of Tuthmosis III.³¹ Since it is probable that Hatshepsūt's mortuary temple and her tomb were started at about the same time and that, as is always the case in the XVIII Dynasty, the sarcophagus was finished before the tomb itself had been completed, we should not be far wrong in dating the execution of Sarcophagus C at least as early as the year in which the founda-

²⁹ She is named as "the Good God, Ma'tkarē, the son of Re', Hatshepsūt, given life forever" on the alabaster vases from the foundation deposit of Tomb 20. These probably slightly antedate the decoration of Sarcophagus C.

³⁰ Winlock: *Bull. Met. Mus. Art*, February 1928, Section ii, p. 26, figure 28.

³¹ Somewhat extensive researches by Sethe (*Urkunden*, iv, p. 191 ff.; *Untersuchungen*, i, pp. 22-26) have shown that the writing of Tuthmosis III's prenomen with the extra *n* does not occur later than the 5th Year of his reign. The scarabs mentioned above form, therefore, an excellent index of date and give us for the laying of the foundation deposits of the temple a *terminus ante quem* in the 5th Year. There exists at present no other trustworthy indication of the date of the founding of the temple.

An ostrakon mentioned by Winlock (*Bull. Met. Mus. Art*, February 1928, Section ii, p. 26), "covered, apparently," by the temple causeway embankment and bearing the inscription "Year 7, Third Month of Winter, 15th Day," seems insufficient evidence for a *terminus post quem* for the founding of the temple, since it bears no king's name to show to whose reign the date belongs; and might, therefore, date from the 7th Year of Tuthmosis II, Tuthmosis I, Amenhotpe I, or any previous king—within the limitations of time permitted by the characteristics of the handwriting. Winlock's belief that the date refers to the 7th Year of Tuthmosis III is based upon the association of the ostrakon with the foundation deposit scarabs—an association for which I fail to see any basis.

tion of the temple took place—say the 5th Year of the joint reign of Tuthmosis III and Ḥatshepsūt.

Another piece of evidence shows that the sarcophagus as originally made for Ḥatshepsūt, must have been executed at least as early, if not earlier than the foundation of the temple. The sarcophagus was, as we know, altered for Tuthmosis I after it had been completely carved for Ḥatshepsūt. This preparation for the re-burial of Tuthmosis I was undoubtedly, as Winlock³² suggests, connected with the erection of a mortuary chapel for Tuthmosis I in Ḥatshepsūt's Deir el-Bahri temple. But, as two scarabs with the name of Tuthmosis I found in the foundation deposits of the temple clearly indicate, the erection of the chapel must have been already planned at the time the temple was founded.³³ Since, then, the original execution of Sarcophagus C antedates Ḥatshepsūt's plan to provide a sarcophagus and a mortuary chapel for her father, it must also antedate the foundation of the temple, on which occasion the plan had already been conceived.

All of the evidence presented in the two preceding paragraphs concerning the date of the sarcophagus checks perfectly with that brought out in Chapters I–III; supports Petrie's reading of the Serabit inscription, whereby Ḥatshepsūt is seen to have assumed the kingly titulary as early as the 5th Year; and in no way contradicts the evidence of the Semneh inscription, i.e. that at least as late as the 2nd Year she still bore only the titles of queen.

The original execution of Sarcophagus C dates, then, from the 4th–5th Year of the reign of Tuthmosis III and Ḥatshepsūt (1498–1497 B.C.); and the sarcophagus is, therefore, one of the earliest extant monuments on which Ḥatshepsūt's name appears with the full titulary of "king."

The fact that the monument does date from at least as early as Tuthmosis III's 5th Year shows, beyond a doubt, that it was either in this year or before it that Ḥatshepsūt assumed the titles of king—a *coup d'état* which the extreme youth of Tuthmosis III, no less than the death of Tuthmosis II, made possible; and which, therefore, it was necessary to effect as soon after the death of Tuthmosis II as circumstances permitted. It is, indeed, clear that the longer the move was postponed the more difficult it would have become to accomplish; for Tuthmosis III was all the while growing older, forming his own party and consolidating his own position. The situation is well summed up by Eduard Meyer,³⁴ who says, concerning Ḥatshepsūt's status following the death of Tuthmosis II: "Aber tatsächlich war sie die Herrscherin; und alsbald hat sie schrittweise die volle Pharaonentitulatur angenommen, und ihren nominellen Gemahl noch weiter in den Hintergrund gedrängt."

The alteration of Sarcophagus C for Tuthmosis I must have followed very

³² Winlock: *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, xv, p. 64.

³³ Winlock: *Bull. Met. Mus. Art*, February 1928, Section ii, p. 26.

³⁴ *Geschichte des Altertums*, ii, 1, p. 113.

closely upon its completion for Ḥatshepsūt. Since the tomb and sarcophagus were both made in conjunction with the mortuary temple, the latter can scarcely have been more than just finished at the time of the founding of the temple. Yet, at this time, as we have seen (p. 147), Ḥatshepsūt had already conceived the plan of re-burying her father.

Some mention has been made above (p. 36) of the extreme difficulty involved in completely recarving the formal decoration of a quartzite sarcophagus and lid in the airless blackness of a subterranean sepulchral chamber. Presumably, the removal of the sarcophagus from the tomb would have been required in order to carry out the alterations on it. The sepulchral chamber of Tomb 20, where the sarcophagus would have been resting, is, however, over 90 meters below ground level and is approached by a series of steeply sloping passages and stairways with a total length of over 125 meters. To haul the heavy monument *up* this distance would have been a stupendous undertaking; and, in view of the fact that Ḥatshepsūt abandoned her first sarcophagus (A) in her cliff-tomb and prepared a second (C) to take its place, it is scarcely probable that she would have considered the re-use of this second sarcophagus worthwhile, had it been in place in her Valley tomb at the time, but would have saved herself a great deal of trouble by simply ordering a new block from the quarry (as Tuthmosis III did under the same circumstances). That she did re-decorate Sarcophagus C is, however, the fact. Accordingly, I suggest that this sarcophagus *had not yet been lowered into the tomb* at all when the determination to alter it for Tuthmosis I was born; but was still lying, newly finished, in the workshop, where its alteration would have been a simple and wholly expedient procedure. Thus, its alteration would have taken place some time during Ḥatshepsūt and Tuthmosis III's 5th Year and its descent into the tomb at any time subsequent to this that the sepulchral chamber of the tomb was ready to receive it. Possibly it was not lowered into the tomb until the completion of Sarcophagus D, when both monuments could have been set in place together and in one operation.

Once in the tomb, the sarcophagus was ready to receive the inner coffin of Tuthmosis I, for which it had been prepared. When the coffin was tried in the sarcophagus it was found, however, that, through some minor miscalculation, the interior of the stone box was still too short to take it. Last minute enlargements and second re-decorations were therefore made on the inner faces of the ends of the sarcophagus, the roughness of the trimming and the crudity of the new decoration showing only too well the limitations of work carried on in a tomb-chamber.

Along with the coffin of Tuthmosis I, several inscribed alabaster and crystalline limestone vases from his original burial were brought to Ḥatshepsūt's tomb.³⁵ Quite possibly, as we shall see shortly, the bulk of the other objects

³⁵ Carter: *The Tomb of Ḥatshepsūt*, pp. 106-109, figures 1-4, 6.

found in the sepulchral chamber of the Ḥatshepsūt tomb also originally came from the first burial of Tuthmosis I.

The transference and re-interment³⁶ of the body of Tuthmosis I was probably effected as soon as both tomb and sarcophagus were ready for occupancy; and the completion of the honours paid by Ḥatshepsūt to her father took place some years later when Tuthmosis I's mortuary chapel in the Deir el-Bahri temple received its sculptured decoration and its granite stela.³⁷

The exact date of the execution of Sarcophagus D is, historically, of no very great importance. We should expect it to have been ordered immediately following the alteration of its predecessor; and, from the identity of the decoration of the two monuments and the fact that the same designers and stone-cutters seem to have produced both, it is highly probable that this was the case. At all events, it is certain that Sarcophagus D was completed for Ḥatshepsūt at some time between her 5th Year and her fall—and, probably, death—in the 21st Year.

It would be of considerable interest to know whether or not Ḥatshepsūt, after her series of elaborate preparations for burial, was actually ever given a formal interment, i.e. whether or not Sarcophagus D was ever used. There is every probability that it never was. It is hardly conceivable that Tuthmosis III, while bending every effort to obliterate his co-regent's memory from her mortuary temple, should have, at the same time, arranged for or even permitted her to be buried with honour in the tomb and sarcophagus which she had made for herself. The material evidence which would definitely settle the point is, for the most part, lacking. There are, however, two small considerations which suggest that Tomb 20 and Sarcophagus D were never occupied by the person for whom they were made.

First: With the exception of several fragments of alabaster vases inscribed with the names and titles of Ḥatshepsūt as *king*, no single scrap of funerary furniture was found in Tomb 20 which could not have been moved thither from the tomb of Tuthmosis I along with his mummy and coffin.³⁸ Even these

³⁶ See Winlock: *Notes on the Reburial of Tuthmosis I*, *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, xv, pp. 56-67.

³⁷ Probably between the 16th and 18th Years. See Winlock: *Bull. Met Mus. Art*, February 1928, Section II, pp. 54, 58; *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, xv, pp. 57, 64-67, plates xi and xiii; Naville: *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, v, 6, plate cxxix.

³⁸ Two of the fragments referred to (Carter: *The Tomb of Hatshepsut*, pp. 109-111, figures 5 and 7) bear the inscriptions: "the Good Goddess, Ma'tkarē, the daughter of Rē, Ḥatshepsūt-khnemet-Amūn, may she live forever, justified with Osiris" and " . . . Ma'tkarē, may she live, beloved of (Amen-Rē, Lord of Kar)nak, Lord of Heaven, . . . Osiris, the Great God."

Of the others, two (Carter: *Op. cit.*, p. 110) bear the kingly prenomen of Ḥatshepsūt; and one (Carter: *Op. cit.*, p. 111) her *ka*-name.

The rest of the inscribed objects found bear the name and titles of Ḥatshepsūt as *queen* and, therefore, antedate the founding of this tomb.

The other articles—all uninscribed—consist of "a few red pottery vases and a lamp (?), some burnt pieces of wooden coffins and boxes; a part of the face and foot of a large wooden statue covered with bitumen; some fragments of blue glaze shawabti coffins and vases and lastly some pieces of small inlay work" (Carter: *Op. cit.*, pp. 80, 111-112, figures 9-11).

vases may have been contributed by Ḥatshepsūt to the Tuthmosis I re-burial; for, of course, at the time of the alteration of Sarcophagus C, Ḥatshepsūt was already "King of Upper and Lower Egypt." This, indeed, must have been the case, for in the inscriptions on the fragments Ḥatshepsūt is not called *ma't-kheru* ("deceased"), but has her name accompanied by the wish "May she live!"

Second: The lid of Sarcophagus D, weighing well over a ton, was found, in perfect condition, lying right side up on the floor of the sepulchral hall well to the south of the head-end of the box (see above, p. 12 and Fig. 4). Now, had the lid—once set in place—been pried off the sarcophagus by robbers or desecrators of the tomb, it would naturally have been found lying bottom up, immediately beside the box, and probably badly battered or broken to pieces.³⁹ Certainly, one cannot believe that an ordinary thief or malicious vandal would have gone to the trouble of handling the lid with great care, of turning it right side up after it had been pried off the box, and of dragging it over 5 meters across the floor of the hall to the position in which it was found. Its position and condition are, on the other hand, precisely those in which we should expect Ḥatshepsūt's own workmen to have left the lid when it was originally introduced into the sepulchral hall.

The visit of Tuthmosis III's agents to the Ḥatshepsūt tomb for the purpose of removing the body and coffin of Tuthmosis I from Sarcophagus C took place, in all probability, in the very first year of the king's independent reign (i.e. the 22nd Year after his original accession). Of this visit only one trace remained when the tomb was opened by Carter in 1904-5. The lid of Sarcophagus C was found carefully stacked against the east wall of the sepulchral hall, beside the entrance doorway. It had evidently been placed there by workmen, with the habit of orderliness, who had been instructed to show the utmost respect for all monuments of Tuthmosis I (regardless of origin), and who required a clear path between the east side of the sarcophagus and the doorway, in order to remove some large and bulky object from the room—presumably, the coffin of Tuthmosis I (see the plan of the hall, Fig. 4).⁴⁰

The fact that these same agents did not take advantage of the opportunity to chop away at least the names on the Ḥatshepsūt sarcophagus (D) may, at first, seem peculiar. There are, however, three explanations as to why the monument was left unscathed: 1) Probably the foreman had received orders covering only the essential task for which he had been despatched to the tomb—the removal of the body of Tuthmosis I from Sarcophagus C; and, being uncertain as to the exact status of the other sarcophagus in the hall, did not feel justified in going beyond his orders. 2) Since it was unlikely that Sarcophagus D would ever again be seen by human eyes, its effacement would have

³⁹ As were all the sarcophagus lids of the series which we know to have been set in place. See, for example, Plates VII, VIII, and XVI.

⁴⁰ The overturning of the sarcophagus, on the other hand, was certainly the work of Late tomb-robbers in search of valuables which they believed to be deposited beneath the box.

seemed a work of supererogation. 3) Left with the names intact, Sarcophagus D, by its very emptiness, is the most striking advertisement which we possess of the indignities heaped upon Hatshepsut by her insatiable nephew.

A step closely associated with the restoration of the body of Tuthmosis I to his own tomb was the preparation for him of Sarcophagus E. The blocks for this monument and Tuthmosis III's own sarcophagus (F) were probably, as has already been suggested, quarried and transported together. The completion of Sarcophagus E was the more pressing task and this sarcophagus, as its form and decoration indicate, appears to have been finished before its mate. Following the execution of Sarcophagus E and the final re-burial of Tuthmosis I, Tuthmosis III's atelier would have turned their efforts to the production of the king's own sarcophagus, which we may presume was finished within the next year or so—i.e. about the 23rd–24th Year of Tuthmosis III, during the time that he was conducting his second and third campaigns in Syria. In almost every detail, except size, the Tuthmosis III sarcophagus was made to be a duplicate of the monument which the atelier had just finished executing for Tuthmosis I. The difference in the sizes of the two sarcophagi was, of course, due to the fact that Sarcophagus E was built to fit the early, long outer coffin of Tuthmosis I, while Sarcophagus F was designed to take the somewhat shorter coffin which had come into style between the years 1520 and 1480 B.C.

Amenhotpe II's sarcophagus (G), the product of a new atelier, was finished and set in place in that king's nearly completed tomb at some time prior to 1420 B.C., when Amenhotpe died and was buried in the monument which he himself had prepared.

Tuthmosis IV, who ruled only ten years, seems to have ordered his great sarcophagus in the early years of his reign; for the monument was completely executed and ready for occupancy when he died—still a young man—in 1411 B.C.

The same seems to have been true in the case of Amenhotpe III's sarcophagus, of which there now remains only the granite lid. It is certain, at all events, that work was commenced on the unfinished tomb for which the fully completed sarcophagus was made so early in the reign of Amenhotpe III that inscribed objects left over from the reign of his father were placed in the tombs foundation deposits.⁴¹ The *terminus ante quem* for this last monument of the series is 1375 B.C., when Amenhotpe III "proceeded to heaven."

By way of conclusion to this study final emphasis is laid upon the two features of the pre-Atenian series of XVIII Dynasty royal sarcophagi which seem to the writer to constitute the two paramount contributions made by this group of monuments to the development of ancient Egyptian funerary literature and custom, respectively, or, at least, to our present knowledge of them.

The inscriptions on the royal sarcophagi form the most important, the most

⁴¹ Carter: *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen*, i, p. 79.

authoritative, and the best preserved cycle of funerary texts of the early and middle XVIII Dynasty which we now possess. Being, almost without exception, either exact copies of, or derivations from the Pyramid Texts of the Old Kingdom and the Coffin Inscriptions of the Middle Kingdom, they attest the reluctance on the part of the ancient Egyptians to make innovations in their funerary literature and the insistence upon using and re-using spells and incantations of almost forgotten origin. The sarcophagi are among the earliest concrete examples of the carrying-over into the New Empire of the funerary texts of the Old and Middle Kingdoms. If their inscriptions were copied direct from Middle Kingdom coffins and from the Pyramids of the kings of the V-VI Dynasties at Sakḥara, they are proof of the existence in the early New Empire of the same type of studied archaism which we come to know later in the Saïte Period. If, on the other hand, they were merely selections taken from copies handed down continuously or preserved in the priestly archives, they are indications of the mass of funerary literature, probably written on papyrus, which must have existed at Thebes in the 16th Century B.C. and which is now lost, and of the care taken to perpetuate, even through times of stress, copies of ancient religious and funerary formulae. Furthermore, the improvement noticeable in the texts as the series progresses must mean either that a certain amount of critical proof-reading was being carried on in connection with the texts, or that systematic researches into ancient sources were being regularly undertaken. No less important than the part played by the sarcophagi in the preservation of ancient formulae is their rôle in the development of that form of funerary literature which was to become so popular in the New Empire and Late Dynastic Period: the Book of the Dead. The tendency to combine a number of short formulae or utterances into long spells was already to be seen on the interiors of certain private coffins and sarcophagi of the Middle Kingdom, wherein a quantity of "Chapters" from the Book of the Dead are easily recognizable; but it is from the XVIII Dynasty onwards that this type of composition really comes into its own, flourishing thereafter almost to the exclusion of all other groups of religious writings. The connection of the XVIII Dynasty royal sarcophagus decoration with the Book of the Dead is shown not only by the fact that the most important text on all of the earlier sarcophagi is a chapter from the Book, but also by the fact that the entire composition of this decoration is the same as the lay-out of the vignettes and text of another important chapter, as seen in XVIII Dynasty papyrus versions of the same work. Finally, the sarcophagus series reflects, through its choice of texts, the ever increasing popularity and the great development of the Book of the Dead during the course of the XVIII Dynasty proper. Whereas Sarcophagus A bears only Pyramid Texts and Coffin Inscriptions, Sarcophagi C, D, E, and F each carry one complete chapter from the Book of the Dead and sections of several others; and Sarcophagus H, three

full chapters—special additions having been made on this sarcophagus to the standard decoration in order to accommodate the new texts.

The series of sarcophagi which we have been studying constitutes a milestone in the development of ancient Egyptian funerary equipment and funerary dogma of the utmost importance, in that, in both form and decoration, these monuments begin to depart from the time-honoured conception of a sarcophagus and to assume characteristics which had hitherto been confined to the immediate container of the body—the rectangular or anthropoid coffin. While never entirely abandoning the old idea of the sarcophagus as a house, their form is definitely modified so that they will not only best serve, but best express their primary function: the containing of a mummy enclosed within a series of anthropoid shells. The decoration—texts and figures—, concentrated on the exteriors of the monuments, conforms to that seen not only on wooden coffins of earlier periods, but also to that actually present on the coffins which the sarcophagi were made to receive. This, in turn, creates a definite unity of idea and function between the sarcophagus and the set of coffins within it. In short, the sarcophagus tends now to become no more than an outer coffin. This, as an inspection of the extant sarcophagi of the Old and Middle Kingdoms clearly shows, is an entirely new conception. It is, however, one which endures to the end of the history of Egyptian funerary practice, all subsequent sarcophagi partaking definitely of this coffin-like quality and all making use, in both their internal and external decoration, of texts and figures which, prior to the XVIII Dynasty, had been confined entirely to the decoration of coffins.

While adhering to this basic idea, the development of the stone sarcophagus following the death of Amenhotpe III is far from regular. An abrupt change in details of form and decoration appears in the sarcophagus of Tut'ankhamūn. Those of Ay and Horemheb return whole-heartedly, so far as their decoration is concerned, to the pre-Atenian model; but keep the form of the Tut'ankhamūn monument. During the XIX and XX Dynasties a great variety of forms and decorative compositions appear. The development of these latter monuments is marked by the introduction of the anthropoid or semi-anthropoid sarcophagus, and by the multiplication of the panels, texts, and figures which make up their decorations. These traditions are continued in the massive sarcophagi of the Late Dynastic Period (XXII–XXX Dynasties), many of which employ in their decoration, in addition to divine figures and texts from the Book of the Dead, scenes and citations from the Book of *Am Dūat*.⁴²

⁴² See, for example, the sarcophagus of King Nakht-Hor-hebet in the British Museum (No. 923. *British Museum, Guide to the Egyptian Galleries, Sculpture*, 1909, pp. 248–249, plates xxxii–xxxiii).

Among these Late sarcophagi there is one of the XXVI Dynasty (663–525 B.C.) which merits our special attention. This is the gray granite sarcophagus of Prince Happy-Men, in the British Museum (No. 826. *British Museum, A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries, Sculpture*, 1909, pp. 229–230. See

Description de l'Égypte, 2nd Edition, text, *Antiquités, Descriptions*, 2, Chapter xx, pp. 3-6; *Antiquités*, plate volume v, plates 24, 2-10, and 25). To the student of Saite monuments it is interesting in that its decoration differs almost altogether from that of contemporary sarcophagi. To us it is all the more interesting because, in its form, but more especially in its decoration, it is an almost exact replica of the sarcophagus of Tuthmosis III. A glance at the drawings reproduced in the *Description de l'Égypte* (Vol. v, plate 24, Nos 8, 9, 10) suffices to show that the decoration is taken directly from one of Sarcophagi C-F. The composition is the same as on the XVIII Dynasty monuments, the same figures appear in the same places, and even the texts correspond exactly. A study of certain details of the decoration narrows the possibilities of a model down to one particular monument; for the *Srh* building in the Eye-panel appears only on Sarcophagi E and F of our series, and the arrangement of the decoration of the floor of the box only on Sarcophagus F: the sarcophagus of Tuthmosis III (Plate XXV F). Since this exact decoration appears on no extant monument made between the time of the completion of the sarcophagus of Tuthmosis III and that of the sarcophagus of Hapymen, it is impossible to suppose that the scheme was handed down from generation to generation during the eight hundred years which separated the manufacture of the earlier sarcophagus from that of the late one; but is, on the other hand, perfectly clear that we have here an extreme case of archaism: the conscious and precise copying of an ancient monument (The tomb of Tuthmosis III, opened in the XXI Dynasty by the priests who removed the mummy to the Deir el-Bahri cache, must have been open and well-known in the XXVI Dynasty). Such archaism is, of course, one of the main characteristics of the Saite Period; but it is rare indeed to be able, as here, definitely to identify the earlier monument from which the XXVI Dynasty copy was made.

APPENDIX I

CATALOGUE OF THE SARCOPHAGI

A

(Egyptian Museum, Cairo, No. 6024)

Plates I, XVII A, XVIII A, XXII A, XXIII A; Figure 11, 4.

Bibliography:

Musée du Caire, Journal d'entrée, No. 47032.

Musée du Caire, Notice sommaire des principaux monuments, 1927, p. 38.

Carter: *A Tomb Prepared for Queen Hatshepsut, discovered by the Earl of Carnarvon, October 1916, Annales du Service*, xvi, pp. 179-182.

Carter: *A Tomb Prepared for Queen Hatshepsut and Other Recent Discoveries at Thebes*, J. E. A., iv, 1917, pp. 114-118, plates xxi-xxii. (Translations and comments on texts by A. H. Gardiner.)

Baraize: *Rapport sur l'enlèvement et le transport du sarcophage de la Reine Hatchopsilou, Annales du Service*, xxi, pp. 175-182.

Carter and Mace: *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen*, i, pp. 81-82.

Winlock: *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, xv, 1929, pp. 61-62.

Owner:

"The great wife of the king, Hatshepsut"

Tomb:

Not numbered. Situated in the Wady Sikkat Taqa el Zeide, 2200 meters almost due west of Deir el-Bahri.

Material:

Yellow quartzite.

Form:

Sarcophagus: Simple rectangular box. Corners inside and out finished square.

Lid: Simple rectangular block with rabbet in under side around outer edge. Corners finished square.

Dimensions:

Length of sarcophagus and lid.	197-199 cm.
Width of sarcophagus and lid.	72-73 cm.
Total height (with lid in place)	90 cm.
Height of sarcophagus	73 cm.
Height of lid (as seen when in place)	17 cm.
Total height of lid	19 cm.
Thickness of sarcophagus walls	8 cm.
Thickness of sarcophagus bottom	10 cm.

Decoration:

Figures (*relief en creux*):

Lid: Nût, standing, arms outspread. Height 56.5 cm.

Lid cartouche-frame (low relief): Upper surface of lid.

Wedjat Eyes (incised): In small rectangular frame in 1st panel on left side of sarcophagus.

Texts:

Lid, upper surface	Text 1.
Sarcophagus, head-end	Texts 13, 14, 17.
Sarcophagus, foot-end	Texts 20, 21, 23.
Sarcophagus, left side	Texts 25, 2, 3, 4, 5.
Sarcophagus, right side	Texts 35, 10, 9, 7, 8.

Condition:

Lid: 5 shallow oval pit-holes in upper surface.
 Sarcophagus, head-end: Piece, 8.5 cm. square, broken out of lower left-hand corner, taking with it two signs from bottom of left vertical inscription.
 Sarcophagus, foot-end and right side: Lower right foot corner broken and lower edge of right side gouged off to a distance of 44 cm. from foot-end.

Miscellaneous Data:

Traces of guide lines and outlines of hieroglyphs, drawn in red ink, are still visible on the four exterior surfaces of the sarcophagus box. They are especially evident on the left long side, near the foot.

B

(Tomb No. 42, Bibân el Molûk, Thebes)

Plates II, XVII B, XXI

Bibliography:

Carter: *Report Upon the Tomb of Sen-nefer Found at Biban el-Molouk, Near That of Thotmes III, No. 34, Annales du Service*, ii, 1901, pp. 196-200, plates i-ii.
 Weigall: *A Guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt*, 1st Edition, New York, 1910, pp. 224-225; *Tutankhamen and Other Essays*, London, 1923, p. 21.

Owner:

Probably Tuthmosis II¹.

Material:

Yellow quartzite.

Form:

Sarcophagus: Rectangular box, flat sides and ends. Four walls on exterior, at tops, and to depth of 5 cm. on interior, dressed true, but not polished. Bottom on exterior and all of interior rough dressed with mason's pick. Corners on exterior and to depth of 5 cm. on interior finished square. Corners on interior below depth of 5 cm. rounded, thus creating at each corner a roughly triangular ledge, set 5 cm. below the top edge of the box, on which the four square corners of the tongue of the lid rested.
 Lid: Low rectangular block, with rabbet cut in under side around outer edge. Upper surface now rough—intended to be flat². Under surface slightly concave. Four large roughly cut lugs, with transverse holes for hoisting ropes, left on upper surface of lid, one near each corner. Edges of lid dressed true, but not polished. Upper and under surfaces rough dressed with a mason's pick. Inside corners on under side rounded; all other corners finished square.

Dimensions:

Length of sarcophagus and lid	240.5 cm.
Width of sarcophagus and lid	91.5-91.75 cm.
Total height (with lid in place)	97.5 cm.
Height of sarcophagus	85 cm.

¹ See above, p. 50.

² See above, p. 49.

Height of lid (as seen in place; without lugs)	12.5 cm.
Total height of lid (without lugs)	16.5 cm.
Average height of lid lugs	10 cm.
Average width of lid lugs	11 cm.
Average length of lid lugs	30 cm.
Minimum thickness of lid	12 cm.
Thickness of sarcophagus walls	11 cm.
Maximum thickness of sarcophagus floor	18 cm.
Average width of interior corner ledges	8.5 cm.

Condition:

Allowing for unfinished state, perfect.

Present Position:

Sarcophagus: Rests on its bottom on the floor of the sarcophagus chamber, beside the far (east) wall of the chamber, its long axis, which is roughly compass Southwest-Northeast (Local North-south), lying slantwise across the long axis of the chamber, which is due West-East. The Northeast corner of the box is in contact with the chamber wall; the Southeast corner lies at a distance of 83.5 cm. out from the wall.

Lid: Leans against the Southwest corner of the sarcophagus, its upper surface up, its left edge resting on the floor of the chamber.

Miscellaneous Data:

Both the sarcophagus and its lid are obviously in an unfinished state: Neither is painted, inscribed, or decorated in any way. The sides of both the sarcophagus and lid, on the exterior, have been dressed smooth, but not polished, and the traces of the gouges made by the mason's pick in the course of the preliminary rough dressing are still visible all over these surfaces. The floor of the rabbet around the outside of the under side of the lid, the tops of the box walls, as well as an area 5 cm. wide on the interior of the box walls just below the top and the four inside corners of the box to the same depth have all been dressed smooth: that is to say, just those surfaces which would require to be dressed true in order that the lid might fit snugly on to the box have received any special attention. The rest of the monument (bottom of sarcophagus, outside; interior of sarcophagus; upper and under side of lid) has been merely roughly hacked out with a mason's pick; the four roughly cut lug-handles being left on the top of the lid.

C

(Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Inventory No. 04.278)

Plates III, IV, XVII C, XVIII C, XIX C, XXII C, XXIII C, XXV C.

Bibliography:

Boston Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, April 1905, p. 13.

Boston Museum of Fine Arts Handbook, 1st Edition, p. 8.

Davis, Naville, and Carter: *The Tomb of Hatshepsut* (*Theodore M. Davis' Excavations: Bibân el Molûk*), pp. xiv, 79, 81-92, and plate.

Winlock: *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, xv, pp. 56-67.

Sethe: *Das Hatschepsut-Problem noch einmal untersucht*, §108-109.

Edgerton: *The Thutmosid Succession*, pp. 28-29.

Gauthier: *Livre des rois*, ii, p. 226.

Legrain: *Répertoire généalogique*, p. 40.

Tomb:

Tomb No. 20 in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings (Bibân el Molûk) at Thebes.

Material:

Yellow quartzite.

1. *The Sarcophagus as Originally Made**Owner:*

"The Female Horus, Wosret-Kaw, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ma'tkarē, the Daughter of Rē, Ḥatshepsūt-Khnemet-Amūn."

Form:

Sarcophagus: Simple rectangular box. Interior floor corners rounded; interior wall corners finished square.

Lid: Rectangular block with convex upper surface, this convexity being that of the segment of a huge cylinder, there being no drop in the level of the ridge of the curve longitudinally from end to end of the lid. Rabbet cut in under side of lid around outer edge. The corners of the flat tenon, left by the rabbeting around the outer edges of the under side of the lid, finished square.

Dimensions:

Length of sarcophagus and lid	222.5 cm.
Width of sarcophagus and lid	89 cm.
Total height (with lid in place)	99 cm.
Height of sarcophagus	86 cm.
Height of lid (as seen when in place)	13 cm.
Total height of lid	16 cm.
Thickness of sarcophagus walls	13 cm.
Thickness of sarcophagus bottom	9 cm.

Decoration:

(The original surfaces of the sarcophagus and lid which still remain are: the upper surface of the lid, the under surface of the lid, the top edges of the sarcophagus walls, the interior surfaces of the side walls, and the floor of the sarcophagus.)

Figures (relief en creux):

Lid, upper surface: Nūt, standing, arms outspread. Height 46 cm.

Lid, under surface: Nūt, standing, arms outspread. Height 46 cm.

Sarcophagus, interior, floor: Nūt, standing, arms outspread. Height 96 cm.

Lid cartouche-frames (low relief):

Lid, upper surface: Double-banded, with cross-bar.

Lid, under surface: Double-banded, without cross-bar.

Texts (incised):

Lid, upper surface Texts 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10.

Lid, under surface Texts 44, 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10.

Sarcophagus, head-end, interior Text 13 (?)

Sarcophagus, foot-end, interior Text 20 (?)

Sarcophagus, wall tops Texts 50, 51, 52, 53.

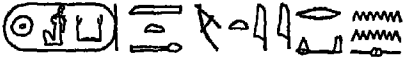
Sarcophagus, floor Text 54.

The Alteration of the Sarcophagus

Described by Winlock (*Journ. Eg. Arch.*, xv, p. 61):

"On the outside of the lid there is no difficulty in seeing that the inscription originally

started  etc., and the six dedications to the genii and Anubis still begin . On the inside of the lid the original

reading of the long inscription was  
etc.; inside the bottom of the sarcophagus 
 etc., and around the top edge of the box
 etc.,

 etc. To alter these names
into those of Tuthmosis I, the Horus name and the nomen cartouches were com-
pletely filled with red plaster and then entirely recarved, while the prenoms
merely required the filling up of the  and the carving over it of . In all
cases the feminine ending  was obliterated with plaster, the group  being
recarved . The  has been changed to  and  or  to .

"On the outside of the box of the sarcophagus such fillings and recarvings would probably have been too evident, and a new surface was therefore made by cutting away fully 3 cm. from each side. This is clearly demonstrated by the fact that the inscriptions along the top edge of the box are now at the outer margin of the stone instead of being in the center," (See Plate XXV C), "and further from the fact that the cartouche which covers the entire lid originally had a double oval which has been altered to a single one by cutting away the entire outer band along the sides." (See Plate XVIII C.) "From the foot end, only 1 cm. was removed and from the head $\frac{3}{4}$ cm., but both alterations are clear enough in the present unsymmetrical appearance of the inscriptions on the top edge of the box." (See Plate XXV C.) "In short, the sarcophagus was originally 6 cm. wider and 1.5 cm. longer than it now is, and all the inscriptions on the outer surfaces are subsequent to this alteration. On the inside of the box the sides, like those of the other sarcophagus from this same tomb,⁵ had originally been left plain and here no alteration was necessary. Hence, the inside width of the box remains as it was made—just great enough to take the rabbit on the under side of the lid. The ends, however, being decorated, about 3.5 cm. had to be cut away from each inside end surface, except along the top edges where the original thickness of the stone was left in order that the lid might fit snugly. The new surfaces were then redecorated. This recutting has made the inside length along the bottom of the sarcophagus from 203 to 204 cm., but this was subsequently

* Read

⁴ Read 

⁵ Read הַיְּהוָה יְהוָה.....

⁶ Sarcophagus D.

discovered to be insufficient, and more stone was gouged away until a length of 210 cm. down the middle was obtained, after which the end surfaces were decorated still a third time."

2. The Sarcophagus as Found

Owner:

"The Horus Ka-nakht Mery-Ma't, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt 'Akheperkarē, the son of Rē, Kh'-Tuthmosis-mi-Rē'."

Form:

Unaltered.

5 mm. bevel on the four vertical corners of the exterior of the sarcophagus and lid.

Dimensions:

Length of sarcophagus and lid	221 cm.
Width of sarcophagus and lid	83 cm.
Total height (with lid in place)	99 cm.
Height of sarcophagus	86 cm.
Height of lid (as seen when in place)	13 cm.
Total height of lid	16 cm.
Thickness of sarcophagus walls:	
Side walls	10 cm.
Head wall, top of side edges and bottom edge	12.5 cm.
Head wall, side edges, except at top	9 cm.
Head wall, middle at top	5.5 cm.
Foot wall, top of side edges and bottom edge	12 cm.
Foot wall, side edges, except at top	8.5 cm.
Foot wall, middle at top	5 cm.
Thickness of sarcophagus bottom	9 cm.

Pry-Bar Sockets:

Sarcophagus: 2 at each end, in bottom edge of box. 1 at foot-end in top edge of box.
Lid: 1 in bottom edge of foot-end.

Decoration:

Figures (*relief en creux*):

Lid, upper surface: Nūt, standing, arms outspread. Height 46 cm.

Sarcophagus, exterior, head-end: Nephthys, kneeling upon a *nebyt* sign. Height 42 cm.

Sarcophagus, exterior, foot-end: Isis, kneeling upon a *nebyt* sign. Height 42 cm.

Sarcophagus, exterior, left side: Hapy, Anubis-imy-wet, and Kebehsenuf, standing. Height 42 cm.

Sarcophagus, exterior, right side: Mesti, Anubis-khenty-seh-netjer, and Duamutef, standing. Height 42 cm.

Lid, under surface: Nūt, standing, arms outspread. Height 46 cm.

Sarcophagus, interior, head-end: Nephthys, kneeling upon a *nebyt* sign. Height 42 cm.

Sarcophagus, interior, foot-end: Isis, kneeling upon a *nebyt* sign. Height 42 cm.

Sarcophagus, interior, left side: Hapy, Anubis-imy-wet, and Kebehsenuf, standing. Height 42 cm.

Sarcophagus, interior, right side: Mesti, Anubis-khenty-seh-netjer, and Duamutef, standing. Height 42 cm.

Sarcophagus, interior, floor: Nūt, standing, arms outspread. Height 96 cm.

Lid cartouche-frames (low relief):

Lid, upper surface: Single-banded, with cross-bar.

Lid, under surface: Double-banded, without cross-bar.

Wedjat Eyes (incised):

Sarcophagus, exterior, left side, 2nd panel.

Sarcophagus, interior, left side, 2nd panel.

Texts (incised):

Lid, upper surface Texts 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10.

Lid, exterior, head-end Text 12.

Sarcophagus, exterior, head-end . . . Texts 13, 14, 15, 17.

Lid, exterior, foot-end Text 19.

Sarcophagus, exterior, foot-end . . . Texts 20, 21, 22, 23.

Sarcophagus, exterior, right side . . . Texts 26, 27, 29, 2, 1, 4, 31, 5, 32, 34.

Sarcophagus, exterior, left side . . . Texts 36, 37, 39, 8, 9, 40, 10, 41, 43.

Lid, under surface Texts 44, 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10.

Sarcophagus, interior, head-end . . . Texts 13, 14, 17.

Sarcophagus, interior, foot-end . . . Texts 20, 21, 23.

Sarcophagus, interior, right side . . . Texts 26, 27, 29, 2, 30, 4, 31, 5, 32, 34.

Sarcophagus, interior, left side . . . Texts 36, 37, 39, 8, 9, 40, 10, 41, 43.

Sarcophagus, wall tops Texts 50, 51, 52, 53.

Sarcophagus, floor Text 54.

Colours:

Ground colour: All surfaces of the sarcophagus inside and out, except floor, and chopped-out portions of ends, interior, dark red.

Figures, exterior, head and foot ends: Outlines, blue. Headdresses, white.

Figures, exterior, sides: Wigs, beards, arm-bands, and belts, blue.

Figures, interior, head and foot ends: Outlines red; headdresses and round cartouches under hands of figures, white; eyes, eyebrows, and collars, blue.

Wedjat Eyes, exterior, left side, 2nd panel: Rims and brows, blue; pupils, black.

Condition:

Lid: Except for small oval pit-holes which fleck the surface, perfect.

Sarcophagus: Lower left foot corner, exterior, broken off. Top edge of right wall, near head-end, interior, oblong piece broken off.

Paint: Ground colour in good condition. All auxiliary colours badly worn and faded.

D

(Egyptian Museum, Cairo, No. 620)

Plates V, VI, XVII D, XIX D, XXII D, XXIII D, XXV D.

Bibliography:

Musée du Caire, Notice sommaire des principaux monuments, 1927, p. 38.Maspero: *Guide to the Cairo Museum*, 1915.Davis, Naville, and Carter: *The Tomb of Hatshepsut* (*Theodore M. Davis' Excavations: Bibân el Molûk*), pp. xiv, 79, 93-100, and two plates.Winlock: *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, xv, pp. 61-62.Edgerton: *The Thutmosid Succession*, p. 29.

Owner:

"The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ma'karê, the daughter of Râ, Hatshepsut-khnemet-Amûn."

Tomb:

Tomb No. 20 in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings (Bibân el Molûk) at Thebes.

Material:

Yellow quartzite.

Form:

Sarcophagus: Oblong box with flat foot-end and rounded head-end, i.e. cartouche-plan.

The curve of the head is complex, being rather flat in the middle and angled at the sides. The corners on the interior of the box are rounded; the two vertical corners at the foot-end on the exterior are finished with a 5 mm. bevel.

Lid: Oblong block; same plan as sarcophagus. Under side rabbeted around outer edge. Upper surface convex, curving down to the sides and ends of the block. The upper edge of the block, except across the foot-end, where it is a sharp angle, is double bevelled, the inner facet of the bevel standing in relief above the down-sloping curve of the upper surface of the lid. The two facets of the bevel serve, at the same time, as the two bands of the lid cartouche.

Dimensions:

Length of sarcophagus and lid	245 cm.
Width of sarcophagus and lid	88 cm.
Total height (with lid in place)	100 cm.
Height of sarcophagus	86.5 cm.
Height of lid (as seen when in place)	13.5 cm.
Total height of lid	16.5 cm.
Thickness of sarcophagus head wall	8 cm.
Thickness of sarcophagus side walls	9 cm.
Thickness of sarcophagus foot wall	14.5 cm.
Thickness of sarcophagus bottom	11 cm.

Pry-bar Sockets:

Sarcophagus: 2 sockets in bottom edge of box at each end. 1 socket in middle of top edge of head-end. Hollow in middle of wall top, foot-end.

Lid: 1 socket in middle of lower edge at foot-end.

*Decoration:**Figures (relief en creux):*

Lid, upper surface: Nût, standing, arms outspread. Height 54 cm.

Sarcophagus, exterior, head-end: Nephthys, kneeling upon a *nebyt* sign. Height 54 cm.

Sarcophagus, exterior, foot-end: Isis, kneeling upon a *nebyt* sign. Height 54 cm.

Sarcophagus, exterior, left side: Hapy, Anubis-imy-wet, and Kebehsenuet, standing. Height 50 cm.

Sarcophagus, exterior, right side: Mesti, Anubis-khenty-seh-nefer, and Duamutef, standing. Height 50 cm.

Lid, under surface: Nût, standing, arms outspread. Height 45 cm.

Sarcophagus, interior, head-end: Nephthys, kneeling upon a *nebyt* sign. Height 44 cm.

Sarcophagus, interior, foot-end: Isis, kneeling upon a *nebyt* sign. Height 44 cm.

Sarcophagus, interior, floor: Nût, standing, arms outspread. Height 116 cm.

Lid cartouche-frame (see under *Form*): Lid, upper surface.

Wedjat Eyes (incised): Sarcophagus, exterior, left side, 2nd panel.

Texts (incised):

Lid, upper surface Texts 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10.

Lid, exterior, head-end Text 12.

Sarcophagus, exterior, head-end	Texts 13, 14, 15, 17.
Lid, exterior, foot-end	Text 19.
Sarcophagus, exterior, foot-end	Texts 20, 21, 22, 23.
Sarcophagus, exterior, right side	Texts 26, 27, 29, 2, 30, 4, 31, 5, 32, 34.
Sarcophagus, exterior, left side	Texts 36, 37, 39, 8, 9, 40, 10, 41, 43.
Lid, under surface	Text 44.
Sarcophagus, interior, head-end	Texts 12, 13, 14, 15, 17
Sarcophagus, interior, foot-end	Texts 19, 20, 21, 22, 23.
Sarcophagus, wall tops	Texts 50, 51, 52, 53.
Sarcophagus, floor	Text 54.

Colours:

Ground colour: All the surfaces of the sarcophagus and lid, with the exception of the floor of the box, are painted a deep red.

Additional colours: Traces of blue paint remain on the wigs, beards, and bracelets of the figures, and in the outlines of the Wedjat Eyes in Panel 2 on the left side, exterior.

Condition:

Sarcophagus: Large oval pit-hole in head-end, repaired in antiquity with tinted plaster. Abundant small pit-holes over whole surface of sarcophagus, similarly repaired.

Lower foot-corner on the right side broken off. Upper edge of left side wall and parts of the surface of the right wall blackened as if by fire.

Lid: Piece 20 cm. long broken out of right lower edge of lid near head-end.

Base:

- Plain rectangular block of alabaster, 36 cm. high and projecting 11 cm. beyond the ends and sides of the sarcophagus box. Broken in half and with about 30-40 cm. missing from its mid section.

E

(Egyptian Museum, Cairo, No. 619)

Plates VII, XVII E, XVIII E, XIX E, XXIII E.

Bibliography:

Musée du Caire, Journal d'entrée, No. 52344.

Maspero: *Guide to the Cairo Museum*, 1906, p. 146; 1915, p. 172.

Musée du Caire, Notice sommaire des principaux monuments, 1927, p. 38.

Davis, Naville, and Carter: *The Tomb of Hatshepsut*, p. xiv.

Winlock: *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, xv, pp. 56-67, plate xiv.

Sethé: *Des Hatschepsut-Problem noch einmal untersucht*, §108-109.

Edgerton: *The Thutmosid Succession*, p. 28.

Carter and Mace: *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen*, i, pp. 52-53, 72.

Owner:

"The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, 'Akheperkarē', the son of Rē', Kh'-Tuthmosis-mi-Rē'."

Tomb:

Tomb No. 38 in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings (Bibân el Molûk) at Thebes.

Material:

Yellow quartzite.

Form:

Sarcophagus: Oblong box with flat foot-end and rounded head-end, i.e. cartouche-plan. The curve of the head is complex, being rather flat in the middle and angled at the sides. The corners on the interior of the box are rounded; the two vertical corners at the foot-end on the exterior are finished with a 10 mm. bevel.

Lid: Hollowed cover; same plan as sarcophagus. Upper surface convex; under surface concave. Sides of lid on exterior vertical. Under side rabbeted around outer edge. Convex upper surface curves down to the edges on the sides and at both ends. Vertical foot corners bevelled as on sarcophagus.

Dimensions:

Length of sarcophagus and lid	248.5 cm.
Width of sarcophagus and lid	90.5 cm.
Total height (with lid in place)	100.5 cm.
Height of sarcophagus	86 cm.
Height of lid (as seen when in place)	14.5 cm.
Total height of lid	17.5 cm.
Minimum thickness of lid	8 cm.
Thickness of sarcophagus walls	7.5 cm.
Thickness of sarcophagus bottom	11 cm.

Pry-bar Sockets:

Sarcophagus: None.

Lid: 1 socket in the lower edge of the lid, in the middle of each end.

Decoration:

Figures (*relief en creux*):

Lid, upper surface: Nût, standing, arms outspread. Height 37.5 cm.

Sarcophagus, exterior, head-end: Nephthys, kneeling upon a *nebyt* sign.

Sarcophagus, exterior, foot-end: Isis, kneeling upon a *nebyt* sign.

Sarcophagus, exterior, left side: Hapy, Anubis-khenty-seh-nefer, and Kebeh-senuet, standing.

Sarcophagus, exterior, right side: Mesti, Anubis-imy-wet, and Duamutef, standing.

Lid, under surface: Nût, standing, arms outspread. Height 91 cm.

Sarcophagus, interior, floor: Nût, standing, arms outspread.

Lid cartouche-frame (low relief): Upper surface of lid.

Wedjat-Eyes (incised): Surmounting the simplified façade of the *srh* building (incised, height 28.5 cm.); in the 2nd panel on the left side of the sarcophagus, exterior.

Texts (incised):

Lid, upper surface Texts 1, 2, 9, 5, 8, 4, 10.

Sarcophagus, exterior, head-end Texts 13, 14, 15, 12, 17.

Sarcophagus, exterior, foot-end Texts 20, 21, 22, 19, 23.

Sarcophagus, exterior, right side Texts 26, 27, 29, 2, 30, 9, 40, 5, 32, 34.

Sarcophagus, exterior, left side Texts 36, II a, 37, 39, 8, 4, 31, 10, 41, 43.

Lid, under surface Texts 44, 45.

Lid, under surface, floor of rabbet . . . Text 49.

Sarcophagus, wall tops Texts 50, 51, 52, 53, II b.

Sarcophagus, floor Text 54.

Colours:

Ground colour: All the surfaces of the sarcophagus and lid, with the exception of the floor of the box, were painted a deep red.

Additional colours: None now visible.

Condition:

Sarcophagus: Unbevelled edges crumbled and broken in places. 16 small oval pit-holes in outer surface.

Lid: Broken through, the break running across the lid from a point on the left side 145 cm. from the foot-end to a point on the right side 65 cm. from the foot-end. On the left side a jagged triangle is broken out of the edge of the lid. 6 shallow oval pit-

holes in the upper surface of the lid. Several small pit holes along the edges, which have been filled up with tinted plaster.

Paint: Of the red surface colour only traces now remain, notably in the outlines of the figures and hieroglyphs. The surfaces of the sarcophagus, in their present state, are a dingy yellow colour, only slightly tinged with red.

Base:

Alabaster: 36 cm. high. Originally projected 9 cm. beyond the ends and sides of the sarcophagus. Now fragmentary, only one corner of it remaining.

F

(Tomb No. 34, Bibân el Molûk, Thebes)

Plates VIII, IX, X, XI, XVII F, XIX F, XXII F, XXIII F, XXV F

Bibliography:

Loret: *Le Tombeau de Tkhoutmès III à Biban-el-Molouk*, *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, 3ème Série, No. 9, 1898, pp. 91-97, plate 3.

Sethe: *Urkunden*, iv, 604 (192).

Owner:

"The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre', the son of Rē', Tuthmosis-neferkheperu (or Tuthmosis-ḥek-ma't)."

Material:

Yellow quartzite.

Form:

Sarcophagus: Oblong box with flat foot-end and rounded head-end, i.e. cartouche plan. The curve of the head is full, being very nearly a semi-circle. The corners on the interior of the box are rounded; all the corners on the exterior are finished with a 15 mm. bevel.

Lid: Hollowed cover; same plan as sarcophagus. Upper surface convex; under surface concave. Sides of lid on exterior vertical. Under side rabbeted around outer edge. Convex upper surface curves down to the edges on the sides and at the head-end. Vertical foot corners bevelled as on the sarcophagus.

Dimensions:

Length of sarcophagus and lid	236 cm.
Width of sarcophagus and lid	85 cm.
Total height (with lid in place)	97.5 cm.
Height of sarcophagus	86 cm.
Height of lid (as seen when in place)	11.5 cm.
Total height of lid	14.5 cm.
Minimum thickness of lid	9.5 cm.
Thickness of sarcophagus walls	8 cm.
Thickness of sarcophagus bottom	9.5 cm.

Pry-bar Sockets:

Sarcophagus: None.

Lid: 1 socket in the lower edge of the lid, in the middle of each end.

Decoration:

Figures (*relief en creux*):

Lid, upper surface: Nût, standing, arms outspread.

Sarcophagus, exterior, head-end: Nephthys, kneeling upon a *nebyt* sign.

Sarcophagus, exterior, foot-end: Isis, kneeling upon a *nebyt* sign.

Sarcophagus, exterior, left side: Hapy, Anubis-khenty-seh-neter, and Kebehsenuel, standing.

Sarcophagus, exterior, right side: Mesti, Anubis-imy-wet, and Duamutef, standing.
Lid, under surface: Nût, standing, arms outspread. Height 80 cm.

Sarcophagus, floor: Nût, standing, arms outspread.

Lid cartouche-frame (low relief): Upper surface of lid.

Wedjat Eyes (incised): Surmounting a simplified façade of the *sr̥* building (also incised), in the 2nd panel on the left side of the sarcophagus, exterior.

Texts (incised):

Lid, upper surface. Texts 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10.

Sarcophagus, exterior, head-end . . . Texts 13, 14, 15, 12, 17.

Sarcophagus, exterior, foot-end. Texts 20, 21, 22, 19, 23.

Sarcophagus, exterior, right side. . . . Texts 26, 27, 29, 2, 30, 9, 40, 5, 32, 34.

Sarcophagus, exterior, left side. Texts 36, 37, 39, 8, 4, 31, 10, 41, 43

Lid, under surface Texts 44, 45.

Lid, under side, floor of rabbet. Text 49.

Sarcophagus, wall tops. Texts 50, 51, 52, 53.

Sarcophagus, floor. Texts 55, 56, 57.

Colours:

Ground colour: All the surfaces of the sarcophagus and lid painted a deep red, varnished and polished.

Auxiliary colours: Hieroglyphs yellow. Traces of yellow on figures visible in spots through the varnish, which was put on thick and has now become opaque. Corneae of eyes white.

Condition:

Sarcophagus: Oval piece broken out of the rim at the center of the head-end, damaging the horizontal line of inscription across the head of the box. Oval chip out of the lower edge of the box near the middle of the left side.

Lid: Snapped cleanly in two across the middle. Lower edge, all around, battered.

Paint: In excellent condition, but obscured, to a great extent, by clotted varnish.

Base:

Alabaster. Simple rectangular block. Height 35 cm.; width 105 cm. Broken into 6 large pieces and numerous small ones. The greater part of it still lies in the declivity cut to receive it in the floor of the sarcophagus chamber. The foot end of the base is still *in situ*. The other fragments have been tumbled about.

Present Position:

The sarcophagus lies at the east end of the sarcophagus chamber (away from the entrance door), its long axis at right angles to that of the chamber, its head to the north and its left side to the east. It has been dragged almost entirely off its base. Part of its foot-end and left side still rest on the right edge of the broken base, the rest of the box being blocked up on small pieces of limestone. The lid lies on the floor of the chamber, along the right side of the sarcophagus, bottom up, and blocked up on small bits of limestone.

Miscellaneous Data:

The sculptor had originally carved the name of Anubis-khenty-seh-neter over the head of the figure and in the accompanying inscription in the 3rd panel on the right side of the sarcophagus, and the name of Anubis-imy-wet in the corresponding places on the left side of the sarcophagus. This was apparently regarded as a mistake and was corrected by filling up the original cuttings with plaster and carving "Imy-wet" over "Khenty-seh-neter" on the right side, and "Khenty-seh-neter" over "Imy-wet" on the left side of the sarcophagus, thus restoring the two forms of the deity to their normal positions, but without making any alteration in the speeches made by them.

The speeches made by the deities on the finished monument are, however, those made by the same deities on the sarcophagus of Tuthmosis I in Cairo (E). The Anubis names in the dedicatory inscriptions on the lid have not been altered and are in the original arrangement, so that they do not match the recut names in those panels on the sides of the sarcophagus which lie immediately beneath them.

G

(Tomb No. 35, Bibân el Molûk, Thebes)

Plates XII, XIII, XVII G, XVIII G, XXII G, XXIII G

Bibliography:

Loret: *Le tombeau d'Amenophis II et la cachette royale de Biban-el-Molouk*, *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, 3ème Série, 1898, pp. 98-112, plates 1, 8-15.

Carter and Mace: *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen*, i, pp. 72-73.

Carter: *Report on the Robbery of the Tomb of Amenhotep II, Biban el Moluk, Annales du Service*, iii, pp. 115-120, plates i-ii.

Owner:

"King Akheperurê, the son of Rê, Amenhotpe-hek-Yunu."

Material:

Yellow Quartzite.

Form:

Sarcophagus: Oblong box with flat foot-end and rounded head-end, i.e. cartouche plan.

The curve of the head is almost the segment of a perfect circle (angled in very slightly at the sides), the diameter of which is much greater than the width of the box, so that the rounded head-end surface meets the ends of the side walls of the box at a pronounced angle. The corners on the interior of the box are rounded; the vertical foot corners on the exterior are finished with a 10 mm. bevel.

Lid: Hollowed cover; same plan as sarcophagus. Upper surface convex, under surface concave. Under side rabbeted around outer edge. Convex upper surface curves down to the edge on the sides and at the ends. Edges of lid vertical.

Dimensions:

Length of sarcophagus and lid	246.5 cm.
Width of sarcophagus and lid	101 cm.
Total height (with lid in place)	132 cm.
Height of sarcophagus	117 cm.
Height of lid (as seen when in place)	15 cm.
Total height of lid	18 cm.
Thickness of lid	12.5 cm.
Thickness of sarcophagus walls	10 cm.
Thickness of sarcophagus bottom	15 cm.

Decoration:

Figures (relief en creux):

Sarcophagus, exterior, head-end: Nephthys, kneeling upon a *nebyt* sign.

Sarcophagus, exterior, foot-end: Isis, kneeling upon a *nebyt* sign.

Sarcophagus, exterior, left side: Hapy, Anubis-imy-wet, and Kebehsenuf, standing.

Sarcophagus, exterior, right side: Mesti, Anubis-khenty-seh-nefer, and Duamutef, standing.

Wedjat Eyes (incised): In 2nd panel on left side of sarcophagus, exterior.

Texts (incised):

Lid, upper surface Texts 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10.

Sarcophagus, exterior, head-end Text 15.

Sarcophagus, exterior, foot-end Text 22.

Sarcophagus, exterior, right side Texts 26, 34, 29, 2, 4, 31, 5, 32, 27.

Sarcophagus, exterior, left side Texts 36, 37, 39, 8, 9, 40, 10, 41, 43.

Colour:

Ground colour: All the surfaces of the sarcophagus and lid are painted a deep red; varnished and polished on the exterior.

Auxiliary colours: Hieroglyphs, flesh and under-folds of kilts of figures, rims and balls of the Eyes in the 2nd panel on the left side: yellow.

Eyes, hair, beards, chin-straps, over-folds of kilts, collars, and bracelets of figures; and brows, corner-pieces, and markings of the panel Eyes: blue.

Condition:

Sarcophagus: Perfect.

Lid: Complete, but broken into 35 pieces.

Paint: Excellent.

Base:

Alabaster. Simple rectangular block, 265 x 160 x 40 cm. *In situ* in the cutting made for it in the floor of the sarcophagus chamber, its top projecting very slightly above the floor level. Right (south) side and much of top broken off, from the foot-end to about half the length. Other edges and corners chipped.

Present Position:

Sarcophagus: *In situ*, but slightly askew on its base. Lies at the west end of the sarcophagus chamber (away from the entrance), its long axis at right angles to that of the chamber, its head-end to the north. Covered with a sheet of glass, cut to fit the top of the sarcophagus and set in a painted wooden frame.

Lid: Fragments lie on the chamber floor along the west wall, at the south end of the sarcophagus chamber (in the sunken "crypt" along with the sarcophagus).

H

(Tomb No. 43, Bibân el Molûk, Thebes)

Frontispiece, Plates XIV, XV, XVII H, XVIII H, XXIV

Bibliography:

Carter and Newberry: *The Tomb of Thoutmosis IV (Theodore M. Davis' Excavations: Bibân el Molûk)*, pp. ix, x, xxviii, xxx, xxxv-xl, and plate (Opposite p. xxxv).

Owner:

"King Menkheperurê, the son of Rê, Kh'-Tuthmosis-kh'u."

Material:

Yellow quartzite.

Form:

Sarcophagus: High oblong box with flat foot-end and rounded head-end, i.e. cartouche-plan. The rounding of the head is confined to the sides of the surface, the middle being flat over a width of 60 cm. The corners on the interior of the box are rounded; the 2 vertical corners at the foot-end on the exterior are finished with a 15 mm. bevel.

Lid: Thick, slightly hollowed cover. Upper surface convex; under surface concave. Under side rabbeted around outer edge. Sides and ends of lid on exterior vertical, the rounded top curving down to the sides and head-end, and slanting sharply down at the foot-end.

Dimensions:

Length of sarcophagus and lid 300 cm.

Width of sarcophagus and lid 160 cm.

Total height (with lid in place)	190 cm.
Height of sarcophagus	165 cm.
Height of lid (as seen when in place)	34 cm.
Total height of lid	38 cm.
Minimum thickness of lid	28 cm.
Thickness of sarcophagus walls	14 cm.

Pry-bar Sockets:

Sarcophagus: None.

Lid: 2 in lower edge of rim at each end.

Decoration:

Figures (*relief en creux*):

Lid, upper surface: Nût, standing, arms outspread. Height 45 cm.

Sarcophagus, exterior, head-end: Nephthys, standing, arms outspread. Height 95 cm.

Sarcophagus, exterior, foot-end: Isis, standing, arms outspread. Height 95 cm.

Sarcophagus, exterior, left side: Hapy, Anubis-imy-wet, Kebehsenuf, and Geb, standing.

Sarcophagus, exterior, right side: Mesti, Anubis-khenty-seh-neter, Duamutef, and Horus, standing.

Wedjat Eyes (incised): 1st panel on left side of sarcophagus, exterior.

Texts (incised):

Lid, upper surface Texts 1, 2, 5, 4, 7, 8, 10, 9, 11.

Sarcophagus, exterior, head-end Texts 16, 30, 18.

Sarcophagus, exterior, foot-end Texts 22, 49, 24, 30 line iii.

Sarcophagus, exterior, right side Texts 26, 28, 2, 29, 5, 31, 4, 32, 7, 33.

Sarcophagus, exterior, left side Texts 36, 38, 8, 39, 10, 40, 9, 41, 11, 42.

Colours:

Ground colour: All the exterior surfaces of the sarcophagus and lid were painted a deep red, varnished and polished.

Hieroglyphs: Yellow.

Male figures: Flesh parts, yellow. Over-folds of kilts, hair, beards, eyes, bracelets: blue. Under-folds of kilts: white.

Female figures: Flesh parts: yellow. Headdresses and dresses: white. Eyes, bracelets, and anklets: blue.

Eyes in Panel 1, left side: Eyeballs: black. Corneae: white. Rims: yellow. Brows, lashes, etc.: blue.

Condition:

Sarcophagus: Head-end: rim battered off on right corner curve, exterior. Right side near foot: Rim chipped. Head-end and right side near head: Lower edge of box chipped off.

Lid: Head-end: rim battered off all along right corner curve, exterior, right pry-bar socket partially destroyed. Right side: rim chipped.

Paint: All colours, especially the red ground colour, much faded.

Base:

Odd flat slabs of stone, set into a very shallow cutting in the floor of the sarcophagus chamber.

Present Position:

Sarcophagus: *In situ*, on the base slabs, at the east (Local, actually northeast) end of the sarcophagus chamber, away from the entrance, its head to the north, and its long axis, therefore, at right angles to that of the chamber.

Lid: At present in place on the sarcophagus. As found by Carter: Lay on the floor of the chamber, bottom up, along the right side of the sarcophagus; blocked up, at three corners, on piled-up slabs of stone, and, at the fourth corner, on a wooden cow's head (part of one of the items of the original tomb furniture).

I

(Lid Only)

(Tomb No. 22, Western Valley, Biban el Molûk, Thebes)

Plates XVI, XVII I, XIX I, XX.

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Porter and Moss: *Bibliography*, i, p. 28 and plan.

Owner:

"King Nebma'trê", the son of Rê', Amenhotpe-ḥek-Wast."

Material:

Red granite.

Form:

Hollowed cover with flat foot-end and rounded head-end, i.e. cartouche-plan. The curve of the head-end is complex, being flat in the middle and angled sharply inwards on the sides. The edges of the lid on the exterior are vertical. The upper surface is convex, curved flatly on top, but angling sharply downwards at the sides. A flat sloping surface makes the juncture between the bottom of the convex upper face and the vertical edges of the lid, thus forming, on the sides and at the head-end, a projecting rim. The flat foot-end of the lid is finished with a transverse "board," the flat-curved upper edge of which joins flush with the top of the curved upper surface of the lid; but the rounded corners of which project out beyond the down-curving sides of this surface on either side. The under side of the lid is rabbeted around its outer edge which is flat, the rest of the under surface of the lid being concave.

Dimensions:

Length.....	300 cm.
Width.....	133 cm.
Total height.....	34 cm.
Depth of rabbet on under side.....	2 5 cm.
Width of rabbet on under side.....	7 cm.
Thickness.....	19 cm.
Thickness of foot-board.....	12.5 cm.

Decoration:

Figures (*relief en creux*):

Under surface: Nût, winged, standing, arms and wings outspread.

Wedjat Eyes (Incised): Under surface, one on either side of the Nût figure.

Texts (Incised):

Upper Surface Texts 1, 8, 4, 6, 7, 2, 9, 5, 11.

Under Surface Texts 46, 47; 48; 30, lines i, x, xi, xii, xiv; 44; 26; 36.

Colours:

Ground colour: None—other than the natural red of the granite

Auxiliary colours: Hieroglyphs and figure, traces of yellow.

Condition:

Broken up into 50 pieces: 2 main fragments, 4 good-sized fragments, and 44 small fragments. Especially badly broken along the left side near the foot-end, where about 55 cm. of the left rim of the lid is missing, including a large part of the left border inscription on the under side. Except for this one missing section, however, the lid, though shattered, is complete.

The yellow colouring of the figures and hieroglyphs is badly worn and faded.

The under side of the lid is coated with a cement-like crust of lime, mud, bat-dung, and general filth.

Position as Found¹:

Lay on the floor of the crypt at the east end of the sarcophagus chamber, bottom up, close along the east wall, its long axis at right angles to that of the chamber, its head-end to the north. The original position of the sarcophagus is determined by 2 shallow slots cut in the floor of the crypt and evidently intended to receive the base blocks on which the ends of the sarcophagus rested. They are 160 cm. long, 50-60 cm. wide, and 25 cm. deep; set parallel with one another and running roughly east to west across the middle of the floor of the crypt, that is, parallel with the long axis of the sarcophagus chamber; and spaced so that their outer sides are exactly 300 cm. apart—the length of the lid and, hence, of the sarcophagus. The south end of the west slot is 170 cm. from the same wall. This establishes the original position of the sarcophagus as being roughly in the middle of the crypt, aligned north-south, its head-end, to judge from the position of the lid, to the north, its long axis slightly askew with the direction of the east wall of the crypt. The lid, which was found lying bottom up alongside the east ends of the base slots and between them and the east wall of the crypt, probably lay where it had been left by the tomb robbers who pried it up and threw it over and off the sarcophagus and down on to the floor alongside. Much of the breakage which the lid has suffered undoubtedly occurred at this time.

Data on the Missing Sarcophagus:

Of the sarcophagus itself, not a single fragment has been found, either in the tomb or elsewhere. It may be assumed, however, that its length and width were the same as those of its lid. The height, of course, will always be uncertain; but, by comparing the heights of the preceding three or four sarcophagus boxes with their other dimensions, a meter and a half would seem to be about right.

If we suppose the thickness of the box walls to have been the same as the width of the rabbet on the under side of the lid—which has been the case with all the other monuments of the group—the resulting dimension would be a scant 7 cm. Such extreme thinness of wall seems impossible in a monument three meters long and made of so hard, so brittle, and so treacherous a material as either granite or quartzite; and it is more likely that the actual thickness of the box walls was equal to the combined widths of the lid rabbet and the flat flange left on the inner side of this rabbet, i.e. 12 cm., the tops of the box walls being rabbeted along their inner sides to receive the down-projecting lid flange (see Plate XX).

¹ By Jollois and Devilliers of the Napoleonic expedition in 1799. See *Déscription de l'Égypte Antiquités* plate, volume ii, plate 79 (5).

APPENDIX II

THE XVIII DYNASTY SARCOPHAGUS TEXTS: PARALLELS FROM THE PYRAMID TEXTS, FROM MIDDLE KINGDOM COFFIN INSCRIPTIONS, AND FROM THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

The table which follows gives a list of the parallels to the texts on the XVIII Dynasty royal sarcophagi which the writer has been able to discover in either the Pyramid Texts, Middle Kingdom Coffin Inscriptions, or in the Book of the Dead. While many of the parallels listed are identical with the versions which appear on the sarcophagi, others display a number of minor differences, and still others can be said only to have formed the bases from which the sarcophagus texts were derived. For instance, cases where the XVIII Dynasty sarcophagus text corresponds exactly with its VI Dynasty original are rare, and it is rather more common to find that one of our texts is made up of a number of phrases taken from several different sections of the Pyramid Texts. On the other hand, a single chapter from the Book of the Dead may contain a number of sarcophagus texts; or one Text may be found in a chapter in the midst of a series of speeches which appear nowhere on the sarcophagi. Instances where a single Sarcophagus Text is paralleled by a complete chapter of the Book of the Dead (e.g. Text 30 and Chapter LXXII) are rare indeed. As might be expected, the inscriptions on XI-XIII Dynasty coffins are the best parallels to the shorter texts on the sarcophagi. Being adapted to use on the same type of monument, they are, for the most part, of similar length and are couched in similar terms. But even here differences—especially the interchange of the persons speaking, addressed, or referred to—occur.

The convenient numbering and lettering of the sections in the standard publication of the Pyramid Texts makes exact, line reference to these texts a simple matter. In the cases of the Middle Kingdom Coffins and the Book of the Dead there is, however, the choice of either giving detailed references, which would necessitate the abandonment of the tabular presentation; or of giving summary references and retaining the table. Retention of the tabular arrangement seems of such value that the latter course has been adopted. Even so, the reader is, with each reference, limited to a single, usually not very elaborately inscribed coffin or to a single chapter from the Book of the Dead; and it is hoped that, with the aid of the list of works immediately to be given, the task of locating the parallel referred to will not prove insurmountable, or even irksome.

The numbers (in some instances accompanied by small letters) given under the heading *Pyramid Texts* are those of the *sections* (and lines)—not of the *Utterances*—in Kurt Sethe's *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte* (4 vols. Leipzig, 1908-1922), at present the standard publication of these texts. Another work, which is valuable for the index to the Texts which it contains, is Louis Speleers's *Les Textes des Pyramides Égyptiennes* (Brussels. 1923).

The term "Middle Kingdom Coffin *inscriptions*" refers to a series of rather short texts which are usually found in the inter-panel or horizontal bands on the exteriors of rectangular wooden coffins of Dynasties X-XIII, or on their lids. Occasionally these texts are written on the interiors of the coffins, and often on the under sides of the lids. They are not to be confused with the much longer texts, written in small, closely spaced columns, which pack the panels and cover the interior wall, floor, and lid surfaces of many of these same coffins; and which are either chapters from the Middle Kingdom version of the Book of the Dead or belong to that category known as "*Coffin Texts*" . . . i.e. a set of "spells which are peculiar

to the early coffins and do not recur later . . . not, at least, until the Saite period, when some of them are sporadically revived" (Gardiner: *Grammar*, p. 18.)

Reference is made in the table to eighteen Middle Kingdom coffins, only the name of the owner of the coffin being set opposite any Sarcophagus Text which finds a parallel among the inscriptions on that coffin. Since there are usually less than thirty inscriptions of the type involved here on any one of these coffins and since they are usually written in prominent positions and in large-sized, monumental hieroglyphs, no difficulty should be encountered in locating the special text required in each case. The coffins referred to are as follows:

- ḎḤṬY-NAKHT A: Rectangular, painted wooden coffin of *Ḏḥwtj-nḥt*, XII Dynasty, from el Bersheh (Lacau: *Sarcophages antérieures au Nouvel Empire*, (Catal. Gén. Mus. Caire) No. 28094, ii, pp. 65-71, plate xxix).
- ḎḤṬY-NAKHT B: Rectangular, painted wooden coffin of *Ḏḥwtj-nḥt*, XII Dynasty, from el Bersheh (Lacau: Op. cit., No. 28099, ii, p. 74, plate x).
- HAPI-ANKHTIFY: 2nd rectangular, painted wooden coffin of the steward *Hpy-nḥt i-fy*, XII Dynasty, from Meir (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Department of Egyptian Art, Accession No. 12.183.11 b. Unpublished).
- ḤOR: Rectangular, painted wooden coffin of *Ḥr*, XII Dynasty, from Saqqara (Lacau: Op. cit., No. 28035, i, pp. 96-100).
- IHA: Rectangular, painted wooden coffin of *Ih3*, XII Dynasty, from el Bersheh (Lacau: Op. cit., No. 28089, ii, p. 20, plates xii, xxiii).
- ITA: Outer rectangular, painted wooden coffin of *Ih3*, XII Dynasty, from Dashour (J. de Morgan: *Fouilles à Dahchour en 1894-1895*, pp. 47-48).
- ITA-WERET: Rectangular, painted wooden coffin of *Ih3-wrt*, XII Dynasty, from Dashour (De Morgan: Op. cit., p. 75).
- KHNŪMET: Rectangular, painted wooden coffin of *Hnmṯ*, XII Dynasty, from Dashour (De Morgan: Op. cit., pp. 57-58).
- KHNŪMŪ-NAKHT: Rectangular, painted wooden coffin of *Hnmw-nḥt*, XII Dynasty, from Meir (Met. Mus. Art, New York, Dept. Eg. Art, Accession No. 15.2.2. Unpublished).
- MENTUḤOTPE: Outer and inner rectangular, painted wooden coffins of the Steward *Mntw-ḥtp*, XI Dynasty, from Thebes (Dira'Abu'l Naga) (Georg Steindorff: *Grabfunde des Mittleren Reiches in den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, i. *Das Grab des Mentuhotep*, Berlin, 1896, pp. 3-6 and 10-13).
- MESHET: Rectangular, painted wooden coffin of *Mshṯ*, IX-X Dynasty, from Assiut (Lacau: Op. cit., No. 28118, ii, p. 101, plate ix).
- NŪB-ḤER-ERDI: Rectangular, painted wooden coffin of *Nb-ḥr-rdi*, XIII-XIV Dynasty, from Thebes (Deir el Bahri) (Lacau: Op. cit., No. 28030, i, pp. 79-81, plate xvi).
- NŪB-ḤETEPTI: Rectangular, painted wooden coffin of the Princess *Nb-ḥtp-ṯt*, XII Dynasty, from Dashour (De Morgan: *Fouilles à Dahchour, Mars-Juin*, 1894, p. 111).
- NŪB-ḤETEPTI-KHERED: Rectangular, painted wooden coffin of *Nb-ḥtp-ṯt-ḥrd*, XII Dynasty, from Dashour (Lacau: Op. cit., No. 28104, ii, p. 81).
- SAT-ḤEDJ-ḤOTEP: Inner and outer rectangular, painted wooden coffins of *S3-t-ḥd-ḥtp*, XII Dynasty, from el Bersheh (Lacau: Op. cit., Nos. 28085-6, i, pp. 201-222, plates xi, xxvi, lvi).
- SAT-MERYT-ḤATHOR: Rectangular, painted wooden coffin of *S3-t-mryt-ḥ3t-ḥr*, XII Dynasty, from Dashour (De Morgan: *Fouilles à Dahchour en 1894-1895*, p. 76; Lacau: Op. cit., No. 28101, ii, p. 77 ff.).
- SESENB-NEF: Rectangular, painted wooden coffin of *Ssnb-n-f*, XII Dynasty, from Lisht (J.-E. Gauthier and G. Jequier: *Mémoire sur les fouilles de Lisht*, *Mém. Inst. Franc. du Caire*, vi, 1902, Plate xvi ff.).

28065: Rectangular, painted wooden coffin, name missing, XII Dynasty, from Meir (Lacau: *Op. cit.*, No. 28065, i, p. 159).

"By Book of the Dead" is meant, not only the New Empire papyrus-roll and tomb-wall version of the "Book," but also those collections of chapters which appear, much earlier, on the interiors of Middle Kingdom coffins. For the early version the best book of reference is Richard Lepsius: *Älteste Texte des Totenbuch* (Berlin. 1910). For the New Empire versions the standard work is Edouard Naville: *Das ägyptische Totenbuch des XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie* (3 vols. Berlin. 1886). Useful for its index is E. A. Wallis Budge: *The Book of the Dead: the chapters of coming forth by day* (London. The 1898 Edition, bound in black, is, perhaps, the best).

XVIII
DYNASTY
SARCOPH-
AGUS
TEXTS

PYRAMID TEXTS

MIDDLE KINGDOM COFFINS

BOOK OF THE DEAD

I	530 b, 777 a; 1082 c.		... CXIX; CXXXIII, CXLIX (cf. CLXXVIII)
2-II		Common	
12	5 a and d, 2053		
13			
14		Nūb-her-erdi	
15	298 a, 550 b		CLI
17	1528, 2201		
18	384 a		CXXV
19	639 b, 828, 1815 a, 2145 b	Khnūmū-nakht; Meshet; Sat-meryt-Ḥathor	
20		Sesenb-nef	
21	632 a, 1635, 1787	Ḥapi-'ankhtify; Khnūmū- nakht	
22	33 a, 99 c, 613 a, 641, 1653 a-b, 1727 a, 1807 c	Dhūty-nakht A; Sat-ḥedj- hotep, inner; 28065	
23	3 b-e, 1630, 1786	Ḥapi-'ankhtify; Meshet; Sat-meryt-Ḥathor; Sesenb-nef	
24	546 c, 550 c, 577 a and c, 626 d, 638, 654 a-b, 1096 c, 1366 c, 1514 b-c, 1607, 1684, 1732, 1789, 1801, 1945 b		
25	618 b, 626 a-b, 654 a, 2024 a		
26		Iha, Sat-ḥedj-hotep, outer and inner	
27	195, 565 c-d, 639 a, 646 c, 647 c	Ḥapi-'ankhtify, Ita; Ita- weret; Khnūmet' Khnū- mū-nakht; Nūb-her-erdi; Nūb-ḥetepti; Nūb-ḥet- epti-khered; Sat-meryt- Ḥathor; Sesenb-nef	
28	625 c, 638, 1096 c, 1945 b		CXXV
29	760 c, 829 c, 836 c, 1660, 1668 d-1669 b, 1804 b	Nūb-her-erdi	CLI
30			LXXII (cf. XCIX)
31	1684 end	Khnūmū-nakht	
32	637 a, 1684 end		CLI
33	25, 638 b, 1607		
34		Nūb-her-erdi; Nūb-ḥetepti; Nūb-ḥetepti-khered; Sesenb-nef	CLI (Nebseni, line 9)

XVIII DYNASTY SARCOPH- AGUS TEXTS	PYRAMID TEXTS	MIDDLE KINGDOM COFFINS	BOOK OF THE DEAD
35	587, 590, 647 a, 775 a, 823 d-e, 1537 a, 1617 a, 1658 b, 1659 c	Ita; Ita-weret; Khnūmet; Sat-meryt-Ḥathor	XIV; CXXXVII A
36	1, 7 b, 736 ff		
37	263 b, 1482 b, 2061 b	Nūb-her-erdi	Cf. CI, rubric
38	565 a		CXXV; IX
39	9 b, 572, 626 d, 1801	Khnūmū-nakht; Nūb-her- erdi	CLI
40		28065	VII; cf. V
41	623 b, 654, 828, 829 c, 836 c, 855 b-c, 1514 b-c, 1640 a, 1660 b, 1668 d-1669 b, 1684, 1786 b, 1789, 1801, 1892 a	Hapi-'ankhtify; Khnūmū- nakht; Nūb-her-erdi	CLI
43	195, 565 c-d, 639 a, 646 c, 647 c	Ḥapi-'ankhtify; Ita; Ita- weret; Khnūmet; Khnū- mū-nakht; Nūb-her-erdi; Nūb-ḥetepti; Nūb-ḥet- epti-khered; Sat-meryt- Ḥathor; Sesenb-nef	
44	657 e, 1684		
45	638, 639 b, 1607	Dḥūty-nakht B; Ita; Ita- weret; Khnūmet; Mentu- ḥotpe, outer and inner; Nūb-ḥetepti; Sat-ḥedj- ḥotep, inner; Sesenb-nef	CLXXVIII
46	298 a, 550 b, 613, 638, 641, 1607		
48	99 c, 1640 a, 1727 a, 1786 b, 1892 a		
49	1631 a	Ḥor; Ita; Ita-weret; Khnū- met; Mesḥet; Sat-meryt- Ḥathor	
50	33 a, 99 c, 613 a, 641, 1653 a-b, 1727 a, 1807 c	Sat-ḥedj-ḥotep, inner; 28065; Dḥūty-nakht, A	
51	298 a, 550 b		CLI
52	1684 end	Khnūmū-nakht	
53			VII; cf. V
54	474 a, 857	Iḥa; Sat-ḥedj-ḥotep, inner and outer	CXLIX (10th 131)
55	33 a, 99 c, 613 a, 641, 1653 a-b, 1727 a, 1807 c	Dḥūty-nakht A; Sat-ḥedj- ḥotep, inner; 28065	
56	1684 end	Khnūmū-nakht	
57			VII; cf. V

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TEXT SHEETS

Copies of every individual text and all of its important variants on each of the eight decorated sarcophagi (A and C-I) discussed.

Note: The Texts are numbered 1-57, according to where they occur on the sarcophagi, the order being as follows:

Exterior:

Lid.....	Texts 1-11
Head-End.....	Texts 12-18
Foot-End.....	Texts 19-24
Right Side.....	Texts 25-34
Left Side.....	Texts 35-43

Interior:

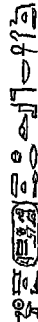
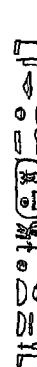
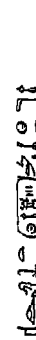
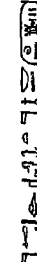
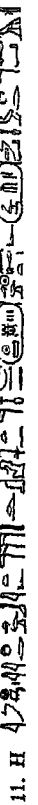
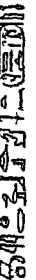
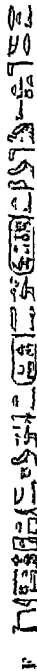
Lid.....	Texts 44-49
Top Edges of Walls.....	Texts 50-53
Floor of box.....	Texts 54-57

Non-religious texts Texts I-II

(The above grouping applies to the positions of the texts on the majority of the sarcophagi, there being exceptions in the cases of Sarcophagi A, H, and I.)

The letter (A, C, D, etc.) opposite each version of a text refers to the sarcophagus (A, C, D, etc.) on which that version appears.

N.B. The exact position of every text may be ascertained by referring to the drawings in Plates XVII-XX and XXII-XXV, wherein the number of each text is written in the position in which it occurs on the sarcophagus reproduced in the drawing.

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11. H  I 
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12. C  D  E  F 

- [illegible]

I 24-25-26-27-28

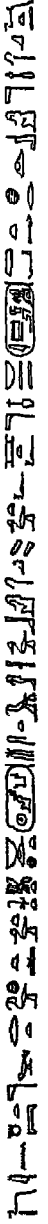
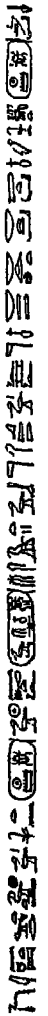
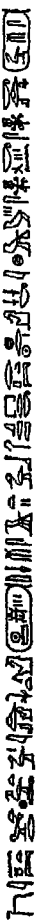
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 F നവകംപകം
 G നവകംപകം

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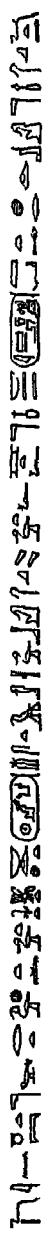
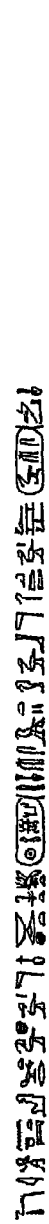
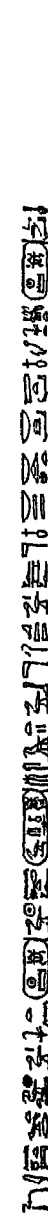
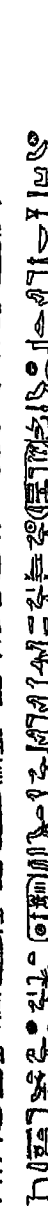
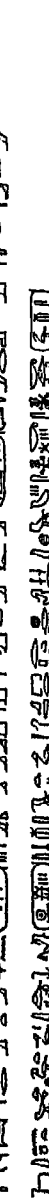
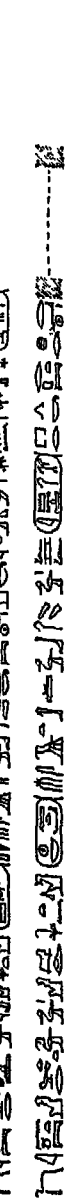
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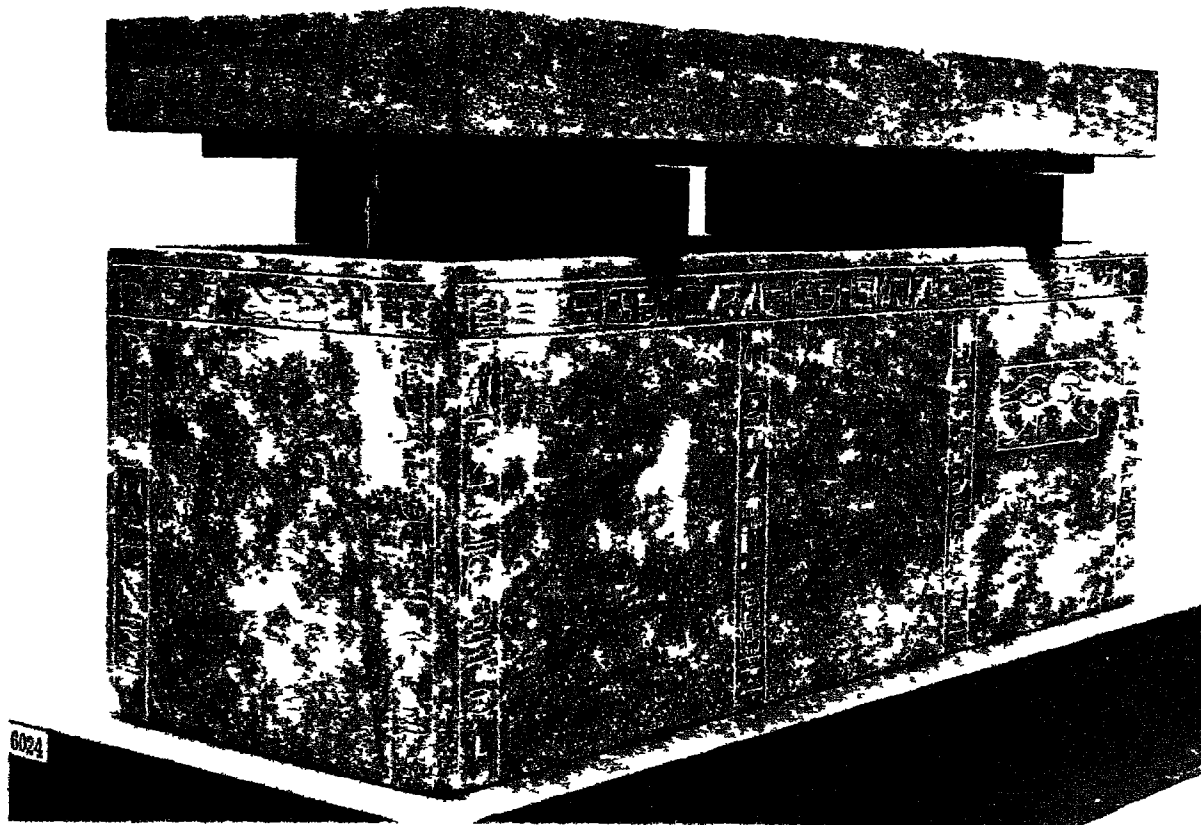


PLATE I
A SARCOPHAGUS OF HATSHEPSUT AS QUEEN OF EGYPT LEFT SIDE AND FOOT-END
Cairo Museum
(Ph Harry Burton, M M A Eg Exped Neg No C458)



PLATE II, 1
 B SARCOPHAGUS OF TUTHMOSIS II (?), AS FOUND BY CARTER IN THE KING'S TOMB
 Bibân el Molûk, Tomb No 42
 (Carter *Annales du Service*, ii, plate i)



PLATE II, 2
 B SARCOPHAGUS OF TUTHMOSIS II (?)
 Bibân el Molûk, Tomb No 42
 (Photograph taken in 1930, after the lid had been stacked against the side of the sarcophagus)

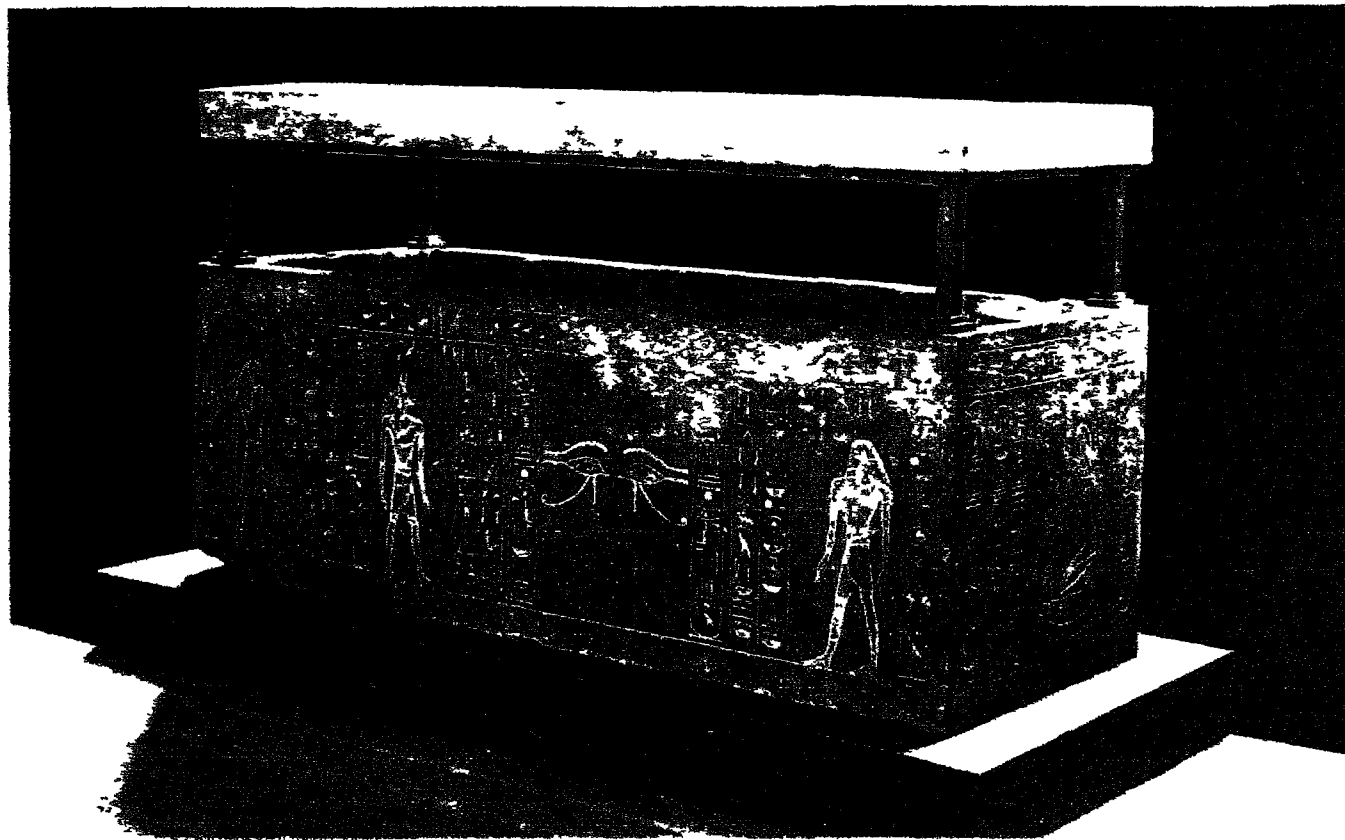


PLATE III
C SARCOPHAGUS OF TUTHMOSIS I LEFT SIDE
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
(Ph Boston Museum of Fine Arts)

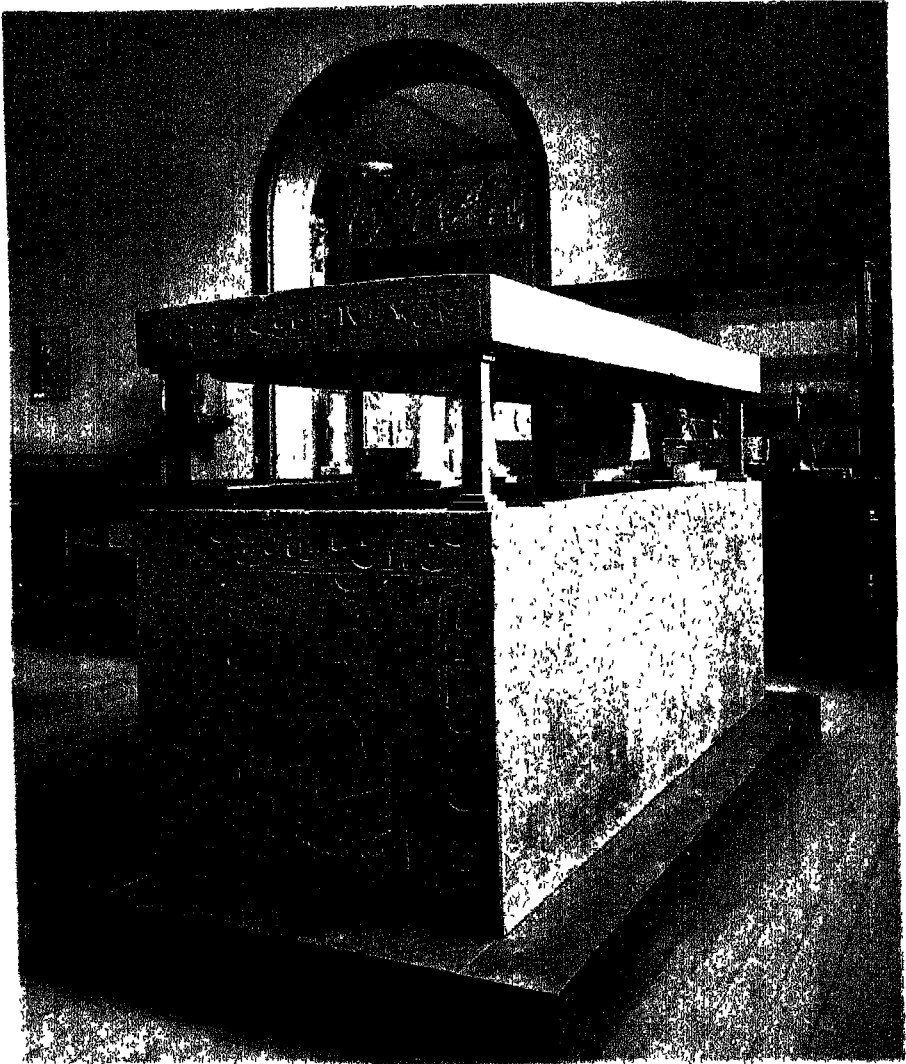


PLATE IV
C. SARCOPHAGUS OF TUTHMOSIS I. HEAD-END AND RIGHT SIDE
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
(Ph. Boston Museum of Fine Arts)

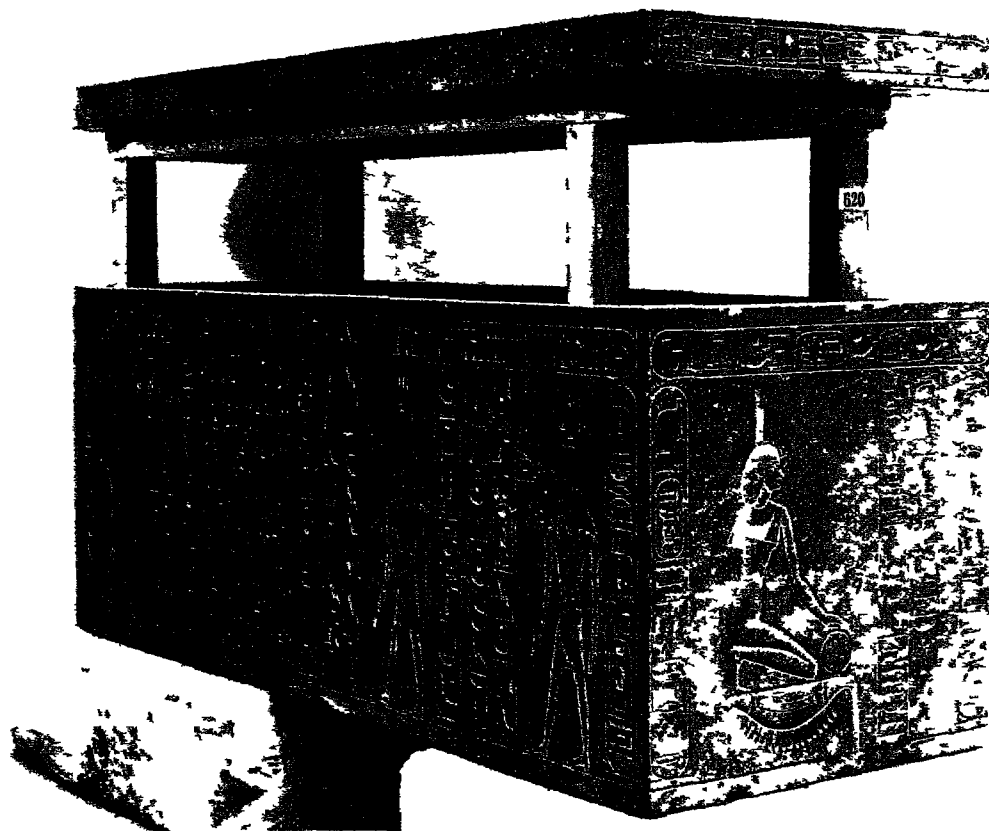


PLATE V

D SARCOPHAGUS OF HATSHEPSUT AS KING OF EGYPT RIGHT SIDE AND FOOT END
Cairo Museum

(Ph Harry Burton, M M A Eg Exped Neg No C457)

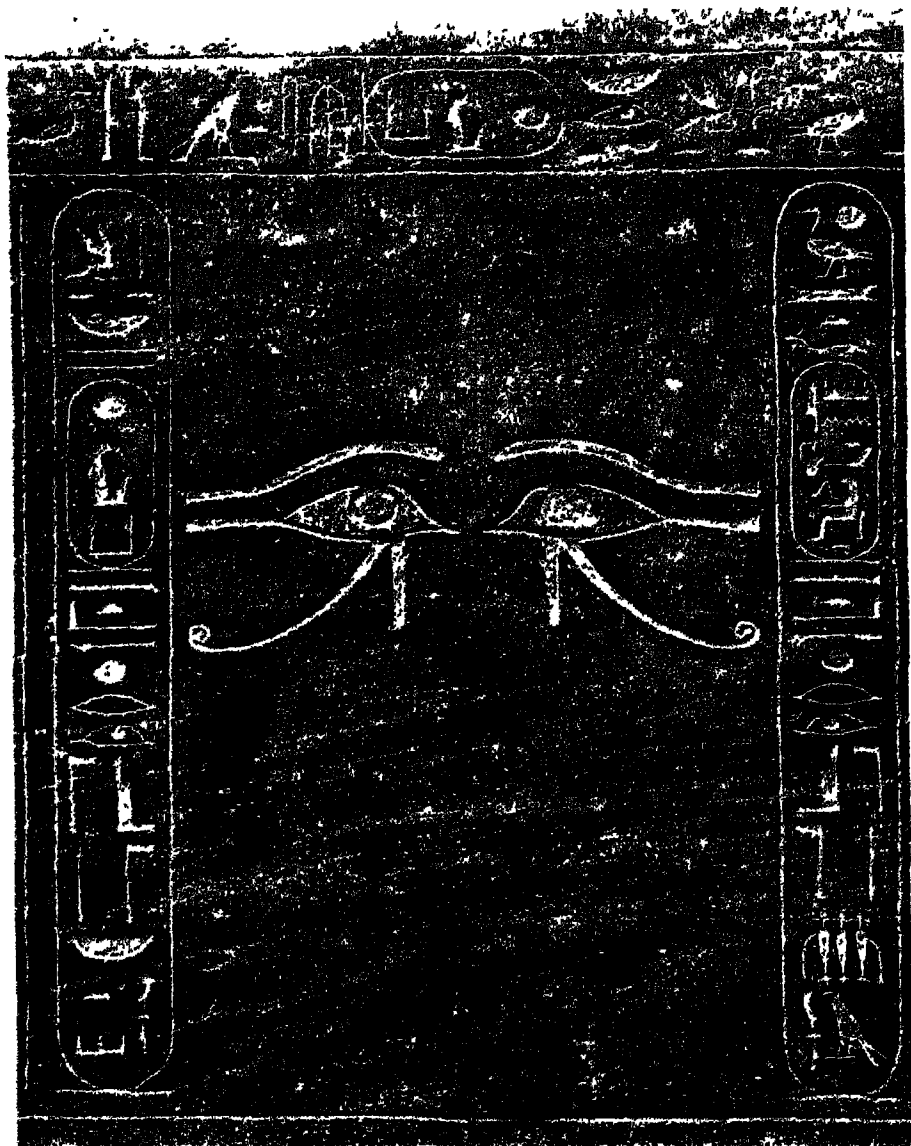


PLATE VI
D. SARCOPHAGUS OF HATSHEPSÛT AS KING OF EGYPT. LEFT SIDE, EYE-PANEL
Cairo Museum
(Ph Harry Burton, M M. A Eg. Exped. Neg No. C459)

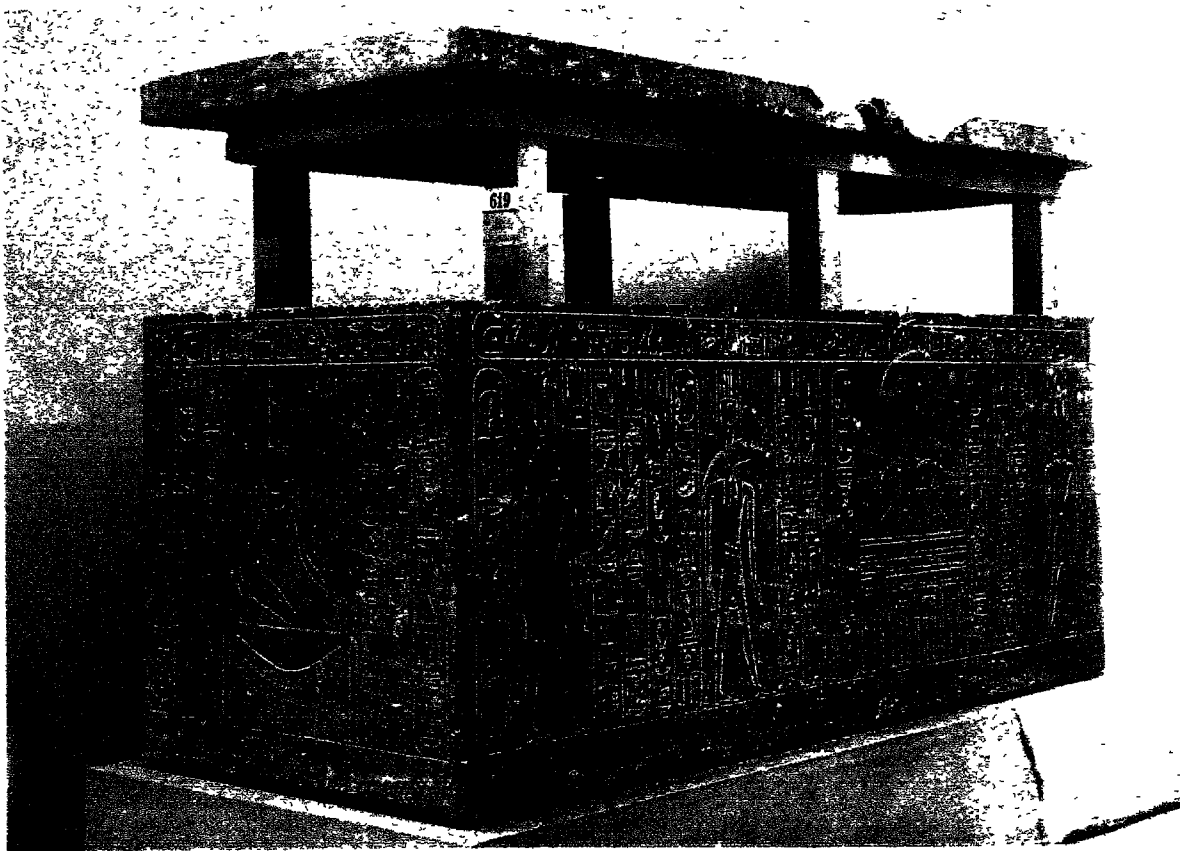


PLATE VII
E. SARCOPHAGUS OF TUTHMOSIS I. FOOT-END AND LEFT SIDE
Cairo Museum
(Ph. Harry Burton, M. M. A. Eg. Exped. Neg. No. C445)

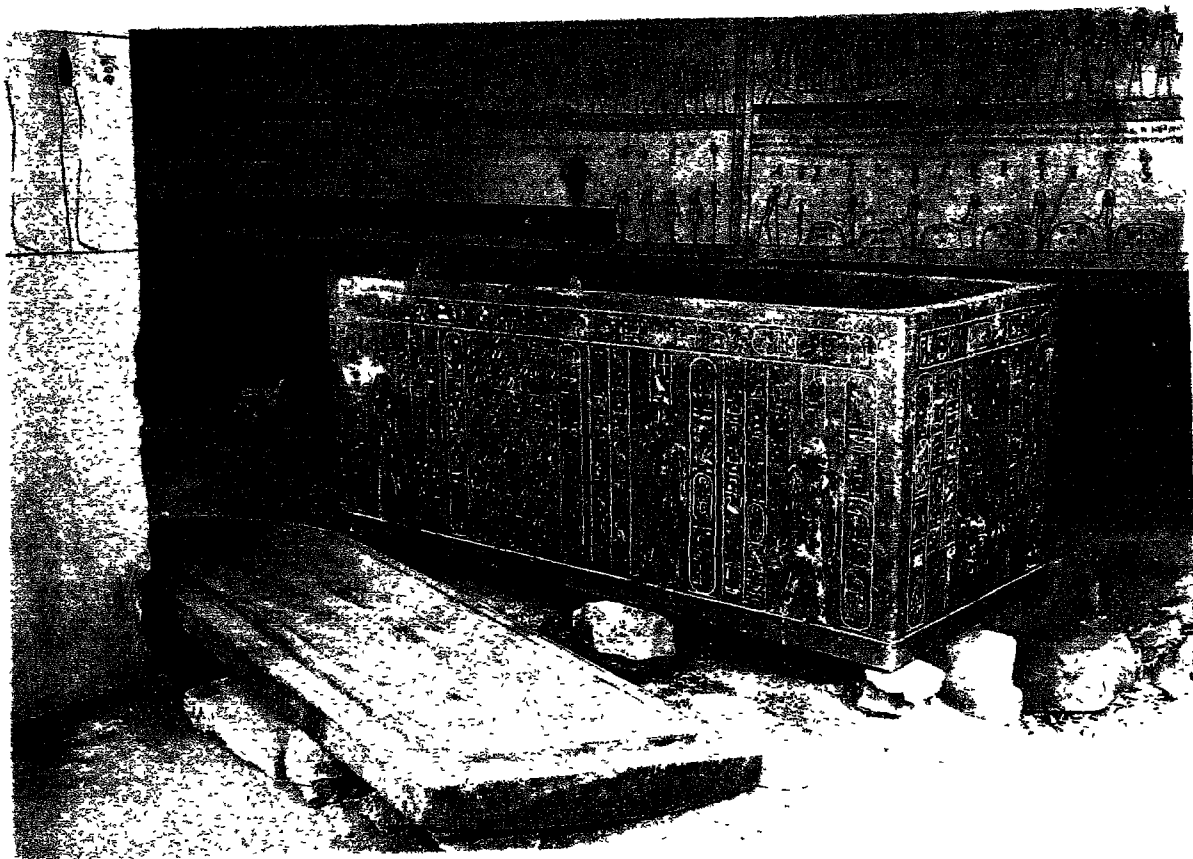


PLATE VIII

F. SARCOPHAGUS OF TUTHMOSIS III. RIGHT SIDE. LID IN FOREGROUND

Bibân el Molûk, Tomb No. 34

(Ph. Harry Burton, M. M. A. Eg. Exped. Neg. No. T1769)

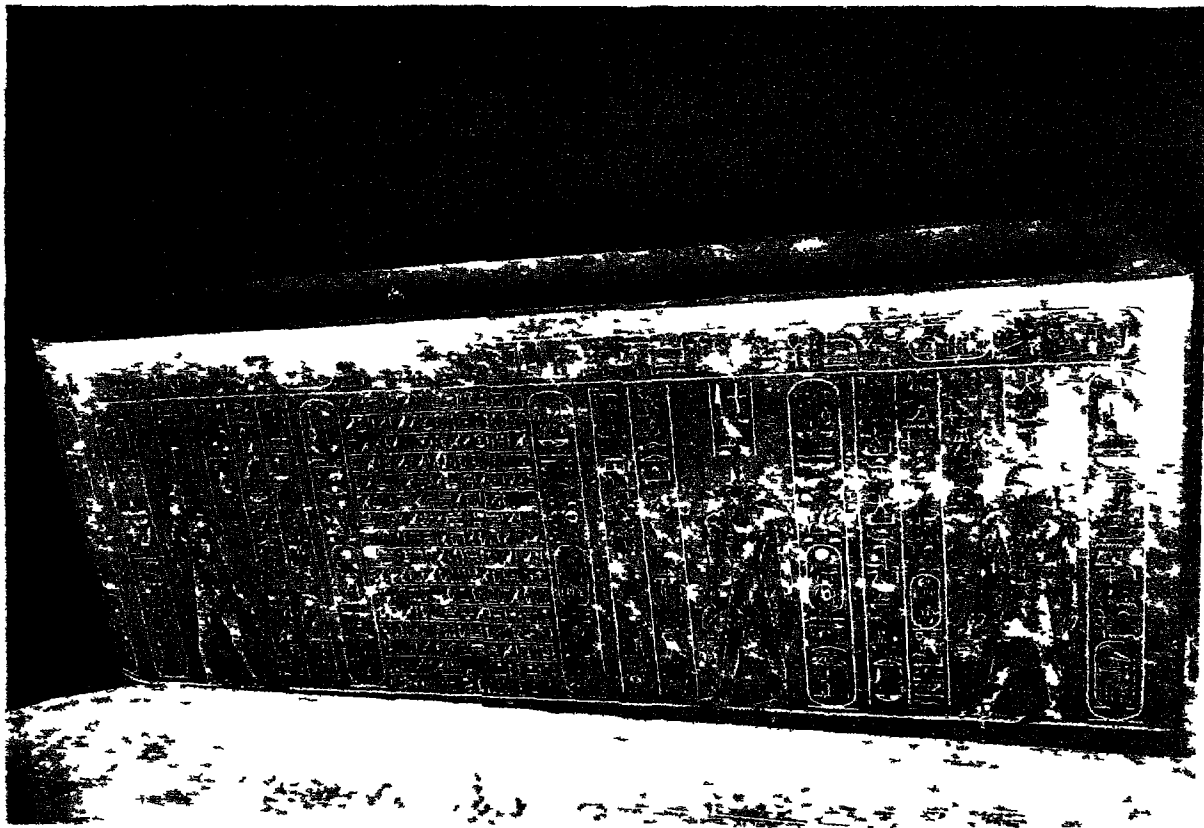


PLATE IX

F SARCOPHAGUS OF TUTHMOSIS III RIGHT SIDE

Bibân el Moluk, Tomb No 34

(Ph Harry Burton, M M A Eg Exped Neg No T1771)

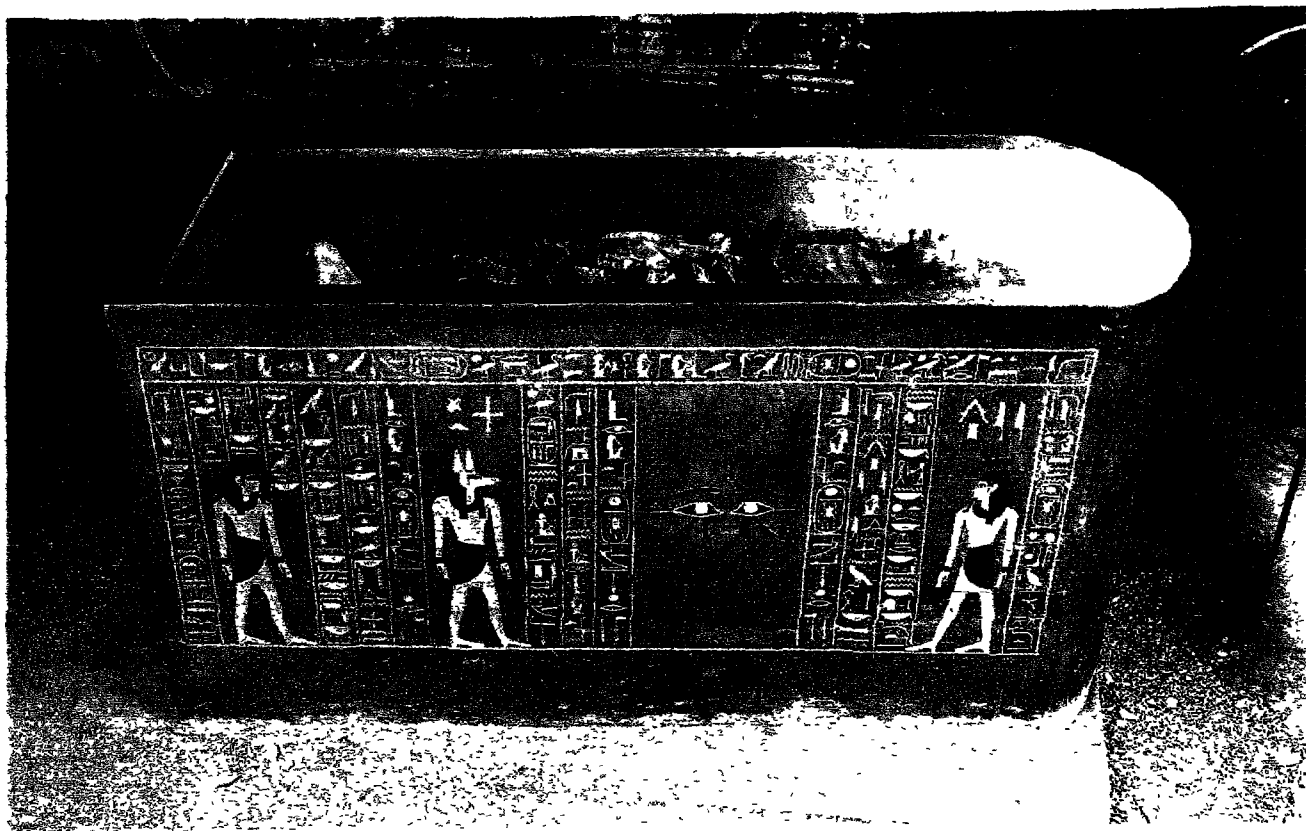


PLATE XII

G. SARCOPHAGUS OF AMENHOTEP II. LEFT SIDE

Bibân el Molúk, Tomb No. 35

(Ph. Harry Burton, M. M. A. Eg. Exped. Neg. No. T1144)



PLATE XIII
G. SARCOPHAGUS OF AMENHOTEP II. FOOT-END
Bibân el Molûk, Tomb No. 35
(Ph. Gaddis and Self, Luxor)

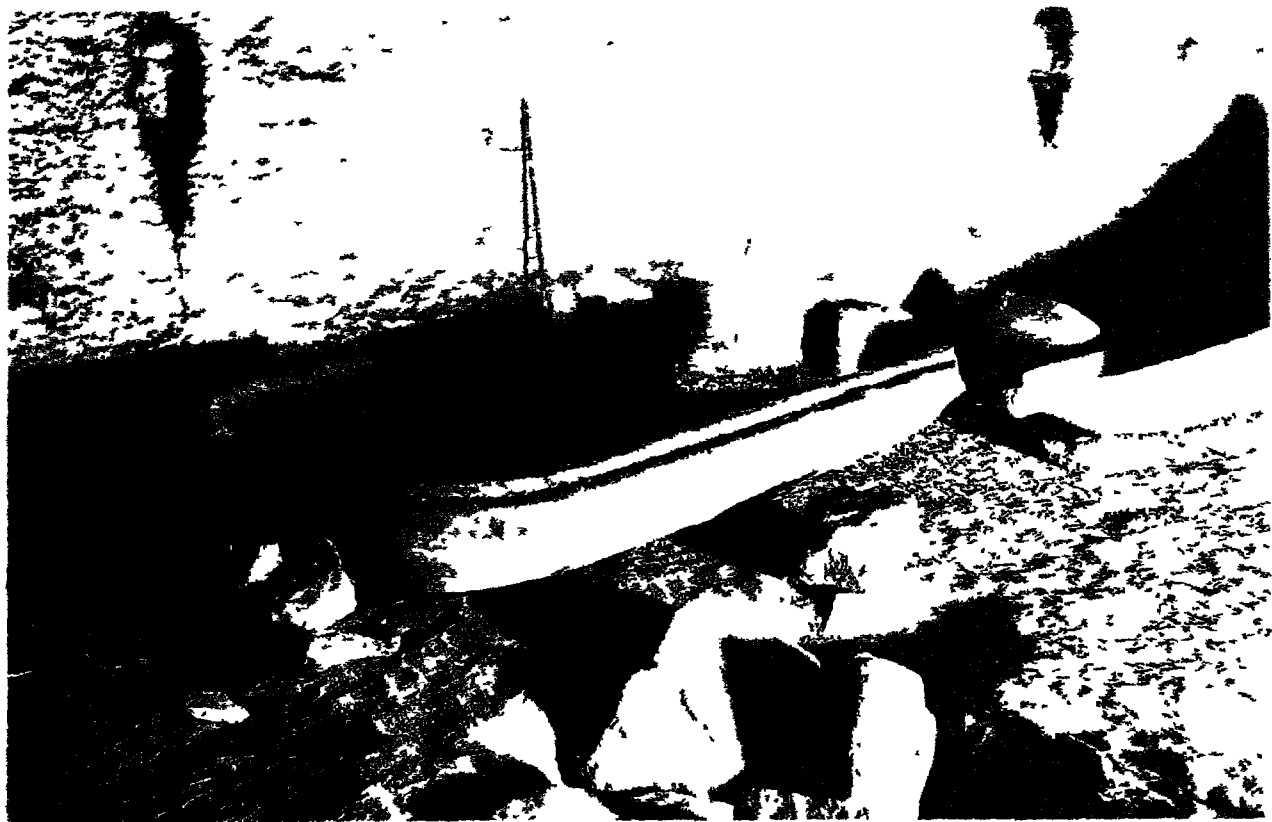
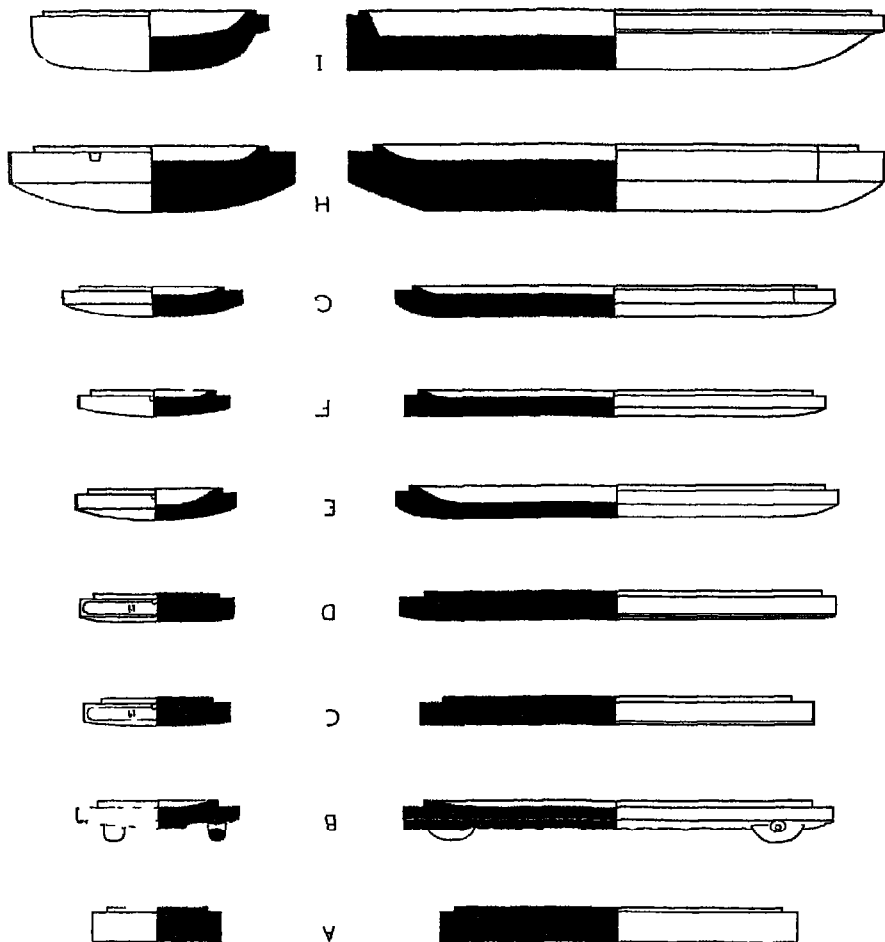


PLATE XVI

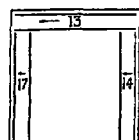
I FRAGMENTS OF THE LID OF THE SARCOPHAGUS OF AMENHOTPE III

Bibân el Molúk (West Valley), Tomb No 22

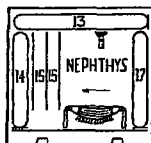
PLATE XVII
SARCOPHAGI A-I
Lids, Side and End Elevations and Sections
Scale 1:40



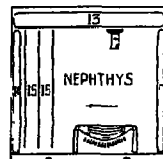
HEAD-ENDS



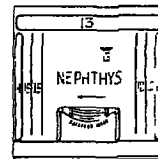
A



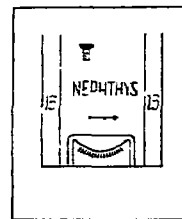
C



D

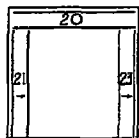


F

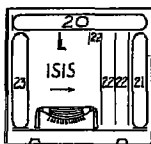


G

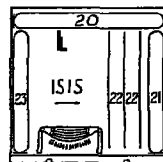
FOOT-ENDS



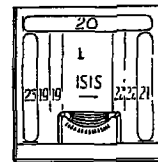
A



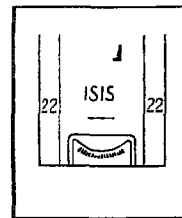
C



D



F



G

PLATE XXII

SARCOPHAGI A, C, D, F, G

Boxes: End Elevations

Scale 1:40

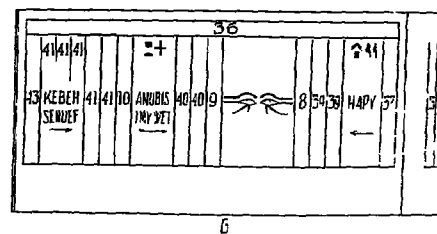
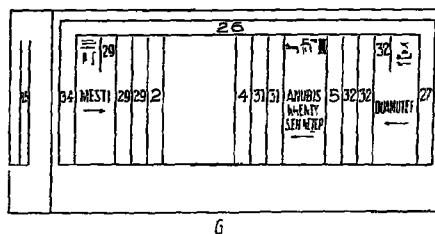
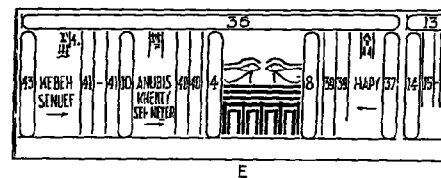
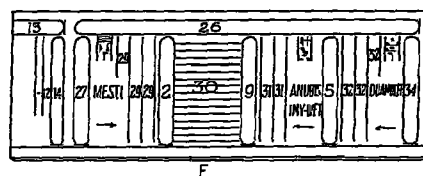
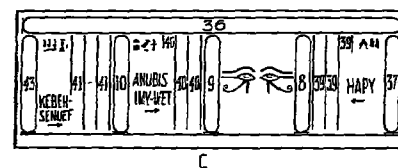
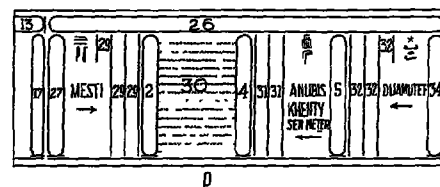
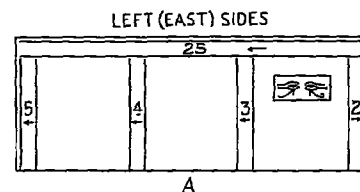
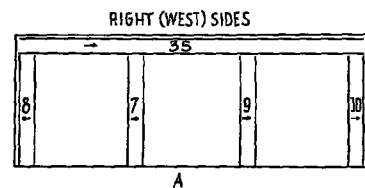
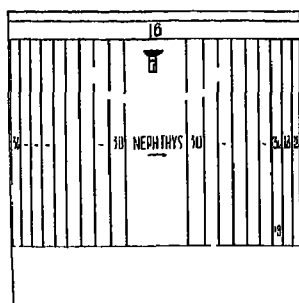
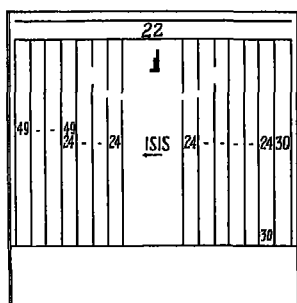


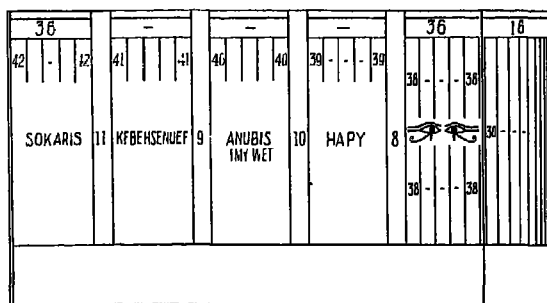
PLATE XXIII
SARCOPHAGI A, C, D, E, F, G
Boxes: Side Elevations
Scale 1/40



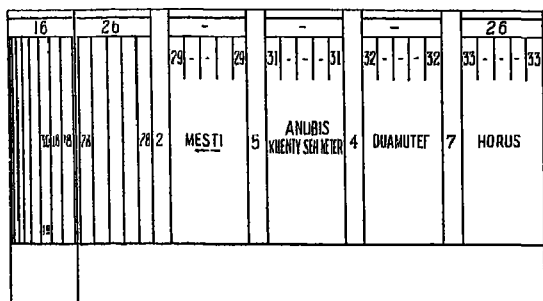
HEAD-END



FOOT-END



LEFT SIDE



RIGHT SIDE

PLATE XXIV

SARCOPHAGUS II

Box Side and End Elevations

Scale 1:40

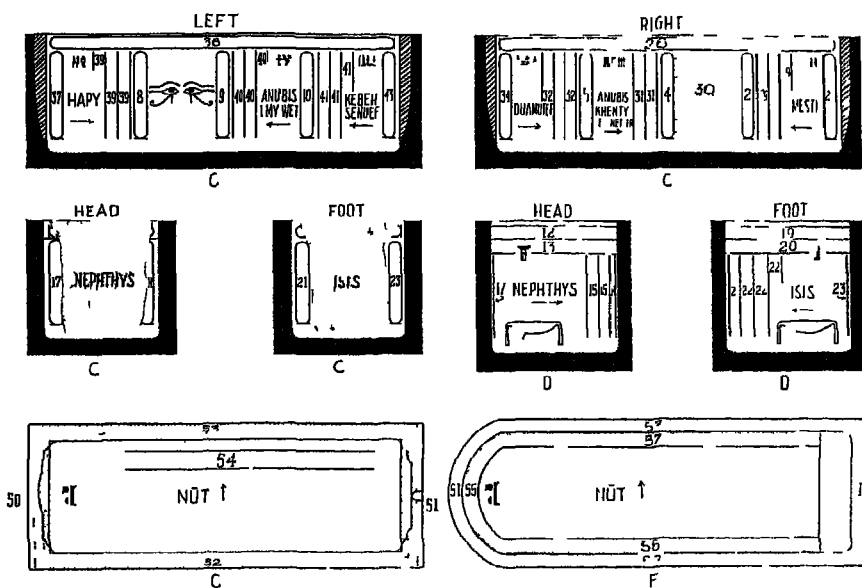


PLATE XXV

SARCOPHAGUS C

Longitudinal Sections, Transverse Sections, Plan

SARCOPHAGUS D

Transverse Sections

SARCOPHAGUS I

Plan

Scale 1/10

