UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
3 1761 00360588 8

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2013

http://archive.org/details/archaeologicals13egyp

1990
21
I

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF EGYPT

EDITED BY F. LL. GRIFFITH

THIRTEENTH MEMOIR

THE ROCK TOMBS OF EL AMARNA

PART I.—THE TOMB OF MERYRA

BY

N. DE G. DAVIES

FORTY-TWO PLATES

8155
18/3/07

LONDON

SOLD AT

THE OFFICES OF THE EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND, 37, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, W.C.

AND 8, BEACON STREET, BOSTON, MASS., U.S.A.

AND BY KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO., DRYDEN HOUSE, 43, GERRARD STREET, SOHO, W.

B. QUARITCH, 15, PICCADILLY, W.; ASHER & CO., 13, BEDFORD STREET, COVENT GARDEN, W.C.

AND HENRY FROWDE, AMEN CORNER, E.C.

1903

DT
57
E326
No. 13

LONDON:

PRINTED BY GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, LIMITED,

ST. JOHN'S HOUSE, CLERKENWELL.

EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND.

President.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., V.P.S.A.

Vice-Presidents.

Sir E. Maunde-Thompson, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D.
General Lord Grenfell, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.
The Rev. Prof. A. H. Sayce, M.A., LL.D.
The Hon. Chas. L. Hutchinson (U.S.A.).
Prof. G. Maspero, D.C.L. (France).
Prof. Ad. Erman, Ph.D. (Germany).
Josiah Mullens, Esq. (Australia).

Hon. Treasurers.

H. A. Grueber, Esq., F.S.A.
Gardner M. Lane, Esq. (U.S.A.).

Hon. Secretaries.

J. S. Cotton, Esq., M.A.
John Ellerton Lodge, Esq. (U.S.A.).

Members of Committee.

T. H. Baylis, Esq., M.A., K.C., V.D.
J. R. Carter, Esq. (U.S.A.).
Somers Clarke, Esq., F.S.A.
W. E. Crum, Esq., M.A.
Louis Dyer, Esq., M.A. (for U.S.A. Com$^{tee.}$).
Arthur John Evans, Esq., M.A., F.R.S.
Joseph B. Gilder, Esq. (U.S.A.).
F. Ll. Griffith, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
T. Farmer Hall, Esq.
F. G. Kenyon, Esq., M.A., Litt.D.
Prof. Alexander Macalister, M.D.
Mrs. McClure.
The Rev. W. MacGregor, M.A.
A. S. Murray, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.
The Marquess of Northampton.
Francis Wm. Percival, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
F. G. Hilton Price, Esq., Dir.S.A.
Herbert Thompson, Esq.
Mrs. Tirard.
Emanuel M. Underdown, Esq., K.C.
John Ward, Esq., F.S.A.
E. Towry Whyte, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
Major-General Sir Charles W. Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S.

THE EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND

CONTENTS

PAGE

List of the Plates vii

Chapter I. El Amarna.

1. The site 1
2. Historical connections of the site 2
3. Work on the site 3

Chapter II. Tomb of Meryra described.

1. Situation 7
2. Injuries to the tomb 7
3. The exterior 8
4. The thickness of the walls and antechamber 10
5. The Hall of Columns 14
6. The Second Hall and Shrine 16

Chapter III.—The Sculptured Scenes.

1. The technique 18
2. The subject of the scenes 19
3. The investiture of Meryra 20
4. A royal visit to the temple 23
5. The royal family making offerings to the sun 30
6. The royal family worshipping in the temple 32
7. Meryra rewarded by the King 33
8. The life of Meryra 42

Chapter IV.—The Religious Texts.

1. The worship of the Aten 44
2. The longer prayers 48
3. The shorter prayers 52
4. Burial petitions 52

Index 54

LIST OF PLATES

WITH REFERENCES TO THE PAGES ON WHICH THEY ARE DESCRIBED.

PLATE		PAGE
I.	Plan and sections	7—17
II.	Section and details	7—17
III.	N. door and columns (*photographs*)	14, 15
IV.	Thickness of walls. Figures (*photographs*)	10, 13, 19
V.	The garden. The princesses (*photographs*)	19, 32, 41, 42
VI.	S.W. wall. Key plate	15, 20—23
VII.	„ The royal family at the window	18, 20, 21
VIII.	„ Meryra carried before the king	11, 20, 21, 31
IX.	„ Fragmentary scenes	20, 22
X.	W. side. Key plate	23—28
XA.	„ „ (*continued*)	28—30
XI.	N.W. wall. The temple (back half)	29, 30, 33
XII.	„ „ (front half)	29, 30, 33
XIII.	„ Obeisance by women and servants	11, 14, 22, 29
XIV.	„ The temple staff bringing gifts	11, 28, 29, 31, 35
XV.	W. wall. The military escort	25, 26
XVI.	„ Forerunners of the procession	25
XVII.	„ Akhenaten and Nefertiti	26, 27
XVIII.	„ The palace	10, 11, 20, 23—25
XIX.	„ The princesses and ladies	27, 28
XX.	„ The lowest register	28
XXI.	The blind choir. The retinue (*photographs*)	19, 31, 32
XXII.	S.E. wall. Key plate	10, 13, 30—32
XXIII.	„ Blind choir and attendants	11, 31
XXIV.	„ Remainder of the retinue	31, 32
XXV.	E. side. Key plate	32—42
XXVI.	E. wall. The royal retinue	20, 23, 24, 26, 32, 33
XXVII.	„ King and queen worshipping	31, 32, 33
XXVIII.	„ The temple	33
XXIX.	„ Outside the gates	26, 34, 35
XXX.	„ Meryra rewarded by the king	11, 35, 36
XXXI.	„ Granary and storehouses	36, 37, 38

PLATE			PAGE
XXXII.	N.E. wall.	Garden, storehouses, and stables	38—42
XXXIII.	„	Temple buildings	10, 33
XXXIV.	Hall.	N. door	9, 15, 52, 53
XXXV.	„	S. door	9, 14, 15, 52
XXXVI.	Inner thickness.	W. side. Tenre	13, 49, 50
XXXVII.	„	E. side. Meryra	11, 13, 50—52
XXXVIII.	Antechamber.	S. wall	11, 12, 49
XXXIX.	„	N. Door	11, 12, 52, 53
XL.	„	Panels	8, 9, 12
XLI.	Outer thickness.	Meryra	10, 11, 47, 48, 49

THE ROCK TOMBS OF EL AMARNA.

CHAPTER I.

EL AMARNA.

1. The Site.

From a point opposite the town of Mellâwi, 183 miles above Cairo, to a point opposite Monfalut—that is to say, between the villages of El Bersheh and Maabdeh on the eastern bank of the Nile, a distance of about forty miles—the eastern mountains rise so directly from the river bank as to forbid either a continuous highway or cultivation. The single break in this line of hills is formed by the plain of El Amarna, which opens out immediately south of Sheikh Saïd, extending some three miles back from the river and twice that distance along it. It derives its name from the Beni Amrân, a nomad Arab clan which at some time prior to 1737[1] settled here on both sides of the river, but, with hereditary attachment to the desert, kept most of their villages on the east bank. Beginning from the north, these are Et Til, Hagg Qandîl, El Amarieh, Hawâta, Qosêr. A village on the west bank retains the name of Beni Amrân, but the whole district is named El Amarna, and this term can be applied as an appellative to any of the villages in it. Hence Et Til can, for better definition, be termed Til el Amarna. The temptation to interpret this name as "Tell," meaning a town-mound, was early yielded to by Wilkinson,[2] and when the village gained notoriety in 1888 by the discovery of cuneiform tablets in the adjacent ruins, this corruption became widely current; so that Tell el Amarna is now a name as familiar to the visitor as it is strange to the inhabitants.

The genuine and comprehensive term El Amarna, however, is one very convenient to the archæologist; for, long ages before the insignificant Bedouin occupation gave this name to the site, the level arena, guarded on all sides by the mountains and the river front, had attracted a settlement of the utmost historic importance, the precious relics of which still keep it in fame. It was to this spot (no doubt then, as now, a clear plain of sand, with a thin strip of cultivation along the river-bank) that King Amenhotep IV. retired to give unhindered expression to his overmastering ideals. Religious and probably also political motives had impelled him to give special prominence to the deity Ra-Horakhti, and finally to transform that cult into a monotheistic and exclusive worship of the sun under the name of the Aten (the solar disc). Adopting an attitude of especial hostility to Amon, the god of Thebes, he assumed the name of Akhenaten, and, in the fifth or sixth year of his reign, abandoned Thebes for a

[1] The Dane Norden visited Egypt in this year, and records the name Bene Amraen or Omarne. "They comprehend under this name an extent of country wherein are situated four villages very near to one another." *Travels in Egypt*, vol. ii., p. 30.

[2] *Topography of Thebes*, 1835, p. 384. But the ruins near Et Til do not form a *tell* or *kom* proper.

more northerly site. Here, between the modern villages of Et Til and Hagg Qandîl, he built his capital, Akhetaten, and made it the centre of the new faith. The sandy expanse is still scored by the broad roads swept for his chariot wheels, and the visitor who follows to-day these strange witnesses to the durability of things will find that they guide him to boundary tablets, which the King inscribed upon the mountain sides, or to the rock-tombs in which his officials were laid to rest. The former, naturally, occur on all sides; the tombs also are divided, one group lying in the hills which form the northern escarpment, another in the south-eastern corner of the plain. They lie in fact, whether by intention or not, at the points where a mountain track enters and leaves the plain, replacing the usual highway by the river-side. This track diverges from the river by a *wâdy*, immediately south of the tombs of Sheikh Saïd (Deir Abu Fâm), and, after crossing the ridge of the mountain, enters the plain of El Amarna through a bold gap in the line of hills. The northern tombs are scattered along the mountain-sides to right and left of this point. After crossing the plain, the road enters the mountains again by a very broad *wâdy*, which embouches in the south-east corner of the plain, and it is in the low foot-hills at the mouth of this valley that the southern group of tombs, twenty-two in number, are cut out. (The road continues in the mountains till it finally emerges, near the tombs of Deir el Gebrâwi, into the plain of which Ebnub is the centre.) Both groups lie a considerable distance from the villages on the river-bank. El Amarna is therefore a name which may fitly be attached to all the monuments of the plain.[1] It may also for convenience' sake be applied to those few tombs (one of them royal) which lie far up a bold ravine at the back of the plain, forming a third group.

2. Historical Connections of the Site.

The district, which by this *coup d'état* of Akhenaten achieved a sudden fame, relapsed almost as swiftly into unfrequented desert a quarter of a century later. The early death of the King involved the entire collapse of the movement and doomed its monuments to systematic destruction. Thus the fame of El Amarna consists solely in its memories of that day when the solitary plain became a chance bivouac in the march of history, filled for a moment with all the movement and colour of intense life, and then abandoned to a deeper silence, when the camp was hurriedly struck and the course of Egyptian history relapsed again into more wonted highways. The absence of later memorials suggests that its quietude was never again seriously disturbed, for the ruined town-site which lies north of Et Til and a burial ground south of El Amarieh are both of late date and devoid of importance. There is evidence that in the Christian era the northern mountains housed a very numerous Coptic population at one or more periods.[2] The history of such settlements will probably never be more than guessed at, and, though it may engage our sympathies, it can scarcely have had any real significance. These later occupations have left scarcely a vestige of written record; so that El Amarna remains a witness to a single, yet singularly interesting, chapter of ancient history. But its monuments gain rather than lose value by this narrow limitation; the more because, so far, no testimony outside of it has been of any but very secondary importance as a clue to the mystery of this monotheistic movement in

[1] The name has been adopted already by Lepsius, and by Professor Steindorff in the later editions of Baedeker.

[2] The buildings are generally attributed to the quarrymen engaged on the tombs, but this is a quite inadequate explanation.

Egypt, its sources, its personal inspiration, its significance, its fruits. These memorials, then, cut in the living rock of the "fair mountain of Akhetaten," and exposed continuously to the attacks of spite, ignorance and cupidity, as well as to the milder injuries for which time and chance are responsible, call for the most painstaking and solicitous record.

3. Previous Work on the Site.

There is probably no group of tombs in Egypt which has been the object of such repeated and successful reproduction as the rock tombs of El Amarna. Nearly all those early workers to whose patient labour or skilled draughtsmanship Egyptologists are most deeply indebted, were drawn to those monuments, and expended protracted labour on them. Yet the result leaves much to be desired, and it is a matter of deep regret that so much of this devotion has, by misfortune or misdirection, failed to be effective. It is due to these workers, at any rate, that any copy designed to replace theirs shall be complete, in the fullest sense. No doubt considerable labour might have been saved by the partial use of previous copies in the present publication; but so much care must have been given to the avoidance of patchwork and error, as to greatly discount the relief gained. Moreover, when the accurate seizure of the smallest data is the essential need, time and patience can nearly always add a good deal to that which brilliance has more rapidly achieved. In addition to this, two of the finest copies exist only in pencil outline, often so faint and minute as to preclude accurate reproduction. To such practical considerations, and not to any lack of admiration for talented precursors, must it be set down that a new copy has been made throughout, even where, as in the tomb of Meryra, all the chief subjects have already been drawn once and again by much more skilful fingers.

The evil reputation of the inhabitants of El Amarna seems to have deterred early visitors from penetrating inland. Neither Norden nor Jomard mention the tombs, but the latter suggested the identification of the ruins with the ancient Psinaula, which was widely adopted. Wilkinson appears to have been the first scholar to visit the necropolis in modern times (1824),[1] but the southern tombs probably evaded notice longer, as they were almost buried in sand. Wilkinson's studies, published in "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians" and other works, are entirely from the northern group, and almost confined to the tomb of Meryra.[2] The town site he identified with the *Alabastron* of the ancients, and early references to it must be sought under this name or that of Psinaula.

The merit of having copied extensively in the tombs of El Amarna in the middle of last century must be divided between three expeditions and as many nationalities, those of Hay, Nestor l'Hote and Lepsius. Of these, who worked, to judge by the results, with equal skill and industry, in much the same style, and with much the same limitations, Lepsius, the latest of the three, was alone fortunate or energetic enough to secure publication for his material. The incomparable service which he thereby rendered to science entitles him to all the recognition which he and his coadjutors have received; but as much admiration, if less gratitude, may be spared for his predecessors,

---

[1] "These grottoes I had the good fortune first to notice on my way up the Nile in 1824, at which time they had not been visited by any modern traveller, and on a second visit, in 1826, in company with Mr. Burton, we discovered in the mountain behind these grottoes a large alabaster quarry, which led us to believe the town near the modern village of Til el Amarna was the Alabastron of the ancients." *Extracts from Hieroglyphical Subjects*, p. 21.

[2] *Manners and Customs*, ed. 1878. Vol. i., figs. 3, 114, 115, 116, 123, 137, 138, 140, 183, 218, 237, 241, plates vi., ix.; vol. ii., fig. 385; vol. iii., plate xxiii.

who had given to the same task at least equal devotion, and a pencil as facile, perhaps, as that of the Prussian draughtsmen. It would be an invidious task to weigh anxiously the merits of these copies. But a special acknowledgment is due to NESTOR L'HOTE, whose endeavours towards a complete record of the monuments on which he was engaged not only made a real advance on contemporary ideals, but have enabled us in great measure to make good the mutilations which the tomb has undergone since his day. For he included in his copies the difficult texts, which others made little or no attempt to secure.[1] Unfortunately his work, which occupied him "thirty-five days of uninterrupted labour" early in 1839,[2] was confined almost entirely to the tombs of Et Til.

HAY'S extensive work remains, what it was in inception, a labour of love. It has never been utilized, except by the few who have sought out the treasure in the manuscript department of the British Museum.[3] His copies were made about the year 1833, and Mr. LAVER, at least, was associated with him in the task. Hay was probably the first to copy in the southern tombs, as he refers to the tomb of Ay as "the tomb opened by me."

The beautiful plates engraved for the *Denkmäler* of LEPSIUS from the drawings which E. and M. WEIDENBACH made during the Prussian expedition in 1845[4] have naturally become the standard publication of the monuments of El Amarna. But the confidence which they deservedly inspire in general makes more necessary a warning against a too confiding use of them in one particular. In the original drawings the draughtsmen were accustomed to leave the faces in rough outline only (except where the royal or principal figures were on a sufficiently large scale, or where individuality was strikingly shown) abandoning all attempt at finer characterisation. The engraver, however, in order to give vivacity to the subject, has restored to the face features of the type roughly indicated. The portraiture, therefore, has generally little claim to exactness, and in particular the features of the King and Queen have been inserted on such slender grounds that they must be regarded in most cases as only skilful restorations. The faces of the royal pair, in the N. group of tombs at any rate, are so much mutilated that even what appears of them in the plates of the present volume is often questionable; yet there is every proof that nothing material has been lost in this respect since the days of the earliest copyists.[5]

[1] His drawings, notes, and squeezes are preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in seventeen volumes. They furnished rough woodcuts also for his *Lettres Écrites d'Égypte*, and several of his finest drawings have lately been reproduced by photography in Amélineau's *Histoire de la sépulture*.

[2] *Lettres Écrites*, p. 78, where, referring to the tombs, he also says, "Persuadé que leur étude approfondie devait apporter de nouvelles lumières sur l'histoire de l'art et des institutions de l'Égypte, je n'ai pas hesité à en entreprendre la copie tout entière." See also LETRONNE, *Journal des Savants*, 1849, pp. 513 and 602.

[3] There are about seventy sheets of drawings from these tombs in the Additional MSS. of the British Museum, vols. 29,814 and 29,847.

[4] L. *D.* iii. 91-111. The expedition, which included the brothers Weidenbach (artists), Wild (?) and Erbkam (architects) and Bonomi, worked on the site three days in September, 1843, and nine more in June, 1845. This activity, particularly as nearly all the plates are signed by E. Weidenbach, seems to me to border on the superhuman, especially when one adds to this the mass of notes made by Lepsius, which are of extraordinary accuracy. I am indebted to the great kindness of Professor Sethe for these dates and for the loan of L. *D.*, *Ergänzungsband*, ii. in manuscript. Cf. also LEPSIUS, *Briefe*, pp. 89 and 359.

[5] The writer is under a deep debt of obligation to the curators of the Royal Museum, Berlin, for free access to the original drawings of Lepsius and his large collection of squeezes. The squeezes (which for this tomb cover nearly all the scenes in L. *D.* iii. 94-97) are in admirable condition. Wherever there has been more than trifling loss since the visit of Lepsius the present plates have been supplemented from his material, the squeezes being consulted wherever possible. Special note will be made of each case of indebtedness.

It may have been on his visit in Wilkinson's company in 1826 that Burton made the extracts published in his *Excerpta Hieroglyphica*, plate vi. Champollion also took a few notes of inscriptions in these tombs, but they are full of errors.[1] Harris and Gliddon must have visited the site, as Prisse attributes to them the discovery of the great stela (u) in 1840. Somewhat later than Nestor l'Hote, Prisse made studies in the tombs and copied some of the boundary stelae. An examination of the scenes in the *Histoire de l'Art Égyptien*[2] which are also published in the *Denkmäler* of Lepsius will show that they are reproductions of the latter with some amount of alteration. The portraiture of the royal family by Villiers Stuart, and his notes on the tombs, are quite worthless; but his volumes contain the only record of an important tomb of the reign at Thebes.[3]

Many of the southern tombs remained wholly or partially buried until recently. In 1883 the work of clearance was begun by M. Maspero, and many of the texts then discovered were published by M. Bouriant, who also later wrote a description of the scenes in the tomb of Akhenaten.[4] In 1893 M. Grébaut completed the work, and furnished the inscribed tombs of both groups with iron doors. The texts contained in the newly opened tombs and three collated texts of the boundary stelae were then published by M. Daressy.[5] Much further work has been done within recent years in both groups by the Mission Archéologique Française, and a publication of the results under the auspices of MM. Bouriant, Legrain and Jéquier is promised immediately.

Already in the winter of 1892 a party had been sent out by the Archaeological Survey of Egypt under the leadership of P. E. Newberry to copy the northern group of tombs, but official permission was withdrawn after some preliminary work had been done and plans drawn by J. Newberry.[6] As in 1901 these important tombs still remained unpublished, the Egypt Exploration Fund again sought official countenance for their enterprise. The writer was entrusted with the task, and towards the end of that year proceeded to Egypt, where every facility for the discharge of his mission was readily given by M. Maspero. The tombs of Et Til were reached on January 10th, 1902, and a commencement was immediately made with the largest and finest of them—the tomb of Meryra. The darkness of the inner chamber proved a serious drawback, so that fourteen weeks of continuous labour were occupied in gathering the material which is included in the present volume. Two further volumes will be necessary to complete the northern monuments, and it is hoped to devote three successive memoirs to this enterprise. Any summary of results will therefore be reserved for the final volume, the earlier memoirs being devoted to the full reproduction and description of the records.

As the site and the period which it represents are so sharply defined, it may be permissible to refer to the archaeological work of Professor Petrie on the town site in 1891-2.[7] A little later, the Department of Antiquities uncovered a painted pavement in a building opposite Hawata, and removed it in sections to

[1] *Notices*, ii. pp. 319 to 322.

[2] *Histoire de l'Art Égyptien*, Tome I., plates 39-41. Tome II., plates 16, 22 (?), 27. *Monuments*, plates xii., xiii., xiv., xv. bis.

[3] *Nile Gleanings* (1879), pp. 72, 79. *Funeral Tent of an Egyptian Queen* (1882), plates 15-21, 27. *Egypt after the War* (1883), plates 15-21, 27 (repetition of above), 57, 58.

[4] *Mission Français*, i, p. 1. *Recueil de Travaux*, xviii. p. 144.

[5] *Recueil de Travaux*, xv. p. 36.

[6] *Archaeological Report*, 1892-3, pp. 9-13.

[7] See his *Tell el Amarna* (quoted in these volumes as *T. A.*). A plan of the ruins will be found also in Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, i. p. 350; L. *D.* i. 63; Prisse, *L'Art Égyptien*, Tome I., pl. 38.

the Cairo Museum. Particulars of the undertaking have not appeared. In 1891-2 M. Grébaut caused the royal tomb in the eastern *wady* to be cleared; but the results of the excavation have not been made public. Renewed attempts have been made to discover a place of general burial for the period in the plain, but so far without success.

CHAPTER II.

THE TOMB OF MERYRA DESCRIBED.

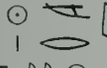
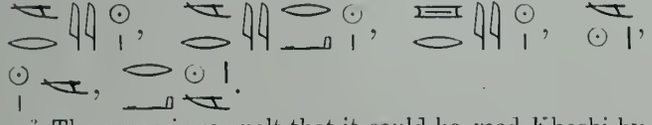
1. Situation.

The general situation of the northern groups of tombs (tombs of Et Til) has been already noticed. As the present volume deals only with the tomb of Meryra,[1] the detailed enumeration of the rest will be given in connection with a map of the site in the next volume. Of the six inscribed tombs in this group, Nos. 1 and 2, (nos. 7 and 6 of Lepsius, belonging to Huya and Meryra II.[2]), lie on the river side of the gap in the hills before mentioned; the rest are some distance away on the farther side. Of these Nos. 3, 4 and 5 (Nos. 4, 3 and 2 of Lepsius, belonging to Ahmes, Meryra, and Pentu,) lie near one another. No. 6 (No. 1 of Lepsius, belonging to Panehesy) is at some distance eastwards along the cliff. They all look approximately south,[3] and are cut in the steep rock-face which is found about two-thirds of the way up the slope to the desert plateau.

2. Injuries to the Tomb.

This fine tomb was as little spared as the rest when, soon after the death of the king, his heresies were avenged by the mutilation of the Aten, of the faces and figures of the royal pair, and of the cartouches of all three. The erasure has been so thorough in most instances as to leave scarcely a feature of King or Queen remaining, despite the deep relief of the sculpture; but it appears to have been confined to these points, the names, faces, and figures of the princesses being usually spared. The faces, generally, in the tombs have indeed suffered more injury than other parts of the sculptures; but this may be due to later Christian or Mohammedan antipathy to portraiture. At the period or periods when the tombs were occupied as dwellings or transformed into churches by Copts, their chambers, though rarely exposed to iconoclastic assaults, were not spared where convenience was in question. The desired architectural changes were made without scruple, and where the walls were not cut away or cut into, they were often covered with a coating of plaster, which has been preservative or destructive, according as it has proved easily removable or not.

This tomb has suffered the loss of the pair of columns on the W. side of the Great Hall, and a recess has been cut in its S. wall (Plate vi),[4]

[1] The name is spelt in eight different ways. or  is most frequent, but is varied by  .

[2] The name is so spelt that it could be read Kheshi by Amélineau (*e.g. Histoire de la Sépulture* ii., p. 608). As the tomb is later in date, I shall designate its occupant as Meryra II. The numbering adopted is that officially given to the tombs and used in Baedeker's most recent editions. The older numeration of Lepsius began at the other end of the series. For a map of the range see Petrie *T. A.*, plate xxxv.

[3] For convenience of description it is assumed that they face absolute south.

[4] Wrongly divided in this plate. The upper right-hand portion, which is considerably deeper than the rest and furnished with notches for a shelf, is in reality nearly double the breadth there shown, viz. 24 inches. It is correct in Plate i. (plan).

not to mention the numerous holes made to receive fittings, pegs and ropes. More lamentable injury was wrought to the texts in the tombs of Et Til some years ago for purposes of plunder. In this tomb the thief set his heart chiefly on the little explanatory inscriptions, and in trying to hack them out has done much additional damage. The procedure was so clumsy that probably not a single fragment was ever successfully removed, yet this did not deter the scoundrel from renewed attempts. The extent of these modern injuries can be seen on reference to Plates viii, xix, xxx, xxxv, xxxvii, xxxviii, xxxix. Fortunately the whole can be restored from L'Hôte and Lepsius.

Time and chance are responsible for special loss to a much smaller degree. It may seem, indeed, on a comparison of the plates of this volume with those of Lepsius, that a considerable amount has disappeared since his day. This is only true of the temple on the North wall (Plates xi. and xii.) where the thin overlay of plaster is falling away, and in the cases of wilful injury just mentioned. In other instances, notably in the features of the King and Queen, the lower part of the N. wall (Plate xx.), and the right half of the garden on the N. wall (Plate xxxii.), missing details have been supplied by the artist Weidenbach from existing parallels or conjecture. Some one of the previous copyists has gone over the outlines of many of the scenes in the tombs of Et Til with lampblack, rendering them very unsightly; but it is sufficient for us to condemn the practice without attempting to affix the blame.

3. Exterior. (Plates i-ii.)[1]

The tombs of El Amarna show on the outside little love of orderliness and precision, an accusation which may be extended in a less degree to their interiors; for they are rarely, if ever, in a state of absolute completion, or free from some sign of slovenly construction.

The essential feature outside was the inscribed portal, surmounted by a cavetto cornice, and generally protected in addition by eaves of rock, which were left to overhang when the cliff was cut back. Usually, however, the rock is also hewn to form a blank wall for some distance to right and left of the doorway.

The tomb of Meryra does not differ from the general type. The hillside at this point forms a steep rock-slope, which had to be cut back about 20 feet to give the necessary elevation to the front. First intentions seem to have been more ambitious still: for a rock frontage was commenced above and further back than the present façade. No doubt the architect became alarmed at the enormous amount of stone still to be removed and contented himself with more modest proportions. The present façade, however, by its length of nearly one hundred feet, is amply suggestive of the unusual spaciousness of the interior.

The portal generally projects an inch or two from the wall; but in this tomb the relief is gained by simply cutting a recess round it. Its decoration is in a stereotyped form (Plate xl.). On each jamb is a salutation of the sun, the King and the Queen in four columns, the formula being thus repeated eight times, differing only by the alternation of the two names of the King. Here, as elsewhere, it is the decorative effect of the cartouches which is the motive for their incessant repetition. The columns read:—

"(Long) live my divine father[2] (The living Ra, ruler of the two horizons, who rejoices on the horizon)

[1] Plan and sections of the tomb will be found in Hay, *MSS.* 29,847, fol. 45 (reverse), and measurements, sketch plan and notes on the tomb in L'Hôte, *Papiers*, iii. 282.

[2] See Plate xxxv. for the hieroglyphic equivalent. The determinatives of god and King are alike in the inscription. On the architrave of the tomb of Panehesy the determinative of the god has longer hair than that of the King, and in the tomb of Ay, according to L. *D.* iii. 105*b*, the King carried sceptre and fly-flap, but the god an *ankh* (cf. 100*b*).

in his name 'the Brilliance (?) which comes (?) from the Disc'[1], who gives life for ever and ever; and the King of the South and North, living by Truth, Lord of the Two Lands, Nefer-kheperu-ra—Ua-en-ra[2] who gives life (Variant: 'Son of Ra, Who lives by Truth, Lord of Diadems, Akhenaten[3], Great in his duration'); and the chief wife of the King, his beloved one, Lady of the Two Lands, Nefer-neferu-aten—Nefertiti[4], who lives eternally and to everlasting!"

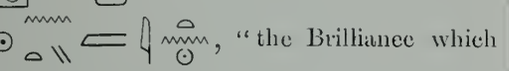
The adoption of a cartouche for the god is a new departure of Akhenaten, with the idea, perhaps, of emphasizing the personality of the sun-god, which close association with the visible orb might tend to depreciate. The artificiality of the device is seen in the adoption of two cartouches to hold one designation, and this an appellation that had been only regarded as an appropriate epithet[5] before Akhenaten made it the supreme name, and divided it between the two cartouches.

At the foot of the jamb is a representation of the deceased kneeling behind the columns of hieroglyphs which set forth his prayer. These smaller texts are now almost obliterated (see Plates xxxv. and xl.[6]).

On the lintel, here and elsewhere, a similar figure of the deceased and his prayer are set at either end, facing inward. The space between is surmounted by the heavenly canopy and occupied by two duplicate designs, in which the two cartouches of Ra-Horakhti, with the appropriate titulary, are faced by the three smaller cartouches of the King and Queen similarly accompanied (cf. Plate xxxiv.). This combination, which we shall find incessantly repeated, thus represents, in a kind of shorthand, the picture of the King and Queen in full regalia, worshipping before the Aten. The prayers on the lintel are too much worn to be reproduced. Above the lintel are the roll and cavetto cornice. The projecting part of the latter is not cut out of the rock, but formed by a row of short blocks cut to shape and let into a groove made in the face. This method is not infrequently adopted in the tombs.

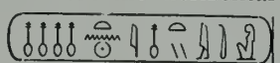
The façade is almost upright near the door, but elsewhere there is in places a considerable batter; for the face is far from being in one plane, some parts having been cut back so much further than others that the wall has the appearance of having been furnished with irregular buttresses. Almost the whole length of it has an overhanging coping of rock, deep to the

---

[1] . In the earlier years of the reign the name began with the *ankh* and the disc-crowned hawk accompanied by or ("Ra-Horakhti"), and ended with  , "the Brilliance which is in the Disc" (or "which is the Disc"). Both changes were probably made in order to avoid even a resemblance to the names of the gods Horus and Shu. Some synonym, probably, has been substituted for *Shu*, or it is written only by a word-sign, the meaning remaining practically unaltered. But the hieroglyphs are inexplicable; hence a provisional translation has been given above. The is sometimes written under the group, as in Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, plate xiv. 73 (*History*, ii., p. 212), where also a suggestive variant appears. For a discussion of the titulary and its changes, see Breasted, *De Hymnis in Solem*, p. 13.

[2] "Beautiful are the manifestations of Ra. The only One of Ra."

[3] "The glorified one of Aten."

[4] "Beautiful are the beauties of Aten. A beautiful woman comes." It will be noticed that the word "Aten" in the name of the Queen is always written backwards. Perhaps this habit is derived from the horizontal cartouche which is written  , no doubt in order to mark off the two parts of which the name consists, simple Nefertiti having been her name originally.

[5] Villiers Stuart, *Egypt after the War*, plate xxvii. Legrain, *Annales du Service*, iii., p. 260.

[6] The latter is a hand copy, not a facsimile. L'Hôte (*Papiers*, xi. 284) attempts a copy also.

west of the doorway, but tailing off to nothing at either end. A good-sized recess and several little arched niches have been cut in the wall on the east side, the former at a good height from the ground. The cutting back of the rock slope, in order to gain the elevation for the façade, has formed a level court more than twenty feet wide in front of the tomb, and this was further marked off by leaving a low enclosing wall of rock on the outer side, with a broad gap in the centre for entrance (Plate ii.). The court has thus the appearance of the walled-in garden before a modern double-fronted house. At the time when the desert cliffs were the dwelling-place of a numerous Coptic population, this court was seized upon for a dwelling, and the rough stones which formed the walls now encumber the space. It was for the convenience of these settlers, no doubt, that the above-mentioned recess and niches were cut; smaller holes in the wall have served to receive the ends of rafters. The blocks and chips thrown out from the excavation have formed a level terrace outside this court.

4. Thickness of Walls and Antechamber.

In the case of all the other tombs of El Amarna one passes directly from outside into the main chamber. This may be a long and narrow hall, continuing in the axis of the entrance or set at right angles to it; or it may be a large room, the roof of which is supported, if its size demands, on two or more columns. But in this tomb an antechamber intervenes between the entrance and the large hall; and, though this arrangement is in itself imposing, it throws the reliefs of the inner room into more than semi-darkness. As usual, the outer wall of rock is left of such substantial thickness as to afford room for sculpture on either hand in the entrance-way. In this tomb these spaces are occupied by two figures of Meryra, cut in strong relief on a sunk surface, and by the prayers which are supposed to be on his lips or in his heart (Plates iv., xli.).[1] His hands are raised in the usual attitude of adoration. He has the shaven head of the priest, and wears no ornaments, save that he carries slung round his shoulders the insignia of office, a fan, in virtue of his office of "Fan-Bearer at the right hand of the King," and a crook-sceptre as a sign of authority, general or particular.

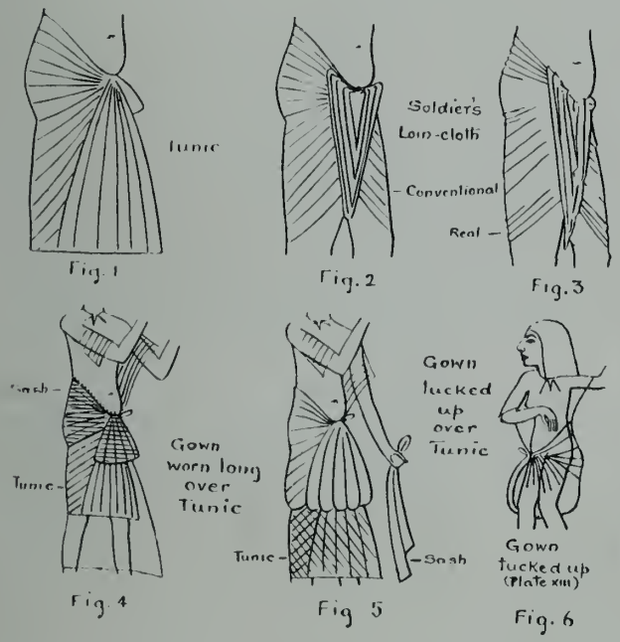
It will be convenient to use this opportunity to describe the Egyptian dress depicted in these tombs. The simplest garb was a tunic made by gathering up a length of cloth and casting it round the lower part of the body behind, and so twisting the ends together in front that one end was tucked under the tight upper hem and just projected above it, while a longer end hung down in front to the same level as the back part (Fig. 1; worn by grooms and priests, and even by Meryra himself in Plate xxii.). In the case of soldiers and menials a corner only of the scanty loin cloth is pulled over in front, leaving the legs still more free for active movements.[2] The tunic, it will be noticed, is not bound round the waist, but over the hips only, and fastened below the navel. Along with this there might be worn, as an upper garment, a loose gown fastened by ties at the throat (Plates xviii. and xxxiii.), and it will be noticed that with this is invariably worn what appears to be a second tunic arranged in bulging folds (Fig. 5). But I am of opinion that this is only the lower part of the gown, the hem of which is habitually tucked up to the waist and fastened lightly there, while the loose material is allowed to fall baggily down in front.[3] A crucial instance is

[1] L'Hôte, *Papiers*, iii. 282 (reverse).

[2] This triangular end is represented like a stiff shield, with the creases arranged in mathematical precision. I think, however, that the explanation given above is the true one. Cf. Figs. 2 and 3.

[3] Exactly as the women of our lower classes pin up their gowns when engaged in work likely to soil them, except that they keep the loose material at the back.

seen in the case of a girl in Plate xiii. (Fig. 6), who has tucked up her gown, while the older women leave it hanging freely. The full-dress figures of Meryra (Plates xxxvii., xxxviii., and xli.) also seem to prove it, for here the baggy folds are absent, and instead we see the hem of the gown falling below the calf (Fig. 4). The gown, girded up in this way, is a common dress of all classes of men above the very lowest. It was put on over the tunic (Plate xxxvii. and Plate viii., where it is white), and, when worn long, a sash with an ornamental edging (Plate viii.) was used to confine it at the waist. When the lower part of the gown was tucked up, and so served as its own girdle, this sash was carried in the hand. (Personal attendants always hold it.)



The gown is generally shown with a short and comparatively close-fitting sleeve on the nearer side, but on the other the garment hangs loosely from the upper arm and is gathered in at the waist. The nearer sleeve, however, is so drawn merely to avoid lines which would conflict with those of the figure (it is loose on both sides in the three-quarter figure of Meryra in Plate xxx. and in L. *D.*, iii. 98): it being in reality a sleeveless gown, the side hem of which was simply left unsewn for some distance to form an armhole.[1] A loose mantle seems to have been worn by the king and occasionally by others (Plates xiv., xviii., and xxiii.). Occasionally, especially in the case of persons of full habit to whom the waistband was inconvenient, the tunic was hung from the breast, sometimes by means of shoulder-straps (white in Plate viii., cf. Plate xxx. and Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, ii., p. 324), which, in the pictures at any rate, stand out stiffly like the hames of a horse. The fine texture of the material of the dress is indicated by the flesh-tints, which are light red where the limbs are covered by a single garment, but brown-red on the exposed parts.

Meryra wears sandals, but these were by no means confined to men of rank. (For a translation of the prayers see pp. 48, 49.) The walls here on both sides have been badly cut into, in the endeavour to provide means of barring the entrance. On the west side there are in floor and ceiling the round holes made to receive the pivots of a door.

A good deal of the pattern and colouring of the painted ceiling in the thickness of the wall is recoverable (Plate xxxix.).[2] The space is divided into three compartments, severed by columns of blue hieroglyphs on a yellow ground and bordered by the familiar ribbon of coloured rectangles within green bands. Within this again is a broader border of coloured cheqners. The centre panel within this double border is filled in with a well-known Egyptian ceiling-pattern, derived from bead-work. In the side panels is a pattern of concentric diamonds. The hieroglyphs are almost obliterated, but no

[1] Cf. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, ii., p. 322.

[2] See L'Hôte, *Papiers*, iii. 284 (reverse). The appearance of these patterns can be judged from similar coloured designs in Prisse, *L'Art Égyptien*, plate 28, Nos. 5 and 10.

doubt contained prayers for burial favours, for the columns end

"... . fair burial (?) in Akhetaten,"

and—

"the temple of Aten in Akhetaten . . . . . all the land . . . . in Akhetaten."

In all other parts of the tomb the designs on the ceiling have completely disappeared.

The ANTECHAMBER is a small square chamber with a slightly arched roof which springs from the E. and W. walls. A cavetto cornice runs round the walls under the ceiling, aiding the illusion that we are in a constructed instead of an excavated room. On the N. side this cornice is replaced by that of the door. The ceiling-device has perished, as have also the coloured bands, etc., which decorated the pediment on the N. and S.

On the E. and W. walls the framing of a doorway has been roughly indicated, whether in order to bring them into symmetry with the other sides of the room, or with the idea that shrines might be constructed here later if needed (as in some tombs of the S. group). The framing, though plastered, is blank, except that on the N. wall the device of the five cartouches has been sketched on the lintel in red ink. The space enclosed is merely rough-hewn, but those to right and left of this false portal are occupied by two sculptured devices (Plate xl., taken from the W. wall).[1] That on the N. side shows an enormous bouquet of flowers arranged in tiers with geometrical precision (Panel B). On the summit is an arrangement of feathery papyrus heads mingled with red poppies, but the pretty effect which this would have is not suggested in the least by the conventional drawing. The body of the bouquet is formed of five bunches (marked off by plain bands) containing, (1) the yellow fruit of the persea, (2) lotus flowers and buds, (3) persea-fruits, (4) poppies alternating with persea-fruits, (5) cornflowers, (6) poppies and persea-fruits, and (7) the bud of some flower. On the S. side of the framing on both walls is panel A, showing the cartouches and titles of Ra-Horakhti and the royal pair under the radiant sun. Both panels are bordered by the band of coloured rectangles. This device is repeated also on both sides of the N. door with the hieroglyphs facing inwards to the doorway.

The two sides of the S. wall are occupied by standing figures of Meryra similar to those in the thickness of the outer wall (Plate xxxviii.).[2] The insignia are not shown here, but a plain collar is worn in both cases, and a gold (yellow) bracelet in addition by the figure on the E. side. The prayers (a translation of which will be found on p. 49) are in solid blue hieroglyphs. The framing of the doorway which leads into the hall is of the usual architectural design, having broad jambs, on which prayers are written in four columns. The hieroglyphs are parti-coloured on a yellow ground (Plate xxxix.[3] Translation on pp. 52, 53). A considerable part of the left jamb has been cut away by thieves, but the loss is recoverable from Nestor l'Hôte, whose text is inserted in Plate xxxix. in broken lines.

On the E. side of the room there is a trench in the floor, running N. and S., which enlarges and deepens slightly towards the ends (from 7 to 10 inches deep). Similar troughs, but larger, deeper and rougher, are found in three other tombs in this group. They occur in each case in the outer hall, parallel with the wall and near it; and if this implies intentional provision, I would suggest that they were cut out in order that the impurities might be collected there for removal when the room was cleansed by washing or sweeping. If, as is not unlikely, sacrificial animals were slaughtered in the tomb,

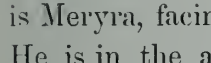
[1] L'HÔTE, *Papiers*, xi. 26.

[2] L'HÔTE, *Papiers*, iii. 283.

[3] *Ibid.* (reverse).

such a provision would be almost a necessity.[1] But, on the whole, I am inclined to regard them as excavation trenches which had been carelessly sunk below floor level. In this tomb, however, they appear to have made the best of an unsightly blunder by fashioning it into a neat trough. A fragment of plaster pavement remains in the entrance, but is fast disappearing under the heels of booted visitors.

A partition of rock as substantial as the outer wall separates the antechamber from the great hall. Here again the walls are occupied by large figures of the occupants of the tomb and the prayers ascribed to them. On the right (E.) is Meryra, facing outwards (Plates iv., xxxvii.).[2] He is in the attitude we have become familiar with, but a more usual and more pleasing method of representing the draped figure is adopted. In the other instances the dress, even when in more than one thickness, is treated as if quite diaphanous, the limbs being shown in full relief, and the result of this characteristic Egyptian blend of diagram and picture is ludicrous to the modern eye (Plate iv.). Here, however, the natural fall of the thin drapery in multitudinous folds is represented in a way as pleasing as it is adroit. Meryra wears round his neck four strings of flat gold beads tied by their tasselled ends: evidences, no doubt, of the king's gratitude and esteem such as we see him receiving elsewhere. Two similar tassels (or are they real flowers?) lie on the top of his bald crown and seem to imply that a skull cap, so close fitting as to be practically invisible, was worn by those who shaved the head.

On the opposite wall is a female figure in a similar attitude of prayer, who, though only described as "a great favourite of the Lady of the two Lands," is shown by this silence to be the wife of Meryra (Plates iv., xxxvi.).[3] Her name is Tenre ().[4] The lady wears the mantle of fine linen hung from the shoulders, which is the almost invariable dress of the Egyptian woman of this period, and, to judge strictly by appearance, her only garment. Indeed in small examples the robe is marked merely by two outlines, with indications of the folds in red ink only, so that, to the unpractised eye, the women one and all appear to be nude. If the drawings represent a single garment, it must also have been very simple, consisting solely of a length of cloth, which was drawn over the shoulders and upper arm, and secured by the corners on the breast, while the garment was also wrapped round the form below the armpits and knotted together under the bosom by a wisp gathered up from the ample material. (Sometimes, instead of being knotted together, it was tied round the body by a long sash, and this useful article of dress is very frequently seen in the hands of attendants, male and female.[5]) But since the

[1] As a matter of fact, the troughs are used for this purpose by the present custodians of the tombs, and this is not the first time that I have found practice a mother of interpretation. One who lives habitually in rock tombs and knows how inconvenient it is never to be able to affix anything either to walls, ceiling or floor, learns to appreciate the devices to which his predecessors were driven, and often almost condones the crimes of less scrupulous inhabitants, who have supplied the room with wooden pegs, attachments for ropes, cupboards in the walls, etc., at the cost of the sculptures. This tomb, like most others which have been frequented by Copts, is lavishly provided with these conveniences. Everywhere the walls have been pierced for staples; sometimes high up for the suspension of lamps, etc., sometimes close to the ground for the tethering of animals, and at every intermediate height. In some cases the rope of palm fibre still remains in place. Tethering-staples of this kind are cut in the walls close to the trough in question, but they are probably later, like the rest.

[2] Hay, *MSS.* 29,814, fol. 36. L'Hôte, *Papiers*, xi. 27.

[3] Hay, *MSS.* 29,814, fol. 27. L'Hôte, *Papiers*, xi. 27.

[4] The remains of the first hieroglyph do not suggest the *s* which Lepsius prints, and which I accepted in lettering Plate xxxvi., but are quite compatible with the reading adopted here. The name Tenre, to which Mr. Griffith has since called my attention, seems to have been often given to females about this time.

[5] See the Queen's dress in Plate xxii., and Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, ii. p. 338.

dress is often seen, as in the case of Tenre, falling freely from the elbows, it appears rather to indicate an additional robe thrown over the shoulders, and worn loose and open over an under-garment. Thus, in Plate xiii., the foremost woman in the lower group might be dressed in a single garment; but the figure above, like that of Tenre, scarcely can be, unless the free fall from the elbow is inexact and due only to the artist's love of detached and sweeping lines. Besides, the colour shows that the dress is really not meant to be open, but reaches below the ankles in front also, though the artist there leaves the figure quite free from lines of dress.[1] The young girl in the same group, whom we should scarcely have expected to be clothed at all, wears a fitted garment, fastened at the throat, quite similar to those worn by men (cf. Plate xxxiii.). Grown women probably retained this and threw over it a loose mantle, which could be tied round the body or left open as they pleased.

Tenre, like most Egyptian women, wears her hair, or wig, in long, thick plaits, each being divided into two or three smaller ones near the end.[2] It is bound round the brow by a coloured fillet, and again lower down by a red ribbon. On her head she wears the curious headgear (some receptacle for ointment?) which was worn by men and women in New Kingdom days on festive occasions, and which here has a flower and buds of the blue lotus projecting from it. A wide collar, or cape, and bracelets complete her attire.

[1] The dotted line across the feet in that Plate is the line of colour separating the white gown from the red feet which show beneath it. Thus either the mantle, notwithstanding its open appearance, or an inner garment hangs round the figure. It may be noted here that the flesh-tint adopted for women in these tombs is generally the same red as is used on male figures, and only rarely yellow.

[2] This is shown clearly in the case of one of the elder women on Plate xiii., but only roughly indicated for the rest, as here for Tenre. Arabic women still tie three artificial strings to the end of each tress.

5. The Hall of Columns. (Plate iii.)

We now enter the main hall, a room of imposing dimensions and great architectural dignity, but much impoverished by the removal of two of the four columns in order to clear the W. half of the room as a place of assembly or a dwelling. Only the architrave and the abaci, which still depend from the roof, and a fragment of the foot of one column, which lies among the *débris* in the court, remain as proof that the two standing columns were actually balanced by a similar pair on the left. The proportions and details of the column are fully shown on Plate ii.[3] The column represents a bundle of eight papyrus stems with closed heads, bound together just under the swelling head by four bands. To give solidity to the bundle, material is inserted under the bands between the stems. As the column belongs to a period of debased architectural types this material has lost all intelligible form, and above the bands it and the eight heads of papyrus are merged in one unbroken circle. In reality, however, each interstice should contain three miniature stems and heads of papyrus, exactly similar, save for the swell of the head, to the stalks which form the column. This is partly evident below the bands, where the filling is divided into three between every division of the shaft, making twenty-four divisions in all. Theoretically only, however; for on the W. side six of these are covered by plaster, so as to form a smooth tablet on which the radiant disc is depicted, with the divine and royal cartouches (Plate xxxv.). Above the bands the heads and bands of the small interposed stems have, no doubt, been indicated in colour; but this has now entirely disappeared. The shaft has the bulging foot which is characteristic of the papyrus column, and the sheathing leaves at the base are represented conventionally by a central leaf enclosed by four successive bands. The column

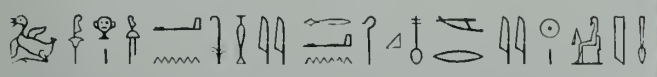
[3] Hay, *MSS.* 29,487, fols. 46, 63. L'Hôte, *Papiers*, xi. 27.

is furnished, as usual, with a circular tapering base, and an abacus of the same width as the top of the capital.[1]

The W. faces of the abaci are used to display the name and titles of Meryra. On the S. column we read—

"The high priest of the Aten in the temple of Aten in Akhetaten, Meryra, triumphant."

on the N. column—



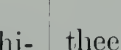
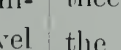
"Bearer of the Fan on the right hand of the king, great favourite of the Good Ruler, Meryra, triumphant."

An inscription in very large hieroglyphs runs also along the whole length of the outer face of both architraves, and must have added greatly to the decoration of the hall. Unfortunately, this is no longer the case, for both are now nearly illegible. Scarcely a hieroglyph remains on the W. architrave, and what is decipherable on the opposite side does not give much clue to its import. These two inscriptions are continued on the pediment of the N. door, meeting in the centre (Plate ii. and Plate i., section on C, D). The signs here can with great difficulty be recognized as those forming the titles of Meryra, so that the closing phrase on the E. side is—

". . . . . in Akhetaten to the *Ka* of the High [Priest of] the Aten in Akhetaten, the Bearer of the Fan, Meryra, triumphant;"

and on the W. side—

"[High Priest of the] Aten in Akhetaten and Bearer of the Fan on the right hand of the king, Meryra, triumphant."

As usual, the ceiling is flat behind the architraves, but slightly arched and at a higher level in the nave. A feature which adds greatly to the effect, and is rare in larger halls, is the moulding and cavetto cornice, which run round the room under the ceiling, except for a break at the doorways. It was originally painted with red, blue, and green plumes (*cf.* Plate vi.). The two portals are of the familiar pattern and decoration, but their height gives them an exceptionally fine appearance. The decoration of the lintel of the S. door is in the invariable form (Plate xxxv., where only one side of the central device is shown).[2] The jambs are occupied by the titularies of Ra-Horakhti and the royal pair in three columns, surmounted by the canopy of heaven. The inscription is a shortened form of that on the façade (see pp. 8, 9). The kneeling figure of the deceased and his prayer are added in a compartment below (for a translation of the prayers on jambs and lintel see p. 52), and beneath this, again, is a finial consisting of a horizontal band surrounded by two others, . The lintel of the N. door (Plates iii., xxxiv.)[3] is treated like those already noticed, but the surface of the jambs is occupied by prayers to the Aten on behalf of the *Ka* of Meryra. (For a translation of the prayers on jambs and lintel see pp. 52, 53.) The hieroglyphs, which are parti-coloured, are very much injured. A very interesting feature is that the introductory phrase and the name of the deceased at the end are not original, but have been plastered over and re-engraved.[4] At the head of the columns  ("Praises to thee") has been substituted for  ("May the King grant a favour"). The reason for this change is not apparent; it would not appear to be doctrinal, for the *dy hetep seten*

[1] For full discussion of the subject see BORCHARDT'S *Aegyptische Pflanzensäule*, and for the purer type of this column *ib.* p. 32. The points of degradation in this instance are, (1) the absence of the rib which is characteristic of the papyrus-stem. (2) The indication by colour alone of the leaves of the calyx of the main stems, and of all details of the inserted stems. (3) A greater divergence from nature in the leaves at the base of the stems. (4) The utilization of the shaft and abacus for inscriptions.

[2] L'HÔTE, *Papiers*, xi. 18, whence the restoration of the prayer on the right jamb.

[3] *Ibid.*, iii. 285, xi. 32.

[4] The original signs are indicated in the plate by broken lines. Nestor L'Hôte notices the change of introduction only. *Papiers*, xi. 32.

formula, though less in vogue, was retained under Akhenaten, and in the tomb of Panehesy occurs in exactly the same connection. Similarly, at the foot of the columns the name Meryra has been substituted for an original , Hataay.[1] If we suppose that the tomb was really destined at first for Hataay, it necessitates that he held exactly the same offices as Meryra, for these have not been altered. The decoration of the tomb also must, in that case, have been begun at this door and proceeded no farther before the change was made; for the names of Meryra elsewhere are original, and the scenes were probably suggested by events in his career. It is difficult to admit either of these conditions, and chance or the stupidity of a scribe offer such an infinite scope to speculation that it is useless to attach any weight to so slender a thread of evidence.

6. The Second Hall and Shrine.

The floor of the Columnar Hall is by no means smooth or carefully levelled, and this evidence of disorderliness or lack of opportunity is greatly increased when we step into the third chamber. The passage to it is through a partition wall of even greater solidity than those already passed. On entering, we find a room which is so far from being finished that the intended form only gradually discloses itself. It was to have been a second hall, somewhat larger even than the first, and, like it, furnished with four columns supporting architraves parallel with the axis of the tomb. Except in the corner immediately to the left on entering, the room has been delimitated, though the rock has not been removed entirely in any part but the nave. Of the supports two are almost wholly, a third only half detached from the mass, and remain as rough pillars, square in section. Two recesses near the ceiling mark the first step in the removal of the rock which still unites the fourth pillar to the wall. The architecture of the inner chamber in the tomb of Panehesy[2] may be taken as a good guide to the projected design of this hall. It is furnished with four columns of much the same outline as those in the outer hall of both tombs, but having a plain circular section throughout and little or no contraction at the base. In the tomb of Panehesy the height of the room is the same throughout, but it is uncertain if this example was to be followed in the inner hall of Meryra. On the W. side the rock is only partially removed, and on both sides the ceiling has been left very low and uneven. Only a small part of the floor is even roughly levelled; the rest is in steps resulting from the irregular removal of cubes of rock.[3] The fourth chamber, or shrine, is in a still more unfinished state, and only the doorway gives any indication of the intended proportions. The projecting block at the back may represent the knees of the sitting statue of the deceased, which, in conformity with usage, would occupy the back of the cell. The walls of the shrine, had it been finished, might have received some reliefs, but

[1] The complete removal of the overlay of plaster might make the reading more certain. It is fairly certain; for the name, though a common one in the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, was unknown to me when I deciphered it. Among those who are known to have borne the name there is a "scribe and superintendent of the granary in the house of the Aten," who, despite this title, had his coffin inscribed with prayers to the usual deities of the dead. His coffin was found at Gurneh (*Annales du Service*, ii. 1). He may have been an official of the temple of the Aten in Thebes before that cult was made an exclusive one by Akhenaten, or, less probably, may have apostatized and been disgraced under that king. We might also suspect a connection between the Hataay, whose name has been deleted here, and a namesake mentioned on a stela at Leyden (Lieblein, *Namen*, 939), whose sister is called Tenre, or another (*ib.* 553) whose wife may have the same name.

[2] See Part ii. for plan. Also Hay, *MSS.* 29,847, fols. 12 and 13.

[3] The details of the section on Plate i. do not rest on exact measurements where they represent only the chance outline of an abandoned excavation.

those of the second columnar hall would certainly have been uninscribed. The use of the latter was to contain the burial shaft or vault, but, owing to its unfinished state, it is not provided with any, so that the burial place of Meryra is still unknown.[1]

It will be seen from this description, and still more from the accompanying plans, that the tomb of Meryra furnishes a suite of rooms which rank high among the "eternal mansions" provided for the ambitious Egyptian nobles. We cannot expect perfect proportions and outlines in a rock-cut tomb, nor is it fair to judge the architecture of an excavation by canons of construction. When the quality of stone was not open to selection and a flaw might at any time be revealed, which altered materially the stability, the sightliness, or the dimensions, it was inevitable that columns should be made somewhat squat, and that an increase in proportions should be regarded with disfavour. The tomb has, perhaps, already suffered by the adoption of forms unsuited to an excavation. The interposition of an antechamber between the open air and the main chamber is a structural embellishment, but throws the Columnar Hall into such darkness that it is only when the eyes of the visitor get accustomed to the gloom that he can discern anything. The additional shadow of the four bulky columns rendered the fine reliefs practically invisible. But this indifference to effect may demonstrate how strictly the tomb was for the use and enjoyment of the dead, so that darkness may have seemed even more desirable than light. After all criticism, this lofty room in its mutilation and decay, and with the loss of all colour on ceiling, column, and wall, is very impressive, the handsome portals and the continuous cornice under the ceiling especially contributing to the effect.

[1] About 200 feet behind the tomb on the summit of the hill is a deep burial shaft, now plundered. It is not likely, however, that a position so remote would be chosen.

CHAPTER III.

THE SCULPTURED SCENES.

1.—The Technique.

King Akhenaten seems to have been a revolutionary by nature and to have inaugurated or prompted new departures in many directions. It is possible, no doubt, to find some obscure precedent for most of these. History never reveals the absolute zero of creation. But the impression of novelty is, nevertheless, a just one. No one can deny the peculiar character of the art produced during this reign, or local to Akhetaten. This is especially noticeable in the sculpture of the period, alike in technique, style and subject. The form with which we are concerned here is that employed on the walls of the rock chambers, and this constitutes by far the largest part of the sculptured work which has been preserved to us.

The method of decoration employed in the tombs is peculiar. The rock in which they are hewn is far from having the uniform good quality which would invite bas-reliefs of the usual kind. Nor was Akhenaten willing, it appears, to employ the flat painting on plastered walls, which was much in vogue and which the artists of Akhetaten also employed at times with good effect. The idea of modelling in plaster was conceived or adopted ; and, since figures in plaster relief would have been liable to easy injury, the outline was sunk so far below the general surface as to bring the parts in highest relief just to its level (*relief en creux*). Nor was this the only measure taken to ensure durability. The whole design was first cut roughly in sunk relief in the stone itself. Then a fine plaster was spread over it, covering all the inequalities and yet having the support at all points of a solid stone core. While the plaster was still soft, it was moulded with a blunt tool into the form and features which the artist desired.[1] Finally, the whole was painted, all the outlines being additionally marked out in red, frequently with such deviations as to leave the copyist in dilemma between the painted and the moulded lines. Naturally, a good deal of detail exists in colour only, and in the present state of the walls this is not easy to secure. The folds of the dress are nearly always indicated by red line alone, and the decoration of the chariots and harness and of the balcony (Plate vii.), all details in short which are too minute to be shown plastically, are added in colour.

The effect of this sunk relief, though often pleasing in detail, is unpleasing in general, for where the incisions are deep the shadows rob the outlines of their character. On the other hand the plasticity of the medium resulted in a precision and minuteness not otherwise attainable, and encouraged that attention to facial expression which marks these tombs. A drawback of these reliefs is that they are difficult to reproduce in line, and not a few of the published copies seriously exaggerate forms, which themselves often tend to caricature. Though sunk

[1] The rounded outline demands this, yet there is some conflicting evidence, and I defer a settled judgment till I have more carefully examined the remaining tombs, which by their unfinished condition are very instructive in this respect. This is especially the case in the tomb of Pentu (Part iii.), where most of the plaster has fallen away, leaving only the forms rough-hewn in stone.

below the surface, they are still raised reliefs, and it will be seen that in the plates they have been treated simply as such, the shadows caused by the deep depression of the outlines being ignored. As only one of the two aspects can be represented by conventional shading, it has been judged better to depict that which is a source of beauty in the originals, rather than that which, in the larger figures at least, detracts seriously from it.[1] The photographs (Plates iv., v., xxi.) must be relied on to give a truer impression of the sculptures.

2. The Subject of the Scenes.

If the reliefs in the tombs of El Amarna show novelty, their subject betrays yet more of the individuality which governs the period, and has set its mark everywhere in Akhetaten. The tombs of the New Kingdom generally present as the chief features of their decoration the figures of the deceased and of the members of his family, as well as scenes derived from his official career, or from his domestic life and amusements. His treasures, his servants, his estate may occupy a place, and a large space besides be devoted to the burial ceremonies. It is owing to this custom that the tombs present those detailed pictures of life in Thebes, which have fascinated the world and given reality to the resuscitation of the Ancient East. But the scenes in the tombs of El Amarna, though abundant and detailed, yield us very limited information concerning men and things in Akhetaten. Taken together, they only reveal one personality, one family, one home, one career, and one mode of worship. This is the figure, family, palace and occupations of the King, and the worship of the Sun—which also was his, and perhaps, in strictness, of no one else. Into whatever tomb we enter, as soon as the threshold is past we might fancy ourselves in the royal sepulchre. The King's figure, family and retinue dominate everything. It is his wife and children, his family affection, his house and treasures which are here pourtrayed in detail, and it is with difficulty sometimes that we discover among the crowd of courtiers the official whose tomb it is, distinguished by a little hieroglyphic label. In general we seek in vain to know the parentage of the deceased, and even his name has been exposed to loss; the part he played in the kingdom is merely hinted at; there is generally silence concerning his marriage and in no case, I think, is mention made of any children. This is in strongest contrast to the usage in the tombs of other periods, where the cartouche of the reigning King is only occasionally found, and his figure is a much greater rarity than the cartouche. Whatever change in doctrine Akhenaten had made, he had increased rather than abated the extravagant claims of the Egyptian King; and the courtiers, who had risked all in identifying themselves with his ventures and heresies, were not likely to under-emphasize their dependence on him.[2] But this is scarcely a sufficient explanation of this novel usurpation by the King, and it is perhaps not rash to assume that all these tombs were made at the order of the King himself and bestowed upon his favourites. In this mushroom capital, governed by ideals which were not yet understood or digested, the body of craftsmen and artists must have been quite dependent on the King and at his disposal, so that important pieces of work could hardly be entered upon or carried out without his active approval. The

[1] This method has not been adopted everywhere. The hieroglyphs and all narrow lines, where little or no relief can exist, have been treated as simple incised work, and I fear there are instances which are not justified by any rule. In no case are such variations based on unusual features in the original. It may help to a just estimate of the value of the plates, if I add that mechanical safeguards were used wherever it was possible, and that most of the scenes were drawn to half-scale by the help of a frame of cross-threads and squared-out paper.

[2] For interesting evidence in regard to this, see Steindorff, *A.Z.* 1896, p. 68.

chariot roads which radiate from the city to every tomb and boundary stela alike, as if the tombs no less than his own monument had been a continual object of interest to the King, are more likely to have been made at his order than for private use. The phrases, too, in which burial favours are sought from the King, suggest that the tomb itself was a royal gift to the petitioner. On this hypothesis the curious predominance of royalty in the tomb-scenes becomes explicable. Such a tomb was so costly a gift that we may condone, if we cannot approve, the self-glorification of the giver; and where the King's consideration for his favourite was so moderate, he could hardly be expected to show much interest in his family. On the other hand, had these tombs been formed and decorated by the owner for his own use, neither obsequiousness nor loyalty could explain such complete disregard of family ties; nor could the King be commended who was thought to demand it. It might be a partial explanation, however, that scenes in the old style had been abjured, and that the portfolios of the new school as yet only held designs relating to the royal family.

This peculiarity of the tombs of El Amarna is less marked in the case of Meryra. The thickness of the outer wall was a space generally conceded to the occupant, and Meryra by adding an ante-chamber trebled his memorial-figures and covered an additional portal with prayers. The figure of his wife also appears; perhaps because she was a favourite of the Queen. The career of Meryra also suggested the subject of at least two of the scenes of the main chamber, although a much smaller place was given in them to his dignities than to the royal condescension in bestowing them.

The scenes, which cover six wall-spaces (the east and west walls, and the surfaces on both sides of the doorways on the north and south walls) comprise five subjects :—

1. The Investiture of Meryra as High Priest of the Aten. (S. wall, W. side.)

2. A Royal Visit to the Temple. (W. wall and N. wall, W. side.)

3. The Royal Family making offerings to the Sun. (S. wall, E. side.)

4. The Royal Family worshipping in the Temple. (Upper half of E. wall and of N. wall, E. side.)

5. Meryra rewarded by the King. (Lower half of same.)

3. The Investiture of Meryra as High Priest of the Aten.

S. wall, W. side. Plate vi. (comprising Plates vii. to ix.)
Existing copies are :—
Nestor l'Hôte. *Papiers*, xi. 26; L. *D.* iii. 97b (the part in Plate viii. only).

The greater part of the wall is occupied by the scene proper, while the lower part is occupied by a kind of dado, in which subordinate groups belonging to the same scene are represented on a smaller scale. This arrangement is frequently adopted in the tombs.

The artist has wished to depict the moment when the King, from the window of his palace, formally invests Meryra with the dignity of High Priest of the Aten. On the right is the *loggia* which looked out on the outer court of the palace. Its place in the centre of the façade may be seen on Plates xviii. and xxvi., and a comparison of these representations of the same building will show how little weight canons of consistency had, when they clashed with the convenience of the artist.

The scene is given as if the artist had viewed it from the side, but as the rich ornamentation of the *loggia* would thereby have been missed, he has presented this in elevation. In front of the *loggia* was a deep porch supported on two columns, and the artist has been so far consistent as to draw this also in elevation. (That the columns were not two deep is seen from Plate xviii. where, for once, these are in perspective, though nothing else is.) To put them in front, however, would have been confusing, so

he has shifted them to the side. The consequence is that the roof is treated as if in section, while the columns which support it are in elevation! Yet the result is cleverly near to a view in perspective (i.e. from a point midway between front and side), while free from any of the complexities which that would have involved. The front and framing of the balcony are elaborately decorated in colour with geometrical patterns and with devices formed by the titularies of the sun and of the royal pair framed in borders.[1] The cornice which surmounts the wall is adorned with uraei crowned with the disc, which not only gave a symbolical warning against trespass but also rendered it difficult.

The columns are of the palm-leaf model.[2] Red ribbons are tied round them below the capital and flutter in the wind. This was a fashion of the period, but not confined to this reign.[3] It will be seen that the *loggia* is open at the top, thus affording a fresh, yet shady retreat.

The shutters of the balcony have been thrown back, and the King and Queen are seen leaning on the thick cushion which covers the sill. This would be, perhaps, of leather, and is of a dark red colour, with rows of blue diamonds which have a central spot. The King and Queen are accompanied by their little daughter Merytaten, but the faces and figures of the three have been radically erased. It can be seen that the Queen has her arm round her husband's waist, and that his right hand is stretched out: no doubt he is in the act of handing another collar of gold beads to one of the group below.

Wherever the members of the royal family are seen on the tomb walls, the divine solicitude of which they are the object is indicated by the rays which are shed from the sun in heaven, and which are made more suggestive of the active beneficence of the deity by being furnished with tiny hands. One of these rests in blessing on the roof of the palace, others on the decorative symbols of the solar power; the rest hover round the royal persons as if in protective tenderness. The sky is shaped exactly like the hieroglyph which represents the blue roof of heaven. The sun is a red disc in bold relief, adorned with the uraeus as a symbol of the power of immediate death.

Meryra has been summoned to the presence, and comes accompanied by his household. He kneels before the King, but when Akhenaten announces the honour he proposes to confer upon him, his friends joyfully raise him high upon their hands, his neck heavy with the golden collars which the King has given him in token of his new dignity. The artist, by thus introducing two figures of Meryra, both gives importance to the central figure and movement to the scene. Meryra is recognisable by his long white gown, and by the ornamental edging of his sash.

Two groups of lesser officials stand by the side of the retinue of Meryra. Four scribes, with palette, pen, and papyrus (white) in hand, write down a record of the important official appointment that has just taken place. Four ushers, or men of the police, carrying batons, wait in the rear, and as many bearers of sunshades are also in attendance. The subject of the scene is explained more precisely by speeches of the King, Meryra, and the bystanders.[4]

The words ascribed to the King are as follows:—

"The King, who lives by truth, Lord of the Two Lands, Nefer-kheperu-ra-ua-en-ra, says to the high

[1] In Plate vii. red (*r.*) is indicated by solid black, blue and green by the heraldic conventions. Drab (*dr.*) is left blank. Light and dark blue (*l.b.* and *d.b.*) are also shown by conventions (·· and ∴)

[2] Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, plate vi.

[3] Borchardt, *Aeg. Pflanzensäule*, pp. 15, 49.

[4] The two former have been almost entirely removed, but have been restored in the plate from the squeezes of Lepsius.

priest[1] of the Aten, Meryra, 'Behold, I make thee high priest of the Aten to me in the temple of Aten in Akhetaten, doing it for love of thee, saying, "O my servant who hearkenest to The Teaching,[2] my heart is satisfied with every business that thou art about."[3] I give to thee the office, saying, "Thou shalt eat the provisions of Pharaoh (life, prosperity, and health to him!) thy lord, in the temple of Aten."'"

The second inscription seems to give the exclamation of the crowd :—

"He promotes by troops, by troops (?),[4] the good ruler. As the Aten rises (so) he shall be to everlasting."

The third inscription runs :—

"The high priest of the Aten in the temple of Aten in Akhetaten, Meryra, triumphant, says, 'Abundant are the rewards which the Aten knows to give, pleasing his heart.'"

Under the cornice is the device of cartouches and titularies, adopted invariably for the upper part of the walls and duplicated on each side of the radiant sun. The epithets attached to the sun are :—

"The living[5] and great Aten, Lord of the *Sed* festival, Lord of the Orbit, Lord of the Sun-disc (Aten), Lord of heaven, Lord of earth, within the temple of Aten in Akhetaten."

The registers below the main scene (Plate ix.) present the scenes on the outskirts of the little crowd round the balcony. They are arranged in Egyptian perspective. Instead of making the groups converge from the foreground to a centre, these adjuncts to the scene are placed below (i.e., nearer to the spectator), and simply face inwards from right and left (the chariot, naturally, being with its back to the scene, ready to drive away). Thus we are to imagine the King and Queen leaning from the balcony in the background, Meryra and his friends kneeling before it, with their backs to us, and outside them again to right and left the personal servants of Meryra in attitudes of deference. Into the charge of these latter have been given the presents, which the King has bestowed upon his favourite, including, perhaps, the insignia of office. A painted coffer, vessels on stands, and a collar on a stand are still visible, though much has been lost by the cutting of a recess in the wall at some later time. To the left, outside these servants, a chariot and pair is seen waiting to conduct Meryra back to his house. The charioteer waits beside the chariot, reins in hand, but a *saïs* also holds the horses, threatening them with a bunch of fodder (?). Here, too, is seen the crowd of retainers which presses round the recipient of these new honours. It includes fan bearers, &c., and a band of professional *almehs*, or female dancers, such as are indispensable on every occasion of rejoicing in the East (cf. Plate xiii.). The leader uplifts a bouquet, and, behind her, six women beat tambourines, two of them accompanying the music by a tripping measure.[6] The little maiden who dances with them, waving a palm branch in her hand, must be an apprentice to the profession, for she is nearly always shown amongst the troupe. The refrain which the

[1] Literally "great of visions," a title held previously by the high priest of Ra at Heliopolis.

[2] I took the reading from the squeezes of Lepsius, but Dr. Schaefer, who has kindly re-examined them at my request, assures me that ⊙ 𓏏𓏏, which Lepsius prints, is the true reading instead of my ⊙ 𓏏. He agrees with me that the *hrw* sign 𓂋, which Lepsius did not decipher, is quite certain.

[3] Emending to .

[4] Emending to .

[5] This seems more correct than "the life of Aten," yet the compound word "Ankh-aten" appears to have been used as a name for the deity (Petrie, *T. A.* p. 33).

[6] Cf. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, i., pp. 139, 113.

leading performer sings was given, but has suffered injury :—

"She says, 'Twice great[1] are [thy] favours which this Ua-en-ra[2] gives (?).'"

4.—A Royal Visit to the Temple.

West Wall and North Wall, W. side. Plates x. and x.A (embodying Plates xi. to xx.).

Existing copies are :—

Hay, *MSS.* 29,814, foll. 21 to 25, 55, 60 (W. Wall); 30b, 31, 51, 52 (N. Wall). L'Hôte, *Papiers*, xi. 17, 32, 33. L. *D.* iii. 92-94.

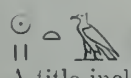
This subject not only fills the long W. wall, but extends to the adjoining part of the N. wall. This is made clear by the absence of side borders and the continuation of the sky over both. The explanation of the visit would probably have been given us in the inscriptions which accompanied the figures on the N. wall; but these have been destroyed by an ancient mutilation. It may be that it has connection with the last scene, and shows the King driving to the temple to present Meryra to the priesthood as their head.

The figure of Meryra cannot be identified, but it is probable that he was represented in the scene (the first figure of the second row, Plate xiv., or occupying one of the chariots in the lowest register of the W. wall, shown on Plate xx.). Or the scene may simply depict one of the great celebrations when Meryra, as High Priest of the Sun, had the honour of receiving the King and exercising his high office before him.

On the left in the top corner (Plate xviii.) is the royal palace, from which the King and Queen have started out. The building is drawn a second time on the E. wall (Plate xxvi.), and there are numerous representations of it also in other tombs of the necropolis.[3]

The two diagrams in this chamber are very interesting; for, while the first is in section, that on the E. wall is in plan, so far as either term can be applied to Egyptian methods of drawing.[4] If we try to unify these two efforts of one artist to reflect in outline the mental impression made by a familiar building, we find that both agree in providing the building with an outer court protected by a wall. This was pierced by a large gateway in the middle and by a small doorway on the left.[5] The gateway has the characteristic Egyptian form, derived from the closed doorway by the removal of the centre of the architrave. The two leaves of the door are secured, it appears, by a bolt which crosses both near the bottom and locks into the wall.[6] A smaller side door serves for the entrance and exit of the household, and is furnished with a little

---

[1] 

[2] A title included in Akhenaten's prenomen, but often used separately and without cartouche in prayers and addresses.

[3] Those in the tombs of Panehesy and Meryra II. (very erroneously given in L. *D.* iii. 99a) are alone available to the writer in his own copies. He hopes that another visit to El Amarna may enable him to present a full list and comparison of the representations of the palace. Professor Erman (*Egypt*, pp. 177-180) gives a description of the building (which he takes to be the house of Meryra), a restoration and a suggested plan, which will much assist the reader. By an error of the English translation the wine-jars are said to be "built into the wall" instead of "built up like a wall."

[4] A bird's-eye view from the side and from the front (the walls and ceiling being supposed transparent) would be a better definition. The habit of viewing temples, &c., from the top of the high outer pylon perhaps led the Egyptian draughtsmen to adopt this method.

[5] In Plate xxvi. a third entrance has been added for symmetry's sake. The artist of Panehesy gives two only (Part ii., Pl. xiv.).

[6] The black addition with rounded top on each side of the gateway I can only interpret as a conventional indication that it was continued on either side by a higher wall of mud-brick, of which this may be the section.

window through which the porter can converse.[1] Within the court two servants are seen; one is sprinkling water from a jar, the other sweeping out the court.

The common type of house in Akhetaten had in front three rooms, the middle one being larger and supported on two columns. The building was raised and a flight of shallow steps led up to a vestibule, through which entrance was gained to one of the side rooms and so to the columned chamber. From the back of this latter again there was a doorway into a great central hall supported on one or two columns.[2] We should expect the palace to conform to this type, and this indeed we find to a certain degree. Here also there was a triple division of the front, with doors to the side rooms. The central part was occupied by a kind of *loggia*, shut in for the greater part of its height by corniced walls surmounted by uraei, but open at the top;[3] it was gained by a door from the hall behind. In the centre of its front was a gateway of the usual form, but with the lower half of the opening walled up so as to form a balcony, while the upper part could be closed by shutters. This balcony is shaded by a portico which extends beyond it, supported on two columns. There are no signs of steps up to the palace, but it will be noticed that the floor of the *loggia* is slightly raised. Moreover, all other pictures of the palace show it on an elevation with sloping ascents to the balcony on one or both sides, and nearly all pictures of the balcony separately (in scenes the counterpart of that in Plate vi.) show it raised, and often set two doors beneath it, as if admitting to a lower floor.[4] If these pictures refer to the same building, and if there were, as we should expect, steps leading up to the doors on both sides (or to the *loggia* from within the side rooms), the artist of this tomb has left them out somewhat inexplicably. The doors to the side rooms are shown in Plate xviii., but not in Plate xxvi. The roof of the *loggia* was carried by four columns,[5] and each of the side rooms on two, set in line with the frontage. The capitals of the columns seem all intended to be of the palm-leaf pattern, but in Plate xxvi. the bulging of the foot which characterizes the papyrus column is clearly indicated. The drawing of the columns in the tomb is generally very careless.

From each of the side rooms a door leads into a spacious throne-room, the ceiling of which is carried on eight (?) columns, in two rows of four each. Two chairs[6] are set here for the royal pair, in front of a table loaded with viands. The rest of the room is crowded with jars and baskets of provisions set on light stands. From the back of the hall doors (one or two; three in Panehesy)[7] lead into a corridor, which again gives access by several doors into as many small store-rooms. One, however, is not entered directly, but through an antechamber at the end of the passage. This precaution is explained

[1] Petrie, *T. A.*, plate v. It will be noticed how limited were the designs from which the artist ordinarily worked.

[2] Petrie, *T. A.*, plate xxxviii., 4, 5, 6, and p. 20.

[3] This, then, was probably the arrangement in the houses in the town just noticed.

[4] L. *D.* 99a, 103 (where Hay shows steps), 109, and in the tombs of Panehesy and Huya also.

[5] Sometimes, as in Plate xxvi., only two are shown, so that these four may have been in two rows. Mr Griffith points out that in that plate the two are so differently drawn as to suggest that they are contrasted as pillars of the north and south, as in the case of the pillars of Thothmes III. at Karnak. Cf. also *El Bersheh*, ii. p. 31.

[6] The two are seen in Plate xviii., but in perspective.

[7] The palace has probably been simplified by the artist. If it followed the general type of house in Akhetaten, this great central hall would be surrounded by smaller rooms instead of occupying the whole breadth of the building, as it appears to do here. The extra doors may be the sign of side rooms, which are not always represented. Other drawings show greater complexity, and one of them places rooms on both sides of the central hall.

by the bed, the head-rest, and the collar on a stool, which indicate the royal bedchamber. The roof, it will be observed, is raised at this point, showing that the sleeping apartments were aired, as at the present day, by a ventilating shaft (the Arabic *mulquf*).[1] Two or three of the rooms are fitted with mastabas.[2] But the picture of this part of the house is certainly not authentic, for other drawings show a widely varying number of rooms, including columned halls, etc.

Outside the entrance gates offerings are set out. These include materials in bowls, a pile of some substance, a dish of incense burning on its stand, and two bowls protected by a pierced conical cover (white). By each group stands what seems to be a similar protection to put over the offerings and keep them from wind and dust or vagrant animals. It suggests that the hieroglyph represents such a cover standing over a pastille of incense. Near the main gateway also are tables and stands with vessels and baskets of provisions, representing perhaps a tribute which it was incumbent to bring to the palace daily, or merely added by the artist in order to suggest the plenty which reigns within. He has also set here two figures in vivacious attitudes. The procession has just clattered away, and a palace groom is holding an animated discussion on the proceedings with the portly major-domo.

An identification of this building with the main edifice in the block designated "palace" by Professor Petrie [3] can scarcely be spoken of, unless we suppose that the mass of brick pillars which remains is merely the understructure. The brief description given by Professor Petrie, and the wide space between the pillars, do not at all encourage the idea; yet its rejection leaves us with the problem why this "forest of pillars," which are such a striking feature of the palace and temple at Akhetaten, are never indicated in any way in the sculptured plans. The stone- or wood-work which spanned the pillars would, of course, be entirely despoiled in the thorough demolition of the capital. Professor Petrie has himself suggested this explanation in regard to a part of the temple,[1] and the hypothesis gains some support from the evidence just noted that the *loggia*, and perhaps the main building as well, was raised some distance above the ground. The two buildings which exhibit this construction are among the most low-lying, and as the site had not been previously built on, and consequently had no "*kom*," some sub-structure might be thought advisable as a protection against an exceptional inundation.

The division of the space in this ruin corresponds roughly to our diagram. There is the court with middle entrance and side approach (the arrangement of this corner is said to be a later addition); the triple division of the front section, with a party wall to support the columns; the great hall occupying the whole breadth; and the narrow division at the back for small bed and store-rooms. The whole, too, unlike the other large buildings of Akhetaten, faces the north, as does also the palace drawn in our tomb, to judge by the position of the *mulquf*.

The remainder of the W. wall is taken up with the procession, the advance escort of which is shown in four registers (Plates xv., xvi.) on the right; where also we see it greeted by the foremost of the temple staff, two guards apparently, to judge by the baton and falchion. The two figures whom they salute may be police at the head of the escort, or may be *saïses* running before the chariot. The military detachment is in three divisions. The first consists of four

[1] Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, i., p. 361. Petrie, *T. A.*, p. 23.

[2] Petrie, *T. A.*, p. 21.

[3] Petrie, *T. A.* Plate xxxvi. Plans of the site of Akhetaten will be found in Petrie, *T. A.*, xxxv., L. *D.*, i. 63, Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs* i., p. 357, Prisse, *L'Art Égyptien*, i., plate 38.

[1] Petrie, *T. A.*, p. 19.

men in charge of a sergeant, furnished with a kind of flail, which may have been more formidable than it appears and equivalent to the similar mediaeval weapon. They evidently belong to the military (cf. Pl. xxvi. and xxix). Then follows a troop of six soldiers, armed with square-edged axe and spear and carrying a shield on the right arm. They also are in charge of a sergeant, who carries only a baton. The body which follows was evidently selected to make a brave show. It consists of soldiers representative of the Empire, followed by six bearers of military standards. A negro with a feather in his woolly hair, armed with bow and arrows, and dressed in an ample loin-cloth, is followed by a spearman of Semitic race, with long hair and beard, dressed in a short tunic with decorated border and hanging tag. The Libyan, who carries a rounded axe, is distinguishable by his hair, which is cut short before and behind, but falls in a long plaited lock behind the ear, and by the long open mantle which he wears in addition to the tunic. A second negro follows. The standard-bearers are Egyptians, and carry insignia of three types on papyrus-headed staffs decorated with coloured ribbons. The commonest form of standard is a square tablet or shrine set upright on a stand (sled?) and inscribed with the cartouches of Ra-Horakhti or some other device. The tablet has a plume attached to the top corner, and is sometimes accompanied by an upright object (Pl. xxvi.). Another ensign takes the form of a semi-circular banner: it is not specially military in character: or, at least, is exactly similar to the sunshades carried in every retinue. As a symbol of the shadow created by the sun, it was no doubt regarded with veneration. The third ensign is a model boat, the cabin of which is surmounted by the banner just described, and represents in all probability the sacred bark of the sun.

The two figures under the horses' bellies look as if set there by the artist to symbolize the over-riding power of the King. But they are probably the grooms running beside their charges, or figures which serve only to fill an unsightly blank.

The figure of the King driving his chariot and pair is represented on a scale corresponding to his importance; and, but for the mutilation it has undergone, would present a fine example of Egyptian art, both for spirit of outline and for minute decoration in colour. The latter is now almost invisible.

Akhenaten is dressed in tunic and mantle, and wears the *khepersh* helmet on his head; from beneath this red ribbons flutter. The tunic is secured at the waist by a richly patterned and fringed sash, and the hem of its hanging flap is decorated with uraei.[1] Sash, skirts, and ribbons, streaming in the wind behind, serve to give an aspect of motion to the scene. The king holds a pair of reins in each hand and in the right also grasps a whip.

The chariot is of very light construction, corresponding in this to the examples found. Its body is formed by a framework of bent wood, which is sometimes left quite open (as in Tomb 3 here and the example in Florence Museum), and sometimes covered in with elaborately embossed and painted leather, to judge by the example lately found in the tomb of Thothmes IV. Even when this was done, it was customary to leave the upper part under the rail open, no doubt in order to enable the occupant to grip the side and steady himself in the vehicle, which even on the swept desert-roads of Akhetaten must have swayed and jolted most uncomfortably. Even when this opening was reduced to a small round hole, as in the Queen's chariot, the original design regulated the decoration. This consisted chiefly

[1] For the front aspect of the tunic and sash see Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, ii. p. 327 (3).

of patterned borders round a plain blue ground, and was divided in front by a column of royal cartouches. At the side of the chariot is slung a bow-case, similarly decorated, the projecting ends of the bows being also covered with an ornamented sheath. The lynch-pin can be seen securing the wheels on the axle. The pole of the chariot runs upward from the floor and ends in a curved yoke, which is laid across the withers of the horses: two braces from this pole to the front rim of the vehicle give it the needed rigidity.

The horses, as is almost invariable in Egypt, are coloured a dark red. Their harness comprises a pad, fastened by a broad breast-band and a girth, all richly decorated. The latter is always shown hanging loose, but it, or another below it, must surely have been strapped tight. A metal stud is fixed on the back of the pad and the yoke probably rests on this, as its curved end, terminating in a knob, is seen resting on the pad here. A second stud (fixed probably to the centre of the yoke), carries a large disc, apparently for decoration only. The fastening of the yoke to the pad or to the breast-band is not visible; it may be secured by a strap which we see passing round the stud and ending in a handsome tassel. The head of the horses is covered with a piece of spotted skin, buckled round the throat, either for protection from the heat or in order to carry the holder of a set of long plumes, alternately red and white, or red and blue, which make some compensation by their bravery for the shortness of the hogged mane. The bridle is almost exactly similar to that in modern use. It includes blinkers and a bearing rein, which is tied tightly back to the stud of the pad. The driving reins pass through a ring or loop on the pad, which is not seen, being hidden under a flap of the pad. As all ordinary roads in Egypt would be level (though some of those marked out in the desert of El Amarna are quite impossibly steep) there is no need of breeching, and the horses are left perfectly free from the shoulder.[1]

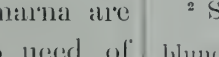
The Queen follows, driving her own chariot. This, however, is probably to be set down to the flattery that waits on royalty; for the princesses of tender years are similarly depicted. The artist has followed custom in representing her figure and equipage on a smaller scale than the King's. Otherwise, except that the sides of the chariot are less open, all is the exact counterpart, even to the bow-case. The Queen is clothed in a helmet, and in the usual woman's dress, tied in this case round the figure by a sash, the ends of which are seen streaming behind her.

Four princesses follow her in two chariots, two in each. Of the two sisters, one is shown holding the reins and whip, while the other, with the affection which in this reign seems to have been regarded as a royal virtue or prerogative, throws one arm round her sister and with the other holds tightly to a handle in the rim of the chariot, and so keeps both steady in the swaying vehicle. In the first chariot were the elder princesses, Meryt-aten and Meket-aten; but their figures are now lost. The inscription (largely restored from squeezes) runs:—

"The daughter of the King, of his body, his beloved, Meryt-aten[2] born of the great wife of the King, his beloved, lady of the two Lands, Nefer-neferu-aten—Nefertiti."

Meketaten and the two younger princesses Ankh(es)-en-pa-aten and Nefer-neferu-aten-(ta)-shera (i.e. Nefer-neferu-aten the younger, to distinguish her from her mother) are similarly described. The princesses are represented as full-grown women, but the eldest can scarcely have

[1] For the whole subject see WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs*, i., chap. iii.

[2] Spelt also  . Hay confirms the blunders in the inscription.

reached her teens. The proleptic nature of the picture is proved by the drawing on the E. wall, where the four princesses are shown with childish faces and figures, the two younger being yet unclothed.

To each chariot of the princesses are attached three others, carrying six female attendants with plume-shaped fans. The humble charioteer is no longer conveniently treated as non-existent; but, as oriental propriety would not allow him to be with the ladies in the car, he is penned up in a little cabin by their side, from which he leans out like a snail from its shell. These chariots must therefore have been of considerable breadth. The car and equipment alike are the same in all cases, except that only the horses of the royal family carry plumes. The princesses and ladies-in-waiting are dressed in the same simple way, viz., in a long mantle and a coloured cape on the shoulders. Two modes of coiffure are presented. In one, the hair, natural or artificial, is arranged in successive fringes: in the other, a large bunch is tied up with ribbon and allowed to hang over the ear, while the rest is worn short.

In the registers above and below the princesses and their escort are a dozen men in what must be construed as a running attitude. They carry staves and must be the eight *saïses* running beside their chariots, with two men in charge of them bringing up the rear on each side.

Finally, the lowest register (Plate xx.), which serves as a kind of dado, presents another procession of soldiers, chariots, and runners. This we must interpret, I think, as the retinue of Meryra himself. If so, its size and character would show that the King did not usurp all the pomp, but allowed his chief officials a suite suited to their rank. Two standard-bearers lead the way, the loin-cloth of one of them showing that curious patch behind which seems to have been the mark of some corps or nationality. The military detachment follows. It is composed of two squads of four:[1] the one Egyptian and armed with spear and shield, the other an international corps of Libyan(?), negro and two Syrian spearmen. The two sergeants are in the rear. A chariot follows at an interval, the driver of which seems to be urging on his prancing steeds. The scene, which in its whole length is greatly defaced, has suffered specially here, and it is likely that this is the chariot of Meryra, his figure being lost.[2] Behind this chariot follow four others, preceded by a group of four standard-bearers and two *saïses*. Each is driven by a charioteer and holds a passenger in addition. The occupant of the first is a personal attendant and carries a casket on his arm. The second and third carry fan-bearers. Over the whole scene, and the remainder yet to be described, stretches the blue canopy of heaven. The sun is represented twice in the sky, once here, once on the adjoining wall; here shedding its rays on the royal pair and giving life to their nostrils by the symbol of the *Ankh*, there giving protection and blessing to the temple where it is worshipped. In each case it is accompanied by its cartouches and titulary and by those of the royal pair.

The objective of the procession is the temple of the Sun, and this is represented at the extreme end of the scene (Plate xxi., embodying Plates xi. to xiv.) In front of it is the staff of the temple, which, from the highest to the lowest official, has gone out to meet the king. We have already seen two of its number greeting the procession in advance, and similarly here four out-runners of the King's train are shown in the foreground, meeting

[1] Evidently a favourite number for a squad.

[2] The lithographer of L. *D.*, iii. 92, 93, has misinterpreted his drawing. It may be confidently said that the elaboration in that plate has little or no ground beyond the outlines given in Plate xx. All the injuries are evidently much older, and earlier copies confirm this.

the head officials of the temple. These four are in distinctive dress (cf. Plate xxii.), and, as they appear to be clapping their hands, they may be heralds, chanting the dignities of the King and formally announcing his approach. The lost columns may have contained their proclamation. The whole staff of the temple holds out its hands in greeting. The foremost person (lowest row but one) may be Meryra himself. The priest behind him, to judge from the fragments of the title, may have the same rank as the four overhead. In front of the next were words of greeting to the King, "Welcome in [peace] . . . . . [ruler] of the two lands." Behind this man is a group of four priests, each of whom carries a bouquet for presentation. They are labelled as "chief servitors of Aten in the temple of Aten in Akhetaten."[1]

Attendants with sunshades kneel behind the priests, and others lead forward fat sacrificial cattle. The horned ox has been decked out by binding bright plumes between his horns in an elaborate setting, and throwing a woven garland round his neck. The sweepers and servants of the temple kneel or prostrate themselves in the rear. The former have the shaven head and the body bare to the waist, after the manner of the priesthood, no doubt with a view to ritual purity; the latter wear the wig and more elaborate dress of the laity. Two bands of female musicians stand here with the rest. They are apparently attached to the temple, but seem to differ in no way from the troupes which are in evidence at all rejoicings. The cultivation of music and dancing, however, as of most of the arts, may have been solely or chiefly in connection with the temples. We have already met with such a band (Plate vi. and p. 22). The dress of the women also has been referred to (pp. 13, 14). The action of the hands in playing the round and oblong tambourines is very clumsily indicated here, and, but for other examples, would scarcely have received the true interpretation.

As is usual, the lowest register is subordinate to the main scene and contains the unessential actors in it. Here a watchman (sweeper?) kneels, attendants bring forward offerings of fowl and flowers, and lead sacrificial oxen tricked out with gay decorations.

The temple of the Sun is shown in great detail in a kind of bird's-eye view. As three other delineations of this complex building occur in the tombs of Et Til,[2] two of which are given with equal detail and drawn with an instructive variety of method, I propose to reserve the full explanation of this diagram for the next volume, which will contain the side view from the tomb of Panehesy. Unfortunately, we cannot compare these ancient architectural drawings with the original building which lay in the plain below. Only its outer wall can now be traced; yet, had the full plan remained, it could scarcely have afforded such a mass of information regarding this seat of the monotheistic worship of the Sun as we possess in the tombs; for, if the license which the ingenious draughtsman allowed himself gives some obscurity to the plan, he has given us compensation in the sections, elevations and depictions of temple furniture, for the sake of which he sacrificed bare clearness of diagram.

The temple, as here presented to us, shows a vast oblong structure, round which an enclosing wall runs, leaving a narrow passage on both sides. At the back (top of the plate) is an outbuilding with a small postern; so that the temple *enceinte* could be entered also from this direction. The larger part of the enclosed area is occupied by the main building, and by a second court which surrounds it in front and on

[1] Completed from the Berlin squeezes, but should have been read with Lepsius and Hay.

[2] On the E. Wall here, and in the tombs of Panehesy and Huya (L. *D.*, iii. 102).

both sides. The smaller space behind, which is cut off by a dividing wall, contains a similar court and building. The main edifice is divided into sections, (entered by as many pylons)[1] of which the first is a great colonnaded court with a central altar, ascended by steps. The temple area is entered by a lofty pylon, which leads into the outer court, and a second pylon, decorated with flagstaffs, admits to the temple proper. Two small gates, to right and left of the main entrance, give access to the outer passage, which serves only a protective purpose. The sun is shown shedding his rays from heaven over the building.

The broad border of this and other scenes is always formed in the same way, where space allows. Nearest the picture is the familiar ribbon of coloured rectangles between green bands; then, at narrow intervals, follow blue and red bands, alternately (five in number on the West side); these are in relief as well as colour. The border extends right up to the cornice above, but at the bottom is a foot or more from the ground.[2]

5. The Royal Family making Offerings to the Sun.

South wall, West side. Plates xxi. (photographs) and xxii. (embodying Plates xxiii., xxiv.).

Earlier copies are:—

Hay, MSS. 29,814, foll. 29, 30. L'Hôte, *Papiers*, xi. 18 (both give the upper part only: the latter is published in Amélineau, *Histoire de la Sépulture*, plate 94). Prisse, *Monuments*, pl. xv. bis. (the blind choir). Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, i. p. 442 (the blind choir), iii., p. 52 (upper part).

This subject may perhaps be connected with that on the East wall, as a reproduction on a larger scale of the scene of worship there depicted (Plate xxvii.). It was natural that Akhenaten should wish to inculcate devotion to the Aten, whose worship he had elevated to a monotheism, by his own example; and, in fact, depictions of his own pious observances and those of his family are frequent in the tombs of El Amarna.

It is astonishing that Akhenaten had not only reached monotheism, but had carried worship to a height which required no nearer symbol or other outward embodiment than the mysterious and intangible sun in the heavens, which to the ancients was far from being, as it is to us, clearly a material body, explained, analyzed and weighed. As the great altar of the sun stood in front of no statue, name or sign, but in the centre of the outer court of the temple, facing the East, under the clear sky across which the sun moved daily; so we find here the three stands, piled with meats, fruits, flowers and incense, set in the open sunshine. The fact is indicated in the usual pragmatic way, but here the solar orb has a unique addition. Its life-giving rays, which have the accustomed form and function, do not, in this scene, proceed directly from the disc, but, with remarkable fidelity to nature, stream forth from under the encircling clouds, bright with the colours of the setting sun. The hues and forms of the clouds are in fact the same as those employed in the ⌓ hieroglyph to represent the rising sun, but in reverse position. It may

[1] The term is convenient, but it may be noted that the true pylon has a batter on every side. Here the side walls are drawn upright. Professor Petrie found no trace of pylons in what he supposes was the great temple. Were they then less solid erections? It may be noted here with what remarkable perverseness Wilkinson (and sometimes Lepsius) draws his doorways with spreading jambs. This has no justification *anywhere*, and is totally un-Egyptian. Yet it has become the characteristic mark of modern pseudo-Egyptian architecture!

[2] The cornice on this wall is not level, but ascends to the right, carrying the picture with it. The irregularity is even greater than is shown in Plate x.a., where the hieroglyphs below the border have had to be unduly compressed. In putting together the key-plates the true relations of the parts have inevitably suffered a little; so that the component plates must be taken as more correct where there is divergence.

be a sign that the King is performing the evening sacrifice.

The sacrificial offerings consist of various choice parts of the ox, geese, melons and bouquets, and on the top two burning dishes of fragrant substance which the King is replenishing from a tray or measure. It is the oblation which we see repeated innumerably, and with but slight deviations, in all the temple chambers and chapels. Beside the stands of offerings Meryra[1] and a fellow-priest are seen, assisting in the ceremonial by holding for the King bowls filled with incense (?).

The King has thrown off his mantle and is clothed simply in a white tunic (with decorated flap, and secured at the waist by long red sashes), sandals and the *khepersh* helmet. The Queen, who is in reality not behind but beside the King, and, like him, sprinkling fragrant gums upon the flame, has her mantle tied tightly round the body below the bosom with a long red sash, the ends of which fall to her feet. On her head she wears a blue *nems* crown with hanging ribbons; from beneath it her tresses escape, adorned at the end with little pendants, as the Arab woman wears her *safa*. Her daughters Merytaten and Meketaten shake the sistrum behind her; they wear the hanging side lock and the flowing mantle.[2]

The dado here consists of two registers, in which the bystanders and side-scenes are shown.[3] As was noted in connection with Plate vi., the groups converge to the centre as if in vanishing perspective. Above, on the right (i.e. by the side of the two priests in the main scene), is a third priest holding the censer. It is shaped like an arm, the palm of which holds a cup of flaming aromatics, while the stem carries a little receptacle for additional pellets of incense (cf. Plate xxvii.). The four chanters (?), whom we met with on Plate xiv. in the same dress and attitude, seem to be playing some part in the ceremony here also. In the foreground on the same side of the picture, are four fan-bearers, and a choir of blind performers, whom the artist, mindful of what was natural to their infirmity, has set with their backs to the King. Their blindness is made unmistakable by the form given to the eyes, which could scarcely be more realistically rendered. The performers are eight in number, one of whom performs upon a harp of seven strings; while the others, squatting near him on the ground, beat time with their hands and sing. The men are all bald, with wrinkled faces, and of full body, giving the impression of elderly age. The group is in all respects the *chef d'œuvre* of the necropolis, each face and skull being distinct in outline and full of character. It may contain genuine portraiture, for the artist himself may well have belonged to the temple staff and reckoned these choristers among his personal friends. Or he may simply have been stimulated by the marked facial expression which such a group presented, and which the larger scale adopted for the figures here enabled him to reproduce (cf. also Plate viii. in this respect). The faces of the surrounding figures also are carefully worked. The only copy of merit published hitherto has been the admirable drawing of Prisse, which could not be easily surpassed in fidelity.

On the left hand attendants stand in attitudes of uncomfortable deference. The personal retinue of the royal family consists of two sun-shade-bearers (to wait on either side of the King?) and eight female fan-bearers (to wait

[1] He is styled, as usual, "the high priest of the Aten in the temple of Aten in Akhetaten, Meryra, triumphant." (The text restored from Hay).

[2] In revising the plate, I find that the faulty writing of the inscription is not due to the scribe, who wrote correctly , etc. The omission of at the end of the third column in the sun's titles is probably my error, as Hay has it.

[3] Consult the photographs on Plate xxi.

similarly on the Queen and princesses?). Each carries in the hand a doubled sash, no doubt in order to gird themselves, or their superiors, better at need. It is a constant part of the equipment of this class. The prevalence of female attendants used to be explained in a way derogatory to the King, but it is obviously fully accounted for by his habit of sharing all his activities with his Queen and daughters. The chariots wait on the outskirts of the group to convey the royal family away.

6. The Royal Family Worshipping in the Temple.

East wall and adjoining part of N. wall. Upper half of Plate xxv. (embodying Plates xxvi. to xxviii. and Plate xxxiii).

Earlier copies are :—

Hay, *MSS.* 29,814, fol. 38 (great pylon), 56 (great altar), 57 (hypostyle hall behind altar), 54 (Plate xxxiii.). L'Hôte, *Papiers*, xi. 8 (whole E. wall; published in Amélineau, *Histoire de la Sépulture*, Plate 85), xi. 14 (fragments from N. wall), *Lettres Écrites*, p. 64 (pylon). Prisse, *Histoire de l'Art Égyptien*, i., Plate 41 (Plate xxxiii.). Lepsius, *D.* iii, 96, 97c and d, 98. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, i., fig. 115, 2. (Hall of Statues on N. wall).

The subject, like that on the opposite side of the hall, is continued on the adjoining part of the N. wall. The two great occasions in Meryra's career seem to have been his elevation to the high-priesthood of the Aten and the recognition of his successful administration of that office by the collection of the imposts due to the temple. The lower part of the E. side of the wall shows the reward given to Meryra by the King for the devotion which he had shown in his office; and the second visit to the temple, depicted on the upper half of the same walls, may be connected with the occasion also, for the presentation to the god of the dues collected in the land for the service of the temple would naturally be made the subject of a public ceremonial by the King. One would have expected, however, to find the great altar made the scene of so important an offering.

The delineation of the enormous building is so complete and detailed that this alone occupies the greater part of the E. wall and all the E. side of the N. wall. The action is therefore limited to the south end. Here we find the King and Queen worshipping the sun in the outer court of the temple between the first and second pylons. The scene is almost exactly analogous to that which has just been described. Five stands are set before the King, piled as before with offerings, and two similar but lower ones, with a bouquet between them, stand before the Queen. Two vessels on light stands contain the drink offerings. Meryra (for no doubt it is he) holds the spouted libation-vase and the censer in readiness; but the King and Queen are occupied with a previous part of the ceremonial, which prescribed the elevation of the *sekhem*-sceptre before the god, in recognition of the delegated authority which the royal pair owed to him. The head-dress of the King is destroyed, but the great double feathers and disc which surmounted the Queen's helmet remain.[1]

The four princesses, with as many female attendants carrying sashes and fans, stand just within the entrance pylon. Nefer-neferu-aten-ta-shera, as the youngest and least known, is explicitly named; the others, contrary to custom, are unidentified. The clothing of the two lower figures, in comparison with the nudity of their little sisters above, marks them out as older, and the relative age of each child is also shown by her height. This careful discrimination excludes the possibility of a twin birth, and is therefore of importance in estimating the chronology of the reign and of its tombs. Each princess shakes a sistrum in honour of the god. (Photograph on Pl. v.)

Outside the gates (Pl. xxvi.) the retinue is seen, waiting to reconduct the royal party to

[1] The figures of the King and Queen were never completed, the plaster, apparently, having set too rapidly.

the palace. The chariots of the King and Queen are in charge of charioteer and groom, and the two *saïses* and six personal attendants (three behind, three below the royal group in the plate) wait their pleasure. A third chariot, attended by four bearers of shade-standards, two bearers of flails and two spearmen, is seen in the lowest register. The members of the royal bodyguard have been selected by the artist, if not by the King, for their representative character and picturesque appearance. Six Egyptians carry ensigns, representing the cartouches of Ra-Horakhti and the bark of the sun. They are followed by six men of the foreign contingents; viz., two negroes armed with their national weapon, the bow and arrow, two Syrians and two Libyans. These four carry no weapons; and the Syrians in especial are not in military garb, but wrapped in the long and cumbrous robe characteristic of their country.

On the extreme right is the palace, under the benediction of the radiant sun. The building, which is here drawn in bird's-eye perspective, rendered diagrammatically, has already been described (p. 23) in connection with the picture of it on the W. wall (Plate xviii.). The stands of provisions and flowers in front of the doorway are repeated here. As has been said, the description of the temple in detail is reserved for a future volume, when the evidence derived from the two diagrams in this tomb can be supplemented and corrected by further pictures of the building.[1] Meanwhile it may be noted that the main features of the great edifice, enumerated before (p. 29), are perfectly borne out by this second representation, which gives a side view, approximating, however, more nearly to a view in perspective than to a sectional diagram. The narrow *enceinte* completely surrounding the building is shown here also (omitted at the top for convenience), the two little doors by which it was entered from the front being duly indicated (at the extreme top and bottom of the pylon on Plate xxvi.).[2] Similarly, the postern is shown on the extreme left. The main edifice ends with the E. wall (Plates xxvii., xxviii.), the smaller court and building occupying the adjacent wall (Plate xxxiii.). The six pylons again mark the six divisions of the temple proper; and the correspondence is carried so far that in the courts of the secondary temple the band of musicians, the temple servants, and the temple furniture, as well as the rounded stela set on an altar, are all found in exactly the same situations. On the east side of the N. wall, however, a seated statue of the King is placed beside the stela.

It will be observed that the sky does not end in the traditional way (Plate xxvi.). The blue strip expands at the end, and is coloured red. This represents the point on the horizon where the blue vault rests on the desert hills. The idea is made quite plain in other tombs of this necropolis, where the hills are shaped definitely like the , or signs.

7. Meryra Rewarded by the King.

Lower part of E. wall and adjoining part of N. wall. Lower half of Plate xxv., embodying Plates xxix. to xxxii.

Earlier copies are:—

Hay, *MSS.* 29,814, fol. 43 (=Plate xxxi.); 44 (=Plate xxix.); 53 (=Plate xxxii.). L'Hôte, *Papiers*, xi. 8 (whole E. wall; published in Amélineau, *Histoire de la Sépulture*, Plate 85); 14 (a fragment from the N. wall). Prisse, *Histoire de l'Art Égyptien*, i. Plate 39 (=Plate xxxi.); ii. Plate 22 (chariot in colours). Lepsius, *D.* iii. 95 (=Plate xxxii.); 97e (Plate xxx.). Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, i., pp. 340, 346, 348, 368, 370, ii., p. 157.

If the pride of the King in the magnificent buildings of his new capital is shown in the detailed presentation of the great Temple of the

[1] The building below the pylon is one of two residences, or villas for receptions, which stood just within the gates.

[2] A brief description of the building is given by Erman (*Egypt*, p. 287).

Sun on the upper part of the wall, it is no less in evidence on the lower part. Here, again, the greater part of the space is taken up with a reproduction of an extensive group of buildings devoted to various purposes, but chiefly serving as a treasury in days when the absence of currency made such a department resemble a huge depôt. The impression that one gains of this suite of five buildings is certainly that of a royal demesne. The king and the royal family receive Meryra as if they were upon their own estate, and the luxury which is everywhere apparent fully supports this. The property, indeed, combines the utility of a magazine with the amenities of a royal park, and gives no sign at all of exclusive dedication to religious purposes. Yet the scene of which it forms part renders it fairly certain that the establishments shown here form the adjuncts of the temple, and, perhaps, are the "splendid places which Pharaoh made in the house of the Benben," as the inscription records.

The difficulty in deciding between a civil or a religious character for these buildings reflects the contrast between the political situation at Thebes and at Akhetaten. In the old capital such an accumulation of wealth in one temple would have excited the jealousy and apprehension rather than the pride of the King. It was far from having come to this yet in Akhetaten. The King was here not only the founder and benefactor of the temple, on whose favours the priesthood depended for very existence,[1] but he was their head. Already, in early days, he had styled himself "chief prophet of Ra-Horakhti" in his Aten-manifestation,[2] and the more Aten-worship diverged from precedent, the greater was its dependence on the royal "Teaching." The King seems to have been less king than priest, his natural interest in the state being overpowered by his enthusiasm for Aten-worship and its seat in Akhetaten, so that the hostility of priesthood and king, which was natural at Thebes, was here impossible. Hence in spite of appearances, this scene is depicted much less in honour of Meryra, the high priest of the Aten, or of the priesthood which he represented, than in praise of the King, "the offspring of the Aten," who had built these "splendid places" for the god.[3]

It was part of the duties of Meryra, as high priest, to superintend the store-houses from which the temple offerings were supplied. The King, who had retained the supreme control of the temple services, found that in Meryra he had a complaisant and zealous official, and was moved to make a generous recognition of his services. The day on which this public reward was given to him was one of the red-letter days of Meryra's career, and it is natural that it should be selected as the subject of one of the chief scenes in his tomb.

The part of the picture comprised in Pl. xxix. shows the scene between the gate of the grain-store and the banks of the river. The fancy of the Egyptian artist was always closely in touch with fact, and here the picture includes a reminder that the temple tribute, like all other trade in Akhetaten, must arrive by water. Not only was Akhetaten difficult of access by land, even from districts on the same side of the river, but, unlike Thebes, it had its agricultural wealth altogether on the opposite bank; therefore the dues, which of course are paid in kind, are seen still lying on board the ships. Thirteen vessels are depicted, with their prows made fast by double cables to

[1] Meryra's elevation to the high priesthood was, after all, only the privilege of "eating the king's victuals in the temple of the Aten," p. 22.

[2] Legrain, *Annales du Service*, iii., p. 264.

[3] Under these circumstances it may well be that the temple adjuncts served also as a royal pleasure resort, for they certainly seem to reflect his love of luxury and grace. But I would wish to withdraw the epithet "royal," which I attached earlier to Plates xxxi. and xxxii.

strong mooring-stakes on the bank. A stepped gangway has been thrown to the shore between each pair of them. The bewildering forest of masts shown by the closely-moored flotilla presents such a picture as is vividly in the memory of every traveller on the Nile. Each ship carries one mast, having a truck at the top to which the standing rigging is fastened, and above this is a device which consists of a papyrus-head supporting what appears to be the cartouches of the sun, either as a carving or painted on a shrine. The heads of the heavy steering-beams are adorned like the masts. Below the truck rings (?) are fastened on the mast at intervals to receive the running rigging by which the yards are raised and lowered [1] As the ships are at rest the sails have been furled by the lowering of the upper yards on which they are bent. The long yards are formed, as often in the present day, of two spars lashed together in the middle.

To save further confusion in the thronged scene, the artist has contented himself with depicting the scene on board alternate boats only. The captain stands on the prow, making his obeisance towards the King. Three or four huge jars and a stand filled with joints of meat serve to indicate the contents of the holds. The decks have been fitted with cattle-pens [2] formed of light hurdles, but the beasts have been landed, and housed in stalls on the quay. On the poop is the permanent cabin with a companion ladder (?) leading below. The space below deck is ventilated by square port-holes.

The two cattle-yards shown above seem to be surrounded only by a low wall. There is a large entrance in the middle, and a small side-door by which the drovers could go in and out. Each yard is fitted for twenty head of cattle, with a partitioned stall and trough for each.[3] The feeding, however, seems generally done by hand, each herdsman having five oxen given into his charge. A stone let into the ground and pierced by a hole serves to tether them. Owing to the weight and inactivity of the fat oxen their hoofs have become misshapen (so in Plate xiv.). No doubt the artist had in mind well known cattle-yards on the river bank, in which cattle landed for the market were housed. It will be noticed that they are in duplicate, as are also the granary and treasury. This division of official store-houses was an ancient custom, and seems based on some established fiscal policy or political division.

The King receives Meryra in the outer court of the granary [4]—a fitting place of reception, since it is in its management that his merits have been shown. The King, accompanied by his Queen and two daughters,[5] and a numerous retinue, stands leaning on his staff within the gate.[6]

Meryra faces the King with arms upraised in salutation. It is the moment of his life, for by command of the King the Superintendent of the Treasury of the Golden Collars hangs these rewards in profusion round his neck. Already six collars with double rows of gold beads are on his neck, and still the order of the King,

[1] Cf. L. *D.* iii. 76. The steering beams there are carved with the head of the King. In our picture the rigging is only shown on the nearest ship.

[2] For such pens see L. *D.* iii. 116.

[3] The stalls on the near side are only indicated by slight divisions in the space between the bedding and the wall. These and other details are lacking in the suggested plan given by Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, i. p. 370.

[4] It will be noticed that a wall runs round the entire building, except for a break at the top to allow room for the sun, etc. As it is not a cornieed wall we may infer that the building was only a walled enclosure.

[5] The columns containing their names have been destroyed, probably at the same time as the faces of their parents.

[6] A part of the wall in front of the King (shown by a faint line) has been removed by thieves. What is lost has been restored from the Berlin squeezes. The figures of the retainers behind the King may also have suffered a little during recent years, but the additional lines given in the *Denkmäler* are nearly all emendations.

given with oriental magniloquence, is not exhausted. Several badges of honour, destined to burden still further the neck and ancles of the lucky official, are in the hands of the servants. These ornaments were probably no less coveted because they served also as a monetary reward. Meryra is in festive costume, having earrings in his ears and a cruse (?) of ointment secured by a band round his forehead. He is attended by three of the temple-staff, three subordinate priests (?), two fan-bearers and four bearers of sunshades. One of the fan-bearers carries also the crook and axe, insignia which he is perhaps holding for his master. The four scribes are probably attached to the Superintendent of the Treasury, for he was most concerned in having a correct record of the event.

"That which is said[1] by the King of the South and North, he who lives by truth, Lord of the Two Lands, N. 'Let the Superintendent of the Treasury of Golden Rings take(?) the High Priest of the Aten in Akhetaten, Meryra, and put gold on his neck to the top of it, and gold on his feet, because of his obedience to the doctrine of Pharaoh (life, prosperity and health to him!), doing all that was said regarding these splendid places, which Pharaoh (life, prosperity and health to him!) made in the House of the Benben,[2] in the temple of Aten, for the Aten in Akhetaten, filled with all things good, and with barley and wheat in abundance, "The Offering Table of Aten"[3] for the Aten.'"

To this Meryra, "the high-priest of the Aten, in the Temple of Aten, in Akhetaten, Bearer of the Fan on the right hand of the King, Favourite of the Lord of the Two Lands," gives the loyal answer:—

"Health to Ua-en-rā, the Fair Son(?) of the Aten.[4] Grant that he accomplish (thy ?) duration: grant it for ever and ever."

The body-guard of the King, consisting of five soldiers armed with spear, shield and axe, and two carrying the flail, wait outside the gates. Three royal chariots are also in waiting, suggesting that the store-houses were at some distance from the palace.[5]

The granary proper is entered from the court by two doors, which admit to separate but communicating yards. Each contains four large magazines for corn, but one space and its magazines are larger than the other, whether this corresponded to fact or only to the artist's convenience. The four magazines correspond, perhaps, to four principal kinds of grain. Though they look like mere heaps upon the floor, they must be substantial erections, made no doubt of Nile mud, and owing their form, perhaps, to a memory of the pile of sheaves on the threshing floor.[6] It is felt that in the granary, as well as in the harvest field, an offering is due to the god in recognition of his bounty; but that set out here seems to consist of everything except cereals. In this enclosure four scribes and four fan-bearers await the entrance of the King.

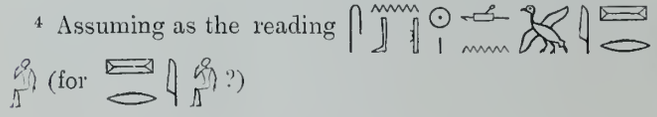
An unfinished Coptic name (?) has been scratched on the wall at this point by some visitor.[7]

A door at the back, crested with uraei, afforded an exit in this direction, and he who availed himself of it found himself confronted by another enclosure of the same size, with an entrance in

[1] Reading .

[2] Cf. p. 51. This appears to be some edifice or hall of the temple. What the Benben was is only known to us from its determinative (an obelisk or other monolith). In the pictures of the temple nothing is shown more nearly resembling this than the stela (Plates xi. and xxxiii.).

[3] I am indebted to Mr. Griffith for the suggestion that this is a proper name applied to the block of buildings.

[4] Assuming as the reading  (for ?)

[5] For his "Char Princier" (*L'Art Égyptien*, ii. 22), Prisse seems to have derived the form from the left-hand car (with a serious alteration to the forelegs of the horses), but the colours from the King's chariot on the west wall. The picture rests on careful study of several originals and, despite bold restoration, successfully reproduces the decorated car of the period.

[6] Cf. Hieroglyph 401, *Ptahhetep*, i. pl. xviii.

[7] I hope to publish the graffiti of all these tombs together.

the middle of the face. The narrow space left between the two walls was made attractive by trees, set in raised brick tanks, with drainage-holes in their walls. Entrance into this second enclosure, which the varied and valuable nature of its contents entitles us to style the treasury, is gained either through a double-leaved doorway, shaded by a handsome porch, or by two smaller doors on either hand. Who entered any of these found himself in a little court the centre of which was occupied by a pretty kiosk, raised above the ground and reached by a flight of steps. Its sides were enclosed by low walls, and its corniced roof was supported on twelve (?) light papyrus columns, gay with bunting. Both roof and walls bristle with threatening uraei. The eaves are adorned with pendant lotus buds, an architectural ornament derived from the charming Egyptian custom of adorning these arbours with flowers.[1]

The exit from this court was by three doors similar to those at the entrance, and facing them. They opened into an oblong walk planted with trees, and, like the court just left, surrounded by high walls, in which were many doors. At the far end a large and a small door provided exit from the building; and, to the right and left, were the triple gateways so affected by Egyptian architects. On whichever side the visitor chose to enter, he found himself in a situation precisely similar.[2] In the centre was an avenue of trees, and on either side was a colonnade supported by six papyrus-bud columns (or, perhaps, six porches instead of a continuous portico.) Beneath this shade six doors admitted to as many chambers, the contents of which are displayed to us. There are thus twelve such store-rooms in each division of the treasury, twenty-four in all. They contain, taking the upper division of the building first:—

Right-hand side.

(1) Sealed wine-jars.
(2) Sacks (ingots ?) and large bowls.
(3) Sealed wine-jars.
(4) Long-necked flasks and bowls.
(5) Sealed wine-jars.
(6) Sacks (ingots ?) and basins.

Left-hand side.

(7) Bags of precious materials.
(8) Long-necked flasks and basins.
(9) Linen chests set on a shelf.
(10) Bales of cloth set on a shelf.
(11) Handsome gold (?) vases set on a shelf.
(12) Flasks, basins and bowls.

Second division. Right-hand side.

(13) Large jars.
(14) Round loaves.
(15) Long-necked jars (sealed).
(16) Bread, fine and coarse (?).
(17) Large jars.
(18) Round loaves.

Left-hand side.

(19) Bales and baskets.
(20) Bales, ingots (?), &c.
(21) Grain bins.
(22) Dried and split fish.
(23) Bins, packages of the root *nefu* (?) and bales.
(24) A bin, bales and packages.

Naturally, in the absence of inscriptions, the contents of the various jars and bundles are only to be surmised. The contents of magazine No. 2 are of chief interest, where we see stored some of the masterpieces of Syrian metal-work. The counterpart of all the forms here shown may be seen in the hands of Syrian tributaries.[3] The galloping bullock which has been adopted

[1] Cf. L. *D.* iii. 98*b*, and the more accurate reproduction in my *El Amarna*, ii. pl. xxxii.

[2] Cf. the use of the term "the two Treasuries" from very ancient time.

[3] Several of them are being brought by Hittites on the east wall of the tomb of Meryra II. (*El Amarna*, ii. pl. xl. Amélineau, *Histoire de la Sépulture*, pl. 96).

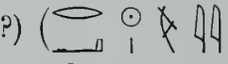
as a device for the top of two of these vases, so closely resembles in attitude the animal shown on the palace pavement,[1] that a common origin is probable.

Most, if not all, of the vases are for show, not for use, and even standing flowers have been imitated in metal, perhaps owing to a custom of employing such bowls as *jardinières*, or to hold cut blooms.[2]

In room 20 one of the bars has cross lines at the end which are strongly reminiscent of the bar of gold which Professor Petrie found bearing Aha's name, but, as the other contents of the room suggest victuals rather than metals, this is probably a false analogy. While the lower half of the treasury seems to be reserved for provisions, the upper half contains nothing that is necessarily of that nature. The large store of loaves and jars is quite consistent with a connection with the temple, since great quantities of bread and beer, &c., were required for the altars, to judge by the representations in this tomb.

From the Treasury there were exits in two directions, without retracing the way. At the far end of the avenue at the top of the picture, we see a kiosk or *loggia*, with low walls and a window of the type shown in Pl. vi. The entrance to it appears to be from the other side of the wall, suggesting that on this side the Treasury may have abutted on the palace grounds. At any rate, two small doors admit to the inner court of the Treasury on this side, an unsatisfactory arrangement unless they led into equally well-guarded property.

The direct way through the central avenue of the Treasury led out by two doors, and entered immediately, by a doorway nearly opposite, a much larger enclosure, surrounded by a wall of less solidity than the two previous store-yards. Its chief entrance, however, was on another side (foot of Plate xxxii.). Owing to a natural fracture in the wall[3] the exact arrangement cannot be recovered. The gate from the direction of the Treasury admitted to a little court planted with two trees and having a tiny building in the corner near the door (no doubt, a porter's lodge). A small door on this side admitted to another yard planted with three trees, and having a four-roomed house in the corner, back-to-back with the former or making one house with it.

If, however, on entering we do not turn aside, a large door across the court admits us to a walled-in courtyard, planted with trees, the right-hand side of which is occupied by a large dwelling-house. This I judge to be the house of Meryra himself; for some remaining fragments of an inscription in the court show that there was depicted here the home-coming of Meryra, his reception and congratulation by his household, or some similar scene. We may gather from the writing that the figure or figures faced to the right, and it is probably the head of Meryra which appears between the two inscriptions. The first fragment runs, "The coming .... receive thee ( ) .... the High Priest of the Aten (in the temple of) Aten in Akhetaten, Meryra says (?) ()." The second legend may possibly indicate the presence of a Chief Servitor of the Aten with Meryra.

One of the largest rooms in the building is

[1] Petrie, *T.A.* pl. iv.

[2] The whole subject of such ornamentation is exhaustively treated, and these examples cited, in a forthcoming work by Dr. Schaefer, entitled *Die Altägyptischen Prunkgefässe*.

[3] What is added in Plate xxxii. in broken lines or within areas marked as broken away has been supplied from the Berlin squeezes. These and still older copies make it certain that everything additional in L. *D.* iii. 95 is reconstruction. Cf. Wilkinson, i. p. 368. L'Hôte did not copy this wall, saying, "elle est mal conservée, et ce qui en subsiste, quoique fort reconnaissable, offre tant de détails qu'il m'eût fallu y travailler péniblement pendant 4 ou 5 jours." *Papiers*, iii. 285 (reverse).

supported on a double row of papyrus columns, eight in each row (six visible). Probably the main entrance from the outside was at the lower end of this fine hall. Small doors at the other end only led to as many small chambers ; further passage was from its side walls to right and left. Here handsome doorways, as well as side-doors for the entrance and exit of servants, admitted to spacious halls and courts. The ceiling of the hall on the left was supported on architraves, carried by two (four ?) square pillars with plain abacus and plinth.[1] On the right of this room were entrances to store-rooms and on the left also side-rooms were accessible. The hall on the right was a similar room, but the pillars were replaced by four palm-leaf (?) columns. As before, doors to right and left admitted to side chambers. On one side of the room we see a raised daïs or cupboard in which the drinking jars were set, and in the centre of the room is a large square altar on a raised platform, to which steps ascend. One would expect an altar to the Sun to be under open heaven, and it is not impossible that the centre of the room was unceiled.[2] An equally imposing door leads from this hall to the further part of the house where the sleeping rooms are, and to which this door alone admits. Each of the main doorways in the two halls is elaborately constructed with open-work over-head, so as to allow ventilation.[3] The sleeping apartments are approached through a broad corridor, with two columns, and consist of three rooms entered directly, and others, at the end of the corridor, reached through one or more ante-rooms. Three of these little rooms, which probably constitute the women's quarters, have mastabas for sleeping upon. A room on the right also has a dwarf wall round three sides at the end, in order to support the planks of a bed. This is the master's sleeping-room, as Professor Petrie inferred from actual examples in the town.[4] Beyond the sleeping-room is a range of seven store-rooms, well supplied with bread and beer, and safeguarded by having but one, and that an indirect, line of approach.[5] Adjoining these, but perhaps separate from the main building, are other rooms which seem to constitute the outer offices. The main feature here is a court, of which only a part appears to be roofed. The ceiling rests on architraves carried by four square pillars which have an abacus, and a capital resembling in section the cavetto cornice and roll, but no base. This house thus affords a parallel to the square pillars, remains of which Professor Petrie found in such profusion.[6]

At the end of the court outside the house of Meryra, and presumably connected with it, is another building which is unmistakably a stable, for the fragment extant shows a pair of horses feeding from a manger.[7] The drawing of the two tired animals at rest in their stalls is admirable ; and it is instructive to note the capacity of the artist for severe realism, as well as for the depiction of impression such as he shows on the N. wall, where he endeavours to suggest the elastic and curving form of the horse when in rapid motion. Outside the stall are other rooms and a stairway to the lofts above.

A door in the court outside admits directly to the grounds below it in the picture. This part of

[1] They might, of course, be cylindrical shafts.

[2] As at Illahun. Petrie, *Illahun*, Plate xvi.

[3] Wilkinson, i. p. 356. There is such a door in the Tomb of Huya (*El Amarna*, iii.). Each doorway here seems to contain two separate doors, but it may only be double-leaved.

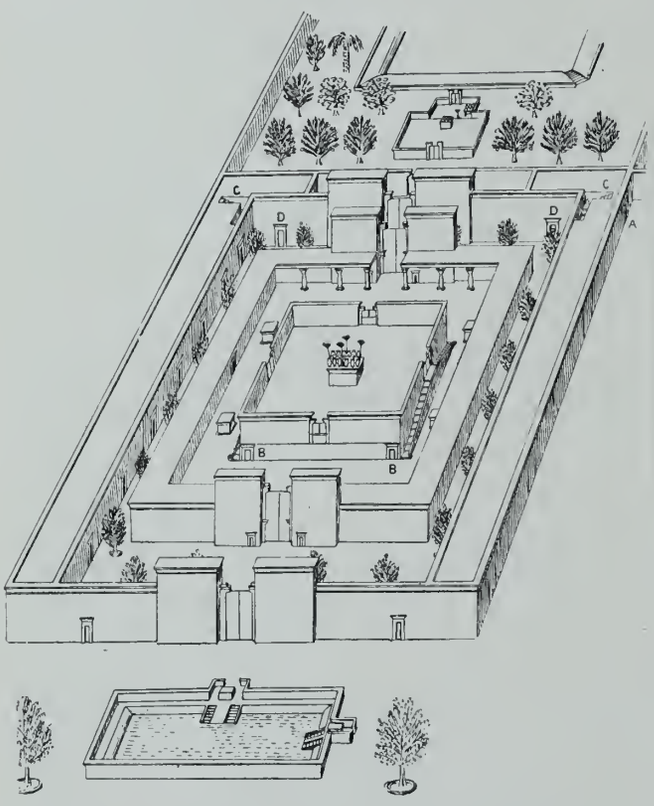
[4] Petrie, *T. A.*, p. 21. The ancient artist has been no less punctilious in his plans than the modern archaeologist.

[5] There may be an entrance from the outside near this point (through a columned hall ?).

[6] Petrie, *T. A.*, pp. 7, 19.

[7] The legs show two animals, but the wall scarcely permits of the heads as given by Weidenbach. Probably they should more nearly resemble Petrie, *T. A.*, plate xi., which may be a study for this very picture.

the enclosure, however, was more properly reached from the main entrance and may have been accessible directly from the side gate. There was quite a little park of trees, each banked round so that its roots might be flooded with water. Two large walled-in tanks, with steps leading down their steeply-sloping sides, provided the means of that liberal irrigation on which an Eastern garden is entirely dependent.[1] But they suggest some additional purpose. There is one opposite the gates of each of the two buildings situated



here, and each has a little enclosure opposite the steps, what may be a table on which to support water-pitchers in order to transfer them to the head, and a slide between the two stairways, as if to allow some heavy object to glide into the water. A second flight of steps also is provided, as if the tank were to be traversed and left on the other side. Can it be that the barks of the sun were launched in ceremonial on this little piece of water, or were they basins for ablution?

The building on the right in the picture is curiously bare of indications as to its use. It is of striking security. The only access is by the triple entrance in front, and he who passed it was immediately confronted by another and similar one. This also passed, the visitor was in an open square with thirteen almost identical doors to choose from, and only the three (two?) least promising of these enabled him to gain the innermost rooms, twenty-one in number. Moreover, each one of these only led into one of three blind corridors, flanked on one side with rooms, which the building contained. These corridors had in each case a row of columns down the centre; that which ran the length of the building having ten, the others five each. The difficulty of gaining command of the building from the other sides was at least as great. The building thus seems designed for strength, and from its bareness might be barracks or a dormitory for priests or servants. Not a single room shows any furniture or contents.

The second building is of a very different character. Set in a corner of the great enclosure, two additional walls sufficed to shut off an oblong site, the back half of which was devoted to a garden and the rest reserved for buildings. The two are separated by a double wall. A great gateway and two side doors in the façade gave entrance to the interior. Inside, the centre was occupied by a second walled enclosure of large size. A line of trees ran right round this, and right and left a row of store-chambers, eight in number, were built against the outside walls. All, save the end rooms, are shown filled with jars, bags, bales, and baskets, containing, we may imagine, valuable products. The two end spaces at the back are provided with a turning staircase (C) by which the roofs of the store-rooms could be gained and used as pleasant promenades.

The central enclosure was much after the same

[1] In connection with what follows, consult the accompanying restoration. Cf. Perrot & Chipiez, *Art in Ancient Egypt*, ii. p. 16, fig. 5.

model, having itself an enclosure in its midst. It was symmetrically arranged, with a grand pylon gateway at both ends. Along the front and back a portico ran supported on columns, four on each side the gateway, the outer two, apparently, being straight pillars or shafts of the type already seen in Meryra's house. But Egyptian draughtsmanship leaves it open whether this colonnade was on the outside or inside of the enclosure. The latter seems to have been the case. Each of the two sides of the interior was occupied by three chambers, the middle one being entered from the court, but the end rooms from under the colonnade. On each side of the central building are two altars, bare of offerings and without steps.

It seems impossible to explain the construction of the erection in the centre without taking some small liberty with the plan. On two sides there are two flights of steps facing one another, but whether they meet at the summit or at the foot is not made clear. The former is much more strongly suggested; and as, from the platform thus gained, doorways in the walls lead into the enclosure itself, this latter must be on a higher level than the court. This would leave the other two gateways in the air; but it will be seen that the further opening is not a doorway strictly, but a balcony, and therefore the nearer one also may be intended to be such. Beneath this latter two doors, close to the foot of the stairs, will be observed,[1] and these I interpret to be doors admitting to the ground floor or cellarage.[2] It appears, then, that the central edifice was elevated and approached by stairways, probably only in order that it might serve as a platform for public appearances; for, had the desire been to command air and outlook, it would have had to be raised very considerably and would not have been shut in by high walls. One would have thought that the stairway was meant to serve the same desirable end as in the outer court, by giving access to a flat roof; but the idea cannot be worked out without a considerable violation of the plan given, and of Egyptian rules of drawing.[3] The centre of all these concentric courts is an altar piled with offerings. This seems to imply a religious purpose, but the use of this strange construction is far from being apparent.

From the back of the outer court a great gateway led into the garden, not directly, but through a narrow court and small gate beyond. The ends of the intervening space formed two rooms or courts, entered from the inside by doors (D, D) situated near the stairs leading to the roof. Through that on the right hand a secret exit to the most secluded corner of the park was provided by a tiny postern (A).

The picture of the walled garden behind is a charming example of the love of the Egyptian artist for detail and his skill in suggesting the truth with which he was forced to compromise. A great part of the garden space is taken up by an enormous tank with steeply-sloping sides, down which steps lead, so that it may still be utilized when the infiltrating water lowers with the sinking of the Nile. When there is high-water in the river a *shadûf* on the bank (just visible under a date palm at the top of the picture) suffices, but as the pond dries with the falling of the river, the gardener is forced, exactly like the *fellah* of present-day Egypt, to dig a well in the bottom and set up a second

[1] Marked B in the figure, two corresponding doors on the opposite (upper) side of the building must be added to the plate, as in L. *D.* iii. 95. This omission of mine is made certain by a photograph. The building is to be restored so as to make both sides absolutely symmetrical.

[2] The balcony at which the King appears is nearly always plainly above ground level, and two doors are often set below it, as here. At other times two stairways converge to it. This is perfectly explicable if the artists were trying to represent such a building as this, and the King appearing, now at one side, now at the other.

[3] M. MASPERO presents such a restoration (*Manual of Archaeology*, 5th edition, fig. 17), but it is based apparently on the faulty drawing of Wilkinson (*ib.* fig. 16).

shadûf below the first, raising the water by two stages instead of one. The garden is crowded with trees. The three which are immediately above the pool are recognisable as the dôm-palm (on the left), the date-palm, and the plane (?). Further to the right are two pomegranate trees. The rest of the garden is planted with other examples of the three latter varieties. The trees which adorn the courts of the buildings are probably the persea.[1] By the side of the pond, and over against the entrance doors, is a little pavilion or terrace with gates at the back and front. Within it are seen altars with offerings upon them.

Over the whole, from the river-side to this garden planted in the desert, comprising three great enclosures, serving as the granary, treasury, and dependent buildings of the temple, the blue sky stretches, its ends resting on the mountains of east and west.

There seems no hope of being able to identify the buildings with any of those whose ruins still remain on the site of the capital. If they really form a series of temple-buildings, they would probably adjoin one side of it, much as they do on this wall.

8.—The Life of Meryra.

Meryra is given the titles :—

(1) , "High Priest of the Aten in the house of Aten in Akhetaten."

(2) , "Bearer of the Fan on the right-hand of the King."

(3) , "Royal Chancellor."

(4) , "Sole Companion."

(5) , "*Erpa*- and *ha*-prince." (Plate xxxix).

(6) , "Friend of the King." (Plate xxxvii).

It is strange that his high rank as an hereditary prince should only be indicated in one place, as if it were scarcely worth chronicling. It may be that by elevation to the high priesthood of the Aten he forfeited the exercise of his privileges and functions as prince.

No other High Priest of the Aten is known, unless Hat-aay really held the office. There is no other evidence that he did than his erased name on the wall of Meryra's tomb, but it is not impossible. In that case, Meryra entered on his vacant office and his confiscated tomb simultaneously. As has been seen, there is no date in the tomb; no date, that is, in figures. In the tombs of El Amarna years may be calculated by the number of Akhenaten's daughters. This is a somewhat precarious mode of reckoning, it is true, for in the contemporaneous tombs of Huya and Meryra II. two daughters are shown in the one case, but six in the other. In the tomb of Meryra there are four, and the youngest but one can be seen to be of tender age, so that we can assign the decoration of the tomb with confidence to the ninth or tenth year of Akhenaten's reign. Probably the tomb would be begun, at latest, soon after his exaltation to the rank of High Priest of the temple at Akhetaten, so that there would be room for a short-lived predecessor in that office.

The only other light that is cast on Meryra's career is an inscription from a wine jar, which shows that in the sixteenth year he was still High Priest of the Aten.[2] Almost certainly, therefore, he held the office till the death of the King. The unfinished burial chamber, however, in which he was never laid to rest, as

[1] The identification of the trees I owe to Mr. P. E. Newberry. The photograph on Plate v. should be consulted.

[2] Petrie, *T.A.*, p. 33.

he had hoped to be, seems to indicate that his prosperity did not last long beyond this. It is surprising, however, that during these years (six, at the least estimation), he had not set his tomb in complete order. If the suggestion that these tombs were made at the King's order is correct, the delay would be much more explicable. On the other hand, there is nothing to show that Meryra, on the death of the King, did not prove an apostate like others, and return to build a tomb in Thebes under the protection of the ancient gods. His tomb nowhere reveals any personal devotion to the Aten beyond that which ambition and policy required.

We prefer, however, to believe that Meryra suffered for his faith rather than, without proof, to suppose that he abandoned it. Akhenaten was not likely to be in error concerning the man who, more than any other, must have been admitted to his intimacy, shared his hopes, his ideals, his projects, and helped to make " the Doctrine " understood and appreciated in Akhetaten. He was probably, at the best, only a faithful servant and disciple of the King. There is no sign that he shared, still less that he was the instigator of, Akhenaten's revolutionary energy. But the tomb of Meryra, being quite the finest in the necropolis, is a sign of his worth to Akhenaten ; and even if it should be that the fine taste of the King, rather than that of his servant, is exhibited in its designs and execution, it is a solid testimony none the less to the merits of the man who was, perhaps, the only High-Priest of the Aten. All the prayers upon his door-cheek may not have been fulfilled, but his tomb has immortalized his name, as he desired ; and if his bones do not rest in the magnificent shrine which was prepared for them, they rest the more securely elsewhere.

CHAPTER IV.

THE RELIGIOUS TEXTS.

1. The Worship of the Aten.

The tombs of El Amarna are unique in Egypt in this respect also, that they all fall within a decade or so. This short period was one of revolution, it is true, and perhaps not altogether exempt from change. Nevertheless, the records of the tombs can, and should be, dealt with as a unity, and until the whole of the material has been presented for study no estimate of its significance can be satisfactory.

A still more serious reason for withholding judgment is the lack of evidence how far the religion of Akhenaten grew out of older forms of faith, and what permanent contribution, if any, it made to the religious thought and practice of Egypt. For we know little yet of the *history* of religion in Egypt, and are still liable to gross anachronisms. It is known, for instance, that the worship of other solar deities had very striking affinities with that of the Aten, but it is not yet clear if priority can be claimed for any close polytheistic parallels.

It is, no doubt, very probable that ideas which certainly later found much acceptance, had long been familiar in some form not essentially different. But this is very insecure ground, and leaves undetermined the amount of coincidence between the teaching of Akhenaten and contemporary sun-worship.

Yet, although an adequate history of this religious movement seems at present unattainable, a few remarks prefixed to the translations of the prayers of Meryra may serve to give them greater interest and meaning for some readers.

The petitions are, of course, exclusively addressed to the one god of Akhenaten, "beside whom there is no other." But this very phrase, which is not strange to the religious language of Egypt, shows how impossible it is to sever monotheism from the higher forms of polytheism.

The test of the purity of a faith lies less in its theology than in the tone and form of worship which it engenders and maintains. The sun-worship of Akhenaten was fortunate (so far as regards criticism) in dying before time tested its power to resist the clamorous needs and low instincts of the unspiritual mass. So far as we can see, it does not greatly differ in essential doctrine from systems that existed in Egypt before and after it, but only in its uncompromising attitude to dissenting faiths, and the consistency with which, from the beginning, it accepted the positive and negative consequences of its doctrine. In both respects we may recognize the personality of its founder, rather than the motive power of its creed.

We know little of the attitude which Aten-worship took up toward the cult or cults most akin to it, and which probably could claim some measure of paternity with regard to it. It could scarcely have proved really hostile, for its essential difference would have been hard to define. To us the relation appears rather as that of an untainted growth, innocent, as yet, of the compromises which history extorts, towards the ancient seed of truth, which has grown up so encumbered with weeds of popular tradition as

in practice to be inseparable from them. Its advantage lay in having a definite beginning and a personal founder. The frank polytheism of Egypt could speak of the one and only and incomparable God, or could worship "God" without further definition. On the other hand, this new monotheism, if we may term it so without offence to other sun-cults, or to later theologies, had, to appearance, more than one object of worship. It is generally regarded as the worship of the sun-disc (Aten). It was more exactly the worship of Ra, or Ra-Horakhti; Ra, that is, as the sun between the two horizons where he rose and sank. Thus, by a dangerous figure of speech, at least, it was connected with the old worship. This is definitely proved by the name in the cartouches of the deity—the name, that is, which was considered to contain his essential definition—"the living Ra,[1] ruler of the two horizons ('Ra-Horakhti' in older parlance and myth), rejoicing in the horizon in his name of 'The Splendour which is in the sun-disc.'" Ra is the deity of the new worship, but almost exclusively Ra in his manifestation in the actual sun which daily rose and set on the horizon. The need for a visible object of worship, or for an object of worship deeply identified with the visible, was so keenly felt that Ra himself, simply as Ra, is usually mentioned only in the vaguest way. Expressions like that in a prayer in the tomb of Meryra, where the city of Akhetaten is described as having been made by the king "for Ra," are rare. The religion of the Aten is, therefore, far from being a worship of God as spirit only, or one which emphasizes essential Deity much more than any form of manifestation. Yet neither was its deity one of definite matter or form. The orb as such was not worshipped, and its form was little reproduced. Its deity, in practice, was "the *living* Aten," that is, the mysterious life which gave movement, energy, creative and beneficent power to the Sun. "The living Aten" was "master of the Aten," the actual disc being a form of which the living god made use, and to which he was superior. The indefinable, illimitable glory which streamed forth from the round circle of the sun, obliterating its outline, was the best *practical* expression of the godhead, being in close touch with the world and man's life, and yet mysteriously above it.

The means of communication between the god and his creatures are spoken of as three; his beams (*setut*), his beauty (*nefera*), and his love (*merut*). These correspond to the three salient characteristics of the sun, his energy of light, his colour-giving power, and his heat. The light of the sun, to which form is given only when it is divided by cloud into beams, is depicted therefore as a series of diverging rays, ending in hands, and is spoken of always under this figure. These beams of the sun are celebrated in the hymns as the vitalizing and health-giving power of the universe, by which all that is is created and sustained. To the "beauty" of the sun an entity and power is attributed, such as perhaps only the colour-loving Egyptian would have ventured upon. These "beauties" refer, not to the effulgence of the noonday sun, but to the brilliant hues at sunrise and sunset, to look on which is regarded as one of the chief boons of existence; for life, and joy, and the very power to see result from the sight. The third emission of the living Aten is his love, by which his heat seems intended.[2] It is little referred to in Aten-worship; for the heat of the sun was a property that had destructive as well as

[1] The hawk with the sun-disc on its head was, before long, replaced by the disc alone, from the fear that it would be taken as a recognition of the god Horus, or in consequence of a definite repudiation of the solar myths connected with the hawk.

[2] Cf. in the Hymn to Amon-Ra (Boulaq Papyrus 17), "Thy love is in the southern sky . . . thy love makes the hands faint."

beneficent qualities. That destructive power which had its symbol in the Uraeus, and its deity in Sekhemt, is never so much as alluded to in the hymns of the new cult. It suggests that the impulses to the new faith came from a northern quarter, whether within or beyond Egypt. The hymns to other solar deities, on the contrary, show no inclination to silence in this respect.

Aten was selected as the distinctive word of the new religion, because the older names were all associated too indissolubly with ancient myths and custom. It is, in fact, the new equivalent of Ra-Horakhti, and is the worship of Ra in his manifestation in the visible solar orb, the sun of the day-time in all his beneficence and beauty. The living Ra as the glory of the sun-disc is the official deity, Aten the common term of allusion, Ra, pure and simple, is the theological deity, who has scarcely any place in practical worship. The name of Ra had in the past been kept comparatively free from superstitious association, and hence could be occasionally used in the texts; but the new name, which was clean from all tradition, was the accepted title of the god. Yet the epithet "living" was continually insisted upon in writing and in picture, as if to keep the word "Aten" from abasement, and between "the living Ra" and "the living Aten" there is really no distinction.[1] The new religion neither sought or reached any intellectual subtleties or sublime conceptions. Its strength lay in its nearness to obvious truth and obvious blessings. It compromised happily between crude material idolatry and a mysticism which had no connection with life. Its deity was so supramundane that no taint of earth or materialism clung to it, and yet so visibly the creative and regulative power of all that is mundane, that its worship was in touch with the most insistent realities. It was by no means free from anthropomorphism, and was frankly simple and practical; but if it cannot take a place among the great religious systems, it achieved a happy success in a direction where most of them have signally failed—a basis in reality instead of speculation, and a natural rather than induced piety.

If Akhenaten had abolished all gods but one, he had not surrendered or diminished the claim of Egyptian kings to what was almost or quite a secondary worship. He is still the "Son of Ra," and, by synonym, "the offspring of Aten," is hailed as "the good god," saluted along with the deity, and so associated with him in the ascription of praise and reception of prayer that it is often difficult to assign what belongs to each. This prominence of the king is not undue arrogation, but is the outcome of the changed condition of the pantheon. The gods of burial to whom prayer was formerly addressed, were supposed to be no more, and their priesthood had no place in Akhetaten. The King, too, as founder and head of the Aten-worship, had a position in the temple which he could not have assumed in Thebes. The prayers for burial favours, therefore, which would have been addressed to other powers, are naturally directed to the King, as the patron of the dead, in whose control all privileges and means of happiness for both worlds lay. If the *dy hetep seten* formula is not often in evidence, it is not because the King has relaxed his prerogatives or duties.

The hymns and prayers to the Aten do not contain a great deal that is unique. The poly-

[1] The practice in personal names is interesting, though the material is scant. The King set an example by giving names compounded with Aten to all his daughters save the last, whom he called Setep-en-ra. But the officials seem to have been backward in following this example, preferring to compromise on Ra-names. Even the high priest of the Aten and the son-in-law of Akhenaten have given the preference to the well-known name, and the people seem to have had a habit of calling the King Ua-en-ra. It appears as if there were no popular enthusiasm for the new deity even in Akhetaten. For names see Griffith, in Petrie, *T. A.*, chap. v., and Baillet, *Recueil*, xxiii. 140

theistic hymns addressed to the sun-gods also admit much that is equally attractive, employing the same or similar language side by side with expressions which to us have no religious meaning. But whether the doctrine of Akhenaten was a purification of the old or the untainted expression of what was new, it is superior in two directions. It is free from all idle speculations and mythology, and from the empty symbolism which inevitably accretes upon them, discarding all allusion to the myths by which the movement of the sun, and especially his passage by night through the underworld, had been explained. It treats the sun only as a visible orb; its nightly history, which had no influence upon the life of man, is judged to have nothing to do with practical worship. Faith is stripped of archaeology, and becomes a living and natural piety. Its other merit lies in an increased optimism, corresponding, perhaps, to an advance in humanitarian sentiment. The destructive and oppressive action of the sun is not dwelt upon. The deity is presented as confessedly beneficent; not fear, but gratitude and a sense of dependence are regarded as the natural motives to piety.

It was to be expected that in the tomb of the chief priest of the new religion we should find the authoritative ritual, or prayers which give specially true utterance to the new spirit. This, however, is not the case. Among the religious texts which the tombs of El Amarna contain, there is only one, the well-known Hymn to the Aten, which bears the mark of authoritative composition. It exists only in one copy (in the tomb of Ay), now greatly mutilated. Unlike most other texts in the necropolis, it is a pure Hymn of Praise, containing no supplications. A much shorter composition of the same kind, but without method or literary merit, exists in many copies, and evidently approaches nearest to a popular litany. It will be convenient to call it the Shorter Hymn. A third, and still shorter Magnificat, which is closely akin to the second, is extant also in two copies. These two last occupy the chief places in the Tomb of Meryra, and thus gain official sanction. The rest of the hymns, or prayers (for they have a large admixture of supplication), bear no trace of unity or literary labour. They are merely a connected string of phrases which had gained currency, and bear every evidence of unofficial and extemporary compilation.

The Hymn to the Aten has often been ascribed to Akhenaten himself. Though this rests on no direct proof, it is in itself likely. In the case of the Shorter Hymn, the prayer is said to be offered up by the King himself ("Adoration of Ra . . . . by the King . . . . for the *Ka* of . . . . .") on behalf of the deceased, and this confirms the official character which frequent repetition suggests. Probably the great hymn in the tomb of Ay is also to be so understood. Generally, however, the prayers are definitely shown by word and picture to be the utterance of the deceased himself.

The texts in the tombs fall into three divisions, marked in the first place by situation. They are inscribed, namely:—

(1) On the thickness of the door of entrance.

(2) At the ends of the lintels of doorways, and sometimes as an addition below the regular inscriptions on the jambs.

(3) In columns on the jambs of the inscribed doorways.

This seemingly artificial division, however, corresponds to a real difference. The outer thicknesses of the walls are invariably occupied by figures of the deceased, accompanied by the columns containing his prayer, even when the greater part of the wall is taken up with the royal group adoring the Sun. This representation, in fact, depicts the spirit of the deceased coming to the door of his dwelling to salute the sun. Consistently with this idea, the figure of Meryra on the E. side of the entrance, from which the setting sun could be seen, is provided

with a salutation to the sun as he sinks to rest, but on the W. side a corresponding praise of the rising orb is given as his prayer. The attribution of these prayers to the praying figure is sometimes indicated by the particle preceding the name and titles at the close, or, more generally, by a following them. Both may occur together in the body of the prayer in close of one section and introduction of another (. . . . . so and so . . . . .). In this case it would seem that two recognized or borrowed compilations have been joined in one, or that some hiatus in the sense was manifest to the writer. Texts of the second class are arranged in five or six short columns before a kneeling figure of the deceased. The text gives a short collect modelled on the prayers of the first class, and closing with the name and titles of the deceased, introduced by . Their employment in the situations named seems to have a decorative rather than a special liturgical purpose.

The third class of texts is found on the jambs of the inner doors.[1] As these represent the entrance to the burial chamber and take the place of the false doors, which are no longer found, the space here is devoted to formal appeals for recognized burial favours and privileges. These prayers are intended to be said by the friends who visit the tombs, and are arranged, therefore, as brief petitions separately set out in vertical columns to meet the eye.

It may be added that the condition of the tombs of El Amarna renders copying excessively difficult at times, so that the presence or absence of grammatical endings such as , , , and the distinction of from often admits of doubt.

[1] Never, I think, on the door to the shrine.

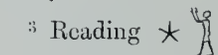
2. The Longer Prayers.[2]

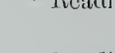
1. (Outer thickness. W. side. Plate xli.)

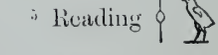
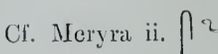
"An adoration of Aten when he rises[3] on the eastern horizon of heaven. How beautiful is thy dawning, O living Ra, etc., etc., who givest life eternally and for ever. Thou hast illumined the two lands with thy beauties. Thou hast made the circuit of the two lands with [thy] dise . . . . . Thou transferrest (?) [4] them (the peoples?) to thy beloved son. Thou ordainest the lands for him in order to rejoice (?) his heart[5] and to give satisfaction to thy *Ka*. He administers them for thee with a heart [of love?] . . . . The land is subject to him, as it was subject to thee. The nine bows (i.e. the surrounding nations) are in the presence of[6] His Majesty; their chiefs (?) are collected (?)[7] under his sandals. Thou causest that he accomplishes a duration like thine as King,[8] being here with thee eternally, seeing thy beams every day. Thou grantest to him *sed*-festivals[9] (a *sed*-festival?) and multitudinous years. All thy orbit is under his eye, (the eye of) thy son who proceeded from thy body, the Lord of the two Lands, Nefer-Kheperu-ra, who giveth [life].

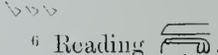
The Royal Chancellor, beloved of his lord, the favourite whom the Lord of the two Lands fostered, the High

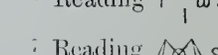
[2] I have received from the Editor, and incorporated in these translations, so many valuable suggestions on difficult points that the following pages must be considered as our joint work.

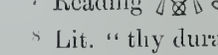
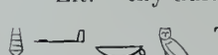
[3] Reading  .

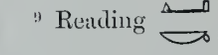
[4] Reading  .

[5] Reading  . Cf. Meryra ii.  (L'Hôte, *Papiers*, iii. 290). For cf. Breasted, *De Hymnis*, p. 18.

[6] Reading  .

[7] Reading  .

[8] Lit. "thy duration." Restore the text to   .

[9] Reading . Cf. Ahmes  .

Priest of the Aten [in the temple of] Aten in Akhetaten,[1] Bearer of the Fan on the right-hand of the King, Meryra, saith (it)."

2. (Outer thickness. E. side. Plate xli.)

"An adoration of Aten when [he sets on the Western horizon of] heaven.[2] Thy setting is beautiful, O living Ra, etc., etc., who givest life eternally and for ever. Thou traversest the sky in peace, the two lands and the inhabitants welcome[3] . . . . . giving praises at thy rising . . . . . [thy beloved son] likewise; but[4] thou art king for ever. When he rises . . . . . by his hues, producing eyes for all that he has created . . . . . he gives life[5] to cattle of all kinds. There is health at sight of thy beams, hearts . . . . . by looking on thee. [Thy] son shall be . . . . . King of South and North, living by Righteousness, Lord of the two Lands, N., ... eternally.

"The Royal Chancellor, Sole Companion, and the favourite of his Lord, accurate[6] for the King of the South, [exact?] for the King of the North, the High Priest of the Aten, etc., Meryra, saith (it)."

3. (Antechamber. S. wall. W. side. Plate xxxviii.)

"Praises to Thee, Thou who livest by Truth, Lord of all Might,[7] Lord of the Two Lands, N., etc, the fair son of the living Aten! While heaven is, thou shalt be. Thou shalt accomplish many years and multitudinous *sed*-festivals[8]: being here (?) for ever eternally. The whole earth[9] salutes thy *Ka* . . . . . to thee, their Lord[10] . . . . . to do (thy) will like the living Aten. Thou art born even as the Aten is born. Thy duration is as eternity, the duration of Ra as King of the Two Lands, the years of Aten in heaven. Thou hast thy dwelling in Akhetaten, the fair place[11] which thou hast made for Ra, and to which all men come. (Spoken) by the unique and excellent one, beloved of his Lord, a favourite of the Lord of the Two Lands on account of his merit,[12] the High Priest, etc., Meryra.

"The Royal Chancellor, etc., etc., Meryra, triumphant."

4. (Antechamber. S. wall. E. side. Plate xxxviii.)

"'Praises to thee, O Ua-en-ra, I give adorations to the height of heaven, I propitiate him who lives by truth, the Lord of Diadems, Akhenaten, great in his duration, the Nile-god by whose decrees men are enriched, the food and fatness of Egypt (*ka-w zefa-w*), the good ruler who forms me, begets me, develops me, makes me to associate with princes, the Light by sight of which I live, my *Ka*[13] day by day.' (Said) by the unique one, the favourite of the Lord of the two Lands, one whom the King of the South magnified and the King of the North promoted, one whom the Lord of the two Lands formed by (as?) his *Ka*, the High Priest, etc., etc., Meryra, triumphant.

"He saith, 'I give thee praises, I adore thy beauty; I exalt thy noble ways,[14] my Lord! Grant to me an old age without being far from thee, my eye not groping[15] after thy beauty, until the veteran's reward *(amakh)* befalls in peace in the venerated cliff of Akhetaten.'"

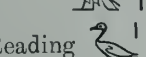
5. (Inner thickness. W. side. Plate xxxvi.)[16]

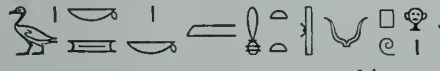
"Thy dawning is very beautiful, O living Ra, etc., etc., the living Aten, beside whom there is no other,[17] giving

---

[1] The *ankh* which depends from the sign of the horizon is attached to the disc. It is as often absent as present from the sign of the disc, and much rarer in this hieroglyph. The insistence upon the *living* nature of the disc is to be noted.

[2] Reading .

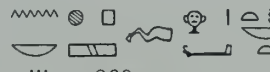
[3] Or  (cf. Plate xxxviii).

[4] Reading  .

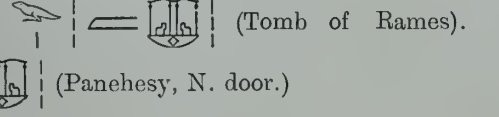
For the scribe seems to have written , but this must be a mistake of his.

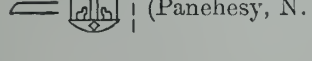
[5] Reading .

[6] i.e. in carrying out commands.

[7] Cf. the title of the King  .

Legrain, *Annales du Service*, iii. p. 260.

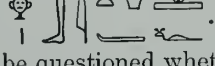
[8] Cf.  (Tomb of Rames).

 (Panehesy, N. door.)

[9] Reading (?). The word is repeatedly followed by the plural pronoun in the Long Hymn to the Aten. Breasted, *De Hymnis*, p. 35.

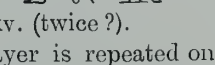
[10] Reading .

[11] The Text has been made good from Nestor L'Hôte, *Papiers*, iii. 282 (reverse).

[12] Reading  .

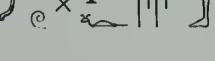
[13] It is to be questioned whether this is to be understood as meaning "life" or "provision" here.

[14] Reading .

[15] Reading  .

Cf. Plate xxxv. (twice?).

[16] This prayer is repeated on the W. thickness of the tomb of Ahmes.

[17] Read  (Ahmes).

health to the eyes by his rays, he who [has made] all that is![1] Thou risest in the Eastern horizon of heaven to give life to all that thou hast made, viz. mankind,[2] cattle, flying and fluttering things, with [all kinds] of reptiles which are on the earth.[3] They are lively when they see thee. They lie down when[4] thou settest. Thou givest thy beloved son, He who lives by Truth, Lord of the Two Lands, N., living with thee for ever, the great royal wife, his beloved one, Lady of the Two Lands, N., etc., being at his side,[5] while he gives satisfaction to thy heart and seeth what thou hast made each day. He rejoices at seeing thy beams.[6] Grant to him eternity as King of the Two Lands.[7]

"The great favourite of the Lady of the Two Lands, Ten-re,[8] triumphant, says, 'Hail to thee, who [madest (?)] years,[9] createdst months, madest days, and countest hours, lord of duration by [whom (?)] reckoning is made. [Grant][10] thy duration as Aten to thy son, Ua-en-ra.'"

6. (Inner thickness. E. side. Plate xxxvii.)

(The Shorter Hymn to the Aten.[11])

"[An adoration of the living Ra, ruler of the two horizons, rejoicing on the horizon in his name of 'The Brilliance (?) which comes (?) from the Disc,'][12] who gives life eternally and for ever.[13] Thy rising[14] is beautiful,[15] O living Aten,[16] lord of eternity. Thou art radiant, lovely and gleaming,[17] thy love is great and mighty[18] of rays[19] to produce eyes for all that thou hast created. Thy surface gleams,[20] giving life to hearts.[21] Thou fillest[22] the two lands with thy love, the good ruler[23] who himself formed himself, making every land and creating that

---

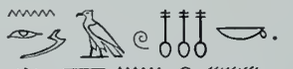
[1] Read (Ahmes).

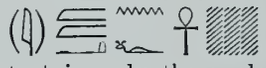
[2] (*sic*) is of course a mistake for . It is lost in Ahmes.

[3] Read (Ahmes. First three signs from L. *D.* iii. 97a).

[4] must be for . It is lost in Ahmes.

[5] This clause is omitted in Ahmes, and is a parenthesis, introduced perhaps by Ten-re herself from a desire that her mistress should share this tribute.

[6]  . (Ahmes).

[7]  (Ahmes, where this part of the text is only the prologue to a long eulogy of the King).

[8] Reading .

[9] Reading .

[10] Reading .

[11] See p. 8. In strictness it is a hymn to Ra, the Brilliance of the Aten. Other versions of the text before me are:—(1) A much injured text in the tomb of Any, published by Daressy, *Recueil* xv., pp. 43, 44. I use, for the most part, my own copy. (2) A perfect text from the tomb of Apy, published by Bouriant, *Mission Française* i., pp. 11-14, and by Piehl, *Inscr.* i., plates 191, 192. I use my own copy. Also fragments of a second text (Apy *a.*) published by Bouriant (*loc. cit.*). (3) A text in the tomb of Tutu published in L. *D.* iii. 106 *b*, which I have not revised, and which is almost useless. (4) Four copies by an illiterate scribe and in a shortened form, from the tomb of Mahu, published by Bouriant (*loc. cit.*). I use my own copies. The text in Plate xxxvii. has been collated with the copies of Hay and L'Hôte. In noting variants small differences of epigraphy and the worst blunders in Mahu are ignored.

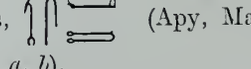
[12] Read ★ followed by the two cartouches in the form invariably used in this tomb. So Mahu. Apy and Any adopt the earlier form of the cartouches. Cf. p. 9.

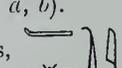
[13] All other copies add here , followed by the two royal names and titularies.

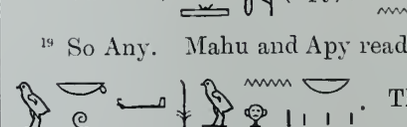
[14] Variant, (Tutu). So also the Great Hymn of Ay, strophe 4. (References to the hymn are from Breasted, *De Hymnis*).

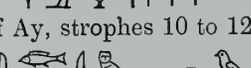
[15] Tutu adds , "my father" (?).

[16] Variant, (Tutu).

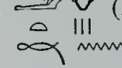
[17] Variants, (Apy, Mahu *d.*)  (Tutu, Mahu *a*, *b*).

[18] Variants,  (Apy); (Mahu).

[19] So Any. Mahu and Apy read  . This seems a corruption of the text of Ay, strophes 10 to 12.

[20] Read  (Any, Apy). Mahu (*b*, *d*) writes .

[21] Variant, (Apy and Mahu).

[22] Variant,  (Apy and Mahu).

[23] Variant (Apy and Mahu).

which is on it,[1] mankind, all herds and flocks,[2] and all kinds of trees[3] which grow[4] on the ground.[5] They live when thou risest for them.[6] Thou art mother[7] and father to all that thou makest:[8] their eyes,[9] when thou risest,[10] see by means of thee. Thy rays illumine the whole earth: every heart rejoices at [sight of thee.[11] Thou risest as their Lord. When thou settest[12]] on the Western horizon of heaven, they lie down[13] like those that are dead.[14] Their heads are wrapped up; their nostrils[15] are closed until[16] thou risest early on the Eastern horizon of heaven. (Then) their arms[17] are (*sc.* lifted) in praise[18] to thy *Ka*. When thou bringest life to hearts[19] by thy beauty, there is life. When thou hast sent thy beams, all the land is in festival;[20] the singers and musicians lift up their voice with gladness in the court of the house of the Benben, thy shadow on the horizon (or "in Akhetaten"):[21] and every seat[22] with which thou art satisfied, and in which are food, provisions and offerings.[23] Thy son is pure,[24] doing what is acceptable to thee, O living Aten;[25] he whom he fashioned, his

---

[1] (Mahu).

[2] Read in Apy). Variant, for (Apy, Mahu, Tutu).

[3] Variant, (Apy and Mahu *c*). Mahu *b* and *d* have !

[4] The determinative is a vase (or similar) or a table of offerings (Mahu), and in Apy combines the features of both, having the loaves (?) above the vase.

[5] Read (L'Hôte and Hay). (Any and Apy). Mahu *d* closes here.

[6] Read (Hay and L'Hôte). Apy and Mahu write .

[7] Read . Apy and Mahu write .

[8] Read .

[9] Variant, (Apy).

[10] Mahu *a*, *b*, *c*, close here, crowning what must surely be one of the most badly-written texts in Egypt by rendering the phrase senselessly (*a*, *c*) and (*b*)!

[11] Variant, (Apy).

[12] Read (Any and Tutu), (in Apy). The injury is earlier than Hay.

[13] Read .

[14] Loosely written for . Cf. Breasted, *De Hymnis*, strophe 13. The determinative of is a small circle in Apy also.

[15] Variant, (Tutu).

[16] Read .

[17] Read .

[18] Variant, (Any and Apy).

[19] Variant, (Apy and Tutu).

[20] Tutu reads .

[21] Variants, (Apy). So Tutu, with loss of the determinative. Any is indecipherable here. The reading of our text is very likely an error for .

[22] So Any and Apy *a*. It seems like an error for the variant (Apy), (Tutu).

[23] Read . Variants, (Any), (Apy). Tutu omits the sentence.

[24] Variant, (Tutu).

[25] Variants, (Apy), (Tutu). Any is indecipherable. At this point the version in Meryra omits a passage of some length.

son,[1] Ua-en-ra, in his image[2] without ceasing[3] to everlasting." [4]

The friend of the King, beloved of his lord, favourite of the Lord of the Two Lands, the High Priest, etc., etc., Meryra. [He saith it.]

3. The Shorter Prayers.

Many of the short prayers on the lintel and jambs are so defaced that only a phrase here and there can be read. The only sure addition which these prayers make to what we have elsewhere is the epithet "the good ruler who loves mankind," applied to the King (Plate xxxv., framing of entrance, 2nd col.). In the same text (cols. 4 and 5) we perhaps have the phrase "Grant to me a good old age without being far from thee." Better preserved examples are :—

(Plate xxxiv. Left side of Lintel.

"Praises to thee, the living Aten, lord of everlastingness, who makes eternity, (and to) the *Ka* of the King, etc., etc., a ruler who makes princes and builds up the Commons, the Fate who gives life, Master of that which is ordained (so in *Panehesy*). Grant to me a good burial . . . . . (Said) by the High Priest, etc. [Meryra]."

(Plate xxxv. Left side of Lintel.)

"Praises to thy *Ka*, thou who livest by Truth, Lord of the Two Lands N., the Hapi by whose decree men are enriched, my *Ka* day by day.[5] There is no poverty for him who hath hearkened to thy ways and hath put repetitions of it(?) in his heart. How happy is he who stands in thy presence and gives his heart to the Doctrine. Moreover, thou givest to him an old age of thy giving,[6] a happy time(?) by means of thy power.

"(This is said) by the High Priest, etc., Meryra."

(Plate xxxv. Right side of Lintel.)

"Praises to thy *Ka*, the living Aten, who illumines the land by his beauty, and (to) the *Ka* of the King, who lives by Truth, Lord of Diadems, [Akhenaten], great in his duration. . . . . My heart rejoices at sight of thy beauty. I live by hearkening to what thou sayest (?). Give me an old age without being far from thee. . . . . (Said) by the High Priest, etc., Meryra."

(Plate xxxv. Left Jamb.)

["Praises to thee, the Aten, who illumines the land][7] with his beauty and to the *Ka* of the King, living by Truth, Lord [of Diadems, Akhenaten, great in his duration]. May he grant a goodly burial (in) the mountain of Akhetaten, the place of favours in which thou art, to the *Ka* of the favourite of the Lord of the Two Lands, the High Priest, etc., etc., Meryra."

(Plate xxxv. Right Jamb.)

"Praises to thee, the living Aten, who illumines all the land when he rises, and to the *Ka* of the King, living by Truth, N. May he grant a long duration of life until an old age of his giving comes on, to the *Ka* of, etc., etc., Meryra, triumphant."

4. Burial Petitions.

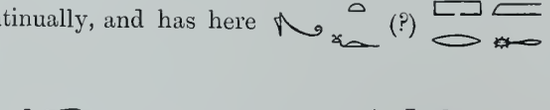
1—4. (Antechamber. Left Jamb. Plate xxxix.)[8]

Introduction. "Praises to thee, the living Aten, and to the *Ka* of the King, Nefer-kheperu-ra-ua-en-ra" (variants : "Akhenaten" and "Nefertiti," each with the proper titulary).

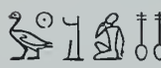
(1.) May he (i.e. the King)[9] grant a happy old age and a journey with favours to the hill of Akhetaten" (i.e. the rock tombs).

(2.) "May he grant a good burial after old age, [and interment][10] in the territory of the favoured ones."

---

[1] Variant, (Apy, Any). Tutu varies from these continually, and has here  .

[2] Read . [3] Variant, (Apy).

[4] Instead of this ending, Apy, Apy *a* and Tutu give  . Here Apy *a* ends, but the remaining three (Apy, Any, and Tutu) continue at great length the praises of Aten, put in the mouth of the king, and beginning, "I, Nefer-kheperu-Ra, am thy son . . . . ."

[5] See Plate xxxviii., East side, cols. 2 and 4.

[6] Read (?). Cf. the prayer at the bottom of this plate (right-hand side), col. 3.

[7] Cf. the opening of the next prayer.

[8] The lacunae are supplied from L'Hôte, *Papiers* iii. 283 (reverse) ; the prayers are also found in the tomb of Panehesy, cf. *El Amarna* ii., plate xxi.

[9] These prayers in Panchesy omit the salutation to the Aten and are addressed to the King and Queen ("may he give," "may she give").

[10] Read (Panehesy).

(3.) May he grant[1] a long duration,[2] seeing thy beauty; may the sight of thee never fail[3] any day."

(4.) May he grant a reception of loaves, that which has been offered in the Presence,[4] and a drink offering[5] in the Temple of Aten."[6]

Close.[7] "To the *Ka* of the High Priest of the Aten, in Akhetaten" (cols. 1 and 3), "to the *Ka* of the Royal Chancellor and Sole Companion, Bearer of the Fan on the right hand of the King" (col. 2), "to the *Ka* of the Royal Chancellor, beloved of his Lord, great favourite of the Lord of the Two Lands, Meryra, triumphant" (col. 4).

5—8. (Right Jamb of the same. Plate xxxix.)

Introduction: As above.

(5.) "May he grant that the favoured one may enter and the loved one go forth, and receive the favours of the Lord of the Two Lands."

(6.) "May he grant thy[8] tomb(?) of everlasting, thy place of eternity; May thy name[9] not become forgotten."

(7.) "May he (*sic*) grant that thy offerings be abundant in thy tomb-chamber[10]; may thy name be celebrated for ever and ever."

(8.) "May he grant that the children of thy house pour out libations to thee[11] at the entrance to thy tomb-chamber."

Close: "to the *Ka* of the *erpa*-and *ha*-prince, the Royal Chancellor, beloved of his Lord, Meryra, triumphant" (col. 2; the others repeat the titles on the other jamb).

9—12. (Hall. N. Door, Left Jamb. Plate xxxiv.)

Introduction: "Praise to thee, the living Ra, etc., etc.

(9.) May he[12] grant a sight of the Aten each time (?)[13] he rises in the morning, forasmuch as he hearkens[14] to that which thou saidest."

(10.) "May he grant a tomb, in which to put the soul to rest on its couch, an everlasting seat."

(11.) "May he grant to go in and out of the dwelling and to see the beams of the sun and his risings."

(12.) "May he grant that his flesh live [upon the bones(?)] breathing the sweet airs of the north wind."[15]

Close: As in cols. 1 to 4, but "favourite of the Lord of the Two Lands, etc.," in cols. 10 and 12.

13—16. (Right Jamb of the same.)

(13.) "May he grant a reception of loaves, that which is offered in the presence of the Aten."[16]

(14.) "May he grant a happy burial (in) the hill of Akhetaten."[17]

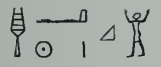
(15.) "May he grant that there be wealth on earth, a spiritual nature in the underworld,[18] and that the soul may go forth and be refreshed in (its) dwelling."

(16.) "May he grant . . . . . with favours of the good god."

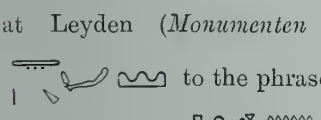
Close: As in cols. 1 and 2. The prayers were originally on behalf of one Hataay (*v.* p. 16).

---

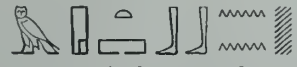
[1] The prayer should run, "may she (the Queen) grant." So in Panehesy.

[2] Variant,  (*ibid*).

[3] Panehesy adds the determinative . L'Hôte writes erroneously.

[4] I.e., offered to the god in the temple. A stela at Leyden (*Monumenten* iii. 15) adds  to the phrase.

[5] Reading .

[6] Variant,  (Panehesy).

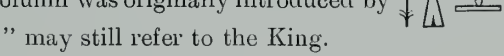
[7] By inadvertence it has not been indicated in the plate that the fragmentary state of the titles is due to defacement.

[8] Read for (Panehesy). The use of the second person shows that these prayers were for recital by visitors. Hence their position on the jambs.

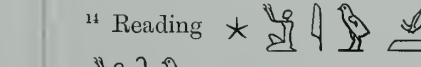
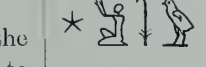
[9] Variant, (Panehesy).

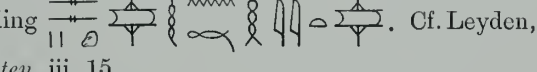
[10] Here and in the next column read .

[11] Variant, (Panehesy).

[12] As the column was originally introduced by  (p. 15), "he" may still refer to the King.

[13] Or is simply added because of the *ten* which precedes?

[14] Reading  . Or perhaps  should be read.

[15] Reading  . Cf. Leyden, *Monumenten*, iii. 15.

[16] For the text, see col. 4.

[17] Reading .

[18] Reading . Cf. Leyden, *Monumenten*, iii. 15, 16.

INDEX.

Ahmes, tomb of 7, 48, 49, 50
Akhenaten (see King, Royal)
,, figures of . . . 21, 26, 31, 32, 35
,, his relation to the priesthood 23, 34, 36, 43
,, character of . . 18, 20, 30, 32, 34, 43, 44
,, founder of Aten-worship 1, 9, 19, 22, 30, 34, 36, 43, 44, 46, 47, 52
Akhetaten, city of . . 1, 18, 19, 45, 49, 51, 52, 53
,, ruins of . . . 3, 24, 25, 29, 42
,, life in 19, 20, 34, 43, 46
Alabastron 3
Altars depicted 30, 33, 39, 41, 42
Amélineau, M. 4, 7
Amon 1, 45
Ankh-Aten 22
Ankh-es-en-pa-aten 27
Antechamber 10, 17, 24, 39
Any, tomb of 50
Apy, tomb of 50
Archaeological Survey, early work by . . . 5
Architectural designs . . . 23, 29, 33, 34, 41
Architecture of tombs 10, 14, 17, 43
Aten, worship of the . . 1, 16, 19, 30, 32, 34, 43—46
,, chief servitor of 29, 38
,, high priest of . 20, 22, 23, 32, 34, 42, 43, 46, 47
,, hymns to the 47, 49, 50
,, manifestations of 45
,, temple of 15, 22, 28, 29, 32
,, "The Offering Table" of 36
Attendants . . 11, 13, 21, 22, 28, 29, 31, 32, 35, 36
Axe carried 26, 36
Ay, tomb of 4, 8, 47

Balcony 21, 24, 41
Bark of the Sun 26, 33, 40
Barracks 40
Bed-chambers 25, 39
Benben, house of the 34, 36, 51
Beni Amrân 1
Blind choir 31
Bonomi 4
Borders, ornamental 12, 15, 30
Boundary stelae 2, 5, 20
Bouquets 12, 22, 29
Bouriant, M. 5
Bow carried 26, 27, 33
Bows, the Nine 48
Bracelets 12, 14
Bullock as device 37
Burial vault 17, 42
Burton 3, 5

Careless execution of work 8, 16, 32
Cartouches . . . 7, 8, 9, 22, 26, 28, 33, 35, 45
Cattle depicted 29, 35
Cattle-yards 35
Ceiling designs 11, 12
Chairs 24
Champollion 5
Chariot 22, 26, 28, 32, 36
,, -roads 2, 26, 27
Charioteer 22, 28, 32, 33
Choirs 22, 29, 31, 33
Chronology 32, 42
Collars 12, 13, 14, 21, 22, 35
Colouring employed in tomb . 11, 12, 14, 15, 18, 21, 26, 27, 30, 33
Columns . . . 7, 10, 14, 16, 20, 24, 25, 39, 40, 41
,, beribboned 21, 31, 37
,, palm-leaf 21, 24, 39
,, papyrus 14, 24, 37, 39
Conventions of Egyptian art . 11, 13, 14, 20, 21, 23, 27, 33, 35, 41
Copts, occupation of tombs by 2, 13
,, injuries to tombs by . . . 7, 10, 13, 36
Copyists, previous 3, 4, 5, 8
Cornices 8, 9, 12, 15, 24, 30, 37, 39
Corridors 24, 39, 40
Court in front of the tomb 10
Covered offerings 25

Dado, employment of 20, 28, 29, 31

Dancers, female 22, 29
Daressy, M. 5
Darkness of tomb 10, 17
Decoration of ceiling 11
"Doctrine, The" (*see* Teaching).
Doorways, form of 23, 30, 37, 39, 41
Dress of men (*see also* Royal dress) . 10, 11, 13, 31, 36
,, women . . . 11, 13, 17, 28, 29, 31
Drinking jars 23, 24, 39
Duplication of official buildings . . . 35, 37
Dy hetep seten formula 15, 46

Earrings 36
El Amarieh 1, 2
El Amarna, district of 1, 2
,, tombs of 2, 3, 8, 10, 19, 20, 30, 42, 44, 47, 48
Erasures in the tomb . . . 7, 15, 21, 35, 42
Erbkam, architect 4
Erman, Professor 23, 33
Et Til 1, 2
,, tombs of. 4, 5, 7, 8, 29

Façade of tomb 8, 9
Falchion 25
Fan-bearers 10, 15, 28, 31, 36, 42
Fish depicted 37
Flag-staffs 30
Flail carried 26, 33, 36
Flesh-tints 11
Flowers 12, 29, 33, 37

Garden 40, 41, 42
Gliddon, discovery by 5
Graffiti 36
Granary 34, 35, 36, 37
Grébaut, M. 5, 6
Griffith, Mr. 24, 36, 48

Hagg Qandil, village of 1, 2
Hair, treatment of 14, 26, 28, 29, 31
Harness 27
Harpers 31, 33
Harris, discovery by 5
Hataay 16, 42, 53
Hawâta, village of 1, 5
Hay 3, 4
Helmets 26, 27, 31, 32
Heralds 29, 31
Hieroglyphs noticed . 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 21, 49, 51
Horses 27, 36, 39
Houses of Akhetaten 24, 39
House of Meryra 38
Huya, tomb of 7, 24, 29, 39, 42

Incense 25, 31, 32
Injuries to tomb . . . 4, 7, 8, 11, 12, 14, 23, 44

Jambs, decoration of 8, 15, 47, 48
Jéquier, M. 5
Jomard 3

Kheshi, supposed name of 7
King, provision of tombs by . . . 19, 20, 42
,, prayers addressed to . . . 46, 49, 52, 53
,, as *ka* of men 49, 52
,, as Hapi 49, 52
Kiosk 37, 38

Laver, Mr. 4
Legrain, M. 5
Lepsius 3, 4, 5
Libyans 26, 28, 33
L'Hôte, Nestor 3, 4, 8, 38
Lintels, designs on 9, 15, 47
Loaves stored 37, 38
Loggia depicted 20, 21, 24, 25, 38

Mahu, tomb of 50
Maspero, M. 5, 41
Mastabas 25, 39
Meketaten, Princess 27, 31
Meryra, name of 7, 15, 42
,, depiction of 10, 12, 13, 15, 20, 21, 23, 28, 29, 31, 32, 35, 38
,, life of 20, 21, 34, 42, 43
,, house of 23, 38, 39
,, insignia of 10, 22, 36
,, titles of 42
Meryra II., tomb of 7, 23, 37, 42, 48
Merytaten, Princess 21, 27, 31
Methods in copying scenes 4, 8, 19
Military detachments 25, 28, 33, 36
Monotheistic character of Aten-worship 3, 30, 44, 45, 46
Mulquf 25
Musicians 22, 29, 31, 33, 51

Names derived from the god 46
Nefer-neferu-aten, Princess 27, 32
Nefertiti, figure of 21, 27, 31, 32, 35
Nefu-root 37
Negroes 26, 28, 33
Newberry, P. E. 5, 42
,, J. 5
Norden 1, 3

Offerings at gates 25, 33
Ointment, receptacle for 14, 36

Palace, depiction of 20, 23, 24, 25, 33
,, ruins of 25, 38
Panehesy, tomb of . . . 7, 8, 16, 23, 29, 52, 53
Pentu, tomb of 7, 18
Perspective 21, 22, 31, 33
Petrie, Professor 5, 25, 30, 38, 39
Pharaoh 22, 36
Pillars 16, 25, 39, 41
Porches 20, 24, 37, 41
Portals, architecture of 8, 13, 15
Portraiture in the tomb 4, 5, 7, 31
Priests, depicted 29, 31, 36
,, garb of 10, 29
Princesses 21, 27, 28, 31, 32, 35, 46
,, age of 28, 32, 42
Pylons 30, 32, 33, 41

Qosêr, village of 1
Queen, prayers addressed to 52, 53

Ra 8, 22, 45, 46
Ra-Horakhti, worship of . . 1, 26, 33, 34, 45, 46
,, variation in name of . . . 9, 45
Rays of sun 12, 21, 28, 33, 45
,, setting sun 30
Recesses cut in walls 7, 10, 13, 16, 22
Royal tomb 2, 5, 6
,, portraiture 4, 5, 7, 8, 21
,, titulary 9, 12, 21, 28, 46
,, dress 11, 13, 26, 27, 31
,, predominance in the tombs . . 19, 34, 46

Sacrificial offerings 29, 31, 32, 36, 42
Saïses 22, 25, 28, 33
Schaefer, Dr. 22, 38
Scribes 21, 36
Sculptures, merit of 18, 26, 31, 39, 41
Sekhem-sceptre 32
Sekhemt 46
Semites 26, 28, 33, 37
Sergeants 26, 28
Sethe, Professor 4
Shadûf 41
Shield carried 26, 28, 36
Shipping depicted 34, 35
Shrine 12, 16, 48
Sistrum 31, 32
Skull-cap 13
Sky, depicted 9, 15, 21, 23, 28, 33, 42
Solar cults in Egypt 44, 45, 46, 47
,, hawk 9, 45
Soldiers, garb of 10
Spearmen 26, 28, 33, 36
Stable 39
Staircase 24, 40, 41
Standards 26, 28, 33
Staples in walls 13
Statues 16, 33
Stela in temple 33, 36
Store-houses 34, 36, 37
Store-rooms 24, 37, 39, 40
Stuart, Villiers 5
Sunshades 21, 26, 29, 31, 36
"Superintendent of the Treasury" . . . 35, 36
Sweepers 24, 29
Syrians (*see* Semites).

Tambourines 22, 29
Tanks 40, 41
"Teaching, The" 22, 34, 36, 43, 52
Technique of sculpture 18
Tell el Amarna, explanation of name . . . 1
Temple dues 32, 34
Tenre, wife of Meryra 13, 14, 16, 50
Thebes 1, 5, 16, 19, 34, 43, 46
Titularies . . . 9, 12, 15, 21, 22, 28, 42, 45, 46
Tombs, northern group of . . 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 29
,, southern group of . . . 2, 3, 5, 7
,, royal 2, 5, 6
Treasury 34, 37, 38
Trees depicted 37, 38, 40, 42
Trenches in floor 12, 13
Tutu, tomb of 50

Ua-en-ra, king styled . . 23, 36, 46, 49, 50, 52
Uraeus 21, 24, 26, 36, 37, 46

Vases, ornamentation of 37, 38

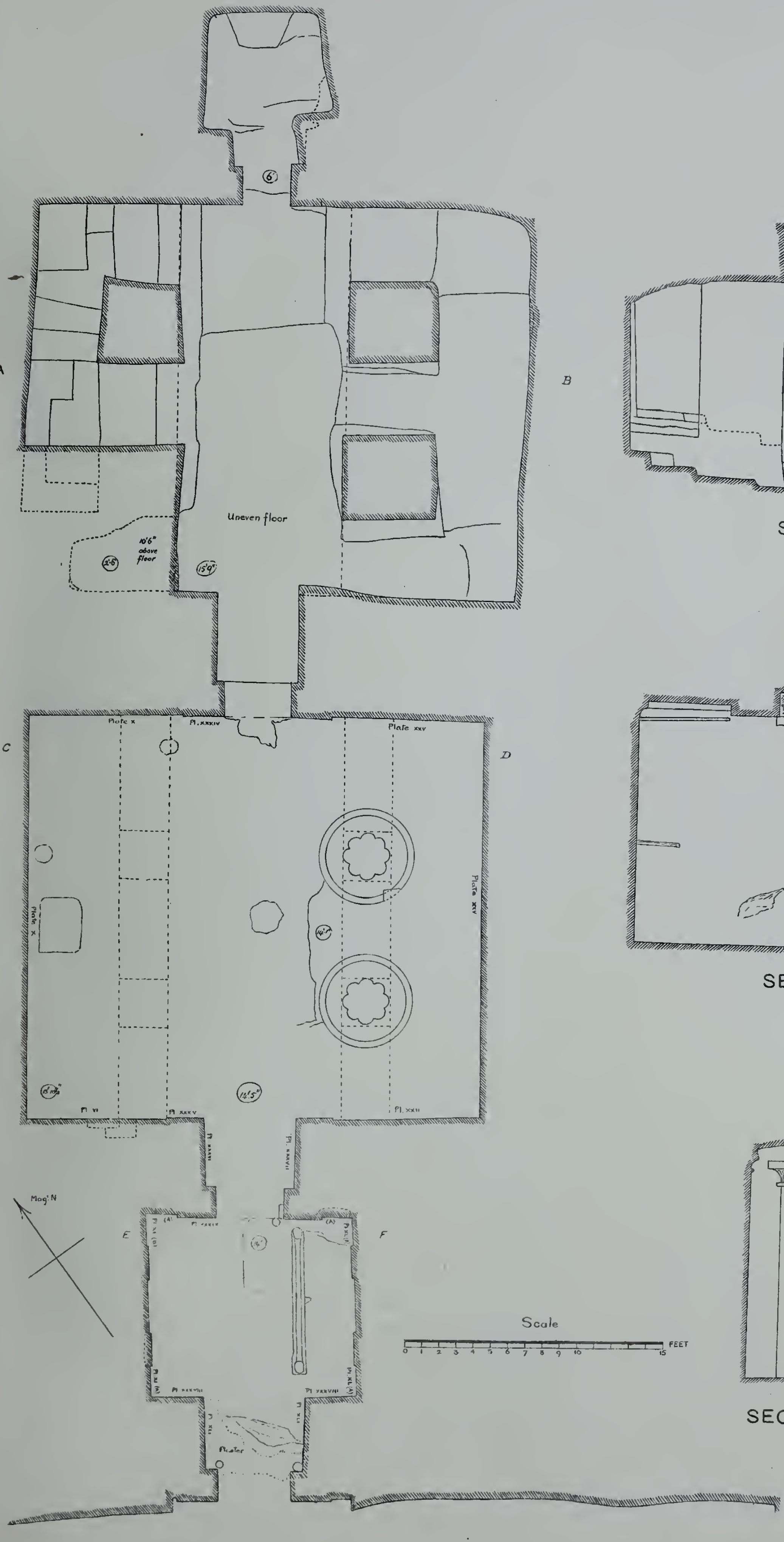
Weidenbach, E. and M. 4, 8
,, restorations of . . 4, 8, 28, 35, 39
Wild, architect 4
Wilkinson 1, 3, 30, 35, 41

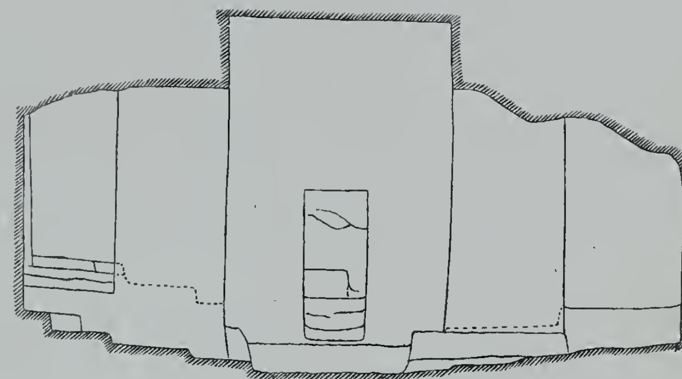
PRINTED BY GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, LIMITED, ST. JOHN'S HOUSE, CLERKENWELL, E.C.

PLATES.

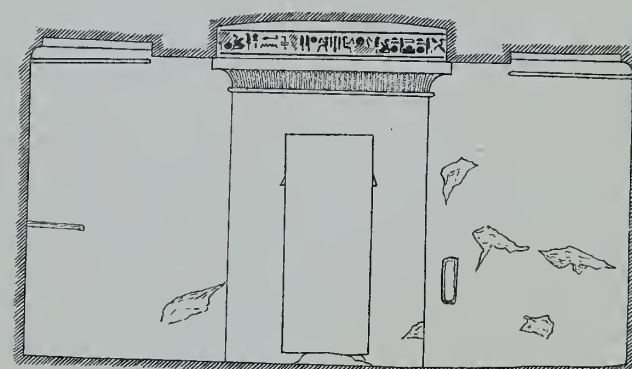
NOTE.

An index to the passages in the text which are explanatory of the several plates will be found on page xi. vii.

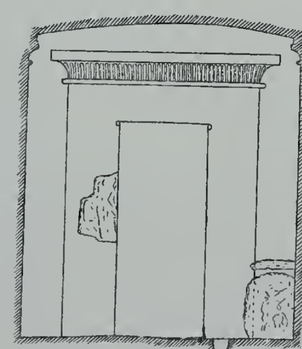




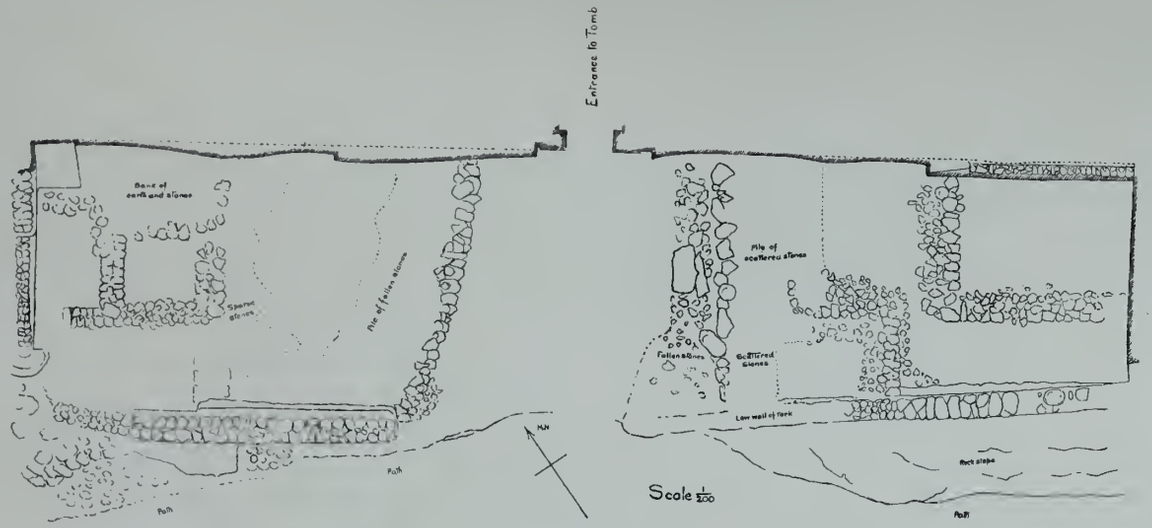
SECTION ON A.B.



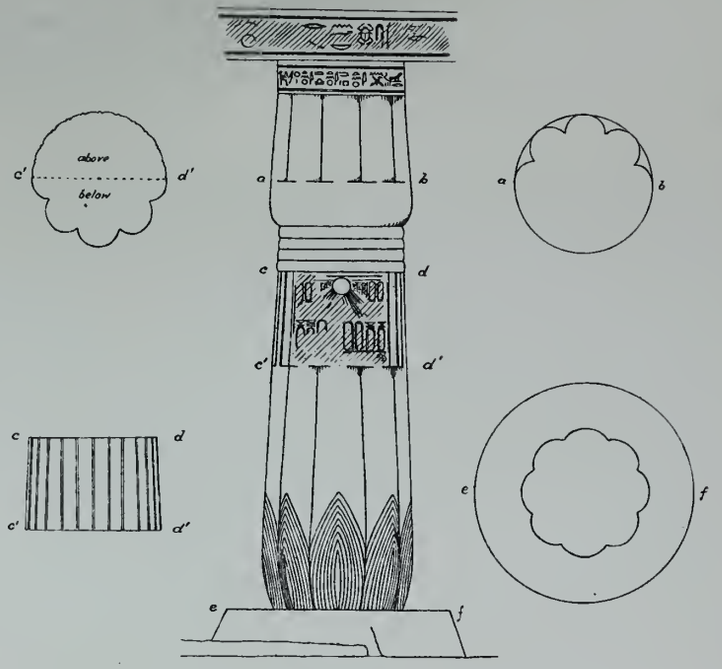
SECTION ON C.D.



SECTION ON E.F.

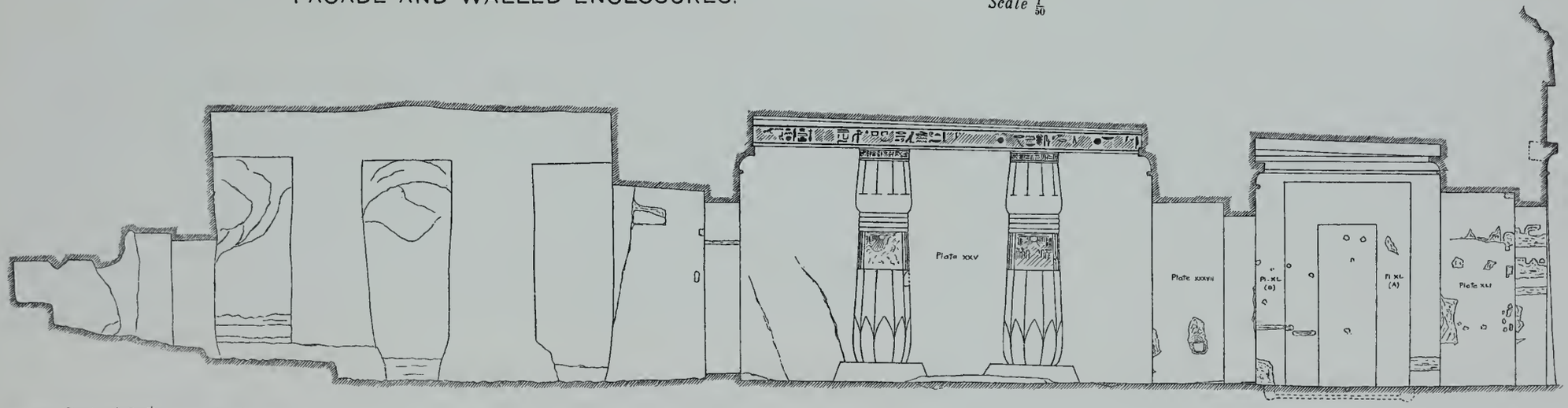


FACADE AND WALLED ENCLOSURES.



DETAILS OF SOUTH COLUMN.

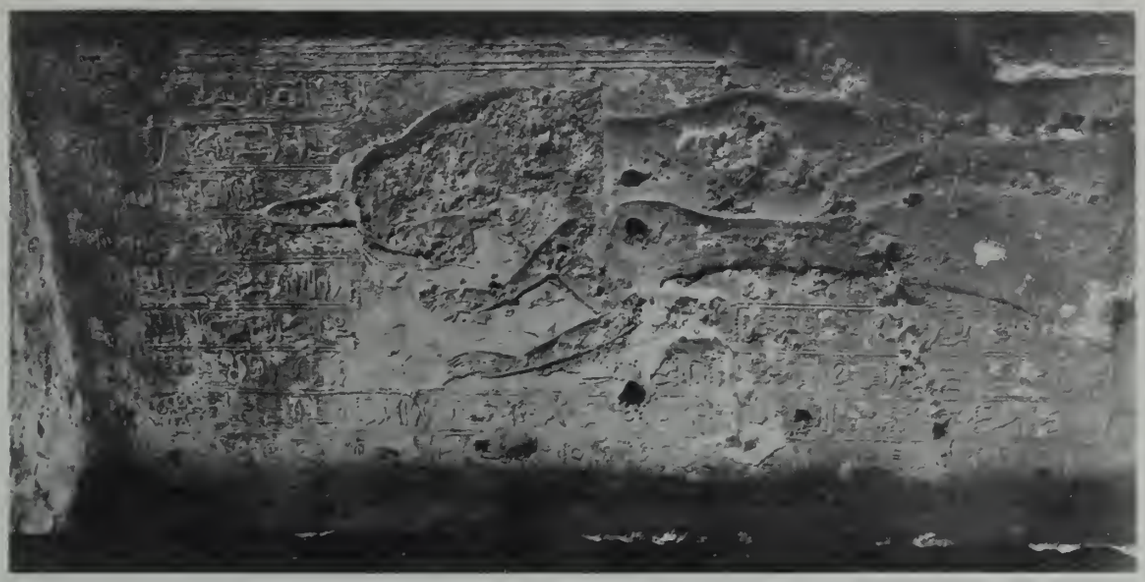
Scale $\frac{1}{50}$



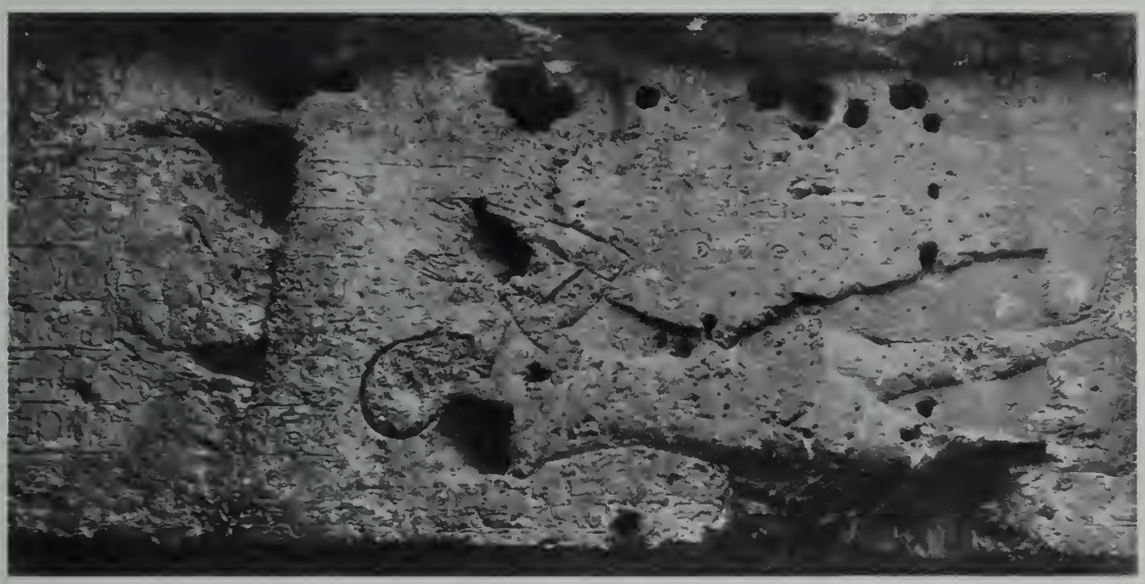
Scale of Section R.F $\frac{1}{100}$

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 15 FEET

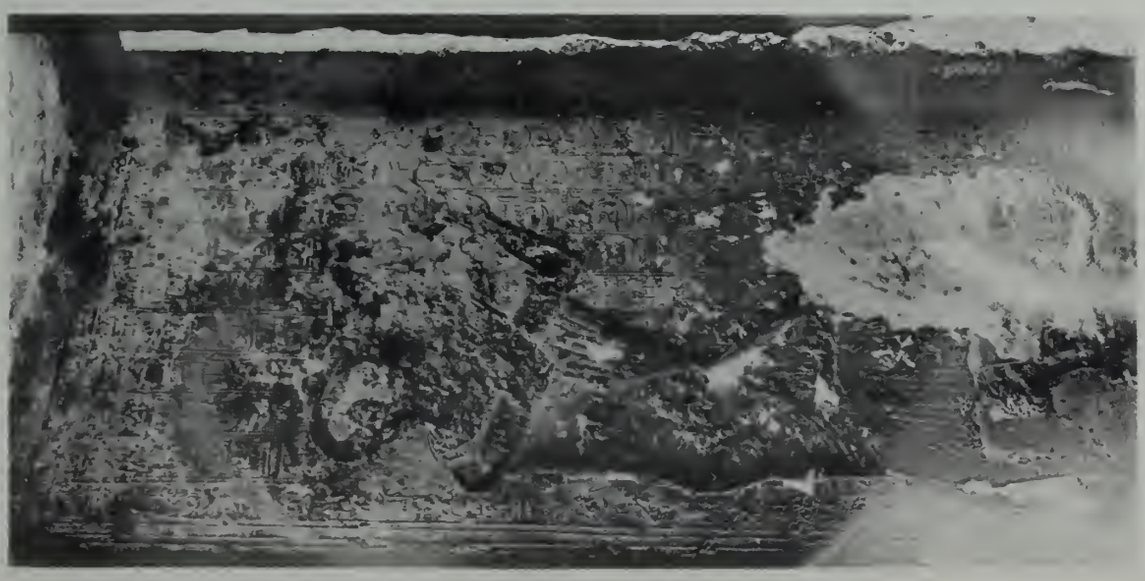
LONGITUDINAL SECTION



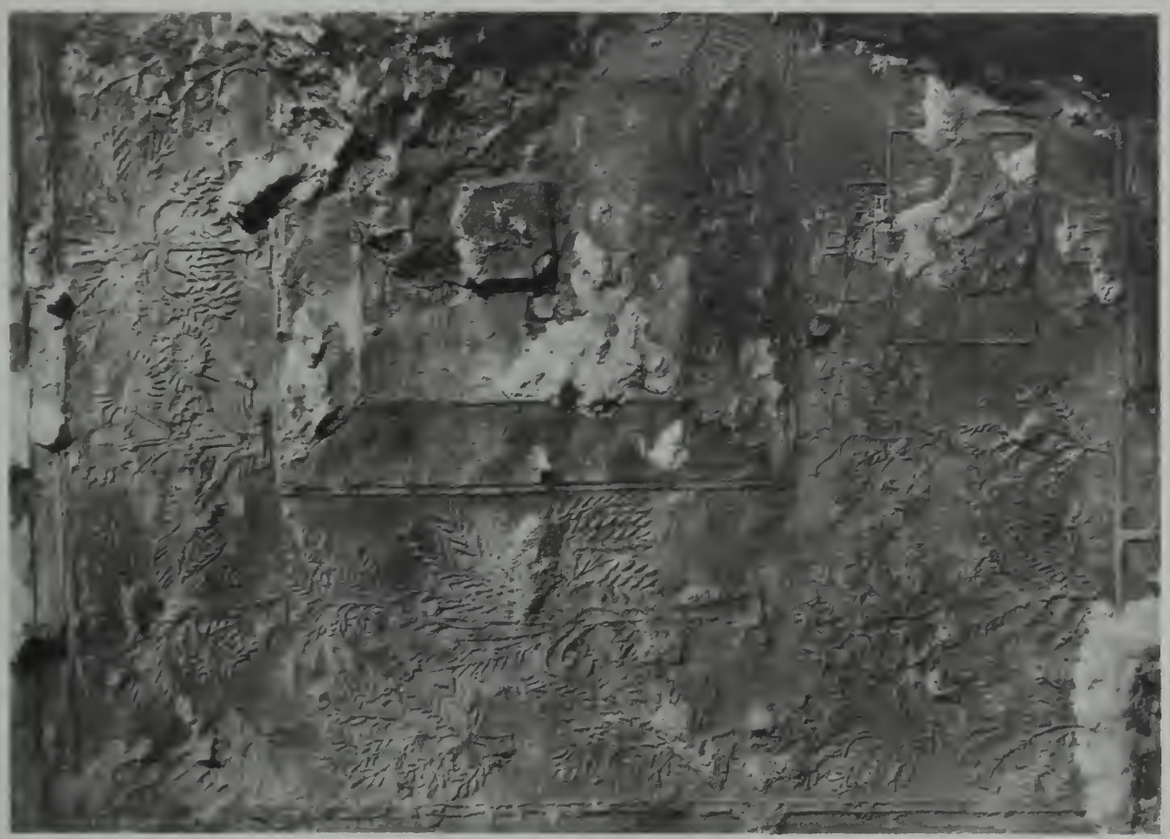
TENRE.
(PLATE XXXVI.)



MERYRA.
(PLATE XLI.)

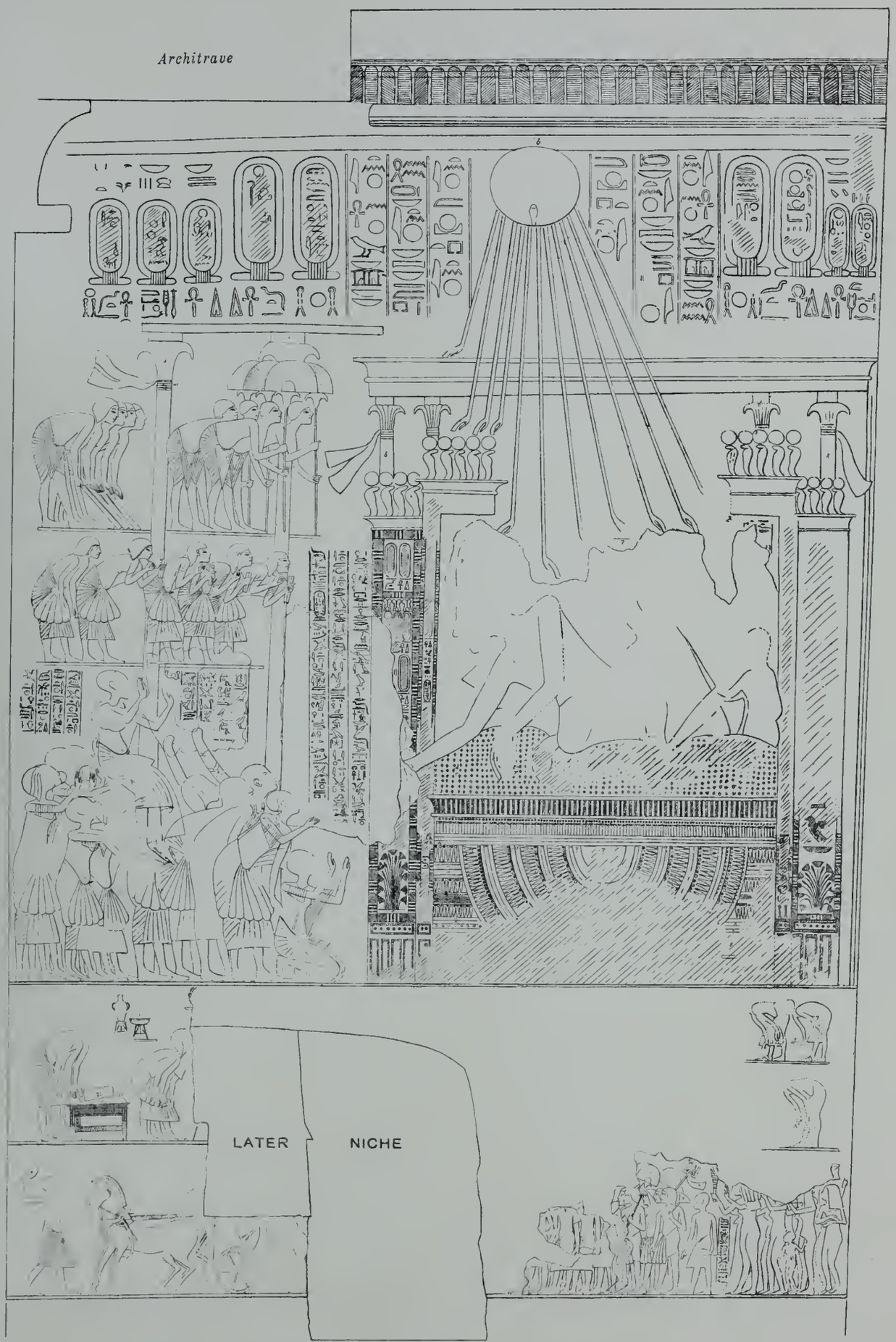


MERYRA
(PLATE XXXVII.



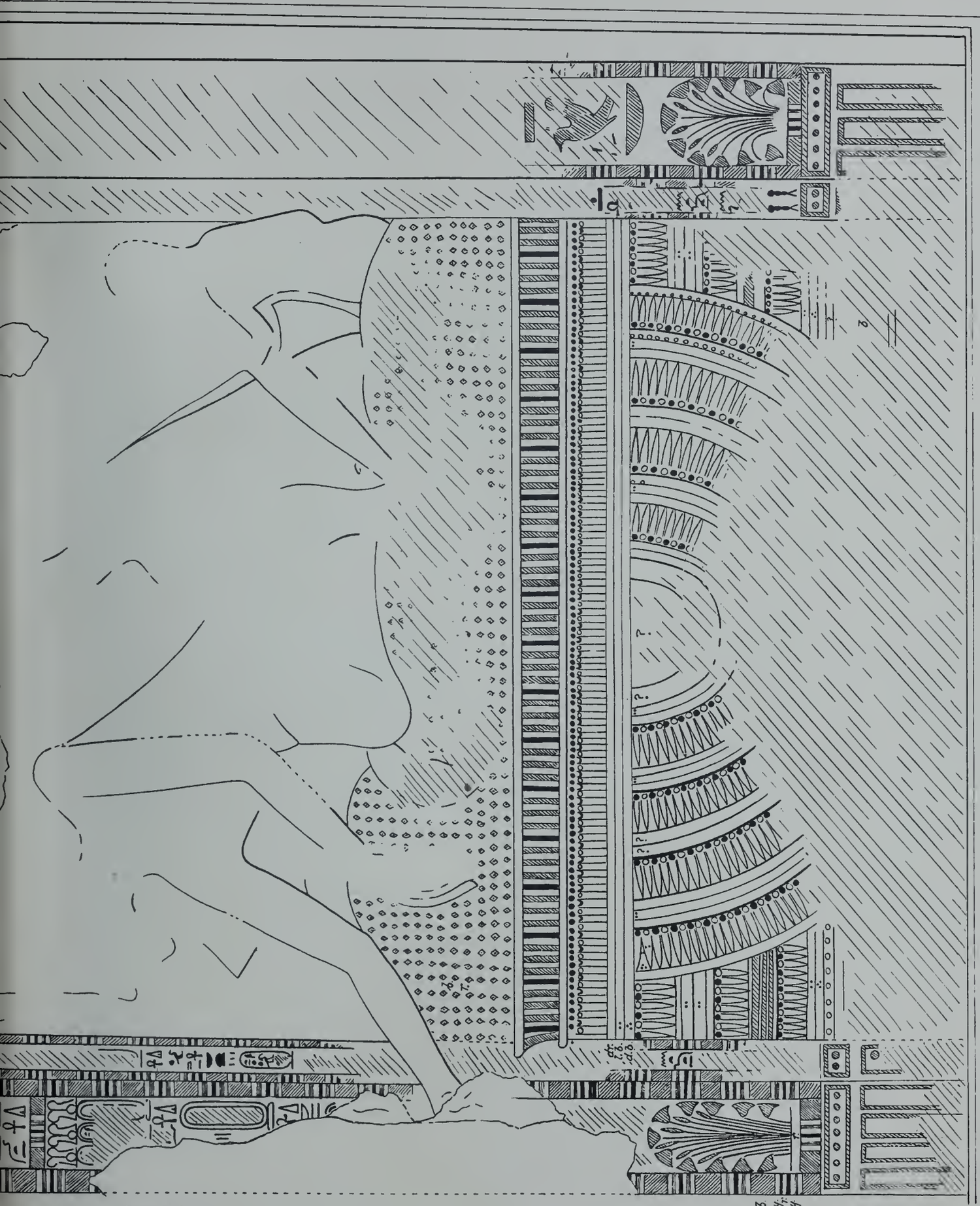
THE GARDEN
(PLATE XXXII.)

THE PRINCESSES.
(PLATE XXVI.)

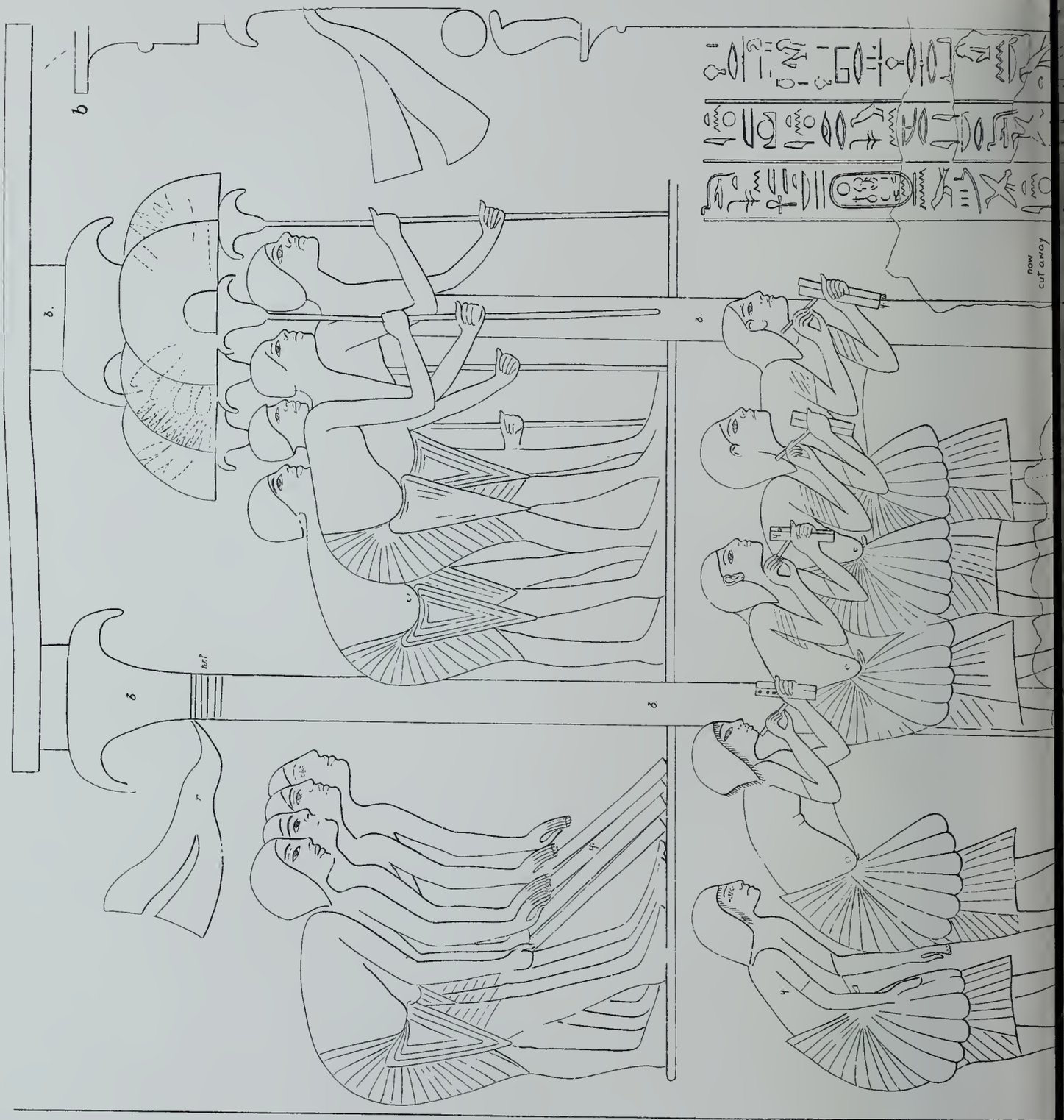


MERYRA DECORATED BY THE KING.

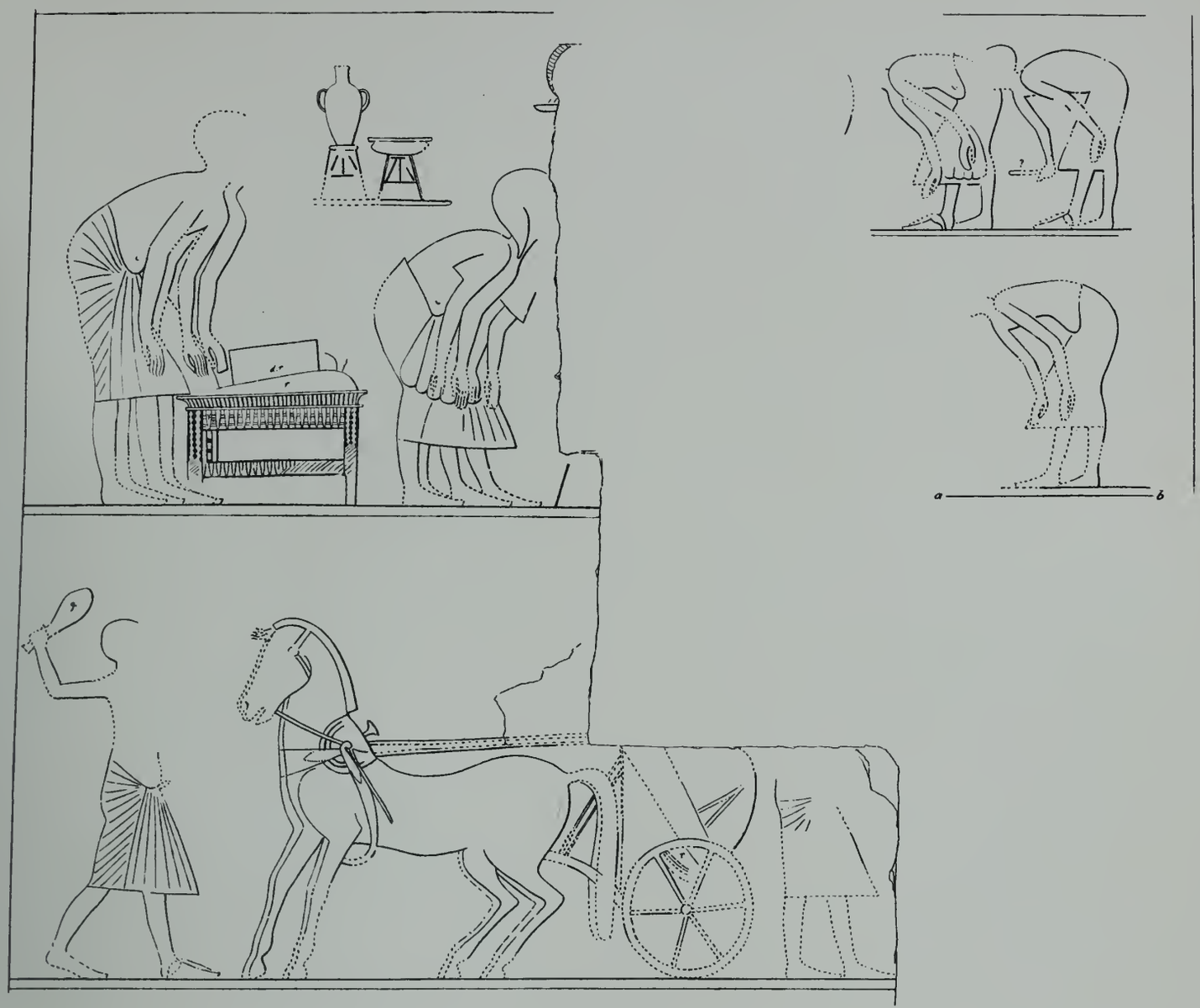
Scale $\frac{1}{16}$

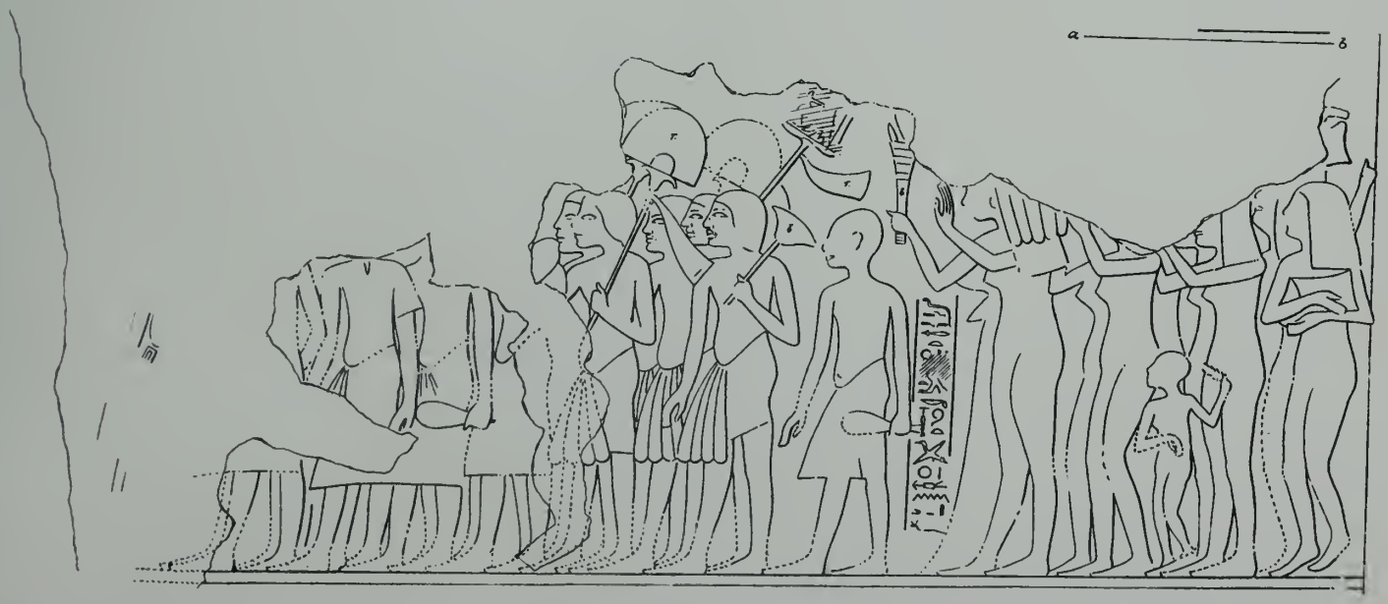


THE ROYAL FAMILY AT THE WINDOW.


now cut away

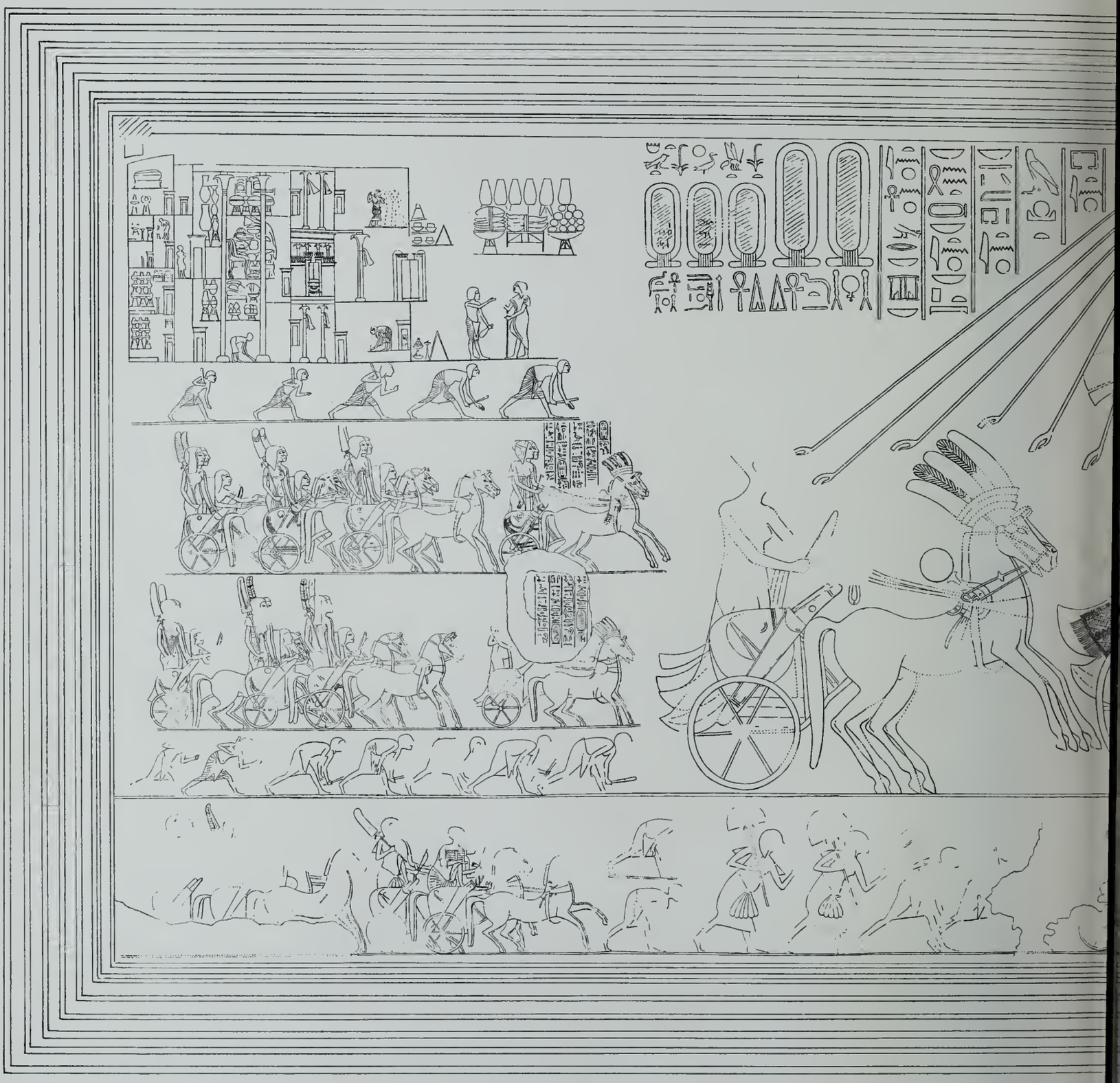
MERYRA CARRIED BEFORE THE KING.





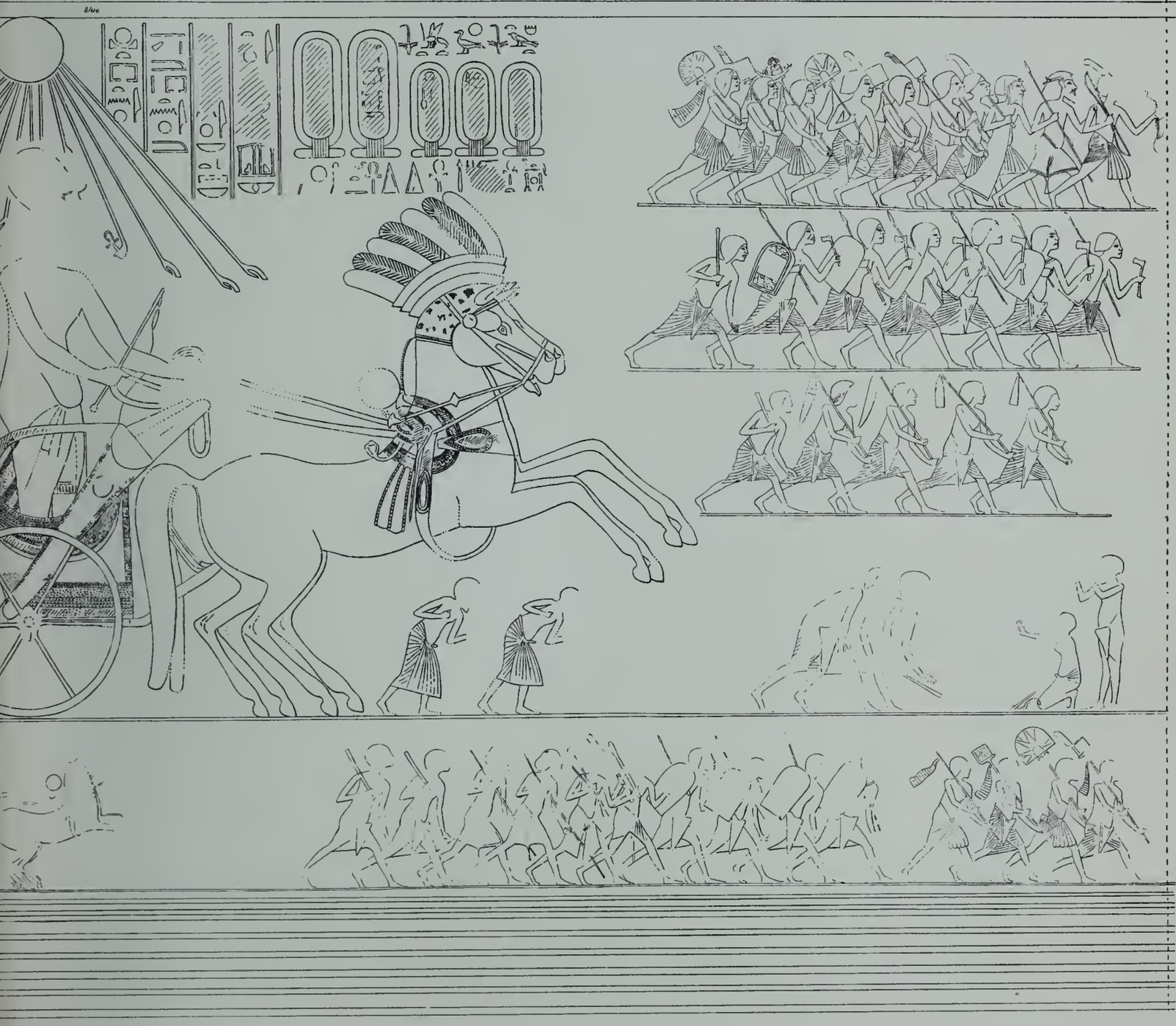
Scale $\frac{1}{6}$

FRAGMENTARY SCENES.



Scale $\frac{1}{16}$

THE ROYAL VIS



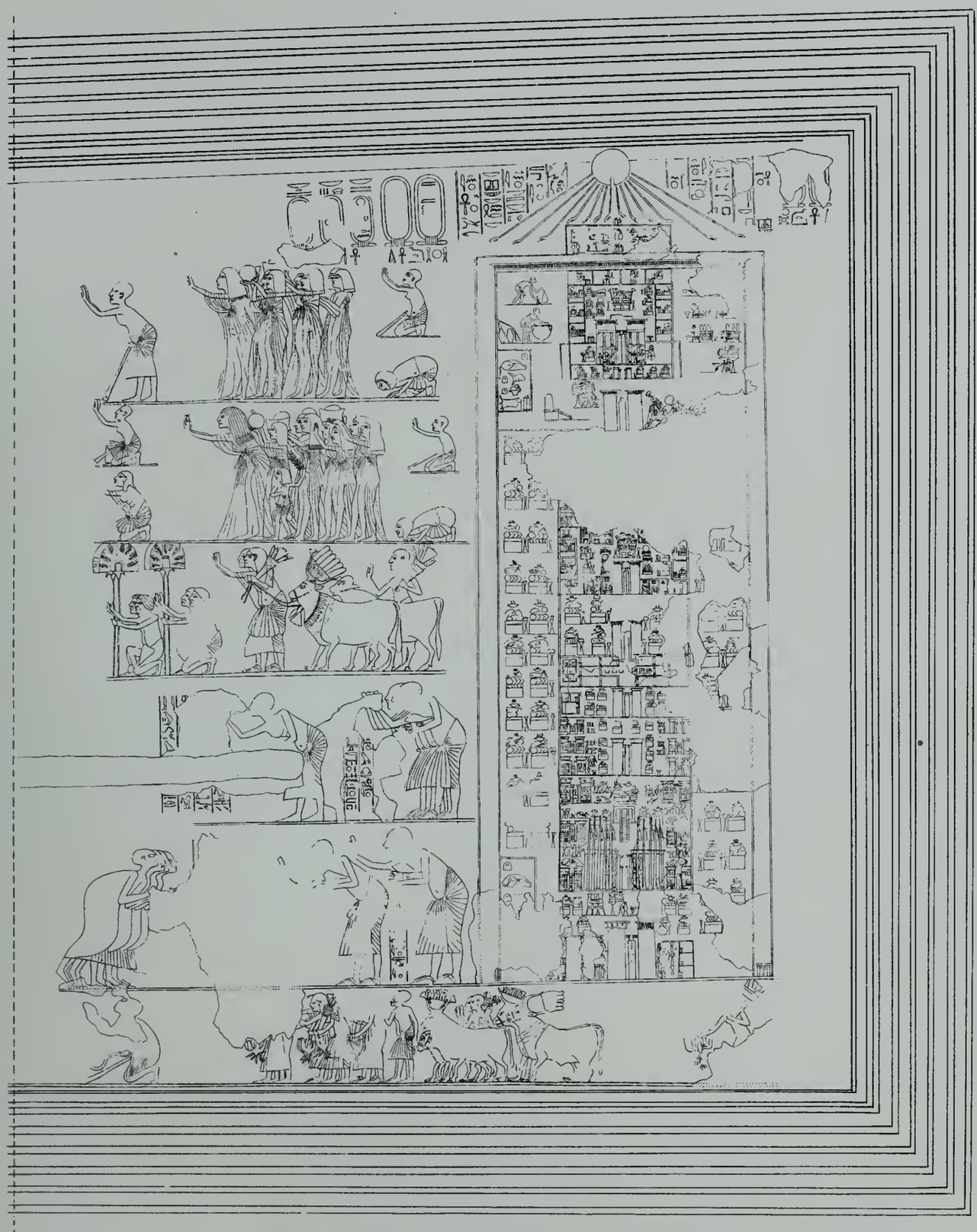
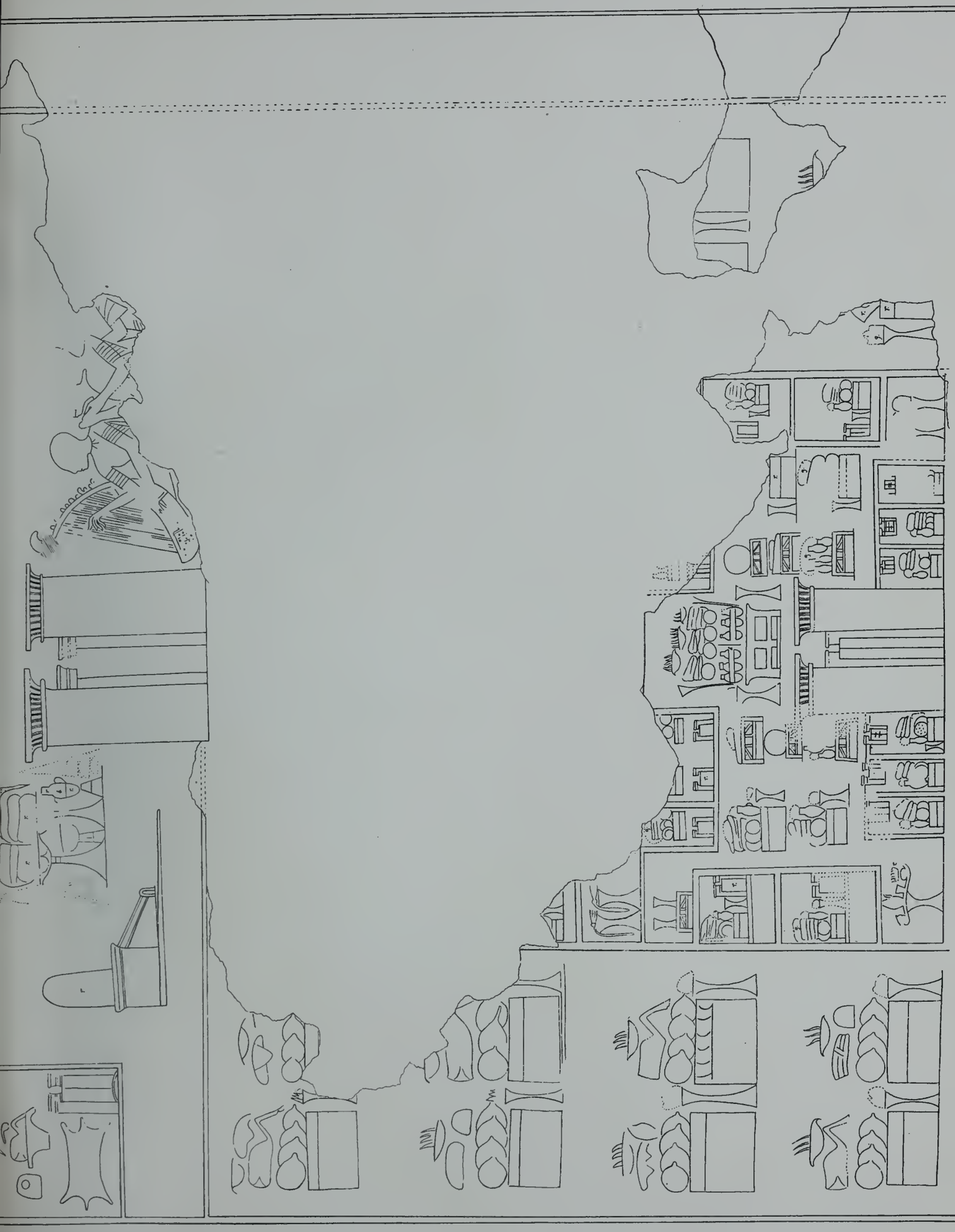


Plate X.

THE ROYAL VISIT TO THE TEMPLE (*continuation*).

Scale $\frac{1}{16}$

Here a court sim



TEMPLE, BACK HALF.

Scale 1.

hat on the other side

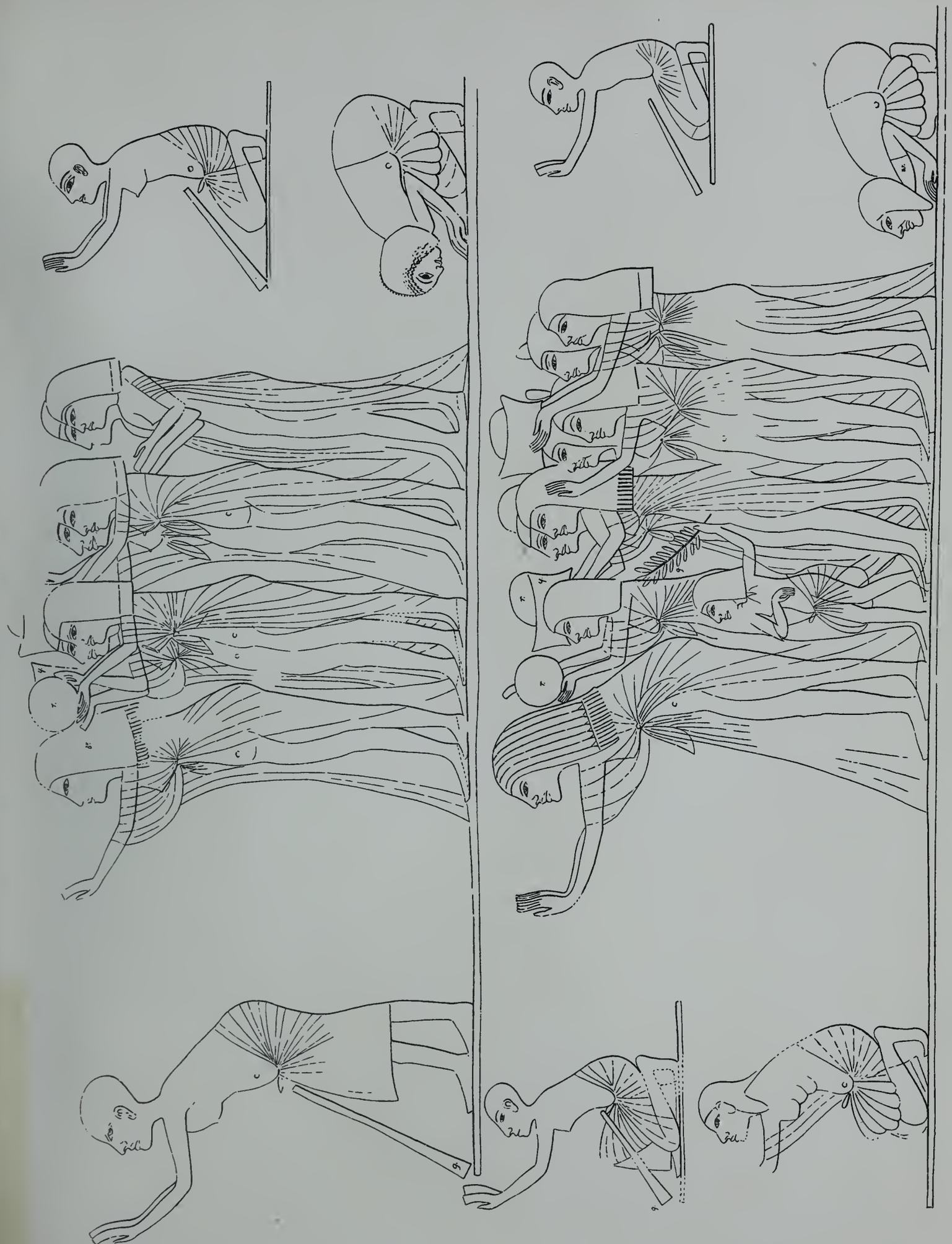
Plate XI.

Here a court s

TEMPLE. FRONT HALF.

that on the other side.

Scale $\frac{1}{8}$

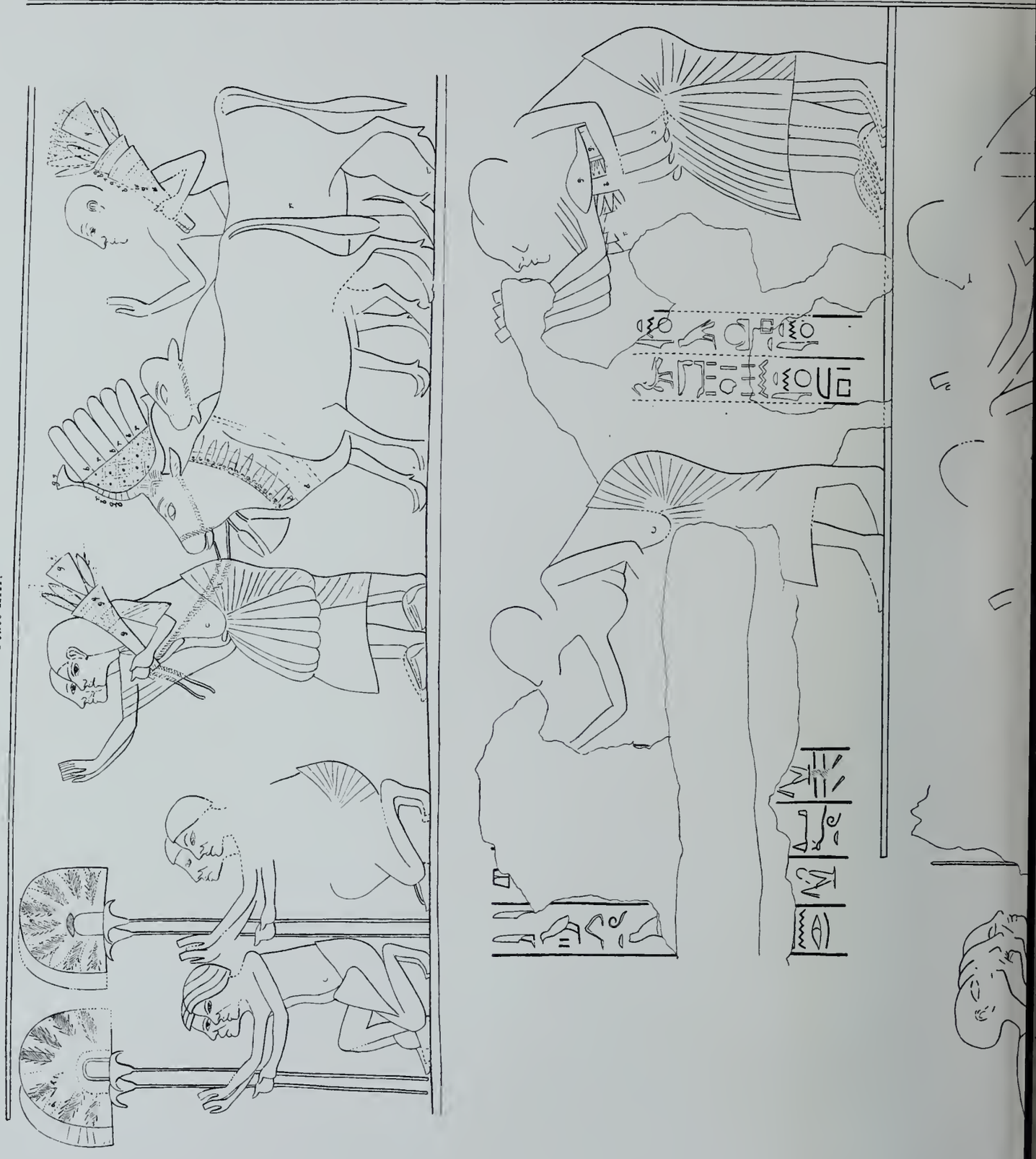


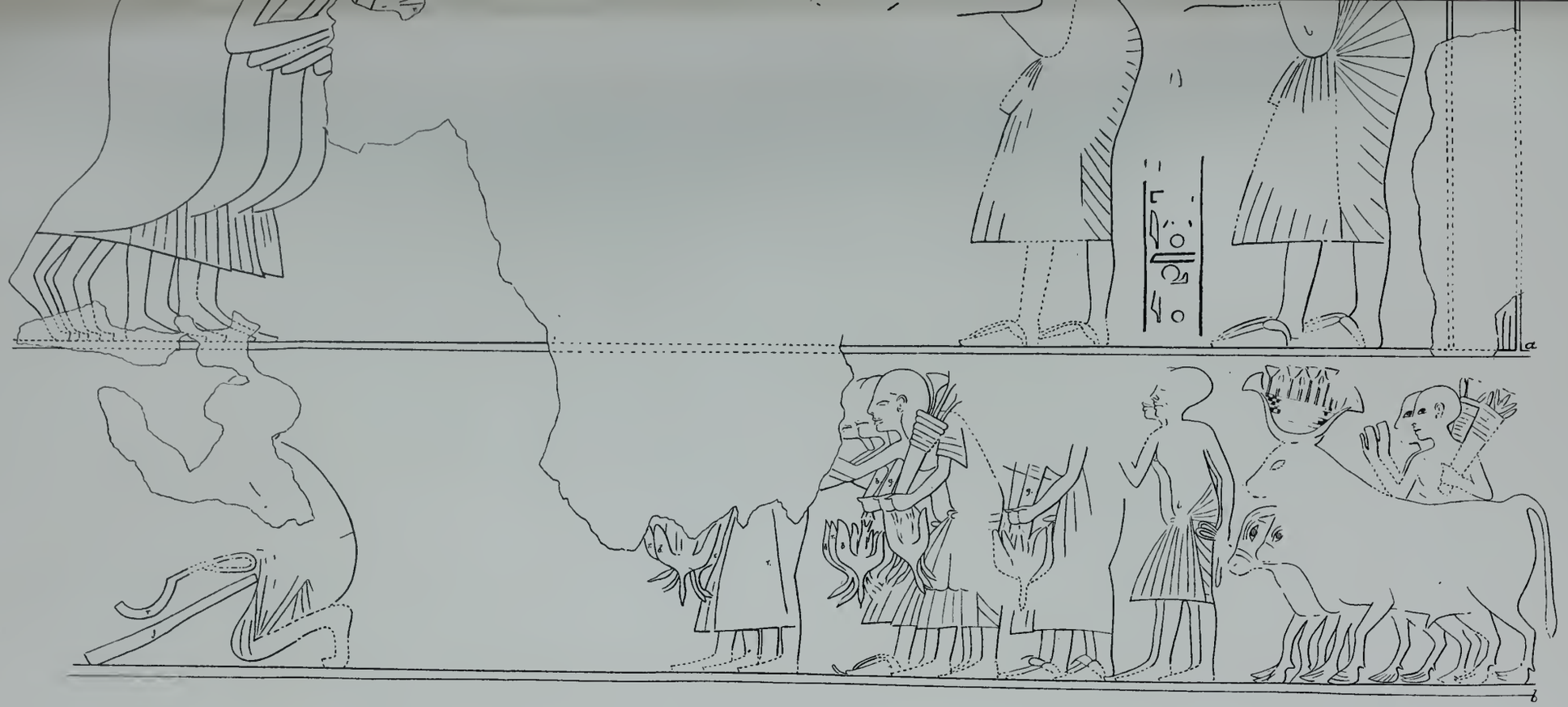
OBEISANCE BY WOMEN AND SERVANTS OF THE TEMPLE.

Scale ¼

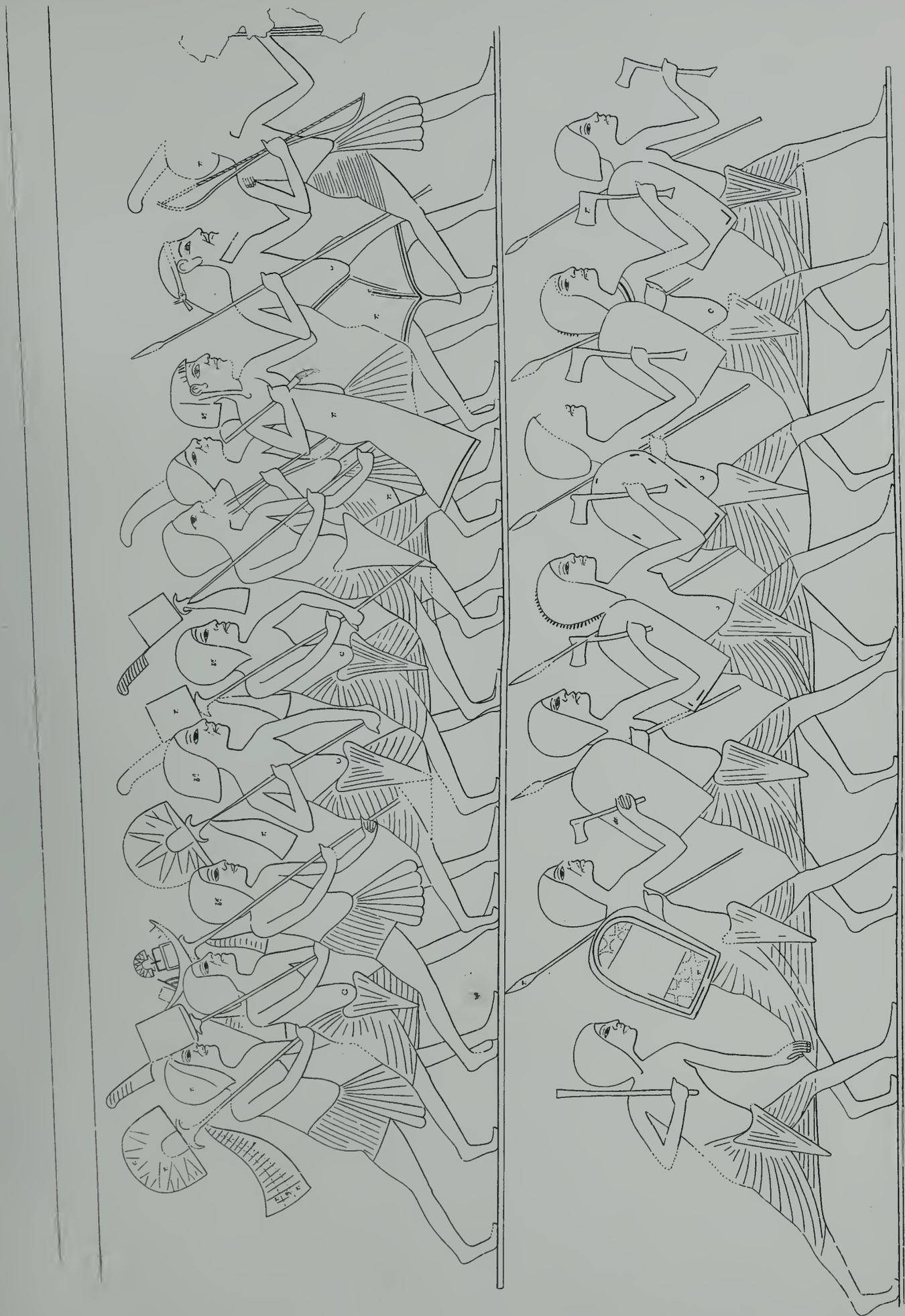
Plates XI. and XII.

Plate XIII.





THE TEMPLE-STAFF BRINGING FORTH GIFTS.



THE MILITARY ESCORT.

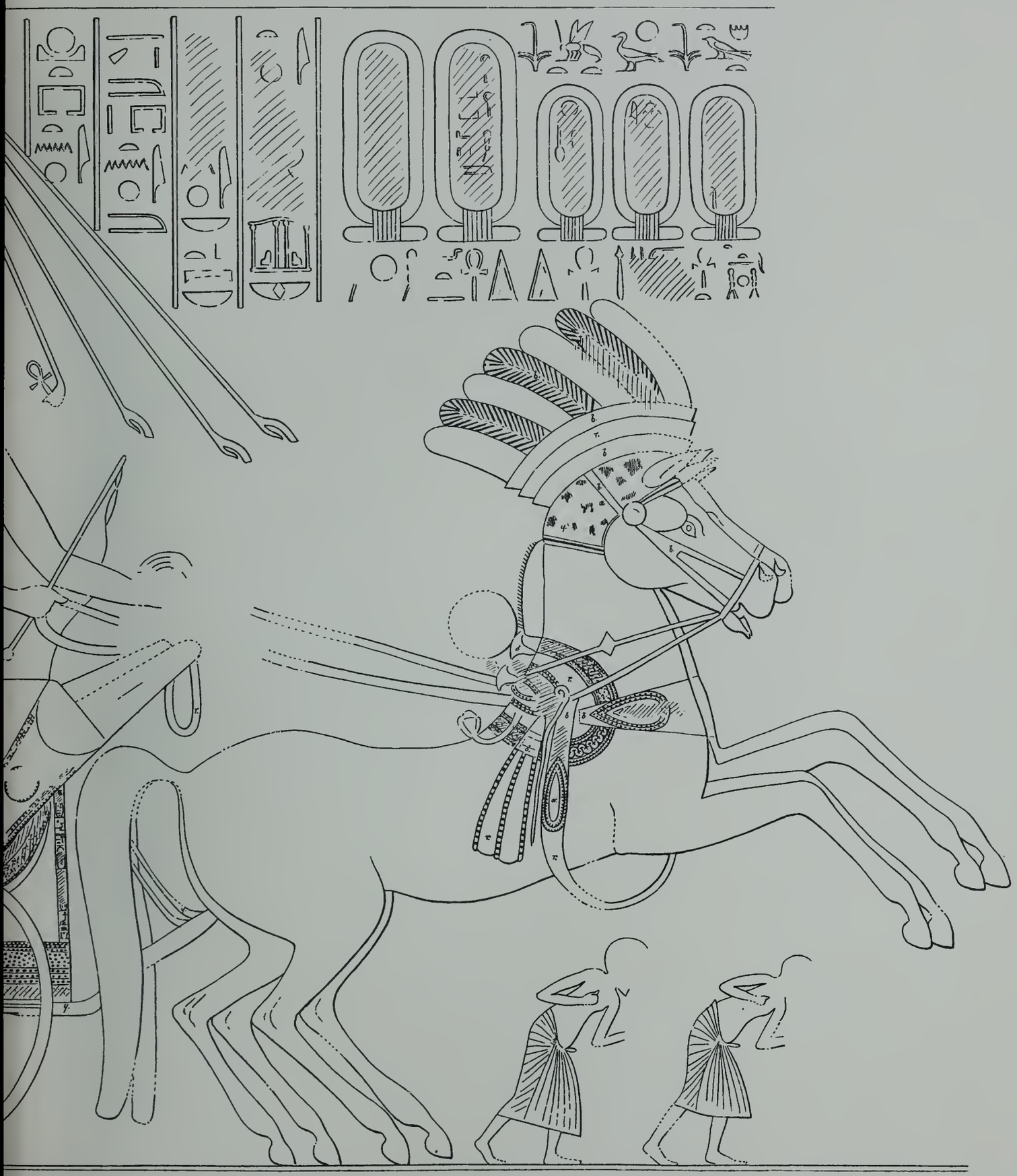
Scale $\frac{1}{6}$

FORERUNNERS OF THE ROYAL PROCESSION.

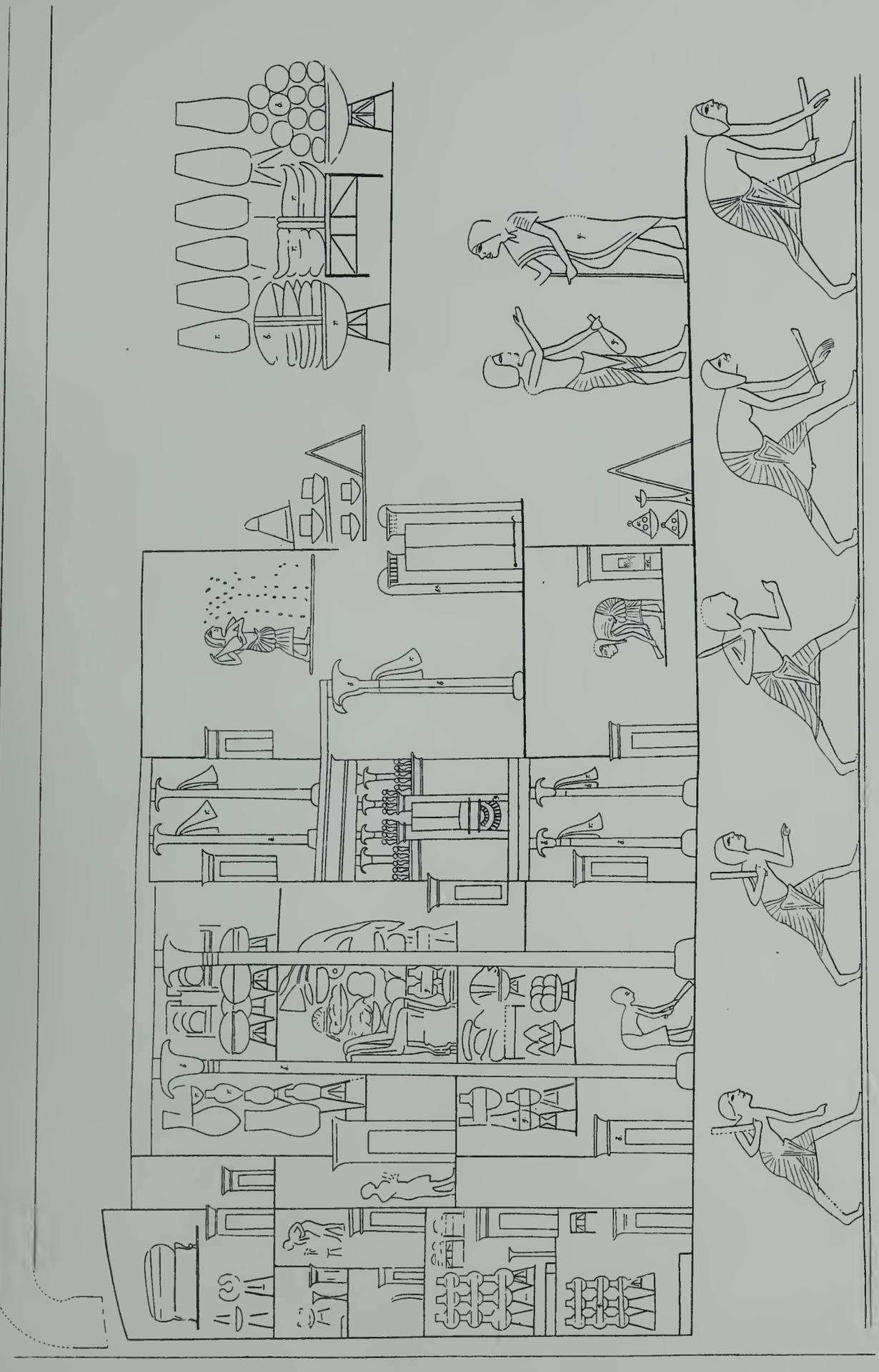
Scale $\frac{1}{6}$

AKHENATEN AND NEFER

cale $\frac{1}{9}$

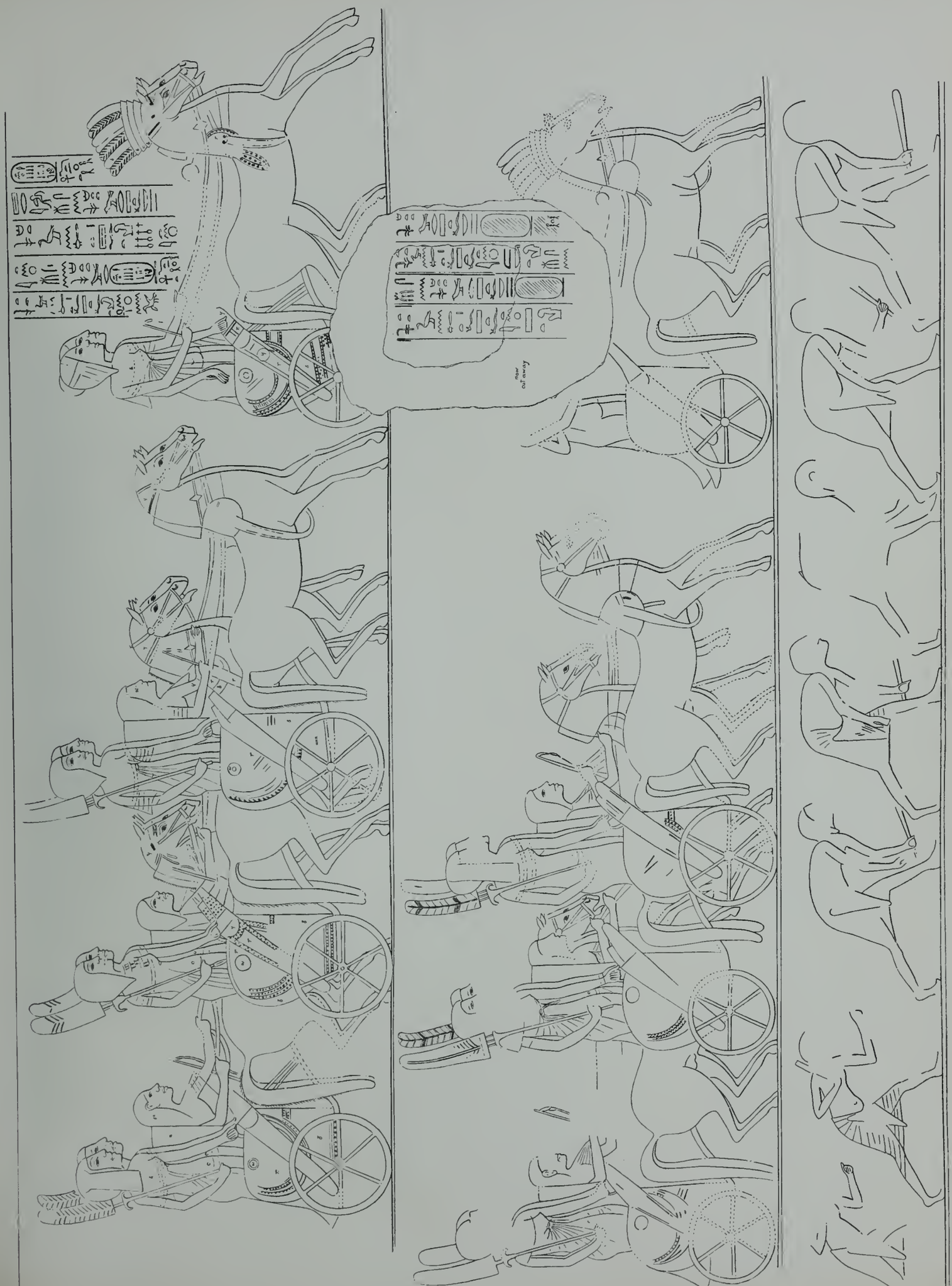


IN THEIR CHARIOTS.



THE PALACE.

Scale $\frac{1}{6}$



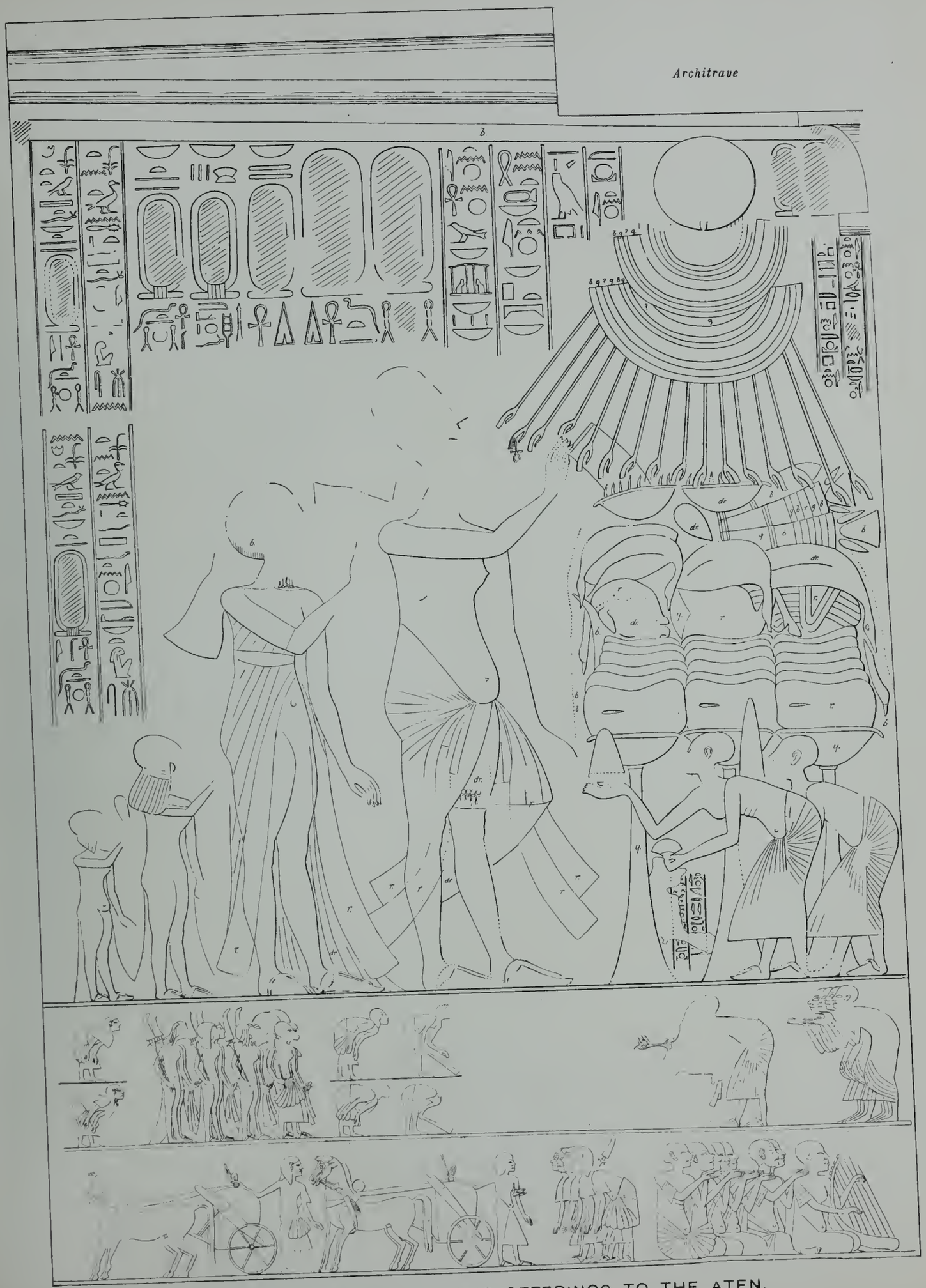
THE PRINCESSES AND LADIES-IN-WAITING.

LOWEST REGISTER.

Scale $\frac{1}{4}$

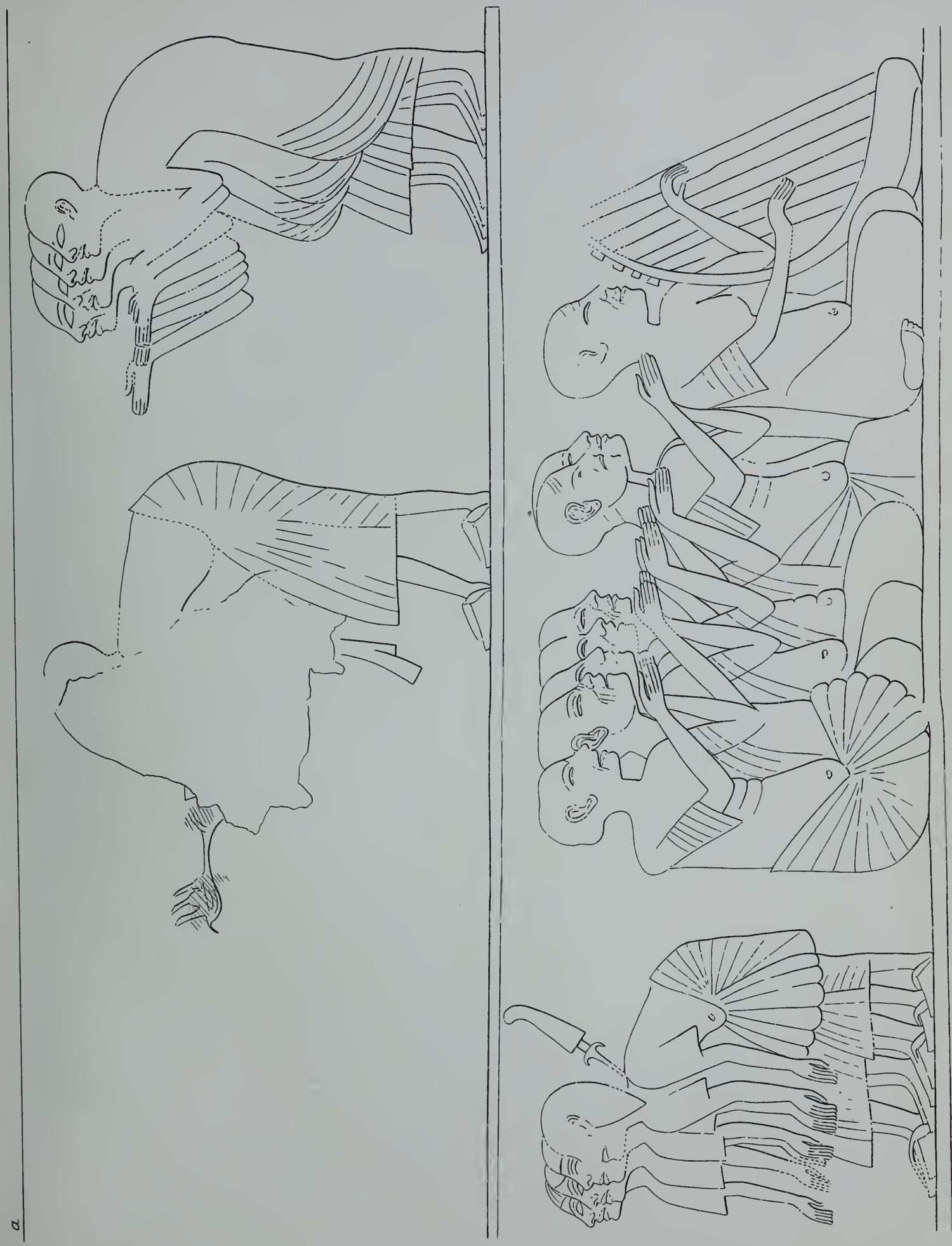
THE BLIND CHOIR. (PLATE XXIII)

THE ROYAL RETINUE
(PLATE XXIV)



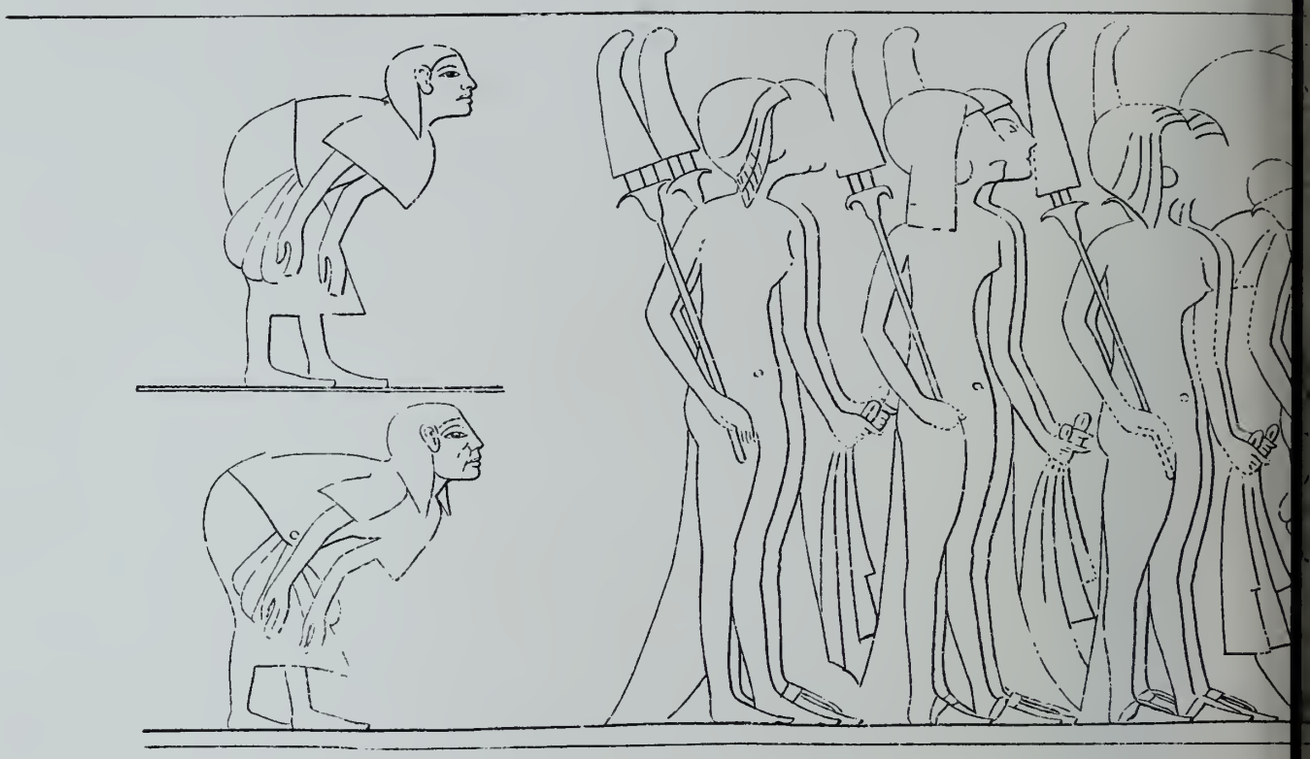
THE ROYAL FAMILY MAKING OFFERINGS TO THE ATEN.

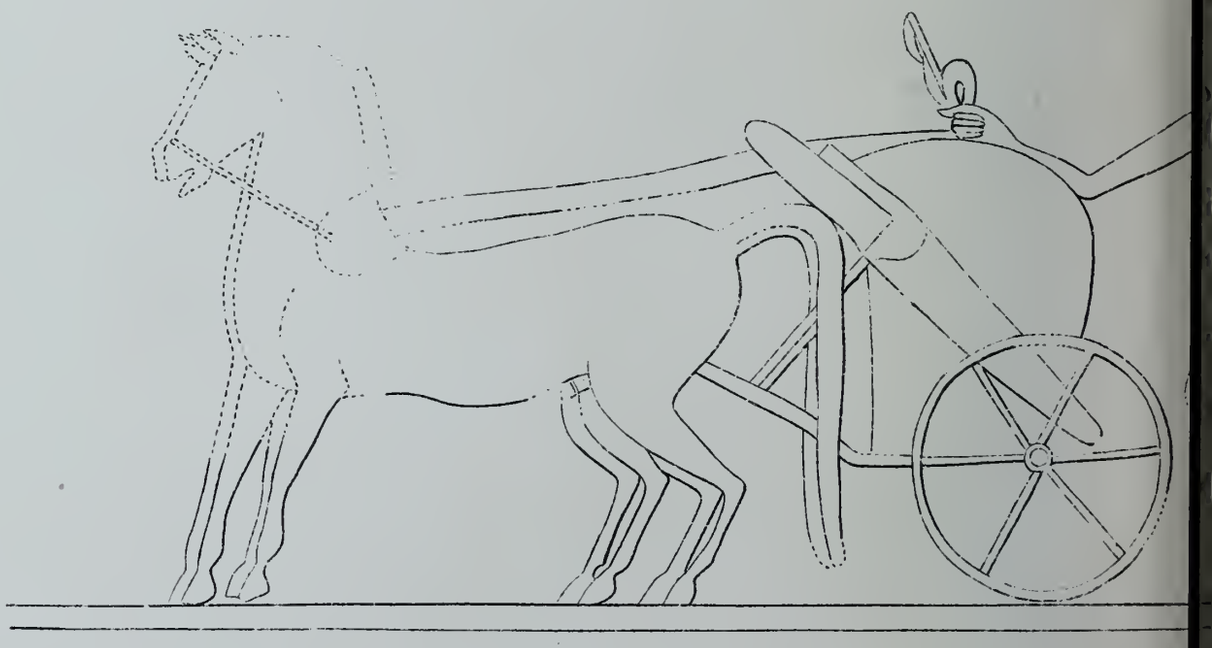
Scale $\frac{1}{14}$



BLIND CHOIR AND ATTENDANTS.

Scale ¼

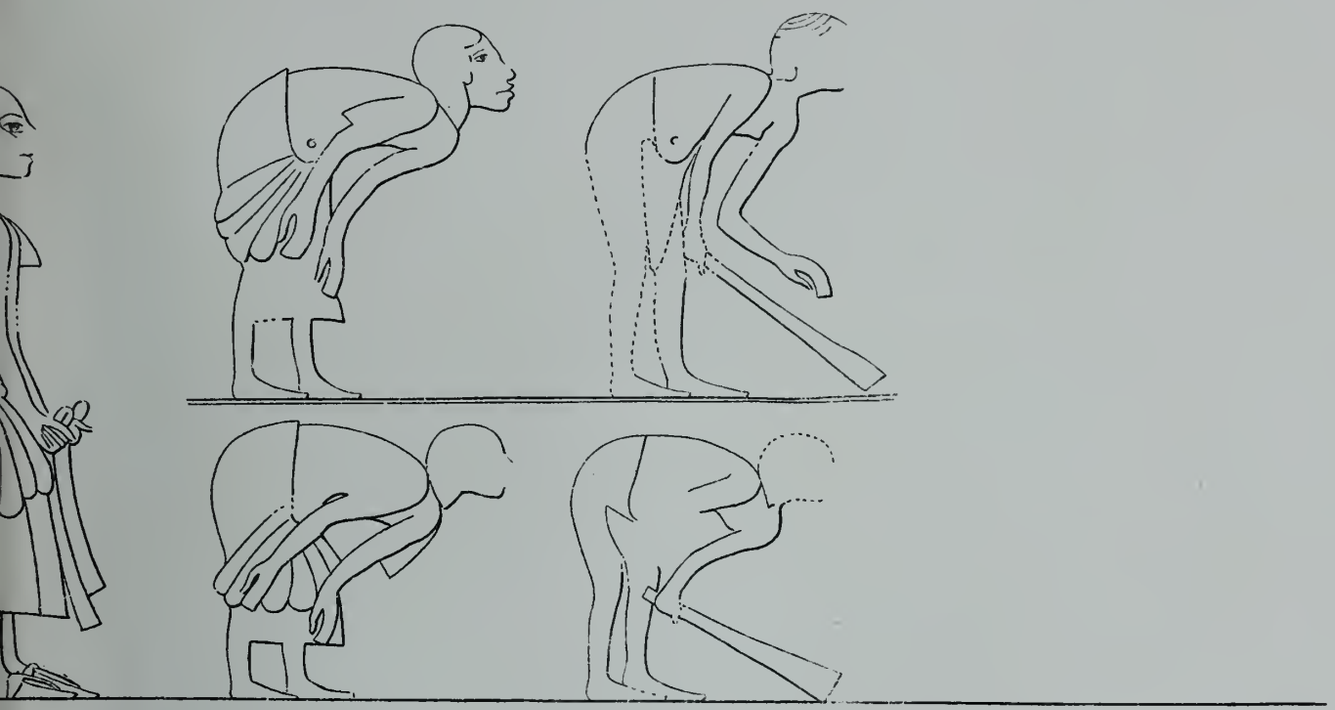


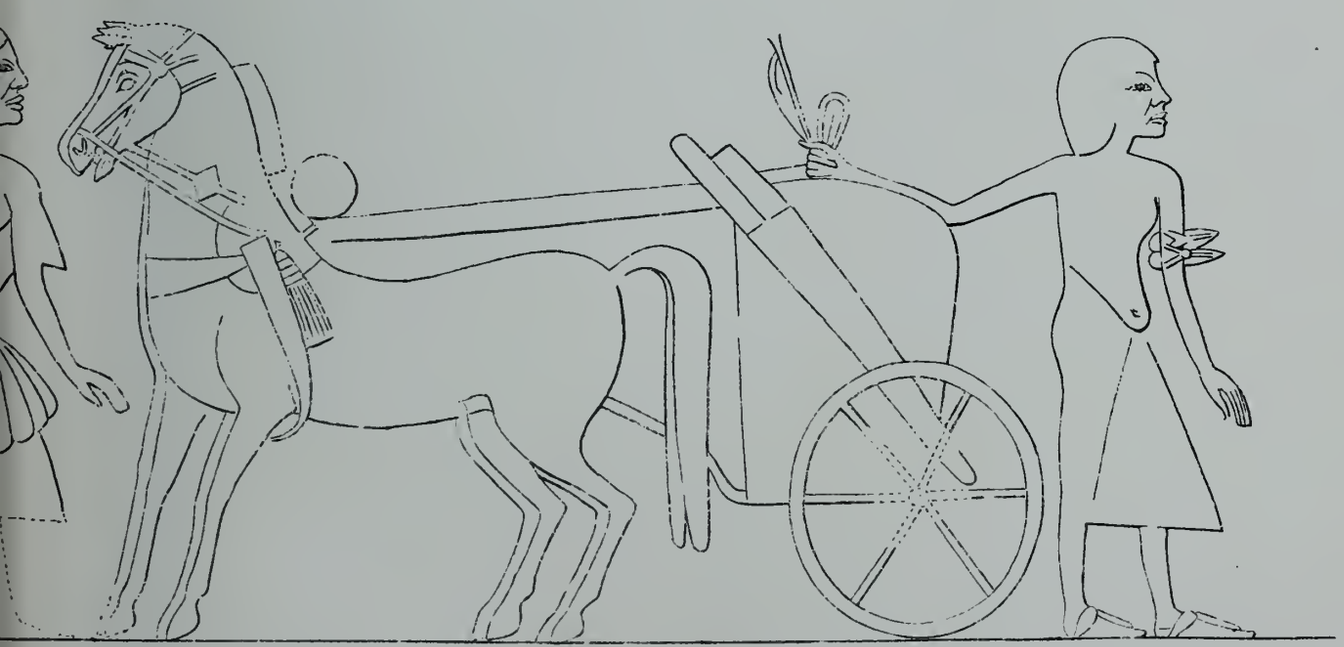


REMAINDER OF

Scale $\frac{1}{4}$

a



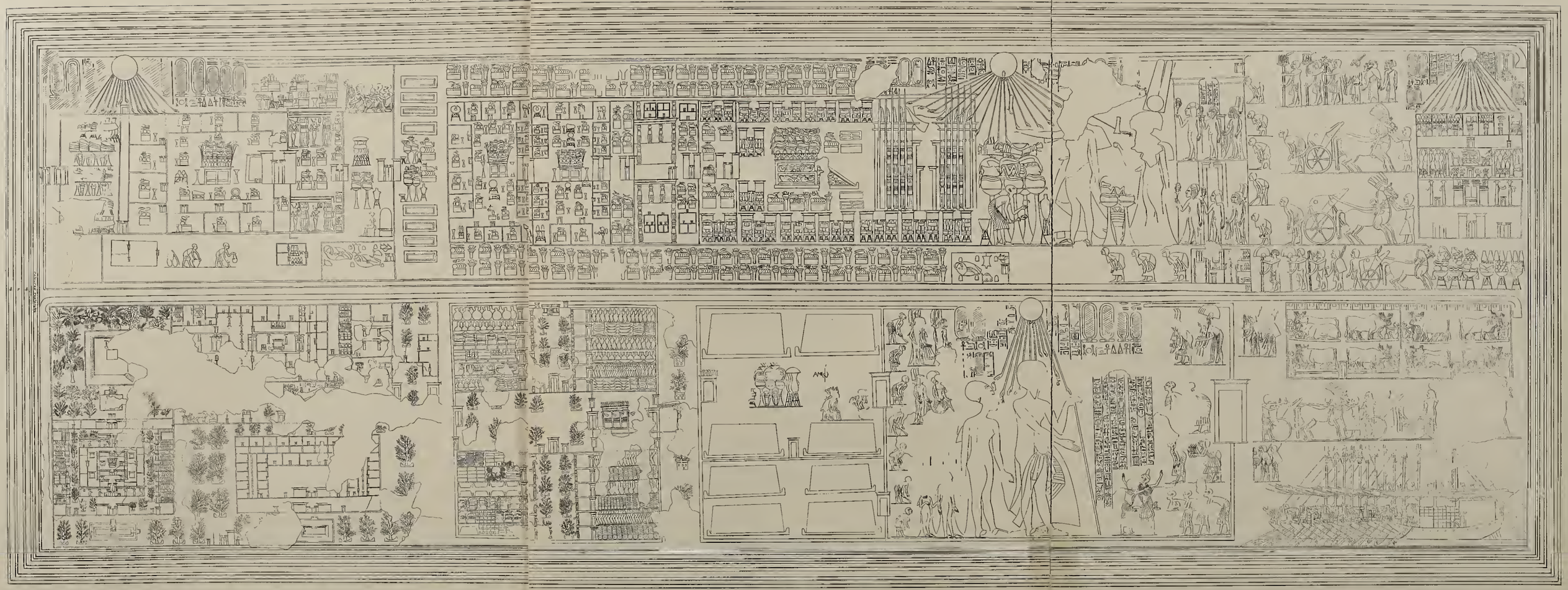


b

ROYAL RETINUE.

Plate XXIII.

N. Wall. | E. Wall.



Scale

THE ROYAL VISIT TO THE TEMPLE AND THE INVESTITURE OF MERYRA.

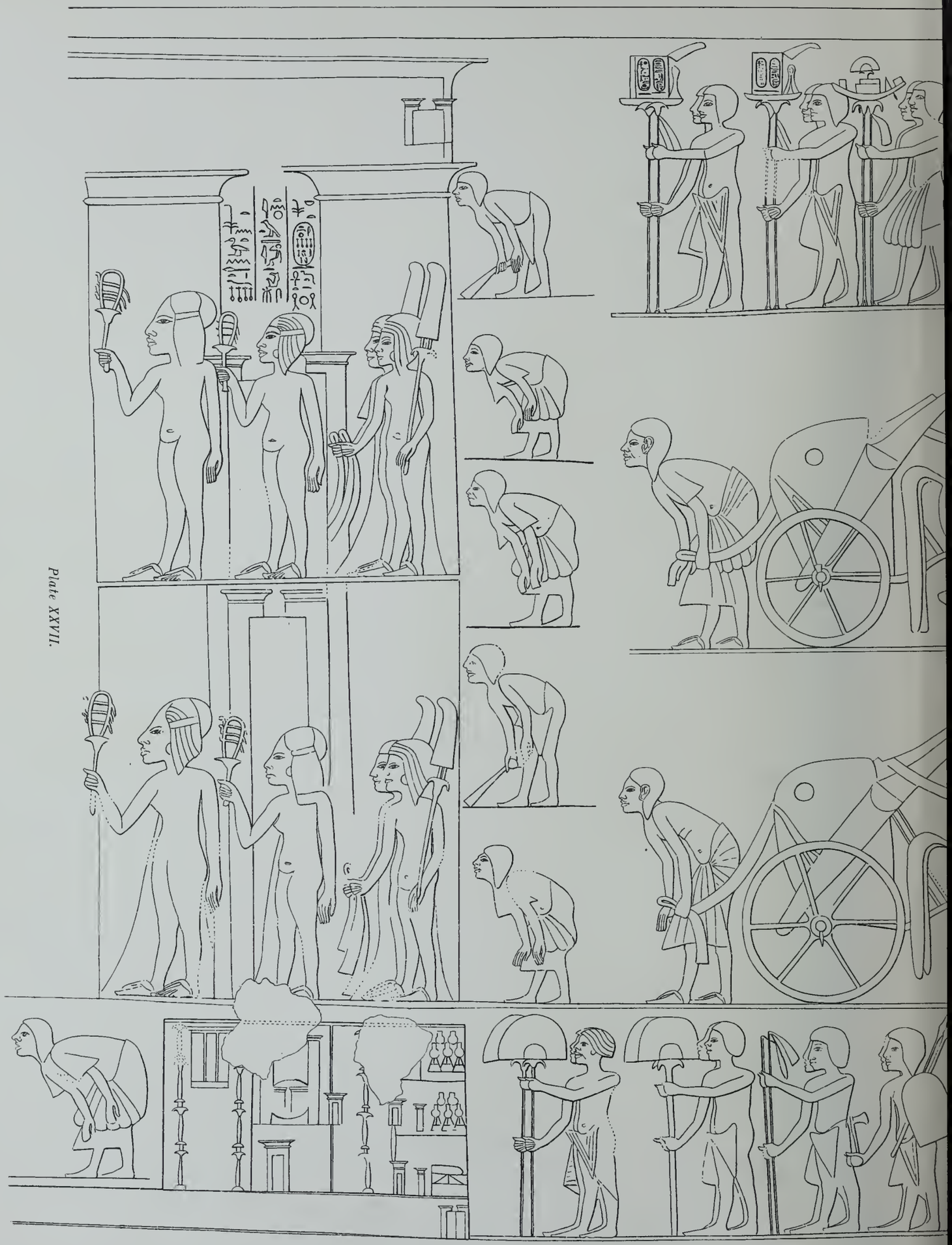
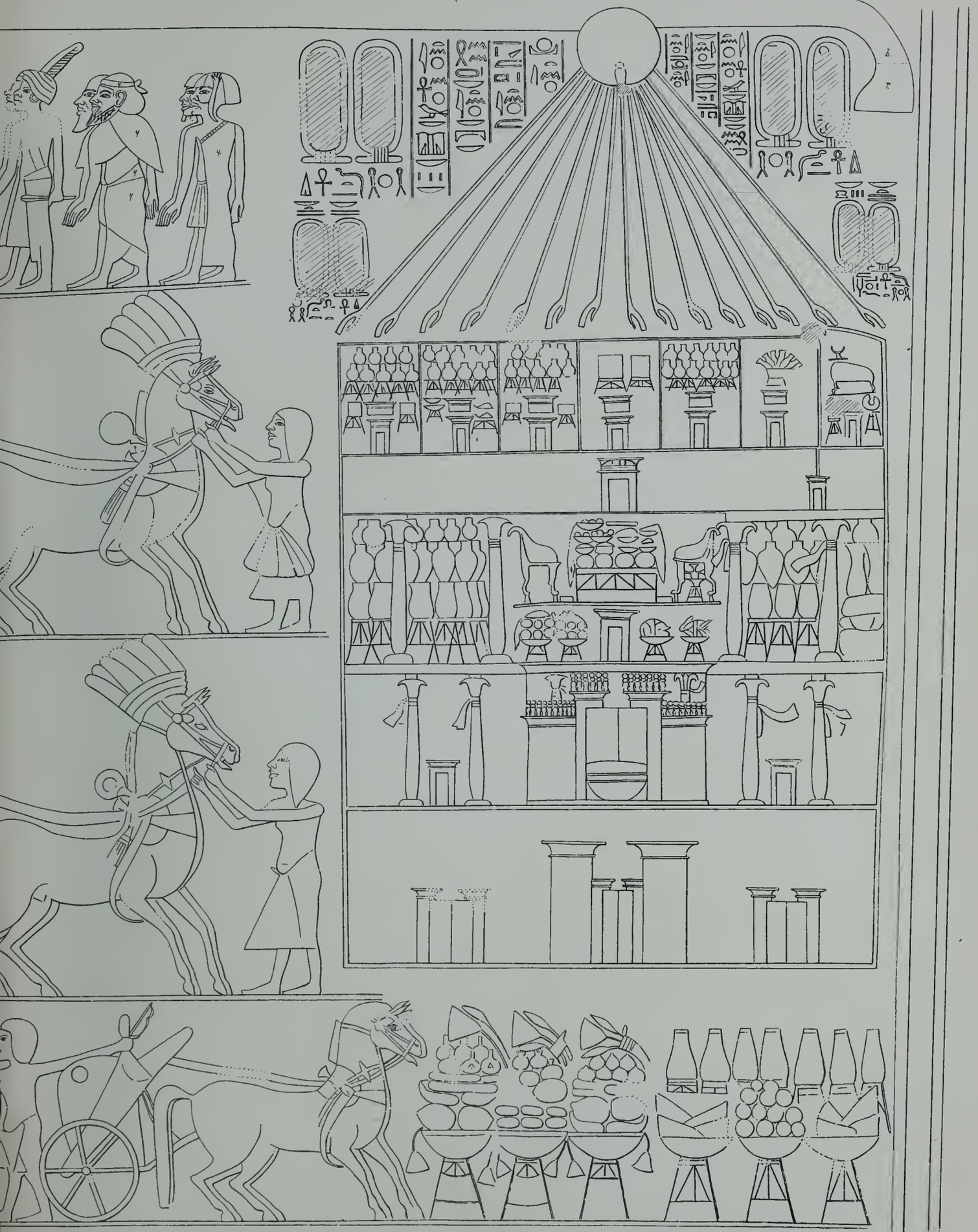


Plate XXVII.

Scale $\frac{1}{6}$

THE ROYAL RETINUE WA



G OUTSIDE THE GATES.

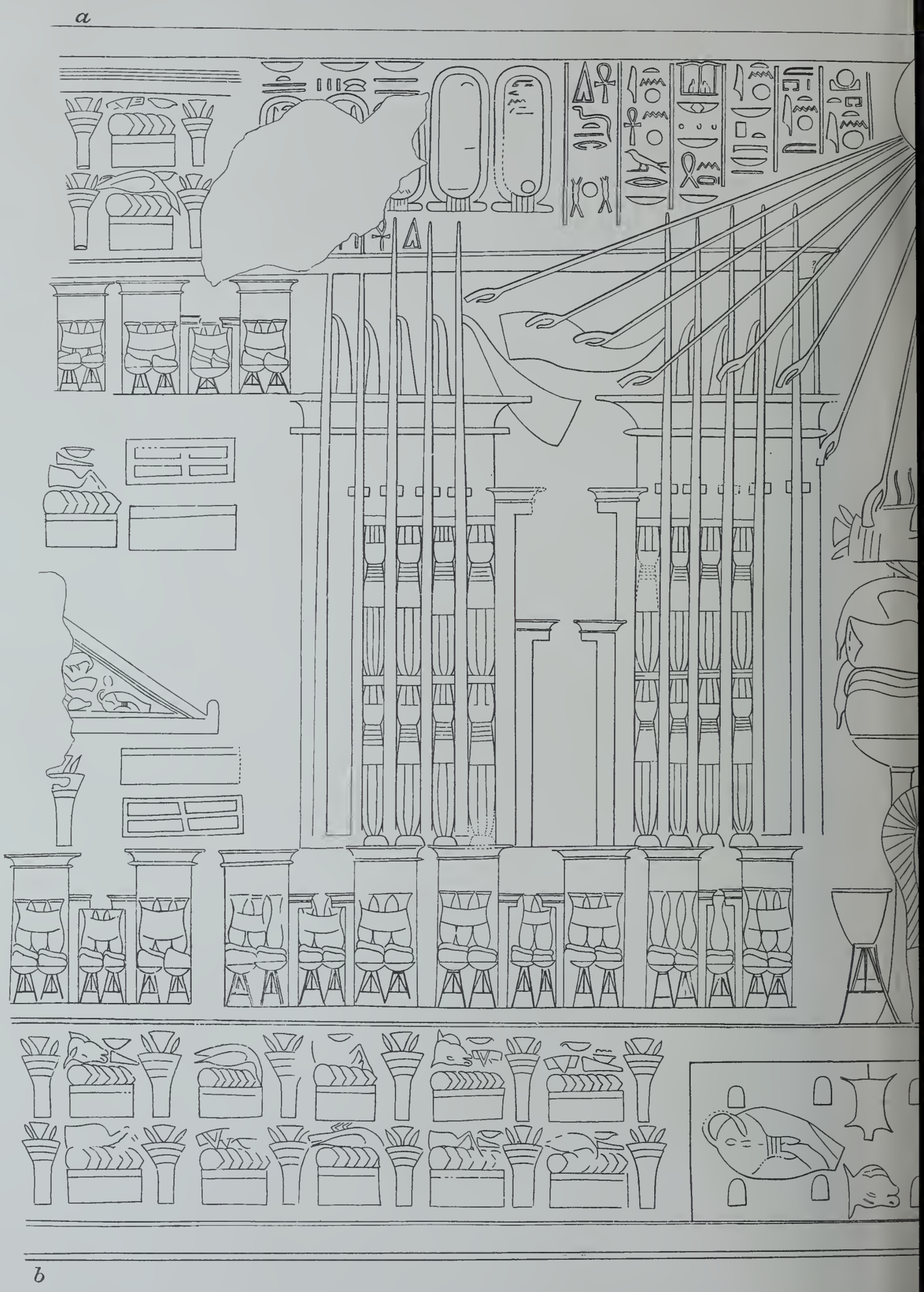
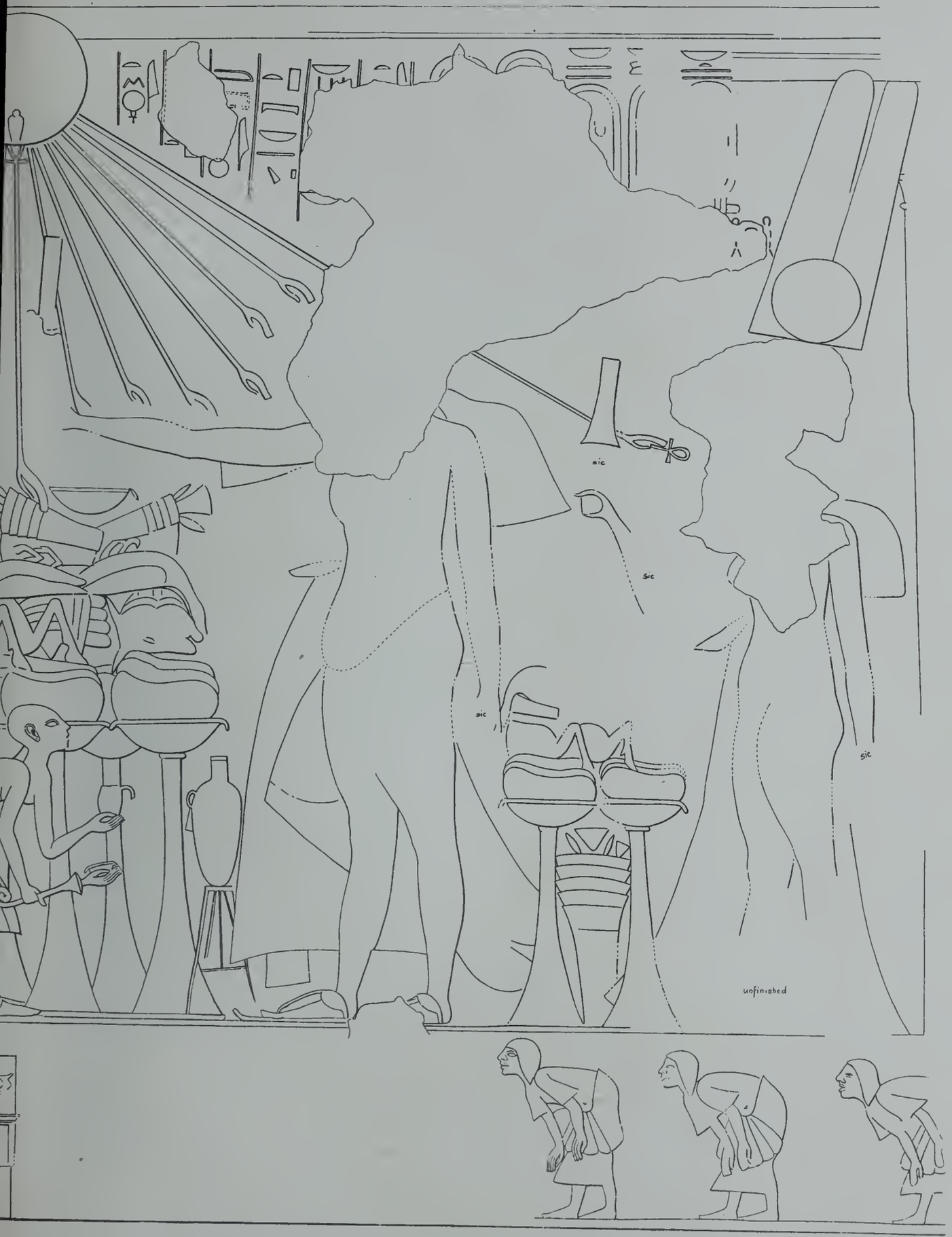


Plate XXVIII.

Scale $\frac{1}{6}$

THE KING AND QUEEN WORSHIPP

UPPER HALF.



N THE FORECOURT OF THE TEMPLE.

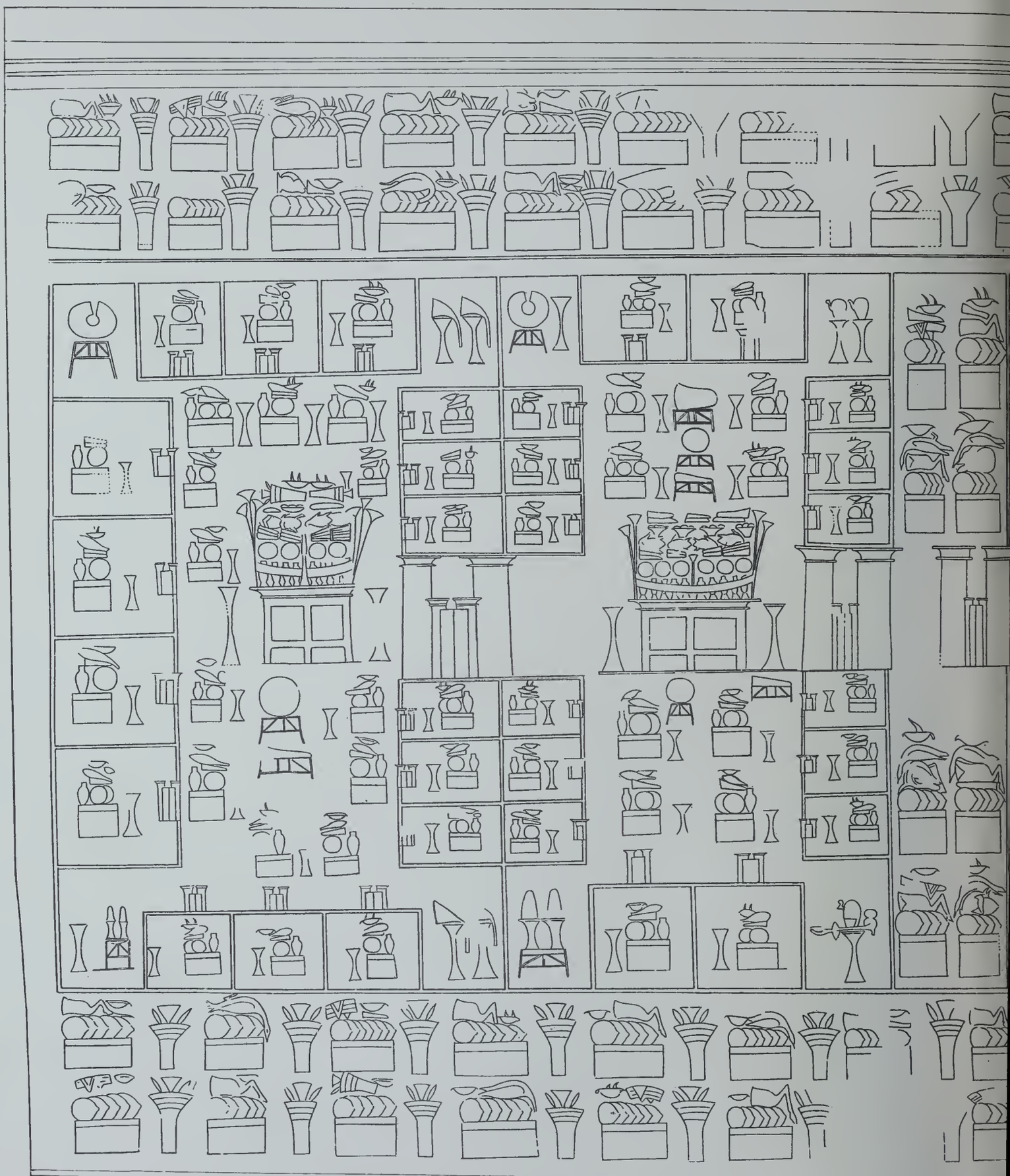
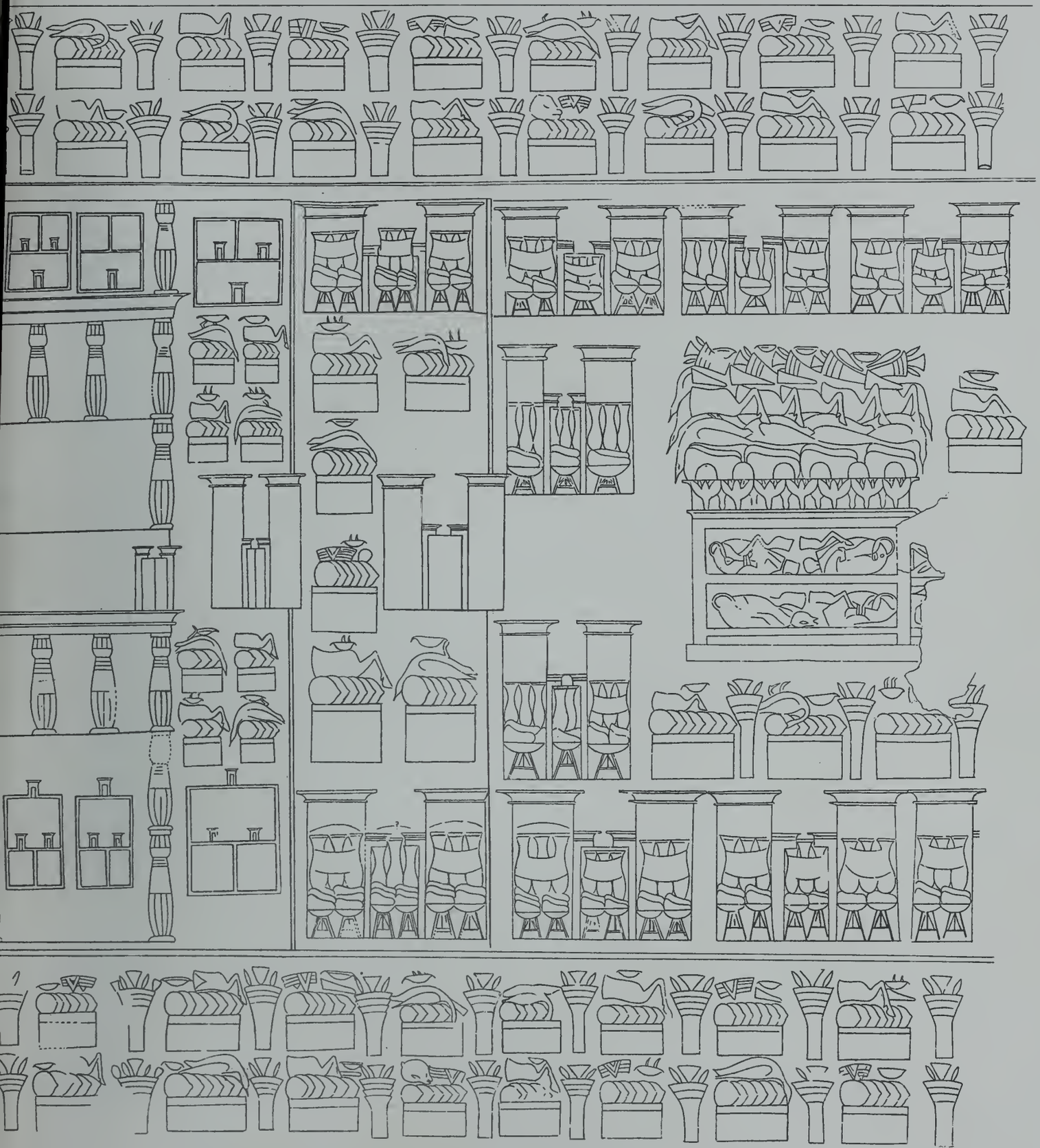


Plate XXXIII (N. Wall).

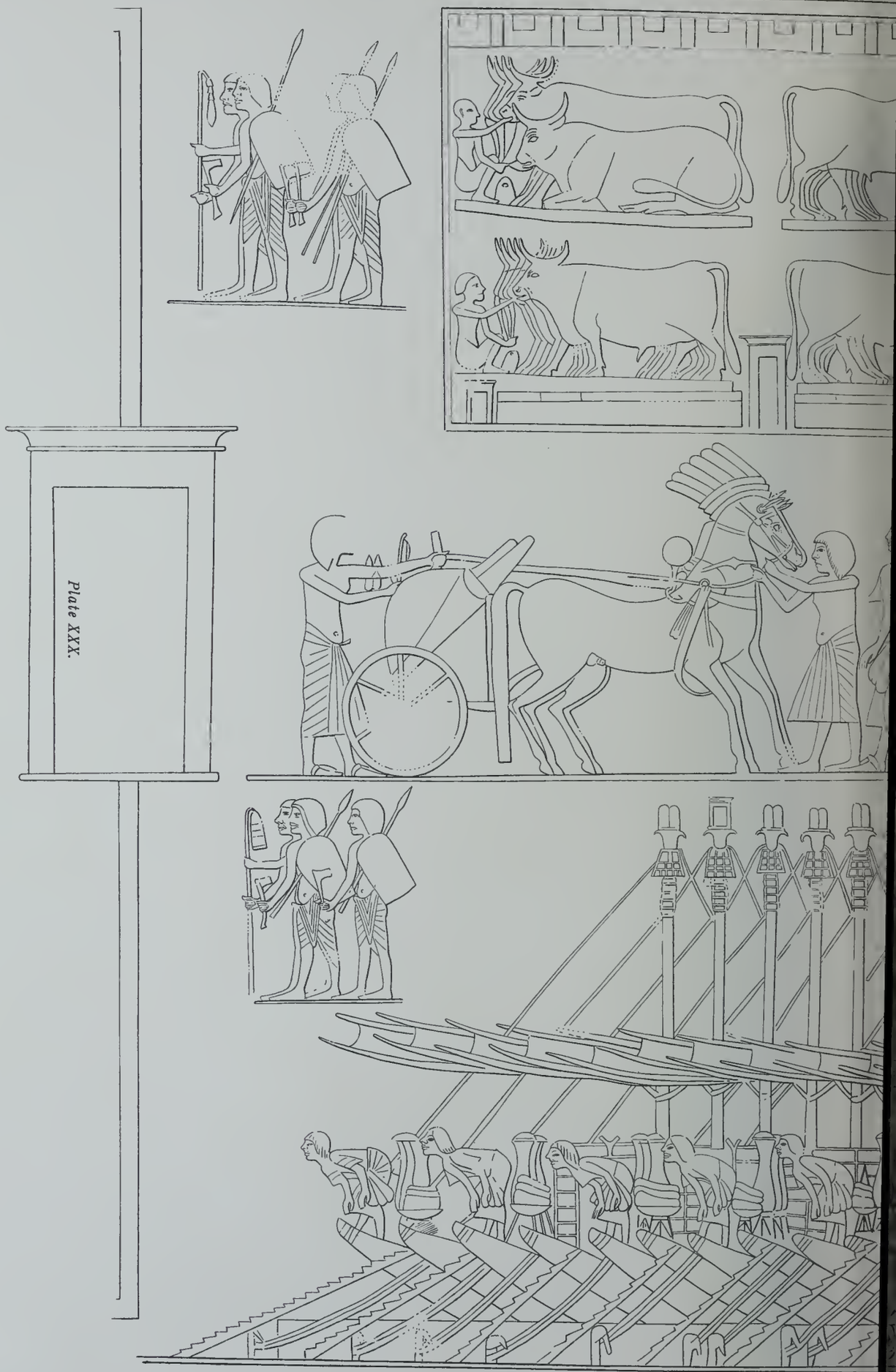
Scale $\frac{1}{6}$

a

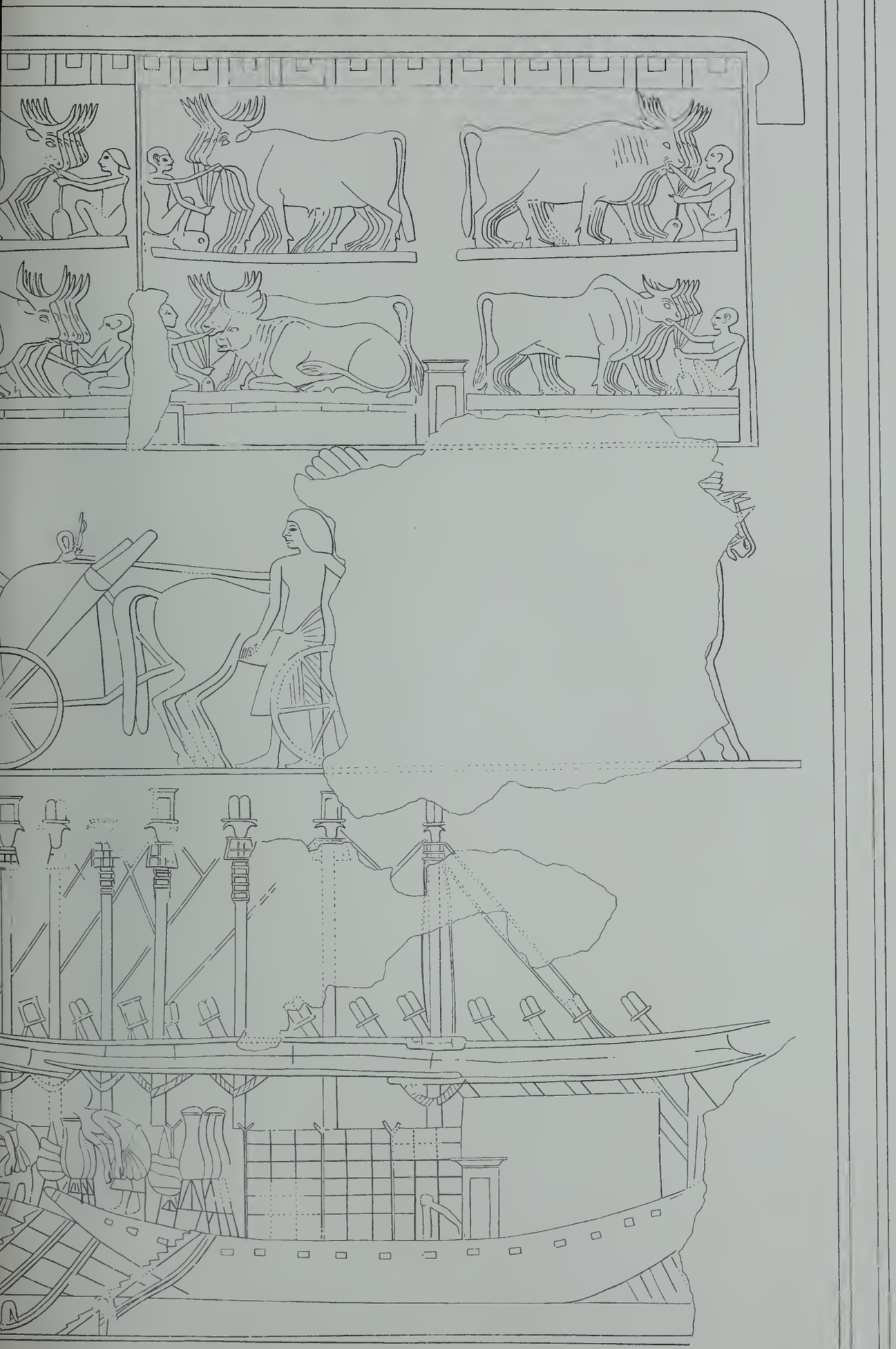


b

d on Plate XXXIII).



Scale $\frac{1}{6}$



GATES.

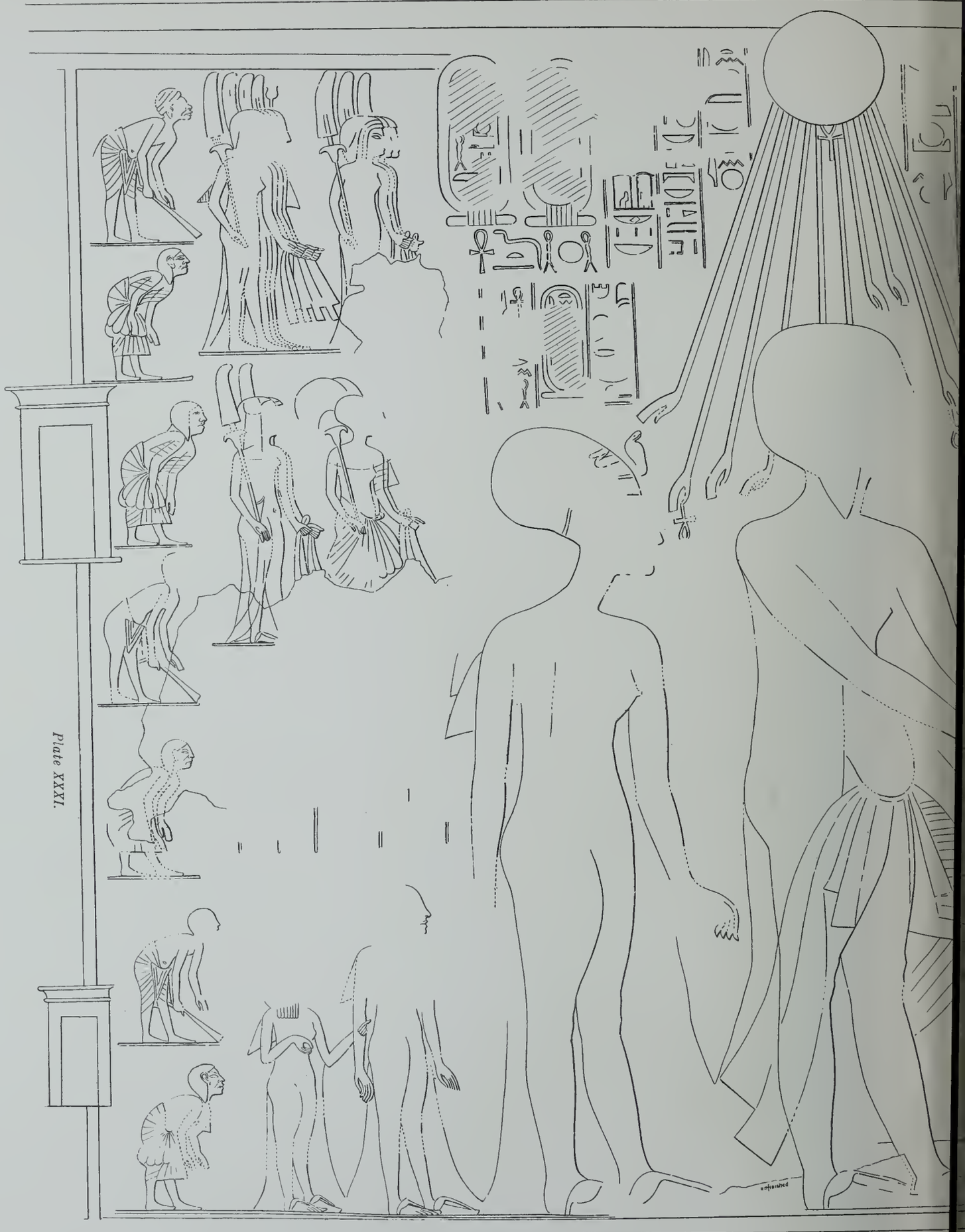
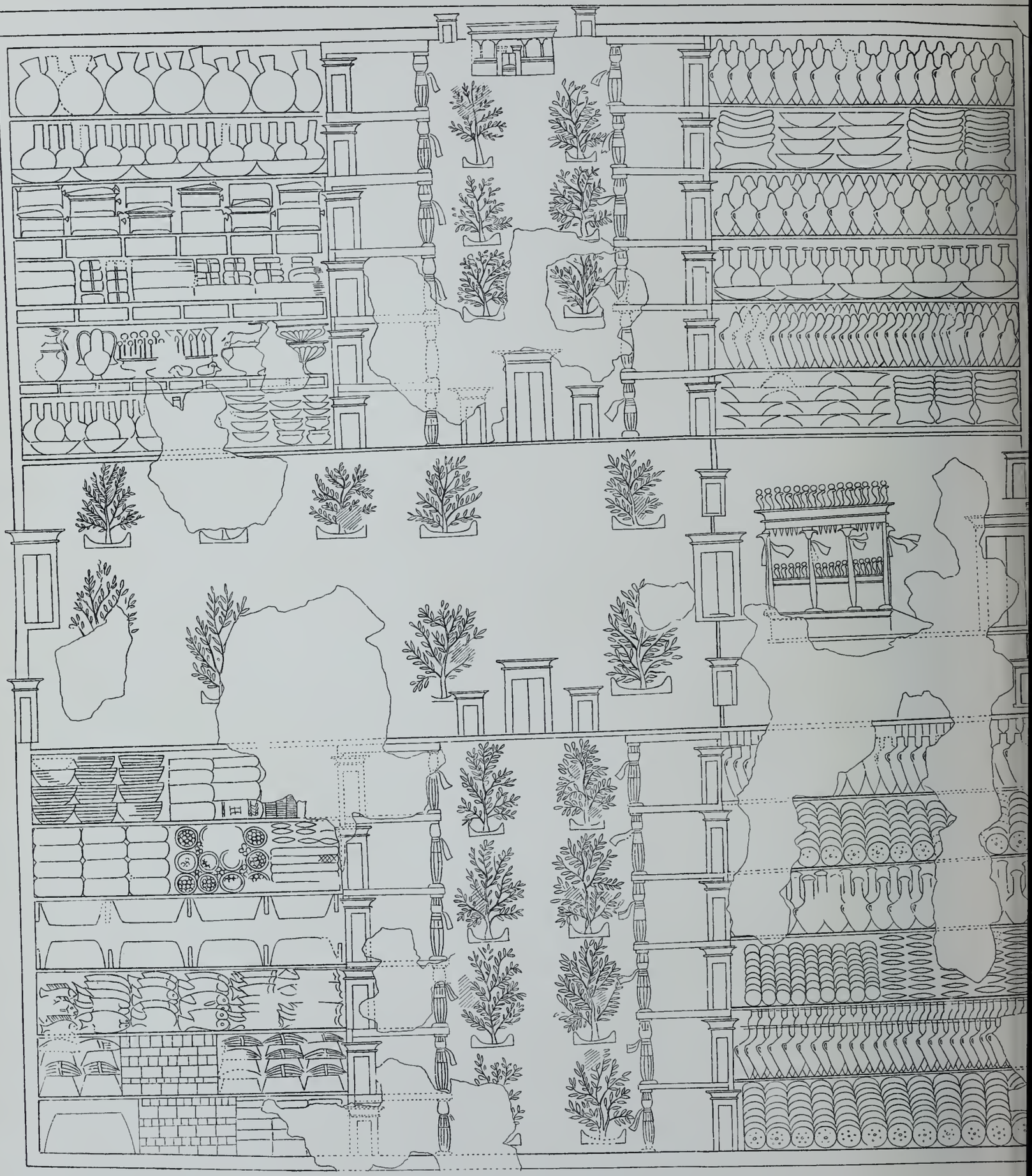


Plate XXXI.

MERYRA REW

Scale $\frac{1}{6}$

D BY THE KING.



Scale $\frac{1}{6}$

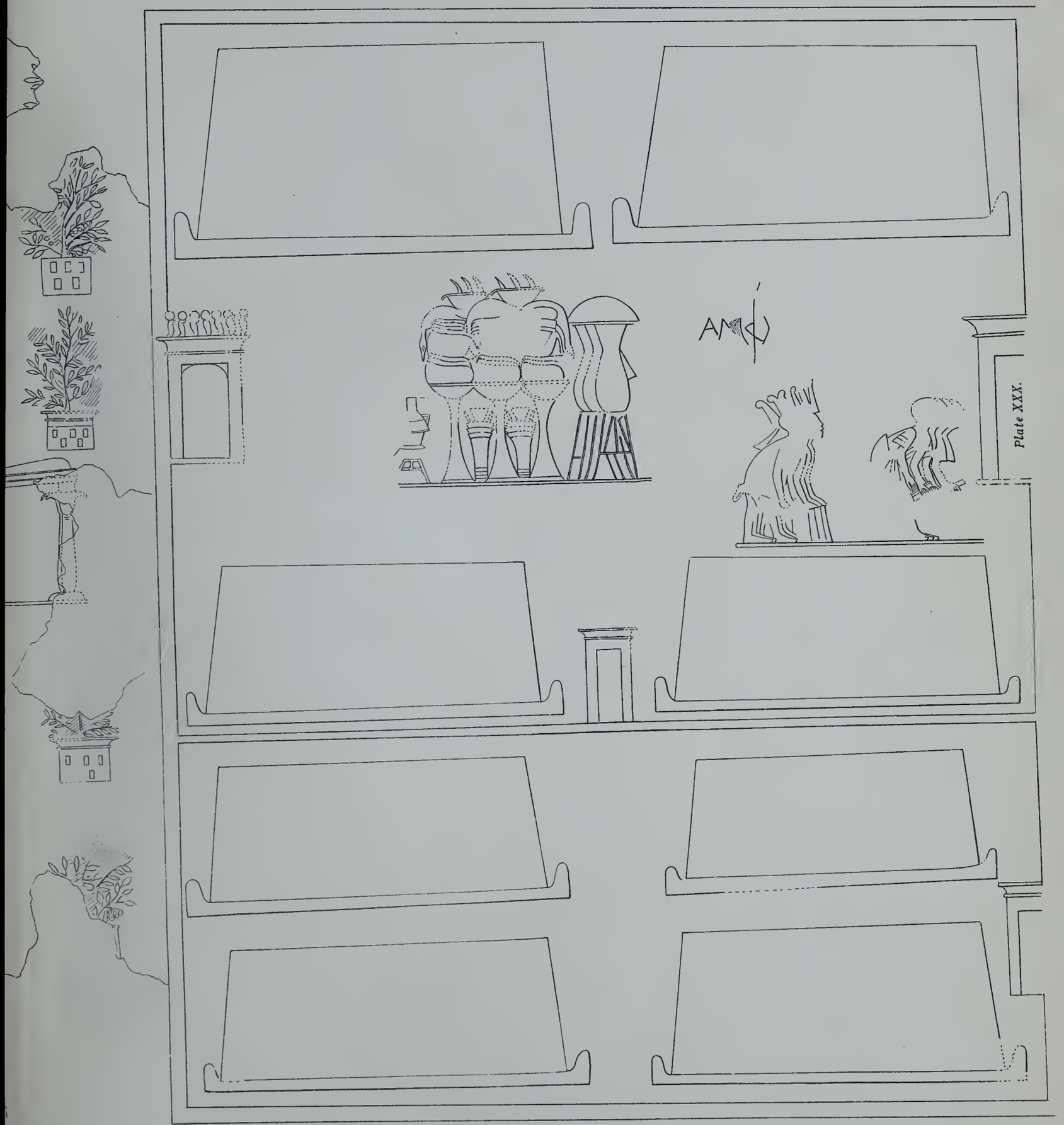
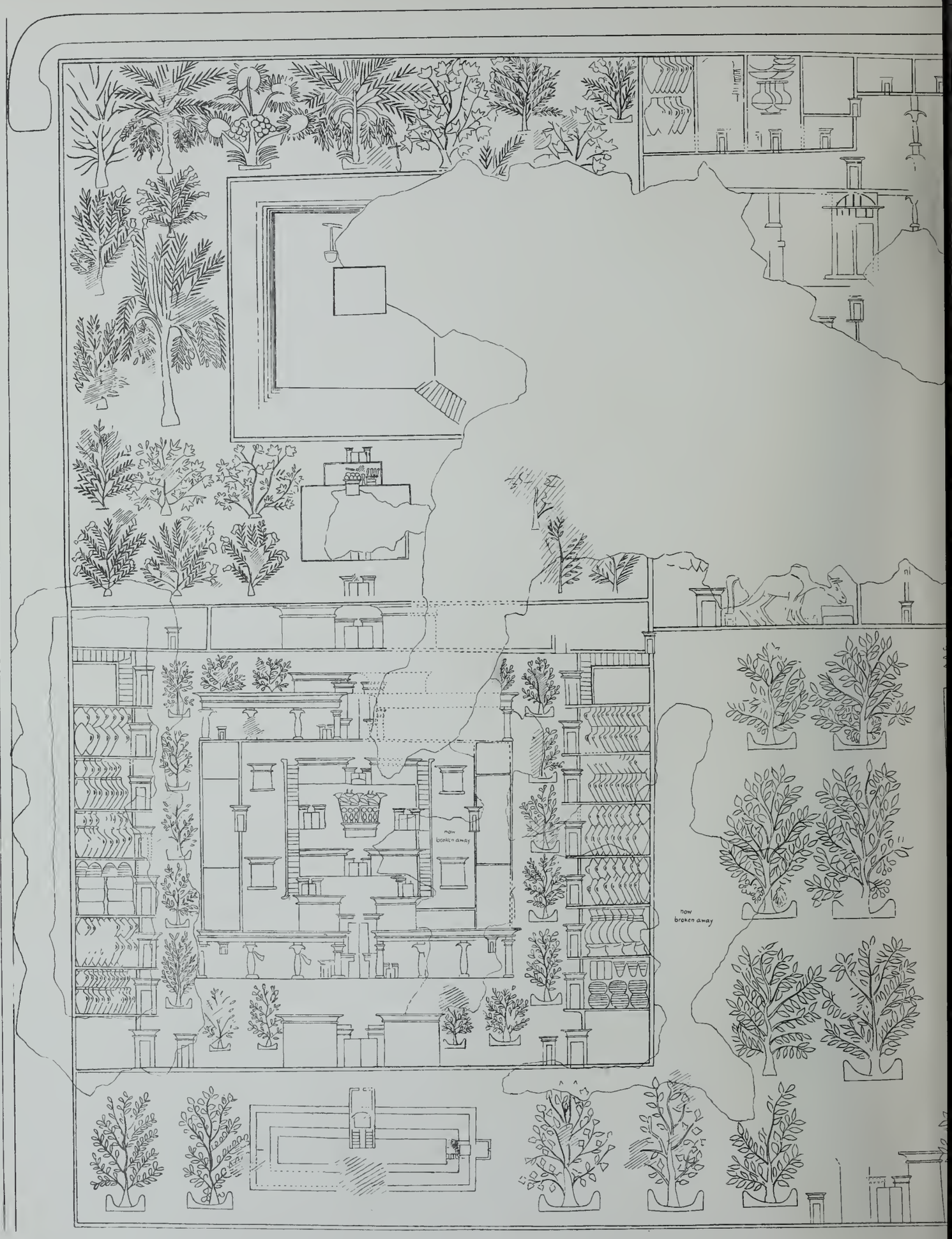


Plate XXX.



Scale $\frac{1}{6}$

THE ROYAL GARDEN

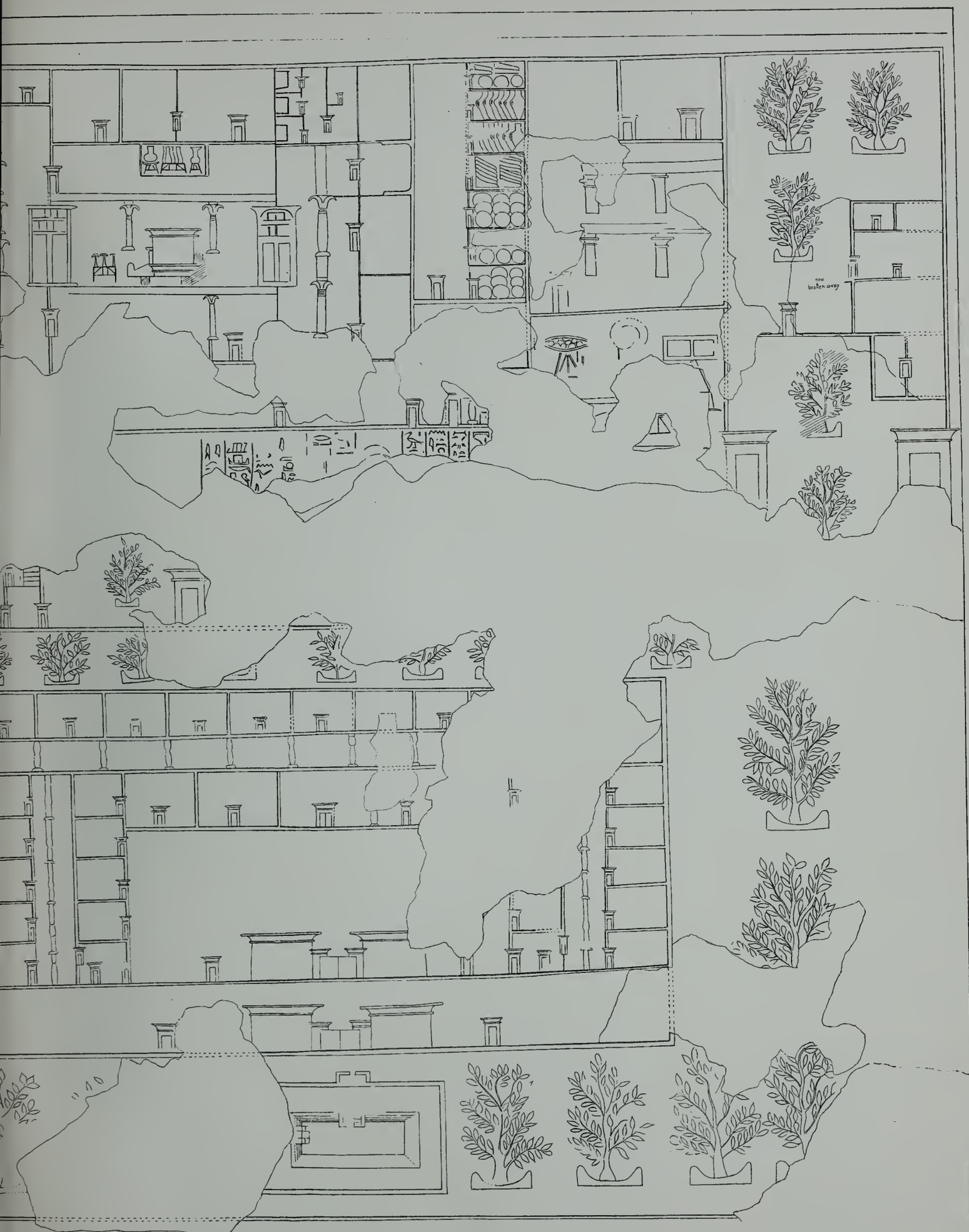
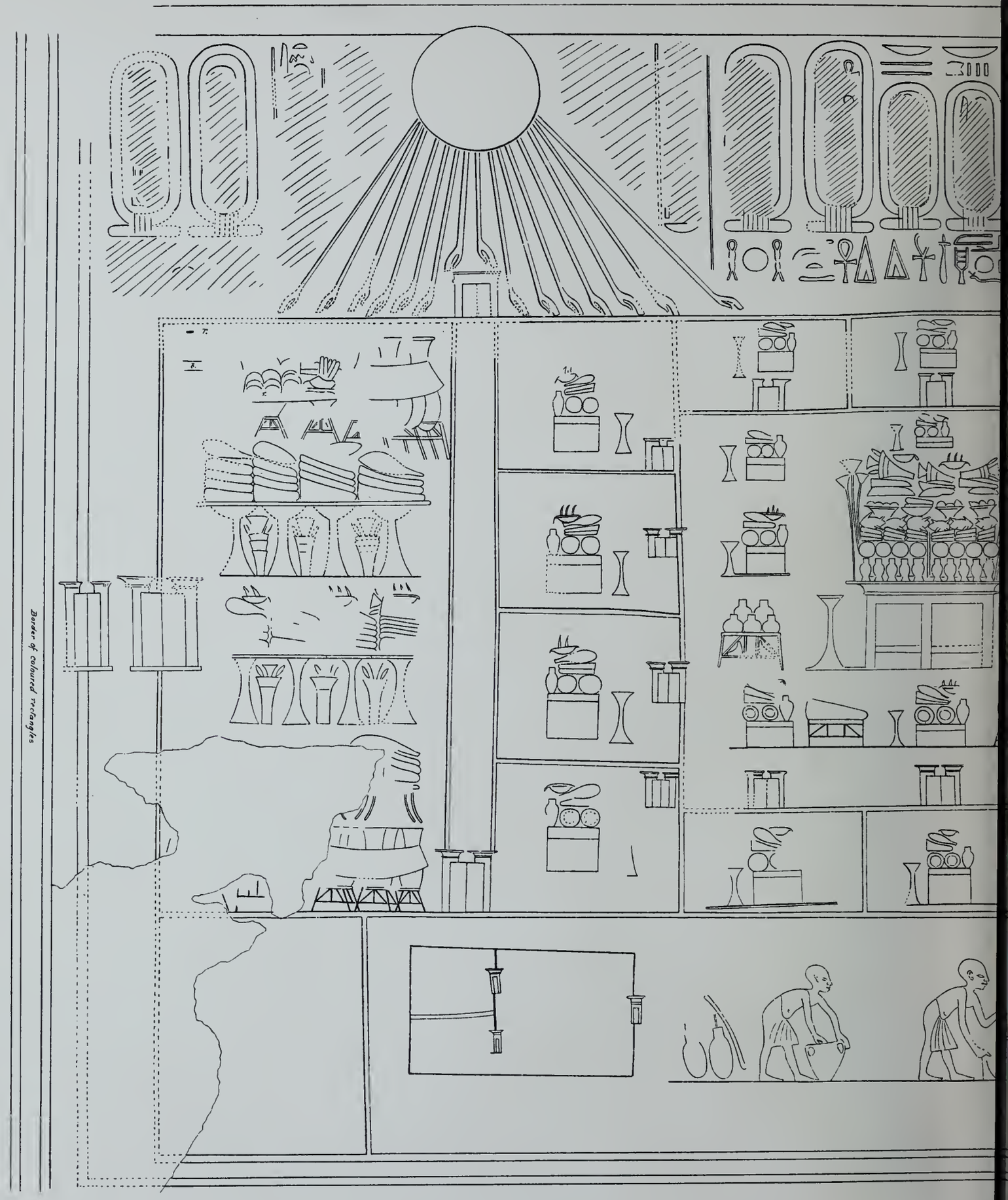


Plate XXXI.

TOREHOUSES AND STABLES.



Scale $\frac{1}{6}$

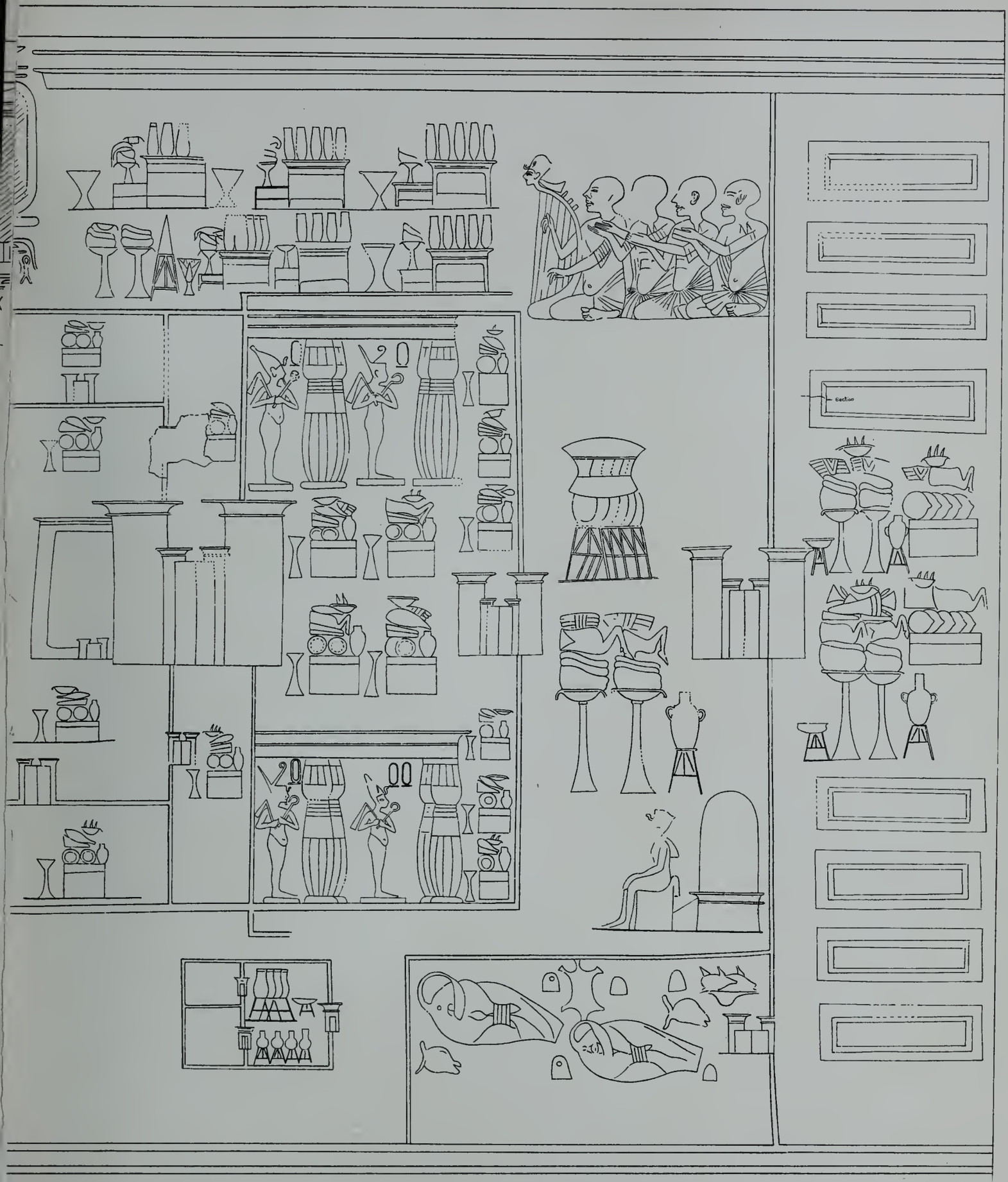
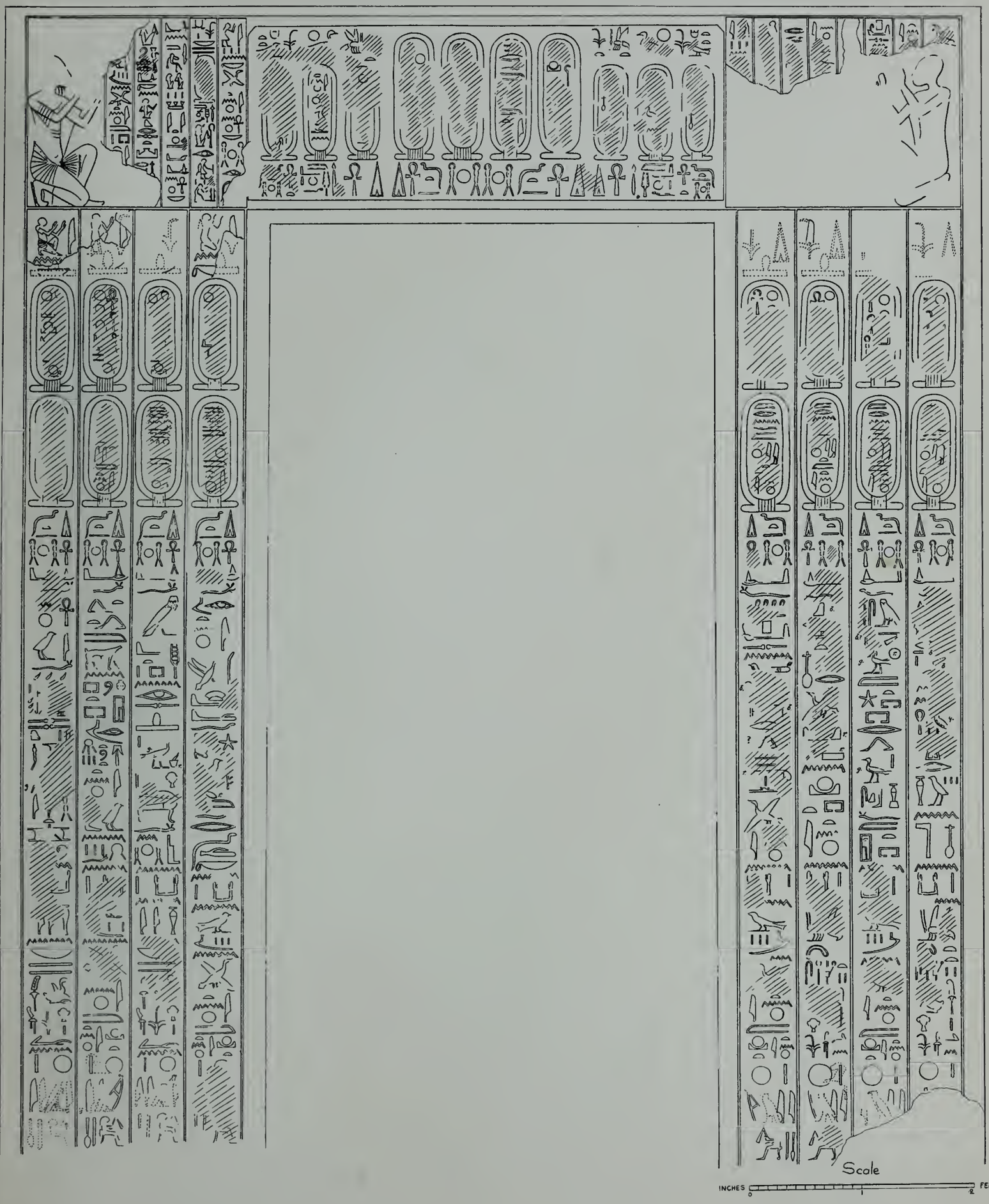
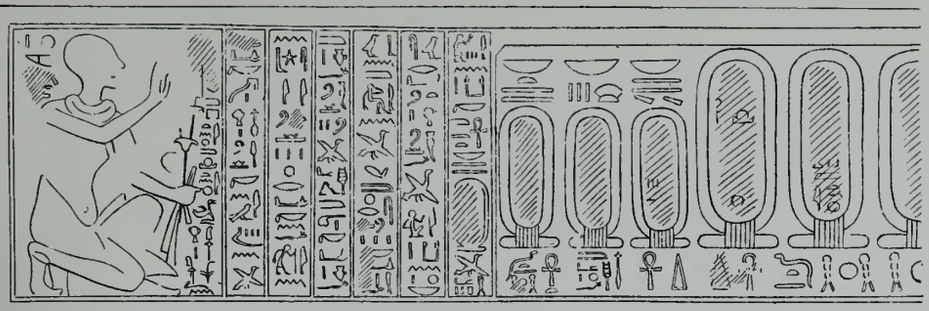


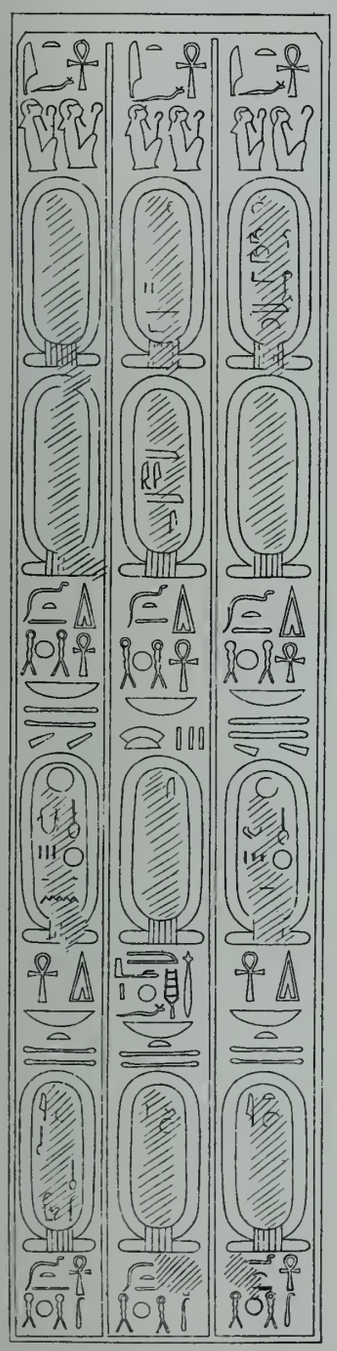
Plate XXVIII.

tinued from Plate XXVIII.).

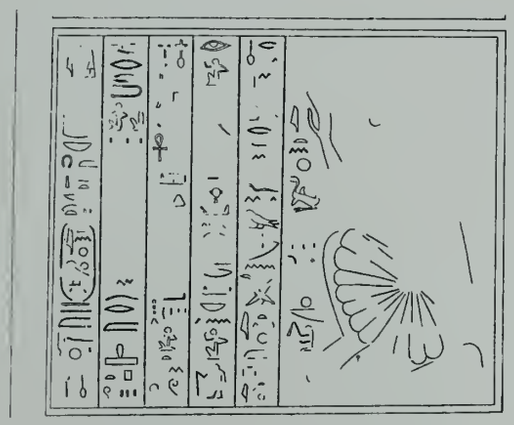

Scale
INCHES
0
1
2
FEET



5 feet 6 inches

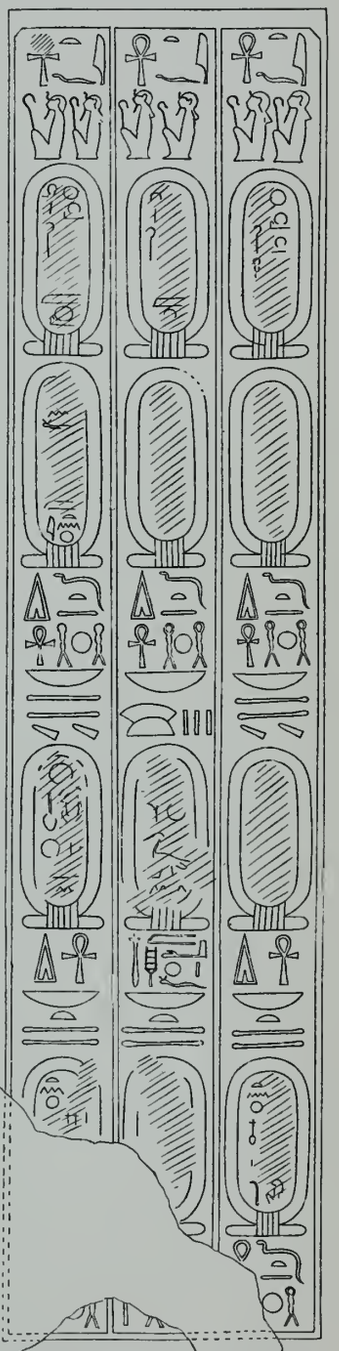


INSCRIPTION FROM SOUTH COLUMN.

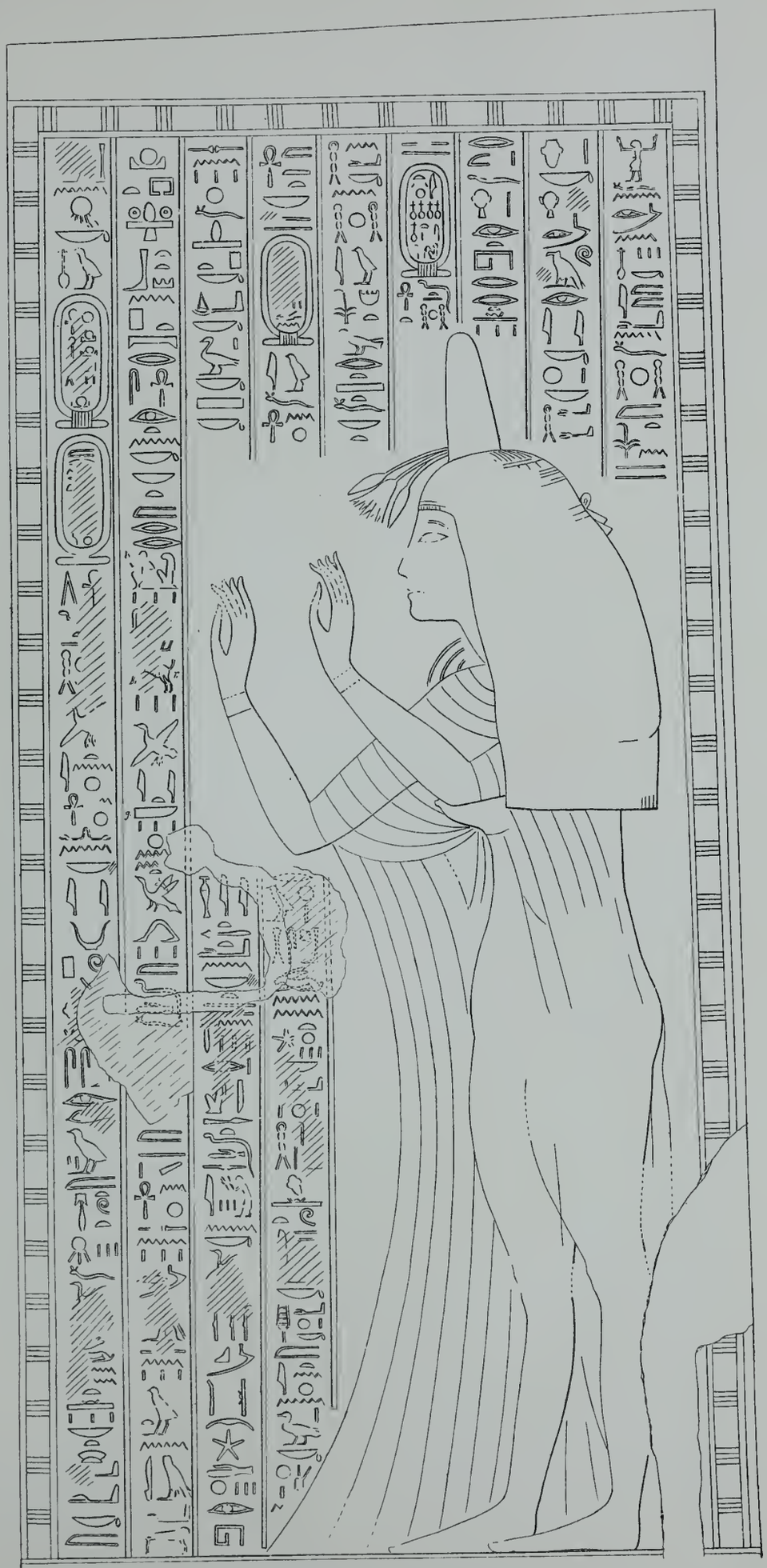


FRAMING OF ENTRANCE-
-INSCRIPTION FROM RIGHT JAMB.

Scale $\frac{1}{10}$

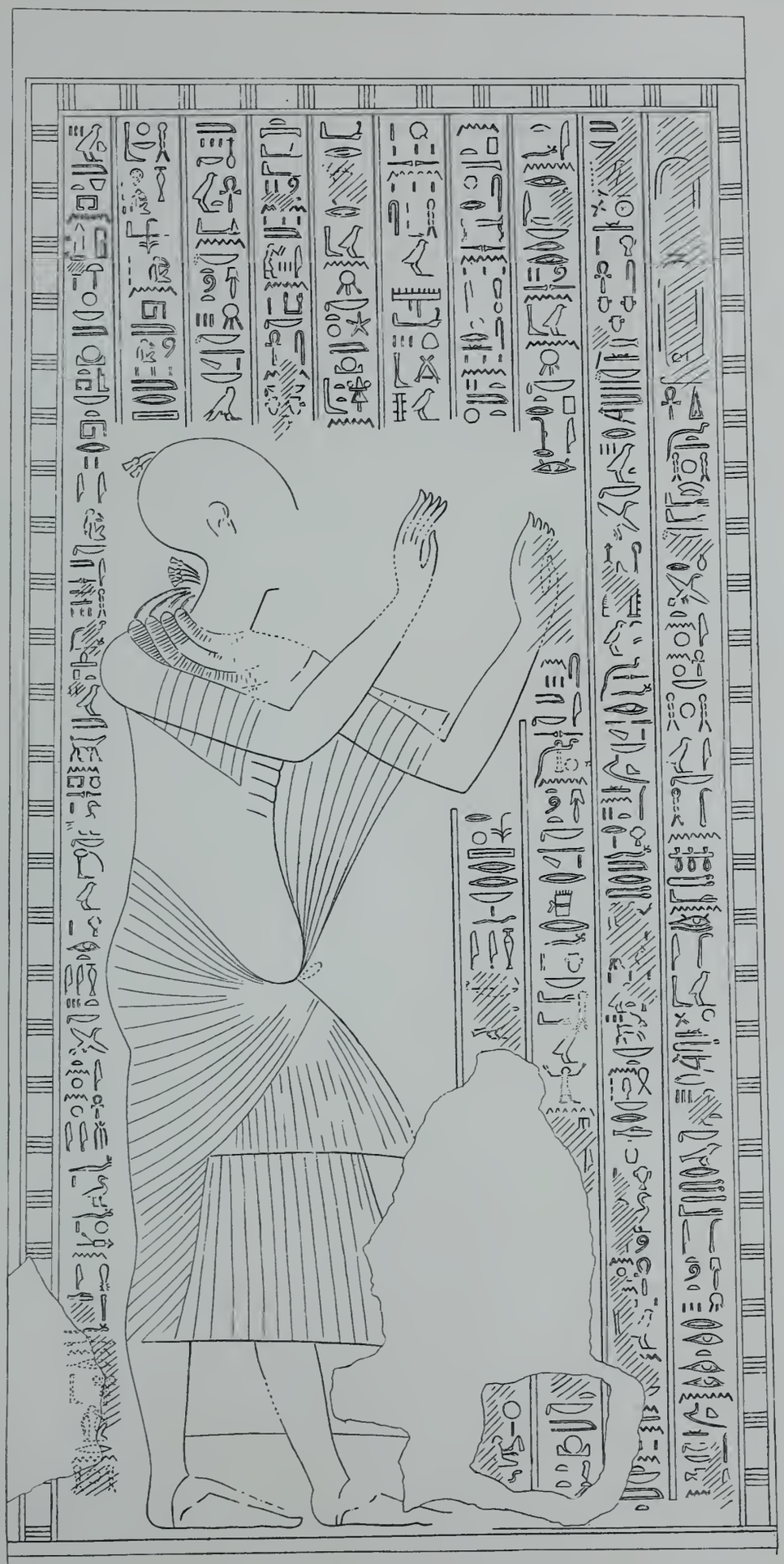


Scale $\frac{1}{12}$



SENRE, WIFE OF MERYRA.

Scale 1/10



MERYRA.

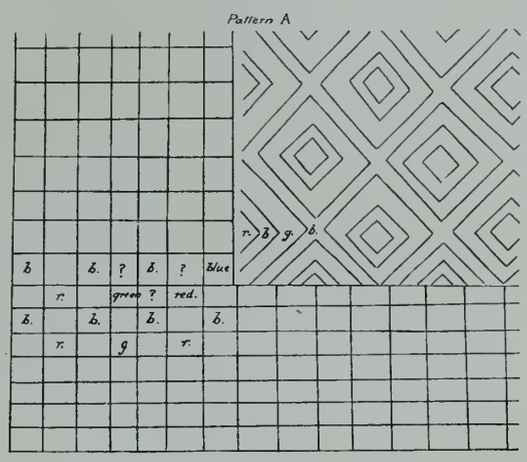
Scale 1/10

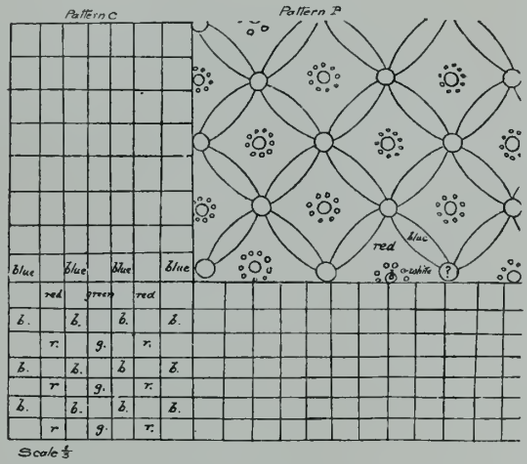
E. SIDE.

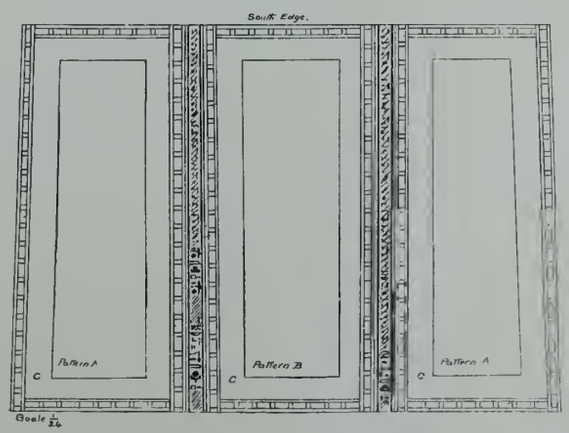
W. SIDE.

Scale $\frac{1}{12}$

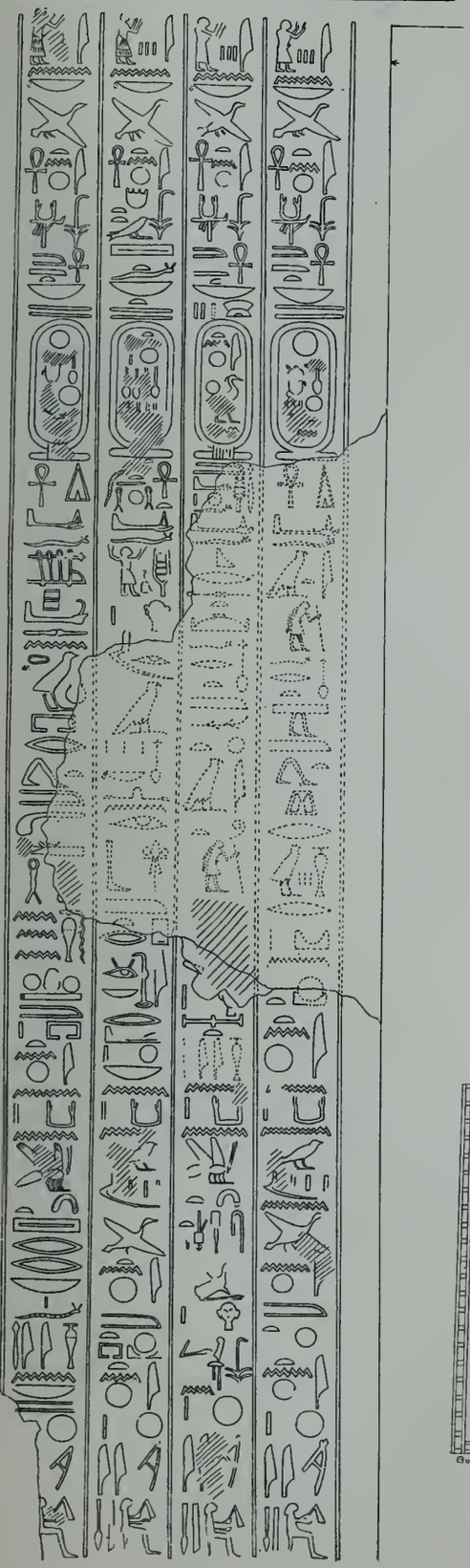
47 inches



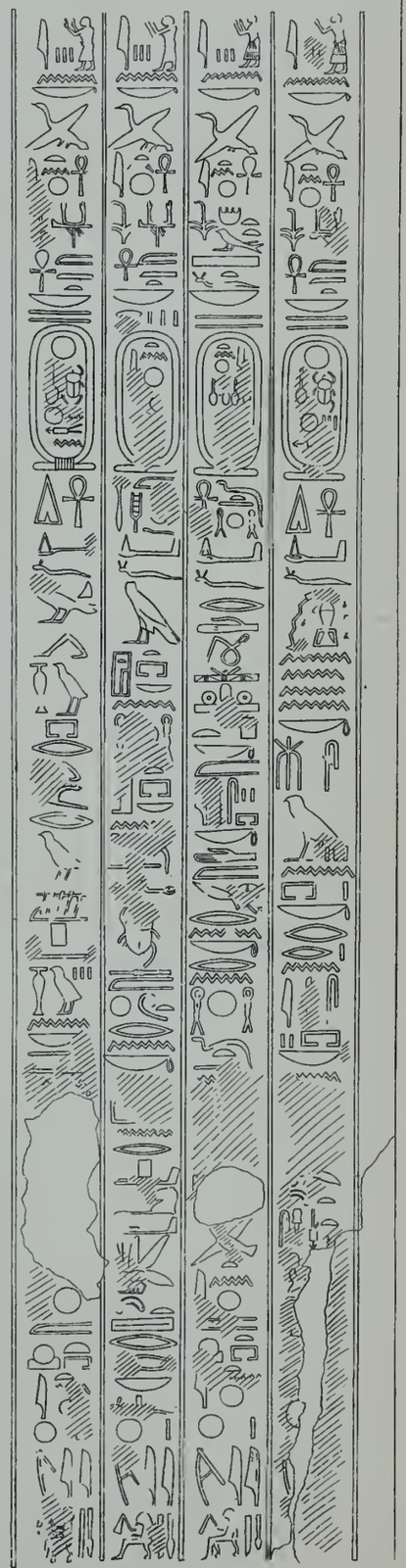




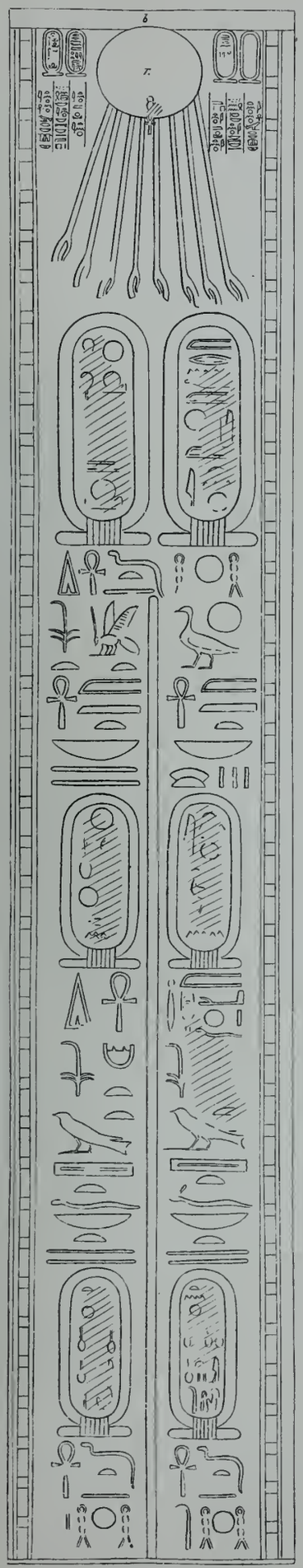
CEILING DESIGN,
THICKNESS OF OUTER WALL.



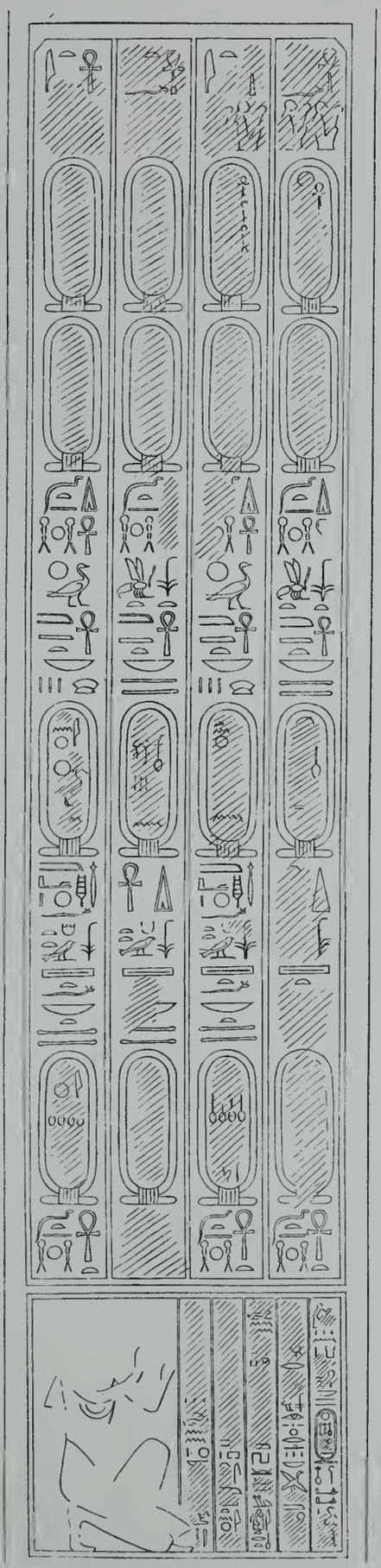
Scale 1/12



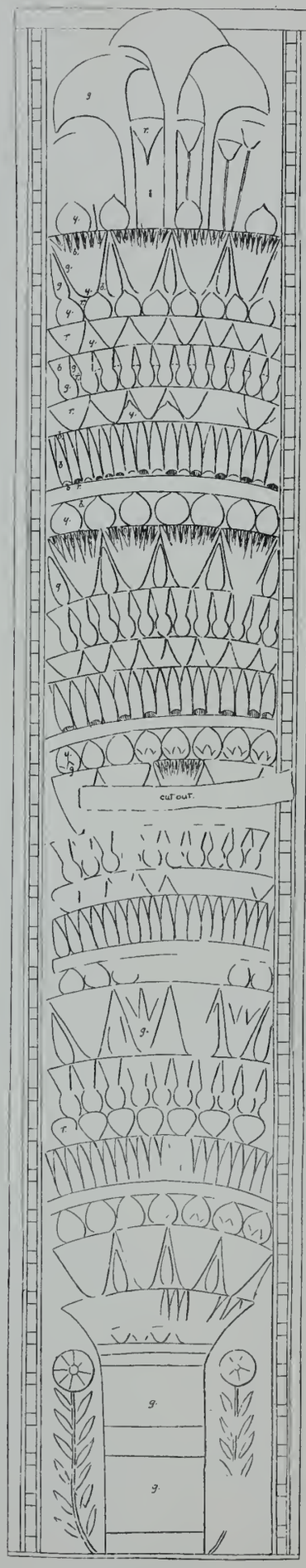
JAMBS—FRAMING OF N. DOOR.



PANEL A.

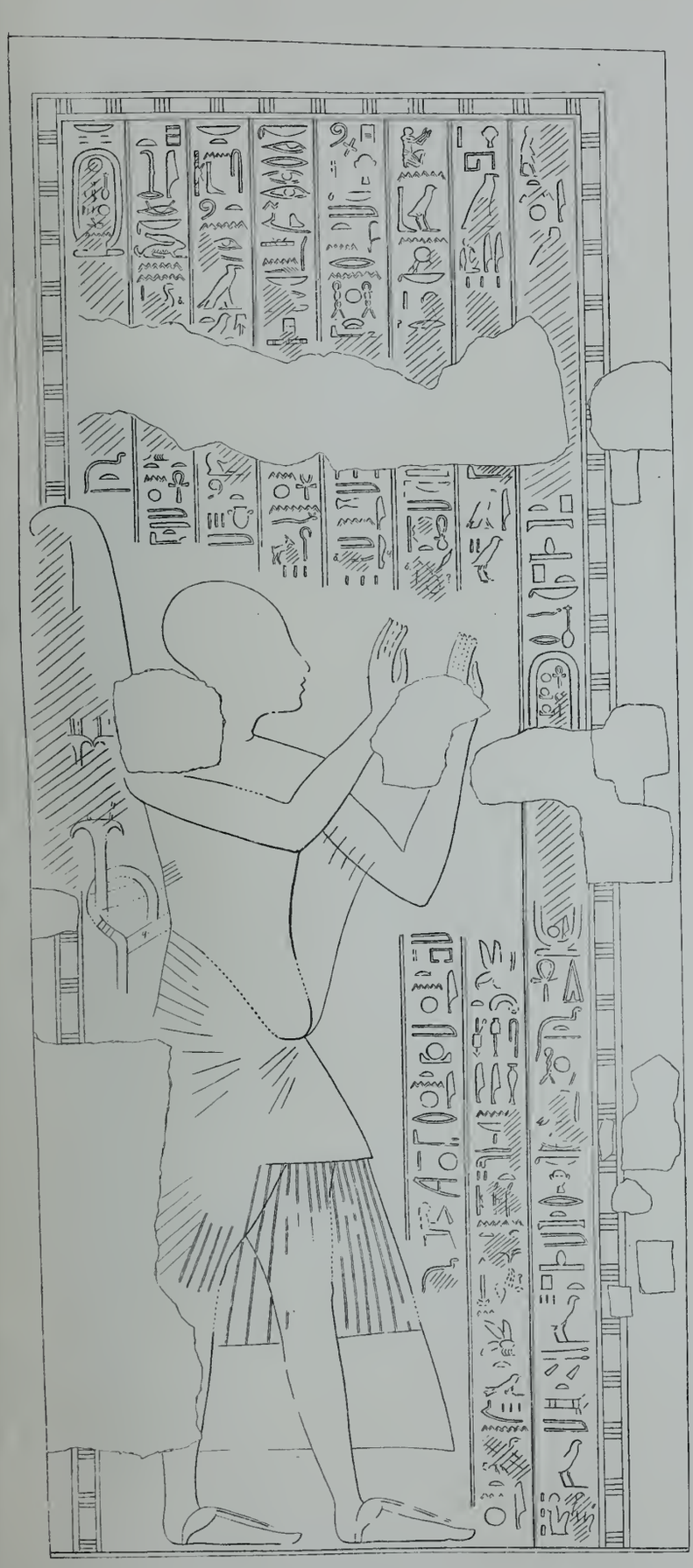


FRAMING OF ENTRANCE—LEFT JAMB.

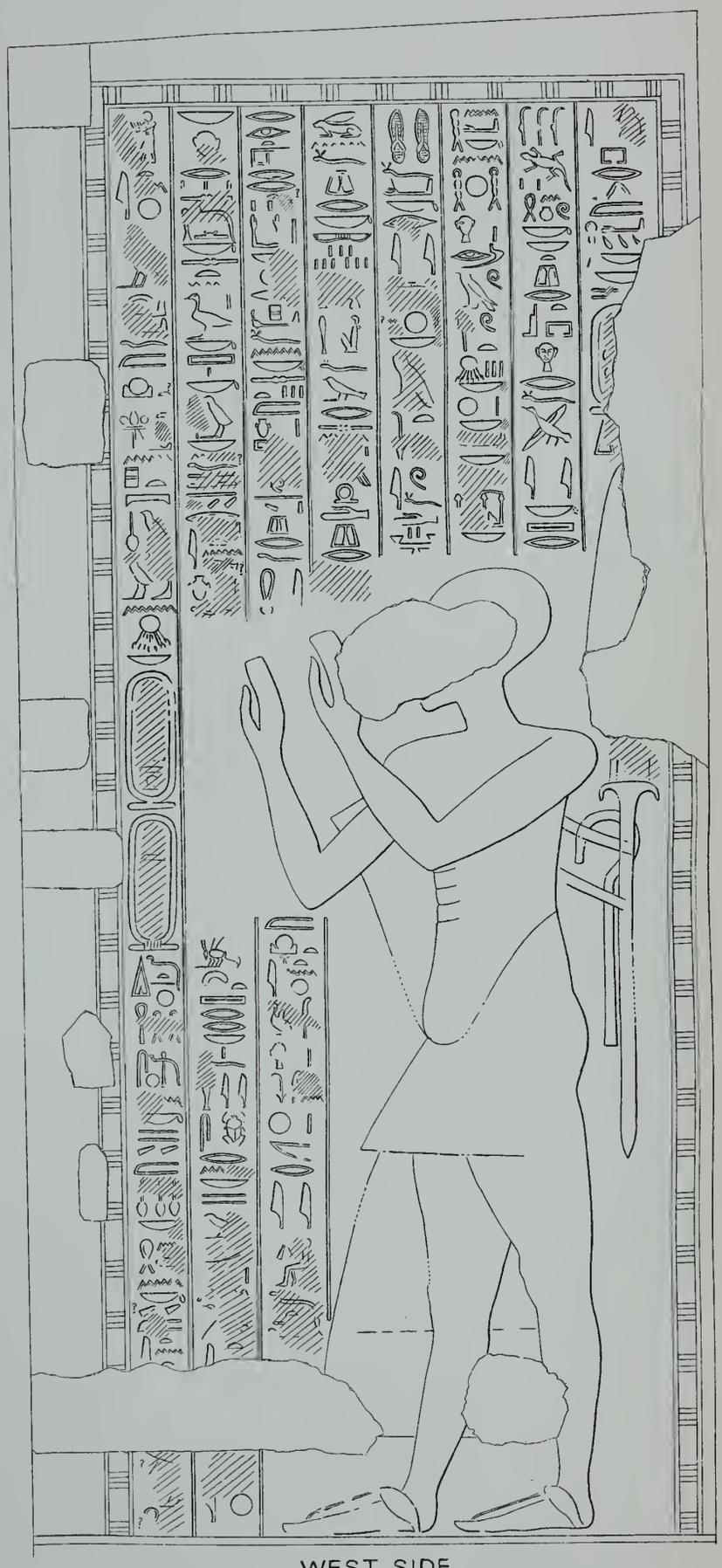


PANEL B.

Scale $\frac{1}{12}$



EAST SIDE.



WEST SIDE.

Scale $\frac{1}{12}$

BINDING SEAL FEB 13 1976

CIRCULATE AS MONOGRAPH

DT 57 E326 no.13

Egypt Exploration Society.
Archaeological Survey of Egypt
Memoir

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY

CIRCULATE AS MONOGRAPH

31