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"The New Kingdom: The Wealth of Empire (Egypt of the Pharaohs)"

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Portland State University

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Note: The audio is intermittently unclear during the first thirty minutes of the recording. Ellipses in brackets […] indicate places where the speaker was unintelligible.

HOST: Distinguished listeners: Portland State University and the Portland Art Museum, both public institutions, are very happy to have had the opportunity to do one of the things we feel we do best, which is to provide professional insights into the things that are interesting to the public. Professor Kimbrell last night was far too generous in his remarks about me, in terms of […], because quite truly, these lectures would've been quite impossible without the support of Dr. Leroy Pearson, who from the beginning was willing to put the full weight of his office behind making them possible. It is also necessary to thank Paul O'Reilly and Chris […] from the Portland Art Museum, who dealt with the problems there. And of course Professor Kimbrell himself, whose fine artwork and wit produced the green brochure that most of you received. And thanks to […] of our box office and all the ushers, most of whom are students at the Middle East Studies Center here.

While you are a captive audience, I feel I would like to tell you about some of the things that Portland State is doing. These will be the two Tutankhamun lectures, and for the rest of the year and for this summer. The retired associates at Portland State are running several tours up to the Tutankhamun exhibit, and you can contact them and perhaps associate yourself with them. Housing for summer school this summer: […] of the alumni office, running tours twice in October and twice in November, and I understand the bus is leaving every Monday evening in July and August from here. Portland State Middle East Studies Center is offering a wide-range

program this summer that includes a course in ancient Semitic civilizations, the Age of Tutankhamun which is an art course given by Dr. Kimbrell, King Tut and the Ancient World, Everyday Life in Ancient Egypt. If there are more things you'd like to know, we would be happy to have you continue as part of our program. Also, for those of you who do not bear the name Wepemnofret or don't care to name your child that, and want to know other possibilities in hieroglyphics, we are importing another Egyptologist from […] Institute to give a class this summer on hieroglyphics. We hope you will continue to participate in things Middle Eastern.

And of course none of these lectures would've been possible without the cooperation of Professor Cynthia Sheikholeslami. I think we could all agree that she deservedly earns the title of a stunning lecturer. She has taken the time to present to us in a professional and careful manner the aspects and the history of the art and culture of civilization, and woven into that the literature and information that only Egyptologists, highly trained and skilled, can do. We're very grateful to her, and of course we are very grateful to all of you diligent, astute listeners who have come. Thank you.

[applause]

CYNTHIA SHEIKHOLESLAMI: Thank you very much. I'm almost sad to realize that this is the last lecture, although I think my vocal cords are probably happy. [laughter] Not that I couldn't keep talking forever if I didn't have a cold, as I usually do, so you've been spared something. But it has been a real pleasure to be able to speak before an audience that has been as interested and appreciative as you all have, and I'm very grateful to have been afforded that opportunity here.

What we're going to talk about this afternoon will be perhaps what you've all been waiting for, in some respects. We're going to be talking about the imperial age of Egypt, the New Kingdom, which included the 18th, 19th, and 20th dynasties and lasted from 1570 to 1070 BC, a period of about five hundred years. It was one of the greatest and most enduring empires of the ancient world. If we can have the first slide, please.

We remember that heretofore we have focused largely on activities in the Nile Valley itself, and I'm afraid we will continue to do so, to the disappointment of some of you who might like to hear a little bit more about other areas of the Near East. But we can save that, perhaps for the future. However, during the New Kingdom, because Egypt did have a large empire abroad, we have to take more and more account of the influences of foreign cultures on Egyptian civilization and the activities of Egyptians abroad. This will be apparent somewhat in the objects of Tutankhamun that we will look at, but I wanted to familiarize you with the basic setting.

Egypt's empire in the New Kingdom included of course all the Nile Valley, and extended quite a ways southward into Nubia, down almost to the area of the modern capital of Sudan, Khartoum, including about four cataracts of the Nile River. You can see those marked on the map on your right, which is a more general view of the Near East. The empire also extended up into the Levant and Asia Minor, where the main groups that the Egyptians encountered were the Hittites and the Midianites, both groups with Indo-European rulers. They also met a number of small Semitic kingdoms that were scattered through the Palestinian-Syrian area, and these they converted into vassal states. At times, with each the area of Mesopotamia between the Tigris and the Euphrates River, when the time it was written on the map they would've nearly succeeded in controlling that area for a length of time. However, their control of the Syrian-Palestinian area and down South into Nubia remained quite firm for about five hundred years, and it was a extremely wealthy and powerful empire.

The capital of this empire, in contrast to the situation in the Old and Middle Kingdoms where the capital was in the vicinity of the modern capital of Egypt, Cairo, was in Thebes, in the Southern or Upper part of Egypt, in the lower narrow Nile Valley that stretches six hundred miles south from Cairo to Aswan. Here they built great temples, buried their kings, and generally controlled an empire that stretched over at least half of the known world. In the latter part of the New Kingdom, there was again a tendency to strengthen the administrative offices in the area of modern Cairo and Memphis, and during the 19th and 20th dynasties, the kings more frequently resided in the Delta at cities called Pi-Ramesses, Tanis, Bubastis, and so on, rather than in Thebes, but still the area of Thebes remained a great religious center. and still in many ways is the symbolic capital of the empire. It wasn't until the Assyrians, some three hundred years after the New Kingdom period, in 664 BC, finally succeeded in attacking and sacking the city of Thebes, that its great power was broken and it was reduced to more or less being a village as it remains to this day, nestled amongst the ruins of the pharaonic grandeur.

But let us take a look at what was going on in the New Kingdom a little bit more closely. The New Kingdom is—perhaps I shouldn't say this, […], but—an age of women. We come to know a lot about the queens of Egypt, and they seem to have had a very prominent position, although on the whole they weren't treated exactly as equals of men. Throughout Egyptian history, women enjoyed a respected and honored position in the family, but they did not seem to have access to education, which prevented them from entering the bureaucratic, administrative aspects of Egyptian culture. But a woman remained rather independent in her own family circles, she could possess her own property, she had the right to divorce her husband as well as be divorced by him, she could leave her property to her children as she wished, and so on. But it is in the New Kingdom when women on the royal level really entered the pages of history.

One of the most important of these early New Kingdom women in the early 18th dynasty was the one shown on the right, Ahmose-Nefertari. You notice here in a stela from the Egyptian Museum she is shown with black skin. Sometime after her death, after she had been associated with the dead gods of the underworld, and therefore black skin, she became so honored by her subjects that she was deified herself. The stela set up to her as a goddess represented her as a deceased queen, so that is why the black skin.

But she was the queen who, with her husband Ahmose, was ruling Egypt at the time that they finally succeeded in expelling the Hyksos invaders completely from the country. She seems to have somehow or other been a powerful force in this movement; maybe she served as sort of a rallying symbol around whom the army could cluster for […] and motivations to drive those foreign invaders out of the country. She was always very much honored by her subjects and seems to have been very influential in the court. However, she always remained a queen, not king.

The case is quite different with the woman you see on your left, although she is dressed in the garb of a male king. You may ask how this came about. This is the famous queen Hatshepsut, who ruled about 1500 BC. She was actually at first the wife of one of the Egyptian pharaohs, Thutmose the Second. When he died after a reign of about nine or eleven years, there was some question as to who should succeed to the throne. She was a full-blooded royal princess herself, her father having been a pharaoh and her mother having been his chief queen. However, her husband left a male heir whose right to the throne was perhaps somewhat weaker, as he was the son of a pharaoh but his mother was not Hatshepsut, not the chief queen. He was the son of a concubine of the king, so a minor wife. Therefore, his right to the throne, which seems particularly in the New Kingdom to have been very much dependent on the woman's legitimacy as well as the man’s legitimacy, a case that you don't see so clearly in the Middle and Old Kingdoms, not quite securely able to seat himself upon the throne.

At any rate, sometime between two and seven years after her husband's death, Hatshepsut herself took over the throne of Egypt and became the Queen of Egypt. And in fact, she went one step further and became the King of Egypt. She actually had herself referred to as queen... as *king*, not as queen. Grammatically, in her inscriptions, she has herself referred to by masculine pronouns and masculine verbal forms, not by feminine ones, which Egyptian normally distinguishes very carefully, and she also had herself very frequently represented as if she had been a man. In this statue, the case is a little bit ambiguous as the torso is still fairly feminine, although she is wearing male garb. Very rarely, she is depicted with a feminine form and wearing feminine dress, and in some statues she is depicted so much in the masculine form

that if it weren't for her name inscribed on the statue, you wouldn't be sure that you were looking at the statue of a man or a woman at all. It would be quite […].

Well, Hatshepsut has also been the victim of probably more male chauvinist historical writing than any other woman in history. She is the wicked stepmother, the evil aunt, the grasping female seizing the throne from this poor helpless little prince, and so on and so forth. In fact, one of the results of all the activities of the past few years, perhaps, has made historians and Egyptologists go back and look at this period a little more carefully. And we have found that although Hatshepsut for about fifteen or twenty years after husband's death does seem to control and dominate the throne of Egypt, that in many instances her names appear on the monuments jointly and in the same status with the names of her step-son or nephew Thutmose the Third, who was, as I said, the son of her husband by a lesser wife or concubine. So it doesn't seem that she treated him all that unfairly. She had a daughter, Princess Neferure, whom she was educating and teaching how to read and write, and we know the name of the tutor who was also a very important assistant of the queen herself, a man named Senmut, who was the architect of her famous mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahari and who seems to have been very close to Hatshepsut himself. Unfortunately, the Princess Neferure seems to have died while still a young child; we don't really know what happened to her, but she just sort of disappears from the scene after about ten or twelve years after her father's death.

Hatshepsut continued on the throne for about twenty years after her husband's death, and then apparently she died, and finally the young prince, who by this time he had reached certainly adulthood, was the sole ruler on the throne of Egypt, Thutmose the Third, the greatest emperor of the New Kingdom. He conducted campaigns further afield from Thebes south into Nubia, and north into Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia, where no other Egyptian king had been before him. He additionally tried to emphasize his own legitimate right to have sat himself upon the seat of the pharaohs by saying that he had been divinely chosen by the great state god of the New Kingdom, Amun-Re, to sit on the throne. He has an inscription in which he is depicted as being a young priest in the temple service of this god, and the god is being carried, an image of the god is being carried in a sacred barque in a procession, and when the procession passed by the young priest, the young prince, the god made a signal which consisted of the barque in which he was carried being sort of dipped forward toward the prince in a affirmative motion, indicating that this was the man who was to succeed to the throne of Egypt. And he carved this very prominently in the great temple of Karnak as an emphasis, a piece of political propaganda, to justify his own claim to the throne. For about the first twenty years of his independent reign, he devoted himself largely to military campaigns. In the final years of his reign, something happened, and he seems to have very much maligned the memory of his aunt Hatshepsut.

Let’s see. Oops. I’m sorry, I’m pushing one of the knobs here the wrong way.

In her great mortuary temple on the west bank of Thebes, which you see […] on the right there, you’ll remember we looked at her predecessor Mentuhotep's temple from the Middle Kingdom just to the left of it this morning. It is decorated with some of the most elegant painted reliefs that we know from ancient Egypt. The whole setting is dominated by a triangular-shaped peak which, when we have the slide on the screen, I hope you’ll keep in mind, you’ll notice it has a pyramid shape. The area that we’re looking here, […] is directly across the river from the great temples of Luxor and Karnak. It was the necropolis for the kings, queens, and nobles of the New Kingdom.

In the New Kingdom, however, the pharaohs stopped building pyramids for themselves, and had themselves buried in very elaborate block-cut tombs, the same principle as had been used by the nobles in the Middle Kingdom, but expanded and elaborated much more to be a suitable royal sepulchre. The place where they located these rock-cut royal tombs we know today as the Valley of the Kings, and it’s just over the mountains to the right of this picture. It is where Tutankhamun's tomb was found, among those of all the other kings of the New Kingdom.

You remember from the Old Kingdom lecture that the pyramids of the Old and Middle Kingdom had temples associated with them on the eastern side of the pyramid, what we called pyramid or mortuary temple. Once the kings had rock-cut tombs in the Valley of the Kings instead of pyramids, they had problems as to where they were going to locate their mortuary temples. And what they did was line them up along the edge of the cultivation on the western bank of the Nile. And Hatshepsut's temple is one of these royal mortuary temples of the New Kingdom. We’ll look at some of the others later on in the lecture such as the Ramesseum and Medinet-Habu, which belonged to Ramesses the Second and Third, of the 19th and 20th dynasties respectively. But there is a whole string of them all along the edge of the cultivation on the west bank of the Nile.

We don’t know exactly why the kings chose the Valley of the Kings as their final resting place, but this pyramid-shaped peak dominating this remote desert valley may have something to do with the selection. Whatever the pyramids mean, and whatever the meaning was for the Egyptians in connection with the royal burial, the fact that this shape dominated that valley may have been the reason that they chose it. As I mentioned, Senmut was the tutor of Hatshepsut’s daughter and also the architect of her mortuary temple, and it is noteworthy here how the building has been fit into its setting. You’ll see that the cliffs are very steep, that they are sedimentary limestone deposits which have weathered and eroded away into a series of

tiers with long sort of vertical furrows and shafts in the face of the cliff. Senmut took advantage of this pattern of the cliff to build a three-tiered mortuary temple for his royal mistress, and you can see how the columns across the front of these tiers very elegantly repeat in a somewhat more regularized fashion the basic pattern of the cliffs behind them. In fact, there are some hours of the day where the light is such that you can't really distinguish this temple from its background, and other times it stands out very sharply against them. It is really a magnificent triumph of the play of light and shadow and simple, austere vertical and horizontal lines.

However, looking at the painted reliefs that form the walls inside these great colonnades across the front tier of the temple today, you find them in a very destroyed state. We may ask what happened about them, and I'll just show you on the right one of the few that's preserved, to show you what we might have been missing. It shows the great state god of Egypt, Amun, identified by the two tall white plumes on top of his head, sitting before one of these magnificent tables of offerings where all kinds of wine and beer, and beef and fowl and bread, are being presented to him as a tribute by his […] believers.

But, oops… I got ahead of myself on the slides here, I don't know what happened to a slide in here. Forgive me, we'll get to it in a couple of slides; I reorganized this lecture and I messed up the organization.

What happened sometime at the end of Thutmose the Third's reign was that he went around and systematically destroyed the images of Hatshepsut, particularly in the mortuary temple, and everything associated with her and all of the temples and inscriptions that she had set up throughout Egypt. We don't know exactly the reason for this enmity, and why it's only after he'd been on the throne some twenty years by himself that he finally sought to malign her memory. As I was mentioning before, during those twenty years when he was on the throne by himself, his main activities were military, expanding the Egyptian empire. On the left you see the head of Thutmose the Third himself, and on the right what we call a poetical stela. It's actually a victory stela in honor of this king. He is shown at the top making presentations for Amun, again identified by those two tall plumes on top of his head.

Egyptian poetry made a great use of meter and rhythm. Because we don't know exactly how Egyptian was vocalized, we're a little bit unclear as to whether rhyme was of much importance for them, but the lower part of this stela can show you graphically how important a sort of repetition of rhythm and meter was to them. You can see the repetition of the signs and phrases in the middle, and at the beginning, middle, and ends of these lines on the lower part of the stela.

Now, I'd like to read you a translation of part of the text of the stela, so you can begin to get a feel for what this is saying, and associate visually the meaning of the text. It was put in the mouth of the god Amun as if he were speaking to Thutmose the Third. "I have come that I may cause you to trample on the great ones of Djahy," which is Palestine and Phoenicia, "that I may spread them out under your feet throughout their lands. That I may cause them to see your majesty as great as sunrise when you shine in their faces in the likeness of me. I have come that I may cause you to trample on the dwellers of Asia, and to smite the heads of the army of Retjenu," that's Syria, "that I may cause them to see your majesty equipped in your panoply when you take weapons of warfare in the chariot. I have come that I may cause you to trample on the western land, Crete and Cyprus, being possessed with the awe of you; that I may cause them to see your majesty as a young bull, firm of heart and sharp of horn, whom none can tackle. I have come that I may cause you to trample on the uttermost parts of the earth, what the ocean encircles being held in your grasp. That I may cause them to see your majesty as lord of the falcon wings, who takes what he sees at will. I have come that I may cause you to trample on those who are in the south land, and to bind the sand dwellers as captives. That I may cause them to see your majesty as a jackal of Upper Egypt, the lord of speed, the runner who courses through the two lands." You can see here, again, the king is trying to associate himself with patronage of the great god of Egypt, Amun-Re.

The empire of Thutmose, as I explained to you before, was one of the greatest of the ancient world. The inset in the corner of the map, the top one there with the brown, shows graphically the area which he controlled. He was particularly concerned with his expeditions into the Syria-Palestinian area and seems to have fostered a sort of scientific survey of the different kinds of flora and fauna that he found there. In the great temple of Karnak, once he returned to Egypt, he had a special room constructed, which today is known as the botanical garden by the nature of the reliefs on its walls. One of… a section of this you see on the right, representing some of the strange birds and plants that he had brought back from Syria laid out as taxidermists or botanists might lay them out, and making a scientific display. Some of them are a little hard to identify with any particular plant that we can discover today, perhaps because that by the time the samples got back to Egypt from Syria they weren't in such a recognizable condition anymore, and the artist who carved the reliefs had to use a little bit of imagination. But it is interesting to see the sort of scientific impetus that has gone into the construction of these reliefs.

The great construction of the kings of the New Kingdom was the temple dedicated to the god Amun-Re, which was constructed at Karnak. The hypostyle hall, the great many-columned hall the you see at the center of the picture, is a 19th dynasty construction, but the obelisks that are arising on the right hand part of the slide is the area that was worked on during the 18th

dynasty. The obelisks that are standing there were erected by Thutmose the First and Hatshepsut. Thutmose the Third embellished the temple to a great extent, using the tribute and booty from his foreign campaigns, to further enhance the glory and wealth of this great god of Egypt. The two heraldic pillars representing the symbolic papyrus of Lower Egypt and the symbolic lotus of Upper Egypt on the right hand slide were erected by Thutmose the Third as the great ruler of the two lands who had conquered basically the known world.

A detail of these obelisks that were erected by Hatshepsut and Thutmose the Third; the one of Hatshepsut is the taller one in the picture in the center on the right. You'll notice that it seems to have a slightly lighter color towards the top; this is because the top of it was originally sheathed in a kind of gold alloy known as electrum. And we have the record of Hatshepsut's expeditions to Aswan to quarry this obelisk, recorded in the reliefs on the façade of her great mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahari which we looked at a minute ago. She also added a number of chapels decorated in the same style as her Deir el-Bahari reliefs to the temple of Karnak, and you see on the right what remains of one of these chapels. Here the queen, whose figure… or king, as she should've actually been called, whose figure should've been in the center of the picture, but has been carefully erased and hacked out, is being anointed by two of the most important gods of Egypt: the falcon-headed god Horus on the left and the ibis-headed god of wisdom, Thoth, on the right. Horus was the god with whom each Egyptian king was identified, the common epithet of the king was the "Living Horus."

You will notice that instead of actual ripples of water issuing forth from the vases, that the queen's figure, Hatshepsut's figure, is being anointed with little ankh signs, the ankh being the Egyptian sign for life; and they are pouring in two rivulets over her head. This kind of destruction of the figure—and you can see it also in the oval cartouche above her head—is what Thutmose the Third did to her monuments. For an Egyptian, the most important things that could make him survive forever were his image and his name. Therefore, by destroying Hatshepsut's image and her name, he made it as if she had never existed, the worst possible fate that could befall any Egyptian. They went to great lengths to see that at least their name might endure forever.

In some of the tombs, in the walls that were built around the entrance of the tomb, they hid little flakes of limestone with their names written on them and then build and plastered over the walls, hoping that even if someone erased all the paintings and reliefs in the tomb itself, at least they wouldn't think to look in the walls and their little name written on the stones in the walls surrounding the courtyard of the tomb would still enable their name to survive forever. And we have in fact been able to identify some tombs solely on the basis of these name stones which have survived in the walls.

As I said the kings were buried in the Valley of the Kings, this rather forbidding, dry wadi in the western desert. You can see its character looking down into it from the entrance of the tomb of Thutmose the Third, a detail of the decoration which is shown on the right. This is one of the more inaccessible tombs in the Valley of the Kings, not all that much, you can get into it as a tourist, but it is a long climb up a flight of stairs to get up to the point where this entrance is, and then equally long climb back down the other side into the burial chamber of the tomb.

The tombs in the Valley of the Kings are decorated in a fashion very different from that of the tombs of the nobles that we have been looking at up to now. Instead of being decorated with lively and colorful scenes of daily life, the representations in the royal tombs are exclusively religious in nature. They follow the tradition of the pyramid texts of the Old Kingdom, providing rituals, recipes, and descriptions of how the king should pass from this world into the next. In this particular section, which reproduces a religious text called *what is in the underworld*, the Amduat as it's often called in a translation from the Egyptian, or rendering of Egyptian into English, describes how the king's sarcophagus should pass by many enemies and demons represented, for example, by the snakes and the group of evil figures being pulled along in a boat. And you can see the sarcophagus passing through the water channel from this world into the next down through these various underworlds. And the text on either side is the various spells that you should know how to recite in order to ward off these demons and protect yourself from their attacks. The background is sort of a papyrus color, actually the tomb chamber here is in an oval form partly imitating the cartouche, but also as if it were a cavern of the underworld against which this papyrus has been unrolled.

You'll notice also that the figures look very much like stick figures, something we haven't met before in Egyptian art. This is again something that is an influence of the way they wrote on papyrus. As we discussed last night, they don't write in exactly the same hieroglyphic detail when they're writing signs on papyrus, nor do they draw the figures, except in particular miniature illustrations or vignettes, in the same degree of detail as they do in tomb paintings. So you have sort of a cursive writing and a rather stick representation of the figures, which winds up looking extremely contemporary to us.

The nobles of the New Kingdom, however, were not buried in the Valley of the Kings. They still desired to be buried as close to their sovereign as possible, but they were buried along the edge of the cultivation in low hills, just behind the mortuary temples of their sovereigns on the west bank at Thebes, in areas that are known today collectively as the Tombs of the Nobles at Gurna, and Medinet Murai, and so on, and the Assasif. Names that those of you who have read around in Egyptian art books are probably familiar with is the identification of locations of various

tombs. Well, it is these little rock-cut tombs cut back into these low hills that are being referred to when you read those names; those are just the modern Arabic names of these various areas of this necropolis. Each tomb has a little courtyard out in front of it, a little level space where funeral ceremonies could be performed; then a chapel is cut back into the rock which is decorated, as in the Old Kingdom, with scenes of daily life; leading up to, it's usually in sort of a T shape with its broad transverse hall having scenes of daily life or the official activities of the owner of the tomb, and the long stem of the T leading furthest back into the rock, focusing on a funerary stela, and with elements of a funeral procession and other religious activities being painted or drawn on the walls.

From a papyrus of the New Kingdom, I thought you might be interested to see what the funeral ceremonies that took place in front of the tomb would look like. You can imagine that there were little chapels erected over the entrance of the tomb that had a kind of pointed pyramid-shaped top. The little triangular black spot at the top right corner of this slide was usually made out of stone which was inscribed called a pyramidion, and we actually have a surviving one of these in our collection at the Seattle Art Museum, which some of you may have a chance to see. Right in front of the doorway was frequently set up a funerary stela, the round-topped sort of tombstone-looking plaque that you see right in front of the entrance of the tomb. During the funeral ceremonies, the mummy in its mummy case was supported by a priest wearing a mask of the jackal god Anubis, shown there with the black head and tall pointy ears, who was the god of the necropolis. The widow and other professional mourning women made a great hue and cry in front of the mummy, tearing their clothes, pouring dust over their head, and emitting loud shrieks and ululations, a fashion which is still carried on among village women in Egypt today. Behind them are a series of priests who are performing different rituals in the important opening of the mouth ceremony, by which it was believed they could make the person able to breathe and speak again, and thus come back into life everlasting. You'll notice that the one at the end of the procession is wearing a particular leopard skin cloak, identifying him as a particular type of priest. When we talk in a few minutes about the tomb of Tutankhamun, you will notice that a similar garment is being worn by the person who is officiating as his priest in the opening of the mouth ceremonies in his tomb, and that a leopard head was actually found among his own tomb possessions. So he must have functioned as this kind of priest himself.

The walls of the tombs are decorated with, on the T-shaped axis going back into the center of the tomb, funerary ceremonies, and out in the cross transverse axis of the tomb, scenes of daily life, and some of the activities that are associated with the funeral, such as the funeral banquet, almost sort of like an Irish wake. To describe the stages of the funeral to you, the slide on the left from a Theban tomb of a man named Pairy. It will read from the bottom to the top. First there is a symbolic voyage which has two stages. One is to literally get the person from the east

to the west bank of the river, the east bank being the land of the living, where the towns were located, to the west bank, the land of the dead where the necropolis was located. There was one, however, necropolis *par excellence* that that was supposed to contain the tomb of the great god of the underworld, the deceased vegetative king of the underworld, Osiris, who is shown in the little shrine at the top left of that slide. His tomb was supposed to be located at the site of Abaidos, or Abydos [different pronunciation], which is about a hundred miles north of Thebes on the western bank of the river. So the deceased person was supposed to make a symbolic voyage to Abydos and back in order to become identified with Osiris after death. Once having reached the west bank, the literal and symbolic voyage having been completed in the bottom register, we arrive to the second register, and we see the coffin of the deceased set up in front of his tomb, being decorated and anointed and with the priests who are performing the opening of the mouth ceremonies lined up in front of it. It is then placed, in the third register from the bottom, on a sledge inside a shrine and pulled along by more priests with the assistance of some cattle to the tomb itself, and there the relatives and friends of the deceased come to the tomb and present funerary offerings. The deceased person has now become identified with the god Osiris, shown seated in the shrine here, and he is himself represented in front actually making the offerings to the god whom he is identified, it is the tall pile in front of them between the two figures that represents the offering.

The funerary banquet is usually accompanied by music, and particularly frequently depicted is a blind harpist. Frequently, the song that this harpist is supposed to be singing is inscribed in a text next to him, and it has a rather modern theme, so I would like to read you a few selections from this song of the harper, as we call it. “Flourishing is he, this prince, for destiny is good and destruction is complete. Bodies pass on while others endure, since the time of those who came before, the gods and those who came into being before me and who rest in their pyramid tombs. The nobles and spirits too, being entombed in their pyramids, they built their chapels but their cult stations are no more. What became of them? There is no one who can return from there to describe their nature, to describe their dissolution, that he may still our desires. Until we reach the place where they have gone, so may your desire be fulfilled. Allow the heart to forget the performances of services for you. Follow your desire while you live. Increase your beauty, and let not your mind tire. Follow your desire and what is good. Acquire your possessions on earth. Make a holiday, but tire not yourself with it. Remember, it is not given to man to take his goods with him. No one goes away and then comes back.” Translated into more modern terms, this is a very eloquent expression of the “Eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow you may die” philosophy.

Also from the New Kingdom, we have an aspect of the ancient Egyptians’ life that we have not seen too much of before, in the form of quite a selection of love poetry. We have several

different papyri that contain cycles of these poems. They draw again very heavily on the imagery of nature, which we have seen has been very influential in all of the Egyptians' artistic productions. In the case of the love poetry, very frequently the lover and his beloved are referred to as a brother and sister; this is some sort of literary form and does not literally mean that the people involved are brother and sister. Rather, they are as unrelated, as any two lovers in a couple might be. But I would like to read you a selection of these songs that particularly involve imagery concerned with wild birds and fowling, an activity which is very frequently represented in tombs, as here in these two details from the tomb of Menna in the Theban necropolis. In these the sister, or the beloved one, is speaking. "My brother, my loved one, my heart chases after your love and all that has been fashioned for you, so I'll relate to you a vision of what happens. When I return from bird catching, my bird traps are in my hand, and in my other hand a birdcage and my boomerang. All the birds of Punt alight in the land of Egypt anointed with myrrh. The first to come takes my lure. His perfume comes from Punt and his talons are filled with gums. Since my heart is inclined towards you, let us let him go and have time to be alone together. I let you hear my voice lamenting for my myrrh-anointed beauty, and you are with me here when I prepare the trap again. For one who is loved, how pleasant to go to the fields. The voice of the wild goose caught by the bait cries out, love of you holds me back, and I can't loosen it at all. I shall set aside my nets, but what can I tell my mother, to whom I return everyday when I am laden with catch? I did not set my traps today. Love of you has thus entrapped me. The wild goose soars in the lights and dives into the fowl yard pool. Many birds are circling now, and I must give orders to myself, but I turn around toward love of you when I am by myself again. My heart is balanced with your heart. I cannot be far from all this beauty."

But it is the activities of daily life which predominate in these tomb chapels, in the transverse halls just inside the entrance to the tomb, and it again provides us a vivid insight into what life in predominantly agricultural Egypt was like. From, again, the tomb of Menna, we see a harvest scene of the New Kingdom filled with all the busy activities of the tomb owner on his estate. You can see him arriving in his chariot with his scribes, ready to oversee the counting of the harvest, the winnowing of the grain being carried on, and the threshing and trampling of the grain by the cattle, in the upper register on the right. Continuing down to the bottom, he is now seated on a folding stool in his lightweight pavilion under the shady trees, while he watches the harvesters going through the fields with their sickles, cutting the sheaves of grain, loading them into baskets, and carrying them away. On the right hand slide you can see just in the bottom a couple of interesting details that help bring this scene to life. Under the basket in the center, there are two little girls who apparently didn't get enough pulling when they were at the weeds, and they are tearing each other's hair out in some contention over what work they should perform. Meanwhile, some of their associates are sitting under a tree which has a

suspicious-looking wineskin dangling from one of its branches, and they seem to be in sort of a relaxed sleep, shall we say… [laughter] at the base of the tree.

You'll notice some other strange details about this, and in an attempt to show that the people are moving around on different planes, in the upper register of the right hand slide just in front of the cattle, we see a man who seems to be sort of hanging in the air, he is supposed to be walking over the heap of threshed grain. And in the left hand slide in the center, the scribe who is seated atop of the pile counting out the sacks or measures of grain again seems to be sort of suspended in place. The trees in the lower register of the left hand slide are one of the rare attempts to get some sort of landscape setting. Instead of being tied very firmly to the ground line, the smaller trees behind the figures are scattered in a rather irregular fashion over the surface of the register. They are not quite really set in the landscape, but it's one of the attempts to move towards that kind of a setting. This was probably possible in a scene like this as what… it's not as important here that everything be represented in its eternal final form, but rather it is permissible to show something in a momentary, specific aspect, which is what we do, after all, when we place things in a landscape setting. We're giving them a specific setting, tying them to a particular time and place; even though the themes may sometimes be universal, such as the love of a mother for her child and so on, it still in a setting becomes a specific, individual incident. This is something that on the whole the Egyptians were not concerned with in presenting their art.

There are also a number of scenes of the various work activities that were carried out on the estate. The Egyptians were very fond of wine, and so we have many scenes of them picking the grapes from the arbor, putting them into a press; and they hang from ropes over a little pole put across the press, and literally trample at the grapes, and the juice is collected as it pours out of this bin and put into clay jars which are sealed with mud seals and marked with the date and the vineyard. And they seem to have appreciated vintage wines; several vintage wines were included among the wine jars placed in the tomb of Tutankhamun. We are able to tell which wines he particularly appreciated from their labels. At the bottom we see another use to which papyrus and reed plants were put, in the scene of rope makers who are taking the fibers and stripping and twisting them to make various kinds of ropes, and the various little tools that they use in order to accomplish this process are carefully depicted over their heads. The boat again serves as a reminder that the main means of communication and transport was by boat along the Nile in ancient Egypt.

Pelicans are also something that existed in ancient Egypt. Unfortunately, the scene on the right has suffered a great deal from vandalism since it was first discovered. If you look at old photographs of this scene, rather than my slide taken a few years ago, you'll find that this scene

was virtually complete. However the last few years it has suffered a great deal from careless destruction. But it is still an amusing scene of a workman kneeling down with his flock of pelicans presenting their eggs to his owner.
There are scenes of craftsmen engaged in a number of other activities, particularly the making of furniture and jewelry and weapons and chariots. On the left is a scene of making furniture and jewelry from the tomb of Nebamun and Ipuky, who were two of the best-known craftsmen of their time in the New Kingdom, and a scene of making the various parts of the chariot, which are carefully laid out for your inspection from the tomb of Menkheperraseneb on the right.

The Egyptians, however, don't always have a very high opinion of craftsmen, no matter how carefully they depict their activities in the tomb. This may be partly the scribal author's prejudice, but from the New Kingdom we also have a composition, again cast in this favorite form of an instruction of a man for his son, which we know usually by the title "the satire on the trades," as the man who composed this as an instruction for his son was trying to teach him the benefits of becoming a scribe. Listening to it, perhaps it will inspire some of you to keep up with your studies, or you can remember it to quote to your recalcitrant children when they don't want to get out to school on a cold and rainy morning.

So the man is speaking to his son: "Since I have seen those who have been beaten, it is to writings that you must set your mind. Observe the man who has been carried off to a workforce. Behold, there is nothing that surpasses writings. I shall make you love books more than your mother, and I shall place their excellence before you." Then he goes on to enumerate the evils of several different professions. "Every carpenter who bears the adze is wearier than a field hand; his field is his wood, his hoe is the ax. There is no end to his work, and he must labor excessively in his activity. At night time he still must light his lamp. The jeweler pierces stone and stringing beads in all kinds of hard stone. When he has completed the inlaying of the eye amulets, his strength vanishes and he is tired out. He sits until the arrival of the sun, his knees and back bent, at the place called Aku-Re. I mention to you also the fisherman; he is more miserable than any one of the other professions. One who is at work in a river infested with crocodiles. While the totaling of his account is made for him, then he will lament. One did not tell him that a crocodile is standing there, and fear has now blinded him. When he comes to the flowing waters, so he falls as through the might of god. See, there is no office free from supervisors except the scribes. He is the supervisor. But if you understand writings, then it will be better for you than the professions which I have set before you. A day at school is advantageous to you; seek out its work early."

What kind of houses did the Egyptians of the New Kingdom live in? In some of the Theban tombs of the New Kingdom, we have representations of a country estate, as here from the

tomb of Minnakhte. You can see in the bottom register at the left that there was a pool out in front of the estate, reminiscent of the little tomb model from Meketre's tomb that we looked at this morning, large enough for the owner of the villa to punt around in of an afternoon or evening, planted with lotuses and often also having goldfish swimming in it. At the edge of the pool was a path flanked by arbors growing vines, underneath which were placed tall vessels containing wine or water, which were kept cool by evaporation from the surface of the porous clay vessel and shaded also in the shade of the vines to provide a refreshing drink for the owner as he arrived at the entrance of his house. The house is represented in a way which is a little bit difficult to understand at first glance. It is partly as if it were a blueprint, and you can see the outlines of the form of the house with a large courtyard, with a pair of trees in it in profile, and then the rooms at the back of the house. However, he was a little bit afraid he might not recognize what the doorways were, so he has represented the pillars which uphold the lintels over the doorways in profile so you can make sure to understand what they are. Around the house are other parts of the estate, largely gardens with fruit trees and date palms and dome palm trees growing in them, represented in profile, and activities such as butchering, collecting of eggs, and elsewhere you would find also representations of making wine and so on being carried out.

The Egyptians, as we mentioned, regarded their houses on earth as temporary shelters. They were probably made largely out of mud brick with reed or mat roofing over the top. Mennakhte has represented on the ceiling of his tomb such matting in gaily decorated patterns of careful weaving of reeds and rushes covering the roof of his tomb. And you can see the wooden beam, a broad yellow band supporting the reeds, mats that were covering his roof, running down the center of the tomb. There's also a band of inscription recording his own names and titles. Some of the most elegant patterns that we know from ancient Egypt, patterns that are basically belonging to the repertoire of textile patterns, are found in these ceiling decorations. I often wish that those textile designers who want to make modern Egyptian-looking fabrics would turn to these as a source of inspiration, instead of trying to copy a bunch of very poorly drawn hieroglyphs and make that an excuse for what an Egyptian garment should look like. These patterns belong to the textile realm, they're the ones that should be drawn on for inspiration.

[audio pauses and resumes mid-sentence] …hard, with flint nodules sticking out in it, and he found it difficult to make a smooth ceiling for the tomb, so he took advantage instead of the irregular surface; just plastered it over and whitewashed it, and then painted it on the vines in his grape arbor. The little nodules in fact were painted with little bunches of grapes so it looks, when you look up into it, and if you're tall like me have bumped your head on one of the little nodules, you really think you are in a grape arbor. In another tomb belonging to a man named Userhet, you have this very elegant representation of a priest, again wearing one of these

leopard skin garments, being followed by his lady. You'll notice the very careful detailing of the pattern of the leopard's spots, the fine hairs of her wig as they are spread out across her linen garment, the fine pleating and fringing of both of their garments, and the very delicate rendering of the tendrils of the papyrus which she is carrying in her hand, and the elegant and curving form of the vine leaves that are hanging off from it also. One of the more elegant paintings, again recently vandalized in a way that would've been also understood by the ancient Egyptians—trying to destroy the life of this image by hacking off its nose and mouth—perhaps done for superstitious reasons still.

Although most of the tombs in the Theban necropolis are plastered and painted, there are few that have carved reliefs. One of the most elegant ones belongs to the period just before Tutankhamun's reign, to a vizier of the man who was perhaps Tutankhamun's father or grandfather Amenhotep the Third. This vizier was named Ramose, and his is one of the larger private tombs in the Theban necropolis. He is shown here on the left in the typical long sort of barrel-shaped cloak, the dress of the vizier, with a very elegantly curled and layered wig. And two of the members of his family are shown on the right. This tomb was partly unfinished and decorated in several different styles; this is a more traditional style that we see in these figures, the other parts of the tomb were decorated in a style very similar to that of the Amarna style of art which we're going to look at in a few minutes. But this is one of the finest expressions of the traditional Egyptian artistic carving of reliefs. You'll notice again the very subtle detailing of the pleats of the women's garment and the very slight changes in the surface of the relief, which show the modeling and layering and folding of her gowns and the form of all of their bodies. Perhaps these figures were meant to be painted all over, but the artist only painted in the eyes before the tomb was abandoned. The burial chamber was never completed, and apparently this vizier was never buried there; he may have served under his royal lord's successor and been buried at his new capital of Amarna, which we'll talk about in a minute.

Amenhotep the Third ruled towards the end of the 18th dynasty of Egypt. He didn't do much to expand Egypt's empire, but rather presided over the wealth that had been accumulated. He married a commoner, a women named Tiye, whose parents were also honored with a tomb in the Valley of the Kings, which was discovered intact also and the contents of that are now in display in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, where some of you may have had the chance to see them. It was the only other intact tomb ever discovered in the Valley of the Kings, although of course it is not a royal tomb. They were only the parents of a woman who, by virtue of her marriage to a king, became a queen. This slide on the right also represents Queen Tiye; in this case it's done in ebony instead of a limestone colossus. The scale here is a little bit misleading, the small figure who is standing between the knees of the pair on the left is about my height.

This is really a super colossus and it dominates the central atrium of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, made out of limestone. The little figure on the right, however, which is in the Egyptian Museum in West Berlin, is only about three inches high. But it represents also the same Queen Tiye, and points out something about Egyptian art that we haven't had as much opportunity to discuss: but the Egyptians tend to represent the faces and features of people in an idealized form, not in any realistic or portrait-like way. By comparing these two renderings of the queen's face, I think you can begin to see something of what I mean. You have a feeling that the one on the right probably does look something fairly much like the queen did. It is thought that perhaps she did in fact have, although we don't know too much about the origins of her parents by their names and her own name, perhaps she did have more Nubian blood in her than most Egyptians of her time did, although they were always sort of a mixed group biologically.

It has also been pointed out to a great extent that the son and successor of this pair, Amenhotep the Fourth had a very strange physiognomy, and people have always tried to make a great deal out of it. But remember what the face of the women on the right looks like and compare it to that of her son on the left. Although his is much more elongated and exaggerated, I think you can see that if the attempt is to be a little bit more realistic, it's not very hard to imagine that this is literally the son of that woman, and that perhaps he did really very much look this way. Why he chose to exaggerate his features in exactly this extent, we have never managed to understand. There are some statues which were recovered from a large temple he built at Karnak, pairs to this one, in which he is shown wearing a sort of kilt or nude. And in the nude statues, there is no indication of the male genitalia. This has caused enormous problems for generations of physicians who had Egyptology as an avocation. They have searched the medical literature to try and explain this phenomenon; they have come up with several different alternatives, all of which would mean that this man had to be totally sexually sterile and impotent. However, we know that he was married to a very beautiful queen, the famous Nefertiti. You are probably all familiar with her elaborate painted bust in the Egyptian Museum in Berlin. Perhaps less familiar was this bust, which is still in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, representing also the beautiful queen Nefertiti, although in a less finished form than the bust in Berlin. But I think it is perhaps a little more eloquent expression of the queen than the Berlin one is. Anyway, I have sort of a preference for it, so you're stuck with my preferences for today. Together we know that they had at least six daughters, and however one might regret having six daughters, having six daughters is not exactly a sign of sterility.

Akhenaten is further deserved a special place in Egyptian history for the promotion of a special cult of a god at the expense of the traditional polytheistic pantheon of Egypt. This god is the physical disk of the sun known in Egyptian as the Aten. It is the representation of this physical disk that you see at the center of this stela on the left, with its warm rays reaching down to the

royal couple, Akhenaten on the left and Nefertiti on the right, ending in little hands which, when they are in front of the noses of the royal couple, are holding the little ankh sign of life out to them, in order that they may be literally receiving life from the rays of the sun. In this stela also, you can begin to see what we mean when we say the Amarna art style, and give some understanding why people have been so upset and worried about the what the physique of Akhenaten may have been like by comparison to the Egyptian figures that you have been looking at up to now, these are truly grotesque. Although they still follow a lot of the Egyptian conventions, the face in profile although the eye looking as if you saw it straight on; the upper torso as if you were facing it; the lower torso, the thighs, and the legs being represented in profile; and the arms also in profile. It still looks very lumpy and misshapen, sort of pear-shaped, and the features of the king are rather grotesque, with this long sort of ascetic look to them, and the very exaggerated length of the neck, and also to a certain degree you have a feeling of crudity of carving. Heretofore we have been seeing in wall carvings in stone primarily raised relief rather than sunk relief like this, in raised relief it's the background that is cut away around the figures; in sunk relief, it's the figures themselves that are cut into the background and then there is some interior modeling for detail. Another strange feature, something that we haven't seen much of, is this very affectionate relationship shown between the king and queen and their children, three of whom are depicted sitting on their laps. In an unfinished statue on the right, the king is actually shown holding one of the princesses on her lap, giving her a resounding fatherly kiss. The Egyptian king is usually only shown in very formal ritual poses, and we see nothing of the affection and family life aspect, which of course must have been part of his life. We see really only the ceremonial figure, and it is the Amarna art which is particularly noteworthy for showing this human aspect to the king. The king in ancient Egypt was a divine creature, although they knew his mortal body would die. They believed that he was the living manifestation of god on earth and that when he died, his spirit would go into the celestial sphere to join the spirits of the other gods eternally. Akhenaten seems to have made some greater distinction between this, and made a greater emphasis on his humanity than his divinity.

A great deal has been made of his promotion of this sun disk as an origin for the idea of monotheism in religious worship, as this is one of the earliest manifestations of what seems to be the worship of a sole god. We know now that although the cult of the Aten was greatly promoted at the expense of the cults of all other gods, particularly the great state god of the New Kingdom Amun-Re and his great temple at Karnak, that at least the common people did continue to worship some of the old gods, particularly those that were associated with household and domestic everyday activities. Akhenaten, however, promoted the worship of the sun disk, and he was an accomplished literary creator in his own right, and we are fortunate to have surviving one of the hymns that he wrote in honor of his god the Aten. It bears some

parallels to our own 104th Psalm, and some people have in fact seen it as inspiration for the 104th Psalm. But I would like to read you some selections from it, as at least it will give you an idea of the fervor with which this man worshiped his god, whether it was total monotheism or not, I think you will see that there are some parallels with our own continuing Judeo-Christian concept of what God is like and what he does.

Interestingly, in the reliefs, you only see Akhenaten and Nefertiti themselves worshiping the Aten, and it seems in spite of the apparent humanism of Akhenaten that he in fact allowed himself and his wife to be worshiped by the rest of his subjects. So you got to worship Akhenaten and Nefertiti, and they got to worship the Aten. Nevertheless, the sentiments that are expressed in the hymn to the Aten I think you will find very moving. The king is speaking to his god: “You rise in perfection on the horizon of the sky, living Aten who started life. Whenever you are risen upon the eastern horizon, you fill every land with your perfection. You are appealing, great, sparkling, high over every land. Your rays hold together the lands as far as everything you have made. Whenever you set on the western horizon, the land is in darkness in the manner of death. Every lion who comes out of his cave, and all the serpents bite, for darkness is a blanket. The land is silent now because he who made them is at rest on his horizon. But when day breaks, you are arisen upon the horizon, and you shine as the Aten in the daytime. When you dispel darkness and you give forth your rays, the two lands are in festival, alert and standing on their feet now that you have raised them up. Sole god without another beside you, you created the earth as you wished when you were by yourself. Before mankind, all cattle and kind, all beings on land who fare upon their feet, and all beings in the air who fly with their wings. You have set every man in his place. You have allotted their needs, every one of them according to his diet, and his lifetime is counted out. Tongues are separate in speech and their characters as well. Their skins are different, for you have differentiated the foreigners.” Again, notice the xenophobia of the Egyptian mind. “How efficient are your designs, lord of eternity, a Nile in the sky,” for the foreigners, that’s rain, “and all creatures that go on their feet, a Nile coming back from the underworld for Egypt. Yet you are alone, rising in your manifestations as the living Aten, appearing, glistening, being afar, coming close. You make millions of transformations of yourself. When you rise, everything grows for the king and for everyone who hastens on foot, because you have founded the land and you have raised them for your son who has come forth from your body. The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the one living on Maat, the lord of the two lands, Neferkheperure, Waenre, son of Re, the one living on Maat, master of regalia, Akhenaten.” Aren't you glad your name isn't that. “The long-lived and the foremost wife of the king, whom he loves, the mistress of the two lands, Neferneferuaten, Nefertiti, living and young, forever and ever.”

At the death of Akhenaten, we come to the period that has perhaps brought all of you out to these lectures, the reign of Tutankhamun. You'll notice that I don't say his son Tutankhamun, as in fact we are to this day uncertain who Tutankhamun's parents were. It's possible that Akhenaten was his father, but Nefertiti certainly was not his mother, and he may have been the son of Akhenaten by a lesser wife, a woman named Kiya. Other scholars have speculated on the basis of certain mementos that were found in Tutankhamun's tomb that it was not Akhenaten that was Tutankhamun's father, but rather Amenhotep the Third; in other words, that you had two brothers succeeding each other on the throne, and that his mother would've been Queen Tiye. In fact the mummy of Queen Tiye has recently been identified by the lock of her hair which was kept as a memento in Tutankhamun's tomb. It turns out that our hair and its patterns are as distinctive as our fingerprints are, and no two people have the same hair, so by the lock of her hair found in the tomb, they were able to identify one of the royal mummies which has been recovered for a long time as belonging to Queen Tiye. It is a mummy which in older literature you sometimes see referred to as the old woman, and sometimes identified as Queen Hatshepsut. She has long sort of yellow-reddish hair, so if any of you see her pictures labeled as Hatshepsut, you can now say no, that's Queen Tiye. And perhaps as some of these techniques of paleobiology are further refined, we may be able to do something more about identifying who Tutankhamun's parents would be. The only problem is that we do not have the mummy of either Akhenaten or Nefertiti. Akhenaten transferred his capital away from Thebes to a new foundation, a site that we know by its modern Arabic name of Tel el-Amarna, which he called Akhedaten in honor of his new god. And he ruled from there. He had prepared a tomb for himself outside the capital of Amarna, but he seems never to have been buried in it, and we do not know in fact where he was buried. There are some people who speculate that after his death the priests of Amun rose up against him and against his cult of the Aten, and dragged his mummy or his body out and threw it to the jackals. This is probably more romantic speculation than anything approaching historical truth.

Tutankhamun's reign we know very little about historically. He came to the throne at about the age of nine, and was married to one of the daughters of Akhenaten and Nefertiti who was Ankhesenamun. Both of these children had spent part of their childhood in the royal court at Amarna, and they had their names combined at birth with the name of the god who was then dominant in the royal court, the Aten. Ankhesenamun was originally Ankhesenpaaten; the name means “she who lives in the Aten,” later changed to “she who lives in Amun.” And Tutankhamun was Tutankhaten, the “living image of the Aten” instead of as later, “the living image of Amun.” Sometime after he, or at the time of his succession to the throne, he changed his name and abolished the worship of the Aten, and returned to the traditional polytheistic religious system of Egypt, promoting particularly the sun god Amun or Amun-Re as he is sometimes, called the state god of Egypt in the New Kingdom, and restoring the priests of his

powerful cult. It is thought that perhaps one of the reasons his tomb was so magnificently furnished, although of course we haven't the surviving remains of any other royal tomb to compare it to, but it seems somehow extraordinarily rich; it may be that the priests of this god were so grateful that they saw to it his tomb was particularly richly endowed. But if it weren't for the magnificence of the tomb we would hardly recognize Tutankhamun's reign in history at all. He was on the throne for only about nine years; he died at approximately the age of eighteen or nineteen. The cause of his death is unknown.

But how is it that we come to know about his tomb? It is located in the Valley of the Kings along with the other royal tombs of the New Kingdom, just behind the building at the center of this picture. When Howard Carter discovered it in November 1922, just fifty-five years ago, archaeologists thought by and large that there was no hope of finding another royal tomb in the Valley of the Kings. For about one hundred years, people had been systematically searching through the rock and debris in this valley in order to find royal tombs, in the hope of finding one that was intact, and thus amassing a treasure for themselves. Most of the 19th century was not devoted to scientific archaeology, but rather to sort of treasure hunting. We see the results in many of the great Egyptian collections in European museums, and were very fortunate that it has been recovered and preserved for us, but we unfortunately don't have all the information about how it was found and what the associations between the various objects were, due to the lack of scientific excavation.

Nevertheless, there had been some clues that perhaps Tutankhamun's tomb was to be found in the Valley of the Kings. He was the only king of the New Kingdom whose tomb had not been identified in the Valley of the Kings, with the exception of Akhenaten, and as we've seen there's a special reason that he may never have had a tomb here. In fact, his tomb was probably at Amarna. Also, about fifteen years before Carter discovered the tomb, in the little rocky outcropping just to the left of center of the picture a small cache had been found, containing some pottery jars and linen napkins and so on. Egyptologists who studied them a couple of years after they were found realized that this formed part of the leftover embalming materials used in the mummy of Tutankhamun, and part of the dishes remaining from the funerary banquet celebrated at the time of his burial. The embalming materials were too unclean to actually be placed in the royal tomb, but they were too sacred having been associated with a royal person to be just casually thrown on the trash heap, and so it was usually the practice to bury them someplace close to the entrance of the tomb. So one suspected already that the tomb must be in this general vicinity. From counting the number of plates and so on, it seems that there were eight guests at the funerary banquet. Still, most archaeologists didn't pay attention to this important clue.

Howard Carter, the British archaeologist, however, working under the patronage of Lord Carnarvon, was convinced that the tomb of Tutankhamun must lie someplace in this valley. By November of 1922, there was only one place that he hadn't looked, a place where it was hardly likely that he would expect to find a royal tomb. Most of the entrances are cut into the walls of the cliffs of this valley, but in fact the entrance to Tutankhamun's tomb was in the floor of the valley. This is actually what served to make it survive relatively untouched until our day. You see the long narrow slot in the center of the picture on the left is the entrance to the tomb of the 20th dynasty king Ramesses the Sixth, who was buried about two hundred years after the death of Tutankhamun. His tomb was excavated by workmen who lived on the site of the tomb. They built very crude huts right in front of the entrance to this tomb, and it turned out they were built right over the entrance to the tomb of Tutankhamun, which in fact may have already had been concealed by the debris and mud left from a flash flood which had surged through this valley during a rainstorm. At any rate, we know from the time of the tomb of Ramesses the Sixth was built, that Tutankhamun's tomb was never entered.

It was on November 4, 1922, that Carter's workmen, removing the Ramesside workmen's huts, came to the top of a series of stairs. They cleared partway down them and found the top of a doorway still plastered over. This looked very much like the typical entrance to a royal tomb of the 18th dynasty and Carter, very excited, thinking at last he had come upon his great discovery, carefully covered it up and sent an immediate urgent cable to Lord Carnarvon in London to come to Egypt immediately and be with him for the excavation of this intact tomb. You can imagine Carter's frustration as he waited in those days of pre-jet travel for Carnarvon to arrive from England. Finally, on November 23, Carnarvon arrived in Luxor, and on November 24th they started the excavations again. They cleared down to the bottom of the stairs by the evening of November 25th. At the bottom of the stairs, they found this doorway plastered over with seals showing that the tomb had not been entered. However, on examining it a little more carefully, they found that the seals in some areas were not quite the same as seals in the other areas, and that the color of the plaster was a little bit different. They later realized that this meant that in fact thieves had entered the tomb on two separate occasions. Once just at the end of the funeral, where the priests that participated in the funeral ceremonies seemed to have gone around ripping out all the gold they could get their hands on. Fortunately they still left us some to look at. And sometime later, after the tomb had been sealed over, thieves broke into the doorway, tunneled through it, and ravaged the tomb looking for some of the precious oils and unguents that were buried inside. They couldn't carry out the containers they were stored in so they emptied them out into animal skins, one of which was dropped in the passageway leading out of the tomb, and still had the fingerprints of the ancient thief on it. [laughter] If J. Edgar Hoover had only been there, he probably would've tracked him down over three thousand years, if it was the last thing he ever did. [laughter]

Nevertheless, the seals on the intact part of the doorway bore the cartouche of Tutankhamun himself, so they knew that whatever would eventually prove to lie behind this doorway, that they had at last found what was the tomb of Tutankhamun. They broke through this doorway on November 26th and cleared out a passageway filled with rubble, and came to a second sealed door. On November 26th, again, they broke through this doorway, and as they opened it, sticking an iron pole through the small hole they had chipped in the upper corner of the doorway, they saw that there was nothing immediately behind it; at least it was an open space. Tremblingly, Carter lighted a candle, and as the gases of pent-up air were rushing past him, causing the candle to flicker, he stuck it into the chamber and pressed his eyes up against the hole trying to see what he could see. For a long time he was completely silent, and Carnarvon, who was standing just behind his shoulder, at last couldn't stand it anymore and he said, with typical British understatement, “Well, can you see anything?” [laughter] And Carter at last managed to get out the words, “Yes, wonderful things, and everywhere the glint of gold.”

The scene that lay before Carter’s eyes was what you see on the right, a tremendous jumble stacked nearly to the ceiling of this chamber, later proved to be the first of four chambers in the tomb, a series of magnificent gilded funerary beds, chests, chariots, mummified food, a little folding stool which you see in the lower right corner of the picture, […]

[audio cuts out briefly and resumes mid-sentence] … see steps leading down to the first doorway, the long rubble-filled corridor, the second sealed doorway, and then the antechamber which you were just looking at a few minutes ago in the black and white photograph taken by Harry Burton at the time of the discovery. Burton, as we noted this morning, was the staff photographer for the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and they very generously loaned his services to Carter when they found what an important discovery he had made. In the antechamber crammed with all its goodies, they found leading under… let’s see if I can go back for a minute…oops, these are…[shuffling the slides] to the antechamber, you'll notice under that funerary bed there's sort of a dark hole area, that was a door unsealed, a little crawl hole that led into the room they later called the annex. At the other end of the antechamber was yet a third sealed doorway, and it wasn't until February 17, 1923, about three months after they first entered the tomb, that they finally had cleared out the antechamber and were able on February 17th to break open the sealing of the burial chamber. As they went through this third sealed doorway, they noticed again that the doorway had been broken through and replastered and resealed, and they were not at all sure that they would find an intact tomb on the other side of it.

Some two years later as they worked through the burial chamber, which was filled with a series of four gilded wooden shrines nested one inside each other, and they opened those up slowly and carefully. They at last found that the innermost shrine still had its original seal on it, and then they knew that whatever lay inside it had not been disturbed since it had been put there about thirty-three hundred years before. Opening that seal, they found the stone sarcophagus. Gradually, working over the years, it took about two years until they reached the inside of the sarcophagus, they found inside what eventually proved to be three gold and wood coffins nested inside each other, and inside those finally was the mummy of Tutankhamun himself, wrapped in its bandages, soaked in precious resins, and with the famous gold funerary mask over its head. Behind them was a fourth chamber, which they later called the treasury because of the many magnificent pieces of jewelry that were revealed to come from it. This slide on the left shows Carter and his assistant Arthur Mace and one of their Egyptian workmen looking into the doors of the fourth shrine, realizing at last that probably the royal mummy does in fact lie inside. Must've been a very exciting moment.

Carter spent ten years in the clearing of this tomb; all of the objects that were found in it were sent to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, where they remain except for the few that are sent out on loan exhibitions, such as the current exhibition of fifty-five objects which is coming to Seattle next summer from July 15th to November 15th. About a third of the objects that are in the exhibit have actually never left Egypt before, and all but a few of them have never been in the United States before, although some of the others were in the 1972 exhibition in London and also have been in exhibitions in Japan and Paris. Nevertheless, it's a rare opportunity for us to get to see them here. But Carter methodically recorded, drew, and photographed every object before he removed it from the tomb. He sifted every last little piece of dust that was in the tomb for any shred of evidence it might yield up to him. The restraint that he showed in resisting the impulse to just wholesale carry all this glorious treasure out of the tomb without taking the time for scientific care and study that it deserved was truly remarkable, especially after years when everyone had thought he was totally mad, affected by the blazing Egyptian sun, to be looking for this tomb at all.

Unfortunately his patron Lord Carnarvon didn't survive to see the completion of the tomb. At the end of the first season in 1923, he came down with a case of pneumonia and also a bad mosquito bite which he nicked with his razor blade when he was shaving and which festered. The combination of the infection from the mosquito bite and the attack of pneumonia on a man in his sixties, whose health had long been weakened as a result of an automobile accident suffered in Germany when he was a young man, led to his death. Somehow the media caught on to this and they thought it was the pharaoh's curse which had killed off Lord Carnarvon as a result of his disturbing the last resting place of the royal mummy. As is the case in a lot of media

events, they became more real than the reality, and the pharaoh's curse has survived down into our own day as something that people fervently believe in. And every time any Egyptologist or archaeologist who had the vaguest association with Tutankhamun's tomb or the treasures dies, even at the ripe old age of seventy, it is thought to be the pharaoh's curse. In fact, Carnarvon was in his sixties when he died, and not in terribly good health, but he was the only one who died anywhere near the time of the opening of the tomb. The other people who worked in connection to the tomb lived on for many years afterwards, and some of them have died as recently as within the last decade. And you can imagine in the course of fifty years, they got a lot accomplished and they were not young either when they finally did succumb. So I'm afraid the pharaoh's curse is a mystery, there was no inscription written over the door pleading for anyone not to enter and heaping vile implications on them if they should.

In the burial chamber itself, which is the only decorated chamber in the tomb as I mentioned, there were these four gilded wooden shrines surrounding the sarcophagus which contained the three mummiform coffins of the king. These coffins were nested one inside the other, and you see the second sarcophagus shrouded in linen and adorned with floral funerary wreaths resting inside the bottom half of the first coffin on the right. The flowers that were used in composing these funerary wreaths actually have turned out to be more significant than a lot of the grander pieces recovered from the tomb, because these cornflowers bloom in Egypt usually in late March and early April. So we know that these wreaths were made out of fresh flowers at that time of the year. In the New Kingdom at the time that Tutankhamun died, mummification and embalming occupied a period of about seventy days, so we know that Tutankhamun died about seventy days before these floral wreaths were made. Therefore he died probably about this time of year or a little bit later in approximately 1325 BC. I bet you never thought looking at a dried dead flower could ever tell you a date so specifically. One of the disappointing things about Tutankhamun's tomb for Egyptologists was that there were no papyri or historical documents recovered from among all the five thousand objects in the tomb. There are lots of inscriptions on the objects, but they are all of a religious nature and do not provide any historical information other than the name of Tutankhamun and his wife, which we already knew.

The mummy, lying inside its line wrappings inside the innermost coffin, which was made out of solid gold weighing almost three hundred pounds, had over one hundred objects made out of gold and precious and semi-precious stones included in the wrappings and around the neck of the mummy. There were thirteen bracelets alone found on his arms, of which you see a detail on the right. The one with the scarab in the center is included in the exhibit which will be coming to Seattle. In the slide on the left, the long narrow object on the left hand side of the broad center band is a dagger, which is also included in the current exhibit. Over the head of

the mummy was what for many people is the *pièce de resistance* of the show, the very elaborate gold funerary mask, made out of one piece of beaten gold inlaid with colored glass and obsidian and semi-precious stones. The glass was colored a dark blue to imitate lapis lazuli. Here the king is shown with a long, plaited, curved beard indicating his identification as a dead king with the king of the underworld, the land of the dead, the god Osiris who is shown in as the tall white figure in the center of the slide on the right in this painting from the wall of Tutankhamun's burial chamber. You can see he's wearing the same kind of beard, although a different type of crown. In the painting from the wall of the burial chamber, he is embracing Tutankhamun and his spirit or Ka standing behind him. In this case, Tutankhamun is wearing the same kind of striped or nemes headdress that he is wearing in the gold mask. The broad collar that he wears around his neck ends in the head of a falcon with its very distinctive markings around the eye, reminding you again that the Egyptian god-king is the living Horus, the falcon god upon earth. The mummy of Tutankhamun has never been removed from his tomb, and it remains there in the outermost of the three golden coffins, inside the stone sarcophagus where it may be visited by those who travel to Egypt as tourists today.

Let us now look at some of the objects which are found in the tomb. I'm not going to take the time to show you all fifty-five objects; my slides could not possibly upstage the exhibit itself, and you will see many of them illustrated very magnificently; in fact all of them illustrated very magnificently in the catalogue of the exhibit which you can buy at any book store, so I don't want to take away from your leisurely perusal of that and your enjoyment of the exhibit by showing you too much in advance. But just a few of the pieces that have some interesting things to say about them that I can cover in a short time.

The center object in the treasury was the large golden shrine you see on the left, surmounted by a frieze of hooded cobras with the sun disk on their head, the royal uraeus. Inside this shrine were the internal organs of Tutankhamun, which were removed from the body during mummification and placed in separate little jars called canopic jars. In the case of Tutankhamun, these jars were actually in the shape of miniature coffins, imitating the form of those coffins in which the mummy was placed itself. The whole thing was placed in an alabaster chest which was placed inside this elaborate gilded shrine protected by four of the ancient Egyptian goddesses, one of whom was a goddess associated with the scorpion, whose symbol she wears on her head. Her figure is coming to Seattle as part of the exhibit, and is perhaps one of the most beautiful pieces in the exhibit. She is the goddess Selket, standing on the right hand side of the shrine, facing into it with her head turned away, facing towards the entrance to the treasury, watching out for any intruder so she may fend him off and not let him attack the precious contents of the shrine. On the right, you see a detail of her head and you'll notice about it, something again that is an influence of the art of the Amarna period, a less rigid

attention to the usual formal conventions of Egyptian art. Instead of having her face in a sculpture staring rigidly forward to the front, her head is turned, is looking very directly at you. There is also a softness and fullness to the bodies of all these goddesses, which is reminiscent of the more pear-shaped forms of the human figure in the Amarna period.

Among the treasures found in the tomb are these very elegant, gilded leopard head with the prenomen of Tutankhamun inscribed in the center of its forehead, part of his official royal titulary. It is actually his formal throne name as a king which was Nebkheperure; his personal name was Tutankhamun. It's very much the way the pope adopts an official name as pope, but still retains his own original given name as his personal name. This leopard head adorned the skin of the leopard which was used by the priest in the opening of the mouth ceremonies, as I pointed out to you earlier this afternoon.

A necklace which was worn by Tutankhamun during his life is connected with his aspect as the king of Upper Egypt. It represents the vulture goddess Nekhbet, who was the tutelary goddess of Upper Egypt. In her claws she is holding a round sign which represents a loop of rope with the ends tied, which is the Egyptian sign for totality or infinity. The piece is about four and a half inches high, has a long, very heavy gold and lapis lazuli chain. In order to keep the chain from cutting into the neck of the wearer, it has on the back a counterpoise in the form of two fantastic birds: part falcon and part duck. This shows signs of wear, and it was probably used by Tutankhamun during his lifetime.

One of the objects that met the excavators' eyes when they first entered the tomb, visible in the shot of the antechamber I showed you a few minutes ago, was this model folding stool made out of ebony, inlaid with ivory, and the tips of it capped with gold. Originally there were probably gold-covered legs hanging off the animal skin, which were ripped off by thieves in their greed and lust. An amusing detail of this is the fact that the legs are carved in the form of ducks' heads with carved and painted ivory grasping the base of the chairs.

And in one of those sort of "clicks together" of archaeological puzzles which so fascinate the scholar and astound the public, we know from the tomb of one of Tutankhamun's officials the man who ruled the Nubian province of his empire. A man named Huy, perhaps the person who donated this stool to Tutankhamun's tomb, or at least brought for him a similar one. In the copy from the scene of the tomb of Huy on the right, you see some of the Nubian chieftains who have arrived in Thebes offering tribute to the Egyptian king. In the top register in front of the first person with his arms upraised, you will see a little folding stool with a cowhide seat just exactly like the one included in the tomb on the left. The man who is totally prostrating himself with his chin almost to the ground is labeled in this scene with the name of Hekanefer, an

Egyptian name, although he was a Nubian chieftain. In the course of the salvage campaign, rescue archaeology before all of Nubia was flooded under the waters of the new high dam, Lake Nasser impounded behind it, a team from the University of Pennsylvania and Yale University discovered the tomb of this Nubian chieftain named Hekanefer, where he is recorded to be, among his other titles, the stool bearer of the king. So perhaps he actually did present this very stool to Tutankhamun.

At any rate, Tutankhamun is often depicted sitting on similar stools, and certainly one of them must've been the one offered by Hekanefer. In a golden, gilded shrine from the tomb which is included in the exhibit, you find many details of Tutankhamun and his wife Ankhesenamun adorning the outside. One of them is shown here in the slide on the left, where Tutankhamun is sitting on one of these folding stools pouring cool water, which must be welcome in the hot desert climate of Egypt, over the hands of his wife, and she has cupped her hand in order to be able to get a drink for herself. The intimacy of this scene is again a survival of the influence of the humanity of representation of the royal couple, which was typical of the Amarna period, rather atypical of Egyptian art on the whole, where the king is shown only in his ceremonial or ritual functions.

You may want to know where the gold that adorns all these objects come from. Well, the Egyptian empire owed part of its strength and wealth to the fact that it controlled a lot of the gold mines of antiquity, which were located in the deserts to the east of Thebes and south in the deserts around Nubia. One of the oldest maps in the world, dating from just after Tutankhamun's reign at the beginning of the 19th dynasty, and now in the Egyptian Museum in Turin, is this fragmentary papyrus map which shows the location of some of the gold mines in the eastern desert just perhaps a couple dozen miles from Tutankhamun's tomb. They were probably being worked equally well in Tutankhamun's reign, but you will see against the dark sort of buff background of the papyrus the pinkish-reddish outlines of the cliffs and mountains of this rugged desert area, with little paths through it which are labeled in order to show the supervisors which way to direct the workers to the principal workings, and in the center, the black area, one of the most worked areas marked by a stela under whose name the king under whose reign this map was made, Seti, the first of the 19th dynasty.

Another one of these little “clicks” may perhaps be provided by another relief from the great temple of Luxor on the east bank of the river at Thebes, where a great religious procession is depicted in a scene carved during Tutankhamun's reign. Once a year the god Amun of Karnak went to visit his counterpart in the Luxor temple in a great procession, which took place by the god sailing down the river in his barque, disembarking at the temple of Luxor, participating in special ceremonies there, and then returning to the Karnak temple along a great avenue of

sphinxes that was laid out to connect the two temples, about two miles long. This festival actually survives in Luxor today. There is a saint of Luxor who's been known from about the 8th century AD named Abu Haggag who is associated with a boat. The mosque which houses his boat is actually built into the walls of the Luxor temple, and every year just before the great fasting month of Ramadan, this saint is carried in his boat in a procession around Luxor. Actually, archaeologists and the antiquities department trying to restore the Luxor temple some years ago thought that they would tear down Haggag's mosque and the boat which is stored on its roof and build a new mosque for Haggag, so that he would no longer interfere with the ancient temple. Well, they went about and raised the funds and built a new mosque, and they thought they moved Haggag and his boat into it. Well, after a few days it became apparent, according to the village elders of Luxor, that Haggag was not going to leave his old mosque, but he wouldn't give up his new mosque either. So the result of all this activity is now that Abu Haggag has two mosques. He still keeps his boat on the roof of the old mosque, and it is brought out every year to celebrate this procession in the boat, which repeats the ancient Egyptian festival of the feast of Opet which is depicted on the walls of this temple colonnade at Luxor.

Part of the procession is accompanied by drummers and trumpeters and lute players, whom you see in the detail on the left; you can just see the arms of the trumpeter holding up the bell of the trumpet in the top center of the picture, and the tassels hanging down from the top of the lute towards the center of the slide. The kind of trumpet that is being played is the kind of which two examples were found in the tomb of Tutankhamun, and one of which is included in the exhibit coming to Seattle next summer. This is a bronze trumpet with a silver bell provided with a long wooden stopper, which was used both covered with cloth to clean out the trumpet and also to keep it from being bent or crushed when it was not in use. This trumpet is the… and its pair, which was also found in the tomb of Tutankhamun, are the only surviving ancient instruments which can actually be played. One of them sounds the note of C and this one sounds the note of D as its lowest note. These trumpets were played as here in the open feast in religious processions, and also during military marches, and the gods who are depicted inscribed on the bell of this trumpet are those gods who were associated with the four divisions of the Egyptian army.

One of the most elegant pieces in the tomb is a painted ivory casket showing Tutankhamun and his wife Ankhesenamun taking a stroll in a garden. Perhaps as they were walking in the garden on an evening, Ankhesenamun may have been reciting a poem to Tutankhamun. Such poems are known from the New Kingdom, and here is an example that she may have read to him. "A dense growth is in it, in the midst of which we become ennobled. I am your best girl, I belong to you like an acre of land which I have planted with flowers and every sweet-smelling grass.

Pleasant is the channel through it, which your hand dug out for refreshing ourselves with the breeze. A happy place for walking, with your hand in my hand. My body is excited, my heart joyful at our traveling together. Hearing your voice is pomegranate wine, for I live to hear it and every glance which rests on me means more to me than eating or drinking." Pomegranates were fruits that were introduced to Egypt from western Asia at the beginning of the New Kingdom. They were regarded as a very exotic and luxurious fruit, very luscious and voluptuous also. They were very commonly planted in Egyptian gardens, and may have been planted in fact in the garden in which Tutankhamun and his wife are shown walking on this piece. Also included in Tutankhamun's tomb is a silver vase in the form of a pomegranate. Silver to us is not as impressive as gold, but to the Egyptians, who had silver only when it occurred as an impurity of gold, found silver a great deal more precious than gold, and therefore this silver pomegranate vase is probably one of the rarer objects among all those that were included in Tutankhamun's tomb.

[audio cuts briefly and resumes mid-sentence] …taken over, and at his death the throne was taken over by one of the generals of the time, a man named Horemheb, who is shown in a statue on the left in a rather more pacific manner as a scribe, in a statue now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. As an important general in the Egyptian army, Horemheb of course had a tomb prepared for himself, in this case in the necropolis of Saqqara, probably close to one of the administrative centers of the New Kingdom. This tomb was discovered in about 1840 by a French archaeologist who removed some of the reliefs that adorned its walls. Then the desert sands blew in and covered up the entrance to the tomb and it was lost to us. Because of the surviving reliefs that had been removed, we knew it must exist, but we no longer had it. Fortunately, just two years ago this month, the British archaeologist Jeffrey Martin, working on behalf of the Egypt Exploration Society in the Saqqara necropolis, rediscovered the tomb of Horemheb, and he is now engaged in clearing and recording the remaining reliefs in this tomb which are even more magnificent than those that have been known to us for many years since they were removed in the last century.

These reliefs depict something of Horemheb's life as a military commander. On the right in one of them you see him as a victorious general, with his arms upraised and a cone of perfumed incense on top of his wig, being adorned with gold collars which were a mark of royal favor and were distributed at special ceremonies directly by the king himself. The other walls of his tomb were decorated with scenes connected with his military exploits. On the left, a representation of some of his Asiatic captives, chieftains who have been brought in bondage to Egypt. You can see the wooden shackles around their wrists which the Egyptian soldiers are using to pull them along, and the very eloquent characterization of their features which is repeated in the slide on the right, which I'm sorry is a bit dark, representing some of Horemheb's Nubian captives. The

very eloquent expressions of the defeat on their faces as they stand under the lashing sticks of their captors, perhaps about to be auctioned off as slaves.

When Horemheb succeeded to the throne, however, he had prepared for himself in the Valley of the Kings a traditional New Kingdom royal tomb decorated with religious texts and representations in the traditional style. His tomb at Saqqara shows a lot of the influence of Amarna art, totally absent from his tomb at Thebes, one of the walls of which you see on the slide on the left showing the king offering to important goddesses and gods of the underworld.

The king in the New Kingdom and in the Old Kingdom was still believed to join the stars after his death; therefore, in many of the tombs in the Valley of the Kings in the New Kingdom, you have astronomical ceilings represented, part of the guidebook to enable the king to pass from this world into the celestial sphere correctly. One of the most elaborate and elegant of these adorns the rule, the ceiling of the first king of the 19th dynasty, Seti the First, shown on the right. The Egyptians believed their stars to form groups or constellations very much the way we still do as a result of Greek mythology; however, the constellations are different from ours, and we have no way unfortunately of really being able to identify the stars represented as red dots on the figures which form the constellations. However, we do know with the positioning of these that in fact they did believe the stars to be grouped together in constellations.

The 19th dynasty was one of the great building periods of the New Kingdom in Egypt. The greatest builder of them all was a man named Ramesses the Second. He was responsible for laying out the avenue of sphinxes between the temple of Luxor and the temple of Karnak, which the god proceeded down on his return from the great Opet festival. He also completed and added to the great temple of Luxor, setting up a pair of obelisks and a pair of colossal statues of himself at the entrance to the first courtyard. The obelisk on the right, which is no longer there, has now been set up in the Place de la Concorde in Paris. It was considered a great engineering feat when it was removed from its position in front of the temple of Luxor in the 19th century, so you can imagine when the technology that they had even a hundred years ago, what a feat it must've been for the Egyptians to erect it there in the first place.

Ramesses the Second was nothing if not orgiastic, and in the courtyard that he added to the front of the Luxor temple, he had numerous colossal statues of himself set up, a great seated figure about five times my height at the entrance to the colonnade on which the reliefs of the Opet festival were carved during Tutankhamun's reign, and these other smaller colossal statues whose heads mostly fell off and have just been set up by their feet because they're too difficult to raise again to the top. Between all the other columns surrounding the court, the exterior walls were decorated with scenes of his military triumphs particularly against Libyan tribes

invading from the western desert, and also against Syrians and Hittites to the north. The interior walls were carved with representations of religious festivals. A detail from one of these reliefs on the right shows the quintessential fatted calf, adorned with flowers and garlands and feathers, being led off to the sacrificial knife. He has been so fattened that his weight causes his hooves to curl up at the toes as he's walking along.

A lot of the great magnificent structures at the temple of Karnak are also the work of Ramesses the Second. He was a man who carved his name everywhere, much in the fashion of “Kilroy was here.” By the time you have been to Egypt, you have probably will have learned how to read his cartouche, and if you haven't you're lucky, because knowing how to read it you see it absolutely everywhere, and you wish you didn't know how to read it. Nevertheless, he certainly was a magnificent builder, and he erected this great column or hypostyle hall in the temple of Karnak. You can see by the figures of the men standing at the base of the columns what stupendous height they reached. It's said that a hundred men can stand on the top of the capital and still have a little bit of room left over. In contrast to its present form where it is open to the sky, it was originally roofed over with only a few shafts of light penetrating into the inside through slits and clear story windows in the roof.

The temple of Karnak, when completed, was approached by a series of massive gateways or pylons which had flagpoles set into the front of them, and in front of the first pylon at Karnak shows you still the emplacements for these flagpoles cut into the sloping façade of the pylon, and again, an avenue of ram-headed sphinxes, the ram being the sacred animal of the god Amun, leading up to it. You can notice also the tremendous axial nature of the temple, the little square object in the center of the background on the slide on the left is the innermost sanctuary of the temple, which of course in ancient times would have not been visible from the outside as great wooden doorways would have closed off each of these gateways, and only the priests and the king would’ve been able to reach the center sanctuary. But it was in this sanctuary that the image of the god in his sacred boat was kept.

The structure for which Ramesses the Second, however, is most famous to us today is his great rock-cut temple at Abu Simbel. Again he is working on a massive scale; the trees in the foreground are about twelve feet high, and you can see they barely reach up over the toes of the colossal statues that adorn the façade of this temple. This temple is in Nubia about two hundred miles south of the modern city of Aswan, and was intended to show to the Nubians the Egyptian royal presence. It is dedicated to Re-Horakhty, the rising sun, represented as a falcon-headed man with a sun disk on his head, and you can see the figure of the god set in between the shoulders of the colossi in the center of the façade. The sanctuary of the temple is in the innermost recess and has a peculiar feature, that twice each year at the end of October

and the end of February, the sun's rays at sunrise penetrate all the way back to the chapel and light up the figures of the gods who are represented there. There are four of them, two of which are visible on the slide on the right, during the sunrise at the end of February a couple of years ago. The four gods are Ptah the creator god of Memphis, the great state god of the New Kingdom seen here on the left, Amun Re with his tall plumes, the king himself represented as a god of equal status to the others, and on the right Re-Horakhty himself. And it is during this sunrise twice a year that the sun's rays penetrate back into the sanctuary, the only time that light ever reaches it, illuminating the figures of the king and the god, highlighting them together as two deities in control of Egypt.

The interior walls of the first chamber of this rock-cut temple are decorated with scenes of Ramesses' military exploits. He fought a great battle against the Hittites at the Syrian town of Kadesh, which he commemorated in a series of reliefs on many of his temples all over Egypt, and for which he wrote a great honorary victory poem to commemorate his victory. In fact, we also have the Hittite records of the account, and it seems that the battle was largely a draw. [laughter] But the Egyptians were never ones to admit defeat, so they represented it as a resounding victory. They also, during Ramesses' reign, fought battles against Libyan tribes who were attacking the settlements of the valley from the western desert, and against other petty Syrian states. The siege of one of these Syrian cities is shown on the left, with the inhabitants pleading for mercy against the attacking pharaoh, the hooves of whose horse-drawn chariot are just approaching on the right. And one of the shepherds who was luckily out in the fields attending his flocks at the time of the attack is fleeing off on the bottom register with his flock, hoping not to meet the pharaoh on the way.

The Syrians, however, as well as being Egypt's enemies, recognized which side their bread was buttered on and joined the Egyptian army as mercenaries. They married Egyptian wives and settled down in Egypt, and on the right you have a funerary stela in East Berlin showing one of these Syrian mercenaries with his spear carefully propped up behind his shoulder, taking a drink offered to him by his Egyptian wife with a curious sort of bent straw, the very kind of thing that I used in the hospital when I had my tonsils out some years ago, although it sounds I guess like I just had them out yesterday now. [laughter]

This great battle against the Hittites was represented on the walls of the temple at Abu Simbel, the façade of the Luxor temple, at a temple that Ramesses the second built at Abydos, shown here, and also on the walls of his mortuary temple the Ramesseum at Thebes. The version at Abydos still preserves some traces of its original color, and just two details here that'll give you some feeling for historical narrative relief of the New Kingdom, shows an influence more of a kind of art that you see very familiarly in the later Assyrian reliefs from Mesopotamia. Showing

the horses charging up into the sky, it looks like, but really charging up the hillside with a total sort of disorientation to where the groundline is, something that's not typical at all of traditional Egyptian art. You see a great deal of variety in positions; sometimes the figures are facing you full face, and also the heads of the horses are sometimes turned toward you. The result of the battle for those who were captured was not particularly happy, because the Egyptian way of counting captives was to cut off their hands and pile the hands up to be counted, and this is, I'm afraid, a sort of gory detail you see on the right.

The inside of this temple at Abydos was carved again with religious scenes which still retain a great deal of their original color, just a detail here to remind you that these Egyptian temple reliefs were very brilliantly painted with reds and blues and golds. And here, the statue of a god is being drawn along in its sacred barque. The great temple that Ramesses the Second built as his mortuary temple is located on the west bank of Thebes, the famous Ramesseum. One of the colossal statues with which the king in his usual fashion adorned his mortuary temple has served as an inspiration for a more modern poet. Shelley, in his poem “Ozymandias,” was referring to this colossus based on the observations of the classical traveler Diodorus Siculus, when he wrote, “I met a traveler from an antique land who said, ‘Two vast and trunkless legs of stone stand in the desert, near them on the sand, half-sunk, a shattered visage lies. His frown, and wrinkled lip, and sneer of cold command, tell that its sculptor well those passions read which yet survive, stamped on these lifeless things, the hand that mocked them and the heart that fed: And on the pedestal these words appear. “My name is Ozymandias, king of kings. Look on my works, ye mighty, and despair!” Nothing beside remains. Round the decay of that colossal wreck, boundless and bare, the lone and level sands stretch far away.’” Shelley did not like the grandiose nature represented by the colossal statue of Ramesses the Second. His throne name was Usermaatre, rendered into Greek as Ozymandias, and thus the source of the title of this sonnet. But Ramesses perhaps has outdone Shelley, because we have learned again how to read his name in the original Egyptian, and his name is again enduring for us, which is after all what he hoped to accomplish by all his activities.

During the 19th and 20th dynasties, the average Egyptian continued life much as before. The tombs continue, although increasingly decorated with religious scenes, to show scenes of daily life. Particularly charming are those from the tomb of Ipuy at Deir el-Medina, showing a scene of fisherman netting their fish, having a little chat as they do so, carrying them in a basket to the shade of a carob bean tree, where they are laid out on a sloping wooden rack waiting for the Egyptian housewife to come up and select her dinner. To make sure that you know what fish were laid out there, instead of just laying them in proper perspective on the surface of the display case, they have stretched them out up and down the right hand side of the picture and

painted them in careful detail so you can identify them. Also in the tomb of Ipuy we have another one of our familiar grape-trimming scenes.

The Egyptians were family people, and in some of these New Kingdom tombs you find representations of the deceased couple with members of their family very lovingly grouped around them, as here in the case of the tomb of Inherkau with his daughters standing close around him; with one of his surviving relatives presenting him with offerings. The life after death for the peasant, in contrast to the king, was believed to be a continuation of agricultural life on earth, and the tomb of Sennedjem shows this very clearly with the canals of the other world, the field of reeds, as they called it, carefully bisecting the fields in which Sennedjem and his wife are engaged in sewing and plowing and harvesting. The canals are also bordered by trees and plants, date palms, and fruit trees.

The queens continued to have a prominent position. The wife of the great Ramesses the Second himself was named Nefertari. She had a very elegant tomb built for herself in another one of the valleys on the western bank of Thebes, which we now know as the Valley of the Queens. The limestone there is of poor quality, so it was plastered over; the plaster was carved and painted in a most elegant fashion, as you see in the detail of the queen kneeling in worship here, with very careful attention to detail to the shading of the blush on her face. Her husband also endowed her with a temple constructed next to his own at Abu Simbel, and allowed her to be represented on the façade in an equal stature with himself, alternating figures across the front of it, and tucked in behind their feet are smaller figures of some of their many children. He is rumored to have had about fifty children, not all of them of course by Nefertari, as he had a rather large harem.

Nefertari's tomb unfortunately is suffering very much now; there are salts, mineral salts seeping out from the limestone walls of the tomb, pushing this plaster off from the walls, and it has now been closed to visitors while experts from all over the world try to decide how they can preserve the magnificent painted plaster that adorns this tomb. We all hope that they find a successful means of saving it; it would be a pity to have it last for twenty-five hundred years only to disappear in front of our very eyes.

One of the last great Egyptian pharaohs of the New Kingdom was the 20th dynasty pharaoh Ramesses the Third, who built his own mortuary temple partly in imitation of a Syrian fortress as he also battled against the Syrians for the maintenance of his empire. The entranceway to his mortuary temple Medinet-Habu is shown on the left, in the imitation of a Syrian type of fortress. Although Ramesses seems not to have used it for military purposes, as the reliefs that adorn the walls on the inside represent it a sort of a summer pavilion, used to go up into the

tower in the evening to catch the cool evening breezes with some of the more charming members of his harem and consort himself rather pleasantly. The exterior walls of his temple represent… contain representations of naval battles, the first such to be represented in art history; battles against invaders that were infiltrating throughout the Near East about 1200 BC, the sea peoples, as they are known; and also continuing battles with the Libyans who are attacking Egypt from the western desert. He also, however, had time for sport, and on the right you see one of his favorite sporting activities, going hunting for wild bulls in the marshes; must've been sort of difficult to drive your chariot through the marsh, but he's a superhuman king, so why not.

From the period after the New Kingdom, we don't have as much evidence yet as we would like to have. In the 1930s the tombs of some of the kings of the 21st and 22nd dynasty were discovered by French excavators at Tanis and Bubastis. The coffin of one of the princes, now in the Cairo Museum, is shown on the left, notice that the head is in the form of a hawk, further stressing the identification of the king with the falcon god Horus. During the period following the end of the New Kingdom, from about 1000 to 700 BC, Egypt was largely ruled by foreigners, first a Libyan dynasty and then a Nubian dynasty. One of the most prominent officials of the Nubian dynasty was a man named Mentuemhat, who is shown in the very striking black granite bust now in the Cairo Museum. He must've been a totally startling personality on the basis of this representation.

Will we ever learn anything more about this sort of dark hole period of Egyptian history? I for one certainly hope so. There are many sites in Egypt which might, through careful excavation, yield more information about this period. One is the one you see on the screen now, known as El Hiba in Middle Egypt. It is a large mound which is known to have been part of… served as a residence for important Egyptian officials during this period. Some very interesting papyri have been recovered from these ruins by illegal digging, and I hope someday that I will be able to work at this site and more systematically excavate it, and perhaps begin to flesh out the story of what was happening to Egypt during this long period.

About 525 BC, after a last resurgence of glory under native rulers, Egypt was conquered by the Persians and became part of the Achaemenid Empire for nearly two hundred years. There was a brief last flurry of native dynasties, and then the Greeks conquered Egypt under the leadership of Alexander the Great. And from then on Egypt passed into the sphere of Mediterranean history and became increasingly Hellenized, although the force of Egyptian tradition was so great that the Greeks, known as the Ptolemys after the general of Alexander who acceded to the Egyptian part of his empire and founded a dynasty of kings, made every attempt to Grecosize the country, they did fall subject to a lot of Egyptian traditions. They continued to

build temples to the traditional Egyptian gods in traditional Egyptian style, as here in the best-preserved of all surviving Egyptian temples, the temple of the falcon god Horus at Edfu, with its magnificent black granite statues of this falcon god flanking the entrances more than life-size.

Towards the end of the pagan period in Egypt, another temple was built at Dandera by various of the Ptolemaic kings. One of the last of the Ptolemaic rulers to make additions to it was the famous Queen Cleopatra, shown here at the head of a procession of gods on the rear wall of the temple of Dandera, just before she finally succumbed to the asp and Egypt fell under the control of the Roman Empire. Even the Romans with all their might, however, weren't able to completely suppress Egyptian tradition, and at the temple of Kalabsha, another one salvaged from the flooding waters of Lake Nasser and re-erected at Aswan, on the rear wall there is a relief of a Roman emperor making offerings to another form of the falcon god, representing him as a child which by this time was known as Mandulis. Mandulis, later in this area of Nubia, became somewhat identified with Christ.

In the 2nd century AD, Egypt gradually became converted to Christianity. Monasticism first developed in the deserts of Egypt, and the art style changes very much under the general Syro-Hellenistic influence that so dominated early Christian art. You'll find much more connection with the style of Byzantine and early medieval painting than you do with traditional pharaonic motifs. However, you might notice that the figure of the good shepherd with his lamb over his shoulders, that you have an echo of the scenes that we've been familiar with in the Egyptian tombs from the beginning of the Old Kingdom, showing agricultural work on the estates and the peasants taking care of their flocks. Even today, the villages in Egypt are very much on an equal par between animals and men, and the Egyptians continue to paint in their villages stories connected with their lives on the walls of their houses. A very popular theme is a representation of the pilgrimage to Mecca; Egypt having been a Muslim country since 641 AD. And on the wall of this house at Abydos, the man has painted the various episodes in his pilgrimage to Mecca which are guarded over by the family water buffalo.

We hope that next summer all of you will be able to come and see Tutankhamun reborn anew as the sun god emerging from the lotus, and help him keep his name alive for millions of years as is the wish expressed on the back of the cedar chair, forever and ever. Thank you very much.

[applause]

[program ends]