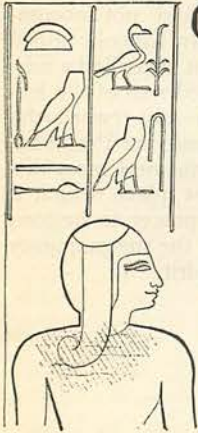


## THE PHARAOH OF THE EXODUS, AND HIS SON, IN THE LIGHT OF THEIR MONUMENTS.



3. PRINCE KHAMUS, DECEASED.  
(FROM LEPSIUS'S "DENKMÄLER.")

ONLY in its later books does the Bible distinguish the different rulers of Egypt by their proper names. The word "Pharaoh" was a title rather than a personal appellation, and was borne by the reigning king, each one in turn down the long line of sovereigns.

A change of Pharaohs silently occurs in the biblical story between the second and the third chapters of the Book of Exodus. In Chapter II. we read:

Now when Pharaoh heard this thing, he sought to slay Moses. (Ver. 15.)

And it came to pass in the course of those many days, that the king of Egypt died: and the children of Israel sighed by reason of the bondage, and they cried, and their cry came up unto God by reason of the bondage. (Ver. 23.)

From which it is clear that one Pharaoh had passed off the stage — the one who is commonly known as the "Pharaoh of the Oppression." But in Chapter III. we read how God called unto Moses out of the midst of the burning bush, and said:

Come now, therefore, and I will send thee unto Pharaoh, that thou mayest bring forth my people the children of Israel out of Egypt. (Ver. 10.)

From this it is equally clear that another Pharaoh had entered upon the scene — the one who is commonly known as the "Pharaoh of the Exodus." Everybody being acquainted with the peculiar names of such great personages, the writer of the Book of Exodus phrased his recital after the manner of that modern monarchic formula, "The King is dead! Long live the King!"

Not long ago we were astounded to see the tomb open and give up, among its treasures, the first of these two sovereigns, the person, carefully embalmed, of the Pharaoh of the Oppression — to behold his imperishable features after so long a time restored to view, and to find how remarkably faithful those portrait-statues were which his artists had carved when he was in the bloom of youth or in the prime of manhood. Nor, perhaps,

have we forgotten how the monuments stand ready to unlock the mystery in regard to that daughter of his who saved the life of the foundling Moses.

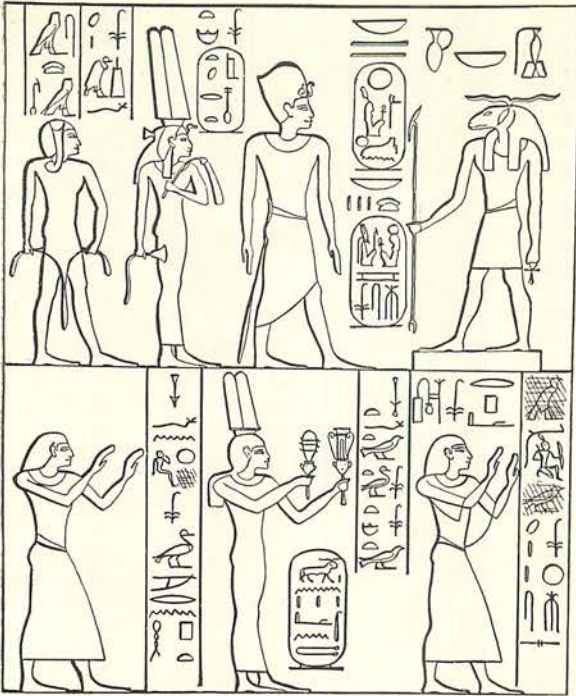
And still, if we were to choose between the Pharaoh of the Oppression and the Pharaoh of the Exodus, or were asked, "Out of the several Pharaohs mentioned in the Bible, which one above all others would you most wish to learn more about, in fact, whatever the archæology of Egypt can teach us?" with scarcely a moment's hesitation we would answer, "The Pharaoh of the Exodus." That one who replied, "Who is the Lord, that I should hearken unto his voice to let Israel go?"; that one who required straw as well as bricks of the already burdened and groaning Hebrews; that one before whom the contest by enchantments took place, until the magicians gave up, exclaiming, "This is the finger of God"; that one who recalled his consent the instant the evils were removed; that one who, under all the signs and wonders and plagues of Jehovah, hardened his heart up to the very entrance of death into his dwelling to lay low his cherished first-born son, the heir to the throne; that one who repented having thrust out the bondsmen, and pursued after them, and overtook them encamping by the sea; that one, in fine, upon whose hosts the sea returned to its flow, till there remained not so much as one of them.

Do, then, the antiquities of Egypt really and in like manner illustrate the Pharaoh of the Exodus? Did he cause statues to be made of himself which show just how he looked? Have the inscriptions anything to tell us about his history also? Do his monuments bear out the many particulars of the biblical relation concerning his resistance to the God of Israel, and his disastrous defeat? Do they clear up the mystery of his first-born son, who was smitten on that fatal midnight when the Lord passed through the land and entered at every door whose posts were not sprinkled with blood?

These are natural questions, which we are eager to have answered in detail. Why not make a second search among the monuments?

Many households among us are accustomed to go to a painter or a photographer once in a while, or even every year, to put on record both faces and numbers of the family group. This custom, however, prevailed in the days of Rameses as well as in our own. He intended





1. FAMILY GROUP OF RAMESES II. (FROM LEPSIUS'S "DENKMÄLER.")

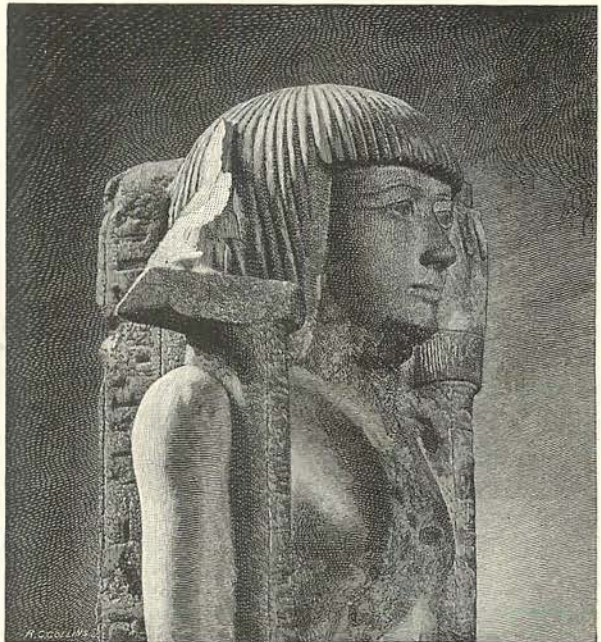
merely to parade his religious zeal; but, all unexpectedly by him, we, for certain reasons, are exceedingly curious to look in upon his domestic circle, and he himself has drawn aside the curtain for us in a manner bearing upon our present inquiry.

Among several such family representations he caused one to be engraved in everlasting rock on the bank of the Nile between Syene and Philæ (illustration 1). He is paying reverence to the ram-headed deity Khnum; and in this religious act he is followed first by the "Royal Wife," Queen, and mother "Isi-nefer-t," holding a scourge as an emblem of sovereignty in one hand and a lotus flower in the other; then by his "Royal Son Khamus," displaying the lock of a prince and wearing the leopard-robe of a priest; and, next in order, by "the Chief of the Soldiers, the Royal Son Rameses, Heir to the Throne, Royal Scribe"; then by "the great Royal Daughter, great Royal Wife, Bint-antha, Queen," holding sistrums of different patterns in her hands; and last of all in the procession, on the extreme lower left, by a "Royal Son, Mer-en-ptah" by name.

Of the three brothers here por-

trayed the eldest, Rameses, died early, probably at the head of the soldiers of which he was commander, and on the field of battle. Then the succession fell on Khamus, the priest, who lived long to bear the honor. He gained great renown as high-priest of the god Ptah at Memphis, residing in the great temple dedicated to this deity there, and devoting himself so strictly to sacerdotal duties as somewhat to neglect the affairs of state—so his fond father thought. In this holy pursuit he sought to restore the olden worship of the Apis-bulls, then regarded as the living type of Ptah-Sokharis; and he carried out the enlargement and decoration of their burial-place, the Serapeum, by works which inscriptions of that time describe as splendid, and for which they overload their author with thankful praise. From illustration 2 we may catch a glimpse of him as he actually appeared when presenting himself in public, with his insignia of regency—a standard in each hand.

However, as we have seen the Great Rameses enduring to the age of nearly one hundred years, Khamus proved unequal to the task of outliving him. He had received the powers and authority of active regent when he must have been not far from five and twenty years old, in the thirtieth year



2. PORTRAIT-STATUE OF KHAMUS AS REGENT. (FROM THE MONUMENT IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.)



of his father's reign: he died in the fifty-fifth year of his father's reign, at about fifty years of age, having governed in behalf of his father a quarter of a century. And yet, because he had not reached the throne at the time of his death, the monuments represent him as a prince and nothing more, still wearing the side-lock of juniority.

Illustration 3, which is used as an initial to this article, reproduces one of these, where the death-sign, appended to his name above his head, consists of two characters reading "ma-kheru," generally translated "the justified," or "proclaimed righteous," at the judgment-seat of Osiris, the god of Hades, thus declaring the faithful departed to be "triumphant," very much as we are accustomed to do down to this very day: its real signification, therefore, was "deceased."

After Khamus had departed this life the right of inheritance descended to the youngest depicted in the family group above given, Mer-en-ptah: the last became the first. His name, Mer-en-ptah, signifying "beloved by the god Ptah," or, according to the Memphitic dialect, Mer-en-phthah, is generally reduced or anglicized to Menephtah. He could not have been so very much younger than his elder brother, for he served as a similar regent for his father during no less than twelve years — from the fifty-fifth to the sixty-seventh, when at last the latter yielded up the scepter he had held so long.

When Menephtah actually became king he assumed the throne-name Hotep-hi-ma, "Trusting in Ma," together with the epithets Bai-en-ra, "Soul of Ra," and Mer-amen, "Beloved by the god Amen."

Doubtless he caused many statues of himself to be wrought in stone, but comparatively few of them have survived destruction. We are not bewildered by several equally good, or presenting their subject in various aspects, as in the case of Rameses; and yet there is one of the son so far superior to others of himself, even excelling in some respects any of the father, as to command attention and choice above all others. In order to see this pre-eminent pattern of Menephtah, executed during the best period and in the highest style of Egyptian art, we must ascend the Nile to Thebes. There the Tombs of the Kings shelter a memorial of him which is simply faultless in accurate design, nice chiseling, and complete preservation. It is a bas-relief, maintaining his presence in his own sepulcher, where he would naturally wish to leave behind the finest personation of himself that the most accomplished artists of his day could produce. A plaster-cast of it in Berlin, made by Dr. Richard Lepsius, has been specially photographed for illustra-



4. BAS-RELIEF OF KING MENEPHTAH AT THEBES.  
(FROM A CAST IN THE BERLIN MUSEUM.)

tion 4, which, therefore, is a perfect copy of the original sculpture. How easily we detect



in the outline of this profile, in the contour of the face, in the shape of each separate feature, all the characteristic traits of the Rameses family, affected only by the personal element. A masterpiece of ancient art, we find it worthy of all praise as a delineation, either of the man when he was really handsome, or of that glorious form which the proud king desired to own and the foolish people were inclined to ascribe to their ruler, or, still again, perhaps of that blending of human personality with real divinity which alone could qualify him for acceptance with the deity Ra, though probably all of these aims entered into its design. His majesty stands before us in the attitude of worshipping the god Ra-Harmakhis—indeed, in the very gesture of demonstrating, not merely likeness to, but veritable identity with, the god himself, the hieroglyphics beneath his outstretched hand affirming:

He adores the Sun, he worships the Hor of the solar horizons.

In so doing he displays no lack of vanity, not to say presumption, judging him by our own notion of the manner appropriate to one who is venturing into the presence of the Supreme Being. He is shod with sandals, clad in a light transparent robe, furnished with the asp-bordered apron, decked with a royal uræus, and crowned with the atef-tiara. Overhead his panegyric reads:

Lord of the Two Lands, Mer-amen Bai-en-ra,  
Lord of Diadems, Mer-en-ptah Hotep-hi-ma,  
Crowned by Amen with dominion of the world,  
Cherished by the Sun in the great abode.

Doubtless the artist in this transcendent figure sought not only to show forth the particular act of adoration, but to exalt Menephtah ideally to a phase worthy of the reception and society of the gods.

Yet, after many centuries have fled, we, whose feelings are cooler and judgments truer, looking on the changeless face of this bas-relief find less to laud sincerely. Apart from the superhuman element revealing itself through both physical and spiritual beauty, Menephtah betrays both softness and weakness. He is calm and cold: he would stir no heart, waken no love. Even art has not detected the slightest trace of nobility of character, for art could not well heighten a quality totally wanting.

Unless we happen to stop and reflect, we naturally fancy the successor of a king as youthful, or at least adolescent. But a recent instance serves to place in an exacter light the several stages of years reached by other members of a royal family when an aged emperor dies: the crown-prince of Germany had turned

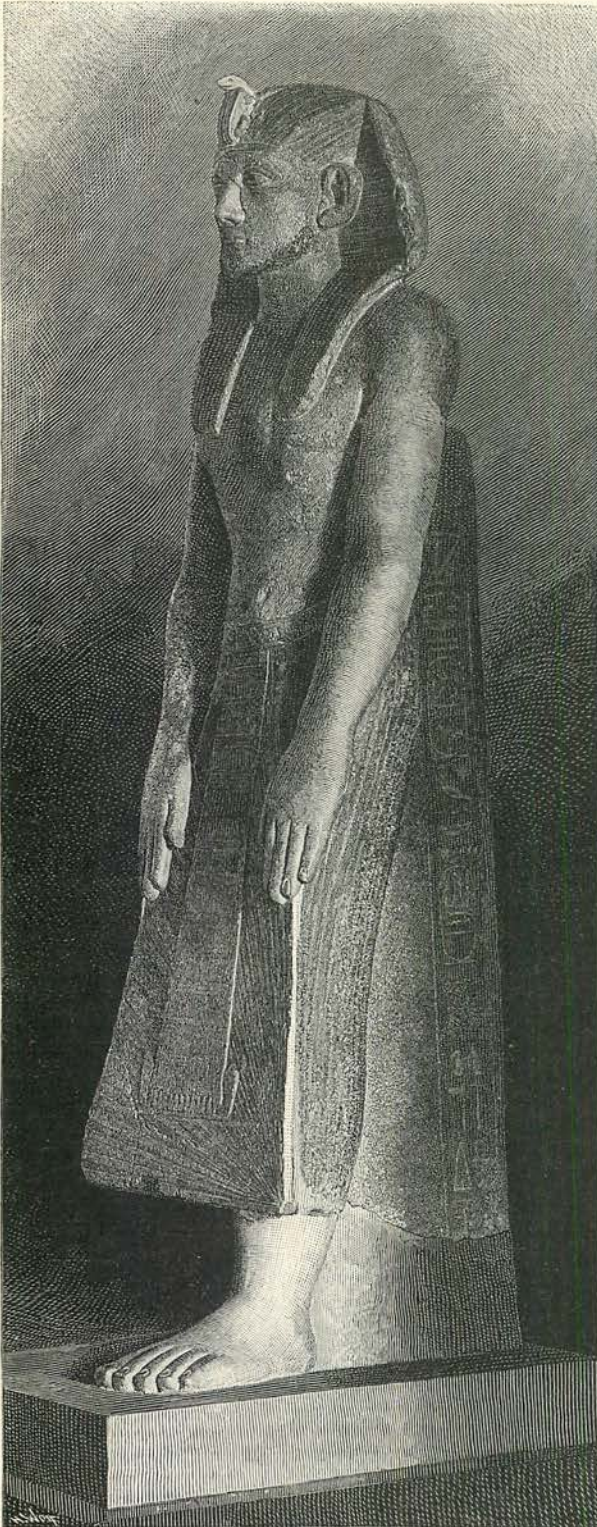
the meridian of life when the Emperor William died, his great deeds were done, his glory was earned, and his career was so much of a memory that his actual reign must have been brief; and his son, in turn, the heir-apparent, now emperor, who possibly might have become active regent in advance of the throne, is the grandchild of the aged departed monarch. So it was when Rameses the Great died in Egypt, three and thirty centuries ago. As already learned, Menephtah was an old man when he became king—certainly not less, and probably more, than sixty years of age.

Soon after ascending the throne he began to exhibit a singular and not altogether scrupulous trait. As if long denied the privilege of writing his name upon a royal shield, he went about gratifying his impatience and vanity by imposing his cartouch upon the monuments of his predecessors. He did not stop to consider—or, what is more likely, he did not have honor enough to care—whether or no the contrast of his own rough work by the side of the finely wrought hieroglyphics of earlier kings would forever cry out to his shame.

Presently in this disgraceful business he ventured a step further and appropriated to himself a royal statue at Memphis. This was a standing image of Amen-em-hat III., the chief king in the twelfth dynasty, and, as a specimen of early art, one of exceptional excellence. Notwithstanding, though he left the remainder of the figure untouched, he went to its face and remorselessly blotted out the features it bore by remodeling them into his own likeness. Thus the portrait of the archaic king is lost to us, but a true view of Menephtah, when advanced in life, is gained.

Again, as he little foresaw, or cared less, the result is an incongruity. Those immense feet, those sturdy limbs, that heavy frame, the stiff pose of the subject, are characteristic of a style nearly a thousand years earlier, and therefore already antique; but the art of the face is in the perfect style of a Ramesside age. Here, in illustration 5, we are looking upon the real Menephtah. Here we still further perceive how as a son he resembled his father. Recalling the peculiar cast of Rameses II. in his portrait-figures at Tanis, at Memphis, at Thebes, at Abú-Simbel, we detect at once certain traits of descent in this strongly pronounced physiognomy—the retreating brow, the arched nose, the high cheek-bones, and the jutting chin. Even the searching eye and the stern expression of countenance seem to share the spirit of the Rameses' later pictures. All the softness of the Theban bas-relief has vanished. How insensible the heart must have been to correspond with that brow! How pitiless—nay, how destitute of human sympathy—are the angular lines





5. STATUE OF KING MENEPHTAH AT MEMPHIS. (FROM THE MONUMENT IN THE BERLIN MUSEUM. AFTER A PHOTOGRAPH BY G. NEUMANN.)

of that stony face! His very looks frown oppression; his lips breathe bondage. If a favor were to be asked of that forbidding visage, what answer would surely be forecast — yes, or no? Soul, talent, refinement, every element that makes man attractive, all are absent; superstition, arrogance, selfishness, obstinacy, distrust, fear, all are present in force. Or, what emotions would be inevitably inspired by these lineaments? Respect, affection, loyalty? or, hatred, repulse, revolt, flight? Such a presentment is precisely what we would expect from Menephtah's bearing towards Israel in Egypt. If an attempt were to be made, even by an artist of genius, to invent a face which should unite all the qualities of disposition developed by the trials of Menephtah rehearsed in the Bible, the best surely would fall short of this realistic historical carving.

However much Menephtah may have resembled his predecessor *Rameses II.* in other respects, he did not in the possession of a numerous family. Menephtah had only one son, and, strangely, that son was the fruit of his old age. How the elderly progenitor's heart must have been gladdened by that child, that long-awaited, often wished-for, only boy! And now, because the boon of his tutelary deity, *Set*, — "the giver of life," — the offspring was called *Seti*; and because the sum of his father's joy, the one object of his father's love, he was called Menephtah.

As the lad grew up the father perceived the filial features developing into a duplicate of his own. And when the lad increased into youth, still the father had only to look on his face, as in a mirror, to behold a reflection of himself. Inasmuch as words would fail to show this remarkable likeness as effectively as sight, let us place their pictures side by side and study them comparatively (illustrations 6 and 7).

Both the monuments and the records of Menephtah suddenly become silent after the eighth year of his reign, and remain so a long while — in fact, until just before his





6. DETAIL OF THE THEBAN BAS-RELIEF.

7. SETI-MENEPHTAH IN EARLY LIFE. (FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY W. M. F. PETRIE.)

death. Certain papyri were indorsed with this eighth year, one of which contains a letter, written by an Egyptian in Syria to a friend at Raamses, after this tenor:

At the moment of writing I am alive and well, so do not be anxious about me; but I want to hear the news as to your welfare every day, and I may add that I expect very soon to rejoin you at Pa-Rameses Mer-amen.

An undertone of apprehension pervades these lines, which is stated plainly in another communication:

Such is the state of affairs with us to-day; but no one knows what will happen to-morrow.

Just here we may recall the fact that the nomadic Shasu were admitted within the lines of Egypt during this eighth year of Menephtah's sole rule.

Of course Menephtah laid his burdens on foreigners only. As a natural result, by and by, history relating what happened "to-morrow," the foreigners in Egypt could endure his cruelty no longer, and, unitedly rising, threw off the yoke of Pharaoh. We learn this from Josephus ("Against Apion," I., 26), who took it from Manetho. A priest at Heliopolis, bearing the name of "Son of Osiris," either stirred up the movement or was elected to be the leader of the rebels; perhaps he, too, was secretly a Semite, for would foreigners trust a real Egyptian? And what is more significant, the revolt was supported in their mutiny by a force of many thousand Jebusites, regarded as descendants of the Shepherds who four centuries back had been expelled from this country.

The area of this uprising extended from

Heliopolis to Avaris, near Zoan, the latter becoming the stronghold of the opposition. Thus the revolt covered the Land of Goshen. Whether or not the Hebrews were concerned in this movement, we are not told; but it is not impossible that they were, and that an unwritten page of history is concealed under the concluding words of the second chapter of Exodus:

And God heard their groaning, and God remembered his covenant with Abraham, with Isaac, and with Jacob. And God saw the children of Israel, and God took knowledge of them. (Vers. 24, 25.)

Now if 600,000 Hebrews and 200,000 men of Jebus were combined in the strike, to say nothing of the Shasu or other foreigners possibly involved in it, Menephtah had a heavy task before him to quell it. Apparently he found this to be the case, for, the story goes on:

He then passed out with the rest of the Egyptians, three hundred thousand of the most warlike of them, against the enemy, who met them. Yet he did not join battle with them; but thinking that would be to fight against the gods, he returned back and came to Memphis.

When the enemy is found to number two to one, other things being equal, no doubt a graceful retreat is better than hopeless valor. Menephtah, furthermore, had reached the age of three score years and ten, an age when courage, as well as vigor, usually gives out. And so, quietly taking his young son with him, he withdrew his whole army up the Nile into Ethiopia, where he wearily wore away twelve long years of exile.

At the end of this sojourn he was eighty or



more years of age, and had been a king twenty years. His son, Seti-Menephtah, in his eighteenth year had grown to be a robust youth. Evidently the father was now too far along in life to do what he had never done before—fight; and if ever the royal pair should return to their realm, it would depend on the spirit and power of the son. During this term of banishment we can scarcely fancy the latter otherwise engaged than in training for this end, and exercising himself in every art of

before. Somewhere in Lower Egypt a final battle was now accepted upon the united challenge of the rebels and the Shepherds, by which the rebels were completely re-subdued and the Jebusites again driven out to the very bounds of Syria.

Either on his way down the Nile, or shortly afterward, Seti-Menephtah visited at Abū Simbel a colossal statue of his grandfather, Rameses II., and inscribed upon one side of it the purpose of his pilgrimage, which was:

In order to render homage to the one who had given him valor.

This was a marked reflection upon his father; but let that pass. At the same time, perhaps, he engraved a tablet on the rock there to commemorate his victories over foreigners—quite likely the very foreigners thus chased back to Syria; in which, as reproduced in illustration 8, he is seen dispatching an Asiatic with a heavy mace, the god Amen-Ra standing by in the act of giving him a scimiter, the legend describing him as

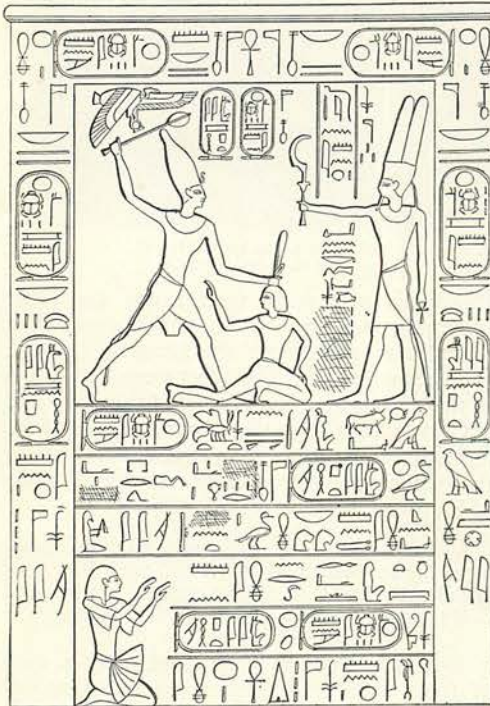
Warlike and valiant, like the goddess Ament.

Also the door-post of his sepulcher, inscribed while he was living, praises him as

The Defender of Egypt, and the Chastiser of the Libyans.

Upon this tablet, as elsewhere, we find that he had already begun to use the double cartouch, Ra-user-kheperu Mer-amen, and Seti Mer-en-ptah. No doubt this was done by agreement between his father and himself. When they came to take their departure from Ethiopia, the very attempt of which depended on the lead and chivalry of the son, the latter, both by the father's desire and by the consent of the army, must have become regent, and probably a regent in more than the usual sense of the word. The father remained real king and retained the throne,—he was to be consulted on all important questions, his wish was to be law, his will supreme, his indorsement was essential as to policy,—but the son was to execute. Moreover, by the results of that brilliant march to the sea the son had earned a share in the dominion, and was entitled to participation in the government of the emancipated country.

Then, too, Seti-Menephtah was the first-born son of his father, the heir-apparent or crown-prince; no brother existed to become a rival; and the cartouches were to belong to him soon by virtue of sole possession of the throne. He was then physical strength itself, the very synonym of health, waking into the morning of life: no cloud marred the horizon, nothing, thought he or his father,—nothing on earth or in heaven,



8. SETI-MENEPHTAH TRIUMPHING OVER FOREIGNERS. (FROM LEPSIUS'S "DENKMÄLER.")

war that might qualify him to be the capable and heroic leader of his Egyptians on the return march to their homes.

At length, in the thirteenth year of their Ethiopian residence, the prince being educated for the fray and the Egyptians eager to recover their land, they all started forth down the Nile, the king of Ethiopia perhaps sending along his troops as auxiliaries.

This return journey was one of success from beginning to end. Seti-Menephtah distinguished himself at every point by a personal prowess that was irresistible: under his masterly generalship triumph followed closely upon the heels of victory. His opponents either were struck with instant death, or crushed under a heavier oppression, or driven before a wave of revolution and military glory that contrasted strangely with the imbecility of a dozen years





9. PORTRAIT-STATUE OF SETI-MENEPHTAH. (FROM THE MONUMENT IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.)

whether of men or from the gods,— could prevent his wearing the double crown of Egypt alone in the near future. Such was his destiny—in universal human expectation.

Under this arrangement two years passed serenely away. Seti as regent and prospective king pursued the occupations of war by securing the country against the Libyans on the west, and by fortifying the Fountains of Water on the east. He cultivated the arts of peace by fostering authors, both of poetry and of literature, and sculptors, who carved him in stone with exceptional skill and elegance. Their three renowned statues of him now embellish the museums of London, Paris, and Turin. From the first of these illustration 9 is taken, showing us, as successfully as any modern artist could hope to do, just how this distinguished young warrior looked. He carried a frank brow rising just off the line of the nose, a gracefully curved eyebrow, a broad eyelid, a large pensive eye, the arched nose of the Ramesses, full lips, and a delicately molded chin. Altogether his face was singularly genial and

winning. Apparently he was inclined to muse, and smile when his thoughts were far away, as if he were gazing on some vision, either of beauty that engaged his soul or of loveliness that wakened emotions of the heart. Or was he dreaming of the Elysian Fields, that seemed to tempt him hence?

At Thebes he built a little temple, carved the walls of sanctuaries and pylons with bas-reliefs and hymns, set up doorways, obelisks, sphinxes, and stelæ, and even began his own sepulchral chambers on the west of the Nile. But the last date he placed upon any of his works was that of the second year of his executive reign, or when he was about twenty years of age.

Meanwhile, the children of Israel? Their interval of respite from toil was over, and the return of the task-master renewed their bondage with tenfold severity. If they had been concerned in the recent protest against that oppression which Egypt laid upon foreign races who kept their ethnic caste and faith, as a consequence their slavery was made more





10. SETI-MENEPHTAH AS REGENT. (FROM THE STATUE IN THE TURIN MUSEUM. AFTER A PHOTOGRAPH BY CAVRE G. B. BERRA.)

onerous than before. And such seems to have been the case, causing an outcry from the sufferers that ascended unto heaven; a cry that brought Jehovah down to visit his people and declare, "I know their sorrows."

To royal father and son a cloud now rose on the horizon. A new commotion was visible among the servile Hebrews. One man, about equal in age to the venerable Menephtah, joined by another, his brother somewhat younger and just returned from Midian, were observed to be going round among the bondmen advising them to rest from their burdens and inciting them to some sort of concerted movement. Presently they ventured into the presence of the monarch himself, and announced their proposal to be no less than freedom — withdrawal of their entire community from Egypt, or, in the words of the deity of their worship, "Thus saith the Lord, the God of Israel, Let my people go."

What? "To get up out of the land?" Why, that was the very aim Rameses had sought to defeat by rigorous service, together with the drowning Nile, eighty years ago, and the very contingency Menephtah had guarded against seventeen years ago by strengthening the walls and garrisons of Heliopolis. Naturally these two representatives of the Hebrews were told that the proposition could not be thought of. "Wherefore do ye, Moses and Aaron, loose the people from their works? get you unto your burdens."

We cannot follow the contention step by step. Enough that the king proved to be stubborn beyond all influence, that the cloud grew portentous and broke in a storm of disorders without parallel in natural history, and that this series of marvels culminated in an unprecedented tragedy. In the dead of night the spiritual God of Israel, whom Menephtah "knew not," went out into the midst of Egypt and left not a single house in which there was not one dead, "from the first-born of Pharaoh that sat on his throne unto the first-born of the captive that was in the dungeon"; and "even unto the first-born of the maid-



servant behind the mill." Those words disclose an exigency just then obtaining—that a regent shared the throne with the king; they show that this regent (10) was the king's first-born son; they imply with great exactness that conjunction of circumstances to which we have been independently led; in short, they define Seti-Menephtah to the very letter.

The God of Israel could make no exception; had he done so, even the tenth plague would have failed of its purpose. Therefore this singular child on whom the hopes of the empire and the dynasty centered, this fearless and accomplished warrior who had redeemed his country, this unfolding flower of humanity whom to regard was to commend, to love, to celebrate, must be sacrificed to soften the heart of an obdurate father. When he fell asleep that fatal night he woke in those scenes, so far away yet so close at hand, on which he had been wont to brood and dream by day.

Where Seti-Menephtah was at the moment is not clear from the sacred narrative: he may have been at Zoan or at Raamses, where he had commanded the cavalry of the army. If at the former, the horror-stricken father knew the worst immediately; if at the latter, the warning he had received from Moses, together with dire analogy all around, told him the heartrending truth as well as messengers could have told him. Though the country was in confusion, the embalmers would be in duty bound first to minister their last offices unto the king's son; and when at length the imposing ceremonies were over, hands of

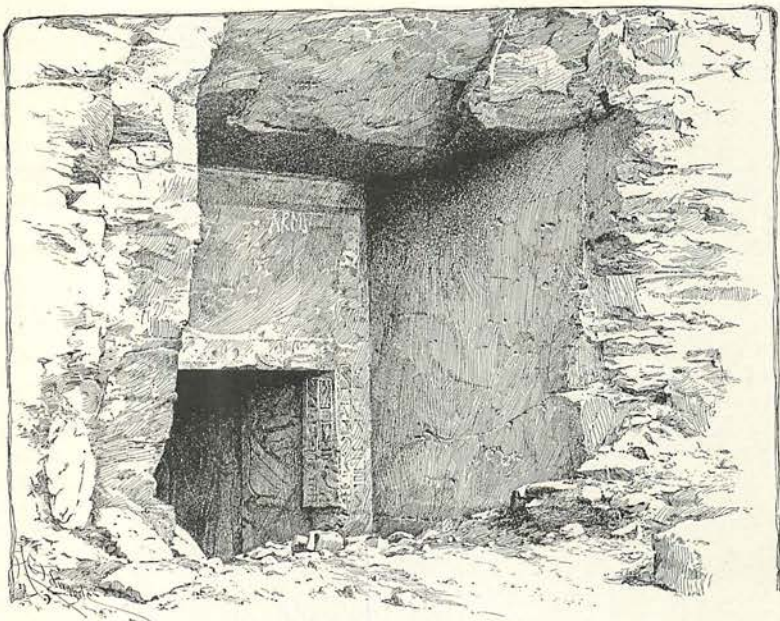
genuine grief laid a fallen favorite to repose in the gloom of that sepulcher he himself had already started in the valley of the Tombs of the Kings (11). This he had opened at the very end of the valley and foot of the mountain. The chamber in which the casket of stone was to stand, the intended final resting-place of its excavator, had not been reached. It was on account of such unfinished design that, early in the present century, Champollion wrote:

This poor sepulchral hall was only a corridor in the plan, whose extremity lies still in rough rock; and it became the room of the sarcophagus, or the funeral chamber, by the accident of the death of the Pharaoh.<sup>1</sup>

"Accident"? Yes, rather a most unexpected, sudden, shocking, inscrutable providence.

In this beginning of a royal tomb some portions of that sarcophagus, in the rosy granite of Syene, were found lying scattered upon the floor; one (12), from the lower part of the lid carved in effigy, retained the cartouch concluding a legend upon its surface; another (13), upon

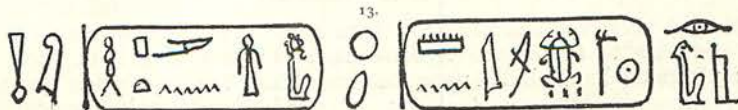
<sup>1</sup> "Notices Descriptives," Vol. I., p. 463.



11. ENTRANCE TO THE TOMB OF SETI-MENEPHTAH. (FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY EMIL BRUGSCH BEY.)



12.



13.

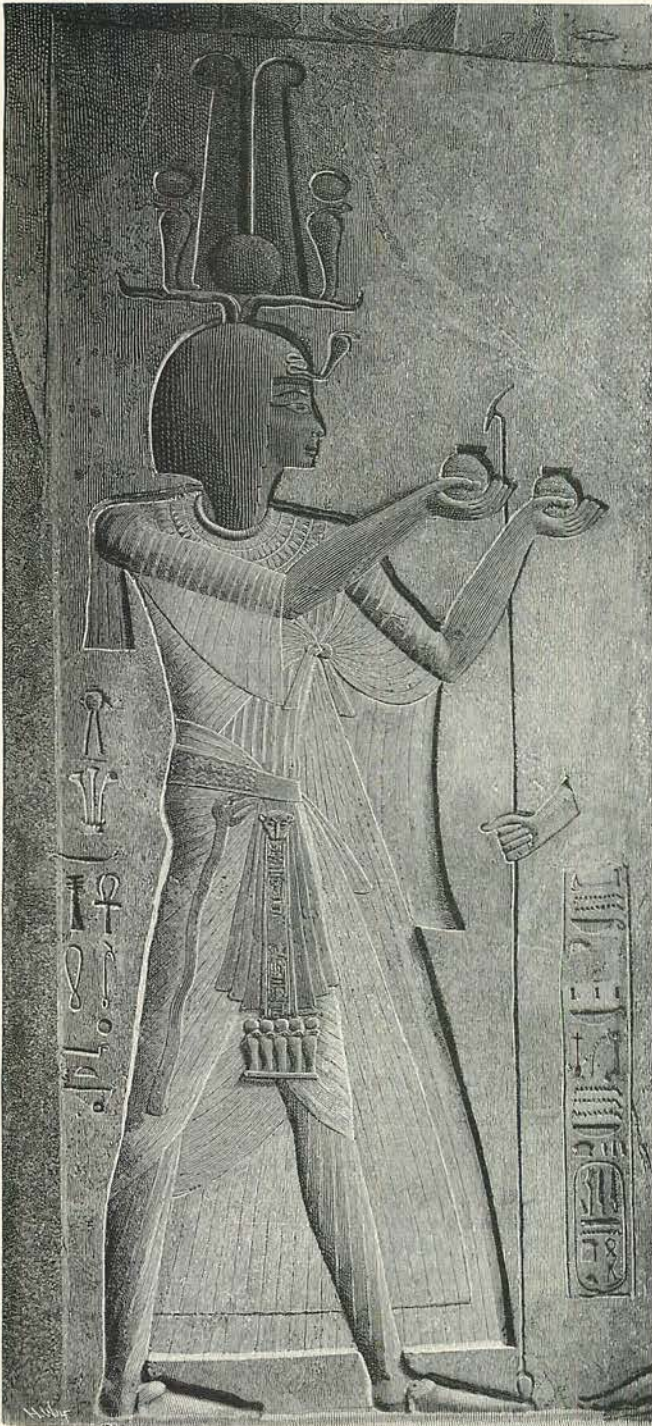


14.



15.





16. BAS-RELIEF OF SETI-MENEPHTAH. (FROM A CAST IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.)

the edge of the lid, preserved a similar record entire, both testifying to the *decease* of Seti-Menephtah; where the hands folded upon the breast the prenominal cartouch (14) was

ness all these carriage; how bright the look of that eye, and fitting the smile upon that almost girlish cheek; how replete with hope the countenance,

carved, surmounted by the symbols of "the Osiris royal," signifying identity with Osiris now, "Thy Spirit is that of Osiris"; and the nominal cartouch (15) concluded an inscription in the same apartment running along the platform of the wall on the right.

Yet, though the royal sarcophagus has been broken to pieces, and the royal mummy has disappeared, happily the image of the prince on the throne, thus cut down without warning, had not long before been carefully imprinted upon the wall of the corridor, just inside the entrance. Turning again to the notes of Champollion :

First corridor, wall on the left, second tableau, sculptured but not painted, and as fresh as if it had just left the hand of the sculptor : the king Menephtah III., coiffé and wearing the atef-crown, offers wine to the god Nefer-tum.

Once more the same Providence that had occasion to deal so severely with both father and son has with extraordinary care shielded from harm this bas-relief of the son all through the centuries, in order that we might see him exactly as he was in life (illustration 16). This figure, regarding either design or engraving, is a masterpiece of beauty. Nothing from antiquity can exceed it in natural form and attitude: more of life, spirit, and sweet expression could scarcely be thrown into stone. The artist who conceived and wrought this gem had real genius, and carried his technical skill to the highest point of attainment. His fine appreciation of spiritual traits underlying physical features, and his delicate power of bringing them out of the wall, were simply marvelous. How full of youthlike tender-





17.

royal cartouches memorializing the personage of this relief, the signs for *deceased*, "makheru," are not only present, they are repeated (17): their date, therefore, must be very nearly that of his death. Had this cavo-rilievo been sculptured any length of time before his death, these signs for *deceased* would be absent. Inasmuch as in this instance there was no need to make the subject younger than he was actually, or more divine, Seti-Menephtah could not have been more than twenty years of age when he was brought low instantly, here to be committed to his "eternal home." A portrait-statue of Seti-Menephtah in middle life or in old age does not exist.

In this light we begin to recognize the true relation of Seti-Menephtah to his father and his true position in time. Under the name of Seti II., he is generally supposed to have been chronologically the successor of his father, and the two years of his reign are generally assumed to have been years of sole authority. On the contrary, the above-related natural version of his brief career is indicated by the monuments to be the right one: let us no longer neglect or misjudge their testimony.

A deep mystery always has hung over the death of Pharaoh's son. Who was he? How old may he have been? Left he absolutely no trace behind?

I venture to assert that his disappearance will ever continue to be completely shrouded in darkness so long as we fail to give proper heed to the light of the monuments. And I invite attention to the fact that the antiquities of Egypt, the best among authorities, stand ready to teach us:

1. That Seti-Menephtah was the first-born son of his father. 2. That his father lived to an advanced age. 3. That the son's administration was

merely one of regency in behalf of his father. 4. That the son died early, before his father died.

It follows that Seti-Menephtah corresponds to the biblical (1) First-born son (2) of a living Pharaoh, (3) who sat on his throne, (4) but died suddenly, before his father died. Both the Egyptian monuments and the Hebrew Scriptures describe a situation embracing four distinct premises: the four premises are identical in both accounts; the logical conclusion, therefore, must be that they relate to the same personage, for, in the nature of things, two series of such identical particulars would not occur apart once in many ages.

Let us give a few moments to the careful study of the following contemporary Egyptian monuments:

1. *Some Mural Tablets in the Grottoes of Gebel Silsilis.* Menephtah imitated his father in having pictures of his family circle drawn upon ever-enduring rock.

One of these tablets presents to us the group of Menephtah, Isi-nefer-t, and Nehesi. It is graven on the west wall of the Grand Speos, or Temple hewn out of a mountain, and (Cham-pollion, "Monuments," II., cxiv.) exhibits King Menephtah in the ceremony of offering an image of the divinity Ma to the god Amen-Ra and the goddess Maut: he is attended by his wife



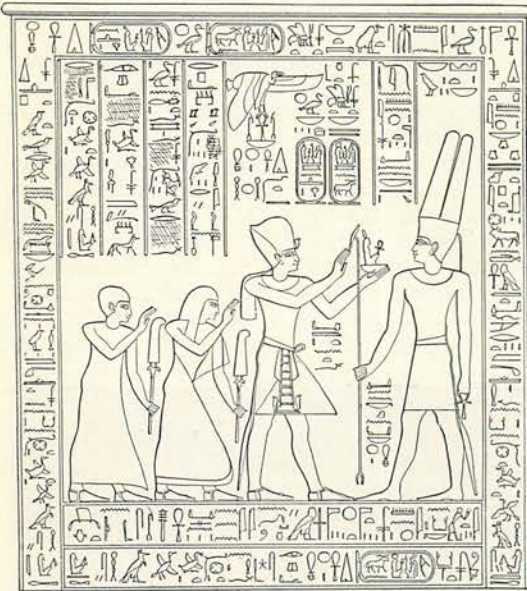
18. PORTRAIT OF NEHESI, THE PRIME MINISTER. (FROM A STATUE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.)



the Queen Isi-nefer-t, and by an officer named Nehesi. The latter is explained by adjacent hieroglyphs to be

Viceroy over the Two Lands, Fan-bearer at the right of the King, Chief over the priests of all the gods, having admittance to the King's presence, knowing his counsel, Mayor of the city and Governor of the Nome, pa-Nehesi *deceased*.

His office, therefore, was equivalent to that of Privy Councilor and Prime Minister. A sitting statue of him now in London (illustration 18) reveals the fact that he had served in a similar capacity under Rameses II., so



19. KING MENEPHTAH, HIS ROYAL SON, AND NEHESI.  
(FROM LEPSIUS'S "DENKMÄLER.")

that he simply held over in both duty and rank under King Menephtah, by whom he was evidently greatly esteemed; but he had passed away prior to the date of this sculpture—the second year in the reign of Menephtah. Isi-nefer-t wears the vulture-head-dress of maternity, but as yet her offspring was too young to be brought into this scene of worship.

A second tablet presents to us the group of King Menephtah, his royal son, and Nehesi. As outlined in illustration 19, it depicts Menephtah again tendering an image of Ma to the deity Amen-Ra; as before, the Privy Councilor to his Majesty, Nehesi *deceased*, finds his place last in the series; now, however, the middle place, immediately behind Menephtah, is occupied, not by Isi-nefer-t the Queen, wife, and mother, but by

Crown Prince of the Palace over the Two Countries, Chief of millions, Head over hundreds of thousands, He who stands in closest relationship to the good god, the Royal Son of his body begotten, beloved of him, of Royal [birth], the Chief of the Soldiers, the very great [Regent in behalf of] him.

Menephtah's Royal Son alive! By the time this rock-engraving was executed so many years had been added to the offspring of Isi-nefer-t that he began to be included in his parents' acts of devotion to the gods.

A third tablet presents to us the group of King Menephtah, Isi-nefer-t, Seti-Menephtah, and Nehesi (20). Its vignette embraces two scenes by means of two registers. In the lower register Menephtah offers an image of a sphinx to the deity Horus and the divinity Ma: here, as in the last tablet, he is attended by

The Heir to the Throne, the Royal Scribe, the Chief of the Soldiers, the Royal Son of his body begotten, beloved of him,

who is closely followed by his *ka*—his "double," or "life"—and remotely by the Privy Councilor, the King's Lion, Nehesi *deceased*.

But we are impatient to learn the name of that royal son; will not this monument identify him for us at last?

Observe that in the upper register King Menephtah, offering once more an image of Ma to Amen-Ra and Ptah, is attended by the royal wife and mother, Queen Isi-nefer-t, followed by

The Heir to the Throne of the whole Land, the Royal Scribe, the Chief of the Soldiers, the great Royal Son (the *sam*) of his body begotten, beloved of him, [Seti-Mer-en-ptah *deceased*].

And last of all by Nehesi. In other terms, this royal son of Menephtah was his only son; as only son and heir to the throne, he was his eldest son; as only son and eldest son, he was his "first-born"; the name of this first-born son was Seti-Menephtah, and at the era of this rock-engraving he was already dead! Menephtah and Isi-nefer-t both survive. They are still reigning, and performing the religious duties of king and queen; but they are childless. The scene represented is one in which their beloved offspring, the *sam* or priest of Ptah, Seti-Menephtah, did engage in, with them, until quite recently; but the acknowledgment is made that he does so in person no longer—"the late Seti-



21. Seti Menephtah





20. VIGNETTE OF MURAL TABLET AT GEBEL SILSILIS. (FROM CHAMPOLLION'S "MONUMENTS.")

Menephtah." He is retained in the group because he was so dearly loved, and because there was no brother to be put in his place. At the beginning of Seti's name, over the back of his head, the figure of the god Set was defaced by iconoclasts some time after the death of both son and father. Champollion, deeming the obliterated character to be no part of the name, read what was spared as Ptah-Amen :

This stela teaches us that the wife of this Pharaoh was called *Isénofré*, as his mother was, and that his eldest son was called *Phtamen*. ("Letters," p. 156.)

But Dr. Richard Lepsius detected the sign under its disfigurement, and correctly reproduced it in his *Königsbuch* :

The Royal Son, the *sam*, Seti-Menephtah (21).

Even if there was no other proof, this monument is quite sufficient of itself to establish the fact that Seti-Menephtah's rule occurred during the lifetime of his father, and that his father, King Menephtah, continued to reign after the son had ceased to help him rule.

This last tablet states that King Menephtah's object in going up the Nile to Silsilis, above Thebes, at this epoch was with pride to publish in the Upper Country the achievement of having reared a temple in honor of the god Amen-Ra at Heliopolis, in the Lower Country. The other monuments which deserve our attention as pertaining to Seti-Menephtah were originally all stationed at Zoan in Lower Egypt.

2. *The Sides of a Statue of Rameses*. This statue is a standing image of Rameses II. holding within his arms two standards, the one on



the right-hand side terminating in a head of the goddess Maut, the other in a head of the goddess Hathor (illustration 22). It was a colossus, between eleven and twelve feet high, carved out of syenite. It has lost its atef-crown, but, cared for now in the Palace of Gizeh, it retains the solar disk, the peculiar wig, the false beard, the kilt hanging from the belt by means of a lion-headed clasp and ending in a row of hooded asps. It was sculptured in fairly good style; but round upon the left side the statue carries an irrelevant supplement, executed in a very different and rather bad manner (23).

Sketched in slight relief, a prince has not yet put off the recurved side-lock as a badge of infancy; he wears the leopard-robe as a badge of that order of priests of Ptah at Memphis called *sam*; and he shows by the plume in his hand that he enjoyed the high rank of Fan-bearer at the right of the king. The inscription identifies this young prince as

The Heir to the Throne over the Upper and Lower Countries, the Royal Scribe, the Chief of the Soldiers, great Royal Son, Mer-en-ptah *deceased*.

Round on the right side of the statue this inscription occurs in more complete form (24):

All life, permanence, purity, and health to the Heir to the Throne over the Two Lands, the Royal Scribe, the Chief of the Soldiers, great Royal Son, the *sam*, . . . [Mer]-en-ptah *deceased*.

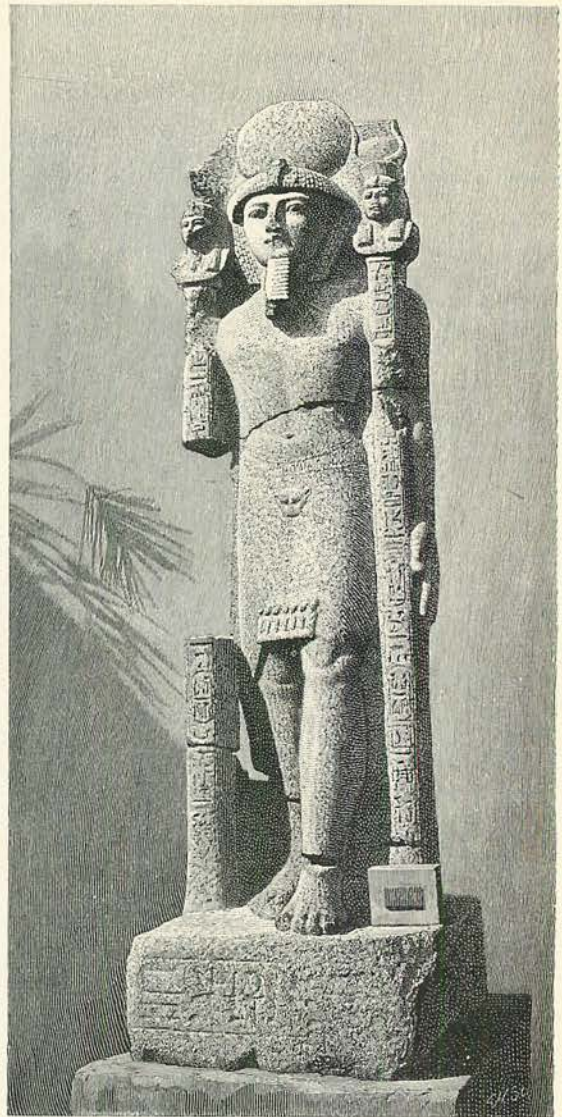
On the left standard may be found (25):

All life, stability, and health to the Heir to the Throne, the Royal Son, Mer-en-[pta]h.

And on the right standard (26):

All victory and might to the Heir to the Throne, the Royal Son, Mer-en-ptah *deceased*.

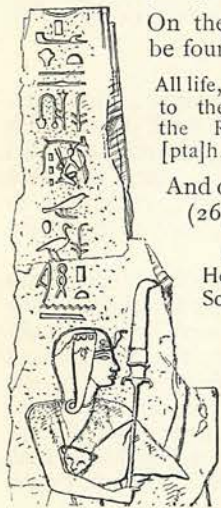
How singular! Who was this royal son "Menephtah *deceased*" when a prince? Was it Menephtah, son of Rameses II.? Impossible; for that Menephtah lived to be king, and to attain nearly as great an age as the illustrious Sesostris. Fur-



22. RAMESES II. AS REGENT. (FROM THE MONUMENT IN THE PALACE OF GIZEH. PHOTOGRAPHED BY SEBAH.)

thermore, this colossus embodies Rameses II. at early manhood, while yet a regent under his father Seti I.: whereas, until long after this stage of life, Khamus was heir to the throne, not Menephtah. Besides, the style of the new figure is so unlike that of the colossus that it must be referred to another hand at a later period.

The solution is not far to seek. This bas-relief pictures Menephtah the son of King Menephtah; and, as we have just seen, the father had no other son bearing his name save Seti-Menephtah. All these titles are precisely those of Seti-Menephtah in the third tablet at Silsilis, particularly the sacerdotal "*sam*" and the military "Chief of the Soldiers." It must



23. LATER SCULPTURE UPON LEFT SIDE OF RAMESES STATUE. (FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY EMIL BRUGSCH BEV.)





have been the son of Rameses II., Menephtah, when king, who was the author of this meager bas-relief upon his father's statue, and this fully accounts for its misplacement and poor quality. It is a work of pathos: he did it with a trembling hand, for the Heir to his Throne—his hope, his dependence, his joy, his lovely boy—was dead.

Why, then, did he not insert Seti before the "Menephtah" of these inscriptions?

At that time, and for the people of all Egypt in those days, it was wholly unnecessary. Everybody understood who was meant without it.

3. *The Sides of a Statue of Menephtah.* Of course Menephtah must needs imitate his father Rameses in all things, and among all things in setting up a similar image of himself. His was not so much of a colossus perhaps, being scarcely ten feet high, but it was cut of equally fine pale rose-granite of Syene. The standards he tipped with the images of the gods after whom he was named, the right with Ptah-Tutanen, the left with Amen. He assumed a similar wig, upon which an atef-crown was placed; he put on the conventional beard; and from his belt he let fall an apron displaying his own titles with the same ornaments his father had used. This statue was discovered by Mariette Bey in the course of his excavations at San nearly thirty years ago, who describes what he saw and read on the sides of the statue in the following terms:

Upon the left side of the base there has been afterwards cut the figure, standing erect, of a personage holding an ostrich plume in his hand. The legend reads: "The Heir upon the throne of Seb (formula designating the heir to the crown), the Governor of the Two Countries for his father, the Royal Son Setimeri-en Ptah, *the justified*."<sup>1</sup>

As in the third tablet of Silsilis, so in the present legend, the full or double name, Seti-Menephtah, appears: its author or engraver did not leave the "Seti" out this time.

But how remarkably alike these side-scenes upon the statues of the kings Rameses and Menephtah are! They

<sup>1</sup> "Notice des Principaux Monuments à Boulaq," p. 292.

must have been the work of one and the same author, and that author could not have been Rameses in this instance; he must, therefore, have been King Menephtah in both cases.

Compare now the two accounts— one recorded in the Scriptures, the other recorded on this Egyptian stone:

THE BIBLE. THE MONUMENT.

The Lord smote  
The first-born of  
Pharaoh,  
That sat on his  
throne.

He who governed  
Egypt,  
In behalf of his  
father:  
Seti-Menephtah *de-  
ceased*.

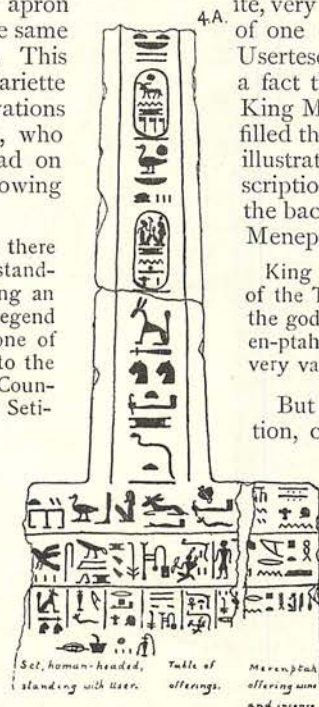
The parallel is absolute. We have already found how Seti-Menephtah, supplying what his father lacked, became conqueror by force of arms, and then active governor of the land. The Egyptian epigraphist confesses all that the sacred narrator affirms, and surpasses him by revealing the full name of the smitten one.

4. *The Back of a Throne of Usertesen surviving at San.* To the open court of the Great Temple, Usertesen I., one of the earliest kings in the twelfth dynasty, contributed two colossi. They were seated figures, in black granite, very highly polished. Upon the back of one of these, still remaining at San, Usertesen had not engraved anything—a fact that did not escape the notice of King Menephtah, who at different times filled this field with inscriptions, copied in illustration 27. The first or vertical inscription, in large characters, covering the back of the pilaster, pertains to King Menephtah himself, and reads:

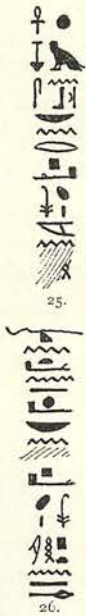
King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Countries Bai-en-ra Beloved of the gods, Son of Ra, Lord of Diadems, Meren-ptah Hotep-hi-ma, Beloved of Set the very valiant forever.

But the second or horizontal inscription, covering the back of the throne with small characters, does not pertain to King Menephtah, but to another person, the first two lines running:

[Heir] to the double throne of Seb, inheriting the sovereignty of the Two Lands, Chief of officers, Administrator of the Upper and Lower Countries, the Royal Scribe, the Chief of the Soldiers, the Royal Son, Mer-en-ptah *deceased*.



27. BACK OF USERTESSEN'S STATUE AND THRONE. (FROM TANIS I: EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND.)





And the last line describes the offering of incense and wine to the deity Set the very valiant by

Sutek the very valiant: His loving Adorer, the Heir to the Throne over the Two Countries, the Royal Scribe, Chief Sealer, Chief Soldier, the Royal Son, Mer-en-ptah *deceased*.

The picture underlying these words, not reproduced by Mr. Petrie, but long ago described by Mariette Bey,

Represents the adoration of Sutekh by a Prince named Menephtah.

The god, clothed in Egyptian fashion, wears upon

us still to read the formula, "Heir upon the throne of Seb," which distinguishes more particularly the prince named to succeed the reigning king. . . . The uræus which he bears upon his brow would seem to indicate that at this moment Prince Menephtah was already associated upon the throne with his father. ("Notice," etc., pp. 283, 284.)

In thus speaking, Mariette refers to King Menephtah when a prince, and to the throne of Rameses II. But Menephtah the father is excluded from consideration by the twice-told tale "dead." Again the truth is, King Menephtah's son, Seti-Menephtah, is meant.

5. *The Back of a Throne of Usertesén removed to Berlin.* Because set up along an avenue the seated colossus of Usertesén I. just described required a mate for company on the opposite side of the way: the throne of this companion was, many years ago, carried away to Berlin, where it silently relates to every visitor its story of the tragedy enacted in Egypt centuries ago (28). Menephtah found the back of this second throne untouched in like manner; and the temptation to fill it up with the decorations of his own glory was too great for him to resist.

His first act was to cover nearly the whole of its surface with his titles and escutcheons in two series.

In the course of time, however, he changed his mind: something happened that led him to recast a portion of his first work. His second act was, esteeming the lower set of titles as of least account, to chisel them away, thus lowering this portion of the back to the depth of two or three inches.

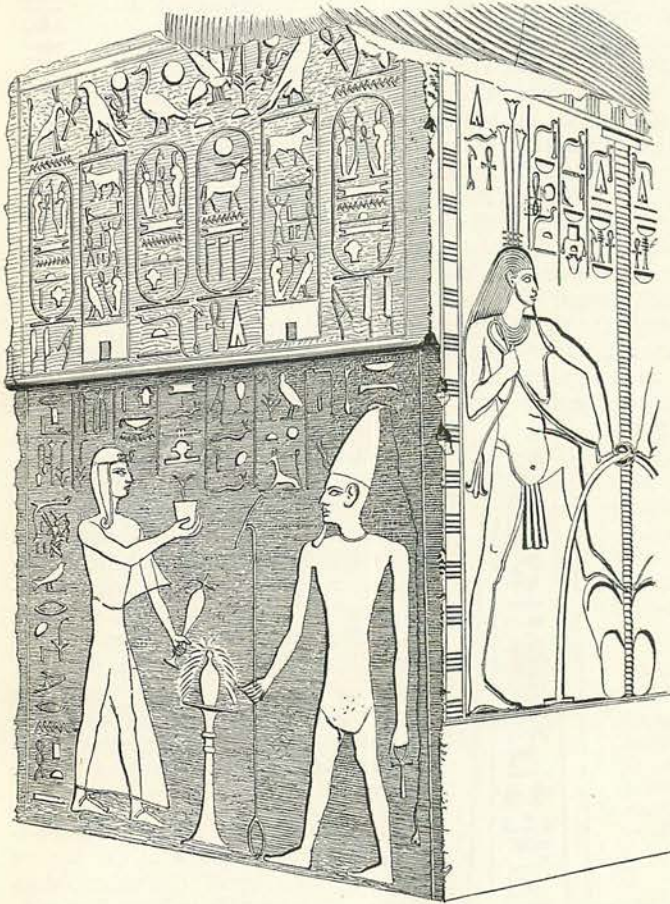
For what purpose?

To inscribe a new name and a new record there,

more in the vein of his newly acquired mood. It was, for the most part, a repetition of what Mariette has described from the San throne. On the right we now look upon

Sutekh, the great god, Lord of heaven.

And on the left we behold his worshiper, decked with the recurved lock of a prince and with the royal uræus, in the act of offering



28. BACK OF USERTESÉN'S THRONE. (FROM THE MONUMENT IN THE BERLIN MUSEUM. FROM A SPECIAL PHOTOGRAPH BY G. NEUMANN.)

his head a pointed miter from which depends a kind of long waved ribbon ending in a fork, like the tail of the animal symbolical of Sutekh. This same fork is placed at the extremities of the two little horns with which the forehead of the god is armed.

As to the other personage, he stands erect in the posture of adoration, and exhibits the grand costume of Egyptian princes, with the uræus upon his brow. . . . A fragment of inscription permits



incense and a libation of wine to the god, the adjacent hieroglyphs describing him as

His loving Adorer, his Son, beloved of him, rejoicing in his service, of Royal Birth, the Heir to the Throne, Royal Scribe, Chief of the Soldiers, great Royal Son, Mer-en-ptah *deceased*.

But all these titles are the peculiar distinctions of Seti-Menephtah. And it was only natural that *he* should be represented as professing relationship to, and delight in the service of, that god whose name he bore. The change that had befallen the father and reigning King Menephtah was the untimely death of his matchless son, so very dear to his heart and already exalted so near to his own rank and seat.

6. *The Tablet of Four Hundred Years.* All the foregoing monuments are, in some measure, introductory to, and serve as so many keys for unlocking the purpose of, the longest witness in this series. A double obscurity has always surrounded the Tablet of Four Hundred Years.

After discovering it within the inmost shrine of the Great Temple, under a heap of similar stelæ and mural inscriptions, for the most part broken to fragments, Mariette Bey concealed it on the site, near by, so they say; and when he died he carried the secret of its hiding-place with him into the other world.

But its subject-matter has always been a riddle. A confusion lurks under an evident combination—in its vignette of two unrelated pictures, and in its record of two unconnected stories, pertaining to two different persons.

Referring to illustration 29, the first of these occupies the left-hand side of the vignette *a*, and the first seven lines of the horizontal inscription. Here the vignette sketches an apotheosized forefather, Aa-peh-peh, under the form of the deity Sutekh, or Set, holding a scepter in one hand, the symbol of life in the other; wearing the white crown, rendered quite odd by a forked horn in front, and from its apex by a long waving streamer, likewise forked at the end. Here Rameses II. is the actor, as well as the epigraphist of this part of the tablet, identified by his cartouches and defined by the intermediate hieroglyphics as

Giving wine to his beloved god that He may make him a giver of life.

The upper seven horizontal lines of the record explain the meaning of these sketches of god and king, and reveal the original simple purpose of the tablet to be, on the part of Rameses, to acknowledge and honor the Shepherd king Set Aa-peh-peh, who lived four hundred years before, as the father of Rameses' fathers: the great king hereby seeks to immortalize an act of ancestor worship. Literally, this part of the legend runs as follows:

LINE 1. The living Horus, the living Sun, the powerful Bull beloved of Ma, Lord of the Festivals of Thirty years like his father Ptah, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ra-user-ma Sotep-en-ra, Son of Ra, Rameses Mer-amen, Giver of life,

2. Lord of the Vulture and Uraeus Diadems, Protector of Egypt, Chastiser of Provinces, Sun born of the gods, Possessor of Lands, the Hawk of gold, Rich in years, Greatest of the Victors,

3. King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ra-user-ma Sotep-en-ra, Son of Ra, Rameses Mer-amen, Chieftain enriching the Lands with memorials of his name.

4. The sun has shone as the king liked, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ra-user-ma Sotep-en-ra, Son of Ra, Rameses Mer-amen.

5. His Majesty ordered that a great Tablet of granite should be made in the great name of the Father of his fathers

6. (The King of Upper Egypt, Ra-mer-en-ma, Son of Ra, Mer-en-ptah-Seti, being firm and prosperous forever, like Ra every day)

7. In the Four Hundredth year, on the fourth day of the month Mesori, of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Set Aa-peh-peh, Son of Ra, beloved of him, Nubti Set, beloved of Harmakhis, who is forever and forever.

No regnal year of Rameses II. is supplied to serve as a date for the monument, because, as line 6 shows, the reign of Rameses had not yet begun; this stela was set up when he was acting as a regent only at Zoan, in Lower Egypt, while his father, Seti I., was still living at Thebes, in Upper Egypt, and continuing to rule as king firmly and prosperously over the land.

But the second personage is the one in whom our special interest lies: he is treated on the right-hand side of the vignette and in the lower portion of the horizontal inscription *b, b*. By a fracture of the slab his portrait and head are lost; but the two vertical lines of hieroglyphics expressing a petition in his behalf, addressed also to the deity Sutekh on the left, *a*, imperfectly read:

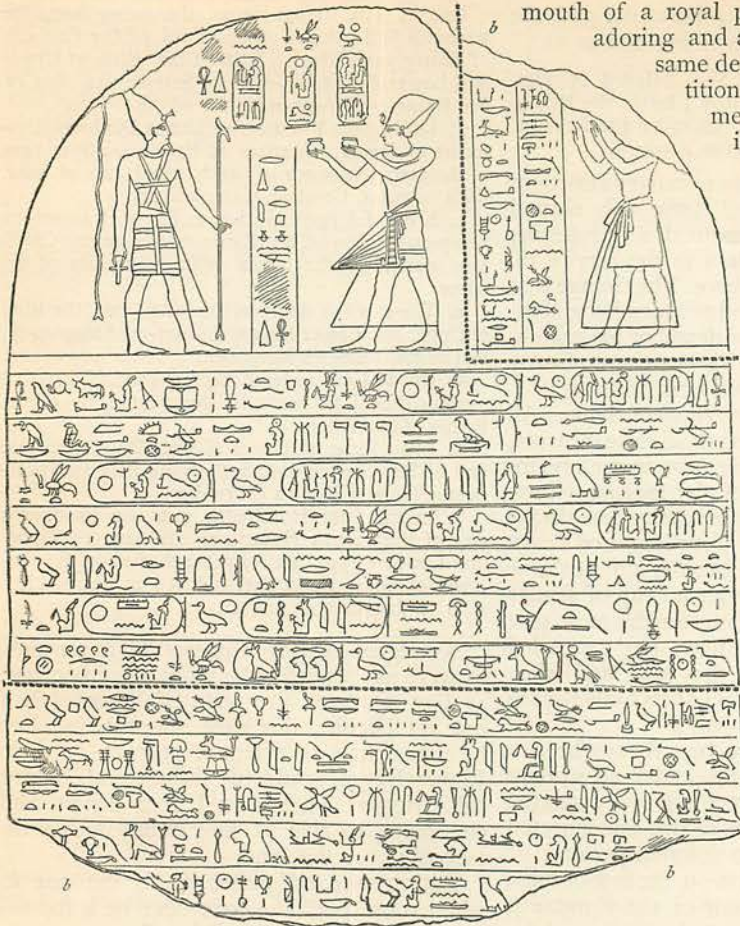
. . . Thy service, O Set, son of Nut, Grant thou a long time in thy service to the *ka* of the Heir to the Throne, Royal Scribe, Commander of the Cavalry, Controller of Provinces, and Superintendent of the fortress-town Tsar-on-the-frontier.

Here the single fact that the prayer is offered for the benefit of the *ka* of the person prayed for would indicate that we have in these words a petition for the welfare of some one no longer in life. Who was he? Already we encounter some of the titles familiar as those belonging to the subject of our study; but the last five lines of the horizontal inscription offer many more:

LINE 8. Having come [before the god represented at *a* in the vignette]—

The Heir to the Throne, Governor of the Nome, Fan-bearer at the King's right hand, Commander





29. THE TABLET OF FOUR HUNDRED YEARS. (FROM THE REVUE ARCHÉOLOGIQUE.)

of the Archers, Controllor of Provinces, Superintendent of the fortress-town Tsar-on-the-frontier, Chief of the Matsu, Royal Scribe, Commander of the Cavalry,

9. The processional priest of the fête Bai-nebat, High-priest of Set, Officer of Uati, Ruler of Lands, Superintendent of the priests of all the gods, Prince Seti deceased, Son, Heir to the Throne, Mayor of the City, Governor of the Nome,

10. The Commander of the Archers, Controllor of Provinces, Superintendent of the fortress-town Tsar-on-the-frontier, Royal Scribe, Commander of the Cavalry of Pa-Rameses, the Prince deceased born of the Lady of the House, Chantress superior of Ra, Princess deceased,—

He says:

11. Hail to thee, Set, son of Nut, valiant in the boat of millions of years, overthrowing enemies at the prow of the boat of Ra! Great are thy bellowings in . . .

12. . . . Grant thou me a long time in thy service to follow thy person. I have been placed in . . .

Here we have another prayer, an echo of the one written in the vignette, put into the

mouth of a royal personage, represented as adoring and addressing one and the same deity with Rameses. Its petition to the deity Set, "Grant

me a long time in thy service," reflects the cultus drawn upon the last monument, and recalls the words of its adorer of the same god, Sutekh, "Happy" or "Blessed in his service." This personage is plainly named the "Prince Seti deceased."

By such designation Seti I., the father of Rameses II., cannot be meant, because this Prince Seti, when alive, is said to have been commander of the cavalry stationed at Pa-Rameses, the biblical town Raames built by the children of Israel for Rameses II., which therefore was not in existence in the days of Seti I., father of Rameses. Hence the "Prince Seti" must designate Seti II., the son of Menephtah the King. Seti I. also would be excluded by

the anachronism involved in the office "Superintendent of the fortress-town Tsar-on-the-frontier," if this frontier fortress, Tsar, was the biblical town Zoan, shown with equal surety by its ruins to have been the creation of Rameses II. A superintendent of Zoan could be only a son or a grandson of Rameses the Great; and so, as his name was Seti, he must have been Seti-Menephtah.

Here, too, we have most of the titles belonging to Seti-Menephtah, already met with—"Heir to the Throne," "Son," "Prince"; and, in addition to these, he is said to have occupied many offices which together would be held only by one on the road to the throne—"Fan-bearer," "Royal Scribe," "Governor," "Commander," "Priest," etc. Indeed, he is declared to have been born of a royal wife, a "Princess," the "Lady of the House." In Egypt the right to the throne descended through the mother; accordingly the mother, from among whose sons the heir was to be selected, must be of the royal line. If the king married out-



side of a royal family the children were ineligible to the crown.

Here also we have apparently the last of King Menephtah's works. Since the tablets described under 1 of this series were placed on the walls of the Speos at Silsilis, this "Princess," the royal wife and mother, had departed; she, too, had gone before to recover her lost boy. The queen was no more, and the heir to the throne was not. What lament could be greater? These are the words of one bereaved indeed. Who inscribed those mortuary strokes? Manifestly, he who had both consort and prince to mourn—Menephtah the King, the desolate survivor. No possibility now remained of another heir or successor in his line to perpetuate his dynasty.

Either Menephtah found the parts of the vignette on the right and the bottom of the tablet (*b*, *b*) without tracing, or he made them so, and then he engraved them between his tears.

Such is the resolution of the "peculiarity," the incongruity, of the Tablet of Four Hundred Years. He who wrote his name upon several monuments of other rulers, his predecessors at Zoan,—he who bequeathed to us a statue composed of the body of Amen-em-hat and the face of Menephtah,—he it was who has caused us to puzzle over a tablet presenting the original worship of Rameses II., supplemented by an imitation of it imputed to Seti-Menephtah his son, who, because no longer with him on earth, was conceived to be entering the presence of an ancestral deity in the world of the gods. So overmastering was Menephtah's misery that he could not refrain from draughting and relettering the honors of his painfully absent child upon every monument, no matter whose, that offered an opportunity.

Upon three of these six memorials the youth referred to has been called Menephtah, upon two Seti-Menephtah, and upon one Seti: no argument is required to show that they all refer to one and the same individual.

Every one of the six, at its end, has confessed just such an unlooked-for death in youth as the Bible attributes to the first-born of Pharaoh and the tomb at Thebes concedes.

Four reasons ascribe the authorship of all these retrospective sketches to Menephtah the King.

*First.* He was the last survivor of the whole family.

*Second.* No one except Menephtah would have done such things: Amen-meses and Siptah who followed, descendants of other or irregular lines, were usurpers, rivals, anti-kings, full of antagonism to the house of Menephtah. They would have struck out, effaced, covered up by their own cartouches and claims to

the throne, had they done anything; whereas this sort of regretful work reveals the parental hand. Menephtah was now left a broken-down old man. The high expectation cherished two short years ago, that this vigorous youth would shortly become the sole wearer of Egypt's crown in spite of earth and heaven, the Lord had extinguished in a moment of time. The bright hope was blasted, and in its seat was bitter grief. The stricken father was beside himself: we can fairly hear him moan, not unlike David over Absalom, "O my son Menephtah, my son, my son Menephtah! would God I had died for thee, O Seti, my son, my son!" By day he sought him and by night he missed him. Stooping under the blow, his faltering limbs led him to those spots where his boy had lived, had fought, had worshiped. What wonder if, in this aberration of distress, this agony of loneliness, he should exhibit a weakness for wandering among the monuments of Zoan to picture on them the image that was ever before his eyes, and to remind the people,—who by no means needed to have their memory quickened,—in words that wept, of the lad who was once alive. He would have the world remember his loved one till the world itself should die.

*Third.* Whatever had been conferred on the son now reverted to the father. Seti-Menephtah had been real ruler and nominal sovereign; the plan that these were to be permanent and finally merge into kingship had been frustrated by a higher power. Both the crown and the government had fallen back wholly upon Menephtah; his reign was continuing as before, and, on account of the absence of other heirs, it must continue till he should die. Then the question must have arisen, How is Seti's brief regency, accompanied by his assumption of kingly prerogative, to be regarded? What would have been reckoned as part of another reign under the nineteenth dynasty could not now be counted. Officially it must be treated as if it had never happened, it must be recognized as such no longer; indeed, measures must be taken to show that he lived and died while yet a prince and not as a king. Accordingly he was represented on the monuments, after his death, just as Khamus was (illustration 3), a deceased prince, distinguished by the side-lock of a royal infant who had not reached the throne as sole ruler after the death of the king.

*Fourth.* The juxtaposition on the monuments 3, 4, and 5 above-described, of the cartouches and inscriptions of Menephtah the King to those of Seti-Menephtah the son, indicates synchronism.

To the six monumental witnesses of Seti-Menephtah's minority, already considered, another might be added from the papyri. Having



been Chief of the Scribes, where now are his fellows? Have those whom he cherished in his court, and the poets who sought his favor when living, nothing to say of him when dying? Did no others in the realm share the heartache of the father?

They wrote his elegy, and voiced a universal wail when they sang

THE DIRGE OF SETÏ-MENEPHTAH.

O Fan-bearer at the right of the king,  
Crown-prince in the grand hall of Seb,  
Royal Scribe of truth!  
Thy mouth and thy lips were full of health;  
Thou wast in favor with the king all thy life.  
O Horus, friend of things that are just!  
Thou shalt dwell a thousand years on the earth,  
Thou reposest upon the mountain  
Whose mistress is on the west of Thebes, in the  
necropolis.  
Thy soul is renewing itself among the living,  
And mingling among the perfected spirits.  
Descending into the divine bark, thou art not re-  
pulsed,  
Thou passest even to the jaws of the tomb;  
Thou art judged before the deity [Osiris];  
Thou art *proclaimed righteous*].

Observe that the poets neither call him king nor imply that he had been such, but only "Fan-bearer" and "Crown-prince," and that after having passed the portal of the tomb and been weighed in the balance of the judgment hall of Osiris, they had no more to wish for him than all the beatitudes of the Egyptian Paradise. They assure him of a thousand years on earth by embalmment, which insured against a second death. And by "the living" they meant the departed, who were supposed scarcely to begin, and not to enjoy, life until they reached the Elysian Fields.

Menephtah, his father, owed his promotion to the throne not to personal merit, but to the removal of most of his elder brothers by death on the field of battle: it is safe to infer that he had kept himself far away from all such dangerous ground. On reaching the throne he had grown too old to learn how to wield the sword or to direct others in actual combat.

But he was an adept in the science of magic, and a believer in the great significance of dreams, visions, and the oracles of the gods. And whenever he was driven into a corner he managed to make superstition avail to extricate him without bodily harm.

When the Libyans, with their allies, were crossing his boundaries and marching on Memphis, he ought to have been at the head of the troops and in the forefront of the defensive works. But as the opposing expedition was about to set out, lo! by night he had a dream, which he naively related, to this effect:

Then his Majesty saw in a dream as it were a statue of the god Ptah standing in front of him so as to prevent the king from advancing. It was as high as . . . and it said to him, "Remain where you now are"; and giving him a scimiter, "Put away anxiety from your heart."

Thereupon his Majesty asked, "What am I to do?" And the god replied, "Let the cavalry in great numbers advance in front of the infantry to the cultivated land in the defiles of the nome of Pa-ari-sheps." And so it was done: Menephtah, the incompetent king, trembling with fear, held back clinging to the bank of the Nile, while his army, commanded by his generals, sallied out and won the victory without him.

Later, the goddess Isis appeared to him in another dream, complaining that her temple had been demolished; and this led to that rebellion of his foreign population that drove him to Ethiopia.

From the face of the combined forces of rebels and Jebusites he turned back, as he professed because, forsooth, after a priest had prophesied they were to conquer Egypt and hold it thirteen years, to contend with them would be to fight against the gods; whence, also, the return from Ethiopia at the end of twelve years.

Such inexperience in warfare and such shrinking from exposure to personal harm has some bearing on what he would do in the Exodus at the crossing of the sea: analogy indicates at least a probability.

Had his son been living, the father, now about eighty years of age, certainly again would not have left the bank of the Nile. But the warrior Seti-Menephtah lay motionless on his bier in the palace; and the cavalry, requiring a leader, must now be led forth by the venerable king himself. Though blinded by the shadow of death, though bleeding from his fresh wound of bereavement, though frenzied with rage against those who had brought calamity on him, he made ready his chariot, and all the chariots of Egypt, "The Cavalry of Pa-Rameses," and his army, and pursued after escaping Israel. When Pharaoh drew nigh, the children of Israel were sore afraid.

Did he follow them into the midst of the sea, leading his forces after him?

If he did, it was the first time in all his life that he led an attack. Judging from his constitutional cowardice and his record of absence from every field of hostilities, we may be sure he would have had another revelation from heaven sooner than risk his person by such a collision in such a place. For this, too, his feebleness unfitted him, and recent events had unnerved him. Undoubtedly, having brought his host up to the fugitives, remaining in camp



himself he sent his forces forward into the depths to bring Israel back.

And there, standing on the beach at the break of day, he saw the returning waters engulf his troubled, baffled, mighty yet impotent hosts, and, as the day wore on, toss them up at his feet.

Why should we expect the father to perish with the son? For him to live was the greater penalty; shall the less be required? Imagine him, as he furtively fled back to Zoan, unattended by a single one of the gallant charioteers who rode out with him, utterly crushed under multiplied horrors, to linger and suffer out a retributive existence.

Just how long he continued to linger and suffer is unknown. His remaining days were devoted to the pardonable diversion of inscribing upon the monuments at Zoan mementos of him who was his pride, so darkly slain by the mysterious God of the Hebrews. For the sake of these we indulge no regrets that he was spared the sea. No doubt, too, during his last years he was diligently engaged in completing his sepulcher at Thebes. Though not to finish it entirely, he lived long enough to make it in extent and in style of decoration second only to the magnificent tomb of Seti I., his grandfather. Yet his mummy was not there as far back as classic times, when tourists from Italy and Greece left memoranda of pilgrimage in numbers on the spot.

Reference has been made to a single date recorded shortly before King Menephtah's decease. It was observed by Dr. Heinrich Brugsch at Thebes in 1853, and made note of as follows:

Here we meet with the ruins of a temple belonging to the era of Amenhotep III., containing many cartouches of the kings both of earlier and later time; and the remnants of a statue of Menephtah Hotephima, carved out of black granite, with its inscription whose highest date may be the year 33, the lowest not less than the year 25 of this king. ("Reiseberichte," s. 194.)

As we have followed his career, the Exodus and the death of his son must have occurred in the twenty-second or the twenty-third year of his reign: accordingly, if he died in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, he had only two or three years more to live after those critical events; but if he endured to the thirty-third year of his reign, he had about ten to wear away. He must have been between eighty-five and ninety-five years old when at length he was rejoined to his idol.

After the crossing of the sea, Israel chanted words of a song familiar to us:

I will sing unto the Lord,  
For he hath triumphed gloriously:  
The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.

Not long afterward, when the aged king died, a poem was composed by an Egyptian courtier, eulogistic in character, not familiar to us and deeply interesting as the contemporary elegy: at about the same time and over closely connected events the Hebrews sang a pæan of triumph, but the Egyptians,

#### THE DIRGE OF MENEPHTAH.

Amen gave thy heart pleasure,  
He gave thee a good old age,  
A lifetime of pleasure followed thee:  
Blessed was thy lip, sound thine arm,  
Strong thine eye to see afar.  
Thou hast been clothed in linen;  
Thou hast guided thy horse and chariot  
Of gold with thy hand,  
The whip in thy hand, yoked were the steeds;  
The Syrians and the Negroes marched before thee.  
A proof of what thou hast done—  
Thou hast proceeded to thy boat of acacia wood,  
A boat made of it before and behind;  
Thou hast approached the Beautiful Tower  
Which thou thyself made.  
Thy mouth was full of wine, beer, bread, and flesh:  
Cattle were slaughtered and wine opened.  
The sweet song was made before thee:  
The chief anointer anointed thee with balsam.  
The superintendent of thy fields brought birds,  
The fishermen brought fish;  
Thy galleys came from Syria laden with good things;  
Thy stable was full of horses;  
Thy female slaves were strong.  
Thine enemies were placed fallen:  
Thy word no one opposed.  
Thou hast gone before the gods, the victor, *the departed*.

It is often asserted that the Egyptians naturally would not confess a misfortune, and that their antiquities afford no trace of the first-born son of Pharaoh brought low under the last of those ten judgments which liberated Israel. But may not such statements themselves be fallible? As in the example of the Oppressor's daughter, may not the monumental concealment of his son's son, who died for the freedom of God's chosen people, be due rather to our dullness of vision? Is not their ingenuous testimony on record, and waiting only for our unerring discernment?

John A. Paine.

