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FOUR
EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY
TOMBS

PRIVATE TOMBS AT THEBES

VOLUME I

FOUR
EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY
TOMBS

BY

TORGNY SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH

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TO THE MEMORY OF
NORMAN DE GARIS DAVIES

FOREWORD

FROM 1907 onwards the late Norman de Garis Davies and his wife Nina undertook much detailed recording of the decoration and inscriptions in the Egyptian private tombs at Thebes. Many of the results of this work were published in valuable monographs by Davies in the Tytus series sponsored by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, in the Theban Tombs Series edited by Sir Alan Gardiner, and elsewhere. Apart from what was published, however, there still exists a considerable collection of material amassed by Mr. and Mrs. Davies which came into the possession of the Griffith Institute after Davies died in 1941. It is the first-fruits of this material that are now published in the present volume, edited by Professor Torgny Säve-Söderbergh of Uppsala University for the Griffith Institute, and it is the intention of the Institute and of Professor Säve-Söderbergh that more of the material shall be published in further volumes in this same new series.

Before the material could be published it needed full collation and revision, both in the study and in the field—a task which has been accomplished by the editor and others during the last few years. The work has required the goodwill of many, and the Committee of Management of the Griffith Institute would like to express its keenest appreciation of the kindness of Professor Säve-Söderbergh himself, who agreed to undertake the arduous task of editor-in-chief, and also to join Professor Säve-Söderbergh in thanking all those who have helped him in many and diverse ways. In presenting this book as the first volume of its new Theban Tomb Series the Institute is very ready to recognize that without all this help the work could not have been done.

Much of the expense of the preliminary work and the whole cost of the printing has fallen on the Institute's funds. That this should be so would certainly have pleased the founders of the Institute, the late Professor and Mrs. F. Ll. Griffith, who themselves were lifelong friends of Norman de Garis Davies and would have been the first to wish to help in the publication of work that Davies had initiated.

D. B. HARDEN
Secretary of the Griffith Institute

Ashmolean Museum
Oxford, 1956

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I WELCOME this opportunity of thanking all those who have helped me in my task as editor. In the first place, the work could not even have been begun without the ready and constant help of Mrs. Davies herself, whose full knowledge of her husband's work and activities has been invaluable. Close collaboration has also been maintained throughout with the editors of the *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, Miss R. L. B. Moss and Mrs. E. Burney, so that the Davies material could be supplemented by their unpublished records which they have collected and kept constantly up to date. The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York has most kindly provided prints of numerous photographs and permitted their publication, and the University of Uppsala has also given generous help, not only by affording many facilities to the editor, but also by bearing the cost of some of the photography. The collation of the scenes in the tombs has been shared by J. Janssen, A. Mekhitarian, J. W. B. Barns, T. G. H. James, Labib Habachi, H. S. Smith, H. de Meulenaere, and myself. The photography was undertaken by Mr. Mekhitarian, and the quality of his work can be readily recognized and appreciated from the examples published in the present volume. The Antiquities Service in Cairo and their officials were ever ready to help, and must in particular be thanked for their kindness in arranging for special reopening of some of the tombs, in lending the expedition-house, and in providing other facilities which reduced the cost of the work very considerably.

T. SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH

Uppsala, 1956

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TOMB OF THENUNA (NO. 76)

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TOMB NO. 73

THE name of the owner of this tomb has been erased, and cannot be made out with any certainty.¹ He was 'overseer of the cattle of Amūn', 'superintendent of the work on the two great obelisks in the temple of Amūn', 'chief steward' and 'warrior of the King', and thus an important man. From the texts it is clear that he lived during the reign of Queen Hatshepsut and that he belonged to the same group of the queen's favourites as, for example, Senmut and Hapusonb, whose tombs (Nos. 71 and 67) in Sheikh Abd el Qurnah are not far off from No. 73.² He was presumably one of those military officers or officials in the army who were appointed to a post at the court after they had left active service. The problem is, however, what his position was in relation to that of Senmut who was equally 'overseer of the cattle of Amūn', 'superintendent of the works of Amūn', 'superintendent of all the King's works', and 'chief steward' and who had probably also served in the army in his younger days.³ Both Senmut and the owner of tomb No. 73 held these titles after the accession of Hatshepsut to the throne, but if Helck is right in his opinion that two 'chief stewards of the King' never served contemporaneously, Senmut was presumably the predecessor of the owner of tomb No. 73.

Only the outer room, the transverse hall with four columns, is now accessible (or was ready when the owner died or fell into disgrace), and of the scenes only those decorating the northern bay of this room still remain. The southern part was probably never finished. The wall to the left of the entrance has been plastered but has been left blank, except for the *kheker*-frieze and a few hieroglyphs. The whole tomb has been so fiercely burnt that all yellows have turned dark red, and reds light orange. Blacks have disappeared, and greens are blue-black. Only blue has kept its colour. The colours have been almost burnt away, however, and the whole is predominantly red and very hard to decipher. Practically no scene is undamaged and, with the exception of the ibex under the chair of the deceased (see below, p. 9), all that is left is much faded. All the representations of the queen have been erased, as well as her name, whereas the figure of the tomb-owner has been spared—only his name has been chiselled out. This is the opposite procedure to that found in the tomb of Senmut under the temple enclosure, where the name of the queen and of Senmut have been left untouched but the figures of Senmut mutilated.⁴ To erase the names of the adherents of Hatshepsut was the normal thing for the party of Tuthmosis III to do, and we find it also, for example, in the tombs of Hapusonb (No. 67) and Thuty (No. 110).

¹ According to Engelbach, *A Supplement to the Topographical Catalogue of Private Tombs of Thebes*, p. 14, it should, according to N. de G. Davies, have been *Imn-ḥtp*. This very uncertain reading (cf. below, pp. 2, 7) has been taken over, for example, in Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, i, p. 100; Helck, *Der Einfluß der Militärführer*, pp. 43, 45; Wegner, *Die Stilentwicklung der thebanischen Beamtengräber* (M.D.I.K. iv), p. 103, and by others. But, as suggested by Labib Habachi, the name can have been Amenhotep, as it is not improbable that the tomb-owner is identical with the man of this name who, in an inscription at Sehel (see Porter and Moss, op. cit. v, p. 252 [208]), has the titles *ḥrp kst m ḥnwy wrw(y)*, *ḥm-nṯr tpy n Ḥnm*, *Sṯt*,

ḥnkt. (The explanatory text to this tomb is largely based on the notes of N. de G. Davies, but since these were of a preliminary character, they have been somewhat revised. The records were collated by Dr. Janssen and Mr. Mekhitarian in the winter of 1952/3, and parts of the tomb were photographed by Mr. Mekhitarian.)

² Cf. Gardiner and Weigall, *Topographical Catalogue*, p. 22. The tombs from the reign of Queen Hatshepsut are enumerated by Wegner, op. cit., p. 141.

³ Cf. Helck, op. cit., pp. 40–45.

⁴ No. 353; see Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el Bahri*, pp. 138, 152, pl. 64.

THE NORTH-WEST WALL (Pls. I.–II)

The most interesting scene in the tomb is that depicting the presentation of gifts to the queen, presumably on New Year's Day.¹ The owner of the tomb seems to have been of the same opinion since this scene not only covers—as was normally the case—one part of the back wall of the outer room, but continues also on the northern wall. The scene starts with a picture of the queen immediately to the right of the entrance to the passage (Pl. I).²

The baldachin under which the queen sits is of the normal type except that it is supported by pillars instead of by columns with palm-leaf capitals or possibly corniced walls. They were apparently adorned by the titulary of the monarch and have four lions' heads between the corniced capital and the architrave.³ The head facing the observer is duly shown full face, but this attempt is, as is usual, not a success. The occupant of the throne having been totally, and the name and titles almost completely, erased, there is no definite proof here of Hatshepsut's presence. Her figure appears to have been followed by her *ka*-figure carrying on its head the Horus name. She was 'beloved of Amūn . . . lord (?) of heaven', the other epithets of the god ('lord of Karnak, King of the gods'?) having been erased, no doubt by the Atenists.

In front of the queen is a specimen of the special feature of the gifts here presented to her. Though it is completely erased it evidently showed a statue, to judge from the form of the break, representing the queen as a sphinx.⁴ The docket informs us that the work of art was made of 'dark stone'. It is placed on a table, which may indicate that this and all the similar productions were on quite a small scale.

Outside the kiosk the owner of the tomb presents on a stiff mat a large collar with its make-weight for the back (Pl. II). A similar collar, another much smaller one with pectoral attached, and specimen bracelets for wrist and upper arm are also displayed. Over and behind him is the text (Davies's translation):⁵

May thy Spirit be secure, O Wosretkaw, and thy New Years many millions in [life, prosperity and health]. [Bringing] a handsome [gift] of the best productions of the workshop and the main departments of His Majesty, viz., silver, gold (?), lapis lazuli, turquoise, and all (other) precious stones without limit; also ivory, ebony, *sesenedem*- and *meru*-wood which this official supervised for Pharaoh (L.P.H.!), to his lord the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lady of the Two Provinces [Makarē] (to whom life be given!), in order to gratify the heart of the Lady of the Two Provinces and give pleasure to the inmate of the Palace. On the part of the Seigneur, the Companion who has the entry to the royal person, the regent of the entire land, who has the entire confidence of the Lady of the Two Provinces, the favourite of the good goddess, the confidant of Khawneteryt, the favoured of Wosretkaw, the overseer of the work on the two great obelisks at the temple of Amūn, the chief steward, veteran of the King, [X], who spoke with his mouth and (then) did (it) with his hands, and proved useful to [Wosretkaw], the confidant of the King at the head of his [army(?)], [a man of parts (?)], who spoke in private (audience), filling the ears of the King with Truth, who had the freedom of movement in the palace (L.P.H. to it!), and had speech with⁶ the Lady of the Two Provinces, a spokesman who gave contentment in the entire land, the [chief steward (?) X].

¹ Cf. Helck, *op. cit.*, p. 48, and tombs Nos. 48, 76 (Cham-pollion, *Not. descr.* i. 481; Wreszinski, *Atlas*, i. 46; see below, pp. 50 f. and Pl. LXXII), 92 (Wreszinski, *op. cit.*, 29), 93 (Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amūn*, pls. xi–xxiv), 96 A (*Bull. M.M.A.*, Eg. Exp. 1927–8, pp. 46 ff., fig. 6), 100 (Davies, *Rekh-mi-rēc*, pls. xxxvi–xxxvii) for similar displays of products.

² Cf. Sethe, *Urk.* iv. 455 ff.

³ Cf. Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amūn*, pl. xi.

⁴ Cf. Sethe, *Urk.* iv. 457⁸. So also in one of Davies's notebooks, and according to Dr. Janssen this reconstruction is practically certain. In another notebook Davies assumed that it was a group of Amūn laying hands on the neck of the kneeling queen.

⁵ Cf. Sethe, *Urk.* iv. 455 f.

⁶ Properly 'the speaking mouth of', i.e. 'who spoke for'.

THE GIFTS

TOP REGISTER (Pls. II, III)

(Here as elsewhere there are numerous sketch-lines of network which in some cases may coincide with lines of the object drawn. They are 27/8 or 18/16 apart and this measure may often serve to distinguish the sketch-lines from the drawing.) The first gifts are two tables piled with linen (?) and an ornate carrying-chair so designed that the occupant was on the back of a lioness and leaned on the breast of the vulture goddess, Nekhbet, between her enfolding wings while men (under the wings) chanted hymns in honour of the monarch. There follows what looks like a bed or couch with some oblong objects lying on it. The gift below this and that on the right are lost. The latter may have been a standing figure of the monarch or of a god. Then come two tables supporting linen or other valuables. These are followed by a chair, the seat of which rests on the back of a lion (or perhaps a royal sphinx), treading on a prostrate foreigner.¹ Next come a table with linen (?) and an ornament in which symbols of life and happiness support that of durability (*dd*).

On the right of this there were perhaps two vases, and another on a stand between them. A large vase occurs beyond them with a stopper showing the head of the ram of Amūn. Possibly an erased figure squatted in front of it. Among these and other jars is set, incongruously enough, a chariot. The next object preserved is represented as if it were a scene in which the queen kneels between Sakhmet and Amūn, facing the former. These deities place their hands on the head and the shoulders of their protégée. Does it represent a smallish group in alabaster, for which the treasure from the tomb of Tutankhamun would afford some justification, in which the deities were placed exactly as they are shown? Or was it a compact group in which the queen stood between the deities, all facing the spectator, as with the triads in the temple of Mycerinus? Such a triple statue group might be of any size.

SECOND REGISTER (Pls. II, III)

The first object is again a statue group like many of the rest in which Satet, 'Mistress of Elephantine', holds the queen on her lap, and Amūn, 'Lord of Karnak', seated opposite her, also embraces the royal child. Each is associated by the text above with 'the beloved bodily daughter, Lady of the Two Provinces, [Hatshepsut]' to whom the deities promise 'life, happiness, and endurance for ever like Rē'. The queen wears the crown of Upper Egypt.² There follows an object completely lost, and a shrine decorated with emblems of the goodwill of the gods to the queen. The complicated group that follows is still more difficult than the others to reconcile with known types of statuary since there are no less than four figures involved.³ Thoth writes the queen's years on the tally-stick, Sakhmet⁴ extends a benevolent hand to the head of the queen as she kneels at the feet of an enthroned figure of Amūn. It becomes a question whether these and others are not slabs of relief destined for the walls of a temple where the acceptance of Hatshepsut as ruler of Egypt by the gods was to be depicted, or else models for large-scale execution there.⁵ The texts are as good as completely obliterated.

The next presentation piece, whether a relief or a statue, was a figure of the queen, rushing forward to slay a miserable foe, the left hand, as usual, grasping the hair of the victim, and the

¹ Davies thought that it was perhaps a Nubian, but the flesh has a bright colour.

² On the lower part of the group the red square net is still visible (omitted on Pl. II).

³ Practically the whole of this group is now lost.

⁴ As pointed out to me by Labib Habachi the goddess is rather *Wrt-hkꜣw*; cf. the similar scene on the chair panel of Tuthmosis IV in Boston (Smith, *Ancient Egypt*, 1942, fig. 69), and Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, pl. ci.

⁵ Cf., for example, Naville, *op. cit.*, pls. xlvii-lix, ci.

right uplifted to strike the fatal blow with the curved scimitar. The action is scarcely in accord with the assumed pacifism of the queen:¹ the proper note is struck by words saved from the wrecked text 'receive (?) thou all foreign countries'.

Before the great injury to the surface of the wall is reached we see two caskets of 'ebony decorated with work in . . .', and a couch which takes the form of the cow-goddess of heaven, who deigns to carry the royal body to the realm of sleep as she once carried Horus to safety.² Here we have the very model for the furniture that has been preserved for us in the tomb of Tutankhamun.

THIRD REGISTER (Pls. II, III)

On the left is a statue group, expressly stated to be in alabaster, in which the queen (name and figure are erased) and Amūn are shown in a mutual embrace. She wore the *atef*-crown, he the high feathers. In reality the two, no doubt, would stand side by side. Then two pairs of fans are shown, and, between them, a seated statue of the queen (?). On a table a fully decorated collar in cloisonné work is shown. There follow a *kheryp*-sceptre and then two chariots. The upper chariot is accompanied by its proper armament, a bow and arrows and a quiver. The description of the chariot is 'A great chariot of *shendet* wood from vile Kush, decorated with gold', and that over the bow is 'a bow of fine gold (*dcm*)'.³ A sphinx, representing the queen and made of 'alabaster', probably presented water or incense to the god between extended paws or hands.⁴ Below is a statue group in which Khnum, 'who is in Elephantine and at the head of Bigeh',⁵ embraces the royal child as it sits on the lap of his consort Anuket. Hatshepsut, who wears the high feathers (?), is cut out to the waist and otherwise mutilated. I think it likely that the monument was carried out in the form presented. Of course, Anuket nursing the child and Khnum might be two separate statues placed facing one another in the temple or elsewhere. But why should they not be a monolith, especially if of small size?

To the right of this something has been completely cut out. The texts show that it represented the queen and Amūn, but the shape of the mutilation and the text arouse the suspicion that there were here two sphinxes proffering some gift, in the lower case to Amūn, in the upper to some other or the same god. The device below, a *djed*-emblem flanked by the symbol of union on each side and carried out in 'alabaster', reminds one again of Tutankhamun's furniture,⁶ and it is not unlikely that the table is part of the device. The symbols might form a table-top of pierced work but more probably they are set upright on it. The last object before the lacuna may again be a sphinx presenting a gift to Amūn, with something else below it.

FOURTH REGISTER (Pls. II, IV, V)

The first gift presented is a fan of 'ebony decorated with work in . . .'. There follows the erased titulary of Hatshepsut showing that a statue of the queen was represented here. To the right of this is another fan, and an erased titulary, apparently belonging to a statue group.

Below a large quiver of arrows and a bow we see Hatshepsut between Atum and Amon-Rē

¹ Cf., for example, Naville, *op. cit.*, pl. clx.

² According to Janssen's collation Davies's drawing of this part is not quite correct, but I have not ventured to correct it. The thick line above and to the left of the first casket should coincide with the first vertical line of the casket and with the vertical line to the left of the horns of the cow.

³ According to Janssen there is no stroke to the right of the *nbw*-sign, but since Sethe (*Urk.* iv. 457 c) has the same reading as Davies, the copy is presumably correct, the stroke having been lost later.

⁴ Cf. Davies, *Tomb of Ken-Amūn*, pl. xviii.

⁵ Sethe, *Urk.* iv. 458⁷, reads [*ntr* ♂] *hnty Snmt*, but there is hardly any place for [*ntr* ♂].

⁶ The symbol to the right of the *djed*-column was perhaps different from the left one. Sethe, *Urk.* iv. 458¹⁴, regarded it as a fragmentary *hh*-figure, which is unlikely. The texts published by Sethe, *loc. cit.*, do not belong to this device, interpreted by him as a 'Kasten', but to the lost upper part.

in an 'alabaster' group (Pl. IV). Both gods lay their hands on the shoulders and head of their accepted daughter. Amon-Rē, 'Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, on his great throne in the Great House', gives the queen the diadems of the kingship of Egypt. Atum, 'Lord of Heliopolis', bestows years of eternity and the gift of everlasting life. To the right of this are four fans, three sunshades, and a collar or pectoral.

The rest of the register is occupied by two huge shrines. The one to the left is probably a large bed-canopy,¹ one long side and the two ends of which are shown. The front side was perhaps open or had columns, the three others being enclosed walls and the one column shown being the corner one. (Perhaps there was also a column at the right lower corner of the shrine which is now badly damaged.) The sides are decorated in the top register with Hathor heads, the second register shows the cartouche of Hatshepsut in the centre and Thoth, Bes, and Taurt ministering to it. The third register has a Hathor head in the centre, flanked by cartouches and a royal Horus protected by the sacred eye. It is worth noticing that the decoration of the second and third registers is practically identical with that adorning the bed-canopy of Amenophis I depicted in the Ramesside tomb of Apy.² The fourth register is decorated with the symbols *nh*, *dd*, *wꜥs* on a *nb*-sign³ repeated six times. The fifth register, finally, has four sunshades with a symbolic handle.

The first register of the long side is again decorated with Hathor heads, and in the second register there are two cartouches ministered to by Isis, Nephthys, Meskhenet (?), and Anubis. The third, fourth, and fifth registers are decorated with alternating pairs of the symbols of endurance and protection. The sixth register shows *rekhyt*-birds adoring a star in the centre and in the last register the nine bow peoples are seen in duplication.

The representation of the second shrine (Pl. V) is less well preserved, but seems to show one long side and the two end walls. The first register still to be seen of the latter has some design with Hathor heads. In the next register on the left side wall only part of a protecting goddess is left, the corresponding part on the right wall being almost entirely lost. Below this was a narrow band with a text, and then, on the left, flying deities and serpents, on the right, seated (?) goddesses protecting the royal name (?). The lower bands are left blank on the right wall, and on the left wall one of them is decorated with chevrons. It is possible that one or several of these bands represent grilles. The topmost register preserved of the long wall was perhaps decorated with *nb*-signs under some symbols. Below this is again a narrow band with a destroyed text, and in the next register winged hawks protect the royal name. There follows another destroyed text-band, and a register divided into two halves, each flanked by seated winged goddesses. The scenes between these goddesses are too much destroyed to be interpreted with certainty. In the centre of the next register were two cartouches with eternity signs (?) and to the left and right of this are crowned sphinxes. The decoration of the lower part is the same as that of the left side wall.

DADO-REGISTER (Pls. IV, V)

The dado-register beyond the figure of the deceased before the throne shows five or six fat bulls, decorated with flowers. An inscription⁴ above gives the following explanation of the scene (Davies's translation):

Counting (*ip*?)⁵ the (fat) cattle for the festival of Opet for the sake of the life, prosperity, and health of the King of the South and North, Lord (read Lady; the *t* is erased) of the Two Provinces, [Hatshepsut] (may life be

¹ Cf. Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, pp. 66 ff., pls. xxxvii f. decoration with squares.

⁴ Sethe, *Urk.* iv. 459.

² Davies, loc. cit.

⁵ Rather *hrp* 'leading'; cf. *Wb.* iii. 327¹.

³ According to Janssen all the *nb*-signs have the same

given to her) made as the duty of¹ the Seigneur, great in his office,² large in his (?)³ dignity, a magnate at the head of the nobles of the King, superintendent of the works on the two great obelisks in the temple of Amūn, the chief steward, veteran of the King. . . .

The measurements of the different bulls are written above them:⁴

1. 'Height 6 (?) cubits; its girth 6 cubits.'
2. 'Height . . . cubits; its girth . . . cubits.'
3. 'Height 6 cubits; its girth . . . cubits.'
4. 'Height 7 (? or 8?) cubits; its girth 7 (?) cubits.'⁵
5. 'Height 6 cubits; its girth 6 (?) cubits.'

At the right end of the wall there is a great standing figure of the deceased, facing the lower rows of the gifts presented and the dado-register. Only certain small traces remain. Over his head are the remains of a text with the epithets and titles of the man (Pl. IX, 1).⁶


At the top of the wall was a running text, starting with a *htp-di-nsw* formula. Only the beginning of it, above the kiosk at the south end of the wall (Pl. IX, 2), and the end of the formula and the first titles of the deceased, above the palanquin with lion (Pl. IX, 3), are now left.

Above the furniture depicted on the adjoining north wall there was a similar text with the wish that 'they may give a beautiful burial from the king for the *ka* of' the deceased (Pls. VI, IX A).

THE NORTH WALL (Pls. VI, IX A)

The ceiling of the hall is divided into two halves by an architrave, each half consisting of a rock-cut vault. In the vaulted space above the running horizontal text over the scene decorating the wall there is to the left of the architrave a kneeling man, facing left, and to the right of the architrave a vulture or rather a hawk protecting the royal name. Of the horizontal text very little now remains, and the surface of the western, left part of the wall below this text is also badly damaged. Just below the soffit of the architrave two obelisks are depicted, and to the left of them a continuation of the gifts represented on the North-west wall. Several of the vertical lines seem to belong to the foundation network which was put on the wall before it was decided what the pictures would contain, for it would be of no other use for the actual design save to keep the lines vertical and horizontal. What is left of the gifts shows from the left-hand top corner (Pl. IX A): (1) a fan; (2) a cartonnage mask (? it interferes with the feather fan); (3) a basket of gold (?) rings; (4) a bed with turned legs and a footstool underneath, decorated with two foreign prisoners; (5) a bier on a sled. The sled has the appropriate finial of a canine head. Four 'Nile gods', mounted on the runners, bring gifts under this bier; (6) two very large vases with the queen's head on the stoppers; (7) something indeterminable; (8) a table of linen or of logs (?); (9) a statue group showing a god blessing the queen who kneels in front with her back to him; (10) a shrine (to shelter the statue?); (11) two sunshades and two other objects; (12) a harp (?); (13) a fan; (14) a *ka*-figure (?) carrying the Horus name on his head and a staff. It is labelled 'worked in gold' (? *b3k m nbw?*—the text is now very faded); (15) an *usekh*-collar (so labelled); (Pl. VI): (16) two caskets; (17) two fans; (18) a number of caskets and indeterminate objects;⁷ (19) two obelisks on the much larger scale than their real size warrants, occupying the whole

¹ Rather 'under the supervision of'.

² Sethe, loc. cit., reads , but Davies's drawing is correct according to the collation by Janssen.

³ According to Janssen there are traces of the *f* read by Sethe, under the *srh*-sign, and the next sign is rather *s* (with Sethe) than *wr*, as on Davies's drawing.

⁴ Cf. Sethe, *Urk.* iv. 373; *Temples of Armant*, pl. xciii. 6.

⁵ An incorrect copy of this text was published by Sethe, *Urk.* iv. 459^o.

⁶ Cf. Sethe, *Urk.* iv. 463^{13 ff.} The sign Δ in line 3 of Sethe's copy is according to Davies the thick outline of Δ .

⁷ This part is now lost.

height of the wall, i.e. nearly 8 feet high. The lines at the apex are quite or nearly gone. The shafts seem to have been painted pink with blue dabs to imitate granite, just as is the case in the tomb of Puyemre.¹

To the right of the two obelisks the deceased is standing with a staff in his hand, and behind him are two rows of attendants. In the first register only the first man is left, with a very fragmentary text in front of him. It is translated by Davies: 'Follower of his Lord on [his] travels (?) . . . ///nwn (?) - - ///.' In the lower row there are fragments of the first two men. The text² over this scene reads as follows (Davies's translation):

[Bringing] all the goodly [gifts (*mst nđt hr?*)] to Amūn (?) at the New Year, and the Neḥebkau festival, viz. silver, gold, lapis lazuli, turquoise and all kinds of precious stones, also ivory, ebony (?), *sesenedem*- and *meru*-wood which this official administered for Pharaoh (L.P.H.), on the part of the Seigneur, greatest of the great in all [this land], chief companion of the companions, an official at [the head of the people],³ [one also ever serviceable to] the King on his monuments,⁴ the [chief] steward (3 lines erased) . . . [Amūn] in Karnak, the chief steward of the King . . . [of] the Lady of the Two Provinces, one to whom men confided their thoughts, one to whom hidden things were revealed, one who entered first and came out last, one whose rank the Sovereign advanced because of [his] mental efficiency,⁵ one who was serviceable to the Good Goddess, [following] the King at the head of the army [on his journeys]⁶ through the lands of the South and the North, the overseer of the cattle of Amūn, the chief steward and the veteran of the King, the . . . , . . . (name of deceased), who is called Teta (?); (One not?) loud of voice . . . a mouth that spake with the Lady of the Two Provinces and enjoyed the confidence of the King . . .⁷ [who loved] truth and hated deceit, who does not look sideways (impartial) . . . [One could rely] on the utterances of his mouth because of his efficiency (in the royal service),⁸ [(he) the chief steward and veteran of the] King, . . .,⁹ true of voice, begotten¹⁰ of the [dignitary (?)] Teta, born of . . .

In front of the deceased is the following text (Davies's translation):¹¹

The Seigneur, who carried out the work [on the] two great obelisks¹² in the temple of Amūn in Karnak (?).¹³ Now my humble self (*b:k im*) [was rewarded (?)] with¹⁴ silver, [gold (?)] and . . . by favour] of the King. Now . . .

¹ Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemre*, pl. xxxix. Davies writes in his notebook that 'the lines marking the sides of the obelisks can be detected here and there, but those of the points are very faint and there are several from which to choose as if the designer had been making trial lines before selecting one. I have taken what appears to be the line of the left-hand side and made the other symmetrical, ignoring other fragments of lines which were in conflict with it. I don't suppose I have reached the true line, especially in the case of the right hand one of the pair.' Janssen and Mekhitarian remark on this and on Davies's drawing published here on Pl. VI, that the irregular horizontal line cutting off the tops of the obelisks marks a break under which the scene continues. The obelisks are nearly wholly intact (as far as anything in this tomb is intact) and the two side lines of the obelisks can be clearly seen. Despite the fact that these lines can be added with the aid of the photographs taken by Mekhitarian, I have preferred not to do so, because they cannot be drawn with the same exactitude as the rest of Davies's drawing.

² Cf. Sethe, *Urk.* iv. 459 ff.

³ Or rather '[nobles of the king]'; cf. Pl. V, horizontal text.

⁴ Properly 'as one who fashions his monuments excellently'.

⁵ Read *n-ḥt-n mnḥf hr ib* 'inasmuch as he was efficient in (his Lord's) heart'; cf. Gardiner, *Eg. Grammar*, § 181.

⁶ Perhaps rather, as on Pl. II, line 8, '[the confidant] of the King at the head of [his] army [on] his [journeys]'

(*mḥ ib*) *n nswt m ḥst mšc* [f hr nmtt]:f, as proposed by Labib Habachi.

⁷ Read perhaps [*tm* (or *n*)] *ḥr hrw [m pr nb] sgr(?)* '[not] loud of voice [in the house of the Lord of] silence (?)' (cf. Sethe, *Urk.* 1031⁹ and *Studies pres. to Griffith*, pl. 39, *ḥp ht m st sgr* rendered by Davies, *ibid.*, p. 287 'veiling his thought in a situation that calls for silence') or, as suggested by Labib Habachi, [*iw.i*] *ḥr hrw [m st sgr]* (cf. Janssen, *De traditioneele Eg. Autobiografie*, i, p. 34, ii, p. 53), which is, however, somewhat short for the lacuna, and then *r: mdw n nbt twy, mḥ ib n nswt m ///*, properly 'the speaking mouth of the Lady of the Two Provinces, who filled the heart of the King with . . .' (cf. Janssen, *op. cit.*, pp. 67 f.).

⁸ Read (with Sethe) [*ḥw*] *hr prw n r:f n ḥt n mnḥf hr [ib]* (scil. *nswt*).

⁹ The last sign in the lacuna was, according to Davies, the determinative $\frac{A}{B}$, and, just as is the case in the right corner of the North-west wall (Pl. IX, 1), the proper name filled only one rather small square.

¹⁰ Sethe's reading $\frac{A}{B}$ is hardly correct, despite his 'so'.

¹¹ Sethe, *Urk.* iv. 461 f.

¹² Restore (with Sethe) *hrp ḥr [t] [hr n]: [n] thmwy wrwy*. Neither Davies nor Janssen has any note on Sethe's dual-sign near the *w*.

¹³ The reading seems obvious, but the first sign of line 2 is doubtful, and there is possibly a lacuna at the end of the first line.

¹⁴ Read perhaps *i[s]w b:k im m* 'the reward of my humble self was' (with *m* of predication).

[because of] his efficiency on behalf of the life, prosperity, and health of the King of Upper [and Lower Egypt Makarē (?)], [the steward . . . He says: . . .] May their life be eternal . . . they being in life, assurance, and health everlastingly.¹ [Now] the silver (mentioned above) amounted to 50 *deben*.²

THE NORTH-EAST WALL (Pls. VII-IX)

The central part of the North-east wall is decorated with a rather conventional scene, depicting the deceased harpooning fish and fowling (Pl. VII). As is the rule in the tombs of the early XVIIIth Dynasty the harpooning is to the left of the very stiff papyrus clump and the fowling to the right. Another trait typical of these early tombs is the fact that the fish is speared in the water, under the horizontal water surface which has not the traditional bulge.³ In the prow of both boats there was probably a child, whose name and figure are erased. Behind the deceased spearing fish are two assistants. The first one is bringing a spear and is called in the text in front of him: 'His beloved brother the *wrb*-priest, overseer of cattle, overseer of the granaries of Harsaphes, Neb-m -////'.⁴ Above the deceased⁵ is the conventional docket: 'Traversing the pools, threading the duck swamps,⁶ and amusing himself by spearing fish in the basins on the part of the Seigneur, the Royal Chancellor, the Sole Companion, the regent of the [entire land],⁷ whose office is established in the Palace (L.P.H.!), with whose plans the Lady of the Two Provinces [is satisfied],⁸ one who entered [first and came out last]⁹'

On the right the deceased¹⁰ wields the boomerang and holds blue herons in his hand. Behind him a boy holds a spare throwstick and some of the captured birds. The text above him is again entirely conventional: 'Enjoying the sight of good (sport) and taking part in the activities of the fen goddess on the part of the Seigneur, the Royal Chancellor, the Sole Companion, the watchful leader for the Sovereign, indefatigable in the affairs of the Palace (L.P.H.!), confidant of his Lord and his favourite, to whom was told what was in the heart, the Chief Steward and Veteran of [the King . . .].'

As is often the case, this conventional fishing and fowling scene is combined with a representation of the deceased receiving the produce of the marshlands of the Delta. At the north end of the North-east wall the deceased and a lady, probably his wife, are depicted seated on chairs, with a monkey under his chair. The upper part of this scene is entirely lost as well as the top register of the men in front of them. In the second row there are men bringing cattle, in the third row more cattle are brought together with ducks. One of these men in the third register is bringing a vase of the type generally used for honey (cf. p. 21). Part of a text is preserved here (Pl. IX, 4): '[Bringing the produce of the Delta],¹¹ consisting of everything good and lovely to the Seigneur, the great confidant of the God. . . .'¹² In the lowest register we see a man with a

¹ I should rather suggest *wmn nhh chꜣtꜣ cnhꜣty ddꜣty snbꜣty dꜣt* 'An eternity shall be thy lifetime, thou being in life, &c.', despite the irregular phraseology and abnormal use of *wmn*.

² If the suggested restoration of line 2 is correct, this would refer to the reward given by the king, and 50 *deben* (= 4.5 kg.) silver does not seem improbable as a reward, and too small an amount to refer to the works executed by the deceased. Cf., for example, L. Habachi, *J.E.A.* 36 (1950), pp. 13 ff.

³ See Wegner, *Die Stilentwicklung* (M.D.I.K. iv), p. 75; cf. tombs Nos. 18 (Wreszinski, *Atlas*, i. 117), 81 (Boussac, *M.M.A.F.* xviii, pl. vi), 127 (Wreszinski, *op. cit.* 343).

⁴ In his notebook Davies writes *imy-r šnwty n Hry-šꜣf*, which is presumably the correct reading, even if the *n* should now be lost. For similar names cf. Ranke, *Personennamen*, i,

p. 184.

⁵ Traces of the greater part of his wig are still visible.

⁶ The pond sign is filled with water lines, and the sign is exactly the same in all three cases.

⁷ *hry-tp [n tꜣ] r [dꜣ]rꜣf*; cf. Pl. II, line 6.

⁸ Read [*hr*]*r*[*t*] *nbt tꜣwy hr šꜣrwꜣf*; cf., for example, *Wb. Belegstellen*, iv. 259¹; Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-rēꜣ*, pl. xxxvi; id., *The Tomb of Ken-Amūn*, pl. xxvi.

⁹ *ꜣꜣ hr [hꜣt, pr hr phꜣwy]*; Pl. VI.

¹⁰ According to Janssen his necklace is almost wholly preserved.

¹¹ Part of the *mhw* sign is still left. Cf., for example, Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amūn*, pl. xxvii.

¹² Sethe's reading [*hm*]*t nꜣr* (*Urk.* iv. 462 D) is incompatible with the existing traces.

gazelle on his shoulder, men bringing papyrus, &c. (cf. Pl. VII, lower left corner). Of the accompanying text only very little is now left (Pl. IX, 5).

To the right of the fishing and fowling scene the deceased is seated, receiving a ceremonial bouquet, probably from the hands of a son (Pl. VIII). He is already holding another bouquet, which in reality is of course the same. The form of the bouquet is that typical of the early tombs.¹ The upper part of the scene is destroyed, perhaps maliciously, and so is the beginning of the accompanying text. This is the more regrettable as it is not the conventional text of this type of scene,² but one to which there is a parallel in the tomb of Rekh-mi-re:³ '[For thy *ka*] flowers,⁴ sweet of scent, offered [in the presence of]⁵ the Lord of the Gods, Amūn, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands.' Under the chair is a pet ibex, and even this innocent friend of the family has been included in the persecution, its head and feet being destroyed.⁶

Behind the deceased are two (originally more) rows of men (Pl. VII). The objects carried in the upper register are the same as those we see in the scene of the tomb of Rekh-mi-re with the parallel text,⁷ sandals, a stool, a stick, &c. One of the men in the lowest, now destroyed, row is a 'follower of His Majesty (?) on his journeys' (*šms hm·f [?] r nmтт·f*).

Strangely enough, the water belonging to the fishing and fowling scene also continues below this representation of the deceased receiving a bouquet, which gives the impression that the man presenting the flowers is standing on the surface of the water.

The sub-scene contains the activities of the servants in the marshes. To the left of the excerpt on Pl. VIII eight men are drawing in a fishing-net (the man on the extreme left is seen on Pl. IX B). The fish so caught are brought by men in bags or in their hands and emptied at the feet of a man who, sitting in the shadow cast by a clump of papyrus, cleans and splits the fish and spreads them out to dry in the sun. The calculated malice of the agents of Tuthmosis III is exhibited in the total excision of this figure—there seems to be no other reason for this except that by his removal the whole work of the fishermen in bringing their catch is rendered useless. Close by him a man sits making a net, holding it between his toes.⁸ On the pool below the men carrying fish there is a rude ink-sketch of some object, perhaps a wicker trap for fish.

To the left of the men hauling the net eleven leaden-coloured jars (?) are set out and to judge from their shape and colour they are probably bee-hives of unbaked clay (Pl. IX B). We should here have one of the rare representations of apiculture.⁹ The action of two very much damaged figures

¹ See Schott, *Das schöne Fest vom Wüstantale*, p. 51.

² Cf. Schott, *op. cit.*, pp. 61 f., 115 ff.

³ Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-rē*, pl. lxx, p. 65; Sethe, *Urk.* iv. 1168. The scene is different, but the same kind of bouquet is offered. In his copy of our text (*Urk.* iv. 462 E) Sethe has overlooked the lower part of *s* and the *stl* sign above the arm of the offering man, and has not marked the erasure of *m-bḥ*.

⁴ Cf. *Wb.* iv. 350¹² with *Belegstellen*. That *stl-š* means 'flowers' (so *Wb.*) and not 'the scent of wild flowers' (Davies, *loc. cit.*) is clear from a phrase in tomb No. 96 A (occurring in a scene next to a large picture of the garden), where it is said that *stl-š* (𓄏 = 𓄏) is brought together with all kind of vegetables (*rnpt*) from 'the department of trees' (*tꜥ tꜥ nt ht*) (*P.S.B.A.* 22, 61; checked against Davies's and Sethe's handcopies; now also *Urk.* iv. 1417).

⁵ This word has been erased, because the agent of the Atenists expected 'Amūn' before 'Lord of the Gods', and for once missed the actual occurrence of the name. The reading *pꜣrt* of the parallel text in the tomb of Rekh-mi-re is out of the question here.

⁶ A painting of this detail by Mrs. Nina de Garis Davies

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is kept in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

⁷ Davies, *loc. cit.*, where the subject is otherwise different, depicting the family congratulating the deceased on his confirmation in his office by the new king. In most representations of the deceased receiving flowers or the 'bouquet of Amūn' there are no attendants behind him.

⁸ A painted copy of this part by Mr. Davies is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Whereas the cleaning of fish is the usual scene in connexion with the netting of fish, the man mending or making a net is not so often depicted in the Theban tombs (cf. p. 12 and Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, pl. xxx, p. 62; for other references see Klebs, *Die Reliefs und Malereien des neuen Reiches*, p. 184).

⁹ The oldest instance is from the sun temple of Ne-woserre (Wreszinski, *Atlas*, i. 378), next comes a picture in the tomb of Rekh-mi-re (Davies, *op. cit.*, pl. xlix and pp. 44 f.), and finally there is one representation in the XXVth Dynasty tomb of Pa-bes (see Lansing, *Bull. M.M.A.*, Eg. Exp. 1916-19, 1920, pp. 21 f.; Steindorff-Wolf, *Die thebanische Gräberwelt*, Taf. 18); cf. Kuény, *J.N.E.S.* 9 (1950), pp. 84 ff., and Janssen, *Annual Egyptological Bibliography*, iv (1950), No. 1403.

behind this stack would very well correspond to that in the tomb of Rekh-mi-re where a man is holding a lamp to smoke out the bees. Another fragmentary figure behind might be construed as lifting the cover off a bowl of the kind used in censuring. I know of no other case where a scene of apiculture is associated with the exploitation of the riches of the fenlands, but it is likely enough in itself, the more so as the typical jars for honey are often brought together with other produce from the marshes and the Delta (cf. p. 21). Beyond this point the sub-scene is entirely lost.