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THE TOMB OF THE GREAT HERALD ANTEF (NO. 155)

THE tomb of the great herald of the King Antef, the owner of the famous stela in the Louvre,¹ lies in the northern part of Dra' Abu'l Naga, on the south side of the wadi bounding the main northern hill.² The tomb, which is now a complete ruin, must have been one of the most imposing monuments in the necropolis. As is the case in many other tombs of this epoch³ the first room has a row of piers instead of a solid front wall—a type met with already in the oldest tombs at Thebes (e.g. No. 103). The front of these strongly battered piers was recessed as were also the flanking slopes in a line with the piers. Behind this first room there is a long passage and then yet another chamber with a large niche for the statues in the rear wall (Pl. XX).⁴ Of the piers only the lowest parts are now preserved, and the rear wall of the first chamber, which was exposed for many years, is worn away, except at the bottom, or has fallen away. The material is *tafel* and conglomerate covered with a surface of 2 or 3 inches of pink lime plaster. There was no stonework whatever, unless it was on the jambs to the niche in the innermost room. The drawing is generally good and often extremely fine. The bases of the pictures have red over yellow bands. *Kheker*-ornaments crown the pictures over the block border and the sides show a block border and a yellow band.

In the early decades of the nineteenth century the tomb must have been more attractive than it is now, even if by no means perfect. Both Burton and Hay were interested in the scenes of the monument and their copies are of great value for restoring pictures that are now more or less completely ruined. But already in those days the head of the hippopotamus, for instance (a scene that was also recorded by a Mr. Dupuy of Cairo, a Mr. Humphrey, and others), was partly damaged.⁵ It was left open for many years until Mr. Mackay of the Mond Expedition had it roofed in.⁶ The fragments collected in the course of that work were spread on the floor of the passage and the inner room, in all about a thousand pieces which were sorted and traced or noted by Davies in 1930.⁷

¹ No. C. 26. For bibliographical references see Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, i. 145, and Boreux, *Guide*, pl. xviii, pp. 154–5; Hermann, *Die Stelen der thebanischen Felsgräber*, Taf. 4 b.

² Gardiner and Weigall, *Topographical Catalogue*, p. 30, pl. xiv. For earlier publications and unpublished MSS. see Porter and Moss, loc. cit. Davies, *Bull. M.M.A.*, part ii, March 1932, pp. 51 ff., and Wegner, *Die Stilentwicklung* (M.D.I.K. iv), pp. 107 f., have published parts of the tomb and described some of the main scenes. Other references will be given below in connexion with different scenes.

Except for the notes on the tomb in *Bull. M.M.A.* Davies had only made a brief description of some of the scenes in his notebooks (No. 3), and the editor is responsible for the text describing the monument. The drawings published earlier by Davies have been slightly altered in so far as they were restored only with the aid of the Hay MSS. The Burton MSS. in some cases contain what seem to be better versions of the texts and also some details omitted by Hay, especially in the case of the vintage scene.

³ Cf. Wegner, op. cit., pp. 42 ff.

⁴ Cf. tombs Nos. 77, 87, 125, 127, &c.

⁵ Dupuy's copy, made in the year 1827 or 1828, was reproduced by Prisse in his *L'Art égyptien*, ii, *Dessin*, pl. 6, and Wilkinson (*Manners and Customs*, ed. Birch, pp. 127 f.) made use of a sketch by Mr. Humphrey for the restored illustration of the hippopotamus-hunt.

⁶ Cf. Davies, op. cit., p. 51; Mackay published the picture of Antef on the left jamb of the entrance to the passage with its squared background (*J.E.A.* 4, pl. xv (4) opp. p. 77). Dr. Janssen and Mr. Mekhitarian, who collated the Davies material in the winter of 1952/3 for this publication, completed the records, and photographed parts of the tomb, were told by the *ghafir* that about seven or eight years previously part of the rock above the tomb came down and destroyed a lot of scenes. This catastrophe seems to explain why several scenes and texts, seen by Davies, are now lost. Then, according to the *ghafir*, a roof was built by Mr. Baraise over the rear wall of the portico, and a wall was erected in front of the piers.

⁷ Only a selection of these copies is published here. They are all kept in the Griffith Institute where they can be studied, but in my opinion they do not contain much of interest.

THE PIERS (Pls. X, XVIIA)

As is only natural the pictures on the piers have suffered heavily after having been exposed for so long a time. Many of the fallen fragments can with some probability be assigned to this part of the tomb, even if the exact location cannot be made out. The pictures extended to almost one-third from the front, i.e. to the point where the battered face meets the architrave and cover therefore begins.

Nothing remains of the decoration of the first pier from the left, and on the second pier only the feet of a man facing left are seen on the north side. Equally on the lower half of the north side of the third pier a piece of a scene remains *in situ* depicting leather-workers. One fragment shows a workman softening a piece of leather by drawing it over the rounded head of a post (Pl. X, 1),¹ and on another fragment there is a skin pegged out (Pl. X, 2). Other fragments, not found *in situ*, showing chariot-makers at work probably also belong to this pier, since as a rule leather-workers and chariot-makers occur together in the Theban tombs (Pl. X, 3-5). One man is bending a large piece of wood, probably a chariot pole,² and on other fragments we see parts of chariot wheels. Some loose fragments, showing carpenters at work (Pl. X, 6-9) with adze, chisel, and drill, may also belong here.

On the left part of the south side of the fourth pier a man sits on a mat stool with a curious staff in his hand (Pl. X, 10). On the inner western side of this pier there is a large figure of Antef (?) seated on a black chair. His over-skirt is shown as pleated (white on pink); under the chair on the mat is his pet animal, a goose (Pl. X, 11).³ A long, but very fragmentary, hieratic graffito was written under the base bands (Pl. X, 12).⁴ On the north face of the pier there is a fragment (Pl. X, 14) of a man binding a red boat (?) with a green band; beneath the band are pink lotus petals, possibly a decoration of the boat. Nothing is left of the scenes that once decorated the fifth and the sixth piers. On the south side of the seventh pier there is a fragment of a man holding a net on his toes (Pl. X, 15).⁵ This shows that the subject depicted on this pier was in all probability scenes of the marshlands, and it seems reasonable to locate here the loose fragments showing fishermen.⁶ On some of these fragments (Pl. X, 19, 20) there is a harvest of papyrus and in a register below jousting—the latter a scene that is very rare in the repertoire of the Theban tombs. The bearded faces of the inhabitants of the marshlands recur on other fragments (Pl. X, 17, 18) and one of the finest specimens of this facial type (studied by Davies in his publication of the *Tomb of Puyemrê*, ii, pp. 73 ff.) is the fragment published on Pl. XVII A.⁷ His flesh is pale pink in colour with very fine red outlines. He may be a fisherman using a hand-net or, just possibly, a workman bringing a chariot pole, though this is less probable in view of his facial type, which is so characteristic of the men from the marshlands. We shall again find it in connexion with a vintage scene (below, p. 17). Whether some fragments showing transport ships (Pl. X, 23-25) also come from one of these piers is less certain. They may be part of a scene of corn taxation, since heaps of grain are seen in an upper register. A text tells us that the ships are heading for 'the City of Amün' (note that the name of the god is undamaged), thus presumably transporting the collected corn to the Capital.⁸ A man below an acacia tree (Pl. X, 26)

¹ Cf., for example, Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemrê*, i, pl. xxiii, p. 68; id., *Tomb of Rekh-mi-rê*, pl. liv, p. 50; Wreszinski, *Atlas*, i. 36, 227, 307.

² Cf. Wreszinski, *Atlas*, i. 307.

³ Cf., for example, Davies, *Ramose*, pl. xvi; id., *Rekh-mi-rê*, pl. xxiv; id., *Menkheperasonb*, pl. xxiv.

⁴ Some loose fragments (Pl. X, 13) show parts of a similar graffito. The hieroglyphs Amenmose are written on the wall to the right of the large text.

⁵ Cf. Tomb 73 and the parallels quoted above, p. 9.

⁶ Some fragments may, however, belong to a scene (now lost) depicting the deceased receiving the produce of the Delta; cf. below, pp. 20 f.

⁷ Previously published by Davies, *Bull. M.M.A.*, ii, Mar. 1932, pp. 51 f., fig. 1. Here from a painting by Mrs. Nina de Garis Davies, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

⁸ There are other fragments of oarsmen facing right, which shows that there was a third ship heading in the opposite direction.

should perhaps also be assigned to the scenes of corn taxation; he may have been one of the men measuring the grain, since he is bending down.¹ The fragment depicting a man ploughing (Pl. X, 27) possibly belongs to the same scene, or a similar one.

On the inner side of this last pier there is a man carrying a mat with food towards the stela on the north wall of the first room. Above him were two or three similar scenes. To the north of the pier there is a recess in the front wall, blank on three sides and plastered. It is 40½ inches broad, too narrow to hold the famous Louvre stela, and there is no sign of any such thing having been here. Possibly that stela was set up farther to the north.

THE HALL

THE END WALLS (Pl. XIX F)

Of the two stelae in the first room, the southern one—made in plaster and projecting about half an inch—is now completely destroyed, and of the northern stela only very little is left. The latter has the form of a false door with a step in front and five recessed jambs on each side. It is painted to imitate rose granite and the hieroglyphs are green. Only parts of the name of Antef survive on each jamb. There are a great many fragments of the conventional offering formula and one with the title of Antef (*whm tpy n nswt*). Other pieces show that the lintel had at least two bands. On both sides of the stela were spaces filled with two or three panels showing, as is usual, *sem*-priests performing offering-rites. In the lowest scene on the right (Pl. XIX F) the *sem*-priest is pouring out a libation and on the lowest panel on the left he is making the conventional gesture accompanying the presentation of an offering. The fact that these figures have not been erased, as well as the untouched name of Amūn on one of the fragments with the transport ships, seems to indicate that the tomb was inaccessible or else already badly damaged before the time of Akhenaten, since it is very improbable that this fine tomb should have been overlooked by the Atenist iconoclasts. Possibly, as in other tombs, the roof had fallen in at a comparatively early date.

BACK WALL (left part) (Pls. XI–XIII)

The scenes that decorate the left part of the back wall illustrate two aspects of Antef's official life, mentioned in his autobiography on the Louvre stela. The Great Herald not only had to make reports and introduce people to the king, to make known the royal commands,² and to act as the Quartermaster-General during the campaigns.³ He was also, according to the Louvre stela, 'the one who reckons the levies (*ip b:kw*) of the officials, the mayors, and the heads of the districts (*hrpw, h:ti'w, hk:w-hwt*) of Upper and Lower Egypt' (*Urk.* iv. 973³) and 'who gives instructions to the people (*hnmmt*) with regard to the reckoning of their levies to the King' (*Urk.* iv. 968¹). And with special regard to foreign countries he was 'the one who paid attention to each country and provided for their chiefs' (*Urk.* iv. 968^{2,3}) and 'who reckoned the tribute (*ip inw*) of the chieftains in all countries, consisting of silver, gold, olive oil, "myrrh", and wine' (*Urk.* iv. 975¹¹).

Antef's occupation with the taxation in Egypt is shown in the right scene on the left part of the back wall, immediately to the left of the entrance to the inner room. On the right, near the door to the passage, Antef sits on a chair, his wife standing behind him (Pls. XI, XII A).⁴ Under

¹ Other fragments showing men bringing honey and texts mentioning cattle will be described below.

² Gardiner, *Onomastica*, i. 22*; Hermann, *Stelen*, p. 117.

³ Hermann, *op. cit.*, p. 129, commenting on Sethe, *Urk.* iv. 974^{12 ff.}

⁴ Pl. XI A is a sketch drawn by me from photographs to

show the position of the details copied by Davies (Pls. XI B, C, XII A). On this sketch the texts have been entered from copies by Sir Alan Gardiner and Davies, collated by Janssen. As these texts are barely visible on the photographs they are to be regarded as handcopies, not as facsimiles.

the chair a little Nubian boy, with black skin and the typical tufts of hair on his shaven head, gives dates to a monkey (painted green).¹ The text over Antef is rather fragmentary, but enough is left to make the general meaning of it clear:²

Looking at [the reckoning of the levies of the mayors],³ heads of the districts (*hkꜣw-hwt*), rural councillors (*knbtꜣw nw w*), heralds of the nomes (*whmw nw spꜣwt*), [their scribes; *sšw-sn*], and their cadastral scribes (*sšw nw šhwt-sn*) who are in the Thinite (?) nome,⁴ northwards up to (*mꜣtt r*) . . . by the Seigneur, the great one (*ꜣꜣ*) in the Palace, the one who gives instructions (?) to the troops, the accurate one (? *ꜣꜣ*) . . . [who fills] the ears [of Horus] with truth ([*mꜣ*] *ꜣnhwy* [*Hr*] *m mꜣꜣt*) . . .⁵ a great one of the king of Lower Egypt, an important one [of the king of Upper Egypt?] (*wr* [*n*] *bity* *ꜣꜣ* [*n nswt*]?) . . . because of the great praise.

The officials mentioned are those known from their occurrence in other tombs to be responsible for the deliveries of the taxes (so, for example, in the tomb of Rekh-mi-re) and there can be little doubt that the subject of the scene was the collection of taxes, despite the loss of the decisive words in the heading.

In front of Antef is a smaller but still largish figure holding a papyrus roll and having black locks on blue hair. A text (with blue, very worn hieroglyphs) in front of him tells us that he is ' . . . his beloved, favourite brother, the scribe . . . the overseer of horns, hoofs, feathers, and scales, the scribe and the reckoner of bread of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ahmose'.⁶ Above him is a display of weapons, quivers and bows, the latter placed over boxes, and below this two more boxes with baskets containing axes, swords, and loose axe-heads (Pl. XI B).⁷ Before him are four registers of men bringing objects. Of the first register only the legs of two men are left. In the next register are eight men bringing some products in flat baskets. The third register (Pl. XII A) shows a scribe to the right receiving deliveries of weapons, such as spears and axes, which are brought to him by four men and heaped up in a pile in front of him. To the left are traces of another four men (now lost). In the bottom register is a weighing scene and five men bringing baskets of gold rings, two with a necklace of gold beads on the top. To the left are two men with a casket on a pole. Here there is a scrap of text in red line, more or less undecipherable.⁸

It is a characteristic of the tombs of the early XVIIIth Dynasty that in scenes of this type the official himself is the one who inspects the deliveries, whereas in later tombs the figure of the king is inserted in his place.⁹

It is interesting to notice that so great a part of the taxes depicted consists of weapons—a fact that may indicate that Antef in his capacity of Great Herald of the King was responsible for deliveries to the army at the same time as he acted as nomarch of the Thinite nome.

The picture to the left of this scene is similarly composed.¹⁰ On the right is a large figure, presumably Antef himself, this time standing with a sceptre in the left hand; in front of him we again find his brother Ahmose (according to a practically destroyed text written behind him),

¹ Whereas the monkey under the chair is a common motive in the Theban tombs (e.g. Nos. 11, 108, 159; cf. Davies, *Menkheperasonb*, pl. xxiv, p. 21; *Puyemré*, pl. ix; *Seven Private Tombs*, pl. xxxvi), this group with the Nubian boy chiefly occurs on later ostraca (J. Vandier d'Abbadie, *Ostraca figurés*, pp. 7 ff. and pls. iv–viii) as well as on a relief on the side of a statue from tomb No. 216 (Bruyère, *Deir el-Medineh*, 1923–4, p. 41, fig. 1). The monkeys were trained to pluck the dates from the palm-trees—often, to judge from the pictures on the ostraca, by Nubian boys. Hence it is only natural that the boy and the monkey should form what at least in later times was an established, more or less conventional group. The picture in our tomb seems to be one of the earliest instances of it in the Theban necropolis.

² Cf. the similar texts in Davies, *Rekh-mi-rer*, pls. xxix, 1, xl, 1, and pp. 33 f.


³ One expects *mꜣꜣ* [*ꜣꜣw ꜣꜣw r ꜣꜣtyw-ꜣ*] as in *Rekh-mi-rer*, loc. cit., or [*ꜣꜣt bꜣkw nw ꜣꜣtyw-ꜣ*] (cf. Sethe, *Urk.* iv. 973), but the lacuna is rather small for these readings; possibly only [*ꜣꜣw r*] or [*bꜣkw*] [*ꜣꜣtyw-ꜣ*].

⁴ Or, perhaps, 'Upper Egypt', according to a copy by Sir Alan Gardiner.

⁵ Cf. Davies, *Rekh-mi-rer*, pl. lxxxv.

⁶ This brother, 'the scribe Ahmose', is offering to Antef on the Louvre stela, C. 26 (Sethe, *Urk.* iv. 964).

⁷ The fragment Pl. XIX E may belong somewhere here.

⁸ According to Davies: 

⁹ Cf. Davies, *Tomb of Puyemré*, 1, p. 26; Wegner, *Die Stilentwicklung* (M.D.I.K. iv), pp. 55 f.

¹⁰ Nothing of this whole scene now remains.

and a smaller figure behind Antef is said in a very fragmentary text to be 'his beloved son, the royal (?) scribe (?) of the temple - - - Teti (?), true of voice'.¹

In front of this group are four registers of foreigners bringing goods (Pls. XII B, XIII).² Unfortunately the docket above Antef, as well as the texts of the different registers, are now completely lost, so it is only by means of similar pictures from other tombs that we can assign the tribute-bearers to different countries. Of the topmost register only some buskined feet remain to show that men of the 'Keftiu' type were depicted here.³

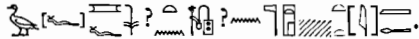
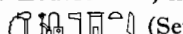
In the second row are Syrians of the more conventional type, bringing gifts of elaborate vases, an ointment-holder,⁴ a chariot, a bow, and a quiver.

In the two lower registers the artist has chosen to depict what seems to be a delivery of goods from the Oases and possibly the eastern Delta—a very natural choice, since Antef was also 'Chief of all the Oases' (*Urk.* iv. 963¹⁴). This combination, however, again indicates that Antef held more than one office at the same time, since as a 'Chief of all the Oases' he would presumably have nothing to do with the tribute of Syria, and if he received these deliveries exclusively in his capacity of Great Herald, there is no apparent reason for the choice of just these types of foreigners, including the very poor Oases districts. The question is, however, whether we may apply such a logical analysis to scenes of this type. Moreover, since the accompanying text is now unreadable we cannot be absolutely certain about the interpretation of the foreigners in the lower registers as inhabitants of the Oases, but what parallels we have seem to support it. The men carrying two wine-jars in slings suspended from a pole, with a sack or roll of cloth folded over the same pole, as well as the hive-shaped baskets carried by two women in the same register and seen also in the bottom register, are depicted as typical products of the Oases in the tomb of Puyemre.⁵

A similar picture is also found in tomb No. 81 below registers with Syrians and Nubians under the very general heading 'gifts of all lands which His Majesty has given to the temple of Amūn as annual contribution'. This, too, in all probability depicted deliveries from the Oases.⁶ Finally, baskets of more or less the same type are depicted in the tomb of Rekh-mi-re⁷ in a scene of 'receiving the tribute of the southern Oasis together with the tribute of the Delta'. Here, as well as in the tomb of Puyemre, we also find the long purplish sacks, sealed (?) at one end, which in our tomb are placed immediately over the wine-jars in the lowest register.⁸

BACK WALL (right part) (Pls. XIV–XV)

Just as in many other tombs of this period the wall to the right of the entrance to the inner room is decorated with scenes showing the deceased enjoying sport in the marshlands. Very little now remains of these scenes which a century ago must have been among the most attractive in the necropolis and which were consequently copied by many of the travellers of those days. However, the left part of the wall was apparently rather damaged already at that date, and apart

¹ In vertical line: . Probably the same son is depicted behind Antef when hunting hippopotamus, but there too the name is not quite legible (cf. Pl. XIV B); on the Louvre stela, however, the name and the titles are intact  (Sethe, *Urk.* iv. 964).

² Published by Davies, *Bull. M.M.A.*, pt. ii, Mar. 1932, fig. 12, with description on p. 62; see also Meyer, *Darstellungen der Fremdvölker*, pp. 728–9, 623.

³ Cf. Furumark, *The Settlement at Ialysos and Aegean History*, pp. 223 ff. with references; Vercoutter, *Égyptiens et Préhellènes*, p. 120.

⁴ Cf. Davies, *Rekh-mi-rēc*, i, p. 28, n. 58.

⁵ Davies, *Puyemré*, i, pl. xxxi, pp. 83 f.

⁶ Wreszinski, *Atlas*, i. 265; Wreszinski's interpretation of

this scene as 'die ägyptische Expeditions Mannschaft, die die syrischen Tribute . . . trägt' is rather improbable, since the products they carry differ from those generally delivered by the Syrians.

⁷ Davies, *Rekh-mi-rēc*, p. 46, pl. xlix.

⁸ According to Davies, loc. cit., they are 'a speciality of the oases and Punt'. They occur also in tombs Nos. 131 ('receiving the "tribute" of the vineyards' in the scene below 'tribute' of the northern lands, Porter and Moss, op. cit., scene 4; unpublished) and 143 (Porter and Moss, op. cit., scene 1; unpublished painting by Mrs. Davies; Ashmolean Mus. 1947. 74), and rather similar sacks and a hive-shaped basket are depicted in tomb No. 66, in an unpublished scene of 'receiving the "tribute" of . . . and (?) the vineyards' (near the Installation text; Porter and Moss, op. cit., scene 2).

from the fragments left *in situ*, we must rely almost exclusively on Hay's copy (Pl. XIV A).¹ As is the rule in the earlier Theban tombs, the fishing is depicted in the left part of the scene and the fowling to the right, the traditional composition of the Middle Kingdom that was changed later in the XVIIIth Dynasty.² Typical of the earlier Theban examples of this scene is also the fact that the traditional pile of water in front of the skiffs is very much reduced in size (in some tombs even entirely left out) and that the speared fish is well below the horizontal surface of the water, whereas the later tombs return to the earlier, more developed, form of the pile of water. Another trait worth noticing is the crocodile swallowing a fish. He has a grey back and belly with a black chequer all over the tail. It was painted with that refined brushwork which we can also admire in the fragments of the hunting scene in the inner room. Hay's copy of the flying birds shows the same technique. The crocodile is not a very common trait in such scenes in the Theban tombs, but we find it, for example, in the later tomb of Menna.³ The figure of Antef spearing the fish was not copied by Hay, presumably because of its bad state of preservation.⁴ What remains of the text above him shows that it was the formula which usually accompanied scenes of this kind: 'Traversing the pools, threading the swamps, and amusing himself by spearing fish.'⁵ To the right of the thicket Antef is shown bringing down the water-fowl with a boomerang. Above his head is the conventional docket: 'The Seigneur, the Herald Antef enjoying the sight of good things and taking part in the activities of the fen-goddess.' In front of him in the boat is a woman standing, probably his wife, and behind him are two attendants, one of them—according to Hay's copy 'his beloved son, *Imn-w . . .*'—bringing a spare boomerang.

To the right of this scene there is a picture of Antef harpooning a hippopotamus. Very little of it now remains, but fortunately it is possible to reconstruct the painting with the aid of several copies from the beginning of the last century by Dupuy,⁶ Humphrey,⁷ Burton,⁸ and Hay.⁹ As I have already published such a reconstruction (here reproduced on Pl. XIV B) elsewhere with a full commentary on the subject,¹⁰ it is unnecessary to enter upon a detailed analysis of it here. Suffice it to say that in my opinion the representations of this type in the Theban necropolis are derived from Old Kingdom prototypes where the chief actor was the king himself, and that the harpooning of the hippopotamus represents a victory for the king and the god over all evil powers, symbolized by the hippopotamus, before the enthronement of the king. All the Theban tombs in which this scene occurs (Nos. 39, 53, 81 [lost], 82, 85, 123, 155, 164, 342, and 00) date from the reigns of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III, and one possibly from the beginning of the reign of Amenophis II (No. 85).

As a sub-scene to the representations of the sport in the marshlands we find what was once one of the most elaborate vintage scenes in the Theban necropolis.¹¹ It is now very much damaged,

¹ B.M. Add. MS. 29822, p. 4; here redrawn, because Hay's faint pencil-lines are difficult to reproduce satisfactorily. What now remains is chiefly parts of Antef, of the two men behind him, and of the crocodile, all in the fowling scene. These remains have been used to correct minor proportions in Hay's copy.

² Cf. Wegner, *Die Stilentwicklung* (M.D.I.K. iv), p. 75.

³ Nina de Garis Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, pl. liv.

⁴ Burton (B.M. Add. MS. 25639, p. 40) gives the following rather curious description: 'In the next compartment he is taking fish—he has a long rod, feathered as an arrow at one end, but it seems to have a noose at the other end, which is seen in part passing round the fish—a cord or line passes from this also along the rod perhaps as in one fly fish-tackle. His wife is here also.'

⁵ Cf., for example, Davies, *Nakht*, pls. xxii-xxiv; id.,

Rekh-mi-rer, pls. xli, xlii.

⁶ Published by Prisse d'Avennes, *Histoire de l'art égyptien*, ii, pl. vi.

⁷ Published by Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, ed. Birch, ii, p. 128, no. 376. (As pointed out to me by Mrs. Davies, Humphrey was Burton's secretary.)

⁸ B.M. Add. MS. 25644, pp. 115 ff.

⁹ B.M. Add. MS. 29822, p. 5. This copy and that of Wilkinson were used by Mrs. Davies for a reconstruction of the scene, published in her *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, iii, p. 45.


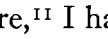
¹⁰ *On Egyptian Representations of Hippopotamus Hunting as a Religious Motive* (Horae Soederblomianae III).

¹¹ The left part was published by Wegner, *Stilentwicklung*, Taf. vii a (a rather bad photograph).

but fortunately it was copied both by Burton¹ and by Hay² and can thus be restored with some certainty (Pls. XIV c, XV).³

The vintage scenes in the Theban tombs are as a rule combined with scenes from the marshlands,⁴ probably because most of the important vineyards were in the Delta, where, to judge from the texts, much of the wine was produced. This also explains why we find here types of men closely resembling the fishermen depicted in the marsh scenes.

The representation of the vintage starts on the left with the plucking of the grapes.⁵ The vines grow out of circular mud trenches.⁶ The two men plucking the grapes and the vintager who is about to remove a basket full of grapes are supervised by an overseer—an elderly man with a fat belly, long untidy hair, and a beard. He holds a whip and seems to put some grapes into his mouth. The dialogue between him and the workmen is unfortunately undecipherable. The baskets of grapes are then carried off and emptied into the wine-press, where four men are treading out the juice in a large trough. To the right a man bends down and is filling the jars with the juice when it pours out from the press, presumably into a smaller basin. Above him was a little shrine of the snake-goddess Ernūtet, which is so often depicted or otherwise alluded to in the vintage scenes.⁷ In front of her are offerings and beneath the offering-table starts a hieroglyphic text which continues above the vintagers treading the grapes. There are no exact parallels to this text—only in tomb No. 100 (Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-rēc*, pl. xlv) the men are singing 'Ernūtet, our Lady, mayst thou give us thy great *ka*!' If we may trust the old copies, the text in the tomb of the Herald Antef would mean something like 'A song (?)⁸ to [our] Lady (Ernūtet): "O⁹ may she remain (prop. 'land') with us at this work . . . May our Lord (Antef) drink it (the wine) as one who is repeatedly praised by the King." Said (?) [for] the *ka* of [the Herald Antef].'

Then the residue from the wine-press is squeezed in a large piece of cloth (or perhaps rather a mat of woven reeds, to judge from its criss-cross pattern) fastened between two poles and twisted with bars by four men. A broad stream of dark juice pours down into a white receptacle. The heading of this scene is one of the most interesting texts in the tomb. According to Burton's copy it read: '[Pressing; *th*] the wine by the *prw* for the Herald Antef.' The writing of the word *prw* was probably , since there is a space between the *w* and the sitting man.¹⁰ For reasons which I have published elsewhere,¹¹ I have little doubt these *prw*, just as the  in the similar scene in tomb No. 39 (Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemrē*, pl. xii) are identical with the famous and much discussed *Hapīru* of the Akkadian texts and with the *prm* of the Ras Shamra texts. These two instances, which have so far passed unnoticed, are the earliest known from Egypt and the western part of the Near East, and they are also, to my knowledge, the only existing pictures of them.

¹ B.M. Add. MS. 25644, pp. 118–22.

² B.M. Add. MS. 29822, pp. 7–11.

³ Drawn by Mrs. Nina Davies. Full-drawn lines represent what was left when Davies copied the tomb (now still more is destroyed), and dotted lines the old copies (especially Burton). Nothing has been added as free-hand reconstructions.

⁴ e.g. tombs Nos. 39, 52, 81, 82, 100, &c. Most of the Theban vintage scenes are enumerated by Wegner, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

⁵ As pointed out by Wegner (*op. cit.*, p. 69) the logical arrangement of the different episodes in one register is a characteristic of the earlier tombs (Nos. 155, 127, 100, 22, &c.).

⁶ Cf., for example, tomb No. 261 (Nina de Garis Davies, *Anc. Eg. Paintings*, pl. xxviii; vol. iii, p. 59).

⁷ e.g. tombs Nos. 256 (M.M.A. photo T 1115; un-

published), 79 (Wreszinski, *Atlas*, i. 256), 261 (cf. above, note 6), 100 (Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-rēc*, pl. xlv), 92 (*Mém. Inst. Fr.* 63, pl. xxii), 172 (Wreszinski, *ibid.* pl. 355), 56 (unpublished; to the right of Wreszinski, *ibid.* pl. 12), 52 (Nina Davies, *Anc. Eg. Paintings*, pl. xlviii), 66 (unpublished), 90 (Wreszinski, *ibid.* pl. 48), 188 (*J.E.A.* 9, pl. xxvi), 77 (Wegner, *op. cit.*, Taf. XVIII, b).

⁸ Cf. *Wb.* iii. 285¹⁴, 289¹⁰⁻¹⁴.

⁹ Cf. *Wb.* i. 117.

¹⁰ Slightly too small on Pl. XV as compared with Burton's copy.

¹¹ *Orientalia Suecana*, i, pp. 5–14, with a discussion of the different problems connected with the *prw*. Cf. now also J. Bottéro, *Le Problème des Habiru* (Cahier Soc. As. xii, 1954), and M. Greenberg, *The Hab/piru* (Amer. Or. Soc. vol. 39, 1955).

There follows a unique scene that has puzzled scholars so far, either because they did not know hieroglyphs (as, for example, Burton) or because they did not have Burton's copy of the accompanying texts,¹ which make the interpretation quite clear. The naked girl,² standing in front of a yellow wine-jar with a white circular object on top of it, has presumably offered a cup of wine to the old man out of a flask which she held in the other hand. She says (according to Burton's copy): 'To thy *ka*! Receive the good thing (*[bw] nfr*) with the *ka* of the Herald Antef!'—in modern English probably equivalent to 'your health! Take this and drink to the health of the Herald Antef!' And the old, fat, and rather hirsute man, seated on a papyrus mat (upper part white and red, lower part yellow and red), holding an overseer's staff and probably putting the cup to his lips, answers: 'How sweet (*ndm·wy*) is this wine of the workers (*n [t] ist*)! To the *ka* (= health) of the Herald Antef as a gift to you (?) of Ernütet (?) (*m di n·k? Rnwtt?*).'³ Thus it is obvious that the man cannot be Antef himself, but the overseer responsible for the vineyard who is testing the quality of the wine to see whether it is good enough to be stored in the cellars of his master.

The wine has been found excellent and the filled jars are now carried off to the cellar by a procession of four men supervised by an overseer with a stick. But the men are held up by an unforeseen incident. The overseer, who has not noticed what is happening at the head of the procession, calls out: 'Go on, (or) we shall be scorched (?)',⁴ when standing around in the sun. And the last worker, with the heavy wine-jar on his shoulder, adds the remark: 'Lo, the numbers (= the quantity) are heavy!'⁵ The words of the man in front of him are unintelligible in their present form.⁶ The man who has reached the door⁷ finds it closed, knocks at the door with no result, and says to the man behind him: '[The] servant [*p*] *b·k* is sleeping.' His comrade remarks: 'He is drunken with wine', but the guardian, who is now waking up from his good sleep, assures them: 'I have not slept at all!'⁸

The walls around the wine-jars are depicted as an undulating line, and possibly this represents the wavy walls of an enclosure rather than the walls of a cellar with a vaulted roof, as depicted in tomb No. 86,⁹ and as in the annexes of, for example, the Ramesseum and Medinet Habu. If this is so, it would only be the shelter where the wine was kept temporarily until it was transported to its final destination, probably in the house of Antef in Thebes.

THE PASSAGE (Pls. XVI-XIX)

The jambs of the door leading to the passage are decorated with quite extraordinary scenes, depicting 'the great Herald Antef' standing in front of the banner name of the king (or rather queen; cf. below) brightly painted, but unfortunately nearly all gone. The left, best-preserved

¹ Davies (*Bull. M.M.A.*, Mar. 1932, part ii, p. 52 and fig. 2) interpreted the old man as a figure of Antef himself; cf. also Wegner, *op. cit.*, pp. 107 f.

² Described by Burton (Add. MS. 25639, p. 40) as 'a female quite naked with her pudenda well marked', with the following notes on the colours: black hair with white on the head, dark-yellow ear-ring, light-yellow skin and black dots (string of pearls) round the lower part of her body.

³ Cf. Schott, *Das schöne Fest vom Wüstantale*, p. 847, and Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. 25; the text, as well as the whole scene, is influenced by the common representation of the deceased receiving a drink (see below, p. 24), and if my rendering is correct, which is very uncertain, there is a confusion in the speech of the old man with the phrases elsewhere usually said by the offering girl. But perhaps we should read *m di nbt Rnwtt* 'as a gift of the Lady Ernütet' (cf. the song of the workmen).

⁴ The translation of the second line is more or less guesswork. Perhaps [*iw*]·*n r nwh·n* prop. 'we shall burn ourselves', but the orthography of *nwh* would be quite abnormal. Possibly the meaning was quite different (something with *ir nw* 'spending (wasting) time').

⁵ Or, possibly, 'Lo, the numbers (= everybody) are heavily loaded'.

⁶ Was it perhaps simply *r wn m·r* 'really' (with a \equiv sign wrongly copied by Burton, our only authority for this part of the text) as a remark to the speech of the first man?

⁷ This right end of the sub-scene was published by Davies (*Bull. M.M.A.*, Mar. 1932, part ii, fig. 3), Wilkinson (*Manners and Customs*, ed. Birch, i, p. 388, no. 165), and Maspero (*L'Archéologie égypte*, [1887], fig. 40).

⁸ Reading *n k·d-[i] kdt* 'I have not slept a sleep'.

⁹ Davies, *The Tombs of Menkheperasonb*, pl. viii.

jamb is here reproduced on Pl. XIX A.¹ In his hands Antef holds a staff which seems to end in a ram's head (part of the nose is preserved). Of the text above the head of Antef very little is now left. The three *ka*-signs may be part of the name of the staff (*Wrt-ḥkrw*). The masculine forms in the last line exclude the otherwise plausible reading *Wsrt-krw*, the banner name of Hatshepsut. In the last line we can read only Antef's title and name and the words '. . . to (?) his Lord, when he is in the Palace' (*n? nb.f ti? sw m ḥ*). I know of no exact parallel to these scenes which, in any case, are quite abnormal as a decoration for jambs. On the upper part or on the lintel, which probably had a cornice, to judge from some loose fragments, there was a flying disk with pendant uraei. This indicates that the general composition was similar to that of a lintel in the tomb of Ramose² and of lintels in tomb No. 48 (cf. below, p. 47).

The same idea of adoration of the banner name of the ruler is found again in the decoration of the thicknesses to the passage, which is composed as pendants (Pl. XVIII). On a yellow ground the deceased is depicted facing outwards and standing in front of a kind of pavilion. The lower part of this construction is decorated with the Union of the Two Lands, two foreigners (Nubians on the southern and Asiatics³ on the northern thickness) being fettered to this sign, a motive often found in variant forms on the throne of the king. On this base there are two (in reality four) light columns. There was a text of polychrome hieroglyphs between the columns, the end of which is preserved: '. . . [may] he [give?] millions of Sed festivals, very many, like Rēc' (*[di.]f ḥḥw m ḥb-sd ḥs? wrt mī Rr*). In front of Antef there is also part of a text reading: '. . . Horus on her great throne in the Palace of Gold.'⁴ This gives us the explanation of the pavilion as being 'the Palace of Gold' and in that kiosk there was accordingly some picture or symbol of the ruler. And, what is more interesting, this ruler must have been Hatshepsut, to judge from the feminine suffix. This would imply that the work on the tomb of Antef was started already under Hatshepsut and presumably finished under Tuthmosis III. In other words, the tomb of Antef would be contemporary with that of Puyemre. In this connexion it is of interest to note that in the new tomb of Senmut (No. 353) there are pictures of the deceased adoring the names of the queen next to the doorway on the entrance wall,⁵ and this is one of the closest parallels to our scene in the tomb of Antef.

Some of the loose fragments found in the tomb may belong here, giving us an idea of the upper part of the kiosk: part of a vulture's wing on yellow ground,⁶ probably belonging to a Nekhbet (so often depicted above the ruler), and fragments of an uraeus-frieze and of a yellow crowning roof.

On the inner jambs of the door the ends of vertical texts are left; that to the left gives the following epithets and titles: '. . . the Seigneur, the Companion, the great favourite, the Herald Antef, true of voice' (*rpḥ [ḥsty]-ḥ smr ḥ nī mrwt whm Intf mḥ ḥrw*), and that to the right '. . . [the] great [chief] of the Thinite nome, the great Herald Antef, true of voice' (. . . ḥ[?] T3-wr whm ḥ Intf mḥ ḥrw).

Of the decoration of the passage very little is left *in situ*. On the left wall next to the door there is only a fragment of the lowest register showing the purification of a statue with water and above this what may be part of a squatting man or woman. Some loose fragments can be assigned to this wall. One shows a blue Osiris (Pl. XIX B), others a shrine of Anubis, a false door, the stern of a skiff with the yellow feet presumably of one of the 'kites', a man pulling a rope, and a very large woman's head probably of the Goddess of the West. Scraps of texts mention the *drty*, *hry-ḥbt*, and the 'opening of the eyes of Osiris . . .'. All this shows that the tomb was decorated with the conventional burial scenes.

¹ The proportion squares, omitted here, are published by Mackay, *J.E.A.* 4, pl. xv, 4.


² Davies, *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose*, pl. xxviii, 1.

³ Copied by Hay; B.M. Add. MS. 29822, p. 6.

⁴ For Hatshepsut on the Throne of Horus cf. Naville, *The*

Temple of Deir el Bahari, vol. i, pls. iv, vi, vii; vol. iii, pls. lxxxv, lxxxvi.

⁵ Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el Bahri*, pls. 64 and 63; cf. p. 138.

⁶ Beneath the wing is written  (cf. *Wb.* i. 517).

On the right wall there was a hunting scene (Pl. XVI).¹ Of the main scene, depicting the hunt proper, nothing now remains *in situ* except the lower right corner. Here we see the fence surrounding the game and an ass giving birth.² But quite a number of fragments of the hunted animals give an impression of the extraordinarily high quality of this scene. Some of them have been previously published by Davies with an excellent analysis³ and it may therefore be enough here to point out some details.

The heads of the two hyenas (Pl. XVII B, C with reconstructions of the ensemble on Pls. XVI, XVII D) have close parallels in the tomb of Rekh-mi-re,⁴ and the motive is common in the Theban hunting scenes, but none of these shows such finished and delicate realism as we have here. Whether the reconstruction of the large-eyed jerboa (?) behind one of the hyenas (Pl. XVI top) is correct is very doubtful, as Davies stresses that the head perhaps does not belong at all to the shoulders or these to the hind quarters or the tail. 'A group of antelope-like animals without heads (Pl. XVI next to the ass) have a yellow hide, spotted with white, which almost certainly marks them out as fallow deer' (Davies).

The flowers and plants depicted are, as pointed out by Davies, pure fancies with no counterparts in nature. The head of a wild bull⁵ is part of a composition which still remains in the tomb of Rekh-mi-re and which is found already in the Old Kingdom—the strong bull who faces the hunter when the other animals are fleeing.

The sub-scene shows to the right a man leading an antelope, which struggles to get free,⁶ and the man in front of him is presumably also leading an animal off to the fattening-pens. After a gap there is a man carrying an antelope or a gazelle, and this procession of men, to which the best parallel is again in the tomb of Rekh-mi-re,⁷ is approaching a waiting chariot, which a man seems to be just mounting. A fragment with two walking dogs presumably belongs somewhere here, perhaps under a hyena which is being carried. This procession ends in the tomb of Rekh-mi-re with a heap of dead animals, and I should like to interpret the loose fragment over the chariot on Pl. XVI as a piece of such a scene.

In the tomb of Rekh-mi-re⁸ and in the tomb of Amunzeh⁹ there is a scene on the right wall of the passage, next to the hunting scene, depicting the deceased receiving the produce of the fenlands of the Delta. As a rule this type of scene is combined either with representations of fishing and fowling¹⁰ or with pictures of the hunt,¹¹ and since there is no place in the hall next to the marsh scenes for such a scene it seems probable that it was placed next to the hunting scene on the right wall of the passage, unless it was on some of the piers, where we also find some fragments connected with marsh scenes.¹²

Some fragments of a polychrome text may be parts of the docket to such a scene. They mention the Delta (*tꜣ mhꜣw*), different sorts of cattle, birds of the marshlands (*ꜣꜣꜣꜣ n ꜣꜣꜣꜣ*), and the

¹ Hunting scenes are often found in this part of the tombs of the early XVIIIth Dynasty (cf. tombs Nos. 11, 20, 21, 84, 123, 172).

² Published by Wegner, *op. cit.*, pl. xa; Davies's drawing, here published, is a reconstruction with the aid of Hay's copy, made at a time when the whole animal was still extant (B.M. Add. MS. 29822, p. 19). Now still less remains. For parallels see, for example, tombs Nos. 20 (Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. xii) and 93 (Nina Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, 1, pl. xxxi).

³ *Bull. M.M.A.*, Mar. 1932, part ii, pp. 51 ff. with figs. 4, 5, 6, 11.

⁴ Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mi-rē*, pl. xliii. The types are derived from Old Kingdom prototypes; cf. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, p. 179 and fig. 70.

⁵ Davies, *op. cit.*, fig. 11, but there turned the wrong way round, as is shown by the ground-line near the nose.

⁶ Published by Wegner, *op. cit.*, pl. xa; also copied by Hay, B.M. Add. MS. 29822, p. 20, showing the horns as reconstructed by Davies.

⁷ Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mi-rē*, pl. xlv.

⁸ See Davies, *op. cit.*, pl. xlvii.

⁹ Virey, *Mém. Miss.* v, pp. 353 ff.

¹⁰ So, for example, in tombs Nos. 39, 52, 53, 81, 100, 123, 125, 127, 172, 200.

¹¹ e.g. tombs Nos. 39 (Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemré*, pls. vi-xii), 56 (Wreszinski, *Atlas*, i. 1).

¹² Cf. above, p. 12; it is possible that some of the fragments (especially Pl. X, 23-27) assigned there to the piers belong in reality to the passage.

largest fragment ends with the phrase 'by the count (*in r[prt]*)' (see Pl. XVI top left).¹ These items, cattle and birds, are characteristic of this type of scene. Possibly two other pieces belong here too. One shows a herdsman, bending down and holding a stick in his hand (Pl. XVI left), the other, consisting of several fragments,² has two registers, with a man, called 'the overseer of horned cattle' *Mmy*, lifting his arms in the upper register. Behind him are the most tantalizing remains of a text in blue hieroglyphs, which seem to be in praise of a bull. The cow-goddess Hesat is mentioned, which, in combination with the vivid movement of the man, recalls such scenes as the bull-fight, e.g. in the tomb of Senbi at Meir,³ where we read the following text over a charging bull: 'An ox as strong as two Apis-bulls whom Hesat has suckled.'⁴ Tentatively I suggest the following interpretation of the text: '[The strong bull?], he makes a multitude fly (? [s]bh(?)f(?) rš:t) . . . multi-coloured, a true [son, suckling, or sim.] of Hesat . . . the cow, he with sharp horns,⁵ he strikes . . . he comes, copulating (? iw:f nky).'

In the lower register the first man is bringing an image of an ox, probably moulded in beef lard,⁶ and the second man carries a covered dish of honey.⁷ The text above the dish reads: 'He says: "For thy *ka* honey from . . . for the Herald Antef, for his *ka*."' '

THE INNER ROOMS (Pl. XIX)

Practically nothing remains of the decoration, and the few fragments left *in situ* do not deserve more than a brief description.

At (a) on the plan (Pl. XX) there is a green scarp, interpreted by Davies as part of a boat, by Mekhitarian as remains of a mat. In the centre of the right wall of the same room (b) there are the bottoms of some large jars, and in the right corner the lower part of a man sieving into a jar, presumably belonging to a representation of the preparation of the funeral meal. Possibly the funeral meal was depicted here too. There are some loose fragments of the conventional short offering-list, usually accompanying that scene (cf. p. 31), and parts of the offering-tables and offerings.

Some of these latter fragments may, however, belong to the back wall of the innermost chamber (c), where there are remains of a double scene, each half showing a man, facing the centre of the wall, seated behind an offering-table and a heap of food. In the right sub-scene there was a picture of 'his beloved brother . . . the royal scribe' and part of a jar.⁸

On the right wall there are only some remains of a few hieroglyphs, and on the left wall (d) a kneeling man facing right and in front of him a few signs which cannot be interpreted.

In the inner hall before the niche the ceiling is in part rather well preserved and shows the pattern depicted on Pl. XIX (number 2 from the bottom), where some other ceiling patterns are also reproduced.

¹ Presumably to be reconstructed something like [šp inw nb nfr n or mš inw nw] tš-mšw [m iwš] wnw n hst dfw . . . špaw n phw . . . in r[prt hsty-] . . . šmaw tš-mšw . . . [Intf]; cf. Sethe, *Urk.* iv. 953; Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mi-rē*, pls. xlv, xlv; id., *Tomb of Ken-Amūn*, pl. xxvii.

² Janssen and Mekhitarian tried in vain to find more fragments belonging to this scene.

³ Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, i, pl. xi, p. 33; cf. also Montet, *Kēmi*, xiii, p. 49.

⁴ Blackman's translation; Montet's rendering (loc. cit.) 'le taureau vainqueur est comme Apis, le compagnon de Hesat' is perhaps less probable, as *Hpw*, at least according to the *Wb*, is not written with what looks like a dual ending, and *hnm* is rather the verb 'tend (a child)' than 'companion', since Hesat was regarded as a divine mother.

⁵ If the two horns at the beginning of line 5 belong to

hnty in line 4 only a small part of the text would be missing to the right.

⁶ Cf. Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amūn*, pp. 33 f. According to Davies a similar image is brought by a herdsman in tomb No. 85, and we also find it, for example, in tomb No. 261 (*J.E.A.* 3, pl. xiv) among the produce of the Delta marshes.

⁷ Cf. Davies, loc. cit., and tombs Nos. 123, 127, 172 in connexion with the produce of the Delta and the marshlands. The packing of these dishes with honey is seen in tomb No. 100 (Davies, *Rekh-mi-rē*, pl. xlvi; cf. p. 45 and p. 42).

⁸ So according to Davies's notes; now very difficult to make out, at least from the photographs. The text reads ¹ *sn:f mry*/// ² *sš n nswt* /// (or possibly [*pr*] *nswt*).