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THE TOMB OF THE CHIEF PHYSICIAN NEBAMŪN (NO. 17)

THE tomb lies amongst the last houses at the back of the village of Dra^c abu'l Naga, up the hill from the Antiquities House ('The Pink House').¹ The remaining scenes will be described in the following pages, though not all of them have been thought worthy of being reproduced in line. For the work in the tomb is characterized by a mingled slovenliness and care, the former perhaps predominating and manifested by the use of a form of sloppy painting which Theban artists seem to have reserved for patrons who could not, or would not, provide remuneration for first-class work throughout. It has besides been the victim of that malice, public and private, to which so great a number of the tombs of Thebes bear vivid witness. The names of the owner and his wife have been first smeared out and then whitewashed over by personal enemies, the same treatment being accorded to some notes descriptive of rites and actions by which the deceased might be supposed to benefit. In addition the Atenists have cut out the name of Amūn and the figures of all *sem*-priests, plastering over the erasure to make doubly sure, but sparing the names of all other gods.² After the triumph of Amūn a campaign to make good as far as possible the damage thus wrought by the heretics seems to have been projected, but never came to much; here the reparation was confined to ruling up the columns for texts which were never inserted. There was evidently a shortage of the necessary scribes.

The tomb is small [[see plan on Pl. XXIX]] and its form does not call for any comment.³ The decorations of the outer of the two rooms will be dealt with first.

THE REVEALS (A, B on plan)

Each of these spaces, afforded by the thickness of the rock wall, was provided with a figure of the owner and a text over his head. That on the north is gone. On the south there remains ' . . . beautiful (?) of dawning in gold, plentiful incense, and rare (?) . . . ' [[Pl. XXVIII, 1]] [[The inner lintel is decorated with two Anubis-jackals (erased), facing an *Imntt* sign.]]

¹ [[The description of this tomb had been worked out by N. de Garis Davies, and I have thought it better to publish it chiefly as he left it. But owing to the fact that Davies had intended to publish this tomb together with No. 162, containing the other famous picture of Syrian ships, now edited by Faulkner in *J.E.A.* 33 (1947), pp. 40 ff., parts of the manuscript had to be altered. The whole tomb was photographed in colour in 1952/3 by Mr. Mekhitarian, and the texts and the drawings were collated by Dr. Janssen and Dr. Barns, who also added some texts and details left out by Davies. Plates xxiv-xxix have been drawn by me from Mr. Mekhitarian's excellent colour photographs, and are perhaps not quite so accurate as the drawings made by Mr. Davies in the tomb. The general proportions may sometimes be slightly distorted, because some of the photographs were taken at an oblique angle. In some cases I have added notes containing later bibliography and suggesting different interpretations. My additions are in double square brackets.]]

For the position, &c., of the tomb see Gardiner and Weigall, *Topographical Catalogue*, p. 16, and, for reference to pre-

vious publications, Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, i, pp. 59 ff. [[Reference to later publications will be found below in connexion with the different scenes.]]

The discovery of the remains of the ship and the chariot is due to the zeal of the late Max Müller, but his description of it in *Mitteilungen d. vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1904, 2, pp. 113-50, is marred by inaccuracies of description and illustration due to his failing sight and his lack of any gift for drawing. By some unaccountable error he ascribes the tomb to one 'Senye', the misread name of the father of Nebamūn.

² The Atenist must have feared that the gods might still be able to read the already defaced names of Nebamūn and his wife. But it is possible that this defacement was not the work of previous malice but the preparatory indication by his comrades of what should be expunged, such as is seen in tomb No. 55 [[see Davies, *The Tomb of Ramose*, p. 4, n. 2]].

³ No attempt was made by me to find or empty the burial pits. From the north wall [[E]] a breach leads into the back chamber of tomb No. 145.

THE NORTH-EAST WALL (C on plan) [[Pls. XXI, XXVIII]]

At the left end, next to the corner, Nebamūn sits behind a table of food, clasping a palette to his breast [[Pl. XXI A]] and holding a lotus. The palette is inscribed with two prayers to Thoth (?) on behalf of the deceased, the name being here preserved.¹ Over him is the text, 'All that has been offered on [the table of Amūn] when he sets in Josret (be) for the *ka* of the scribe and physician of the King [Nebamūn] who followed the king on his journeys in southern and northern countries and did not forsake the Lord of the Two Lands night or day, the scribe Neb[amūn].' [[Pl. XXVIII, 2; facsimile from colour photograph.]] A male figure faces him, offering a triple papyrus [[now destroyed]]. His name and figure have been erased, but both have been restored in a style which is Ramesside in appearance if it does not owe this impression merely to its roughness. His name, Shena, might be learnt from another occurrence of it as that of Nebamūn's brother [[cf. below, p. 25]]; but the selection of this one figure for restoration suggests that it may have been done by the man himself, supposing that the defacement was contemporary. The text appended is, 'Making a ritual offering of all manner of good and pure food, water, wine, milk (?) [[alabaster]] and clothing, incense, ointment, for thy *ka*. (It) is pure, pure' [[Pl. XXVIII, 2]]. The guests who attend the meal of the dead are ranged behind this man in three rows. In the two upper ones men are seated and are served by male and female attendants. In the lowest row music is played by a girl with a flute and another with resonant sticks (?) [[or a sistrum?]]. The sub-scene continues the subject; eight men bring gifts of food [[to a seated couple]].

THE SOUTH-EAST WALL (D on plan) [[Pls. XXI, XXVIII]]

Here the dead man, facing the doorway, makes offering to the god of day. The inscription is, 'Feeding the flame (?) of the brazier [of Rêc-Harakhti] . . . when he sets in life in his horizon of the west, and adoring the god, lord . . . [[his appearance]]'² [[Pl. XXVIII, 3; facsimile from colour photograph]]. Nebamūn's wife accompanies him, dressed in the close-fitting garment of older days [[Pl. XXI B]];³ her name here, as everywhere else, is erased [[cf., however, below, at W]]. In front of Nebamūn are jars and mats spread with food.

Another picture, occupying the right half of the wall, shows the pair seated on chairs, below one of which is a blue monkey eating fruit and onions. The label of the scene is, 'What has been offered in the presence [of Amūn . . .] (be) for the *ka* of the scribe and physician Neb[amūn and his wife] . . .' [[Pl. XXVIII, 4; facsimile from colour photograph]]. A man offers a bouquet to Nebamūn with the words, 'May he favour thee and love thee! [For thy *ka*! A bouquet of Amūn] O scribe and royal physician' [[Pl. XXVIII, 4]].⁴ A sub-scene shows twelve servants bringing food for the offering and perhaps the cutting up of the sacrificial ox.

¹ [[Janssen and Barns say that no such text is now visible, and nothing can be detected on the colour photographs.]]

² [[Cf. Schott, *Das schöne Fest vom Wüstentale*, p. 866 (No. 41): 'Das Brandopfer nähren für [Amon . . .], wenn er "im Leben untergeht" in seinem Lichttal des Westens, jeden Gott preisen.' He, too, leaves out the last signs of the second line, but his restoration [Amon] is probably better; the phrase *snmt chw* (or *chw*) 'Feeding the braziers (or, the two braziers)' occurs also in tombs Nos. 39, 45, 69, 112, 125, and 345 (cf. Schott, op. cit., nos. 25, 26, 28, 29, 30; *Wb.* iv. 164⁶ with *Belegstellen*), and in all these cases Amūn is the

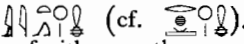

god mentioned, except in No. 39, where we find Hathor and Osiris. The predominant role of Amūn in this context is rightly stressed by Schott, op. cit., p. 777.]

³ [[As pointed out by Schott (op. cit., p. 793) the deceased alone is depicted in this type of scene in the earlier tombs, and it is only in tombs later than the reign of Tuthmosis III that he is accompanied by his wife. This is one of the many reasons for dating tomb No. 17 to the reign of Amenophis II; cf. Wegner, *Die Stilentwicklung* (M.D.I.K. iv), p. 112.]]

⁴ [[The restoration is obvious from many parallels to this very common scene; see Schott, op. cit., pp. 825 ff.]]

THE SOUTH-WEST WALL (H on plan) [[Pl. XXII]]

On the left hand Nebamūn sits, smelling a lotus flower, behind a table spread with food and drink, which has further supplies of cakes and beverages below it. 'The scribe and physician of the King in [Thebes (?), Nebamūn], enjoying himself, seated (in) his house of acquittal.' A woman facing him pours wine into a shallow cup, which stands on the table, and says '[Receive . . .] that which thy daughter (?) . . . -mi-Rēc, true of voice, gives thee'.¹ The part of the register which is below this appears to have secondary reference to it.² It shows the preparation in the kitchen of the cakes and beverage seen above. On the left a man is taking round buns out of a barrel-shaped oven (grey with red fireplace below).³ The buns and racket-shaped cakes which the cooks have baked are set out above him, the slashes in them showing up clearly. Of the baker's assistants, a woman is forming the buns out of a mass of dough in a dish; a man cuts out or marks a disk of dough made of other ingredients (it is coloured a greyish-pink [[the other bread and dough are white⁴]]) into something like our scones or hot-cross buns; a third kneads the dough on a table.⁵ But this last, together with the figures to the right, may be engaged in the preparation of beer, and may thus be more properly related to the other picture which is concerned with the storage of grain. There a man treads out the fermenting bread in a large red [[or rather light brown]] vat, from which a comrade draws off the liquid into a jar. A third brewer is working the mash through a basket-work sieve into a jar. A row of similar vessels full of the finished product is seen above. Perhaps the brew is of two kinds (beer and yeast?). Women of the household carry off the produce of the kitchen and the brew-house to their master, their young children trotting after them. Two episodes of the preparation which have overflowed into a sub-scene ought strictly to have been noticed before this.⁶ There we see a woman grinding the grain on a sloping block, another passing the flour through a sieve, and a man pounding spice (?) in a mortar, as one sees it done today in the bazaar of the spice-merchants of Cairo. Two men seem to be either placing pottery bread-moulds on a bed of ashes (grey on the left, red on the right), or, if the representation is correct, placing little jars of beer there to warm or merely to stand erect.⁷ What follows to the right seems to show men, women, and children of Nebamūn's establishment bringing sacks of cloth or yarn and pieces of linen. One of them who has not delivered his (or her) full quota is receiving punishment. The connexion of this incident with the rest seems to be indicated by the little text which is placed over the head of the figure of Nebamūn standing, staff in hand, on the right. 'The wholesome sight of the good things in the

¹ Perhaps the name is  (cf. ). This does not resemble the name of either mother or wife of Nebamūn, so presumably it is a daughter. [[In scenes of this type it is, as a rule, a daughter or a girl who is not the wife of the deceased who offers the cup of wine; cf. tombs Nos. 21 (Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pls. xxv, xxvi), 29 (unpublished), 53 (unpublished), 78 (Wreszinski, *Atlas*, i. 39 a, c), 90 (Davies, *Tomb of Two Officials*, pl. xxiii), 181 (Davies, *Tomb of Two Sculptors*, pl. v), 200 (Porter and Moss, op. cit., p. 153); see also Schott, op. cit., pp. 840 ff.]]

² [[The left parts of the two lower registers have been published by Wreszinski, *Atlas*, i. 125, wrongly assigned to tomb No. 24). The right part of the bottom register appears in Baud, *Les Dessins ébauchés*, fig. 21, cf. pp. 72-73.]]

³ [[According to Wreszinski the man puts the bread into the oven. In his interpretation of the similar figure in tomb No. 93 Davies (*The Tomb of Ken-Amūn*, p. 51 and pl. lviii) leaves it open, whether the bread is taken out or put in. Cf. also Klebs, *Die Reliefs und Malereien des Neuen Reiches*, p. 175, and Wreszinski, *Z.Ä.S.* 61, p. 9.]]

⁴ [[In the similar picture in tomb No. 93 the cut-up bread or dough is red (Davies, loc. cit.).]]

⁵ [[That he is not cutting the bread, as supposed by Wreszinski, *Atlas*, i. 125, is apparent from the better preserved parallel in tomb No. 93 (Davies, loc. cit.), and a patch of brown colour near the right pair of legs of the table in our picture shows that there was a jar under the table just as in No. 93.]]

⁶ [[Wreszinski's interpretation (*Atlas*, i. 125) of this part is obviously wrong.]]

⁷ [[The left group depicting grinding, sieving, and pounding is met with already in earlier tombs (cf. Davies, *The Tomb of Antefoker*, pl. xi, and p. 15 with references, esp. id., *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. xxxviii, and *Beni Hasan*, ii, pl. vi), and I think that Davies's interpretation in these earlier publications, that it is grain which is pounded, is the correct one. Cf. Wreszinski, *Z.Ä.S.* 61, pp. 1 f. And the right part presumably depicts the filling of the moulds with dough, to judge from these earlier parallels.]]

southland by the scribe and physician of the King in Thebes, the scribe (?) . . . Neb[amūn], triumphant and having final favour with the great god.' Nebamūn is followed by a henchman carrying his stick, sandals, sack, and scribe's case (?), and before him the work of storing the harvest is in progress. Men bring full sacks, and, mounting a few steps, throw the contents into the hatches of the beehive granaries.¹ Previously the grain has been measured by the bushel and the quantity registered by a scribe whose tablet and leather case are drawn as large as himself. Both are perched impossibly on the top of the slithering heap of corn, the desire of the draughtsman to indicate the connexion of things in a compact picture being stronger than his attraction to realism.

THE NORTH-WEST WALL (G on plan) [[Pl. XXIII]]

On this wall is depicted a visit paid to Nebamūn by a Syrian gentleman or merchant of considerable means, indeed of very great wealth, if we are obliged to take the details of the depiction literally.² The subject of the visit, since it is here a tomb record, is strangely mingled with one of the ever-recurrent representations of the meal of the dead where the food is consecrated to the use of the dead by proper ceremonial on the part of a son or brother.³ Here it is of the simplest type consisting only of the presentation of the symbolic papyrus 'by his beloved brother Shena'. This feature, so proper to burial scenes, having been duly shown, the presence of relatives and of the servants who bring forward contributions of food and flowers to the banquet is replaced by the figures of the Syrian and his wife and a file of servitors laden with rich gifts which have nothing to do with the meal. The scene therefore differs from that in the tomb of ẖenamūn⁴ not only by its much earlier date, going back perhaps to the time of Tuthmosis III or earlier⁵ (as far as can be guessed from the style) but also in that we do not see why Nebamūn should receive gifts of such magnitude as if he had been a representative of the king. Was the homage paid to him in his private capacity and as a physician of repute, and did this unnamed Syrian seek the help of his skill in this capacity? We can scarcely suppose that the Syrian is in fact being given a medicinal draught⁶ or regard the attitude of his wife as one of solicitude for his infirmity; for if it is other than that by which the Egyptian artist naturally expressed wifely attachment,⁷

¹ [[This part of the wall has been published by Wreszinski, *Atlas*, i. 63, and by Farina, *La Pittura egiziana*, pl. xc. Wreszinski, loc. cit., Senk, *Z.Ä.S.* 69, p. 86, and Rostem, *Ann. Serv.* 48, p. 176, have regarded the men mounting the steps as an instance of perspective. Personally, I am convinced that this is not the case and that it is only an instance of Schäfer's law of 'Scheitelgleiche'; cf. Schäfer, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, n. 245 a.]]

² [[This scene, or parts of it, have been previously published by Meyer, *Darstellungen der Fremdvölker*, 730-3; Wreszinski, *Atlas*, i. 115; Müller in *Mitteil. Vorderasiat. Gesell.* ix (1904), [2], pls. i, ii, cf. pp. 1-21; Capart and Werbrouck, *Thèbes*, p. 61, fig. 37 (from Wreszinski); Bossert, *The Art of Ancient Crete*, p. 290 [550]; Andrae, *Die jüngeren Ishtar-Tempel in Assur*, p. 84, fig. 66; Bossert, *Altkreta*, fig. on p. 245 [339].]]

³ [[Cf. Schott, op. cit., chap. iii.]]

⁴ [[No. 162, with the Syrian shipping scene now published by Faulkner in *J.E.A.* 33 (1947), pp. 40 ff.]]

⁵ [[The date is certainly rather Amenophis II; cf. above, p. 23, n. 3 with references.]]

⁶ [[This is the interpretation proposed by Wreszinski, *Atlas*, i. 115, and he regarded the man offering the bowl to the Syrian 'chieftain', as Wreszinski calls the foreigner, as a repeated representation of Nebamūn himself. I do not

quite see why this interpretation should be excluded.]]

⁷ Cf., for example, Davies, *The Tomb of Two Sculptors* (Tytus Mem. Series IV), pl. v. [[This group is, however, rather different: both are standing, the wife does not seize the arm of the man with her left hand, and her right arm does not touch her husband's shoulder, but is rather lifted in adoration to the god, to whom the pair is offering. More similar to our picture are, for example, Davies, *Tomb of Ramose*, pls. xviii, xix, depicting deceased and wife receiving offerings, where in one scene the position of her arms is exactly the same as in No. 17, and in the other the man is seated and the wife standing just as in our scene; but a seated foreigner remains more or less an anomaly at this time and in a picture of this type. Foreigners bringing gifts or tribute elsewhere always approach the Egyptian official walking or creeping (and if it were an ordinary reception of 'tribute' one would expect a picture of the king, too, in a tomb of this date). This fact seems rather to support the interpretation of a private visit to the physician, and why should not the climax of the visit—the cure and the fee received for it—be the scene here depicted? The gesture of the Syrian, that to a modern mind seems to express a refusal of the drink offered, in Egyptian pictures expresses the contrary and is often seen in representations with offerings to the dead.]]

it would rather imply concern lest her husband was being persuaded to drink wine beyond his capacity.

If this wealthy Syrian came to consult Nebamūn in his professional capacity, the fee with which he enlisted his attention appears a truly lordly one. Behind the pair are two men, one carrying an ingot of copper and a pottery vase, valued no doubt for its contents whatever they may be, the other bringing a sealed wine-jar and a young slave-girl. The top register shows still greater munificence. Two servants bring wine-jars on their shoulders and a lighter pottery vase is borne in the hands. A white jar is set on a stand and may therefore be of silver. Four Syrian girls accompany the men, one of them evidently a full adult, and the vases of pottery or metal (the first pink, the second brown) which they carry are of less importance than their own persons, for we cannot suppose that they are there in any capacity save that of slaves, since they are not likely to have accompanied the pair on their perilous and uncomfortable sea voyage except as part of the merchandise. At most the woman might have come as escort to the girls and as hand-maid to her mistress. Besides we have the evidence (e.g. in tomb No. 162) for the inclusion of this article in the trade list, and it would be an anachronism if we wasted an astonished sympathy on the girls, whose lot in any case is not likely to have been too happy.

If we seek with hopeful interest to find in these gifts some sign of their exact source, its measure of civilization, or the date of the occurrence we are, I fear, likely to be disappointed, especially in designs which exhibit so small a measure of exact delineation. The vases are not peculiar in shape nor do they carry any decoration, and while they are in harmony with their obviously foreign origin, they display shapes which might have a very wide diffusion and even find congeners in the output of an Egyptian potter of the period. The dresses of the visitors, too, can scarcely be identified with a particular locality or period.¹ They afford little evidence of close acquaintance with special details or of anxiety for their exact delineation and repeat only the ordinary impression which the Syrian dress made upon the intelligent Egyptian. The subject, however, does give us an opportunity to see the dress of a wealthy woman as compared with that of wives of servants or slave-women. It adds little to the simplicity of the flounced dress so well known to us in the persons of the latter, this consisting merely of a loose but apparently sleeveless jacket which has an edging of red spots and gives a decoration scarcely more elaborate than the blue and red lines which border her flounces. Otherwise she wears a dress similar to that of all Syrian women, if we except the still more simple long-sleeved shirt with blue and red edging in all respects resembling the men's which is worn by young girls.²

In a sub-scene, of which only some fragments of the surface remain, we have nevertheless the most interesting part of the record, since careful study of the surviving traces reveals a ship and two chariots drawn by oxen.³ The ship is of course that which has brought the Syrian to Egypt. The chariots might also be those that had brought him from his home to the ship, as a Mecca pilgrim today depicts prominently on his house-front in Egypt the train and the steamer by means of which he achieved the coveted title of 'Haggi'. But the picture in tomb No. 162, which

¹ [[On the different types of Syrian dresses cf., for example, Pritchard, *B.A.S.O.R.* 122 (1951), pp. 36 ff.]]

² For women's dress see Wreszinski, *Atlas*, i. 337 (= Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-rē*, pl. xxiii), 275 (= Davies, *Menkheperasonb*, pl. v); Davies, *ibid.*, pl. xxxiv; Caillaud, *Arts et métiers*, pl. 35; *Bull. M.M.A.*, Mar. 1926, part ii, fig. 4.

³ To Max Müller is due the large merit of having recognized this ship of foreign type and of having published it with very considerable accuracy of line, if in execrable colour-tones (op. cit., pl. iii). He failed, however, to see the last relics of the design which reveal the connexion of an ox

with the proven chariot-wheels in the one case, and of those of the proven ox in the other, thus missing an important part of an ox-drawn wagon or chariot established beyond doubt by the picture. Instead he laid the worst and most mistaken effort of his pencil before an unhappy expert in zoology (op. cit., pp. 33, 34), and extracting the opinion that the animal in question was a mule, opened up vistas of productive research with the animal life in Asia Minor in remote antiquity, thus showing himself a partner in the very frailty which he has so justly deplored in other copyists (op. cit., p. 6).

shows the Syrian breed of oxen being offered for sale or as gifts together with other records of similar imports into Egypt from Syria, makes it fairly certain that chariot and draught animals are part of the specifically Syrian objects which have been selected as being regarded as valuable because of their rarity.

We know now that four-wheeled wagons drawn by oxen were used by the wealthiest in Mesopotamia in the early days of Sumeria, and that wheeled ox-carts were in use by surrounding peoples when the ox-cart had been supplanted by the chariot drawn by asses and later by horses in the valley of the Euphrates. The wagon drawn by a pair of oxen was familiar to the Hebrews. It cannot have failed therefore to be of use in the neighbouring lands, for slower transport at any rate. Oxen were only used in Egypt for drawing the sacred funeral sled, perhaps because of their docility and their convenience as being at the same time draught and sacrificial animals. In one instance they are attached to a wheeled car.¹ Once also the sled is used for civil purposes,² but as Phoenicians may be guiding the team of six they may be responsible for adopting a custom of their country. In the tomb of Huy at Thebes,³ an African princess is drawn in a chariot to which a pair of oxen are yoked. If the artist has not become confused here between the Syrian and Nubian subjects it is a half-and-half imitation of Egyptian ways since, while in Nubia wagons drawn by oxen were perhaps known at this date, oxen seem to have generally a yoke on the horns or to draw from a collar on the neck and not from a yoke on the withers. Whether, in the tomb of Nebamün, the animals are attached to a chariot or to a cart,⁴ cannot be determined, but as chariots are so often an item of Syrian tribute, I have restored the vehicle as a chariot. The oxen are quite clearly of the humped variety.⁵

The main point concerning the ship is the confirmation it gives of the more completely preserved pictures in tomb No. 162,⁶ and especially of the paling which is raised on the bulwarks (red or orange-red), and the upright prow and stern-post. The orange marks on the yellow hull seem to be meant for graining as if the ship were built of wooden planks. Syrian ships do not show at this point the decoration that Egyptian ships often carry. (I saw no indication of the standing figure of the man in the prow that Max Müller found an adumbration of, being perhaps influenced by the remembrance of that in tomb No. 162.) Ship and chariots follow the direction of the scene above and apparently no further significance is to be attached to this or to their relative position. One would expect them to be lowering sail on arrival, but there is no sign of this; yet they can scarcely be making preparation for departure.

THE NORTH WALL (E on plan)

In the centre Osiris and Anubis stand back to back and the dead man adores them, Anubis from the right and Osiris from the left. No text is visible. The centre of the sub-scene is occupied by a pile of food. The surface to the left of this is destroyed. On the right a man censes and libates the offerings and two porters bring flowers, &c.⁷

¹ Tylor, *Sebeknekht*, pl. 2 [[cf. Davies, *J.E.A.* 12, p. 111]].

² *L.D.* iii 3 a [[cf. Porter and Moss, op. cit. iv, p. 74]].

³ *Theban Tombs Series*, vol. iv, pl. xxviii.

⁴ Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, ii, p. 396, and Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, i, p. 249 [[cf. *Z.Ä.S.* 69, 28 f. where chariots drawn by oxen are mentioned for the boat-transport to the Euphrates]].

⁵ Cf. tombs Nos. 162 (Faulkner, op. cit.) and 343 (4) (Porter and Moss, op. cit. i. 183).

⁶ [[Cf. Faulkner, op. cit., and Säve-Söderbergh, *The Navy of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty*, pp. 55 f.]]

⁷ [[A rather inadequate photo of this wall has been published by Hermann, *Die Stelen der thebanischen Felsgräber der 18. Dynastie*, Taf. 10 c.]]

THE SOUTH WALL (F on plan) [[Pls. XXI, XXVIII]]

The wall is divided into four registers, of which the uppermost is the largest. Here, on the left, the parents of Nebamūn are seated. A little girl is by their side. Nude, save for a girdle of beads round her loins, she carries a copper mirror and a black *kohl*-pot [[Pl. XXI c]]. In front of the pair is a stand of food which a man, no doubt Nebamūn himself, consecrates 'to the *ka* [of the judge Neb]seny'. Of the five columns of text over Nebamūn's head, the first three are painted out but what remains is faintly legible; the rest, which contained the name, is erased [[Pl. XXVIII, 5; facsimile from colour photograph]]. The purport was, 'The performance of a ritual offering to Amūn . . . great god, that he may grant everything good and pure. By his beloved son' The right half of the register shows Nebamūn (?) similarly seated and stretching out his hand to a stand of food and two great vases, one of which has a round white loaf covering its mouth. A lady extends to him a white cup which she has filled with wine from two tiny carafes. [[Behind her is a third jar, white like the one immediately in front of her.]] Something of the two texts overhead could be made out by damping the obliterating whitewash [[Pl. XXVIII, 6; facsimile from colour photograph]]. 'Everything which has been offered [on the altar of Amūn, lord of the Throne of the] Two lands, (be) for the *ka* of the royal scribe . . . (?), the scribe . . . [[in final favour with] the great god]].' '(For) thy *ka* . . . [Spend] a happy day, O favourite of . . .¹ in thy house . . . of the necropolis (?), of that which . . . gives thee (?).' In the register below this [[Pl. XXI E]] the recipient of the honours is a lady seated on a low chair and having wine poured into her cup by a maidservant.² The first part of her name and title is erased but '-ḥotpe' remains, so that the inscription probably ran 'His mother (?), the chantress of Amūn, Amenḥotpe (or Ḥotpe merely)'. Behind her, two ladies kneel on a mat. Their names are spared to us as 'His sister, Seneb[[ef]]-wer' and 'His sister, Nofret'. All these women wear their hair in curls, the main part of which seems to fall on the bosom. This, with the rigid lotus held by the chief lady, betrays a stiffness which is reminiscent of the Middle Kingdom and suggests an early date for the tomb within the XVIIIth Dynasty. The ladies are being entertained by a troupe of musicians, comprising a male lute-player, a woman performing on a four-stringed portable harp, and three women singers. The four women are named Pusi, Arinufer, Webet, and Nebnofret. Between these women and the man is space for another figure, but it has been carefully cut out. Was it a nude dancer or a performer who otherwise offended later and more puritanical taste?³

In the third row the male guests are seen, among whom one personage is marked out by his dress and the attention he is receiving from a woman who hands him a cup, and from a butler who presides over a diversified array of beverages. He is no less than the maternal grandfather of Nebamūn, named Thutnufer, and the woman is his wife Hepy-nofret [[Pl. XXI D]]. As she is a dark-skinned Berber (?)⁴ and her hair is simply worn, it may be that she was drawn as a maidservant before she was given the name; for one would not expect an ancestress to be shown in this position. However, she may still have been alive. The names of two men behind Thutnufer have been erased. Two others, one receiving the cup, the other having a collar placed on his neck (?), were not named. Suitable material failed, apparently, for the lowest register; for the only surviving remnant shows a man boring beads with a triple drill.⁵ A box and a bowl of beads (?) is seen above him.

¹ [[Read: [the king] or perhaps rather [Amūn], since this part has been erased; cf. Davies, *The Tombs of Two Officials*, pl. xxiii, and Schott, op. cit., pp. 846 f., 884 ff.]]

² [[This register and the one below have been published by Wreszinski, *Atlas*, i. 116, and by Farina, op. cit., pl. xci; for the musicians see Hickmann, *Bull. Inst. Eg.* 35 (1952/53),

p. 347.]]

³ [[Cf. Schott, *Z.Ä.S.* 75, pp. 100 ff.]]

⁴ [[To judge from the colour photograph she is hardly darker than the other women on this wall.]]

⁵ [[Very much destroyed, and now practically impossible to detect.]]

FRAMING OF THE INNER DOORWAY (K-L on plan)

On the lintel the deceased pair adore the gods of burial, Osiris and Anubis, who are enthroned in the centre, the latter being on the left. Nebamūn is once styled 'scribe and physician in Thebes' [[Pl. XXVIII, 7; facsimile from colour photograph]]. On each of the jambs are two ritual prayers. Those on the right are addressed to Osiris and Anubis; those on the left to [Amūn] and Mut. The blessings sought are those most commonly invoked [[Pl. XXVIII, 8]].

DECORATIVE FEATURES [[Pl. XXVII]]

The *kheker*-ornament above the pictures has been omitted in the north bay of the outer room. The ceilings are decorated in the usual way by coloured designs bordered by yellow mock-beams. There are six such panels in the outer room, two long ones in each of the bays and two short transverse ones in the fairway from door to door. Each bay has long bands or beams bordering its two panels, and two (divided) end bands. The bands in the north bay carry no texts; so that there are three long inscriptions in the outer room, one transverse text the breadth of the room (in the axis), and eight short texts, each the breadth of the four patterns. [[See Pl. XXVII; facsimiles from colour photographs.]] The latter are in the form 'the favoured one of (*imakhy kher*) such and such god', followed by the name and titles of 'the Osiris' Nebamūn. These deities are, for the axis, Imsety, Hepy, Anubis [Osiris], and, at the south end, Kebeḥ-senu-ef and Dua-mut-ef. The two remaining texts simply omit the name of the god and take the form 'The *imakhy kher*, the scribe and royal physician [Nebamūn]'. In the inner room there are again four (divided) cross-beams, and thus eight short texts; the gods are, besides the four genii above named, Geb, the fluttering hawk-god [[*Dwn-cnwy*]], Anubis, lord of To-joser, and Anubis Imi-Ut. The name of Nebamūn is once, by an oversight, fully preserved [[text I]]. In the outer chamber the axial text reads [[text 12]], '... Khentamentiu, that they may give all that has been offered on their altars daily to . . .'. The longitudinal text in the central band of the south bay runs [[text 1]: 'A ritual offering to Rēc-Harakhti [[when]] rising on the eastern horizon and setting on the western horizon, brightening earth and heaven with his beauty, that he may grant spirit-life, importance, and acquittal, that the soul may belong to heaven and the corpse to earth. For the *ka* of the chief physician¹ of the King [Nebamūn].'] The eastern side-band has [[text 3]] '... that they may give all manner of offerings and fat things, all that has been offered on their altars—bread, beer, alabaster, cloth, incense, ointment, all things good and pure, all [offerings] and [[vegetables]] for the *ka* of the scribe and physician . . .'. The western band reads [[text 2]] 'A ritual offering to Osiris-Khentamentiu [[, lord of Busiris, great one in Abydos]], and Anubis Imi-Ut, lord of To-joser, that they may grant the ritual meal [[&c.]] and the reception of the food which is offered in the Presence daily for the *ka* of the chief physician, the scribe of the King in Thebes...'. The three longitudinal texts in the inner room are as follows: 'A ritual offering to [[A[mūn], lord . . .]] that they may grant [[offerings and fat things]], all that has been offered on their altars—bread, beer, [[oxen and fowl]], alabaster, cloth, incense, ointment, all things good and pure, all [[offerings]] and [[vegetables]], and the pleasant airs of the north wind for the *ka* of the scribe and physician . . .' [[text A]]. 'A ritual offering to Rēc-Harakhti and Hathor, regent of Thebes, that they may grant spirit-life in heaven, importance on earth, fair burial after old age, restfulness on the eternal road, and the following of his heart's desire for the *ka* of the scribe and physician, Neba[mū]n, begotten of the 'judge, Nebseny, his mother being A[men-ḥotpe (?)]' [[text B]]. 'A ritual offering to Osiris-Khentamentiu, great god, ruler of eternity, to Hathor, lady of the

¹ [[I have changed, here and elsewhere, Davies's translation 'the magnate, the physician'; cf. *Wb.* iii. 427^{13, 14.}]]

necropolis, and Anubis, president of the shrine of the god, that they may give the ritual meal [[&c.]] for the *ka* of the scribe and royal physician, [Nebamün] [[text C]].

Only two ceiling patterns are employed in the tomb, but both have slight variations. One is the common one formed by alternating chains of blue and green diamonds enclosing a quatrefoil on a yellow ground. The other shows a network of yellow whorls with rosettes in the interspaces, either on a blue and red ground, or on white. In the inner room there are six panels, the two middle ones having the whorl-and-rosette design, the end ones the diamond pattern. The soffit of the entrance is adorned with transverse bands of colour (yellow, blue, red, blue) with colourless interspaces. That of the second doorway has two panels of the diamond pattern.

We now pass into the inner room.

REVEALS OF THE ENTRANCE (M, N on plan)

Both sides showed Nebamün and his wife, facing outwards and adoring the light. The text on the north was 'An adoration of Rē' with references to Osiris also [[Pl. XXVIII, 9; between the pair we read: *dwt R*; Pl. XXVIII, 10]]. On the south the obliterating wash still allows one to read, ' . . . adoring thy beauty . . . at both seasons. Grant exit and entrance in the necropolis, to drink at the margin of the stream, and to smell the sweet airs of the north wind. For the *ka* of the physician and scribe . . . ' [[Pl. XXVIII, 11]].

THE EAST WALL (O, P on plan)

Over the entrance are the sacred eyes. The two sides exhibit burial furniture, and are to be regarded as a continuation of the adjacent walls (Q, R). The furniture is such as is often displayed in similar cases. On the south side are brought (i) a table with five libation vases of gold and silver and a box with four *shendyt* skirts; (ii) a box with four hawks on their perches, and another with jewellery and linen; (iii) a box of jewellery and another of mirrors and eye-paint; (iv) jars and cruses of ointment. On the north side are brought (i) a bed and chair; (ii) vases of alabaster (or imitations in wood) and a casket; (iii) three stone vases; (iv) a basket of fringed pieces of linen, a tall blue vase, and a table of grapes.

THE SOUTH WALL (R on plan) [[Pls. XXIV, XXV]]

This is occupied, as so often, by the series of episodes in the burial ceremonial, presided over by the hawk-crowned goddess of the West.¹ [[On the lower part of the goddess there are remains of the red square net used for giving the right proportions to the first drawing.

The first register starts with four offering-bringers and over them is the text: 'Bringing gifts and vessels of all sorts of valuable stones' (Davies's translation). Behind these men the oxen dragging the sarcophagus, accompanied by the 'people of Pe' and 'Dep', the *smrw*, a censuring and libating lector priest, a *sem*-priest, and the 'little' and the 'great kite' approach a priest reading from a roll of papyrus.² The text above the oxen reads: 'Let it be said to³ the oxen, "Drag ye

¹ [[Pls. XXIV, XXV. This wall was not copied by Davies, but is here reproduced from a facsimile drawn by me from excellent colour photographs taken by Mr. Mekhitarian. For the texts I had handcopies by Dr. Janssen and Dr. Barns. Davies had planned to reserve this type of scene, as well as those on the opposite wall, for a collation of the many similar representations in the necropolis, but as it will not be possible to publish such a collation in the near future, I have thought it better to reproduce the two walls in question with

a brief commentary. An inadequate photograph of wall R and an incorrect drawing of the woman in the boat in the second register have been published by Werbrouck, *Les Pleureuses dans l'Égypte anc.*, pl. iii and fig. 65.]

² Cf., for example, Davies-Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhêt*, pp. 48 ff.

³ On the writing of the preposition see Lüddekens, *Untersuchungen über religiösen Gehalt, Sprache und Form der äg. Totenklagen* (M.D.I.K. xi), p. 72.

with the love of your heart.”¹ “We shall drag² very hard, (bringing, [h]r) the noble, calm of mouth, pulling him to his house of eternity, his place in the necropolis.” “To the West, to the West, the land of justification.”’

In the second register we find the following rites:³ Placing a foreleg in the tomb by the *imy-khent* with the text ‘The *imy-khent* enters into the great place in order to place [a head and] forelegs’⁴ (Episode No. 68), and a woman sacrificing on an altar in front of a priest (Episode No. 11; cf. Davies, *Rekh-mi-rēr*, pl. lxxx, for the reading of the fragmentary text). The rest of this register is a series of rites connected with the Butic burial (Episodes Nos. 62–67).⁵

The third register starts with the scene of the two women, here called the ‘little’ and the ‘great kite’, offering bowls before four tanks (Episode No. 24; cf. Davies–Gardiner, loc. cit.). Behind them the upper half of the register shows the so-called guard-house of the gods (Episode No. 43), and in the lower half there are four shrines (cf. Episode No. 1). The rest of this register depicts the Abydos pilgrimage.

In the bottom register we first see the dancing *mww* (cf. Episode No. 20 and Junker, op. cit.), and in front of them the ‘people of Pe’ ‘drag the *tekenu* to the necropolis’.⁶ The *tekenu* is followed by the ‘people of Dep’ dragging a smaller coffin under a canopy, and two men dragging a bier on a sled (cf. Episode No. 27). Then there is a man holding the rope of a boat, on which two men are seated with their backs against a shrine. A ceremony connected with a landing-pole and here performed by the ‘great kite’ and a *smr*, and, finally, a lector priest in front of a tomb façade conclude the scenes on this wall.]]

THE NORTH WALL (Q on plan) [[Pls. XXVI, XXIX]]

In an upper scene Nebamūn and his wife sit on the left and a man [[erased]] consecrates the food on a table before them. All the texts are defaced. There is a list of offerings in twenty-two columns [[Pl. XXIX, 1; facsimile from colour photograph]].⁷ In a lower picture the parents of Nebamūn sit, namely ‘the judge Nebseny and his beloved wife [Amenhotpe]’. The figure of the priest repeating the ritual formula is completely erased, with [[most of]] his words [[Pl. XXIX, 2; facsimile from colour photograph]]. To the right of this double scene the operations on a statue [[or rather, the mummy]] of the dead are set forth in three rows. Short texts relating to each rite are appended, but these are better reserved for a collation of similar scenes.⁸ The bottom register shows a file of men bringing food and flowers, these gifts being enumerated for the most part in a text above the scene, ‘. . . bringing haunches, choice joints, all manner of pleasant and sweet things, birds, papyrus, buds, gazelles, ointment, lotus flowers, grapes . . .’.

¹ In a copy of the text by Sir Alan Gardiner there is a lacuna under the plural strokes of *ithi*, but this is marked as non-existent on the collation by Janssen and Barns. However, on the colour photograph there seem to be faint traces of *m*. That this is the correct reading is shown by the parallel in tomb No. 89 (Lüddekens, op. cit., no. 29 = Sethe, *Urk.* iv. 1023), where we find the same phrase, replacing the common *wr wr*.

² Read *iw-n*, not *iw-tn*; the *t* is very doubtful, and it is lacking in the same phrase in tomb No. 54 (Lüddekens, op. cit., no. 38).

³ Numbers of Episodes refer to Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-rēr*, pp. 71 ff.

⁴ Cf. Davies–Gardiner, op. cit., p. 52.

⁵ See Junker, ‘Der Tanz der *Mww* und das butische Begräbnis’ (M.D.I.K. ix, 1940), esp. pp. 14 ff.

⁶ Cf., for example, Davies–Gardiner, op. cit., pp. 50 f.; Davies, *Tomb of Ramose*, pp. 23 f.; Bonnet, *Reallexikon der äg. Religionsgeschichte*, pp. 774 ff.

⁷ [[For the conventional offering-list cf., for example, Davies, *Tomb of Puyemrê*, pl. lviii.]]

⁸ [[Pl. XXVI; drawn from colour photographs, cf. above, p. 30, n. 1. As Professor E. Otto is preparing a monograph on this theme, I refrain from commenting on these rites, but I think it nevertheless worth while to publish a drawing of the comparatively well-preserved wall. The texts were copied by Dr. Barns and Dr. Janssen.]]

THE END WALLS (S, T on plan) [[Pl. XXIX]]

Over the niche are the sacred eyes and the sign of the West. On the left stands a blue Osiris-Khentamentiu [[*nb nhh, hk, dt*]] in white cerements behind a *sekhet-hotep* table of food. On the right is Anubis [[*hnty sh-ntr /// nb t3-dsr, ntr c3, tpy dw-f*]]. In the centre of the wall is a little niche with a rock ledge for offerings in front of it. On its back wall (W on plan) a man and woman are sitting, facing right. A ritual prayer to Osiris (?) and another deity is placed over a lost table of food. The man must be Nebamūn; his companion is merely labelled Ta////nūfer [[Pl. XXIX, 5; Davies's handcopy]]. Is this Ta-Amen-nufer or Ta-Mut-nofret? 'Mut', however, is not elsewhere erased. On the north wall (U on plan) the seated couple are Nebseny and [Amenhotpe]. The ritual prayer is to Osiris and Anubis [[Pl. XXIX, 4; Davies's handcopy]]. A man is offering a bouquet to them, but the text is erased. On the south wall (V on plan) the names of the seated pair are erased [[Pl. XXIX, 3]], as is that of a man who again offers a bouquet. But in this case the words 'overseer of oxen' ($\overline{i\Delta} \frac{3}{3}$) have been inserted over the erasing plaster.

The names Nebamūn and Nebseny are the most common amongst the bureaucracy of Thebes. The title 'judge' given to the father seems at this time to mean no more than the English 'esquire', and this commonplace atmosphere is not disturbed by the pictorial records of the tomb as a whole. Nebamūn, in reaching the rare distinction of a physician with a practice at court, seems to have exhausted his mental range; but, as it was probably his professional position that brought foreign visitors to his feet, we owe to this the one picture which makes tomb No. 17 in the Theban cemetery a notable one.