

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

THE TOMB OF PUYEMRÉ  
AT THEBES

VOLUME II

ROBB DE PEYSTER TYTUS  
MEMORIAL SERIES

VOLUME III

EGYPT

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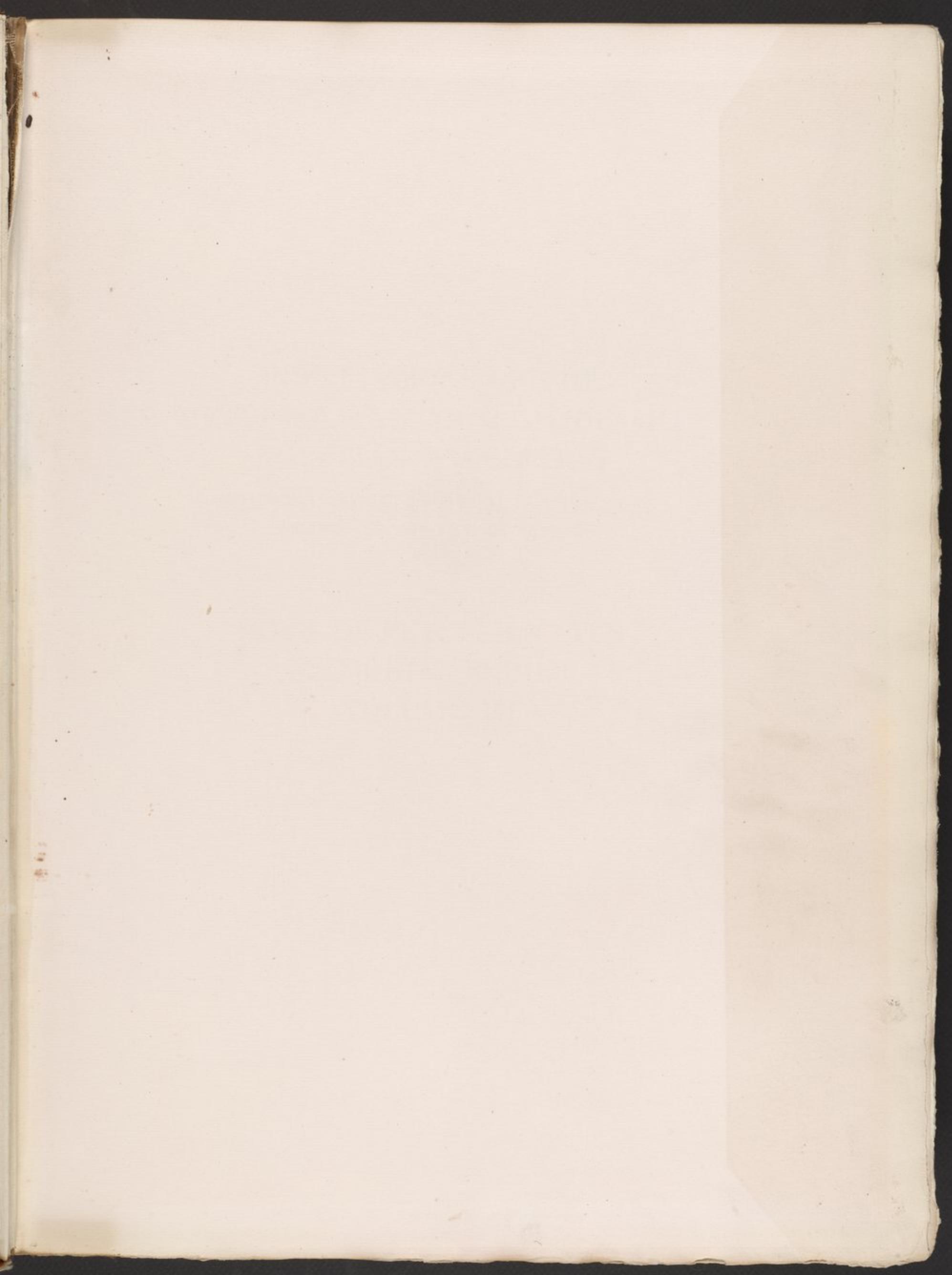


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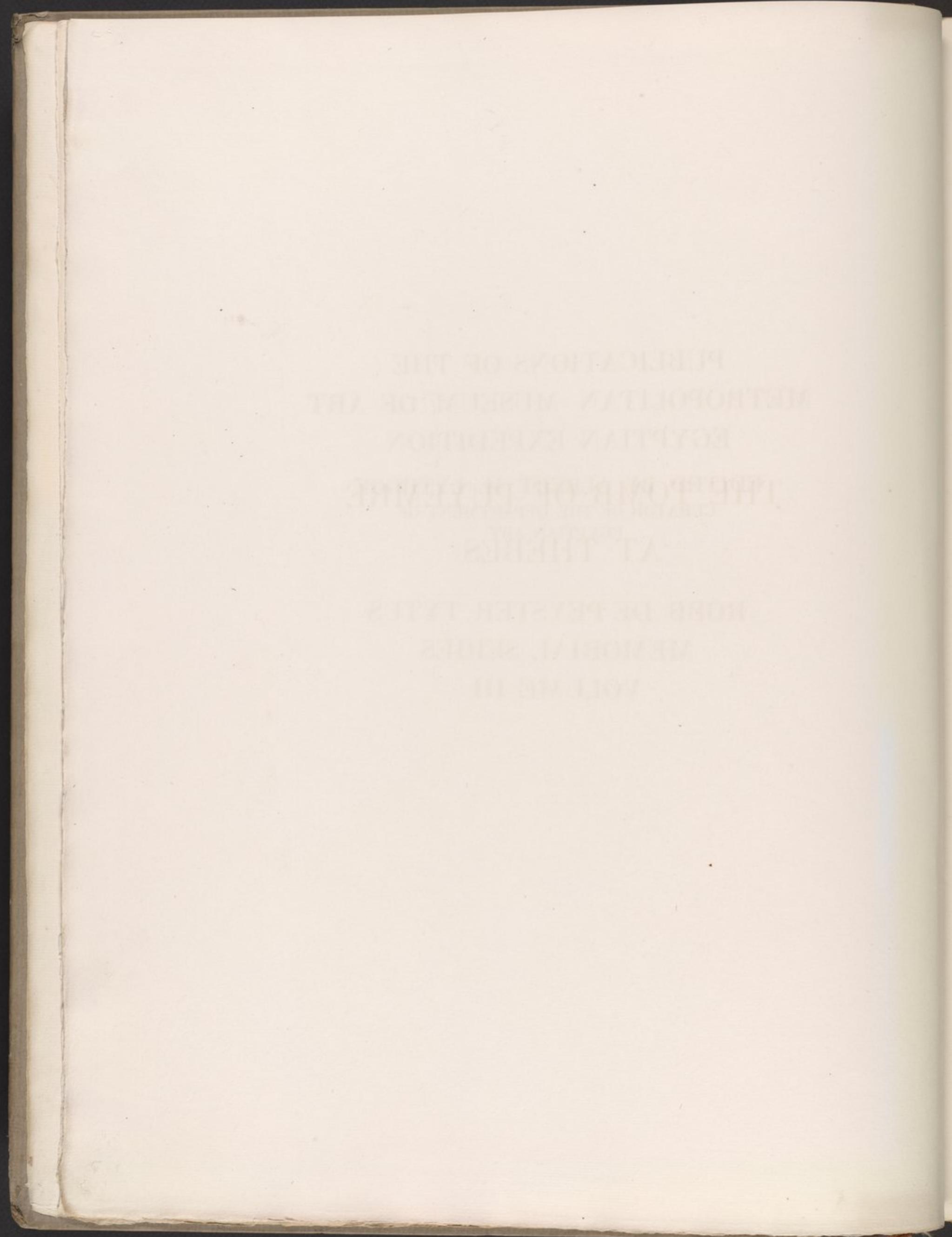
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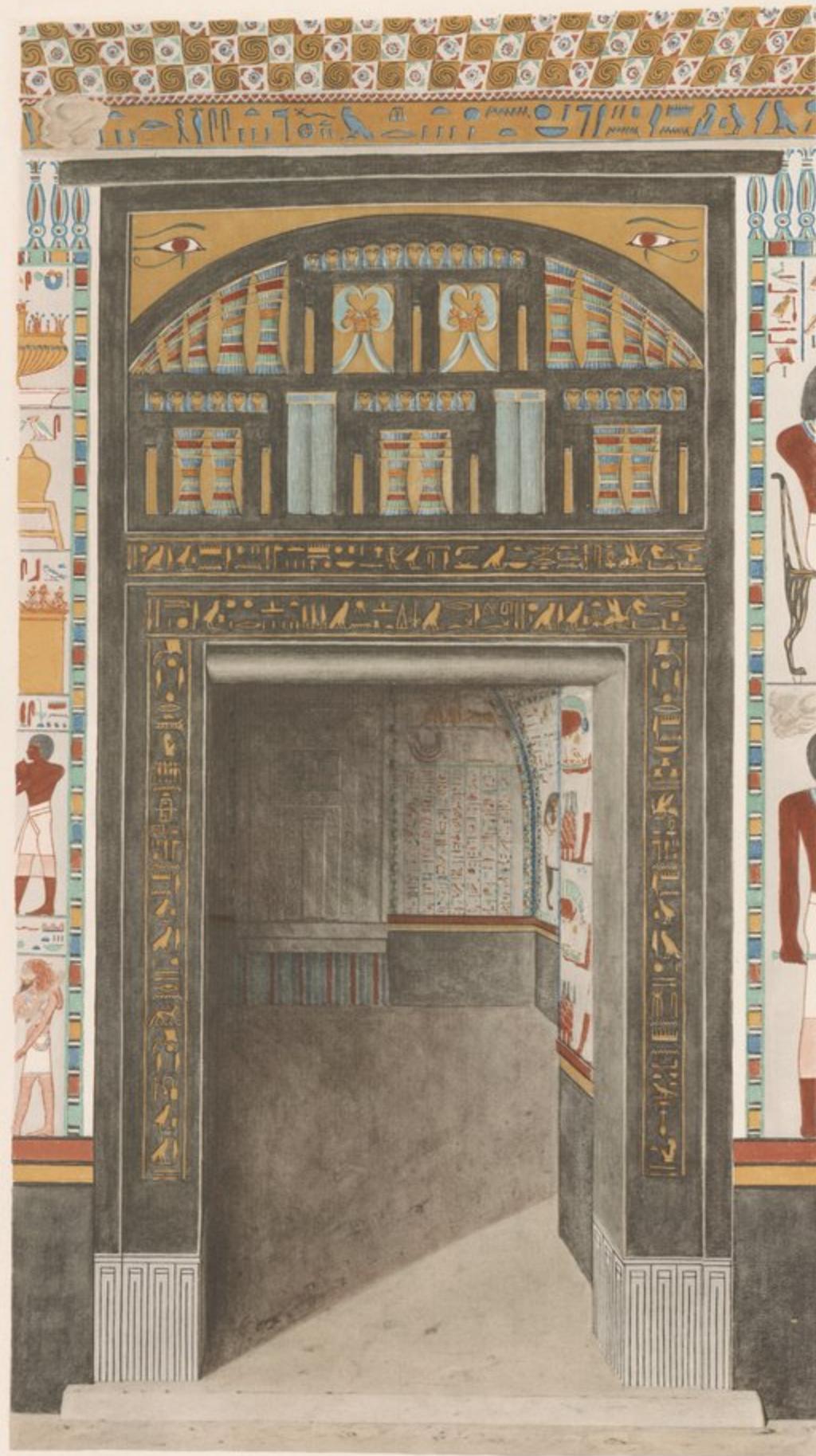
ROBB DE PEYSTER TYTUS  
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VOLUME III



THE TOMB OF PUYEMRÊ  
AT THEBES

ANNUAL REPORT  
OF THE





THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART  
THE TOMB OF PUYEMRÊ  
AT THEBES

BY  
NORMAN DE GARIS DAVIES

WITH PLATES IN COLOR  
BY N. DE GARIS DAVIES AND H. R. HOPGOOD  
OF THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION

VOLUME II  
THE CHAPELS OF HOPE

NEW YORK  
MCMXXIII

PLATE XLIV

THE NORTH CHAPEL FROM THE HALL

The inscriptions are not wholly authentic, as will be seen from Plate I. Restoration in  
color by N. de G. Davies

(See page 5 and Volume I, pages 8-10)

IN MEMORY OF  
ROBB DE PEYSTER TYTUS  
THIS VOLUME HAS BEEN PUBLISHED BY THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART WITH A FUND GIVEN FOR THAT PURPOSE BY CHARLOTTE M. TYTUS  
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CHAPTER VI  
BURIAL ASSURANCE



# CHAPTER VI

## BURIAL ASSURANCE

### THE NORTHERN CHAPEL

(PLATES XLV-LI)<sup>1</sup>

AS the plans have shown (Plates IV, V), three doorways open out of the back wall of the hall, giving entrance to as many chapels, one vaulted, one flat-roofed, one canopied. Though there is no cogent reason in ritual for the provision, e.g., as being for the service of Puyemrê and his two wives, yet the mural records support one's natural expectation that the three chapels would be put to somewhat different liturgical purposes, and justify sufficiently the captions I have used.

The inscriptions on the frames of the doorways to the three chapels are naturally religious in character. The jambs of the central door contained *hotpedens* prayers to Amon(?), Atum, and Anubis on the right, and to Amon(?), "[lord of] heaven," Osiris, and Anubis on the left. The blessings sought from them for the *ka* of Puyemrê seem to have been those customary. A fragment suggests that similar prayers, written both ways from a central  $\text{†}$ , occupied the lintel.

The formulae on the jambs of the two decorated doors (Plates XLV, LXII) take the form "He who is in favor with . . . the second priest of Amon, Puyemrê, born of the honored judge, the scribe, Puya"

<sup>1</sup>This chapel had received the following injuries. *North and South Thicknesses.* Extensive injuries to the upper registers. *East Wall.* Fracture of lintel inside (three fragments of the boat recovered by us are restored in Plate XLVI). *North Wall.* Loss of the seated figures and the goddess by removal of masonry and by crumbling, and damage by attempted theft to the groups in front of her (two fragments of the goddess have been replaced). *Back Wall.* The blocks by which it was faced and the central stela having been removed, nothing was left in place but the lower part of the wall up to the level of the shelf of the

The three  
chapels

Their door-  
ways

## BURIAL ASSURANCE

Their door-ways

(north door). On the south door (Plate LXII) the parentage of Puyemrê is omitted. One of the two gods whom he names as his patrons there is "Atum, prince of the great temple (?)."¹

On the reconstructed lintel of the south door the text seems to run "The Count, royal chancellor . . . [superintendent of] temples, he who is responsible for their contents, [Puyemrê]," and "The Count, etc., Puyemrê. Lo! he sets out with burial-privilege (*hotpedens*) and rises in *Sekhet-hotpu* ("Field of offerings") where Rê is, [Puyemrê]."² The sentences on the lintel of the north door may perhaps be "The Count, the chancellor, the courtier greatly loved . . . one who has access (*tkn*) to the King of North Egypt (?) . . . Puyemrê," and ". . . he who acts as the eyes of the king in South Egypt, the ears of His [Majesty in North Egypt], Puyemrê."³

Arrangement  
of the scenes  
in the north  
chapel

The north chapel is decorated as follows. The back wall once contained the great granite stela,<sup>4</sup> Puyemrê's supposed path to his place of rest underground, flanked by religious texts of ancient origin and pictures of funeral furniture. The north (right-hand) and east walls hold those pictures of burial rites which are usually relegated to the south wall of the passage to the inner chamber. The south wall is occupied by a list of food-offerings and two mystic texts. The high barrel-vault, roughly semi-circular in section, is decorated with a chequer pattern (Plate XXIX, 3, A) whose line of separation from the pictures on the vertical part of the side walls is furnished by the usual *kheker* frieze and border, and by a horizontal inscription under it.

stela, with two blocks of inscription (the restoration on Plate XLVIII is, so far, only on paper). *South Wall.* Fall of patching blocks and a hole near the floor. *Vault.* Fairly perfect except towards the back. The restorations in the plates can be trusted, with the serious reservation of the reconstruction of the back wall. The study of other versions of the text justify, however, the general arrangement, and as a fit against the old plaster bedding was secured for the block containing the top of the text on the left, the others cannot be seriously out. Under these conditions the intervals shown by me cannot be used as a guide to the recovery of the text; but need, on the contrary, slight alterations if they are to conform to other copies.

 Heliopolis is meant.

 and  seem to be the readings.

<sup>5</sup> For remarks on the architectural features of the doors see Vol. I, p. 8. The lintels have been built up of detached fragments, the black ground of which guarantees their origin. The arrangement on the south door is almost certain: for the north door there is little further guide than appears in Pl. XLV.

<sup>6</sup> Now in Cairo Museum under the number 34,047.

## THE NORTHERN CHAPEL

The text on the north wall (Plate XLVII) reads, "A ritual offering to Ha,<sup>1</sup> lord of the West, that he may grant residence at his court as one of his train in the kindly West, to the *ka* of the noble, rich in insight, upright of heart towards the king, . . . , Puyemrê."<sup>2</sup> The opposite heading (Plates XLIX, L) runs, "A ritual offering to Thot, ruler of the wise (*rhy.t*), that he may allow the mummy to be rehabilitated in connection with his sepulchre, and (his) soul to be in thriving contact with the mummied form of his body, for the *ka* of the prince, secure of approval when he decides a case, self-collected (?) in the hall of the magistrates (*srw*), [the priest, Puyemrê]."<sup>3</sup> The phrases used here to describe complete salvation give striking expression to the vital necessity for the dead of the tomb, the mummy, and all the customary burial equipment.

The descriptive texts

The yellow rib along the crown of the vault records a ritual offering "forthcoming at demand" to Osiris "lord of life," couched in commonplace terms (Plate XLIX). The thicknesses of the entrance show equally uninteresting reliefs of four men entering with offerings, two on each side (Plates XXX, 2 and XLIV).<sup>4</sup>

The acts of ritual on the north wall (Plate XLVII) are naturally directed towards the sepulchre in the west. This region is represented by the goddess Semyt-Amentet, the personification of the western slopes, and by the deceased, who enjoy their meal behind her, secure in the patronage which her kindly words assure to them. "O, Puyemrê! She who lives for ever adopts thee and throws her arms about thee."<sup>5</sup>

The funeral procession

Three series of episodes from the drama of Osirid burial face those

<sup>1</sup>For the name of this somewhat rare god, a male duplicate, apparently, of the goddess of the western necropolis, see Sethe, *Pyramidentexte*, 1013 d, 1712 b.

<sup>2</sup>The inscription concludes . The end of the wall, being almost destroyed, is not included in the Plate. For *ikr sr.t* cf. Pl. XXIX, col. 10 and Couyat and Montet, *Wady Hammamat*, p. 113.

<sup>3</sup>For the attribute of Thot, who is himself a *rbw*, see Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, Pl. LXXIX. Read *twt ib.*

<sup>4</sup>The office of this attendant is written with the picture of a scribe's case apparently, but the value of this sign is not known. Cf. Davies, *Tomb of Antefoker*, Pl. XIII, for an object similar in shape to the hieroglyph.

<sup>5</sup>Puyemrê is styled here "a spokesman who gives satisfaction in the whole land (*r3 shrr*)," as on the Cairo stela. Senseneb, "house-mistress and [chantress] of Amon," is with him.

## BURIAL ASSURANCE

The funeral  
procession

so deeply interested in it.<sup>1</sup> (1) In the upper register the body is drawn on a sledge to the place of interment by a pair of oxen under the convoy of three men, representing sacred localities or classes. A lector purifies earth and air before the dead by libation and fumigation; the priest of Sokar and women personating Nephthys and Isis, the sisters of Osiris, are in attendance. The swathed body lies on a couch upon the platform (or within the walls) of a gaily painted catafalque. Four "companions" with staffs bring up the rear (R., I, 2).<sup>2</sup>

(2) The second register shows the arrival of articles of burial equipment second only in importance to the coffin itself. The first piece consists of a boat set on a plank which is painted blue to represent water (R., III, 2). The strange object in it I imagine to be a seated statue of the dead, but boxed in and covered in front with a veil which only the officiating priest may lift; for the ancient custom of immuring the statue in a cell betrays a fear that it might escape and injure the living. The brightly colored decoration of the enclosure resembles that given to the pictograph for "palace." A doll-lector in the boat confers on the statue by spells its magic power of personating the dead when needed, and two dead gods of the city of Paï keep watch and ward at prow and stern. The statue is shipped; for it is not destined to stay in the burial vault, but is to go to the city of Buto in the Delta and represent Puyemrê there at that court of the kings of eld. The journey thither may have been made by worldly transit, or by the easier method of the magic word. The treasure contained in a casket which is treated exactly like the mummy (R., I, 3), must be the jars of entrails removed from the body at embalmment. Yet a third contribution to the full personality of the dead is provided by the "Teknu" drawn on a sled by three men from Keden, wherever that is (R., VII, 7). This mysterious figure who is sometimes shown squatting as here, sometimes crouching on his face, and generally

<sup>1</sup> For another presentation of these rites in our tomb see p. 64. The standard exemplar, with textual explanations, is in Tomb 100 (Virey, "Rekhmara," Pl. XIX) and the identifying references inserted here (R., I, etc.) are to the episodes in the ten registers of rites shown there, commencing with the lowest. Cf. also Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, Pl. XXI, and *Tomb of Antefoker*, Pls. XVII-XXII; Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhêt*, Pls. X to XIII; Griffith, *Tomb of Paheri*, Pl. V.

<sup>2</sup> Plate XLVI. The scene extends round the corner on to the return wall north of the entrance.

## THE NORTHERN CHAPEL

enveloped in a skin or shroud which may, or may not, cover the face as well, possibly represents an ancient form of burial without coffin. The abandoned custom is thus honored in dumb show and secondary place, lest its omission should be avenged by some unknown god.

(3) The lowest register shows the first ritual acts, commencing with a meal, the hospitality perhaps of the infernal gods. The entrance to the nether world lies through a forecourt, whose walls are topped by a *chevaux de frise* of spikes (R., VI, 3). Four demons, all the more terrible because their armless state points to eerie powers of offense, play the sentinel within.<sup>1</sup> Once past these sentries, the adventurer discovers the attractions of the Promised Land. On its threshold he finds a harem with mistress and maids ready to welcome him (R., VIII, 8),<sup>2</sup> and a watered palm-garden outside for his delight (R., IX, 2). It is the home, too, of the gods of the nether world and little coffin-shaped tabernacles are provided for their avatars (R., X, XI. Cf. VI, 1).<sup>3</sup>

An additional group of tableaux is found on the right-hand side of the entrance (Plate XLVI), and as it has no clear connection with the texts on the adjacent wall, though it faces that way, it may be added to those already noticed. The tableaux in the top and bottom registers seem to fit well on to that last mentioned. We see there the porticoed house (R., VII, 9) assigned to the new arrival in the necropolis, represented by the hawk whose perch is planted there (R., IX, 4). The deceased (or a watchman) sits contentedly before the house, having first seen to it that lights shall be furnished him. Consequently we see an officiant propitiating the fire-god Sejti(?), by an offering symbolic of light (*sw*,  $\beta$ ), and then helping in a ceremonial kindling of three lamps (R., VI, 4; VII, 8). Water too is a necessity, so each pool of the desert is given a cup of it, that the giver may be repaid a hundredfold (R., VIII, 1). It may be a

The funeral procession

Dramatic presentation of the life to come

<sup>1</sup>Placed as gods within one of the shrines in Tomb 15, and styled so in Tomb 100.

<sup>2</sup>There is abundant evidence that the pleasures of love were not overlooked in the Egyptian heaven.

<sup>3</sup>The number of the shrines and their occupants varies in the tombs. Seven or fourteen is favored, however; perhaps because of the fourteen burial mounds in the underworld or the seven souls and fourteen *kas* of Rê. Generally five deities are visible, Anubis being always one of them and apart. Two gods and two goddesses sometimes accompanied him, as here (?). Judging by the tomb of Rekhmirê, the five are Sokar and Sokaret, Sejti (?) and Sekhmet, and Anubis.

## BURIAL ASSURANCE

far-fetched suggestion that the two mimes of Hathor (R., IX, 3) are meant to show that love and merriment will not be lacking in the eternal home.

The voyage to  
and from  
Abydos

The voyage of the dead to and from Abydos, where a cenotaph or other memorial was supposed to be placed, so that the dead might form part of the court of Osiris there, was also included in the rites of a full funeral, and perhaps in this case as a real and not a dramatic episode (for the boats are not dragged on a mimic sea). It is shown here on the lunette of the same wall (Plate XLVI) where the barge of Puyemrê is being towed down the river by two rowing craft, manned by twelve (?) oarsmen each. "Voyaging auspiciously down-stream to Abydos in the train of the great god, lord of the West."

The return voyage from Abydos seems once to have occupied a corresponding position on the (reconstructed) back wall (Plate XLVIII), facing the scene just noticed, but was afterwards erased to make room for a design showing the dog-god Anubis in his two forms watching over some central symbol.<sup>1</sup>

Funeral  
furniture

The depiction of funeral furniture, seen on this wall, belongs of right to the funeral procession (R., II), and is transferred here for lack of space. On the right hand are articles of toilet or military equipment in pairs (either to provide for a change or for the double personality), wands of office, tunics, bundles of arrows, collars. Similarly rolls of cloth, toilet vases, etc., are ranged on the other side. On the top mat is seen a libation-vase and a box of cult-objects, the contents of the latter being indicated by two of those flags the primitive use of which made them the lasting symbol of deity.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The stern of the barge is still visible on the right and the sail of the tug on the left. The change was perhaps made because the granite stela occupied more room than had been provided. All the decoration of this wall is on blocks of coarse limestone and the work is correspondingly bad, though its deficiencies were partly hidden by bright colors thickly laid on. The designs at the top of the wall are especially rough, no care having been taken to erase fully the chisel marks of the original designs.

<sup>2</sup>The flag (if I am right in taking it as such) consists of strips wound round a stick so as to leave loose streamers at the top which can flap in the breeze. Torn originally from the clothes of a person, their dedication at any sanctuary keeps him under the protection of its divinity, their movement in the wind drawing the attention of the god by dumb petition. As these objects are rarely depicted, their use seems to have ceased in official rites; but they may have been so much the more in favor with the vulgar.

## THE NORTHERN CHAPEL

Below the rows of burial equipment was written a text, beginning on the immediate left of the stela and ending on the extreme right. Enough fragments of it remain to identify it with a spell which has come down to us from ancient times.<sup>1</sup> It is entitled "A spell for victualing the dwellers in the west." It opens thus: "Hail to thee, he who shines in [his] disk, [the living one who ascends on the horizon. The prince] Puyemrê [knows thee and] knows thy name, [and knows the name of the seven cows and of their mate], who give bread, [victuals, and nourish]-ment to the Westerners. Give [Puyem]rê bread, beer, [and nourishment]. Grant [to Puyemrê that he may be a welcome soul in your train, and that he may enjoy what is under your thighs (i. e., the udders)]." Then follow the names of the seven sacred cows and "the bull of bulls, mate of the kine," and afterwards those of "the good steering oars" of the four quarters of heaven.<sup>2</sup> Some vague divinities mentioned in the Book of the Dead, such as the "horizon-dwellers," seem to have been added, and all are invoked to give their gifts of food "in heaven, earth, and the horizon (i. e., the temple) of Heliopolis" to Puyemrê. A puzzling colophon which we find in the parallel text appears to have formed the close.

The rose-granite stela<sup>3</sup> from the center of the wall may be described

An appeal to  
the gods for  
food in the  
world beyond

Divine assur-  
ances on the  
false door

<sup>1</sup> Put in the first person ("I know, etc.") we find it in the Abydos stela of Nehy, viceroy of Nubia at this time, where it is joined directly to the text we shall meet with on the next wall (Lange and Schaefer, *Grabssteine*, pp. 117, 118). This double coincidence makes some connection almost certain, but it is difficult to see what it is. Puyemrê's text on the south wall is longer than Nehy's and cannot therefore be taken from it. On the other hand, Nehy's version of the text on this wall seems earlier. Curiously enough, if his text and that of the Book of the Dead exchanged titles, these would better correspond to the contents. Aba of Tomb 36 copied the text from our tomb in the XXVIth dyn.; for he divides it similarly between two sides of a doorway (Scheil, *Tombeau d'Aba*, Pl. VII).

<sup>2</sup> The names are generally appended to vignettes of the cows and the four rudders which are often seen on the walls of tombs (e. g. Scheil, *loc. cit.* and Berlin Museum, *Aeg. Inschriften* II, pp. 92-96) and in the Book of the Dead, Chapter 141. In the latter the deceased makes offerings to a countless number of divinities, these among them, the spell being named "Book of that which a man should do for his father or his son at the festivals of the west."

<sup>3</sup> Pl. LI, B. Published in the Catalogue of the Cairo Museum (Lacau, *Stèles*, p. 80 and Pl. XXVIII). The stela is well formed and inscribed with incised green hieroglyphs. On the tablet over the lintel (that is, through the top-light) Puyemrê and Senseneb are seen sitting inside, not only before the table of food, but also before a *ka*-standard, which gives pictorial expression to the phrase "for thy *ka*" and is sometimes used as a table in such scenes (Tomb 181).

The name of Amon has been left intact, though the word "gods" has been lightly erased. This anomaly is also noticeable on the stelae outside, suggesting that the earliest attack was directed against polytheism rather than Amon, who, after all, was trying to pose as a solar god. See p. 47.

## BURIAL ASSURANCE

Divine assurances on the false door

as if it had been allowed to remain in place. The texts commence in the center and read both ways, thus:—

Outer frame. (Right). "Ho, second priest of Amon, Puyemrê! Thou hast passed, hast been rehabilitated, and hast power over the shrines of the gods. A spirit is formed within thee; thou hast every power behind thee and thy crown on thy head, O Osiris, the temple-father, Puyemrê." (Left). "Thou layest commands on the gods of the dim shrines, and their revered occupants guide thee, these thy ministers attending thee in their name of 'They of the dim shrines of eternity.'"

Inner frame. (Right). "Rê, standing by the side of thy mother Nut, purifies thee. (Then) they lead thee to the streets of the horizon, that thou mayest make thy beautiful home there along with thine imperishable *ka*." (Left). "This temple-father Puyemrê appears as Nefertem, a lotus-flower for the nostrils of Rê. When he rises on the horizon, the gods grow pure at sight of him, daily and without end."<sup>1</sup>

Inmost frame. (Right). "O Puyemrê, the *Hesat* cow has come, whose . . . are lapis-lazuli and (her) sailing crew the company of gods. Horus blue of eye affixes the head and binds it on (?)." <sup>2</sup> (Left). "Lift up your heads, O ye gods who are in the underworld! Puyemrê has come that ye may see him who has become a great god. Thou shalt not suffer violence or decay through the ages."

Doorway. (Right). "Puyemrê, the liegeman of Osiris and of Anubis of Ut. He is accompanied by his *kas* to the fair West!" (Left). "Puyemrê, liegeman of Sokar and of Anubis, chief of his hill. They grant him fitting burial in the western hill to (his) satisfaction."

Two ancient spells

On the south wall Puyemrê is seen sitting before an array of offerings supplemented by a long list of rations and luxuries, arranged in ninety-five items of one to four allowances each, with directions here and there for a ritual act.<sup>3</sup> This conventional list need not detain us here.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Vol. I, p. 35 and Sethe, *Pyramidentexte*, §§ 266, 272.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, § 253, where a blue-eyed and a red-eyed Horus are referred to.

<sup>3</sup> This list, together with the two texts with which it is curiously mixed up, after a fashion set by Middle Kingdom coffins (perhaps reflecting a liturgical office in which longer recitations were interspersed, like the sermon or lessons in a Christian service), is found also, and in duplicate, in the slightly earlier temple of Deir el Bahri (edition of Naville, Pls. CIX, CX), and also in a copy of this temple text in the tomb

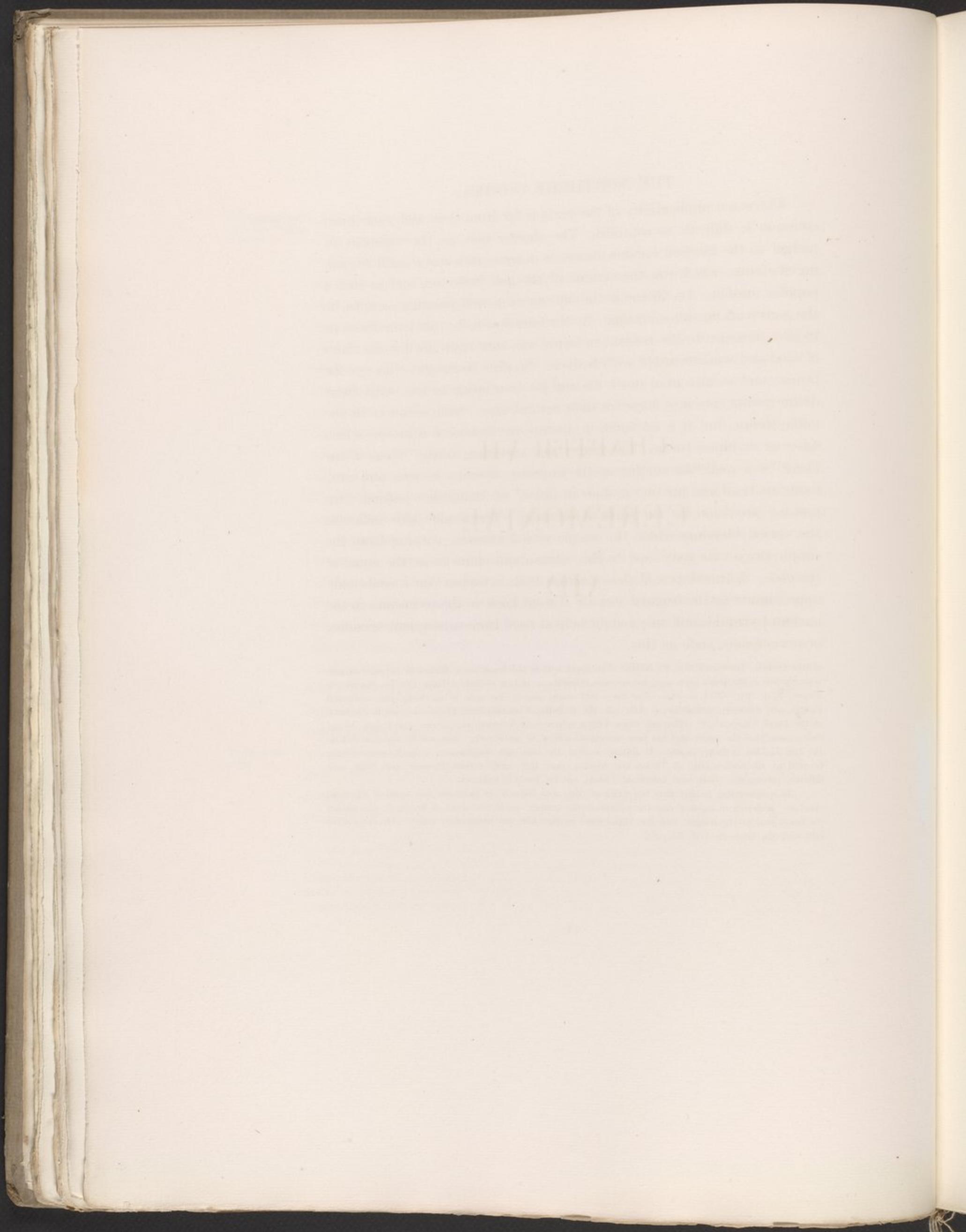
## THE NORTHERN CHAPEL

The exact applicability of the texts is far from clear and their inner cohesion is difficult to establish. The shorter one, as the vignette attached to the Horbeit version shows, is in some measure a spell regarding the lotus, which was the symbol of the god Nefertem and as such a popular amulet. Its theme is the old one of a well-pleasing sacrifice to the gods working out salvation. As the lotus has to be torn from its roots to give pleasure to the nostril, so Osiris was torn from life for the glory of God and was rewarded with heaven. So also Horus gave his eye for Osiris; and so also man must die and by association in loss with these divine prototypes may hope for their reward also. Such seems to be the noble theme, but it is set forth in obscure mythological allusions which have no vividness for us. The longer text according to the "Book of the Dead" is a spell "for setting up the mummy, opening its eyes and ears, fixing its head and putting its face in place," or, in another version, "for making provision for the table of offering." The double title indicates the varied blessings which the magic recital ensures, varying from the simple prayer for pure food to the extravagant claim to be the equal of the gods. A translation of these corrupt texts is useless; for it could only approximate to the original sense if it went back to the recensions in the ancient pyramids and only sought help at need from subsequent versions, or perversions, such as this.

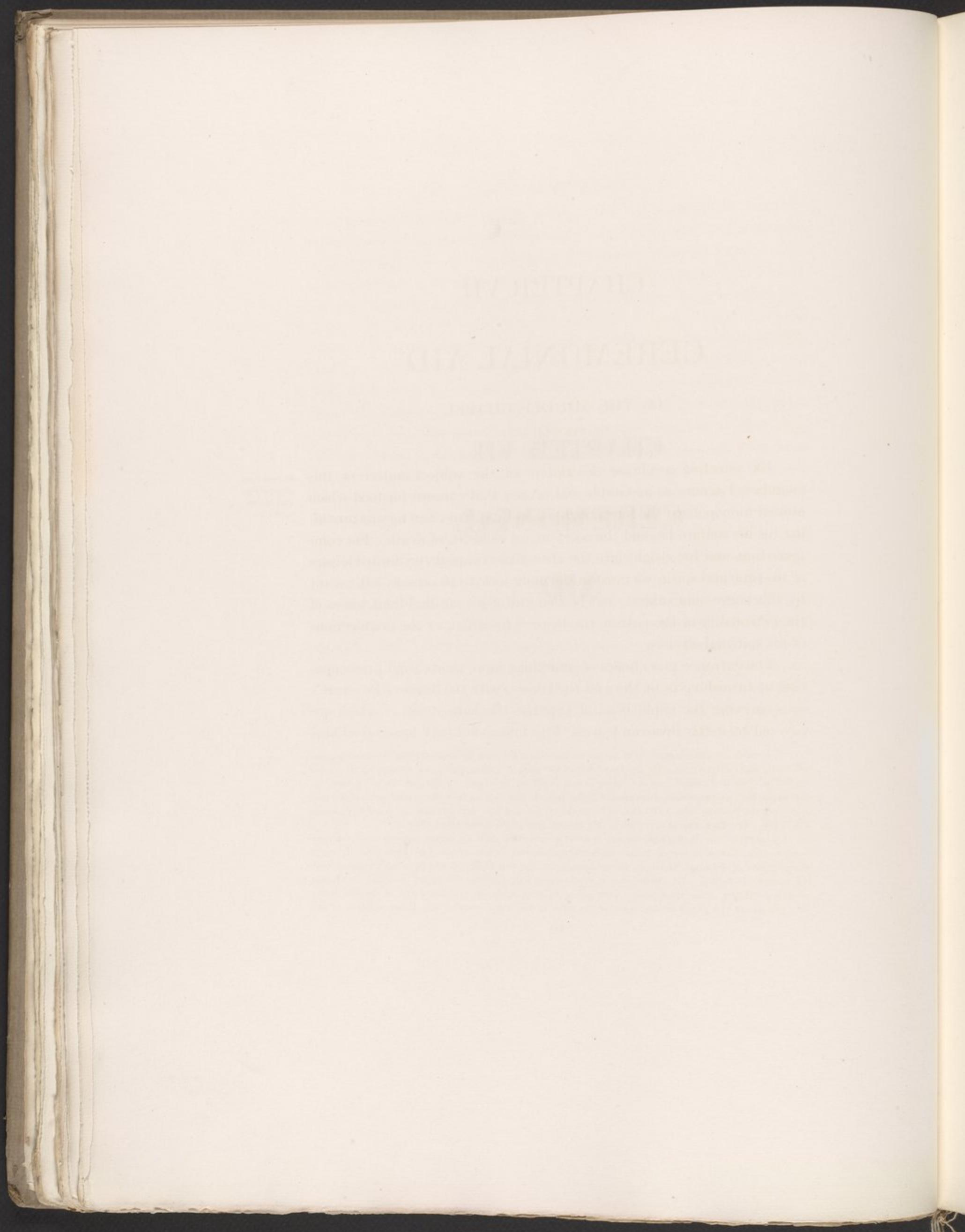
Two ancient  
spells

of Aba (Scheil, *Tombeau d'Aba*, Pl. VIIID. The upper text is also found on a Ramesside (?) sarcophagus from Horbeit in the Delta, in a copy having close resemblance to that of Deir el Bahri (Naville, *Annales du Service*, X, p. 191; XVI, p. 187). The lower text occurs also on the stela of the Nehy just mentioned (Lange and Schaefer, *Grabsteine*, p. 118, col. 16), in Sethe, *Pyramidentexte*, §§ 204-212, and in the Book of the Dead, Chapter 178. This last closes with a reference to Nefertem (see above), and it may be for that reason that the upper text has been associated with it so persistently. Puyemrê in this case follows the text of Deir el Bahri closely. It appears as if at the time this combination of spells was strongly favored by the scribes both at Thebes and Abydos, since they could furnish Puyemrê and Nehy with differing recensions. Nehy was buried at Thebes, but his tomb is unknown.

It is interesting to find that the scribe of Aba, who followed as his model the tomb of Puyemrê close by, preferred in another case the version in the temple; while the scribe of Puyemrê, who copied the lower text in the temple, took the upper from another and less trustworthy source. Dr. Kees deals fully with the latter in *A. Z.*, 57, p. 92.



CHAPTER VII  
CEREMONIAL  
AID



# CHAPTER VII

## CEREMONIAL AID

### (A) THE MIDDLE CHAPEL

(PLATES LII-LVI)<sup>1</sup>

IN selecting a phrase descriptive of the subject-matter of this chamber, I ignore as inevitable and proper that concern for food which almost monopolized the forethought of an Egyptian when he was providing for his welfare beyond the accident, or incident, of death. For compensation, and for insight into the ideas that occupied the limited leisure of his time and spirit, we must in the main look to the spaces left vacant by this engrossing subject, and be thankful if we can find faint traces of the personality of the patron, the taste of his artist, or the predilections of his spiritual adviser.

The entrance gives hopes of something more than carnal preoccupation by furnishing us on the wall-thicknesses with the figure of Puyemrê's sons carrying the triple head of papyrus, the bare stems of which are covered by deftly inwoven leaves. This foliage not only brings freshness

Carnal pre-  
occupation  
and higher  
outlook

<sup>1</sup>SCHEME OF DECORATION. The scenes on one side of the room are duplicated on the other throughout with slight divergencies. On the lower half of the walls is a scene facing inward showing the consecration of food to Puyemrê, and one facing outward showing an offering to the gods for or by him; on the upper half are two scenes of ceremonial facing inwards and starting from the middle point of the east wall over the doorway (Pls. LII-LIV). The cheeks of the east wall are occupied by butchering scenes (Pl. LII). The back wall is occupied by the framed door of the shrine (Pl. LVI).

INJURIES. (1). Widespread damage to lintel of east wall (four fragments replaced with fair certainty). (2). Extensive loss of surface on north wall due to various causes (one piece over the right seated figure of Puyemrê and eight pieces belonging to the two groups of men have been replaced with approximate certainty). (3). Widespread injury to south wall, probably due to fire, and early mutilation of priestly figures in the lower scene (seven pieces replaced in the upper scene, those on the left fitting into place, and two pieces of offerings over the table in the lower scene). (4). Entire collapse of the

## CEREMONIAL AID

Carnal pre-  
occupation  
and higher  
outlook

Scenes of  
slaughter

into the tomb, but is a symbol and promise of upspringing life and has been consecrated by previous presentation in the temple of Thothmes near by. "His beloved son Menkheper, [priest of] king Menkheperrê, entering auspiciously with a bouquet of Amon-Rê" (Plate XXX, 1). The like figure with similar inscription on the north wall represents a younger son ". . . of the king, . . . wi."<sup>1</sup>

The man of sentiment will not be sorry that the gloom almost hides the scene of slaughter on either side of the doorway by which he has entered (Plate LII), nor will he care to call up the corresponding rites for which the courtyard outside so often afforded room. The men actually engaged do not give any signs of squeamishness, to judge by the cheery chatter which accompanies, without hindering, their task. The artist, however, took no great pleasure in this piece of hack-work, though it is well executed. Of the three scenes on the one side two are replicas, and all three are merely reversed on the other, so that there are practically but two tableaux after all.<sup>2</sup> The scribe, too, though he knew of many merry or pious exclamations which went with such scenes, was content with small variations. One episode relates how, after the animal had been thrown, the four hoofs were tied tightly together, while its struggles to rise were checked by twisting its tail; the second demonstrates how, when the throat had been cut and the neck laid bare to the shoulder, the fore leg was untied and severed.<sup>3</sup> The remarks made by the butchers show

masonry of the back wall on the north side, with heavy sandstone lintels and cornice. (See Pl. LXXVIII, 2 for its condition and relation to the shaft behind.) All this side, with the exception of two fragments attached to the top and bottom of the north wall, was rebuilt by Mr. Mackay. The success of the reconstruction is its best guarantee. Three pieces also have been assigned to the top panel on the left jamb and three to the inner jamb there. (5). The ceiling is so burnt that the pattern can scarcely be traced, and the middle inscription is lost.

<sup>1</sup> One would think of Mentiwi, butler of the king (Tomb 172), but there is scant room for so long a name. The title of Amon has been restored as "lord of Nesuttawi."

<sup>2</sup> This restriction of the scenes of slaughter, even when clearly following Old Kingdom models, is characteristic of the age now opening, and perhaps based on aesthetic grounds. The artist might have gone for his scene to the Hall of Offerings in Deir el Bahri, as did the later decorator of Tomb 34 (see Erman, *Ä.Z.*, 1914, p. 90), but his hand had learned facility in such scenes in prentice days. The subject is treated by Montet in the *Bulletin de l'Institut Français*, VII, p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> The Egyptian butcher skinned the animal piecemeal as he proceeded, perhaps for the sake of cleanliness. The generous waste of good meat is perhaps more apparent than real, for it is the worst joints, the fore leg, the head, and the heart, that are first and most generally given to the gods or to the dead.

## THE MIDDLE CHAPEL

no originality: their comrades of a thousand years earlier had apparently created classical instances of wit and piety. The graver age of Puyemrê had only retained the piety; and even this retention was soon to be, if it was not already, an archaism. In the lowest picture on the left, the assistant who holds the fore leg says, "Good speed to thy hand, that we may present the joints to Amon, lord of Karnak!" and has his prayer seconded "Accept a boon, O Amon; that thou mayest give a blessing to the temple-father and favorite!" So on the other side, "Good speed to your hands that hold the joints" and "Hold firm by his fore leg; that I may present his joints (to the god) for the well-being of Puyemrê!" In the middle register on the left the prayer, "Make ready an offering of Amon; that he may accept it and the favored one who makes it," calls forth another "Accept a boon, O lord [of eternity]; that thou mayest prolong the years of him who offers to thee." On the other side the prayers are a little different. "Get ready an offering for the lord of eternity and for Hathor, lady of carousal; that they may accept the favored one who makes it!" and "Accept a boon, O Atum, lord of the great temple; that thou mayest prolong the years, etc.!" In the upper registers the good wishes for the dead are a monotonous repetition of phrases we have already heard. Two slightly vary. "I present joints to the lord of eternity; that he may give long life to the *effendi* in his house, the temple-father," and "I do (?) the pleasure of [Amon, that he may give life,] stability, [and health to the] owner of [this] tomb."

Since the homage paid to the invisible gods who rule over the day and the land, or preside over burial, was not shown by reliefs in the outer chamber, it is represented in the lower picture on both sides of this room, facing the doorway. On the south wall (Plate LIV) the figure of Puyemrê is erased, the reason being that, as he held the office (Vol. I, p. 42), he has donned here also the skin of the *sem*-priest, a functionary who was hateful to the followers of Akhnatón.<sup>1</sup> He is engaged in pouring out the inflammable oil of incense into the bowl of a standing lamp.<sup>2</sup> Two other

Scenes of  
slaughter

Puyemrê  
sacrifices to  
the gods

<sup>1</sup> Shown by a trace of the tail between the legs. The titles above identify him with Puyemrê. He appears with shaven head, though it is not the usual practice of the *sem*.

<sup>2</sup> Really the ordinary bowl of fat and a tall pot-stand, combined in one.

## CEREMONIAL AID

Puyemrê  
sacrifices to  
the gods

kinds of fragrant oil are at his disposal. The flesh and fowl heaped up on two circular stone stands have already been treated in the same way and a light applied; for we see the flames curling about them.<sup>1</sup> One table is probably for Osiris, one for Hathor; for the inscription runs, "Presenting the meal of a god, offering resinous oil<sup>2</sup> and incense, and feeding the braziers for Hathor, lady of carousal, and for Osiris, lord of Eternity."

Details of the  
scene

On this side of the tables lies a collection of food, flowers, and beer; on the other a group of four handsome vessels. Two of them are of a type well known to us in picture (see Volume I, page 99 and Plates XXXVIII, LV). Made less for use than to exhibit beauty or ingenuity of design, the rims of these cups are furnished with a balustrade of open metalwork, in which the craftsman uses familiar decorative elements in new and often charming combinations, sometimes harmonizing with the use of a cup as a reservoir of liquid, but not infrequently having no reference to, or consideration for, its employment. Thus in the two present examples the rim supports a series of miniature cups (a form of decoration in use in Egypt from prehistoric times to the present day), alternating with open green lotus-flowers. As all these are lightly connected, they present a wall sufficiently strong to be carried out in the thin sheet metal out of which the cup is beaten. The second example has lotuses crowned with mandrake (?) fruit in the lower rank and Hathor-emblems in the higher—a fitting decoration for a cup, since she is the goddess of jollity. The other two bowls (green?) may be glaze vessels, for such cups are known in that material and form. The plain walls rising from the rim probably imitate the contents of the bowl; for one sees such in the tombs filled

<sup>1</sup>The regular shapes of these tongues of flame (still stiffer on the opposite wall) may be due to the sculptor's limitations, but it may be that the edge of the offering-table was sometimes furnished with imitation flames which served to keep the contents in, and perhaps saved the inconvenience of real fire. The table was sometimes fitted with  $\square$  arms for the same purpose. The lesser height of the further flames might be due in part to a sense of perspective; for such effects were suppressed, not unperceived, by the Egyptian artist.

<sup>2</sup>*Anti* is a tree gum (colored a deep maroon in Pl. XXXII); but, as it is poured out of a jar in ceremonial use and is often determined by a vase, it has evidently been reduced by admixture or otherwise to a viscous or fluid state, instead of being made into pastilles like *snfr*. It is shown as a medium on the painter's palette in Naville, *Eleventh Dyn. Temple*, III, Pl. VIII.

## THE MIDDLE CHAPEL

with an upright bunch of some succulent green stem.<sup>1</sup> The objects underneath, elsewhere colored pink or red, may be cakes. No help in interpretation is gained from the superscription, "All manner of good and pure food for Hathor, lady of carousal, and Osiris, lord of Eternity." A vase in the lowest group, with tall stem and a cover imitating an inverted blue *nymphaea* lotus is particularly graceful.<sup>2</sup>

The similar scene on the north wall (Plate LIII) shows minor variations. There are two high lamps as well as two altars for the rites, and the four bowls are replaced by ten kinds of oil, its specific name being written above each. The inscriptions, on the other hand, reveal the important fact that the officiant in this case is apparently not Puyemrê, but a priest who seeks to induce the gods to be propitious to his patron.<sup>3</sup> "A pure offering [daily?] to Amon-[Rê, lord of Karnak (?)] for the sake of the health of the owner of this tomb." "Presenting the meal of a god, offering resinous oil, incense and pure fats to . . . and sup[plying (?)] the braziers<sup>4</sup> [of Amon]. If he is satisfied therewith, let his *ka* be likewise. For the sake of the health (?) of the owner of [this] tomb . . . ."<sup>5</sup> The outward direction of the act of worship is more appropriate to Amon-Rê than to Osiris and Hathor; but they might be considered as having their seats in the necropolis outside.

On the other hand, the inward direction is fitting for the adjacent representation of the meal of the dead and it always meets us in this position in the tomb. On the north wall we have, however, an intervening episode, which should have occupied the thickness of one of the

<sup>1</sup> Both the bowl of stems and the heap of cakes (?) are distinctive offerings to Hathor in her form of the divine cow (Scheil, *Tombeau de Râleserkasenb*, Wall A, and Naville, *Eleventh Dyn. Temple*, I, Pls. XXV, XXVII, and III, Pls. VII, 7; XIV, 7; XXVI, 5; XXX, 1, 2; XXXI, 4. An actual bowl is perhaps seen *Ibid.*, III, Pl. XXVI, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Carried out in its proper colors in Tomb 93 (cloisonné work?). It may be observed that all these stemmed vases are derived from stemless vases set on stands. Cf. Vol. I, pp. 73, 99. For vases without the foot see Carnarvon and Carter, *Explorations*, p. 43; Davies and Gardiner, *Theban Tombs Series*, Vol. III, Pl. IV.

<sup>3</sup> The attitude is that of the *sem*-priest, and a slight indication on the edge of the fracture shows that his free hand was duly gathering the skin about his loins.

<sup>4</sup> It seems that 'h can be determined either by the common lamp-bowl or by the stemmed stand of burnt-offering.

<sup>5</sup> For a parallel cf. Sethe, *Urkunden* IV, p. 977, where the offering is made for Thothmes III by the deceased.

Details of the scene

A companion picture

Puyemrê at the table of the gods

## CEREMONIAL AID

Puyemrê at  
the table of  
the gods

doorways. If Puyemrê does not personally offer to Amon here, it is not out of lack of devotion to that god. He had, indeed, left the tomb with that in view, and it is to be supposed that he has performed it and gained an appetite by the exercise; for we see him returning from his walk, equipped with his long staff and the wand of office which he will not lay by, even when unseen of men.<sup>1</sup> "Puyemrê, second temple-father of Amon, making a happy return, after performing the good pleasure of Amon-Rê, to receive the provisions of the gods (?) in the auspicious place of the Presence (the temple). May one pure of face (?) bring all manner of offerings . . . ." He is not disappointed. The lector Yahmosy is ready to make the mundane food available for the *ka* by means of his office and the spell, "A ritual offering to the great ennead of Osiris, and the lesser ennead of the shrines of South and North Egypt, that they may grant thousands of bread and beer, meat and fowl, roast shoulders and cuts, of *ro* and *therp* geese, of *set* and *ser* ducks, and pigeons, on which a god lives, doubly pure offerings of a god for Osiris-Puyemrê." To this formula the lector adds on his own initiative (or is it an impersonal address to Puyemrê, since it is treated as a descriptive note?), "O Puyemrê, thy soul has become a (star) on the bosom of Nut,<sup>2</sup> while thou art actually in thy house of innumerable (years), close to the great god." To the sound of these pleasant promises Puyemrê is "partaking of all manner of things."<sup>3</sup>

The companion scene

The south wall (Plate LIV) shows a precisely similar scene, except that in this case Senseneb is associated with her husband in the reception of food.<sup>4</sup> The officiant, however, is not "making a ritual offering" but "presenting a supernal offering"<sup>5</sup> and going through transforming rites."

<sup>1</sup>Such is the attention of the artist to detail that the cane shows the sheathing at the joints. These are often carved on Egyptian sticks in imitation of the more prized cane.

<sup>2</sup>That is to say, on the under surface of the overarching sky.

<sup>3</sup>The exceptionally high dais may indicate the raised floor of the adjacent shrine, where the offerings were laid. Cf. Vol. I, p. 35.

<sup>4</sup>Puyemrê is here styled "one who has access to the divine (royal) presence." So Pl. XLV, Vol. I, p. 13, and the Cairo statue. The caraffes with high conical seals and set on tall stands are an unusual form of beer or wine jar. I have met with one parallel.

<sup>5</sup>Literally "A field of offerings" (cf. pp. 4, 25). Sekhethotpu was a fertile district in heaven, ruled by a god of the same name, so that its produce made the partaker a denizen of heaven. Puyemrê was

## THE MIDDLE CHAPEL

The effect, however, is the same; for each of seven gods is called on for a blessing. "O! Chancellor, etc., Puyemrê! . . . Osiris-Khentamentiu (has granted) . . . Horus has granted that thy *ka* be exalted and not perish (*hlm*) . . . Anubis has granted that the lord of life welcomes thee to the Presence, (as) a magnate . . . while thou thyself art actually in thy house of innumerable (years), thy original soul with thee, and thy heart of aforetime. Thou receivest praises in the bark 'Innumerable (years),' being a god, without enemies of thine."<sup>1</sup>

The companion scene

The place which the temple of an important god occupied in the life of the individual Egyptian is not easy to estimate. The impression we gain is that it was very restricted, though a man, no doubt, would attend the great festivals and, as he could afford it, dedicate a statue of himself, or some lesser memorial, in the temple court. This view is supported as we notice how poor an appeal the temple and its decoration was likely to make to the piety of the common man. Two scenes on the upper half of the side walls of this chapel add welcome items to our knowledge of the benefits which the temple cult conferred on its supporter. They came to him in fact after death, and perhaps only in return for corresponding contributions. To take the most tangible, the mass of offerings presented to the gods in the temple became, by their good will, available for the hungry dead after them; even as the superfluous merit of the saints, in Roman doctrine, can be used for the salvation of more wayward souls. The demand of the necropolis of Thebes on the income of Karnak must have been formidable; but we do not know how much of this was met by endowments, general or particular, and how much by the piety of the living.

The temple and the individual

The practical duplication of these, as well as other scenes in the superintendent of such offerings at Karnak (p. 45). Perhaps it was due to a play on this word that scenes of sport occupy so persistent a place in the tombs. The sportsman's booty turned into the coveted produce of the heavenly fen-lands. It may also be that the common offering table garnished with upright reeds was an attempt to turn its contents into a "field (III) of offerings." When, as in Tomb 181, the table-top is formed like a *hlp* sign, the symbol is complete.

The walls reflect what occurred within them

<sup>1</sup> The readiness of Egyptian eschatology to accept almost irreconcilable elements is well illustrated by the location of the soul in the sky and yet with the dead, almost in one breath. The burial vault is a fact; the sky a lofty dream; but the dead man clings passionately to the promise of being himself and having a home on solid ground—somewhere.

## CEREMONIAL AID

The walls reflect what occurred within them

chapel, must not be taken to indicate poverty of imagination. It is more probable that they simply present an almost photographic record of what did, or should, take place beside these walls. The real presentation of food offerings to Puyemrê was certainly made at the raised entrance of the shrine between their pictorial presentations; not by loyal friends only, but by a compact with the temple staff. We may conclude, too, that the quickening of the spirit of the dead man by contact with the sacred emblems, as shown in the upper picture, was a ceremonial of only secondary importance, and one frequently celebrated here. And if we find the two opposite pictures meeting in the center of the front wall, the arrangement is not unstudied. The procession of performers files in at the door and, once within, falls into two ranks on the two sides of the little room. The difference in detail on the two walls must of course not be taken too seriously, though it was grounded on permitted latitude. Similarly an offering to the great gods on behalf of the dead may well have been performed facing the doorway as a preliminary rite. The provision of the offerings by slaughter, no doubt, took place outside; otherwise, unpleasant memorials of it would still be traceable.

Ritual services by the priests of Amon

It appears that the Egyptian temple, during the night at least, was guarded by four companies (四人) of priests, who probably kept watch for spells of three or four hours each<sup>1</sup>; since the institution was modeled on that of the ship, where the four watches corresponded to the four stations of the crew, viz., the two sides, the bows, and the stern. These watches were formed from the class of priests, called *wennutiu*, a term which does not seem to be nautical, though the names of the watches were.<sup>2</sup> If the inscriptions had been preserved, we should probably have found that all four were represented on the walls here; the starboard and aft watches on the north (Plate LIII), the port and forward watches on the south (Plate LIV). To judge by the picture, each watch consisted of four men, but this may only be a deputation. These priests bring to Puyemrê the viands which had been laid before the god in the temple of

<sup>1</sup>Or possibly, like the priests generally, each watch served for three months in the year.

<sup>2</sup>Sethe, *A.Z.*, 54, p. 3. The terms "starboard watch" and "port watch" are still in use. The fifth company, introduced in Ptolemaic times, may have served as a dog watch.

## THE MIDDLE CHAPEL

Amon at Karnak, for a defined share in which Puyemrê had no doubt contracted during life.<sup>1</sup> He now has his reward; the priests have not failed to impose the obligation on their successors. So he is sitting "looking on at the procedure which the temple-watches have communicated to their fellows of the temple of Amon of Karnak (Plate LIII, upper picture)."<sup>2</sup> The mutual greetings are fixed by custom. "The *wen-nutiu* priests of the temple of Amon say, 'For thy *ka*! A bouquet of thy lord; for he [loves and favors] thee,' and receive the welcome from Puyemrê, 'Ye have come safe and sound, (because) Amon-Rê has favored you.'"<sup>3</sup> The priests are divided into two groups of four and dressed like laymen. The foremost carries a tray of varied rations in the one case, a bouquet (?) in the other. The one group forms "the starboard watch," the other "the aft (?) watch" (*imy nds.t*). We can still decipher the special greeting of the former, "Ho, [Puyemrê]! For thy *ka*, loaves of the courtyard—one ration (?). Mayest thou eat them for innumerable years (?)." Little is left of the parallel picture in which I conjecture the port and the forward watch (*s3 n t3 wr* and *s3 n h3.t*) to be represented (Plate LIV). In this case the upper group presented a bouquet in the words already quoted: the spokesman of the lower group, in returning Puyemrê's greeting, "[Ye have come safe and] sound [because your fathers] who are in the necropolis [have shown you favor]," uses the same regular phrase of welcome.

The remaining scene (again in duplicate) presents the other blessing conferred by the temple staff, on the more favored families of the district at least.<sup>4</sup> This time it is the temple women who act as mediators of the divine gift of long, full, secure life. They come, not as women to the aid

Ritual ser-  
vices by the  
priests of  
Amon

And by the  
priestesses  
of Hathor

<sup>1</sup> Puyemrê is given here a new set of antiquated titles, "he who is over the mysteries of the twin lions (Shu and Tefnut), administrator of the two thrones of the god, approved adjudicator, attached to the dancing-places (?) of the courtyard, royal relation in the palace (?)." Cf. Lepsius, *D.T.* III, p. 252; *Beni Hasan* I, Pls. VII, XXXV; Mariette, *Abydos* II, 23; Kees, *Opfertanz*, p. 230; *J. E. A.*, 1918, Pl. XXI, line 1.

<sup>2</sup> Either one generation to another or one rota of priests to another after completing its period of service. Cf. my *Five Theban Tombs*, Pls. XXVII, XXVIII. Aba probably based a scene in his tomb on this one (ed. Scheil, pp. 632, 633).

<sup>3</sup> The rarity with which Hathor rites are depicted (in tombs Nos. 21, 53, 60, 82, 86, 100, 109 at Thebes and at Meir) suggests that comparatively few benefited by them. To the notices in Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhêt*, p. 95, add Davies, *Tomb of Antefoker*, Pl. XXIII; Blackman, *Tombs of Meir* II, Pl. XV; Virey, *Tomb of Rekhmara*, Pl. XL.

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And by the priestesses of Hathor

of women, for Puyemrê is alone; but as priestesses of Hathor, who, with Osiris, is specially invoked in this chapel. In the Egyptian pantheon she represents enhanced life, both on higher and lower levels.

In each picture Puyemrê sits and stretches out his hand to touch the sacred symbols, the *media* of the divine grace. The descriptive texts make this clear. "The count . . . superintendent of the [highest] offices, [great of] titulary (?) in [Ast]josret, marshal of ceremonial entry . . . of the palace, etc., Puyemrê, putting out the hand towards the sacred *menats* and [the whisks(?) of Hathor]."<sup>1</sup> These "ornaments of Hathor" which her priestesses are presenting are of four sorts, the well-known *menat* or necklace of clustered beads; that tinkling instrument, the sistrum, the musical quality of which cannot much have exceeded that of a baby's rattle; the fly-whisk (recognizable as such by the arm-shaped handle); and the flag (?) with pinked ends, attached to a staff (Plates LIV, LV).<sup>2</sup> These are probably all articles from the person of the goddess or of her attendants, and as such are permeated by her *aura* and can communicate it by touch or, still better, through the nostrils.<sup>3</sup>

## Chants of the male and female choirs

The women on the north wall (Plate LIII) carry only the two commoner emblems. The shorter text accompanying them probably was, "Coming from the temple of Amon after performing his rites." The longer text runs<sup>4</sup> "O, Puyemrê! For thy *ka* the *seshesh* sistrums and *menats* of Amon of Jeser-josru. Thou hast received them held to thy nostril. Thy lord Amon has favored thee in that thou art close to him to innumerable (years). He assures thee life in his train. He has quickened (?) breath for thy nostrils.<sup>5</sup> Thou art as enduring as heaven. Thy

<sup>2</sup>A sash, brightly colored and hanging down in front, is worn by the women of Hathor in Tomb 93. It is carried in the hand as a tie in Aba's tomb (ed. Scheil, Pl. II). The whisk is seen in Naville, *Eleventh Dyn. Temple III*, Pl. VII. 5.

<sup>1</sup> Probably the sistrum was also a personal ornament before the suspending ribbon and the horns were blended into one, and it was converted into a rattle (Davies, *J. E. A.*, VI, p. 60).

'All four texts remaining to be quoted take the columns in reverse order, so as to bring the crucial word "Puyemrê" as close to him as possible and to give visible proof that the prayer touches him. Emendations are mostly taken from Sethe. *Urkunden IV*, pp. 977, 978 (Tomb 100).

<sup>4</sup>If this whisk with single instead of triple tail be also named *nb3b3*, this word *nbb* may be used in allusion to it.

## THE MIDDLE CHAPEL

life is stable, and thou renewest youth [like] the freshness (?) of water. Thou, as well as thy *ka*, art pure . . . as Osiris. Thou joinest the gods of the horizon and they set thy soul among the dwellers there, the temple-father Puyemrê."

Chants of the male and female choirs

This address was probably chanted as a recitative, for in the continuation of the scene on the east wall (Plate LII) we find a trio of men (also "coming from the temple [of Amon]") in an attitude of address ("chanting").<sup>1</sup> Accordingly an antiphonal chant is assigned to them. "Praise to heaven, [exultation in the solar bark], jubilation throughout Egypt to Amon in . . . his fane of the south, the north, the west, the east, that he may grant [high and honored age] to the temple-father, Puyemrê, most honorably acquitted before him. The doors of heaven are opened, the doors of Kebh are thrown wide, the road in [the necropolis] is opened, that Puyemrê may be refreshed this day. The called-up meal is given to him, his heavenly rations are issued to him.<sup>2</sup> Anthems are [chanted] to him in the [evening] bark the while he presents a *hotpedens* offering to Amon . . . and to the gods of his train, that they may accept him who makes it as one who has found favor."<sup>3</sup>

The parallel texts on the opposite side (Plate LIV) are of the same tenor. "Said by the priestesses '[Receive thou the ornaments] of the lady of heaven. O gold goddess, lady of carousal, . . .'.<sup>4</sup> [Place] his [star?] among the stars, the second priest of Amon, Puyemrê. . . . [the im]perishable stars . . . protecting thee. They open to thee a road

An alternate version

<sup>1</sup>The word *dhn* is almost always associated with the attitude of address here shown. It apparently denotes a declamation of praise which opens or accompanies ritual, being chanted probably as a recitative, since the favorite accompaniment was that of the tambourine or sistrum (the word has these determinatives in later times). To references in Kees, *Opferlantz*, p. 226, add the following. In the replica of this scene in Tomb 109 we have over these three men ("taking up the refrain"); in Tomb 93 is written over the women of Hathor who follow the statue; in Tomb 100 is affixed to a woman in the boat of the dead (with pendent hands), and *špt dhn* to the lector who receives the funeral procession (Virey, *Rekhmara*, Pls. XXI, XXIII). It is applied to men in Hathor rites at Deir el Bahri (unpublished).

<sup>2</sup>See note above, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup>In face of this clear statement I must accept Dr. Gardiner's view that the offering is made to the god at this period as a propitiation.

<sup>4</sup>In Tomb 109 we read . Here we must read .

## CEREMONIAL AID

An alternate  
version

in heaven, they throw wide to thee the doors of Dat. So thou ascendest, dawning as a god, becoming a perfect being in heaven and taking shape in Dat. Thy sin is expelled by Rê; thou art set on high by Osiris, O Puyemrê!" The men then take up the strain (Plate LII), "[O] . . . Puyemrê! Thy lord [Amon] has shown thee favor in thy house of the living . . . rejoicing in . . . [of Sutekh (?)] and Atum<sup>1</sup> . . . [If thou art satisfied therewith] let thy *ka* be also . . . to Thot that he may propitiate . . . the hands of the horizon [are offered] to thee, the gates of [heaven] are thrown wide . . . and thou risest, dawning as [a god, O Puyemrê]!"

The two side inscriptions on the ceiling are preserved, the southern being placed in the mouth of Nut. "Ho, Osiris . . . Puyemrê! Mayest thou be followed by thy *kas* to thy pure seats"; and "[May they place] thy seat amongst them, at rest for ever" (Plate LVII).

## (B) THE SHRINE

(PLATES LVII TO LXI)<sup>2</sup>

The shrine  
a larger  
statue-niche

The back wall of the chapel is occupied almost wholly by the doorway to the shrine and its framing, and its decorations therefore have reference to the purpose to which this farther room was put. The side walls within show parallel pictures of the ritual of the daily offering; the rear wall, the adoration of Osiris and Hathor-Semyt; each side of the front wall, a magic spell; the ceiling, an architectural design. In many Theban tombs a little niche is cut in the back wall of the inmost room, often set at some distance from the ground, and in the case of two of Puyemrê's predecessors taking the form of a little chamber perched at a

<sup>1</sup>"Sutekh purifies [thee] and Atum opens thy mouth" (Tomb 109).

<sup>2</sup>The chamber was originally built of masonry, as ancient burial-places penetrated the site, but when found was in great ruin. The north wall (save two foundation blocks) and with it the vault and the north side and upper part of the front wall had disappeared. Half the back wall, too, was gone, and during the progress of the work the greater part of the kneeling figures there was carried off by thieves. The whole chamber has been rebuilt, and a margin of error is possible in the case of unimportant fragments on the lunettes and the west wall.

## THE SHRINE

quite inaccessible height.<sup>1</sup> It is not surprising that in a tomb with so many pretensions to architectural merit as this, the statue-niche should take a shape worthy of the whole, and in fact no shrine, unless it may have been those just mentioned, can compare with it. It has, in fact, become a vaulted chapel, decorated and inscribed like the others, though on a reduced scale. Set on a higher level, it was not intended to be entered, though the texts of the front wall could not be read by the living otherwise.<sup>2</sup> It served to enshrine a statue or statues, and as a roomy sideboard for the offerings laid before them.

The elaborate framing of the doorway (Plate LVI) takes the form of a square-topped stela with roll and brightly colored cornice, standing itself on a corniced basement, and having on each side of it a narrow upright panel, containing framed prayers to Geb and to another god, "An offering of the King and of Geb, heir of the gods . . . a breath of the pleasant air of the north wind to the *ka* of the owner of this tomb . . . Puyemrê."<sup>3</sup>

The shrine  
a larger  
statue-niche

The portal

The inmost jambs of the door contain similar *hotpedens* prayers to Atum and Osiris (right) and to Amon of Karnak and Geb (left), seeking for the *ka* of Puyemrê (1) ascent to heaven and transport across the expanse of the sky, (2) a lost request, (3) the company of the god "at both seasons" (day and night), (4) the same boon as is asked from Geb above. The sandstone lintel contained the titulary of Puyemrê, and perhaps a prayer for a place in the train of the sun-god "when he sets in life." The broad outer jambs are divided into four panels with complementary

<sup>1</sup>The walls of these niches of Senmut and Rekhmirê (Tombs 71 and 100) presented the same scenes as ours and contained statues and a granite stela at the back. For the small niche see my *Tomb of Nakht*, p. 37. In the tomb of Menna (No. 69) the opening to it is surmounted by a decorated entablature (Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, p. 529). That of Tomb 161 was concealed.

<sup>2</sup>The conditions of the ground in front are such that steps, if they once existed, could scarcely have left any traces.

A very similar feature will be found in the tiny recess branching westwards out of the chapel of Thothmes I in the altar court at Deir el Bahri (ed. Naville, Pl. I). Simple niches will also be found on two other sides of the court, and eight elevated niches for seated statues in the main upper court (*Ibid.* Pl. CXIX). Hatshepsut's nobles seek to imitate this.

<sup>3</sup>It looks as if the prayers on this doorway (as perhaps also in the south chapel) were still in the old form, "May the King and Geb grant an offering, a breath, etc.," as there seems to be no room for the New Kingdom addition "that he may grant."

## CEREMONIAL AID

The portal

tableaux containing the promise of supplies for the deceased from (1) the tree-goddess of the west;<sup>1</sup> (2) the northern and southern pools;<sup>2</sup> (3 and 4) men and women who till the earth. The personifying figures are male and female alternately, and take the place of similar Old Kingdom figures representing the farms of the deceased. The goddesses say, "[I bring thee] . . . pure bread which comes [from me]" and "[I provide thee] with bread . . . The lady of the desert (?) embraces thee, [O temple-father of] Amon, Puyemrê." The pools declare, "I bring thee my products, all kinds of flowers [which I have] created;" and "I offer to thee . . . which issues from me and all kinds of green things in which I am verdant (?)." The farm-laborers say, "One pure [of face (?)] brings] the water and air<sup>3</sup> which (she) produces to the owner of this tomb" and perhaps "One [pure] of face<sup>4</sup> brings what grows (*rwd?*) on the surface of the earth, various offerings, O temple-father (?) owner of this tomb!" In the lowest panel the prayer is "For thy *ka!* offerings and nourishment, O temple-father, owner of this tomb!"

The protect-  
ing gods

This doorway leads to the last chamber accessible to the living, a mysteriously dark recess, which was even darker when a wooden door reduced its narrow opening. Here is the place where the meals of the dead were set out, and we must expect to find the decoration simple and stereotyped, like man's essential needs.

Instead of the false door, for which a roomier site had been found in the north chapel, a naos has been sculptured on the back wall wherein are figures of the deities who preside over the world beyond, on the threshold of which we here stand (Plate LIX). Osiris, "ruler of eternity," is on one side, "the kindly western desert" on the other, and each is receiving the adoration of their new subject. "[A presentation of praise] and homage to [Osiris . . . ] chief of the gods of the necropolis (?), king of

<sup>1</sup>For the tree-goddess in this form see my *Tomb of Nakht*, Pl. X.

<sup>2</sup>There were pools of the four quarters of heaven (Kees, *Opfertanz*, p. 157). But the lakes or watered estates personified in this figure with the defining attribute on his head probably represent the sporting grounds in the Delta and the Thebaid which the rich man sought to acquire (p. 72), or their heavenly counterparts.

<sup>3</sup>Perhaps standing for "products of water and air" (plants and birds) to supplement the earth-products on the other side. <sup>4</sup>Cf. p. 20.

## THE SHRINE

South and North Egypt . . . by the count, father and friend of the god, and *sem-priest* . . . Puyemrê."<sup>1</sup> The titulary of Puyemrê runs overhead, and above this the two familiar forms of the guardian dog, Anubis, face one another.

The protect-ing gods

The east wall (Plate LVII) carries on the lunette a central device showing Life holding Power in each hand, and the divine eyes, to which homage is paid in incense and libation. On the sandstone lintel Puyemrê once more by titulary and parentage lays formal claim to the proprietorship of the shrine. On the cheeks of the door are three spells which have some slight connection. The appropriateness of the first is clear, for in this recess of the tomb, foreshadowing the dark underworld, some artificial illumination was most desirable. Hence the spell of "lighting a lamp and supplying fat" accompanied by an illustration of the action on the part of a lector.<sup>2</sup> "[The eye of Horus] comes [and is bright. The eye of Horus comes] and is clear. The eye of Horus comes auspiciously gleaming, like Rê on the horizon. The power of Sutekh is driven out (*dr*) before [him who carries the eye of Horus]. It seizes him and brings to him the heat of its flame. O Osiris Puyemrê, the eye of Horus is presented to thee! [If] thy stomach is ill at ease owing to that which thou hast swallowed, get rid of it (*ifh*)."<sup>3</sup>

Spells for producing light

A second spell begins with the third column.<sup>4</sup> Scented (?) fat was presented with the taper of spirally bound fibres, perhaps that the latter might be saturated afresh with it from time to time. The same fat was

For unction

<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately I had made only a rough note of these inscriptions before they were damaged. For the form of Osiris see Lanzone's *Dizionario*, Pl. CCXCIII.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter 137 B in Budge, *Book of the Dead*. Cf. Moret, *Rituel du culte divin*, p. 9. This is the "spell for lighting a candle" or "striking a light."

<sup>3</sup> A comparison of the texts shows that our version at any rate is corrupt. The last phrase, e.g., is found in Sethe's *Pyramidentexte*, § 192 b. The similes are necessarily involved, being drawn from two separate accounts of the service rendered by Horus, (a) in pursuing Sutekh and making him deliver up the eye of Rê which he had swallowed, and (b) in substituting one of his own, which thereby became the type of every divine boon and power. The last words read like a spell which Puyemrê can address to Sutekh or any other enemy by means of the eye. But originally it seems to have been the god who swallowed his eye to preserve it from the enemy and had to eject it again. The whole spell here plays on the fancy that the candle is like the bright eye of Horus which put to flight the power of darkness, but is deliberately obscure.

<sup>4</sup> It is found in Sethe, *loc. cit.*, §§ 1799-1804, and in Moret, *Rituel*, p. 76, as "the spell of presenting fat." Cf. also Budge, *Book of Opening the Mouth*, II, pp. 53-57.

## CEREMONIAL AID

For unction

also used as an unguent,<sup>1</sup> and hence this second spell for that unction which occupied so important a place in the toilet of the statue. It runs thus, "I have come [and have filled] thee with [the moisture] which issues from the eye of Horus [so that thou art filled] therewith. It knits thy bones and unites thy limbs. It has drawn [together thy flesh] for thee. When thou hast received it thy scent is pleasant as (that of) Rê when he ascends from the horizon. [The gods] of the horizon welcome [thee] as [they do] Rê. [The scent is the eye of Horus for thee; (so that) the gods in the train of Osiris are gracious to] thee, and thou takest the *wrr.t* crown by means of it. By the command of Horus [himself, lord of] mankind."

And for clean clothing

The presentation of unguents is generally accompanied by that of clothing also. This need is provided for by a spell written on the north cheek of the doorway, but now in a very broken condition.<sup>2</sup> It is illustrated by the figure of a priest "presenting two lengths of the cloth 'Pure,'" and is found in the Book of the Dead as "a spell for binding on the 'Pure' cloth."<sup>3</sup> The fourteen gods who are addressed by name are enshrined in compartments. "O Atum, [Shu and Tefnut, Geb and] Nut, [Osiris and Isis], Sutekh [and Nephthys], Hathor of . . . Mont, lord of Thebes, [and Amon, lord of Karnak (?), Harakhti and Khepera. Ye gods] and goddesses who are in the abyss, in [heaven and earth, give this 'pure' cloth to] . . . Puyemrê. O gods [of the south], the north, the east, and the west, [they who are in heaven and earth, grant that this cloth]<sup>4</sup> be serviceable to the perfected spirit, [the second priest of] Amon, Puyemrê. [Assign it to him eternally; and], if ye are content, remove [the evil which adheres to him]."

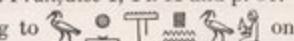
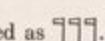
The ritual meal of the dead

The scenes on the side walls represent, as did those outside, the rites which were performed between them, so far at least as the conclusion

<sup>1</sup> *Mdd* is a general term for unguents. The taper is a comparatively recent invention; for the pictograph still shows a bowl with floating wick. For the rite see Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhêt*, pp. 97, 107.

<sup>2</sup> The fragment at the end of the lintel inscription should probably be lowered to form the name of the god Atum and the doorway slightly raised to admit of it.

<sup>3</sup> Chapter 171. The lighting of the taper and the presentation of clean clothing are closely associated in Loret, *Mission Française* I, Pl. II and p. 31.

<sup>4</sup> Emending to  on the supposition that  was erased and restored as .

## THE SHRINE

was concerned; for, as has been said, the officiants must of necessity stand outside the little room, which we must imagine occupied by a statue of Puyemrê, and perhaps, as the pictures suggest, by a group comprising his two wives also and his parents (Plate LVIII).<sup>1</sup> This familiar scene presents (a) the figures of the deceased before the table of bread and the pile of varied provisions; (b) the tabulated list of offerings; (c) the officiant or officiants. The list of foods, drinks, and materials for ritual is an abbreviation of the longer list we have already met with (Plates XLIX, L). One item stands by itself and seems to be an initial call to attention, like the "Oyez!" of the courts of justice, "Reverence!"

The first act of the "meal of a god," after a purification of the offering-table (a flat slab covered with a white napkin), is "the presentation of cold water" and "the burning of incense" by the priests ("father of the god" is the term used here instead of the usual "servant of the god").<sup>2</sup> The fourth officiant here is a *sem*-priest (erased, as always), who with the prescribed gesture "makes a ritual offering" in the regular terms, as indicated by the précis written under the table. A lector, with his fellow on the opposite wall, adds spells which safeguard or enhance the happiness of the dead, perhaps those for light, recuperation, and purity, which we have just read on the adjoining walls, and which are in fact a continuation of these rites.<sup>3</sup>

The decoration of the ceiling (Plates LX, LXI) of this chamber is of considerable interest, having, so far as I know, no extant parallel.<sup>4</sup> Its true character, indeed, would scarcely have been guessed at, had not the remotest part of our excavations yielded an entire segment of the stone

The  
ritual meal  
of the dead

A strange  
form of ceiling  
decoration

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I, p. 35. The pictures being practically in duplicate, the northern one, which is entirely a reconstruction, has been shown less completely. For full information regarding the rite see Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhêt*, pp. 73-79, and for formulas used at such rites, Virey, *Rekhmara*, pp. 100-120.

<sup>2</sup> We must imagine the servant pouring out the water from *beside* the kneeling priest, not really over his head.

<sup>3</sup> The north wall no doubt contained a similar if not an identical depiction of the rite. The gold libation-vase on that side is inscribed with the name of Puyemrê in red.

<sup>4</sup> A little niche in the courtyard of Tomb 15 seems only to have found room for the lower part of our design on its vault. (Carnarvon-Carter, *Explorations at Thebes*, Pl. III.) See also my *Five Theban Tombs*, p. 4; a false door on a ceiling then appeared to me an impossible suggestion.

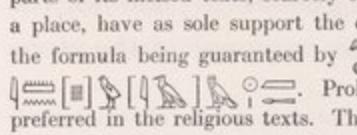
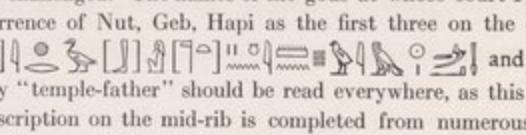
## CEREMONIAL AID

A strange  
form of ceiling  
decoration

vault, with the colored design well preserved.<sup>1</sup> The mode in which the whole vault was to be restored thus became clear, and if it occasioned no little surprise to find a series of decorated false doors of the Old Kingdom model in that position, the intervening texts which set forth the claims of an *imakhy* were decisive regarding the explanation. The upper part of the room is in fact treated as if it were a Middle Kingdom coffin; only that the decoration is on the interior instead of the exterior, and that the designs on the sides are transferred to the domed lid, to which only the mid-rib inscription is proper.<sup>2</sup> The application of the design to a ceiling and the comparison of the shrine with a coffin can scarcely be commended. Bright matwork designs, however, were not suitable either, and for some reason—or none—the starred ceiling, which would have formed so good a setting for an appeal to the sky-goddess, was reserved for temples. The model borne in mind was perhaps less the coffin proper than those round-topped, coffin-like caskets which receive similar decoration and enshrine sacred objects or gods.<sup>3</sup> The incongruity of doorways in a roof is mitigated by the semi-vertical position of the lower parts, and it is just possible that the absence of the usual blind door in the back wall influenced this provision of an exit *faute de mieux*. It is as though the spirit of Puyemrê sought access by a separate door to the realm of each of the gods to whom he owes fealty.

Its origin

The bright and intricate design in the upper part of the three panels

<sup>1</sup>The colors in Pl. LXI have sometimes been enhanced to a brightness learnt by scraping away the corroded surface from small fragments of the same ceiling. Pl. LX is pure reconstruction, but, except for parts of its incised texts, scarcely to be challenged. The names of the gods at whose court Puyemrê claims a place, have as sole support the occurrence of Nut, Geb, Hapi as the first three on the opposite arch, the formula being guaranteed by  and . Probably "temple-father" should be read everywhere, as this designation is preferred in the religious texts. The inscription on the mid-rib is completed from numerous examples on coffins and ceilings, the variations in which are slight. Cf. Sethe, *Pyramidentexte*, §§ 638, 825, 1607; Stein-dorff, *Sarg des Mentuhotep*, pp. 4, 11.

<sup>2</sup>The clearest parallel is afforded by the three coffins of Mentuhotep (*loc. cit.*, Pls. I to IV) which show three decorated doors on the side, separated by inscriptions, and on the ends a plain door such as forms the dado here. The cover of the outer case is canopied like a casket. Cf. also Lacau, *Sarcophages*, Pls. XIII, XV; Carnarvon-Carter, *Explorations*, Pl. LX. The yellow vertical bands and the longitudinal band on the top are characteristic of coffins.

<sup>3</sup>See Pl. XLVI. The brick vaults of the Ramesside tombs adopt the division into panels by vertical coffin-texts (Campbell, *Birth of Amenhotep III*, p. 171).

## THE SHRINE

represents the façade of the palace of the ancient kings in a highly imaginative form, already stereotyped under the Old Kingdom, and derived from overloaded memories of the rich woodwork of the niches and of the variegated matwork lashed down over the plain surfaces between. The patterns cannot be further analyzed here; but the reader has a right to know that, in facing this gaudy surface, he is contemplating history as much as art.<sup>1</sup> The lower part of the design, as we have seen (Vol. I, p. 6), represents in a simpler way the same theme, the recessed niches of the archaic brick wall.

Its origin

The text which occupies the crown of the arch and separates the two similar designs, is appropriate to the position and often placed on ceilings and covers of coffins.<sup>2</sup> "Nut (the sky), thy mother, extends herself over thee in her name of 'She who opens heaven,' and causes thee to be a god without enemies of thine in thy name of 'the god Puyemrê.'"

Its texts

The running inscriptions on the spring of the arch are such too as would be found on coffins. They read, "A ritual offering to Anubis, chief of his mountain, dwelling in Ut, lord of the necropolis, that he may grant happy burial in his eternal tomb, to the honored second temple-father of Amon, Puyemrê," and (south wall), "[A ritual offering to Anubis, lord of Selpa, warden of the shrine of the god, that he may grant transit of the sky and interment here, and that . . . . . Puyemrê may ascend to the great god, lord of heaven.]"<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For colored pictures of the old model see Davies, *Ptahhetep* I, Pls. XIX-XX A, and Quibell, *Tomb of Hesy*, Pls. VIII, IX. See also Borchardt, *A.Z.*, XXVI, p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> I have restored this from my *Five Theban Tombs*, Pl. XIX. But Dr. Griffith has pointed out to me that the earlier version of the name of Nut is "She of Shetpet" (a source of natron in the north). Compare Sethe, *Pyramidentexte*, §§ 580, 638, 825, with §§ 26f, 27e. The New Kingdom version has sought a closer assonance to *pss*.

<sup>3</sup> These are the regular boons from this god (Lacau, *Sarcophages*, pp. 88, 101).



CHAPTER VIII  
FAMILY LOYALTY



# CHAPTER VIII

## FAMILY LOYALTY

### THE SOUTHERN CHAPEL

(PLATES LXII-LXIV)<sup>1</sup>

EACH of the three chapels was naturally a refectory. The dead must find hospitality awaiting him as he steps across any of their ghostly thresh-olds. But apart from this, we found the north chapel reserved for memories of the burial ritual with which Puyemrê's new life was ushered in and inaugurated, and the axial chapel and shrine reserved, more or less, for the formal reiteration of rites by the priesthood at due intervals. In this, the third chapel, we find distinct emphasis laid on the loyal piety of the family towards the dead; a more pleasing, but perhaps a more precarious ground of hope.

A family  
chapel

We met with the figures of the two sons of Puyemrê in the entrance to the central chamber, taking a very secondary part in the ceremonial. Otherwise there has been a marked silence as to Puyemrê's descendants. Mention of them had apparently been reserved for this family chapel, but the rock has proved a defaulting guardian of the information. Per-

<sup>1</sup>The chapel has sustained the following injuries. Its front has fallen away down to the level of the dado and no fragments can be assigned to the entrance walls with certainty. An irruption of rubbish from shafts behind has also carried away the adjacent end of the south wall, and part of the offerings (unimportant fragments of Puyemrê's knee, the ox, and heads of papyrus have been replaced here, but lack confirmation). The lintel of the recess (a limestone slab) has fallen, owing to the collapse of the left jamb. The center part of the back wall of the recess has been carried away by another irruption, but the main features of the scene have been reconstructed from small fragments.

## FAMILY LOYALTY

A family  
chapel

haps it was never very exact or full; for Puyemrê has not followed the old custom of assigning names and offices to all but the very humblest servitors.

The niche

We have met with the two wives of Puyemrê before, assigned impartially to opposite walls. So here Tanofret is his companion on the north wall, Senseneb on the south; but, as the back wall is treated as a prolongation of the side wall, with a repetition of the scenes, the two rivals for the affection or affectionate memory of Puyemrê come together back to back in the center of the niche (Plate LXII), giving a false impression of a lack of domestic harmony. The side walls of the niche, where the various articles of food of which the pair are to partake are displayed, complete the double picture.<sup>1</sup>

The private  
provision  
of food for  
the dead

The niche is raised on a corniced shelf as in the case of the shrine, and it is possible that in the mansions of the great the heads of the household were served on a raised dais. This seems indicated by the slight rise in the floor at a point which would take in the figures of the pair and their table.<sup>2</sup> This niche is in itself a shrine and its pictures are surmounted with the ornament peculiar to these last recesses, as if the wall separating life from the underworld needed to be guarded by spikes. The framing is of the usual kind. The homage of an *Imakhy* (a retired dignitary in royal favor) to the four genii of the dead fills the strip of wall on either side of it, and a similar tribute to Atum, "lord of the great fane," and to Amon of Karnak, the lintel.<sup>3</sup> The jambs seek ritual blessings for Puyemrê (1) from "Amon, sweet of love, magic power(?) over bread and beer";<sup>4</sup> (2) from "Anubis, who presides over the tomb-shaft, the burial of the mummy in its cave"; (3) from "Osiris, lord of eternity, the opening of the mountain (*dw*) of the west."

The side walls repeat the subject of the niche, but present us in addition with figures of those who might be expected to supply the table

<sup>1</sup>The subject is so commonplace in treatment that these narrow walls have not been reproduced. Notice the old-fashioned seat, the sides of which end in a head of papyrus. This feature is even applied to the more modern chair with leaning back (Pl. XLIX).

<sup>2</sup>So in Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhêt*, Pl. XXXIII; Borchardt, *Mitteil. d. D. O. G.*, 55, p. 21.

<sup>3</sup>The erased name is restored in ink; a scrawl that has usurped the place of the title of Puyemrê.

<sup>4</sup>I adopt the reading  . Cf. p. 48 below.

## THE SOUTHERN CHAPEL

of their departed head and patron. These loyal relations and retainers must have been encouraged in any devotion they showed to the invisible dead by these life-size presentations of their lost friends. We ourselves feel the sweet dignity of the face of Senseneb (Plate LXV); and, though all are no more than ideal profiles, without attempt at portraiture, that was probably a merit in the judgment of contemporaries. The immediate relations, too, found themselves and their act of piety already foreshadowed; others needed but to choose their portrait from among the unnamed and impersonal figures. And if a feeling of shame at their scantier offering were aroused in any of them by the pictures of liberal supplies set out in daintily arranged receptacles, that effect, too, may have been foreseen by Puyemrê. His part lay in "receiving food of a god's giving"; theirs, apparently, in "making provision from that which has appeared in the Presence."<sup>1</sup>

It may be that even private gifts had to pass, or were esteemed more highly for having passed, before the god in the temple; for on the south side (Plate LXIII), where the family alone<sup>2</sup> bring gifts, there is again mention of this previous dedication. Puyemrê "rich in (men's) affection" is there "accepting the acts of homage, enjoying himself at the opening of the year and beginning endless eternity (*nḥḥ m 3w.t dt*)."<sup>3</sup> These phrases are novel, and, unless too much is being read into them, imply that the occasion of this visit from his family is the festival of the New Year or the anniversary of his death,<sup>3</sup> and that, owing to the loyal provision for his needs, he can look forward with pleasure not only to the immediate but to the endless future—a message from the world beyond full of comfort and hope to the visitors. It may be that the triple head of papyrus which is so much in evidence among the tribute was symbolical of endless existence. This, with a simple repast of the dead, is the gift of each son, presented with the short grace, "A god's portion from Amon; may he show thee favor!" The eldest son is "Menkheper, priest of Amon

The private provision of food for the dead

Family piety

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Davies, *El Amarna* V, p. 17 (Any). Or are we still dealing, as strict syntax would indicate, with Puyemrê's own provision for his after-life by a charge on his estate?

<sup>2</sup> So far as we can see. There is room for three sons and three daughters on this scale.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhêt*, p. 97.

## FAMILY LOYALTY

Family piety

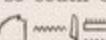
in [his temple] 'Endowed with life.'"<sup>1</sup> The daughters(?), of whom, too, only the foremost is preserved, are "bringing gifts to this *effendi* . . ." "Pure unguent" is contained in three little jars<sup>2</sup> set out on a tray and the group is defined still further as "a presentation of ointment [by the chantress of Amon, Neb[seny?]."<sup>3</sup> Puyemrê seems to have lived to see grandchildren by both wives, "a daughter of [her] (Senseneb's) daughter," with her great-grandmother's name, Neferyah (Plate LXIV), and "a child of [her?] (Tanofret's) child, . . ." (Plate LXIII).

Fragmentary scenes

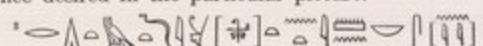
On the north thickness of the wall there can be still discerned the feet of a figure entering, perhaps a son. On the north door-cheek inside, too, are the feet of a large figure facing the entrance. It is probably Puyemrê offering to, or going to greet, the sun, as his name is still extant and the phrase *imyw ht* ("[the gods] who are in [his] train").

Ceiling texts

The ceiling being "canopied" (coved in front only), it was difficult to make a text on it legible. The scribe commenced it at the summit, ran it down the short slope, and then went back for its continuation to where he began, writing now in the reverse direction (Plate XLIX). The prayers are *hotpedens* propitiations of Osiris and of Atum of Heliopolis in every-day terms.

<sup>1</sup> This is the mortuary temple of Menkheperrê (Thothmes III) three hundred yards or so south of our tomb. Another son may have been a simple priest of Amon, as an extant fragment shows  in large hieroglyphs.

<sup>2</sup> Probably not more than a few inches high. One has to be incessantly on one's guard as to the real size of pictured objects; their relative proportions being often determined, not by fact, but by the importance desired in the particular picture.



CHAPTER IX

ADDENDA



## CHAPTER IX

### ADDENDA

#### THE STELAE AND CEILINGS

(PLATES LXVIII-LXX)

MEN today often find it convenient to write their names and professions on their doors, and in simpler communities sometimes carve a homely prayer on their house-front. The ancient Egyptian did the same to his earthly residence, and to a lavish extent in the case of his more lasting abode in the necropolis. Each of the six stelae which once adorned Puyemrê's façade represents an elaborately framed entrance, and each was once filled with a few prayers to the gods and interminable praises of himself. The name and career of the owner were made secure against any doubt, and the *ka* of Puyemrê was met by heavenly promises as he went in and out of these spirit-doors, but the records are so summary and so injured that they only merit an occasional comment.

Stela B and its flanking panels, like the greater part of A and C, were chiseled away in antiquity.

Stela C.<sup>1</sup> (Plate LXIX. Right Side. III a) ". . . all manner of food, [good and] pure, by which a god [lives] . . . Puyemrê (III b) . . . greatest of the great, . . . pronouncing verdicts(<sup>2</sup>) in Dep (the town of Buto), one who represented(<sup>3</sup>) him who is in the palace, councilor

<sup>1</sup> It will be remembered that the stelae are separated from one another by inscriptions in relief on bordered panels, or, at the corners, by the triangular spaces afforded by the slope of the walls. The jambs are numbered I, II, III, the columns, *a*, *b*, *c*, from the center. Parts of C and D were preserved because the end of a solid brick wall was built against them for the purpose, perhaps, of supporting the architrave and roof of the portico. Two fragments of C have been replaced with certainty; the elevation of the third and uppermost one is not fixed in any way.

Inscribed  
doorways

Stela C and  
its panel

## ADDENDA

Stela C and  
its panel

of the king(?), support(?) of the instructed,<sup>1</sup> regulator of every temple avocation, one rich in game(?) . . . (III c) . . . governor-in-chief of Nekheb, judge and administrator [of Dep] . . . Amon, lord of Karnak, child of the king, the acceptable companion of his footsteps<sup>2</sup> by night and by day, [one] whom the dwellers in his city [loved], Puyemrê."

Triangular panel (west wall). "[O . . . Puyemrê! Thy soul be in heaven with the imperishable stars (*ihm.w sk*) and thou live free from any death!"

Some goddess (the western desert?) must have been depicted in the corner, saying "[I bring] thee all manner of good and sweet things."

Triangular panel (north wall). (Plate LXVIII.)

"The utterance (of another goddess whose feet are visible). 'I bring thee all manner of good things which I contain.'"<sup>3</sup>

Stela D and  
its panel

Stela D. (Plate LXVIII.) Left side. I a) ". . . in the temple of Amon, over the secrets of the temple ritual, who sees the beauty of his lord (Amon) daily. (I b) . . . second priest of Amon, superintendent of the south, honored liegeman to Osiris, lord of the west, Puyemrê, a man of favor."

(II a) ". . . knowing how to direct his [feet] in the palace (life, happiness and health to it!), watchful of his walk among the high officials. (II b) . . . beloved by Horus who prospered him, constant to him who made his fortunes, one unrivaled in efficiency, whom his lord placed (II c) . . . whom his peers [respected], the soundness of whose policy Egypt recognized, of whose merits the people were cognizant, father and friend of the god, honored liegeman to Amon lord of Nesut-tawi, Puyemrê."

<sup>1</sup> See Spiegelberg, *Recueil*, XXI, p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> Reading

<sup>3</sup> This divinity may personify the northern game-preserve of Puyemrê; for a shard preserves a written memorandum which may read "Her name is 'His preserve' (*hnti-s.f*). I have come (?) and bring thee all kinds of good things. . . ." Pl. LXX, 4 shows the shard and 3 what may be its execution in stone.

<sup>4</sup> As the hill fell away rapidly, the right third of the stela was built up from the ground in square blocks of masonry. A good many of them seem to have been recovered by us, but gaps rob them of nearly all their value. The positions assigned them in the plate have been determined by apparent connections of the text, by the breadth of the columns and borders, and other data. There may have been a narrow column of bordered inscription on the right of the stela between it and the pilaster, and a fragment showing an oryx (?) facing left, in relief, may come from the adjacent triangular panel on the side of the pilaster or a similar position.

## THE STELAE AND CEILINGS

(III a) ". . . [superintendent of all the works of] Amon, lord of Karnak, Puyemrê, who says, 'When I came from my city and departed from my district,<sup>1</sup> I had done what men desired and the gods approved.

Stela D and its panel

(III b) . . . according to his inclination, I gave bread to the hungry, clothing to the naked, in the hope of proper burial and entry into divine favor. I was a copyist of religious texts, one deeply spiritual(?). (III c) . . . master of the secrets of sacred lore in the temple of Amon, superintendent of the temple offerings in Karnak, an efficient leader in South Egypt, superintendent of the establishments of the temple, second priest of Amon, the honored veteran Puyemrê.'"

(Right side. I a). ". . . superintendent of the temple, judge and administrator of Dep, and pillar of<sup>2</sup> . . . the palace, support(?) of the instructed, second priest of Amon, Puyemrê, honored liegeman to the great god. (I b) . . . worthy of the honor done to him, deeply spiritual, equipped for [his duties]<sup>3</sup> . . . , in that which his lord bestowed . . . superintendent of high posts, Puyemrê, a man of favor."

(II a) ". . . loyal and beloved [scribe] of the king, . . . whose insight (*š3r.t?*) made him great . . . (II b) . . . the temple of Amon, . . . Puyemrê . . . (II c) . . . the king of the North, prominent at [court]."

(III a) ". . . the Count, royal chancellor, special companion, [friend] of the king, [versed] in solemn installations, . . . having charge of the mysteries in Karnak . . . (III b) . . . [on land and] water successfully (?) . . . honored liegeman to Osiris . . . this his tomb in the necropolis, he left [his nome] . . . (III c) . . . Abydos . . . [at the monthly] and half-monthly festivals, at the . . . all kinds of fruits and offerings which are offered. . . ."

Some fragments of a lintel (Plate LXX, 1, 1, 2, 3, 21) which probably come from this stela show that the outer (topmost) lintel was inscribed in three lines, beginning on the left with, "Ho! Osiris, second priest [of

Lintels

<sup>1</sup>A circumlocution for death.

<sup>2</sup>For this curious title see Lange and Schaefer, *Denksteine*, II, p. 153, and a statue of Anpy found by Petrie at Lahun in 1920.

<sup>3</sup>For this phrase see p. 48 below.

## ADDENDA

### Lintels

Amon] . . . Puyemrê . . . against thine enemies (and they) are destroyed. . . ." The texts of the middle lintel run both ways from the center, the middle line of the three giving a *hotpedens* formula, the upper and lower lines taking the form *imʒhy hr . . . Pwimr*<sup>c</sup>. This arrangement seems to have held good for two stelae at least, but not for F, which retains parts of its lintels.

### Stela F and its panels

Panel north of Stela F (Plate LXIX).<sup>1</sup>

"[O . . . ] Puyemrê! Come . . . the meals which those on earth have served to thee."

Stela F (Plate LXIX. Right side. I a). ". . . I have performed thy monthly festivals(?) (I b) . . . thy half-monthly(?) festivals there . . . O temple-father Puyemrê."

(II a) ". . . if thou desirest to be far from it, let them(?) not compel thee. (II b) . . . thy enemies(?) are the enemies of Horus who defended his father. (II c) . . . Osiris, thou art established in the kindly West."

(III a) ". . . thy limbs; thou art bound as by (III b) . . . enemies (?). Be on the alert (?) between them. (III c) . . . [thou strikest with] thy sceptre, thy baton, and thy forked wand."<sup>2</sup>

(Left side. II c). "[O] Osiris, second priest of Amon, Puyemrê here; stand thou at the doors of the sanctuary(?) . . ." (III b) ". . . the aliens(?) [prostrate themselves] on their faces, they make obeisance to thee. . . ."

The formulae on the lintels run:

(I a) "Liegeman to the god of his city(?) , the temple-father(?) . . ." (II b) . . . Puyemrê. She welcomes thee and protects(?) thee and gives thee [her two hands] . . . (II c) . . . Puyemrê. Thou art with her, and she expels evil(?)<sup>3</sup> . . . within her (it?)."

South panel. Besides titles one only sees "thy enemies."

<sup>1</sup>Seven numbered fragments have been added to the stela without very good grounds. The panel to the left is all reconstruction; but the pieces are identified by the double column, one for each stela.

<sup>2</sup>For forked wands see Lacau, *Sarcophages antérieurs au N.E.*, Pl. XLIV, Nos. 301-303. The true version of the text is found in Maspero, *Mission Française*, I, p. 149.

<sup>3</sup>For *ḥsr* see Vogelsang, *Klagen des Bauern*, p. 200.

## THE STELAE AND CEILINGS

Stela G. Of the left-hand stela nothing is now left but the ground-plan on top of the paneled basement and a few of the lowest hieroglyphs.<sup>1</sup> Several blocks can be assigned with certainty to the triangular space in the corner (Plate LXX, 2). The first column reassures Puyemrê regarding his "provisions." In the second a female figure bringing forward a gazelle says, "I have come to bring thee offerings . . . of *Kbḥ* (?)."

Stelae  
G and H

Stela H. Nothing is left *in situ* of the south (end wall) stela or its basement, but there are inscribed blocks which must, and several more which may, have belonged to it. These are assembled for convenience on Plate LXX, 7. They yield the mention of Sutekh and Nebthat on both sides, of succession "by thy son to thy office," and of the promise, "I do not permit thee to die the death," etc. These and other phrases may prove to have some value for comparison with parallel phrases elsewhere.

Ceiling  
patterns  
and texts

Our tomb follows the usual custom of decorating the roof with brightly painted patterns and except for the instance noted (p. 31) employs very ordinary types (Plate XXIX). In the hall only the ceiling of the north bay preserves its patterns and inscriptions (three longitudinal texts). A fragment giving the commencement of the middle text shows that there were, as usual, cross-beams marking out an axial aisle.<sup>2</sup> There was apparently only one pattern (E), but it seems to have been carried out in different colors within the cross-beams.<sup>3</sup> The inscriptions in the hall are edged on both sides by a border consisting of a white zigzag on red. Pattern A on the two halves of the vault of the north chapel is an early type. The soffit of the entrance carries the pattern B. The whole

<sup>1</sup> I have not been able to allocate any of the derelict blocks to this stela with any certainty; but, as it is unlikely that none survive, some of those allotted to Stela H may come from it. Laborious attempts to fit together the numberless fragments met with little success. The most important pieces have been collected on Pl. LXX, 1. The fragments of the stelae often preserve their bright yellow color, showing that the portico sheltered them until their fall, and that this occurred before the fire above mentioned. The niches were yellow. It may be noticed that the name of Amon is spared here; there is indeed no clear instance of erasure on any fallen blocks. Does this imply that they and this south wall also had fallen before the time of Akhnatón? The erasures on all the stelae show indifference or laxity (cf. p. 9). On Stela D, e.g., the censor has spared half the occurrences of the name. It would be quite in keeping with history if the iconoclasts proved chary of interfering with burial customs, strictly speaking.

<sup>2</sup> For the arrangement see my *Tomb of Nakht*, p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> The black whorls are on a white instead of a yellow ground and the rosettes the contrary. For the colors see the Frontispiece.

## ADDENDA

roof of the middle chapel seems to have been covered by the design D, divided into two parts by a central beam and bordered by others at the sides. The texts always run from front to back. B is used again in the south chapel, divided by a central text, as a fragment shows. C is a soffit(?) pattern found on both limestone and sandstone fragments (cf. p. 56).

Two inscriptions in the hall have sufficient interest to be quoted. On the west side (Plate VI) we read ". . . an excellent noble, qualified for his duties, who spake kindness and repeated compliments and performed daily the prescribed rites to the god(?) of his city . . . Puyemrê," and (on the middle beam) "O ye gods who are in . . . grant ye. . . [to the *ka* of] . . . one [faithful?] in all duties . . . Puyemrê. Mayest thou have bread at command, beer in floods and be happy as a *semen* goose on the sandbanks!"

These broken prayers express so well the *bourgeois* ideals of the average Egyptian that they furnish by chance a fitting note on which to close this protracted survey.

## APPENDICES



## APPENDIX B

### THE FAÇADE AND COURTYARD OF THE TOMB

TOO little attention has been paid to the exterior of Theban sepulchres, partly because the researches necessary involve considerable expense for little reward, partly because great pains and wide knowledge are necessary to recover any details at all of the original features from amidst the tangle of later interments, in the interests of which the ancient constructions were exploited without scruple. It is fit, therefore, that a more detailed account of our work on the site of Tomb 39 should be provided than properly belongs to a description of the tomb. It is important, too, to investigate the exact form which the portico assumed, bearing in mind its unique character and that for long it afforded to the magnates of Thebes a model of solid dignity, the influence of which may have been much greater than appears at present.<sup>1</sup>

THE FAÇADE. Not only the form of the decoration (false doors at slight intervals and rounded tablets) but also its execution (the backward lean and the incised inscriptions in monochrome) shows that this is treated as an exterior wall, though sheltered by a colonnade. The multicolored columns of inscription in relief—one on each side of the false doors and therefore doubled between them—which make so pleasant a variation, suggest, however, that the proposed shelter was taken into consideration.

The only indication we have of the mode of completion towards the top is a shelf cut in the rock, which is observable at one point, 4.15 meters above the floor. Considering the quality of the rock at this level,

<sup>1</sup> Many Ramesside tombs had decorated frontages, some had peristyle courts (e.g., Nos. 23, 41, 183), one at least a columned porch (No. 51), and one a portico (No. 216).

## APPENDIX B

the cornices of the false doors could not be cut in it. Flat stones, twelve to fifteen centimeters thick, providing the upper part of the cornice, seem therefore to have been laid on this shelf, the roofing stones stretching from them to similar slabs placed on the architrave.<sup>1</sup> The cornice on the inner face of the architrave is perhaps meant to afford a slight additional support to the roofing beams, as well as to balance the corniced doors opposite. The panels were probably crowned by the *kheker* ornament, as in the middle chapel (Plates LVI, LXXV). The height of the biographical tablets is not fixed. They probably reached almost to the roof; for the sandstone cap entered the wall deeply, perhaps to provide a bearing for the roofing block. The border of rectangles followed the curve of their tops. The device of the divine eyes would no doubt fill up the spandrels.

The return wall (south wall of the colonnade) creates a difficulty, next to no traces of it being left.<sup>2</sup> A brick chamber was found there with walls still a yard or so high and a doorway in front. It took in the space between the base of the side column and the boundary wall, the inside depth being exactly that of the portico, inclusive of its wall. That wall had been removed to its foundation (marked by a slight trench), as well as the raised step<sup>3</sup> along the façade and the whole of the end wall. In addition, an extension of the portico was roughly hewn out to the south, and its rock wall continued upwards in brickwork. A pit (No. IX, Plate LXXIII) was hewn in the corner of the portico, leading at the least possible depth into a large chamber (No. 11) situated under the south end of the hall, with a second room (No. 12) returning under the extension just named. The brick construction was therefore obviously the chapel con-

<sup>1</sup>The main block of the architrave is only just deep enough to take in the inscription below the cornice. This looks like an architectural crime in face of the great span. Many thin slabs providing the jutting cornice were found, the plumes on which were in three or four breadths (perhaps from the architraves, the screen wall, the stelae, and the portal of the shrine within). There were corresponding variations in the breadth of the fragments of the roll.

<sup>2</sup>It has, nevertheless, been rebuilt by me from the floor up, in order to define the original limits of the frontage, and to preserve the blocks assigned to it.

<sup>3</sup>The shelf which runs along the foot of the façade served for the placing of offerings before the false doors. It is additionally high at the ends of the colonnade, because it was preferably before the end stelae that offerings were made, as inside the tomb (Vol. I, p. 34). As a corner of the south step is left, the disappearance of the rest is probably accidental, the extension forming the raised place of worship connected with the burial in the pit.

### THE FAÇADE AND COURTYARD OF THE TOMB

nected with this burial. From the size of the room it would appear as if the portico was still standing, up to this point at least, when the former was built; but it is difficult to see how it could extend over the room, as the pier which would support the end architrave was more than half cut away by the extension. The hillside recedes at this point; so that the whole south end of the façade above the paneled dado, including Stela G, was built up of blocks. If this part collapsed early, the brick chapel may have been built by some member of the family to replace it; for its burial-pit balances that of Puyemrê in the other corner. The shallowness of the pit is probably due to a fear of cutting into the chamber of Shaft X. Some blocks from Stela G or H were found in the filling of the pit.

A few millimeters of the return wall exist, showing the same batter as the façade. The lack of fragments from its paneled dado indicates that it must have been chiseled away piecemeal. The existence of Stela H seems indicated by the presence of the stones which I have assigned to it (Plate LXX), all of which cannot, apparently, belong to Stela G, and one of which shows clearly the point of the triangular panel which filled up the corner. The block placed below this one, however, does not show the roll, nor can its inscriptions be brought down to the level of the rest. But some small irregularity may have existed which the scanty data we possess do not indicate. The adjacent side of the pilaster would afford a triangular space which would balance that on the façade (Plate LXXV).

PORTICO FRONT. The data for the reconstruction consist of the fragments found, many of which are worked into the plans, and the foundations still *in situ*. The latter, beginning from the north end, comprise (a) two courses of the limestone blocks of the pilaster(?)<sup>1</sup>, (b) one course of the sandstone blocks of the connecting wall (perhaps a reconstruction, and half of it removed to give access to the later entrance of the tomb), (c) the base and lower part of a sandstone column let into the rock, (d) one course of the sandstone wall, (e) two sandstone blocks forming the base and lower part of the central columns, (f) one course of the sand-

<sup>1</sup> Being in limestone on both sides, and not bonded with the screen wall, they do not seem to form part of it. Limestone pilasters (*antae*) would match the buttresses and boundary walls.

## APPENDIX B

stone connecting wall, with a fragment of the recessed panel of incised scenes, (g) the base of the south column let into the rock and now half cut away to make room for the intrusive brick chamber, (h) a trench for the blocks of the connecting wall, (i) part of the rock base of the pilaster.

These materials admit, no doubt, of an *interrupted* portico which does not continue in front of the doorway, the architraves returning from the two central columns to the façade. But there is no example of this prior to the tombs of El Amarna.<sup>1</sup> It would have distinctly weakened the structure, and is not likely to have been adopted. A fragment found suggests that there was a rounded parapet on top of the cornice, to hide the ends of the roofing slabs, and some of the cornice blocks seem to need this counterpoise to keep them from overbalancing. The whole of the portico, except the pilasters, was carried out in sandstone, wooden keys being used to tie the blocks together. Its height has been fixed by that of the stelae, and by the shelf above mentioned. Ten centimeters or so might be added to it to admit of a rather higher cornice to the stelae, but the height of the drum of the column found is, without the abacus, just one third of the shaft, and this is some support for the dimensions adopted in the plan on quite other grounds.

PILASTERS. The need of shortening the span, as well as the example of Thothmes III at Medinet Habu,<sup>2</sup> justifies the addition of pilasters at the ends of the colonnade. To harmonize with the severity of the style they would be plain, not corniced as at El Amarna. But on the inside (north) face there seems to have been decoration. I assign, viz., to this position on the south pilaster a large limestone block which was found at this point. It is a corner piece, showing on one face a deeply incised kneeling figure, of which only the thigh is preserved from the knee to the body. On the blank side there is a slight turn, showing that a stone had been built against it there, with a batter which is that of the buttress, being a little steeper than that of the façade.<sup>3</sup> The figure must have occupied

<sup>1</sup> Davies, *El Amarna*, V, Pls. VIII, XVI, and shown outside a magazine in I, Pl. XXXII.

<sup>2</sup> Jéquier, *L'Architecture*, Pls. 42-44.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Pl. LXXV.

### THE FAÇADE AND COURTYARD OF THE TOMB

two blocks in width and two or more in height. Placed on the south pilaster, the figure faces outwards; but as both knees are on the ground in a liturgical attitude rather than one of adoration (cf. my *Five Theban Tombs*, Pls. VI, VII, XXI), it might face inwards, and so come from the north pilaster, despite the batter. The dimensions place it about six feet up, above the dwarf wall. Perhaps the incised text in yellow, No. 8 on Plate LXX, comes from over the companion figure on the other pilaster.

BUTTRESSES. The lower parts of these exist in rock, or rock combined with limestone masonry. The inward batter is about 1 in 9, the outward about 1 in 13. Such buttresses are already seen in the Middle Kingdom tomb of Daga (No. 103) and were very necessary to support the thrust of the heavy roof. As it was, the north buttress had to be reinforced, or replaced, by a solid brick wall later on.

SCREEN WALLS. The extant fragment of the scenes (No. 45, Plate LXXII) implies recessed panels divided by a narrow frame half-way between the columns, and other pieces prove that this pier contained a vertical line of text. A small fragment contains a horizontal line of text of the same breadth, and I therefore have continued this frame under the cornice.<sup>1</sup> This breaking up of the scenes into panels, and, still more conclusively, the remains of the engaged column on each side show that the scenes did not run on continuously, but left one side at least of this column exposed along its whole height. There are no signs of any gate posts built against the central columns, except a recessed cap which suggests such a feature. I presume that the inside of the wall had no cornice and that it presented a continuous surface, for the base of the middle column is cut away. The reliefs would probably finish at the top in a narrow border; for nearly the full height would be needed for the large figures. A few extant hieroglyphs show that the scenes were accompanied by texts. The wall seems to have had a black dado nine inches high at least, surmounted, as usual, by a yellow and a red band (verified by a fragment found). (For the fragmentary scenes see pp. 63-65 below.)

<sup>1</sup> See Pl. LXXII, 4 (omitted from the reconstruction on Pl. LXXV). Two other fragments are of considerably greater breadth, and perhaps come from the lintel of the entrance.

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COLUMNS. An extant drum is inscribed down one side only. The central columns, however, might well have had a second text facing the entrance-way. A square wooden dowel, four centimeters square, was fixed in the end of the drum found. The lowest drum was not considered to need this security, but one stump attached to the base is scored with two runnels at right angles in order that the plaster might adhere better, and to prevent twist.

ARCHITRAVES. Besides the large section of full height and breadth, put together from several pieces, there are three or four smaller fragments, as well as parts of hieroglyphs. These face both ways. The inscription started therefore from the center, whence a chip with  $\Delta$ (?) on it probably comes.

CEILINGS. Seven or eight small fragments show large incised hieroglyphs in blue between yellow lines, reading from right to left. They are of the same size as those of the architrave and can only be assigned to an inscription down the center of the ceiling of the colonnade.<sup>1</sup> None of these fragments preserve patterns at the sides. There exists, indeed, a piece or two of a small ceiling-pattern on sandstone; but this I have attributed to the interior of the tomb; for the soffits of the entrance to the shrine, south chapel, and hall may have been formed of sandstone blocks.

BOUNDARY WALLS. Three or four courses of stones, carefully cut and jointed, together with a projecting course of foundation slabs, are preserved on the north face of the south wall over two thirds of its length, and also one course of the end of the wall whose sloping sides must have given its termination the shape of a blunted isosceles triangle. It, too, has a batter, and therefore is slightly less blunt than a section of the wall would be. It is built on filling, as the rock fell away rapidly here. The unusual regularity of the blocks, their yellow, weather-worn appearance, and the knowledge that the dromos wall of Mentuhotep ought to run near the bottom of this courtyard, led Mr. Winlock to conclude, no doubt rightly, that Puyemrê had taken the stones from the more ancient

<sup>1</sup>There are two smaller sizes as well, perhaps from soffits of the interior. The blue seems to have been painted over yellow.

### THE FAÇADE AND COURTYARD OF THE TOMB

construction. Puyemrê may even have leveled a section of that wall to free his courtyard. He would not need, of course, to build the wall to exactly the same pattern, so long as he kept fairly near the ancient batter (1 in 5). The high mound of rubbish which covered the south wall prevented us from clearing its south face; but I was able to follow it a little distance from the end, where four courses still remain, and satisfy myself that both faces were alike. The core of the wall is rock, which towards the end becomes no more than gravel or artificial filling. The south face of the north wall is formed of rock, so far as it is preserved, supplemented by a few patching stones, but this only lasts half-way down the court. Thence onward it must have been entirely built of masonry, and a sandstone foundation slab, with the mark of the wall on it, still remains in proper alignment. The end of the wall, if extant, is buried deep under a native's house. A course or two of the north face is still in place, based on the platform of rock which rises about four feet above the level of the courtyard. It, too, could not be traced to its end.

INTERMENTS in the courtyard. As has been said in Chapter I, the place of interment of Puyemrê himself, behind and beneath the tomb chapels, was reached by means of a well (No. VI) sunk in the north corner of the colonnade, and by a passage to the west leading out of it.

The same well gives access also to another and more imposing burial-place (Plate LXXIV); but whether this arrangement is original I am unable to determine. There are, in fact, two wells of similar breadth (Nos. VI and VIII), separated from one another by a wall of rock and masonry, or rather one shaft of unusual length divided up in this way. Well No. VIII is still covered by three heavy sandstone slabs, one of which is now broken through. The division between the two wells is the foundation on which the front wall of the colonnade rests. It consists of a bridge of limestone blocks, built up on a large slab of sandstone. One end of this rests on a wall of masonry, the other on a pier of crumbling rock; leaving between them a low passage, by which the two wells communicate. Why, since a passage underneath is provided, well No. VI should be necessary, or why, since two wells are there, a communication

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seemed so important that the wall above had to be carried on a bridge, instead of being built up from the floor, is very hard to divine. The pier of rock below seems to preclude the supposition that the two wells were at first one. It will be noticed that the foundations of the screen wall at this point are not formed of blocks the full breadth of the wall, suggesting that this is a restoration. Hence the bridge of masonry which carries it may also be of later date, despite its very solid construction. The probability is that the outer well (No. VIII) is the original one, and that a passage ran westwards from this to the burial chamber. But, whether at once or after an interval, the rock above gave signs of being too weak to support the heavy pilaster. It was therefore removed, and the bridging masonry substituted. Later, when the stairway and chambers were run out eastwards, the well was also extended to the west on the old lines, so as to afford a separate entrance to the western place of burial, from within the portico.

The gallery to which the outer shaft gives access is as imposing as Puyemrê's own is tortuous and unpromising. A wide passage (No. 16, Plate LXXIII. See also Plate LXXIV), which at first is of some height, descends by a long flight of easy steps, as well cut as the rock allows and broken in the center by a narrow slide on which heavy coffins might be lowered with ease. More than sixty steps are counted before the end is reached in a spacious room nine meters by three, at twelve meters below the level of the court. There is a further goal, however. The writer, remembering his own sensations when, having crept over the debris nearly blocking the long descent, he plunged knee-deep into a wild tangle of human remains, mummy bandages, and cartonnage, can well imagine that the designer of the sepulchre, if he shared at all the feelings of the explorer, might well attribute to the dead also a preference for lying a little nearer the upper air. For this reason, perhaps, a narrow, but not ill-hewn passage, which leads out of the diagonally opposite corner of the room, ascends again sharply for a considerable distance. It issues in a low room, in the middle of which, by the dim candle-light, one sees a rude stairway plunging steeply down again. This time the

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descent is only eight feet long and is final. A small chamber, the entrance to which is half blocked by a slab, is the final lot of the most unhappy dead. The state of the hot air in the terminus of this winding burrow, thick with the smell and dust of rent bodies which had been steeped in preserving materials, can scarcely be imagined; and self-compassion overcame any false pity for the dead on the part of the discoverer, long before the plans were completed and the loathsome contents of the rooms examined.

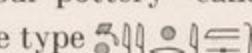
Little of interest was secured from this mass of dry corruption. Woodwork of coffins, if there had been any, had all been carried to the fire. The remains gave the impression of a late age, and this opinion was more than confirmed by some small pieces of cartonnage which were composed in part of Greek papyri. But this does not in any way give a date for the hewing out of the chambers, though these too wear a late aspect. On the other hand, the descending slide suggests heavier burdens than the late period generally furnished, and the mass of extruded coffins of the Twenty-First Dynasty which were found in the courtyard may have been previous occupants. The small size of the actual sepulchre indicates that the tomb was not hewn as a common grave; while, on the other hand, the dimensions of the lower chamber suggest a hospitable attitude towards relatives or retainers.

A break in the ceiling in the corner opposite the ascending passage, leads into the burial chamber of an upper tomb. By a short shaft one gains the chapel above. It is uninscribed, and the doorway to the north-east must issue somewhere not far beyond the bottom of Puyemrê's courtyard, east of the center.

The shaft (No. X) in the center of the boss of rock gave access to a long, low chamber (No. 10), opening out of its western end and running to a point underneath the doorway to the south chapel, thus supporting the suggestion that it may have been the sepulchre of a wife or near relation of the owner (Vol. I, p. 6). Besides smaller fragments of the tomb, it yielded the topmost drum of one of the columns, and so materially aided the reconstruction of the portico.

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The smaller shaft (No. XI) between it and the wall opened at a higher level into two rough and small chambers (Nos. 13, 14), one at each end; but contained no clue to the date or identity of any of its occupants. The brick surround to this pit on the surface still retains two or three of its courses. It is probably later than No. X, as its makers appear to have been afraid of breaking into the chambers of that shaft.

In clearing the boundary wall of the courtyard on the north we came upon the well (No. VII) of the gallery tomb which lies next but one to our tomb on the north. This was emptied in the hope of finding additional fragments. At the end of the bottom of the shaft is a tiny and very rude recess; at the other are two low and also very roughly hewn chambers opening out of one another (No. 7). In one of these there lay two thin slabs of sandstone, 90 cm. by 38, one of which was half covered on one side by twenty-one lines in hieratic character; but the ink was so abraded that only the expert, if even he, will be able to gather its general import. The name of Thothmes III appears upon it. The two stones are rabbeted, and together seem to have formed the end of a sarcophagus built up of such stones, like that of Puyemrê, or the doors to the chamber they were found in. Shards of four pottery "canopic" jars were found also, with inscriptions in ink of the type  Nefermosy seems, then, to have been the name of the owner of the jars, and perhaps of the original occupant. See Plate LXXVII, 3.

The center of the courtyard was occupied by a large pit, or sunk area (No. XII), to which an approach ran down from the east, reaching it finally by a rough little stairway of two steps, projecting out into the pit. At the other end was the doorway to the tomb. This consisted of a large chamber (No. 15), long for its breadth and ending in a narrow shrine. On the right side of the entrance in the area is a slight mastaba of rock indicating that the common practice of placing a stela (in this case of mud-plaster?) on the right side of the court had been followed here. Part of the stone pavement in the entrance was still *in situ*, and one stone of the right jamb. The pivot-hole into which the pin of the door fitted is provided close by. Evidently the thicknesses of the rock walls

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were once cased with limestone blocks, if not the entire chamber as well. No inscriptional material attributable to it was found here, however, unless we have in fragment 9, Plate LXX, an inscription from the jambs. From the back of the shrine, which seems as if it had been cut or lengthened for this purpose, a little gallery communicates with the chamber of the early shaft (No. I). In front of the shrine is a very large well (No. XIII) occupying most of the breadth of the chamber. At a depth of twelve meters a low chamber is entered to the west, entirely occupied by two pits sunk in the floor to receive coffins (Plate LXXVII, 1, 4, 5). One had probably never been used. The other was filled by an unpolished granite sarcophagus of rude workmanship and anthropoid shape. This we had been prepared for, not only by native report, but by signs (on which perhaps that prophecy was based)—the size, namely, of the shaft, and the provision above it in the walls of the chamber of large holes designed to receive the ends of two thick beams. The lid had been broken in two by previous thieves, and the sarcophagus (4 meters long by 1.16 wide) did not contain so much as a bone. Under the circumstances it was comforting to think that perhaps it never had. It rested in its narrow pit on a layer of finest gray river sand, apparently placed there for liturgical reasons, since materials much closer to hand would have served to form a bed and break the shock of its descent. Utilizing the means by which the enormous block had been lowered, we succeeded in raising the two parts of the cover, and they lie now in the courtyard as a proof of the level to which ambitious art, devoid of taste, can descend. It is possible that such decadence may already have been reached by the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty, but it would be hard to affirm. A trench across the floor chamber near the door was presumably the resting-place of some humbler soul. The approach to the tomb was filled with a mass of anthropoid coffins of late date, mingled with fragments of sculpture from the hall of Puyemrê. There was no attempt to place them in order or to protect them in any way; they had been treated only as inconveniences to be put out of sight. This dump may be the work of men who in the Greek epoch sought to clear the stairway tomb for re-use.

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With the end of this approach a sudden dip in the ground was reached which may be the line of the dromos of Mentuhotep. Close to the end of the southern boundary wall and slightly below its level, a plastered pavement was reached and a slight enclosure of brick to the east of it, which appeared to be the superstructure of a shaft. As these were deeply buried and lay outside the tomb area, they were left for later examination in the course of our general excavations.

It was to be expected that scattered remains might be found of a period earlier than that of our tomb. Two splinters of one of those boards covered with fine, smooth, ivory-colored stucco, which the Egyptians used as writing-tablets in the Middle Kingdom and subsequent period and buried with their dead, even when not of funerary import, were exhumed, but unfortunately can only afford us separate words or parts of words (Plate LXXIX, A). A toy bird, to be mounted on a horizontal pivot and made by means of a string to peck at crumbs, also found its way into the baskets (cf. Carnarvon-Carter, *Explorations*, Pl. LXIV).

Nearly all excavations in the necropolis produce some of the stamped pottery cones which are associated with the burial of most officials, though not some of the greatest. Puyemrê is among the exceptions; but these cones stray far in Thebes, and some belonging to men assuredly not buried in the vicinity were picked up on the site. They include one example each of Nos. 65, 146, 212, 261, 278, 289, in Daressy's *Cones Funéraires*, and two examples of a cone of Amenemhêt, scribe, fan-bearer(?) of the king, superintendent of the kitchen(?), the treasury, and the 'hnwti. A dozen or more cones of "Wajmosy, scribe of the second priest of Amon," seem to be really connected with the site, as the number of cones and his depiction in the tomb testify (Plate VIII, 3). Besides this there are similar stamps on fragments of burnt brick (Daressy, Nos. 273 and 111), and large mud bricks of the *ami-khant*, Amenhotpê (Lepsius, *D. T.*, III, p. 250), and of Khons, steward of the treasury. Two poor ostraca, inscribed, one in hieratic, the other in Coptic, were also found.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The latter, as published by W. E. Crum in his "Short Texts," No. 361, suggests that an anchorite, named Paul, was living on the site at the end of the sixth century B. C.

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Plate LXXIX, c, shows a pyramid-shaped fragment of stone on which a scribe of the Ramesside period(?) has painted with extreme roughness a sketch of Hathor seated, staff in hand, before a libation vessel on a stand. It is worthy of the men who effected the restoration of the name of Amon in the tomb. The group of coffins and other definitely late remains are of little importance and belong to the history of our general excavations in this valley. Two blocks of poor limestone, with large, rough work in sunk relief, and evidently derived from the neighboring Ramesside temple, were found on the site: one shows a king "making an offering of unguents" by presenting to the god a royal sphinx holding a pot of ointment; the other, a fragmentary cartouche.

SCENES ON THE SCREEN WALL OF THE PORTICO. The fragments of sandstone relief which I assign to the inner side of the dwarf walls connecting the columns of the portico will be found on Plate LXXI. They fall into the following groups:

(1) Six guests, facing right, each of whom has a stand of food in front of him (Nos. 9, 13, 14). The feet of Puyemrê and of the table of bread are also preserved.<sup>1</sup>

(2) A scene (No. 8), facing left, in which men present trays of three cups of incense or grain and a piece of cloth(?). They are separated from one another by divisions.<sup>2</sup>

(3) A scene of purification (Nos. 4, 4a), resembling one in Tomb 75 (No. 5).<sup>3</sup>

(4) A chariot(?), facing right (No. 1), with saïses running behind(?) and attendants (Nos. 10, 11, 12). Cf. Plate XXVIII.<sup>4</sup>

(5) A large standing figure, facing left (No. 2), might form a second episode in the rite of purification.

<sup>1</sup>None of the fragments are connected; the guests may therefore have been arranged in two or three rows.

<sup>2</sup>They probably serve as determinatives to a list of offerings. Cf. Tomb 112.

<sup>3</sup>It might be a figure from scene 2 (cf. Pl. XXXV); but the small fragment from a scene of purification (No. 4a) has better claims.

<sup>4</sup>I cannot restore fragment No. 1 in any other way than as a chariot, and the existence of the proper attendants makes it almost certain. There would scarcely be head-room for a figure in the chariot. No. 6 shows that inscriptions were attached to the scenes; No. 7 I do not understand at all.

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(6) Two pieces of a duplicated, but differently directed, inscription in large characters (Nos. 3, 3a) ". . . water and all manner of vegetables for [the *ka* of] . . . ."<sup>1</sup>

It may be inferred therefore that on entering the south bay of the colonnade the visitor saw at the far end of the dwarf wall a figure of Puyemrê enjoying a banquet with his guests, and in the nearer half a scene which showed his arrival by chariot (so in Tomb 75). Turning to the north bay he found a representation of the purification of the dead by water and incense and a figure at the far end to whom presentations were being made. The reliefs were decorated in polychrome.

The surviving fragments of incised work from the outer face of the wall are more abundant, being better protected against injury, but the proportion is still very small in relation to the amount lost. The sunk surfaces are colored yellow. The work is of moderately good quality without effort at excellence. The space is devoted to illustrations of burial ritual, not as a supplement merely to those in the north chapel, but as a second exemplar. Such pictures are generally set out in face of one or more of the gods of the dead, and of the deceased under their protection. Of such figures nothing remains but a scrap of the skirt of Puyemrê before the dining table (Plate LXXII, 1).

The panel on the extreme right, then, may have contained the scene of the consecration of the food; that near the entrance, the goddess of the west and the commencement of the tableaux; and the two panels to the south of the entrance, their continuation. As the tombs of Thebes and El Kab afford many depictions of these rites in stereotyped forms, these broken fragments have no great value. The tombs show great variations in the order of the rites. Puyemrê seems to have followed in general the arrangement of Tomb 100 (Rekhmirê).

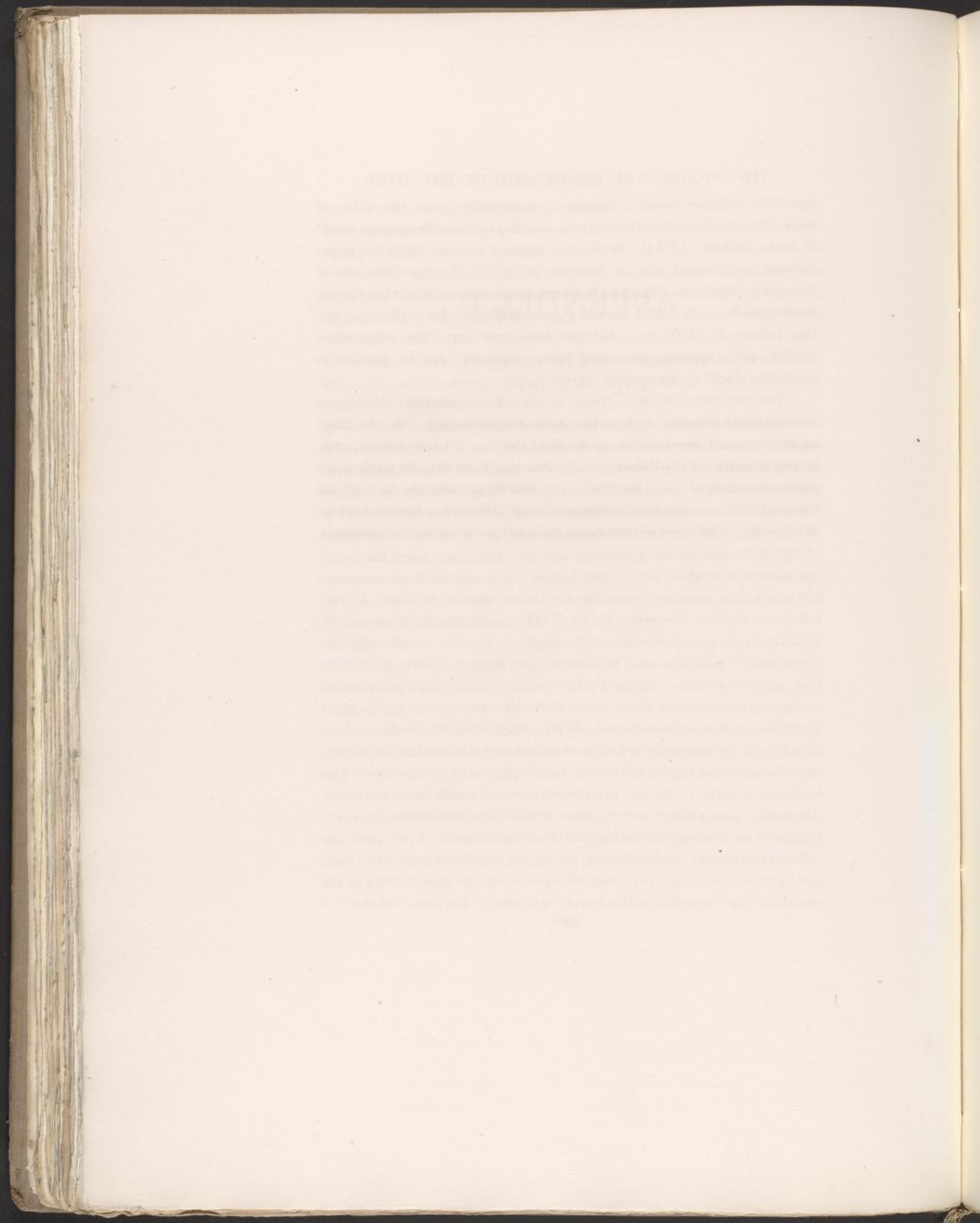
Most of the fragments can be relegated to their proper scenes, but this may be postponed till a full collation of the numerous versions of these rites is undertaken. Number 2 is possibly part of a device consisting of the two cartouches of Thothmes and his *serekh* name. It would be

<sup>1</sup> I cannot suggest a place for these, unless it be the lintel, Pl. LVI.

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from the entrance lintel. Number 3 apparently gives the titles of Puyemrê as on Plate LXVII, and may possibly contain the opening words of Stela A (Plate LXVI). Number 4 appears to come from the upper framing on the south side, as Numbers 31, 32, 33, 35 come from one of the vertical divisions. Number 44 shows the picture for which the sketch, mentioned on p. 15, Vol. I, served as a rough draft. Its vertical inscription follows R., VII, 1, 2, but the horizontal text "the companions landing and depositing (the oars) before Puyemrê" has its parallel in Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhêt*, Plates X, XI.

THE INSCRIBED COLUMNS. (Nos. 46-55.) As is commonly the case on sixteen-sided columns, a text ran down the outer side. On the large upper fragment preserved to us we read (46) ". . . I live without committing trespass and without. . ." Nos. 47, 48 (perhaps from the same column) contain ". . . the god . . . before me and the lady of the two lands(?) . . . the Osiris Puyemrê" and "Horus has opened for thee [thy] eyes." No. 55 is of limestone and must be an intrusive fragment.



## APPENDIX C

### THE LOCATION OF GAME LANDS

(NOTE TO VOLUME I, p. 45)

THE recurring description of scenes of sport is almost fixed, except for minor variations, but the word *idhw* used here is rarely employed in it, and it is not easy to determine whether that word is to be taken in its particular sense of "reed bed" or its use as an appellation for "Upper Egypt." The former meaning is indicated in Newberry, *El Bersheh*, II, p. 23; the latter in Gardiner, *Notes on Sinuhe*, p. 87. A similar difficulty exists in the case of the words *mhy* and *dt*, "papyrus," when the determinative ☽ is omitted or has disappeared. It is certain from numerous instances that *ta mhw* designates North as opposed to South Egypt, but from Davies, *Ptahhetep*, II, Pl. XIII, and Steindorff, *Grab des Ti*, Pls. 110, 115, 128, it appears that simple ☽ (*mht*) usually signifies "papyrus," "papyrus-fens" (cf. Spiegelberg, *Recueil*, XXIV, p. 179, and *O. L. Z.* 1906, p. 276). "In the Delta" (𓁵𓁵𓁵.𓁵𓁵𓁵.𓁵𓁵𓁵) is added to the descriptive notes in the tombs of Nakht, Anena, and Amunejeh at Thebes as well as in the cenotaph of Hapuseneb at Silsileh (Sethe, *Urkunden*, IV, pp. 72, 487, 954), and there is little doubt that the broken inscription in this tomb (Plate VIII, 3) is to be completed in this way. This localization in the Delta may even be indicated in tombs far to the north. Those at Saqqâra which have it, being actually in the northern province, balance it by referring also to the fens of southern Egypt. A passage in one of them (Newberry, *El Bersheh*, II, pp. 19, 20) may even supply the word lost here before *idhw*, "breaking off(?) rushes on the edge (*g3wt?*) of the reed bed" (or "marshes of the Delta," *h3t idhw*). We also read there of

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"fish-catchers in the Delta splitting fish of the desert edges" (𓁵 𓁵 𓁵 𓁵), which seems to be an echo of a passage in my *Sheikh Saïd*, Pl. XIII. The archaic 𓁵 𓁵 𓁵 𓁵 is usually employed in the legends at Thebes to denote the fishing grounds, and it may be that its use indicates that the papyrus was not so common in the southern districts as the traditional representations suggest. It is noteworthy that in *Ptahhetep II*, Pls. XIII, XIV, 𓁵 of the North is opposed to 𓁵 𓁵 𓁵 𓁵 of the South.

Wreszinski, then, is no doubt correct in saying of our picture (*Atlas*, 30) "The scene takes place in the Delta," though whether he has as good ground for his further statement, "Papyrus had some time ago disappeared, or at least become rare, in Upper Egypt," I am less qualified to judge. Is there, then, a special reason for this addition "in Upper Egypt" in the cases mentioned, or is it always to be supplied mentally at Thebes, the traditional description having been taken over from a northern source where such an indication of locality was naturally omitted?

It may be said at once that with regard to hunting scenes the stereotyped heading never receives any such addition, and the only indication of a northerly site for the best hunting grounds is the location chosen for such scenes on the north walls of tomb chambers. To judge by present conditions, a certain number of gazelle would always be met with on either bank where there were *wadys* of any size. But for a quantity of larger game and for carnivora, such as the pictures represent, there cannot well have been adequate feeding ground on the west bank anywhere south of the Fayum. The eastern desert of Upper Egypt, where the system of *wadys* is far-reaching and cultivation often confined to the immediate vicinity of the Nile, affords a much better hunting ground to-day, as is evidenced by its production of charcoal. If, then, in ancient times the inscriptions and their position in the tomb assume that the superiority was then held by the western bank, it points either to religious considerations, or to a northerly location for the main haunts of such game.

The north and west position for scenes of sport is generally main-  
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### THE LOCATION OF GAME LANDS

tained at Thebes (see the schedule of positions in my *Tomb of Nakht*, pp. 30, 31). Our tomb, not being in the western slope, faces down river. The end wall with the hunting scene therefore faces northwest, and the other pictures of sport are on the north half of the (north-) east wall, conforming therefore to the canon as far as possible. The claims of the stela to the end wall have even been curtailed to give the picture of the chase its most appropriate position. It may be that this strong desire to place the scenes of sport on a north wall is a more potent reason for the invasion of the passage to the burial chamber for this purpose than presumed religious considerations (*Tomb of Nakht*, p. 25). As at Thebes, so in the earlier tombs of Beni Hasan, El Bersheh, and Sheikh Saïd, which lie much farther to the north on the east bank, the same rule is almost invariably observed; but for the Old Kingdom tombs at Saqqâra, where we are already in the northern province, it is no longer imperative. Local conditions perhaps modify the rule at times as well as exigencies of space. In Tomb 2 at El Bersheh the hunting scene is on the east wall, but then the *wady* of El Amarna, still rich in gazelle, is close by this site. So, too, the district south of Deir el Gebrâwi (east bank) seems likely to have afforded the sportsman a small paradise in ancient times, and it may be on this account that the fishing and fowling scenes there are on the south walls of the tombs, and that the pictures of the chase occupy southern and eastern positions in the tombs of the two Ukhhoteps at Meir on the opposite bank. However, the aquatic scenes there are still kept on the northern wall.

With regard to fishing and fowling, the fringe of the western desert would probably afford plentiful opportunities even in Upper Egypt during the winter months (granted the existence of the papyrus reed so far south). At Thebes itself, and for a considerable mileage to the north, there was probably little scope for the sportsman, and Theban pictures may be influenced considerably by northern models which show richer sport than the local magnate could generally hope to enjoy. His expectations were, in fact, limited to the moderate-sized and not very densely stocked pools (☱, ☰, and ☱) which Upper Egypt, or even his own

#### APPENDIX C

neighborhood, afforded. Proof of this may be read into the words of Hapuseneb engraved on a site still more southerly and less promising than Thebes, "bringing the various desirable products of the marsh-lands in Upper and Lower Egypt," and this is supported by the picture in the tomb of Ptahhetep quoted above. Of course the romantic addition of the crocodile and hippopotamus, as if of ordinary occurrence in the fishing-pools, can only have been true of the Fayum and of the large lagoon-like lakes in the Delta. For ordinary sport, then, the facilities within reach of Thebes, when Egyptian magniloquence is taken into consideration, were probably sufficient to justify the scenes and the descriptions of fishing and fowling at Thebes, and were, generally speaking, those referred to by the owners.

The waste-lands were valued, not only for the production of game, of papyrus, lotus, and what not, but also as breeding and pasturing grounds for cattle (one kind named "fen cattle" being specially raised there) and as wine-producing districts. The pictures show that the two sources of profit were closely associated, and it is in connection with larger aims than sporting-records could satisfy that the resources of Upper Egypt were found lacking, and the northern province called in to supply the need. The "North" probably began just south of the Fayum, so that the lakes of the Delta were not necessarily intended. Were the southern nobles, then, in a position to hold sporting reserves in the North? Such a distant holding would imply an indifference to distance, a security of tenure, and a trust in delegated powers that one is inclined to look for only under western civilization. The king, however, must have had a northern residence and is likely to have possessed large reserves of land there which could supply the palace with cattle, game, fowl, papyrus, and wine. The officials to whom the oversight of this possession of the crown fell would naturally find recreation as well as duties there; and perhaps others obtained sporting and grazing rights, if not grants of land, in this royal demesne as a "favor of the Court." As Amon became the rival of the king in wealth and mundane power, his temple-estate is sure to have included a similar source of northern produce. Anena, whose high respon-

### THE LOCATION OF GAME LANDS

sibilities do not seem to have included agrarian matters very definitely, was overseer of the double granary of Amon and of the "fields of divine offerings," and as he claims that his house was supplied with all necessities from the king's table, he might with justice assume a personal interest in any royal demesnes in the North. When, then, he is shown "proceeding to inspect his marsh-lands (*sh.t*) and his herds which are in North Egypt," this may not of necessity involve a private estate there. Or, if it does in his case, the like is not to be assumed for everyone who depicts himself as a sportsman. Still, there is some ground for trusting this indication of private ownership. Nakht, as a lay-priest, does not seem to have any business in North Egypt except as a landowner there. Nor are there obvious official reasons why Amunejeh should depict himself "beholding the unlimited products of the Delta in cattle, fowl, fish, lotus," and should pray for still more boundless supplies; but perhaps it was on account of immoderate ambition that his tomb was appropriated by Mery the high-priest.

In the case of Puyemrê, second priest and superintendent of the cattle and lands of Amon, the walls of whose chamber are occupied, save for a few inconspicuous reservations, by pictorial records of his official duties, these sufficiently explain his visit to this estate in the far North, where, if he enjoyed himself in hunting the hippopotamus and helping personally to lay the papyrus thickets under tribute, the relaxation was not the less enjoyable for falling under the head of an official inspection. We do not need to take the record too seriously. His family may not have made the journey with him, since few will believe that he was so bold as to hazard his success with the fishing-spear by inviting his mother and daughter to a share of the scanty deck-space of the skiff. The emendation "in North Egypt" in the descriptive heading is made almost certain and given a most welcome definiteness by the further information that the vineyard lay in the "Road of Horus" (Wady Tumilat). The wines of the eastern Delta, and especially of the sea littoral, met with very decided approval in Roman days, and if we have our doubts whether a modern epicure would endorse this verdict, such a climate and soil at least seem vastly more

#### APPENDIX C

fitted for viticulture than the rainless skies and parched loam of Thebes. Not that the vineyards of the South, any more than the papyrus beds, are altogether mythical. The pictures, however, retain in their details memories and standards of North Egypt, and present an ideal of which the local realities fell not a little short.

But a more subtle reason than the abundance of game and pasture seems to have influenced the Egyptian gentleman in seeking sporting grounds in both Egypts. As is well known, the custom of duplicating buildings, offices, and titles to correspond to the division of Egypt into North and South was persisted in with a tenacity that only religious considerations could account for. The custom extended also to the royal pleasure-domains (Breasted, *A. R.* I, § 745) and would be gradually adopted by the nobles also. They, too, sought pools and fen-lands both in North and South and are seen receiving the produce of the farms of their estates in southern and northern Egypt. How far a nominal tenure satisfied this ambition cannot be decided. Time-serving, like other earthly practices, extended for the Egyptian into the other world too, and in face of the dynastic struggle in the heavens, he sought to make sure of divine patronage by becoming a client of Set as well as of Horus. Here is an additional reason why the sporting scene can carry a religious tinge and be placed among the pictures of burial ceremonial at need.

Puyemrê's private ownership of lands in the Delta, then, if unproven, is not improbable, since such possessions were coveted and apparently often enjoyed by his equals.

## APPENDIX D

### REPRESENTATIONS OF OLD AGE

(NOTE TO VOLUME I, p. 63)

THIS tomb affords an unusual number of examples of men having an aspect that at times is strangely in contrast with the ordinary facial type. Less marked examples in other tombs have passed without much comment, but these, as well as some rather striking figures in the tomb of Pāheri at El Kab, have led some critics to suspect, or even feel confident, that we have to do here with a non-indigenous race or strain (Petrie, *Racial Types*, No. 672; Burchardt-Meyer, *Darstellungen d. Fremdvölker*, Nos. 635, 786-790; Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, p. 58; Wreszinski, *Atlas*, 30, 54). Wreszinski says, "They differ in feature so widely from their Egyptian fellow-workmen that they cannot in any case be considered as belonging to the same people." He therefore regards them as "Libyan slaves" or "inhabitants of the Delta, of Libyan origin." My first inclination was in the same direction, but closer study showed me that the impression of a strange physiognomy was a mistaken one, due solely to the lack of hair, which not only revealed a flat cranium and bulging occiput, but contrasted strongly with the steep brow, the thick hair, arched crown, and beardless chin of the typical Egyptian. The profile remains the same, and the special traits are no more than the signs of old age, viz., the disappearance of the hair on the crown and forehead (where, however, a tuft may survive), and an unusual growth of hair on the back of the head and chin due to disinclination to personal tidiness. The dislike of the Egyptian to long hair and the beard is probably much exaggerated by us, since we follow pictures which set forth an ideal of attention to the person by

#### APPENDIX D

showing the beard very closely trimmed or removed, the hair, whether long or short, arranged tidily in very regular curls, and the man of lower rank with shaven head, or hair cut short like that of his betters.<sup>1</sup> But later and more realistic draughtsmen not only show unkempt locks among this class with greater frequency, but, not uncommonly, the stubbly cheek and chin as well (e.g., Tomb of Apy in *Mission Française*, V; Newberry, *Rekhmara*, Pl. XXI; and Wreszinski, *Atlas*, 84).

Under the Old Kingdom the peasants, and especially those of the desert edge of the Delta who live under rough conditions and are remote from centers of culture, are shown with bald crown and close-cropped hair (very numerous in Steindorff, *Grab des Ti*; Davies, *Ptahhetep*, II, Pls. VII, XIII, XIV; and Murray, *Mastabas*, Pl. XI, where the harvester are bald while the fishermen have ordinary heads of hair). This mode of representation seems at times almost too general to have reference to natural baldness. The churl, for cleanliness' sake, may have shaved the front part of the crown, or else exposure and rude conditions were apt to cause premature baldness. It is sometimes associated distinctly with a decrepit condition (Blackman, *Meir*, I, Pl. X; II, Pl. III; Davies, *Ptahhetep*, I, Pl. XXVIII); or with an incipient beard (Lepsius, *D.*, II, 69, 96); very occasionally with long hair also (Wreszinski, *Atlas*, 95); and not infrequently with tasks demanding long experience and reliability (delivery of cows, supervision of labor, presentation of valuable beasts for inspection, etc.). The type is seen on the east bank also (Davies, *Deir el Gebrāwi*, II, Pl. XX; *Sheikh Saïd*, Pls. XII, XVI), but not at Medium; so one cannot think of Libyan influences, nor, indeed, has even the later Libyan *chevelure* much resemblance to this. At Meir the realism of the provincial designer shows examples of slovenly shocks of hair that are exceptional in pictures, but probably far from being so in occurrence. *Meir*, II, Pls. III, IV present a shock-headed old man with long beard, bent body,

<sup>1</sup> The mention of wigs and skull-caps ("Schweisskappe") is much too common in our descriptions of Egyptian scenes. The curled close-fitting "wig" is, I am persuaded, only a head of well-kept hair, and the smooth "cap" indicated by outlines only is either very close-cropped hair or a shaven head. Where the forehead is shaved or as good as bald, the thin hair is still indicated by an outline or by color (stone color or pink as against the black, red, or gray of the longer hair). I fancy most men and women wore natural hair generally.

### REPRESENTATIONS OF OLD AGE

and hair thinning in front, as well as fen-dwellers whose foreheads are not quite bald yet, but have a much shorter growth there than at the back. A more important conclusion is reached with regard to the remarkably tousled, crook-backed, rheumatic, and scraggy herdsmen, leaning heavily on staffs, in whom Blackman, not without much excuse, sees Beja nomads. They are, in my opinion, nothing but the oldest and most unkempt of the population of the desert-edge, who, in contrast with the

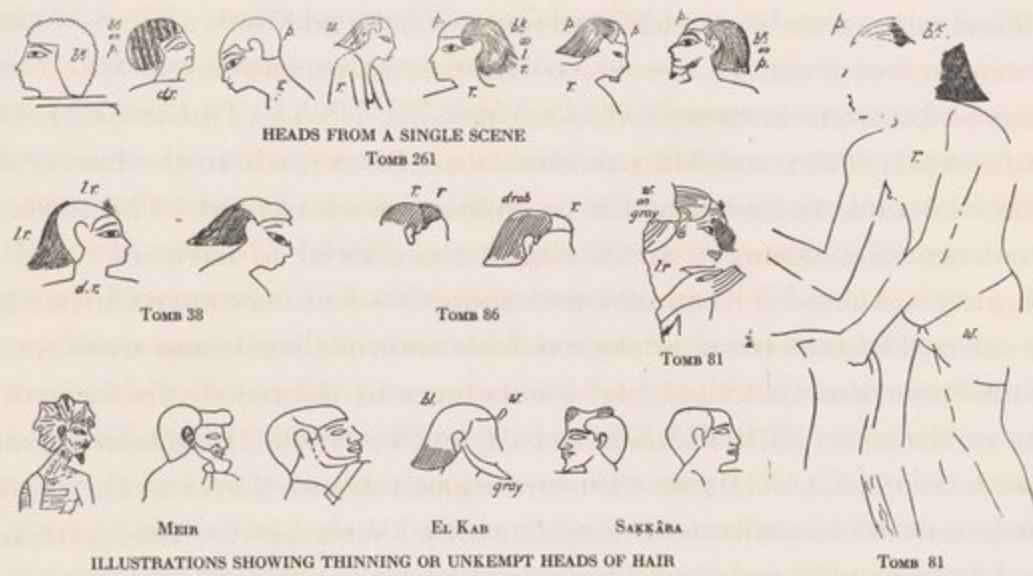


FIGURE 1

older men elsewhere shown, can boast of a quantity of hair and of that alone. Whether there is in such men any admixture of alien blood or not, we cannot postulate it. Why are only the old and decrepit of this presumed race portrayed; men who are the least likely to be presented to a 'nomarch unless as very old herdsmen to whom the cattle are most amenable? The artist, from whose pictures age and idiosyncrasies were generally banned, has delighted to sum up in these old starvelings, perhaps not without a scribe's contemptuous pity for the yokel, the peasant's last appearance on the human scene. To come to the Eighteenth Dynasty and our pictures, the general style of which suggests an early model,

#### APPENDIX D

Plates XI-XIII and XV-XIX give undoubtedly a somewhat more careful presentation of age than is usual at this period. The special features introduced are the isolated tuft of hair on the forehead, which is common both here and in the tomb of Pāheri, but not invariable; the long or longish hair, which always accompanies the baldness; and the pointed beard. An accompanying mark of age seen once here (Plate XV), but recurring in other tombs, is the fat and flabby condition of the body. Gray hair is given to the man cutting up fish in Plate XVII, and the color of his skin too may be an additional sign of advanced years. It is a bright orange, a hue given to men occasionally in older times, and in a less marked degree to women (*Tomb of Nakht*, Pl. XXV). To the Egyptian this seems to have implied paleness; so, strange as it may seem, this brilliant tone may be meant for the pallor due to age and to increasing avoidance of exposure (for this pallor see Petrie, *Medium*, Pl. XIII). His gray hair and his flesh-color may show that he is more aged than all; for other old men have the deep red flesh-color of their young assistants. It will be noticed that the beard is only worn by the rustic; the old artisan in the city (Plate XXIII) is bald and somewhat long-haired, but shaves the chin. As regards the operations these men perform, they cannot be said to be distinctive of age against youth, but the herdsman is, as of yore, an old hand; and among craftsmen the difficult tasks are more often than not given to the older men. In Plate XIX we should have expected the man carrying papyrus, and the youth splitting it, to have changed places; but the artist did not execute his pictures in order to make generalizations easy for remote archaeologists.

In what concerns evidence from other tombs, those most nearly related to ours support these conclusions in every way. The very similar trades scenes in Tombs 86 and 95 show old artisans, as here, mingling with the younger men. In Newberry, *Rekhmara*, Pls. XVII, XVIII, there are only three or four old men among a crowd of workmen, and only two in Scheil, *Tombeau des Graveurs*, Pl. II. In the Theban tombs a few old men will generally be found among the peasantry, e.g., in Tombs 81 and 261. Gray hair is seen in Tomb 80 and in the *Tomb of Nakht*, Pl. XX. In

### REPRESENTATIONS OF OLD AGE

other cases bristles of hair on the red forehead reveal thinness of hair there, while red streaks on a lighter red on the back of the head mean that the red scalp is showing through the scanty locks (the color of the hair having either been a faint gray or ignored altogether by the artist). The statuette of the well-known dwarf Chnemhotep shows the hair and bodily appearance of old age (Erman, *Egypt*, p. 410; cf. also p. 439, where there is a note with references). In the tomb of Paḥeri at El Kab the old men are clearly distinguished. One is being jeered at by a youth for his senility.<sup>1</sup> So the sculptor Auta (Davies, *El Amarna*, III, Pl. XVIII) is already aging, though his hair is still plentiful behind. It may be added that old age in gentlemen is generally marked only by gray locks (so in Tomb 181), but baldness was no doubt concealed by a wig, or not admitted in the portraiture. Obesity is another sign of increasing years; it is especially marked in viziers, who would as a rule not attain that office till well past middle age.

Important evidence is afforded by the word-sign for old age, which often adds to the bowed figure the bald forehead of age, and occasionally the pallid color also. Finally, there is astonishingly little proof of the maintenance of any serious proportion of foreign slaves in Egypt at this date. The prisoners of war seem to have been merged in the population readily and quickly. Their labor would have been in request, if anywhere, for the manufacture of chariots, vases, etc., on Syrian models; yet no clear sign of foreign dress or any note of their prevalence is given us, so far as regards the lower classes of the people.<sup>2</sup> The Libyan tribes would be among the least likely to appear, or to be in such numbers that a scribe could not let their presence pass unnoticed.

<sup>1</sup> Griffith, in *Paḥeri*, p. 13, is content to see old men merely in these figures.

<sup>2</sup> There is a slave girl (?) in Syrian dress in Caillaud, *Arts et Métiers*, Pl. 35, and the brickmakers in Newberry, *Rekhmara*, Pl. XXI, are described as captives, though they show no very marked peculiarities of form or dress.

## APPENDIX E

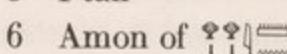
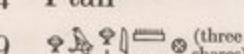
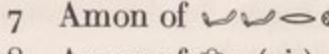
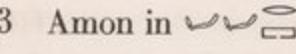
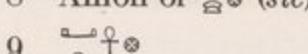
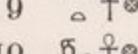
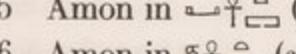
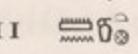
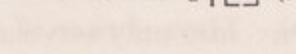
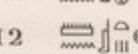
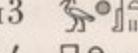
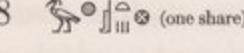
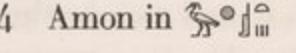
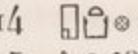
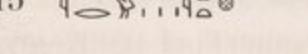
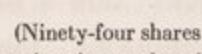
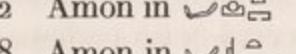
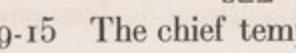
### THE TEMPLES OF THEBES

(NOTE TO VOLUME I, p. 96)

A COMPARISON of contemporary lists of temples with that given by Puyemrê may serve as a basis for further studies. The tomb of Anena, inscribed early in the joint reign of Thothmes III and Hatshepsut, gives a list of nine temples participating in a grant to Theban temples for monthly needs. Our tomb, which is probably to be dated about the thirtieth year of the king (Sethe, *Urkunden*, IV, p. 526), allocates a gift of incense to fifteen temples of gods, associates of Amon at Thebes. Rekhmirê (Tomb 100) enumerates fifteen temples of Egypt in whose offerings he hoped to have a part, describing those of Thebes as "the house of Amon and the temples which are under his sway" (Sethe, *Urkunden*, IV, pp. 1156, 1168). As this official saw the accession of Thothmes the Third's son, these three lists were made (1) before the strife of the king and queen, (2) during the rancor, which even the queen's death did not terminate, and (3) when the king's old age or death had brought peace. The number fifteen is not casual, apparently; for we have seen reason to believe that Anena's list was derived from one of fifteen, making up two irregular enneads (the leading triad and two trains of six). The other two lists contain, besides Amon himself, seven forms of Amon and his circle, and seven other shrines which acknowledged his headship (for this number see note, p. 7). If the list had to conform to a fixed number of fifteen, some notable inclusions and exclusions would be more easily explicable. But this motive will not be taken into account here.

## THE TEMPLES OF THEBES

The lists are as follows:

PUYEMRÊ	ANENA	REKHMIRÊ
1 Amon (sc. of Karnak)	1 Amon (eighty-three shares)	1 Amon in Karnak (assigned a double offering)
2 Amunet (or Mut)	2 Mut (one share)	
3 Khons	3 Khons "	
4 Mont	5 [Mont] "	
5 Ptah	4 Ptah "	
6 Amon of 	9  (three shares)	
7 Amon of 		3 Amon in 
8 Amon of 		
9 		5 Amon in  (sic)
10 		6 Amon in  (sic)
11 		
12 	7  (two shares)	7 Amon in 
13 	8  (one share)	4 Amon in 
14 		
15 	6 	
(Ninety-four shares in all, leaving six temples with one share each to make up fifteen temples and one hundred shares)		
2 Amon in 		
8 Amon in 		
9-15 The chief temples of Atum, Mäet, Osiris, Thot, Upwawet, Anubis, and Ptah-sokar outside Thebes.		

The value of these entries is best learned by a survey of each list.

### I. Anena enumerates

- (1) Six temples on the east bank.
- (2) *Men-asut*, the earliest of the series of mortuary temples of the XVIIIth dynasty, ranged from north to south along the edge of the western desert.
- (3) Two mortuary temples of Deir el Bahri, Mentuhotep's and *Heri-hir-amun*.

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Anena probably puts *Men-asut* first out of reverence for his first sovereign Amenhotep I. *Akh-asut* follows by assonance, *Heri-hir-amun* is last as the latest foundation. The assignment of only one share to *Akh-asut* suggests that Thothmes had not yet built the chapel *Jeser-akhut* there. On the other hand the triple grant to *Heri-hir-amun* shows that all three shrines (terraces?) at Deir el Bahri had already cults instituted in them. The existence of only two *ka*-chapels by this time is surprising; but Thothmes I may have hoped to place his at Deir el Bahri, and its later inclusion in the series of temples begun, so far as we know, by Amenhotep I and Nofretari may have been an afterthought of Hatshepsut.

### II. Puyemrê enumerates

- (1) Five temples on the east bank.
- (2) Three shrines of Amon at Deir el Bahri—*Jeser-josru*, the XVIIIth dynasty (northern) temple there, and two others which seem connected with it, and may be the lower, middle, and upper terraces respectively.
- (3) The four mortuary temples which make up the known series of *ka*-chapels of the XVIIIth dynasty in an order in which local succession, (reversed) chronological sequence, and a linked assonance of names are in accord (with perhaps one exception). They are those of Thothmes III, of Thothmes I, *Men-chnemet* (Thothmes II?), and *Men-asut* (Amenhotep I?).
- (4) The XIth dynasty mortuary temple of Deir el Bahri.
- (5) The *ka*-chapel of Nofretari (probably within *Men-asut*, and separated from it here only in order to keep the rhyming names of (3) and (4) together).
- (6) Shrines at Luxor, named here and not with the first group, either as the last to come upon the revenues, or as supplementary to the houses of the great gods on the east bank.

Thus the shrines implicit in the larger grants to Nos. 6 and 12 by Anena have here been separately placed (Nos. 7, 8, 14); Deir el Bahri (north) has been raised from a *ka*-chapel to a seat of Amon in three parts, and the newly founded chapels of Thothmes I, II, and III have been added.

## THE TEMPLES OF THEBES

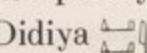
III. The list of Rekhmirê commences with the following eight local seats of Amon:

- (1) Karnak.
- (2) Two sanctuaries at Deir el Bahri: (a) Thothmes III's shrine in the southern temple; (b) the northern temple.
- (3) Four mortuary temples, beginning with that of Mentuhotep and continuing with those of the XVIIIth dynasty, taken from south to north, *Men-chnemet* being omitted.
- (4) Medinet Habu (*Jeser-ast*), placed last owing to its local isolation or as an anomaly.

This last accession to the previous lists may have been founded as a mortuary temple by Hatshepsut in connection with the tomb which she excavated in a lonely ravine in the hills behind (Carter, *J. E. A.*, 1917, p. 107). On their marriage it seems to have been devoted to their joint cult, but their quarrel put it under a ban for some years, and when it emerges, after the queen's death, it is as a seat of Amon. In Tomb 86 three priests bring bouquets of Amon from the temples *Henket-ankh*, *Jeser-akhut*, *Jeser-ast*, whether as the three newest foundations of Thothmes or as representing three parts of the necropolis—Deir el Bahri, the series of *ka*-chapels, and the southern district. The inclusion of *Jeser-akhut* for the first time shows that it was built by Thothmes after the date of Puyemrê's list. It is reckoned here with the places of worship, not with the *ka*-chapel of which it forms a dependency. Although it is a shrine of Hathor, and Amon only occupies its back wall, yet it is described as his seat. It proves, I think, that this *cella* was constructed in order to filch for Amon the popularity of Hathor, to whom Hatshepsut had built so beautiful a shrine in the northern temple. Though a cult in the necropolis was more proper to her than to Amon, she has no place in the lists of recognized divinities at Thebes, for I know no grounds for Sethe's restoration of her name in Anena's list. Jealousy of any rival to Amon and of the queen's achievements are both to be suspected here. This list also suggests that the shrine of the ill-starred Thothmes II had already fallen into neglect, or else that Puyemrê with characteristic imprudence

## APPENDIX E

alone dared to mention it and claim a share for it with the rest. If, however, it was housed in No. 10 or 12, Rekhmirê's condensed list might omit it, as he does Nos. 6, 8, and 14.

IV. Another contemporary, but more casual mention of Theban temples is made by one Didiya , a chief craftsman and director of the staffs in certain temples which he enumerates (Legrain, *Catalogue of Statues I*, p. 72). His list has a certain orderliness, due perhaps to a linking of the names by the syllables *mn*, *is.w.t*, *3h*, *dšr*, but more probably to their locality. As the statue on which it was inscribed was dedicated in Karnak, Didiya begins with *Akh-menu*, the columnar hall of Thothmes there. He then takes the nearest route to the western necropolis and passes by the temple *Men-asut* on the way to Deir el Bahri, where he has three sanctuaries (the two temples and the Hathor shrine of Thothmes III) to inspect, visiting the *ka*-temple of that king (No. 9) conveniently on his return journey.

The order followed in these cases, though admitting other explanations, serves to support the proposed identifications. A more cogent rule seems supplied by the way in which the motto adopted for one temple plays upon that of its predecessor.

<i>3h is.wt</i>	Mentuhotep
<i>mn is.wt</i>	Amenhotep I (?)
<i>mn hnm.t</i>	Thothmes II (?)
<i>hnm.t 'nh</i>	Thothmes I
<i>hnk.t 'nh</i>	Thothmes III
<i>ššp 'nh</i>	Amenhotep II

Starting, too, with the temple of *Akh-asut* in *Josret* of Mentuhotep, we have the imitative names of the shrines *Akh-akhut*, *Khay-akhut*, of Hatshepsut and *Jeser-akhut* of Thothmes, as also the temples *Jeser-josru* of the queen, *Jeser-ast* of the king. It is plain that a totally new form of name was avoided by kings, whether for themselves or their buildings. The only divergence from chronological sequence in the above list could be avoided by assigning *Men-chnemet* to Amenhotep I, *Men-asut* (on the same site) to Nofretari, and leaving Thothmes II without a shrine. But I

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have preferred to suppose that the *ka*-chapel of Thothmes II was provided with a name before that of Thothmes I, an event quite likely to occur in the royal wrangles of the time, especially since the latter was built by his daughter and not by himself.

The following additional comments may be made on the sanctuaries in the list of Puyemrê.

PTAH. The name of Ptah, which Anena apparently inserts, has sometimes been erased by the heretics (Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, Pls. XI, XLV) and may therefore have given occasion for the mistake of the restorer. But the name is spared in our tomb on Plate XXIX, and the list is otherwise confined to Amon's intimate circle. It is very tempting to read *Jeser-akhut* with Rekhmirê, but the traces are against it.

HERI-HIR-AMUN. In the German translation of his *Urkunden*, p. 37, Sethe suggests that this name may imply a direction face to face with Amon's temple at Karnak, but the special term for that is afforded by the name *Khaftet-hir-nebes*, applied to this part of the necropolis, and *Heri-hir-amun* seems to denote the devotion of a person rather than locality. In any case it is too vague. A walking stick in my possession gives "my face is fixed on the West." For personal names formed on this model see Gardiner, *Inscription of Mes*, p. 23. In the slightly later tomb, No. 84, a priest of Amon in *Heri-hir-amun* is mentioned, showing that a separate cult was still retained in this shrine, or that the ancient name could still be applied to the northern temple. Mr. Winlock has also discovered in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge two late stelae with adorations (a) of "Nofretari ," and (b) of "Nofretari " (with other misspellings). Yet the first place given in all the lists to Deir el Bahri among the western temples seems to place this shrine definitely there. Now a solid retaining wall of Amenhotep I and Nofretari exists on the north limits of the temple of Hatshepsut (Car-narvon and Carter, *Explorations*, pp. 28, 29), suggesting that they built a *ka*-chapel there for themselves or for Ahmes. If so, Hatshepsut may have retained it in her plan, so that her temple kept the old name till its completion or till the appellation *Jeser-josru* became established as the

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official title of the whole temple. If the lower terrace really had a separate designation it must have had a cult place, and this hypothetical shrine on its north side would provide it. The late revival of a connection of Nofretari with Deir el Bahri, however, is surprising, unless an ancient epithet of hers was taken over. The sanctuary on the upper terrace, being named *Akh-akhut*, is excluded. It is noticeable that the name *Heri-hir-amun* is of a different type from those of other mortuary temples and is less fitting, but this may only betray its earlier date.

**KHAY-AKHUT.** The order of the signs in our list should be reversed. The shrine is mentioned by Thoti (Breasted, *A. R.*, II, § 375) after *Jeser-josru*, as here. Now a name attached to the middle terrace must refer to the shrine either of Anubis or of Hathor, and it is strange that it does not appear in the inscriptions in either case, though two of the doors of the latter have names, *Chnemet-neferu* and *Sart-jefau*. Yet in *Jeser-akhut* Thothmes seems to have imitated, not only the shrine of the queen, but also its name. On a bead which perhaps belonged to Senmut, builder of Deir el Bahri, Amon is styled "lord of *Jeser-josru*, dwelling in *Khay-akhut*" (Sethe, *Urkunden*, IV, p. 381), rather implying that his position there was secondary.

**HENKET-ANKH** is identified by the stamped bricks found on the site during its excavation in 1905 (Weigall, *Annales*, VII, p. 121; VIII, p. 286; Sethe, *Urkunden*, IV, p. 885; Spiegelberg, *Recueil*, XIX, p. 86). We know from an inscription at Karnak that the cult of Amon was in full operation there in the 23rd year of the king (Breasted, *A.R.*, II, § 552). A son of Puyemrê also belonged to its numerous priesthood (Pl. LXIV).

**CHNEMET-ANKH.** One leaf of the double door of this temple, naming Thothmes I as its occupant and Thothmes II either as participator or (more probably) as donor, has just been acquired by the Metropolitan Museum. As the name of Thothmes II has been substituted for that of Hatshepsut on the jambs of her mortuary chamber at Deir el Bahri, it is not unlikely that the defaced stela there was similarly treated, and the chapel actually assigned to that king. It may have been this chamber that was denominated *Men-Chnemet*. This wooden door fits the entrance

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of the small room behind the mortuary chapel, but not that of the chapel itself. Yet, if it does not come from this suite of rooms, we are faced with the problem of two *ka*-chapels of Thothmes I.

MEN-ASUT is known to have been a seat of the popular cult of Queen Nofretari, for she is said to be "of Men-asut, mistress of the West" by a late adorer (Maspero, *Recueil*, III, p. 110 and Daressy, *ibid.*, XX, p. 75), and two broken inscriptions from a building just behind, and probably forming part of, the temple of Amenhotep I afford good presumption that that is its site (Newberry and Spiegelberg, *Theban Necropolis*, Plate III, 1 and 3). But this still leaves it uncertain whether this is the name of her shrine only or of a temple of Amenhotep which sheltered or adjoined it. The connections of Amenhotep with the site are indubitable (Spiegelberg, *Zwei Beiträge*, Pls. II-VI; Carter, *J.E.A.*, III, p. 147; Winlock, *ibid.*, IV, p. 11). The ruins there may only be part of a more extensive building, and its arrangement seems past recovery. Amenhotep became in later times an oracle to whose arbitration village disputes were submitted, but his cult is never associated with any of the official epithets for the mortuary temples. He was known vaguely as Amenhotep "of the garden," "of the portico," "on the west of Thebes" (Breasted, *A.R.*, IV, §§ 513, 514; Maspero, *Recueil*, II, p. 165; III, pp. 110, 111; IV, pp. 110, 114; Lepsius, *D. T.*, III, p. 238), suggesting that, for the vulgar, all the royal Amenhoteps became forms of the benignant genius of the necropolis, so that at last even Amenhotep son of Hapi profited by this indiscriminate homage to the name. The designation "of the portico" ("forecourt"?) is the commonest, and the two entrance pylons of this temple are pictured in Tomb 19 (Spiegelberg, *Zwei Beiträge*, p. 3) and labeled "the temple of Amenhotep of the portico." That the ruins seem to show a portico with connecting walls, like that of our tomb, is a coincidence on which nothing can be based. The discovery of a royal tomb by Mr. Carter in the hill above the village of Draa abu'l Naga does not help us beyond showing the approximate site of the tomb of Amenhotep, and making it likely that Ahmes, his queen, and his son were all buried, or at least reburied, together there. It is conceivable that *Men-chnemet* is the second

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shrine which Anena seems to recognize within *Men-asut*, and not the *ka*-chapel of Nofretari. For the romantic relation of mother and son was so strong that the populace would certainly assign her a home where he found one, even if she possessed a shrine already. *Men-asut* is also the name of the pyramid temple of Neuserrê of the Vth dynasty; but there is no sign that any royal temple of the XVIIIth dynasty was combined with a pyramid as *Akh-asut* seems to have been.

AKH-ASUT. The variation in the singular and plural forms of such names as this (*-as.t*, *-as.ut*) may have depended on the shrines being regarded as homes of one or of more cults. The latter was the case with *Men-asut* and *Akh-asut*, but not with *Jeser-ast*.

THE *ka*-CHAPEL OF AHMES-NOFRETARI. If this was originally at Deir el Bahri, either the official, or the popular, place of offering may have been shifted to *Men-asut*, consequent on the erection of the great temple on the former site and her son's on the latter.

OPET. The name in Anena's list probably had the form given to it by Sethe, and not that of Puyemrê's tomb. For the early history of the temple of Luxor see Sethe, *Urkunden*, IV, p. 25; Breasted, *A.R.*, II, §§ 27, 351; Borchardt, *Ä.Z.*, XXXIV, p. 122.

These unstable conclusions have been modified to meet criticisms made by H. E. Winlock, whose excavations in the necropolis have led him to a study of the subject. It is to be hoped that he will before long engage both his spade and his shrewdness more deeply in the matter and finally remove some at least of the doubts which beset it.

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## PLATES

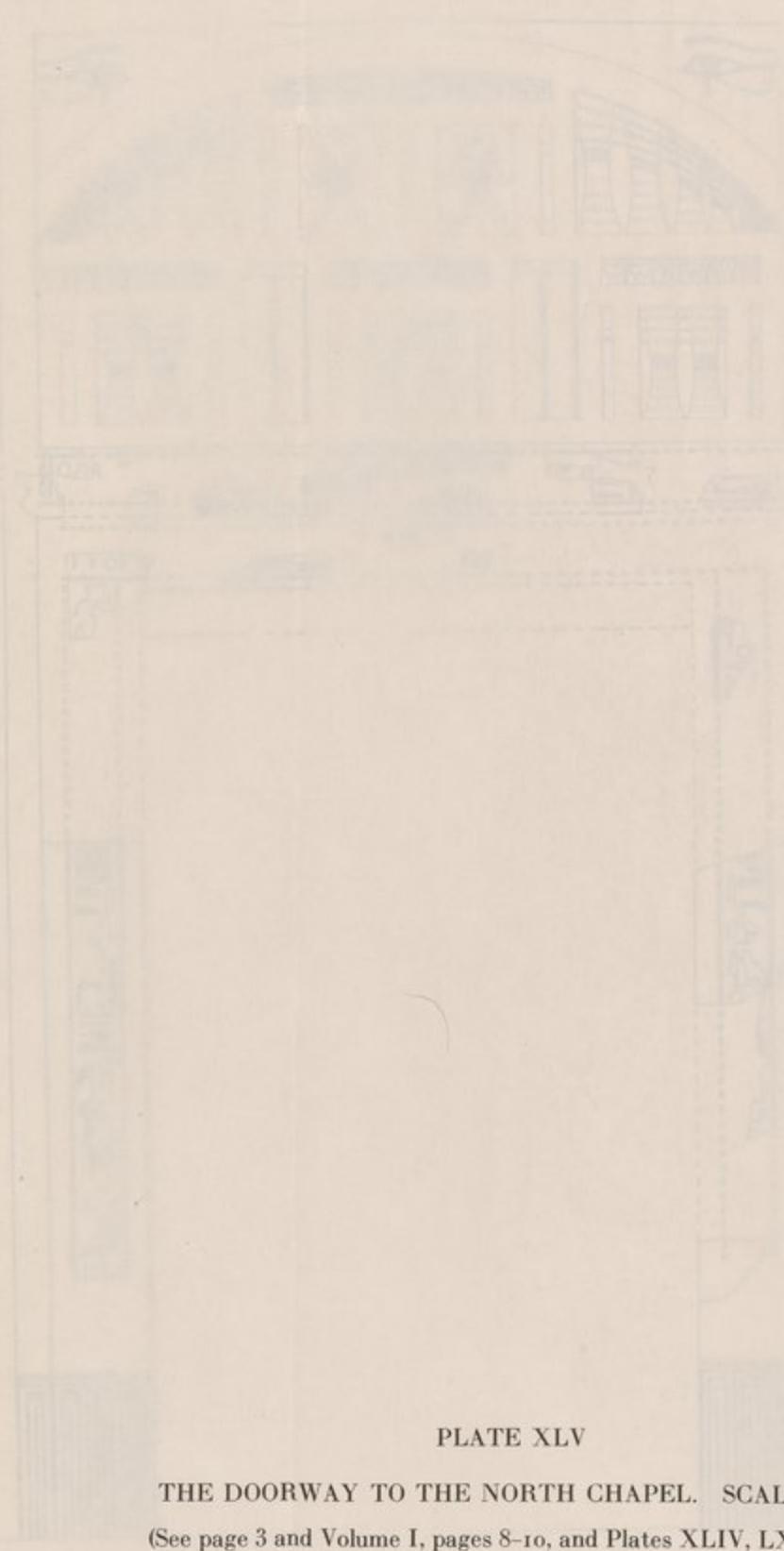
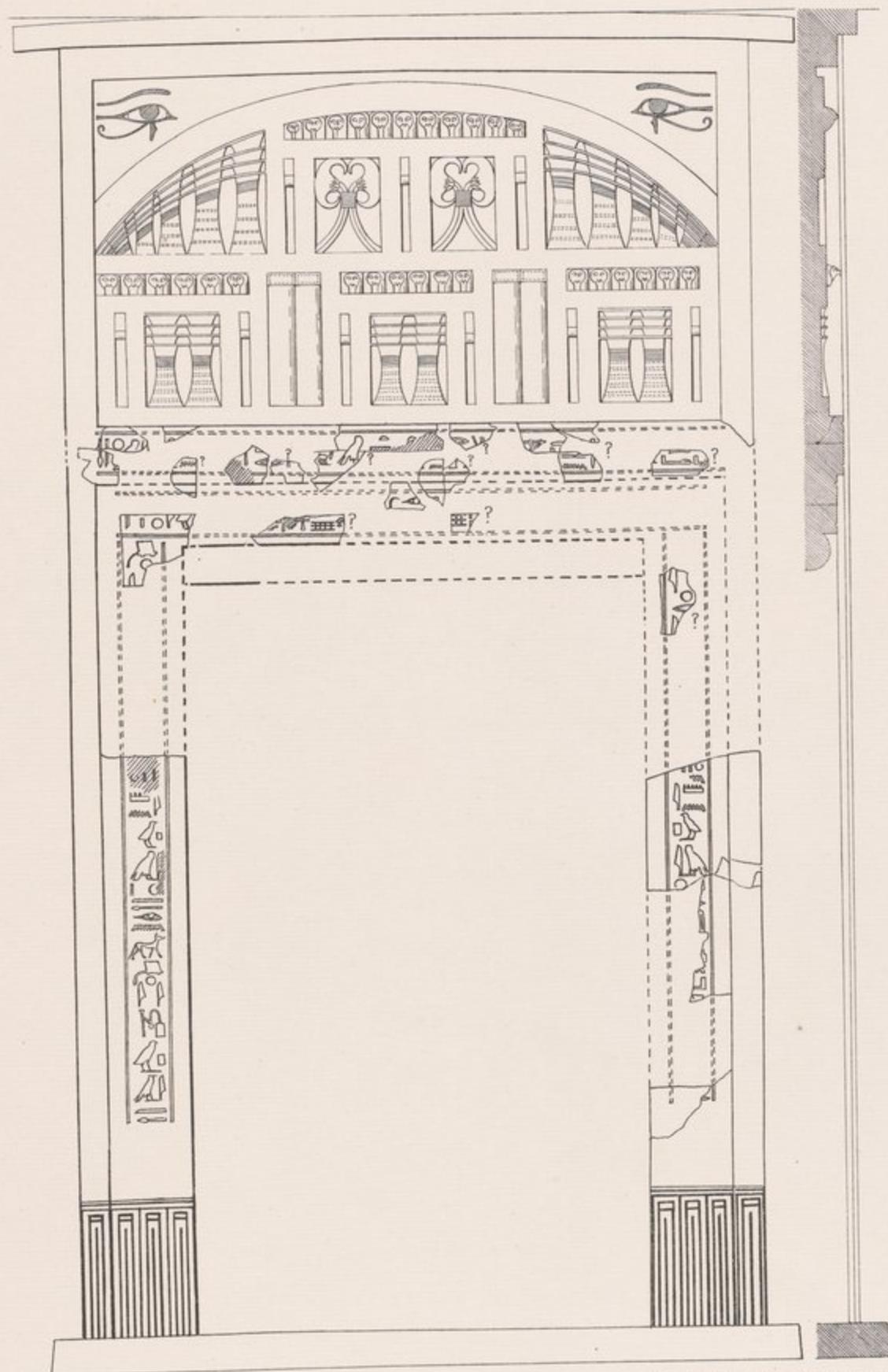


PLATE XLV

THE DOORWAY TO THE NORTH CHAPEL. SCALE 1:10

(See page 3 and Volume I, pages 8-10, and Plates XLIV, LXXVIII)



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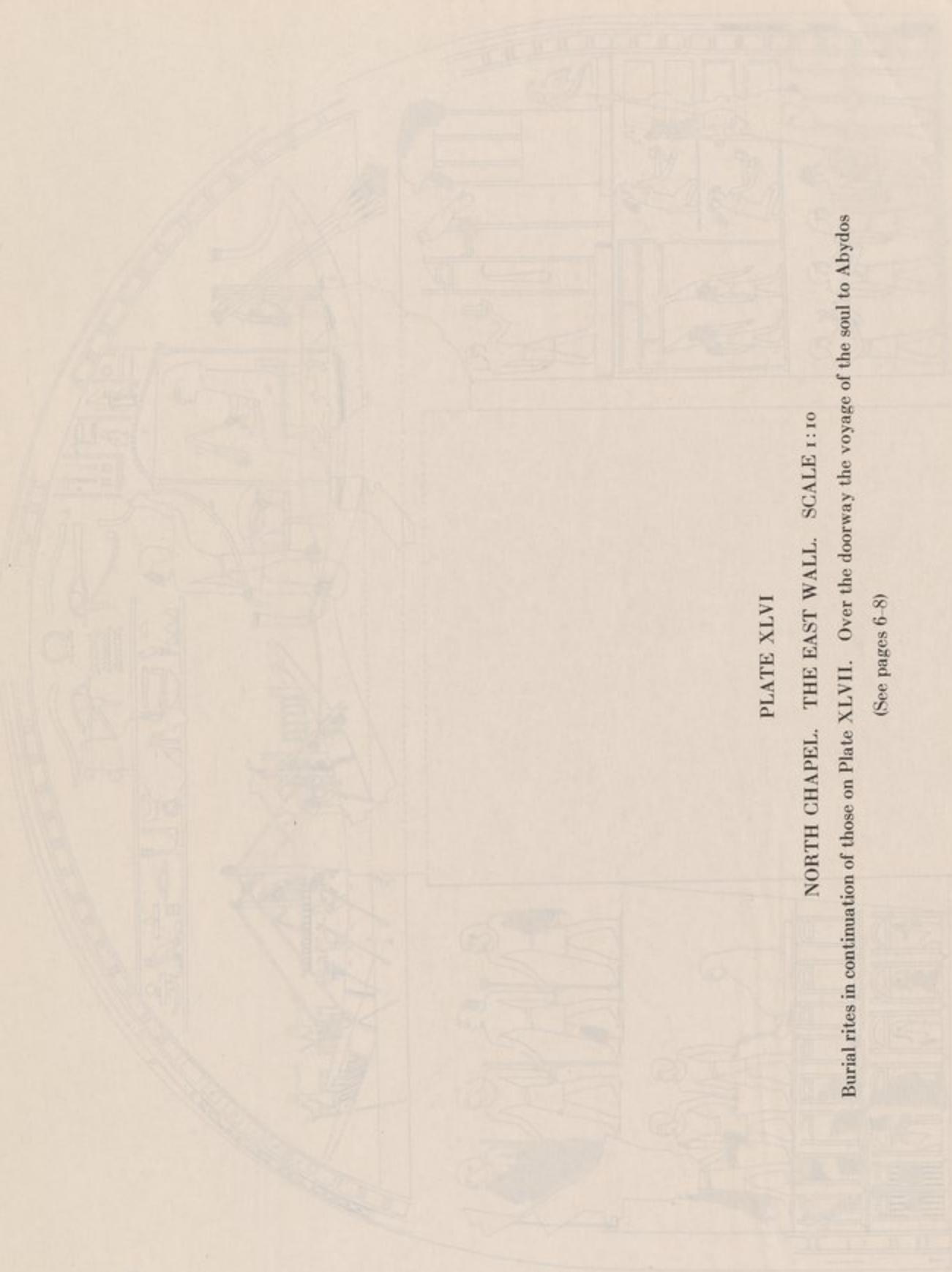
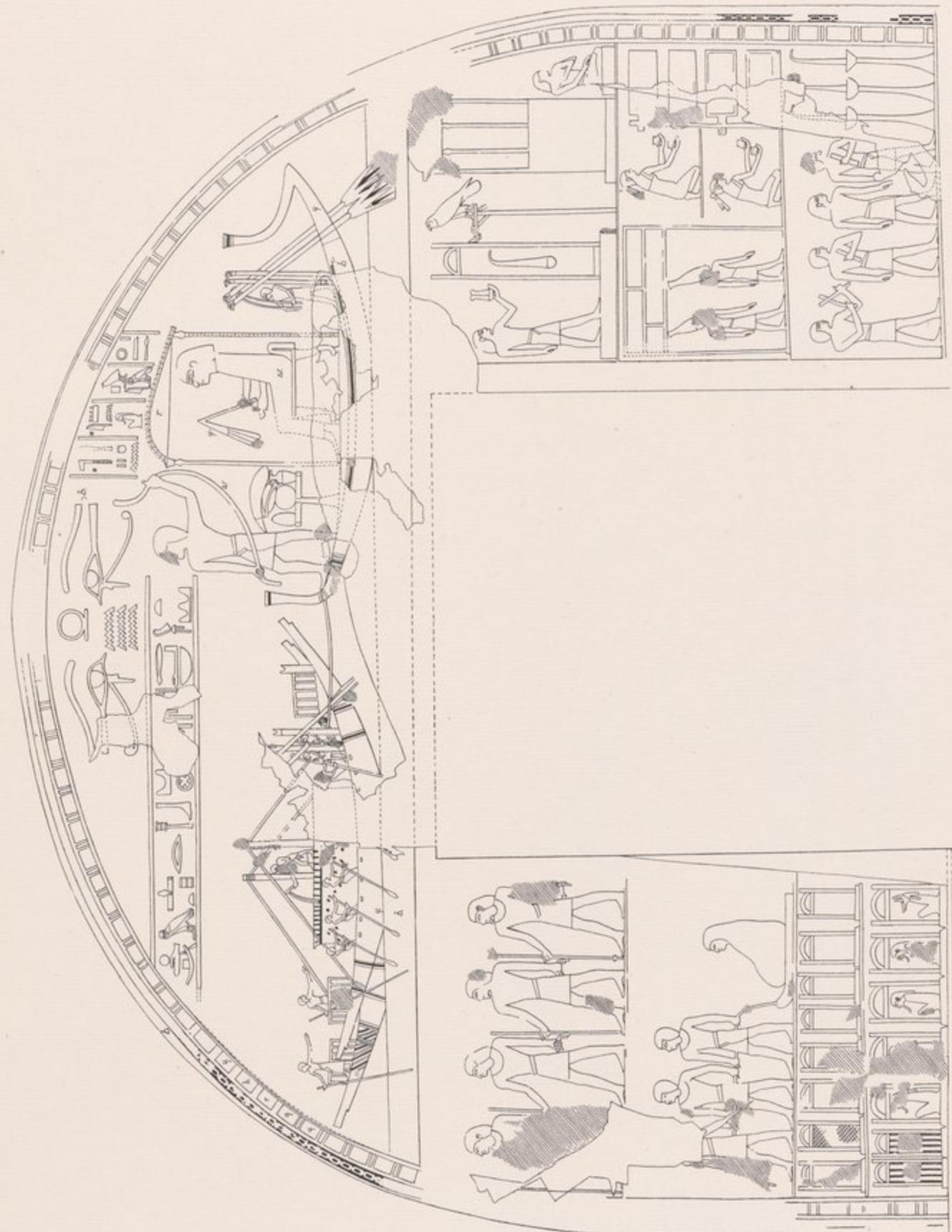


PLATE XLVI

NORTH CHAPEL. THE EAST WALL. SCALE 1:10

Burial rites in continuation of those on Plate XLVII. Over the doorway the *voyage of the soul to Abydos*

(See pages 6-8)



After an Egyptian by Claudio Ricchetti (Milano) L.M.

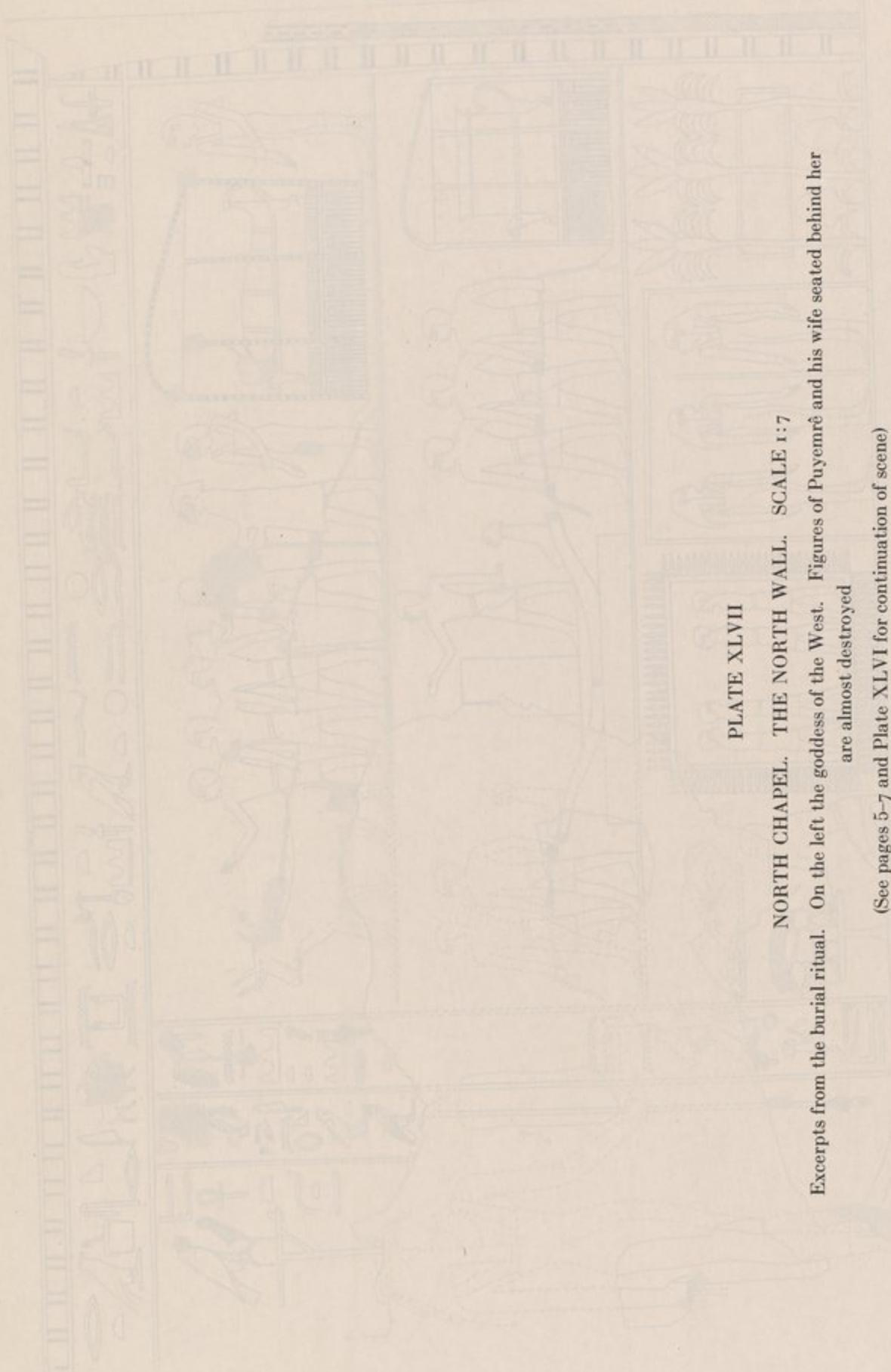
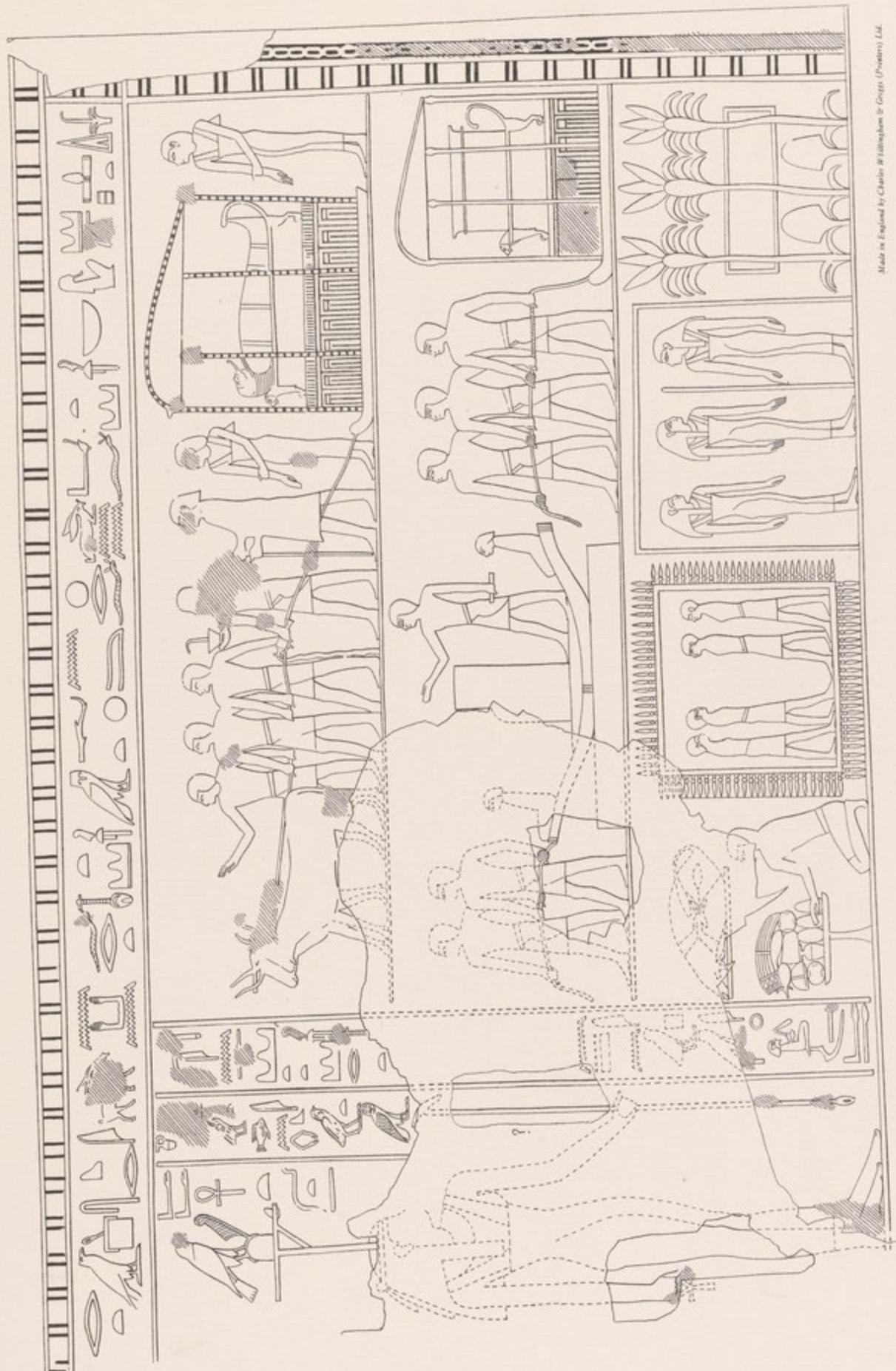


PLATE XLVII

NORTH CHAPEL. THE NORTH WALL. SCALE 1:7  
Excerpts from the burial ritual. On the left the goddess of the West. Figures of Puyemre and his wife seated behind her are almost destroyed

(See pages 5-7 and Plate XLVI for continuation of scene)



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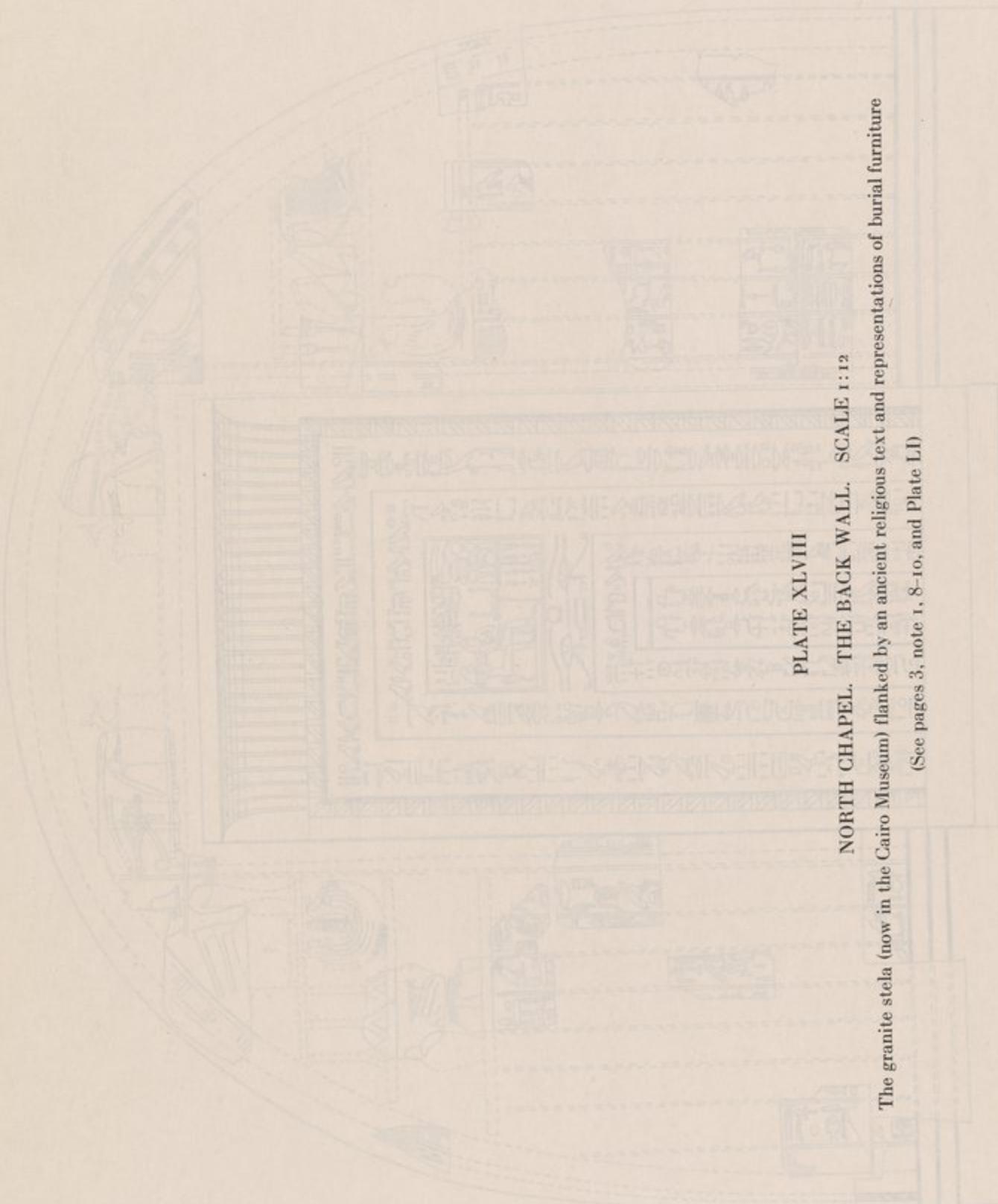
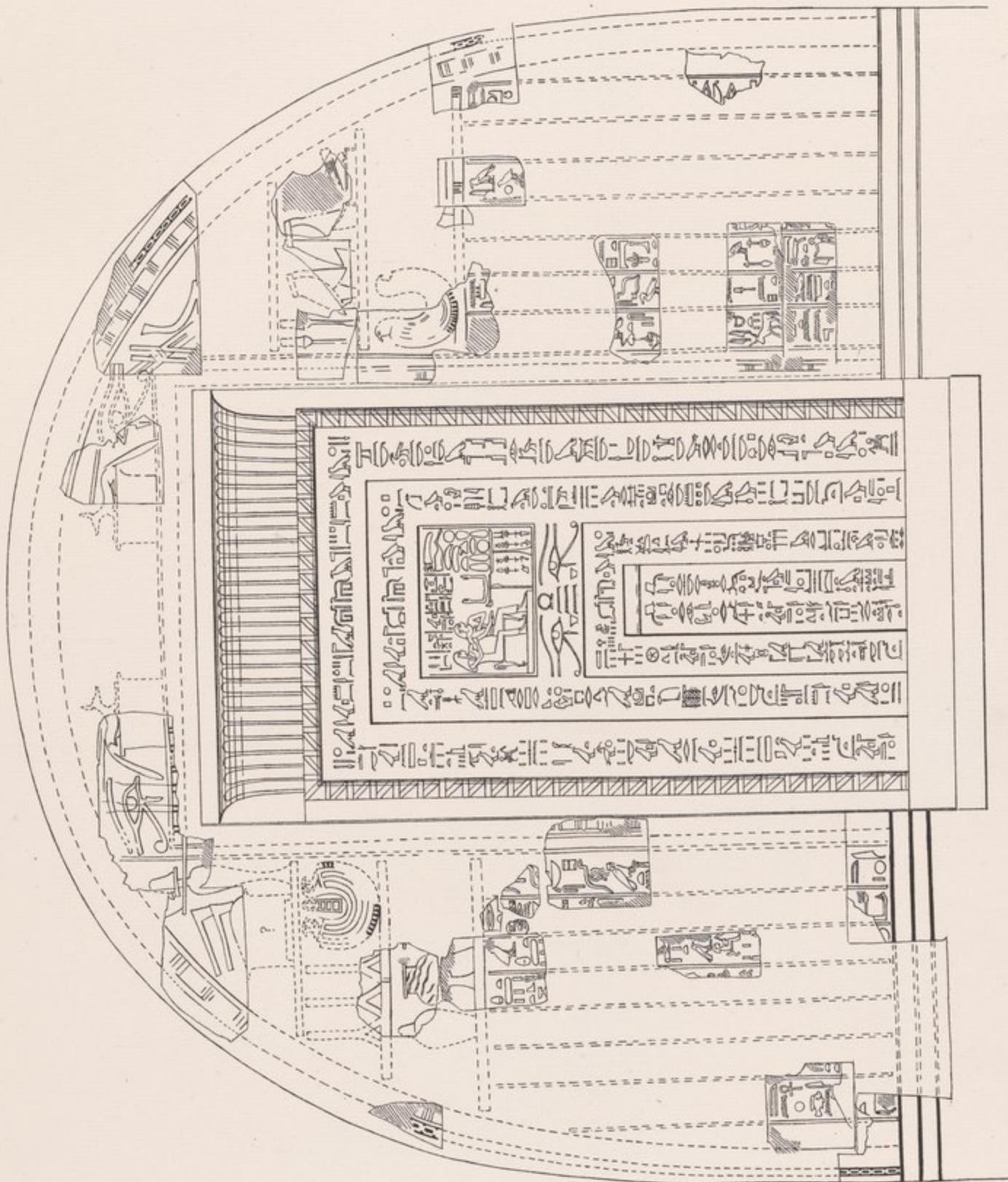


PLATE XLVIII

NORTH CHAPEL. THE BACK WALL. SCALE 1:12

The granite stela (now in the Cairo Museum) flanked by an ancient religious text and representations of burial furniture

(See pages 3, note 1, 8-10, and Plate L1)



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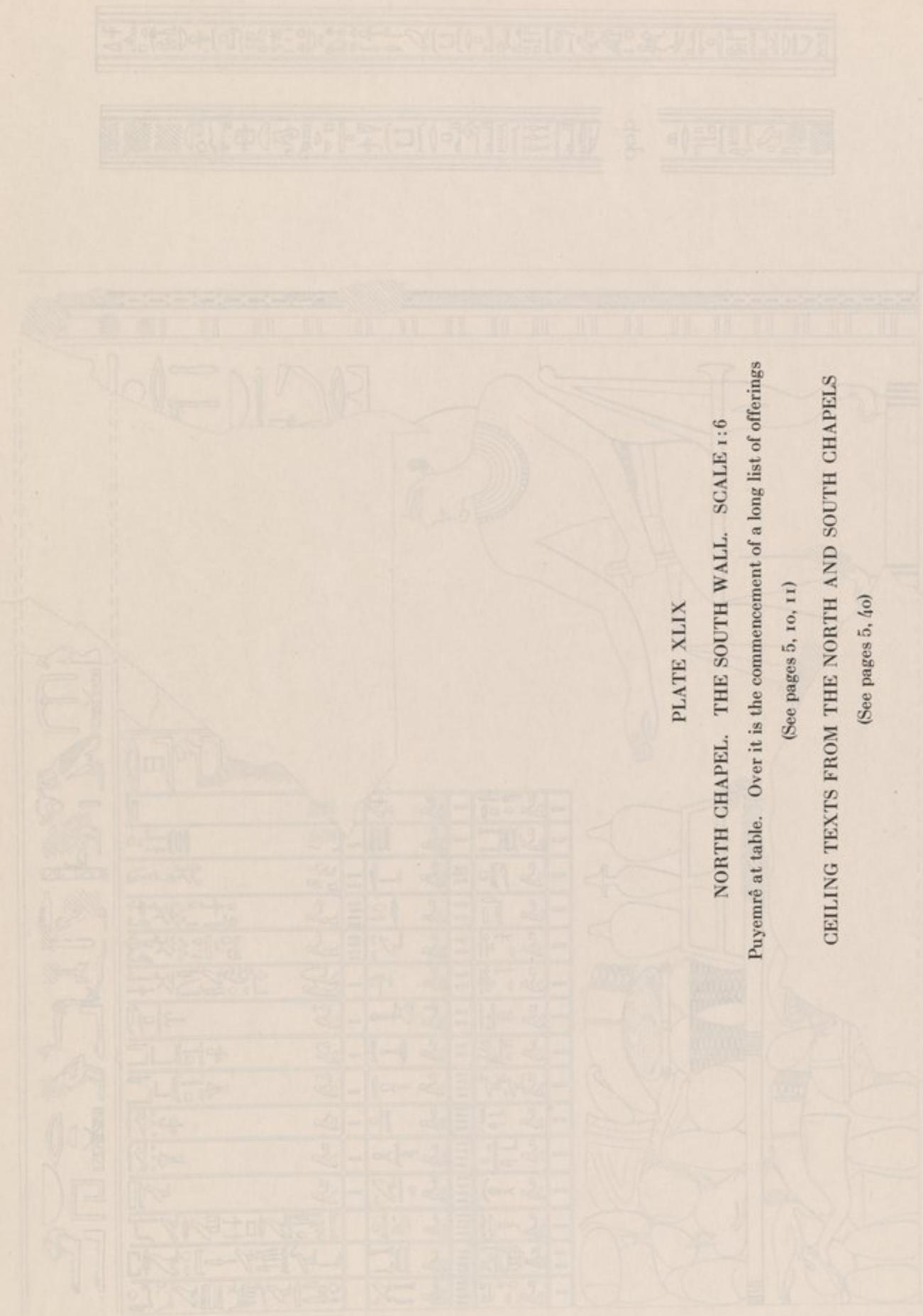


PLATE XLIX

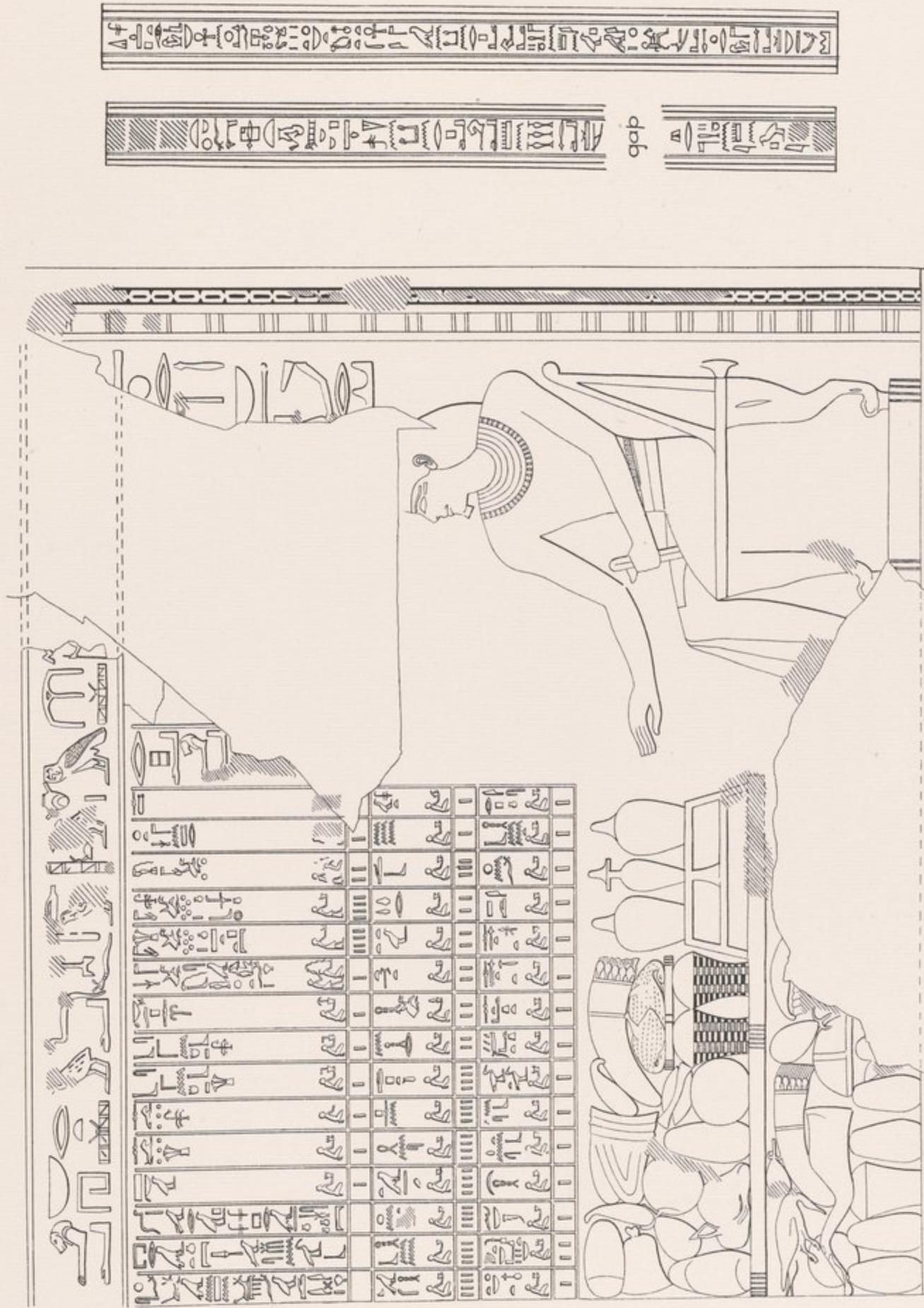
NORTH CHAPEL. THE SOUTH WALL. SCALE 1:6

Puyemrē at table. Over it is the commencement of a long list of offerings

(See pages 5, 10, 11)

CEILING TEXTS FROM THE NORTH AND SOUTH CHAPELS

(See pages 5, 40)



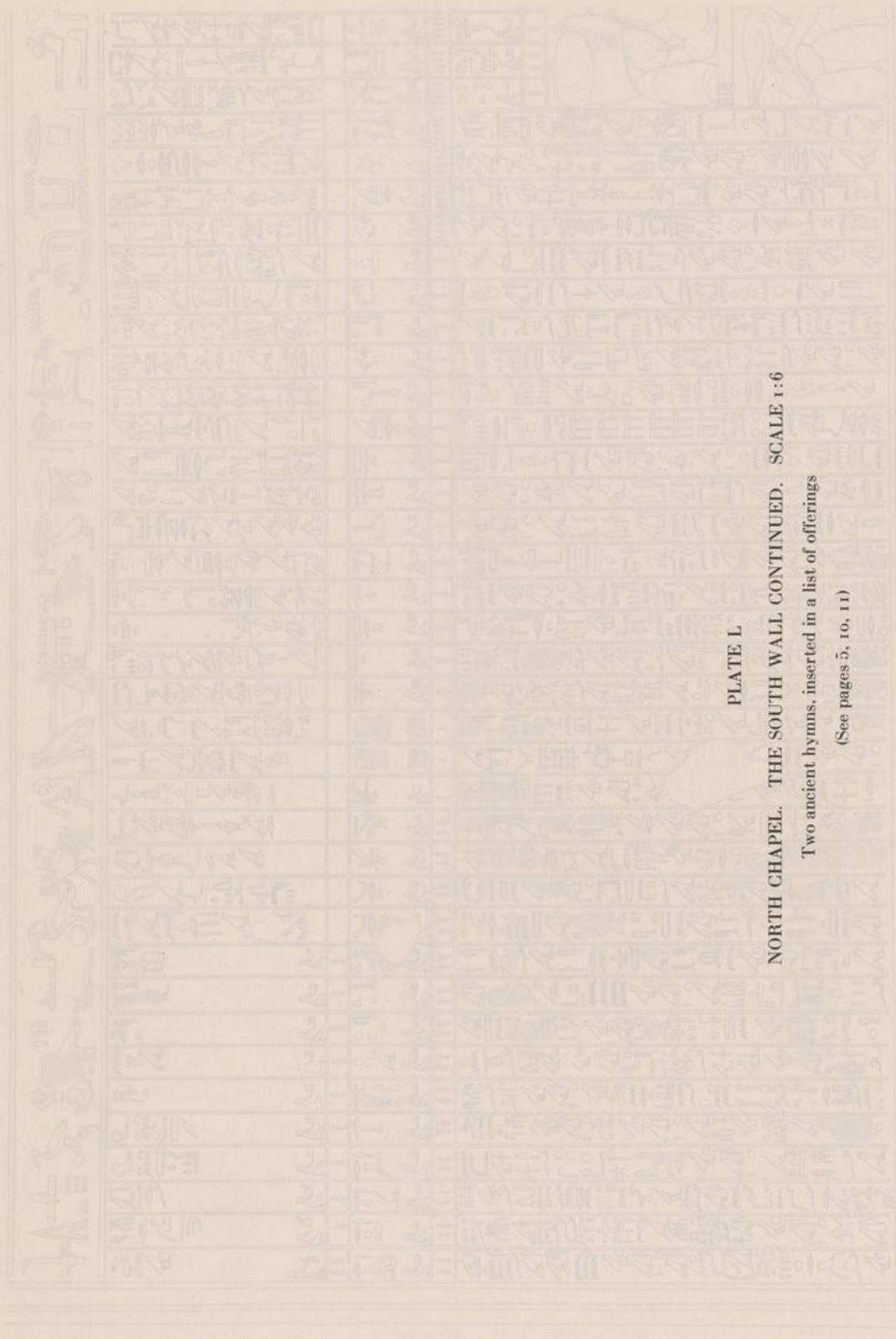
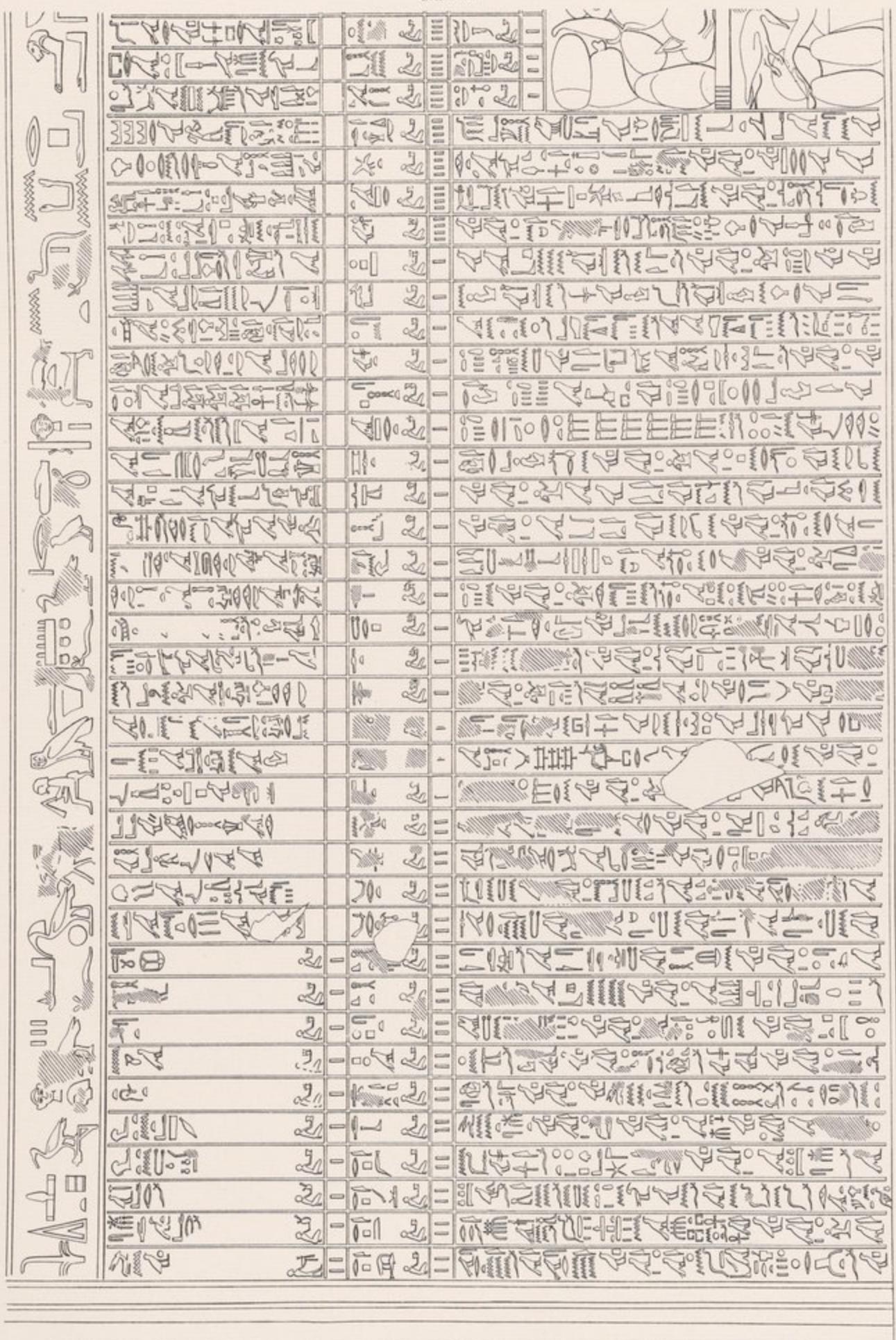


PLATE L

NORTH CHAPEL. THE SOUTH WALL CONTINUED. SCALE 1:6

Two ancient hymns, inserted in a list of offerings

(See pages 5, 10, 11)



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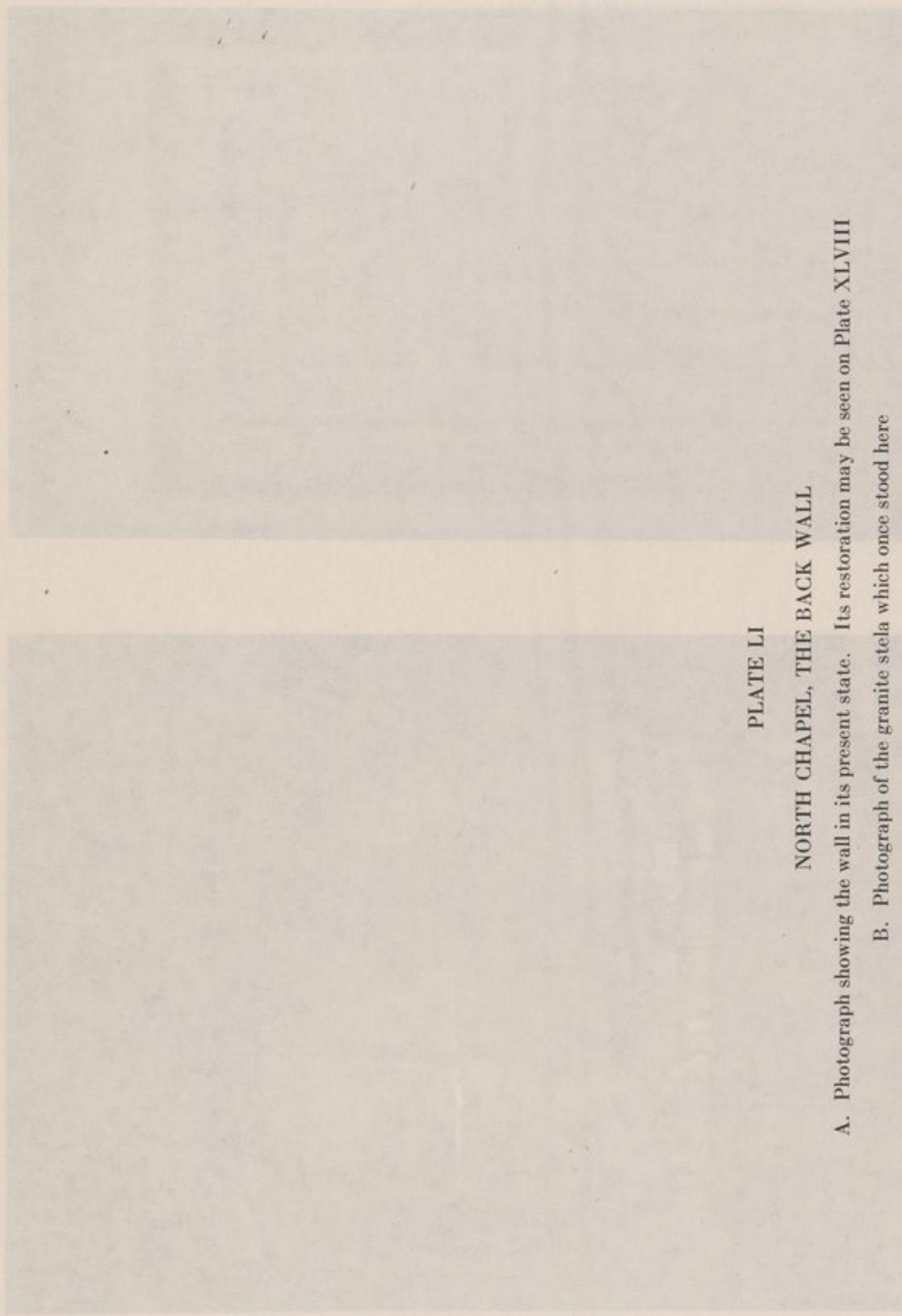


PLATE LI

NORTH CHAPEL, THE BACK WALL

A. Photograph showing the wall in its present state. Its restoration may be seen on Plate XLVIII  
B. Photograph of the granite stela which once stood here  
(See pages 9, 10, and Plate XLVIII)



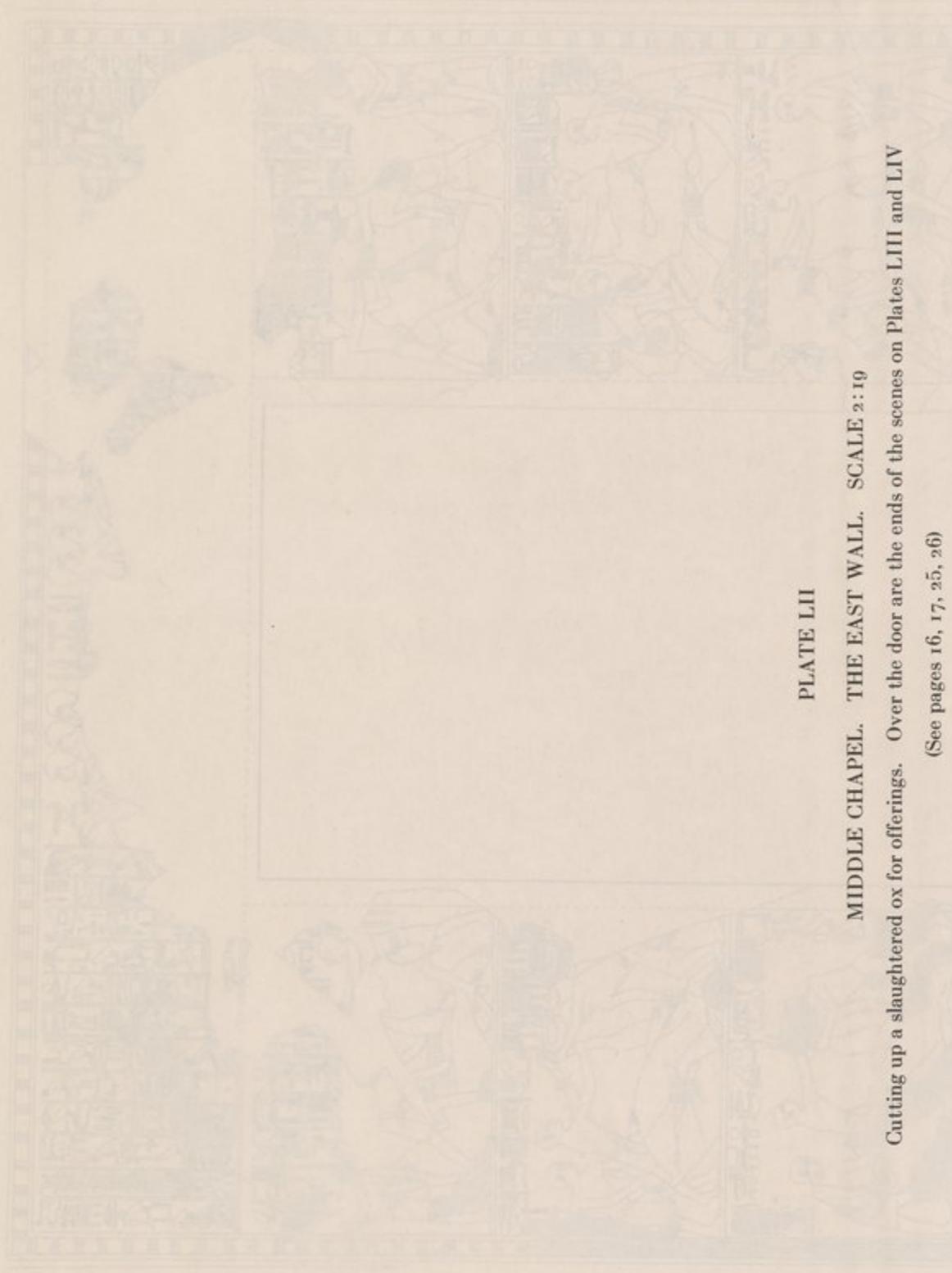
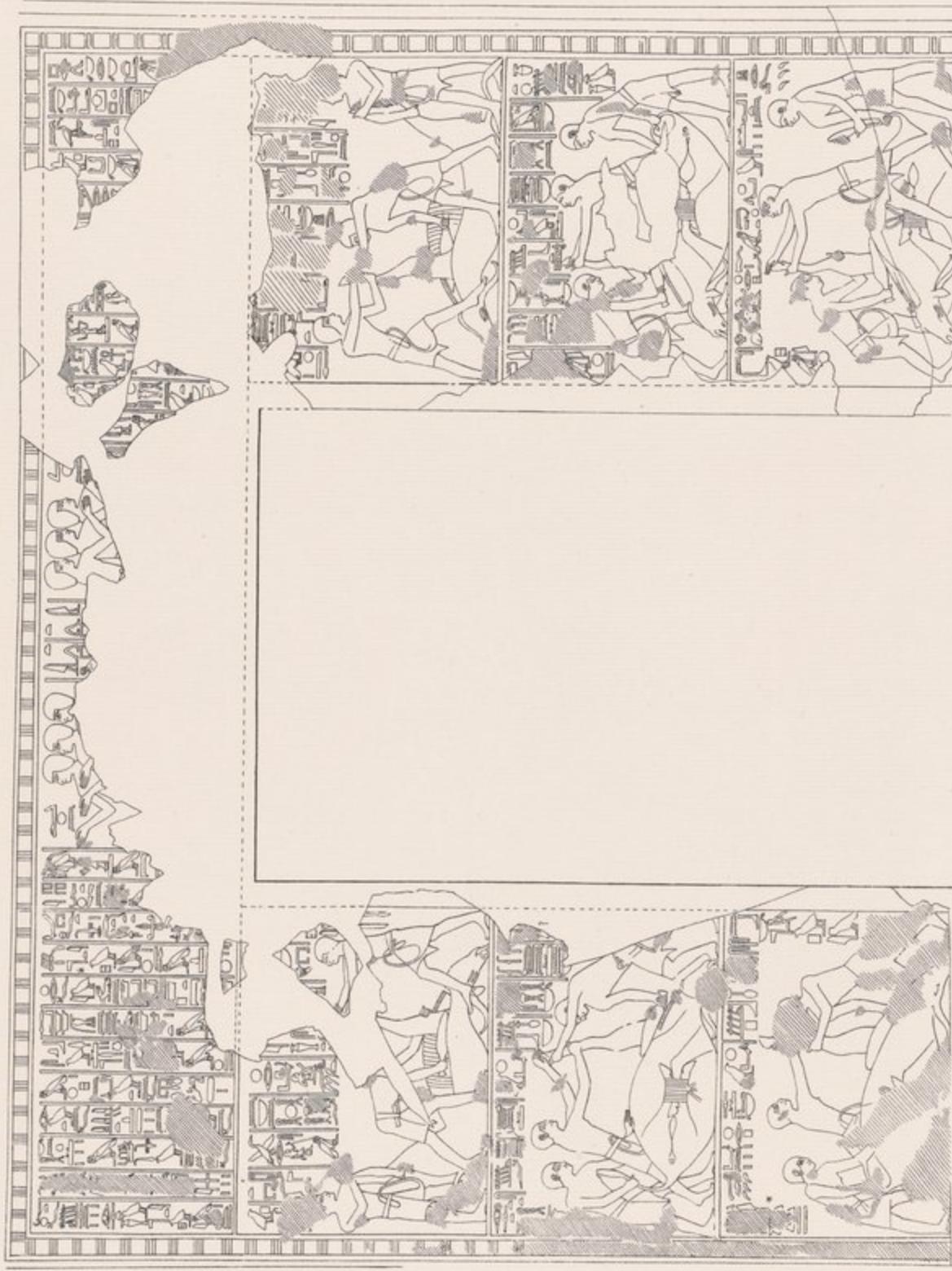


PLATE LII

MIDDLE CHAPEL. THE EAST WALL. SCALE 2:19

Cutting up a slaughtered ox for offerings. Over the door are the ends of the scenes on Plates LIII and LIV

(See pages 16, 17, 25, 26)



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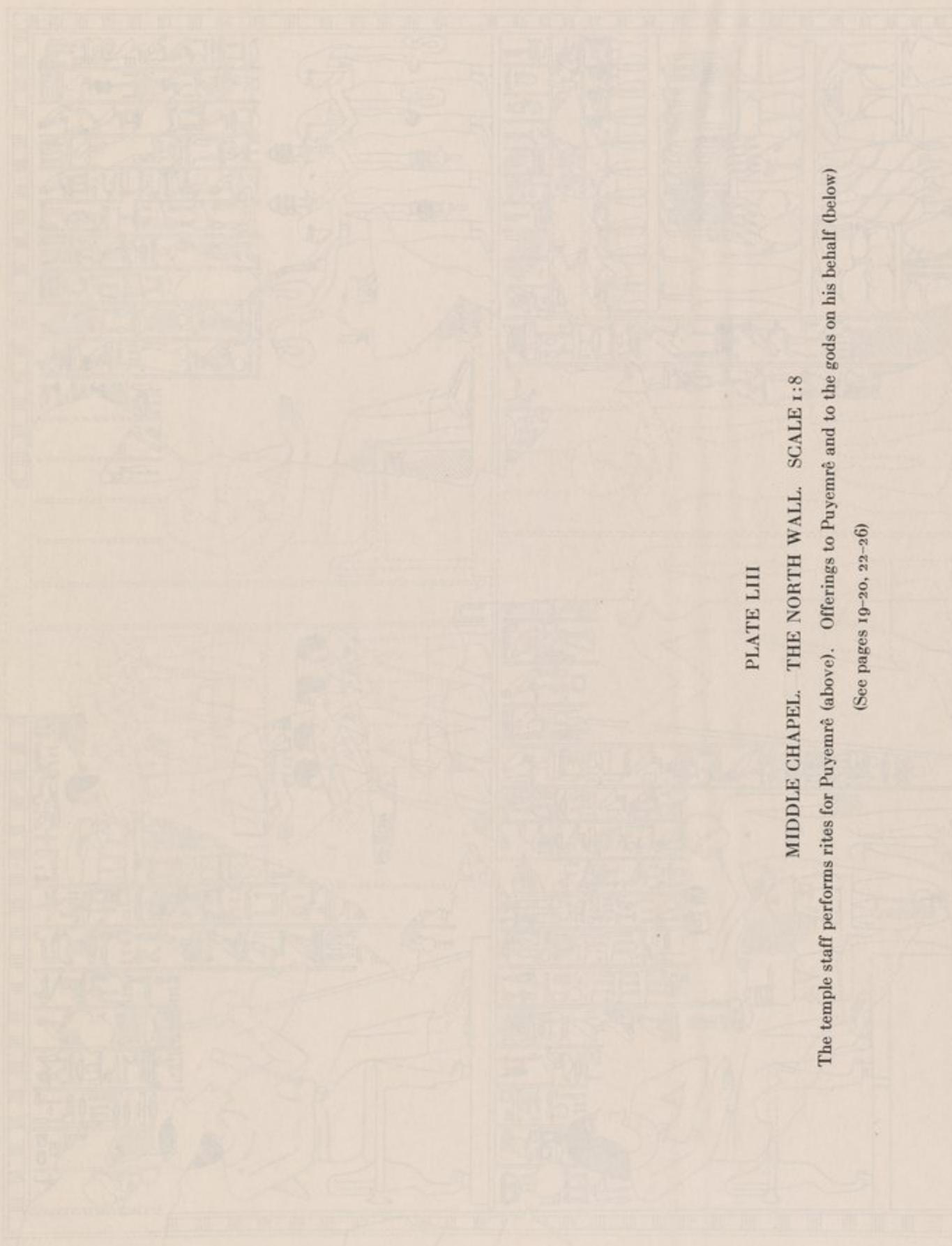


PLATE LIII

MIDDLE CHAPEL. THE NORTH WALL. SCALE 1:8

The temple staff performs rites for Puyemre (above). Offerings to Puyemre and to the gods on his behalf (below)

(See pages 19-20, 22-26)



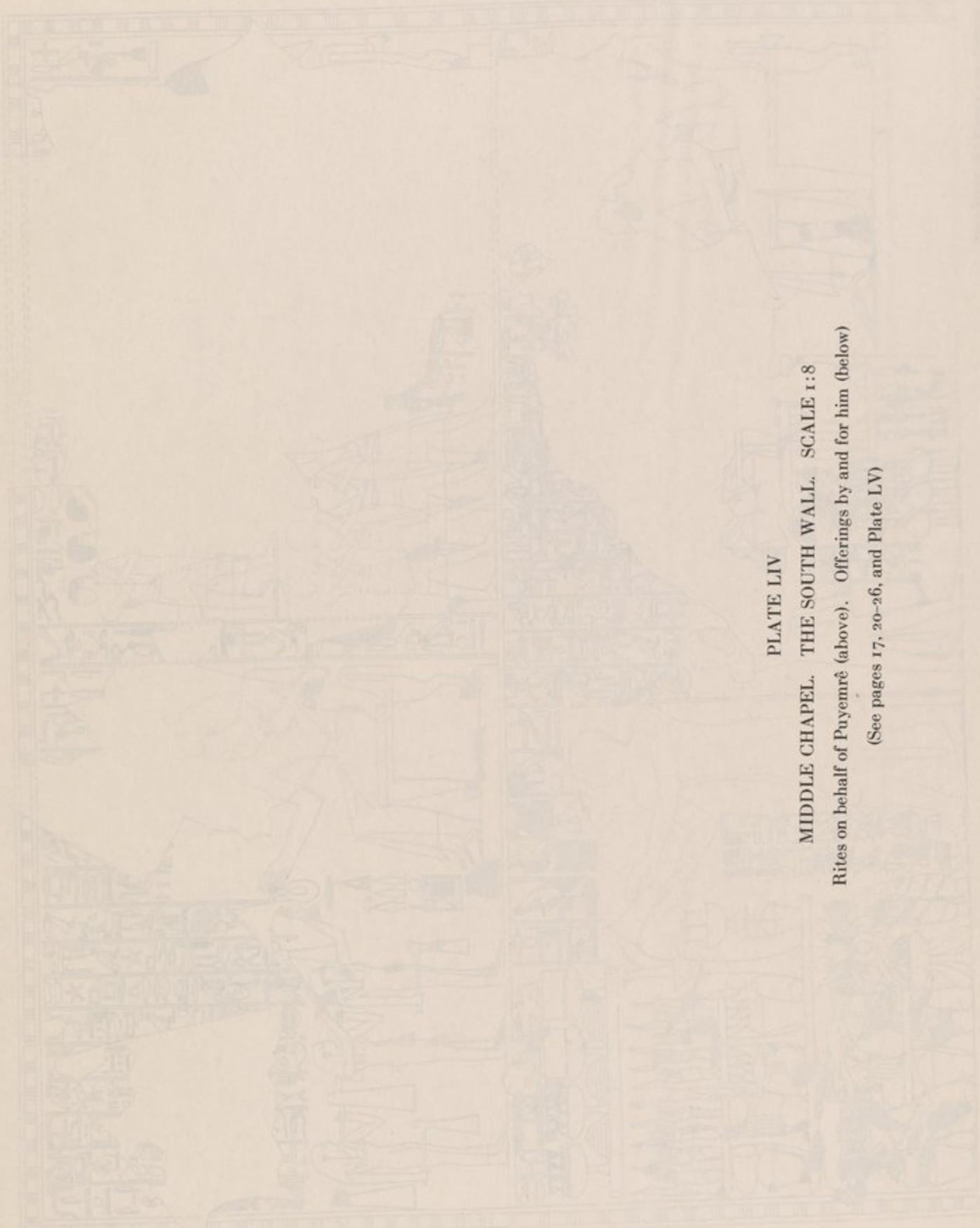
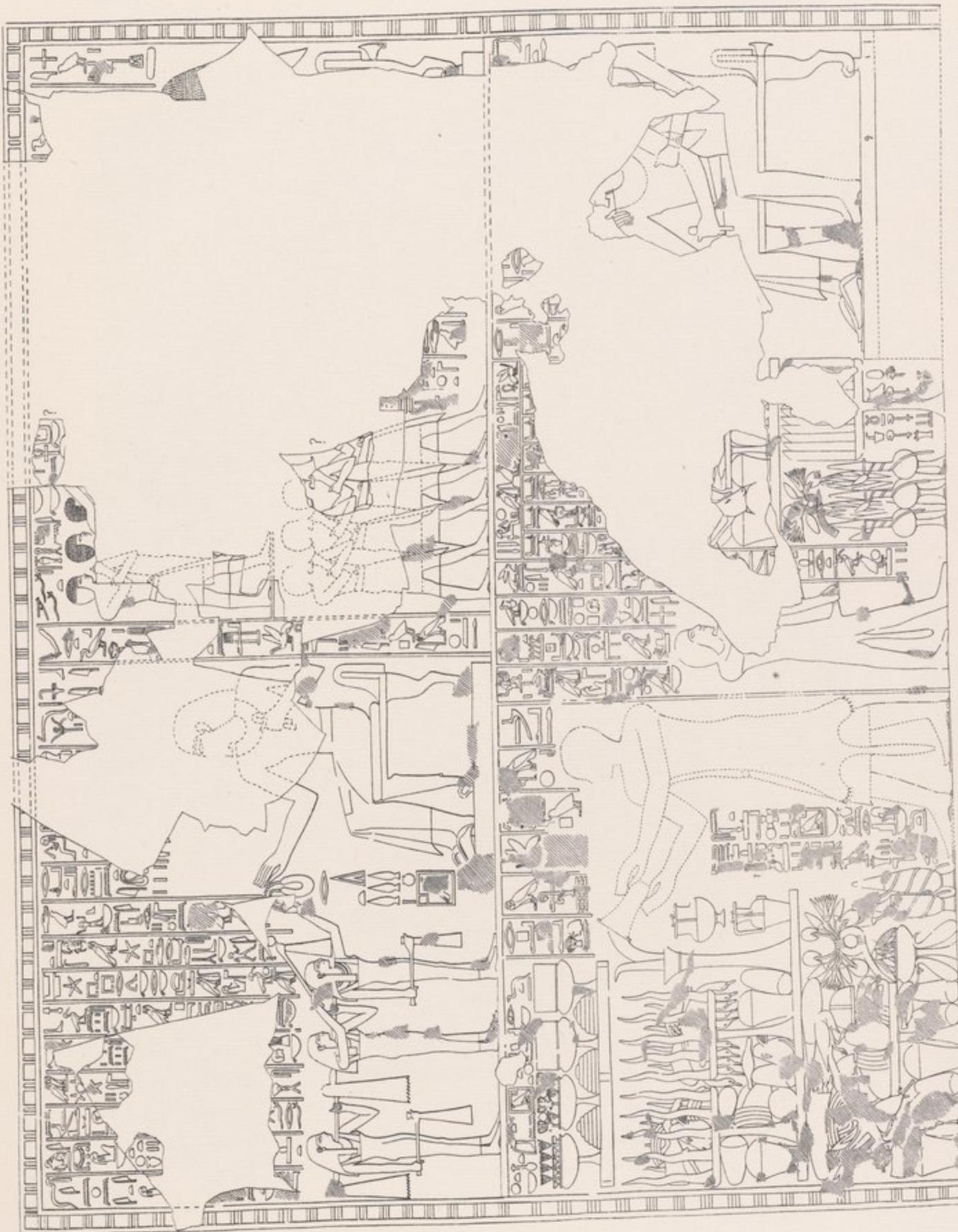


PLATE LIV

MIDDLE CHAPEL. THE SOUTH WALL. SCALE 1:8

Rites on behalf of Puyemre (above). Offerings by and for him (below)

(See pages 17, 20-26, and Plate LV)



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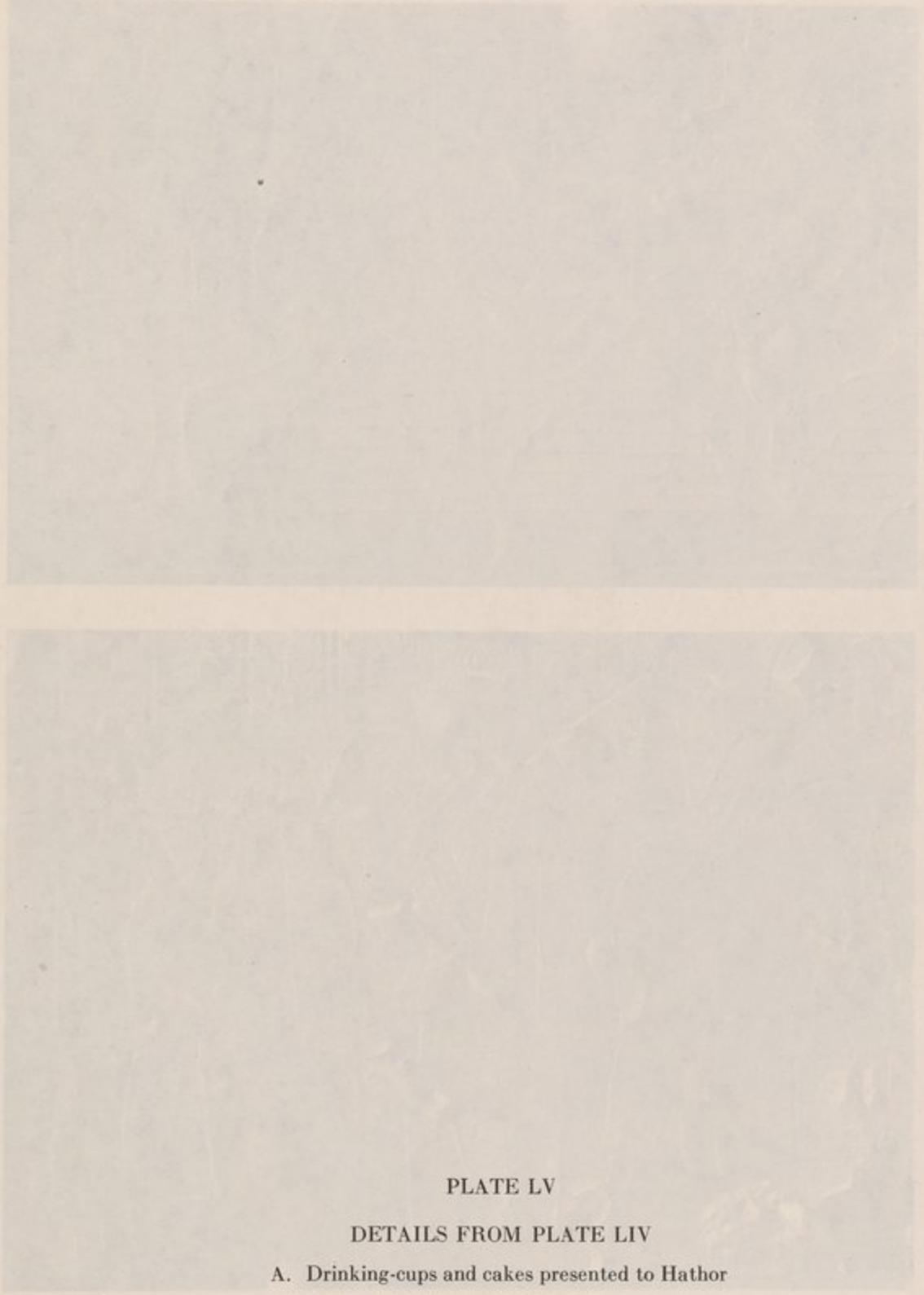


PLATE LV

DETAILS FROM PLATE LIV

A. Drinking-cups and cakes presented to Hathor

(See pages 18, 19)

B. Sacred emblems of Hathor presented by her priestesses

(See pages 23-26)





PLATE LVI

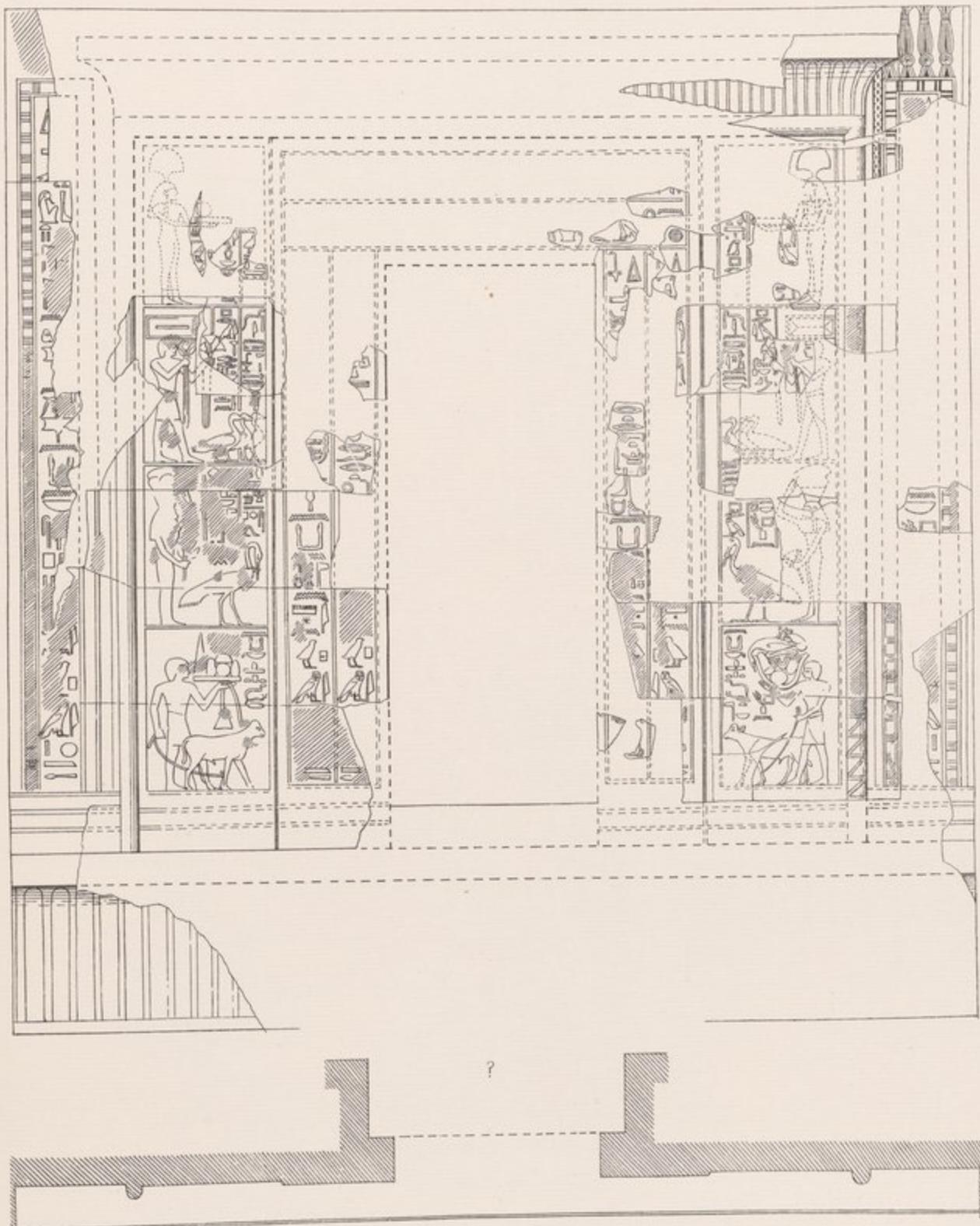
MIDDLE CHAPEL. THE BACK WALL. SCALE 1:12

Framed doorway to the shrine. The greater part of this wall is a reconstruction  
from derelict blocks

(See pages 26-28)

PLAN OF THE BACK WALL AND ENTRANCE INTO THE SHRINE

(See page 27)



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PLATE LVII

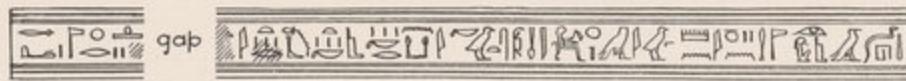
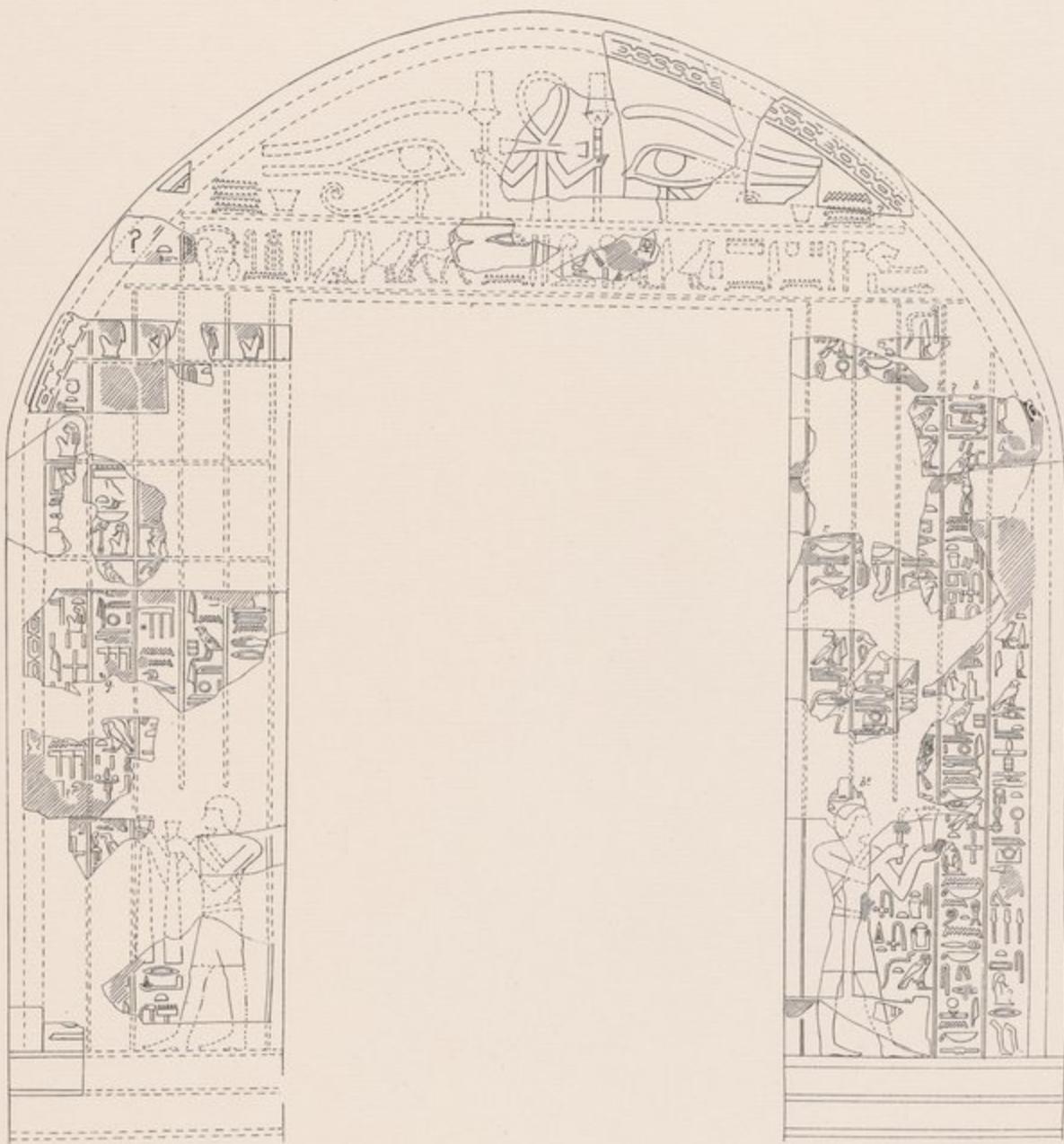
SHRINE. THE EAST WALL. SCALE 1:7

Spells used at the toilet of the dead

(See pages 29, 30)

MIDDLE CHAPEL. THE CEILING TEXTS

(See page 26)



Made in England by Charles Whittingham & Griggs (Printers) Ltd.

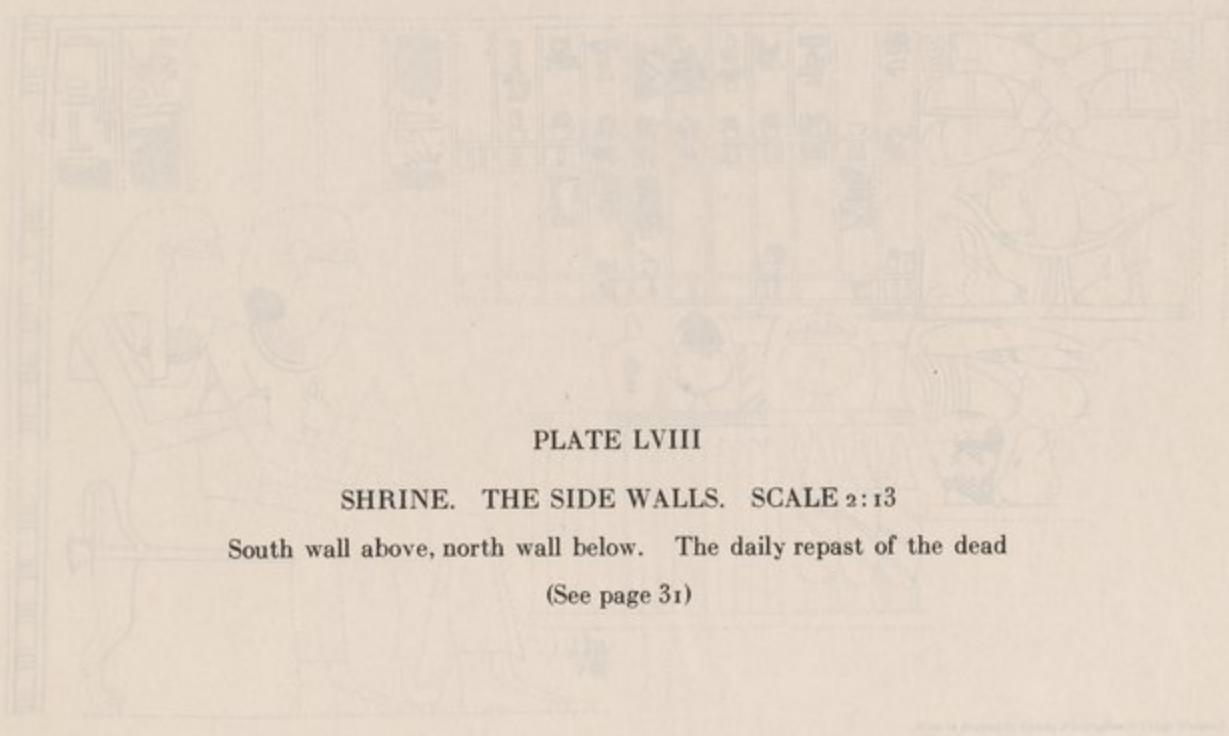
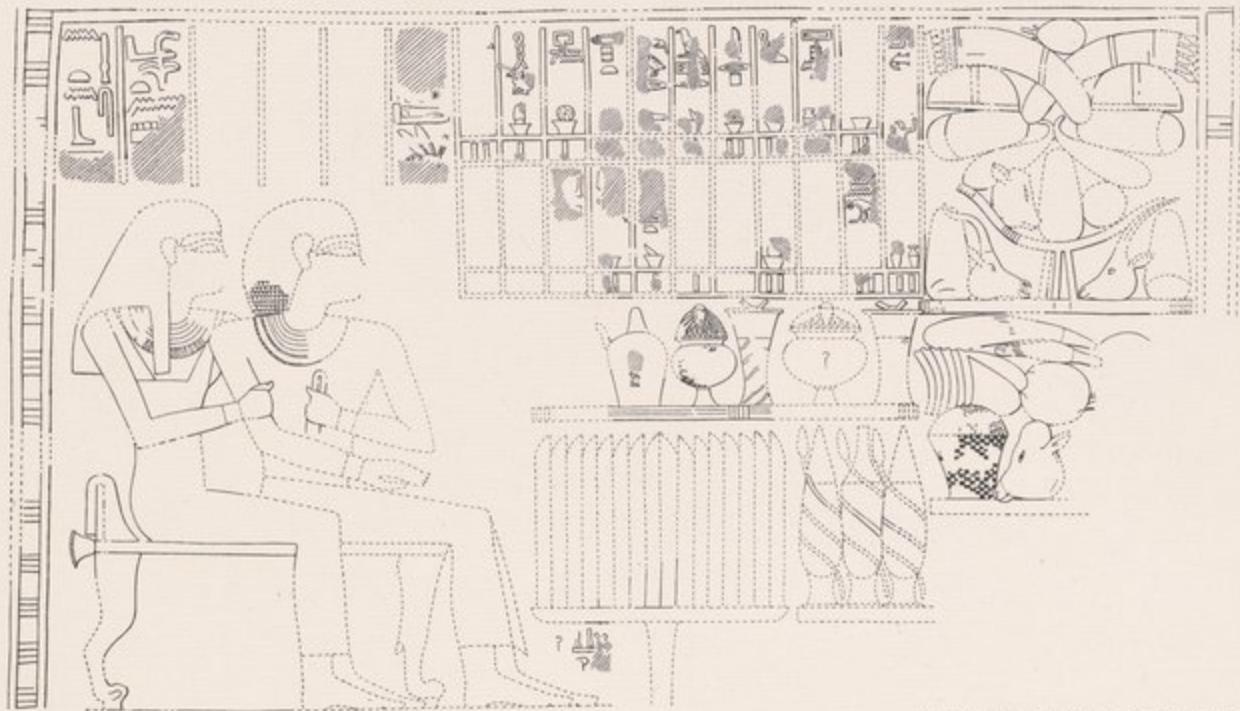


PLATE LVIII

SHRINE. THE SIDE WALLS. SCALE 2:13

South wall above, north wall below. The daily repast of the dead

(See page 31)



*Made in England by Charles Whittingham & Griggs (Printers) Ltd.*

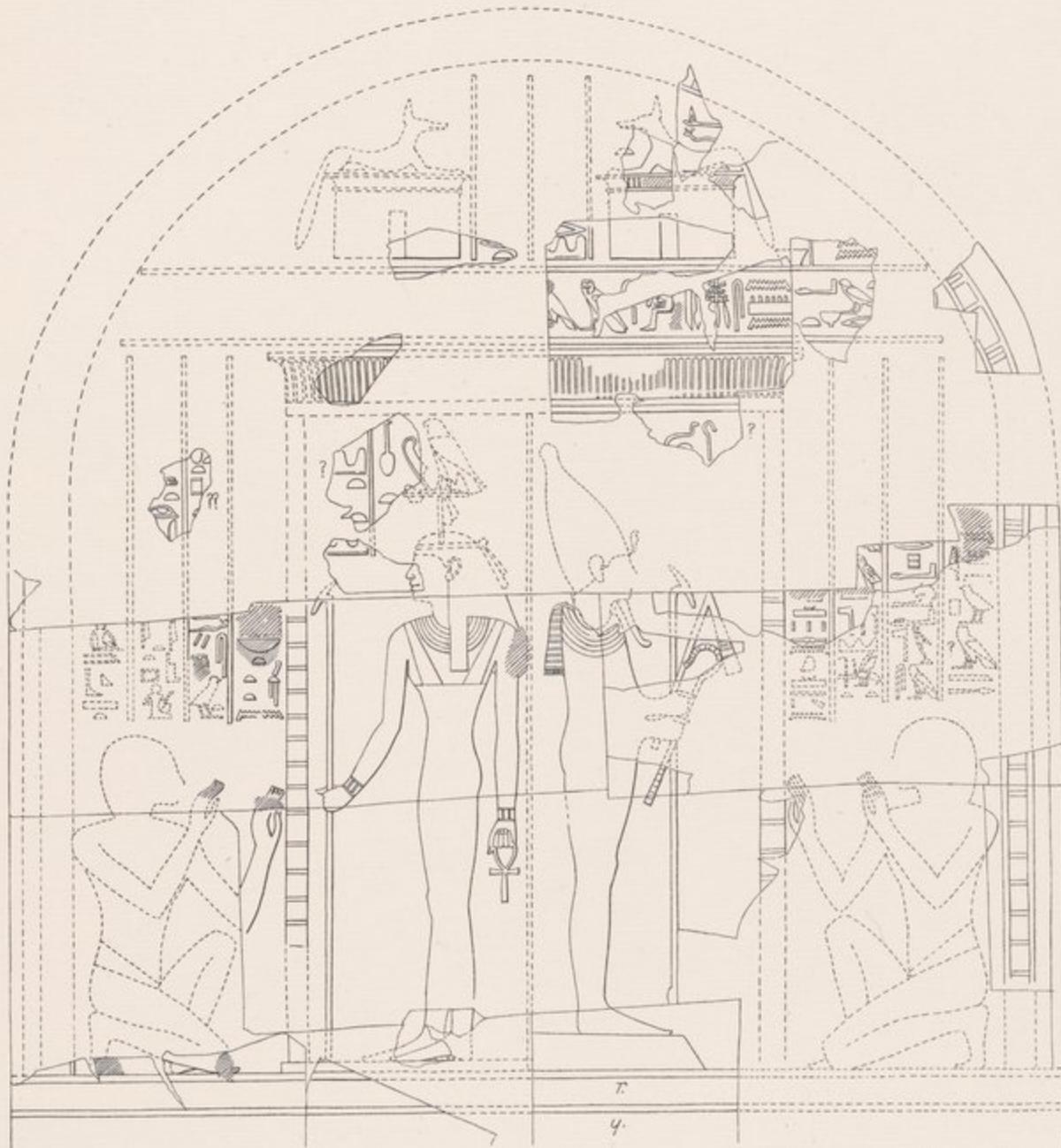


PLATE LIX

SHRINE. THE BACK WALL. SCALE 1:7

Adoration of Osiris and the goddess of the West by Puyemre

(See pages 28, 29)



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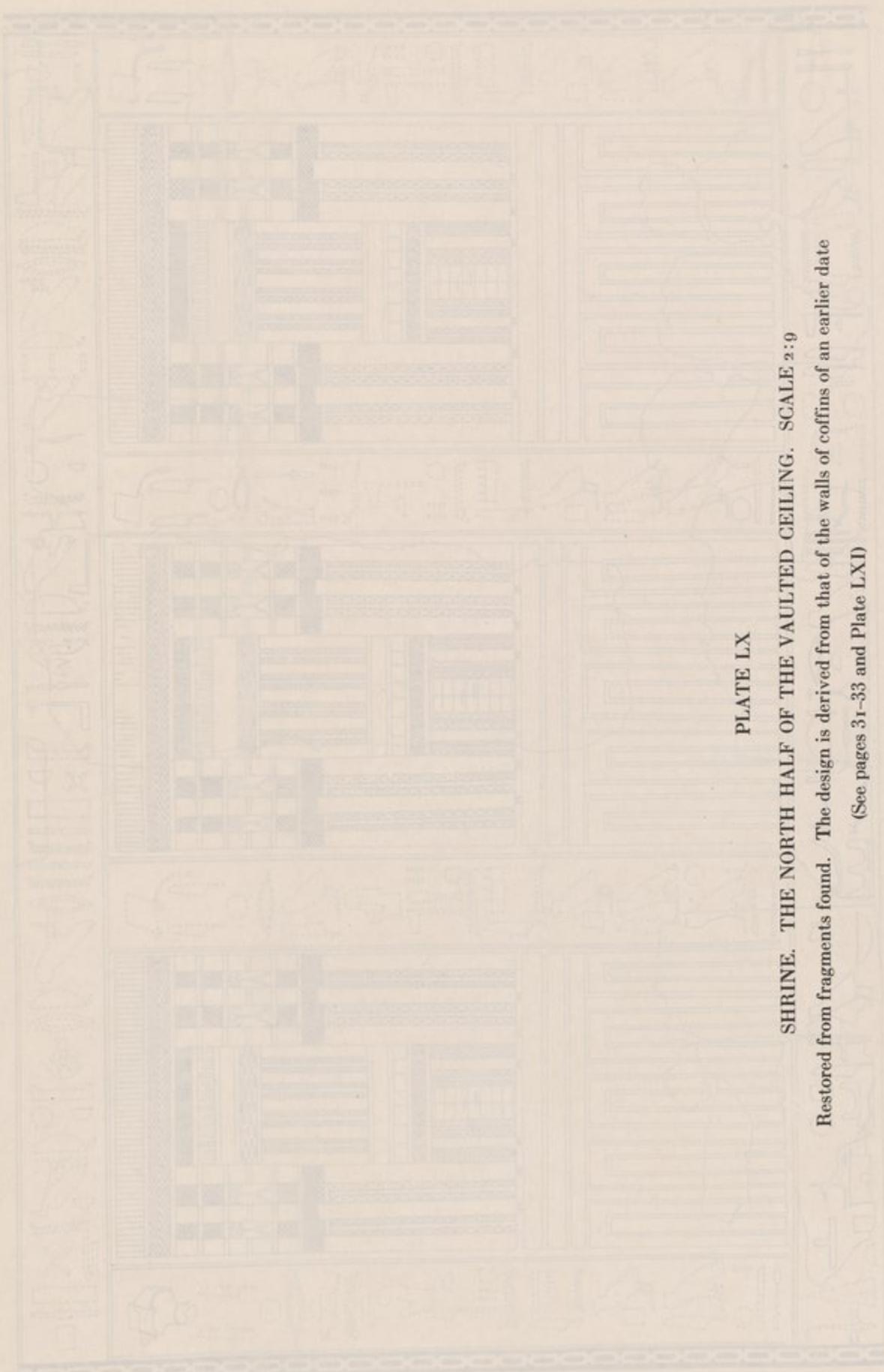
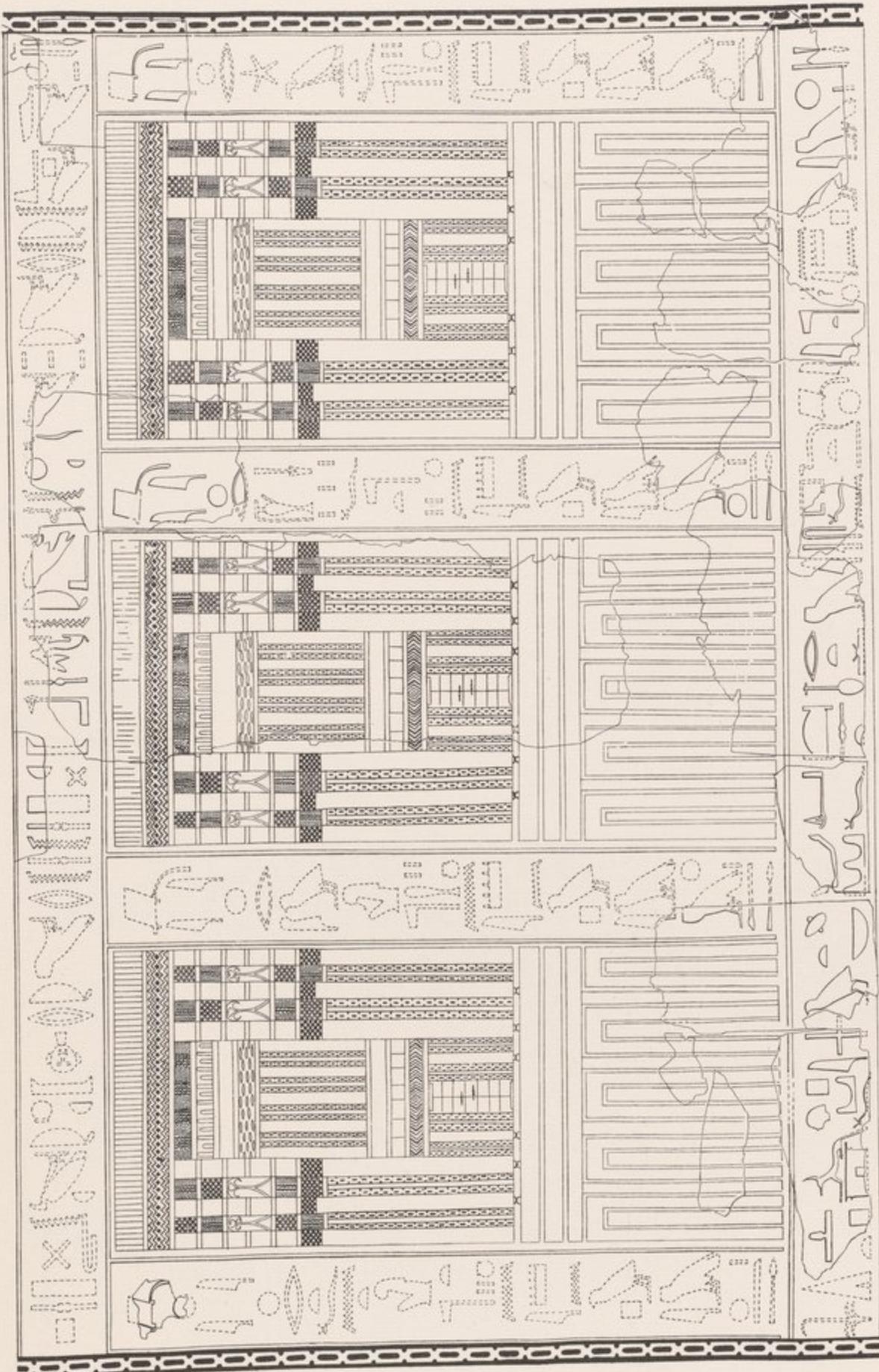


PLATE LX

SHRINE. THE NORTH HALF OF THE VAULTED CEILING. SCALE 2:9

Restored from fragments found. The design is derived from that of the walls of coffins of an earlier date

(See pages 31-33 and Plate LXI)



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PLATE LXI

DETAIL FROM PLATE LX

Decoration of the shrine vault. Painted by H. R. Hopgood

(See pages 31-33)

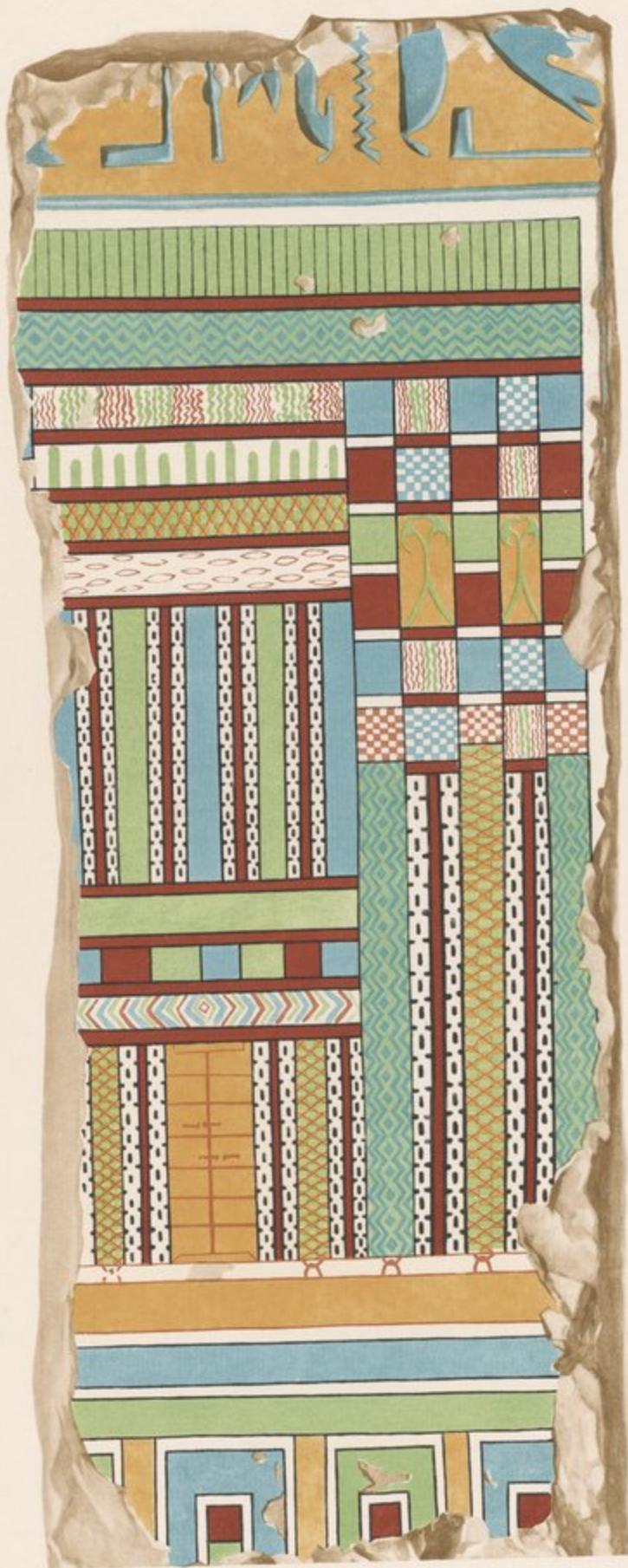




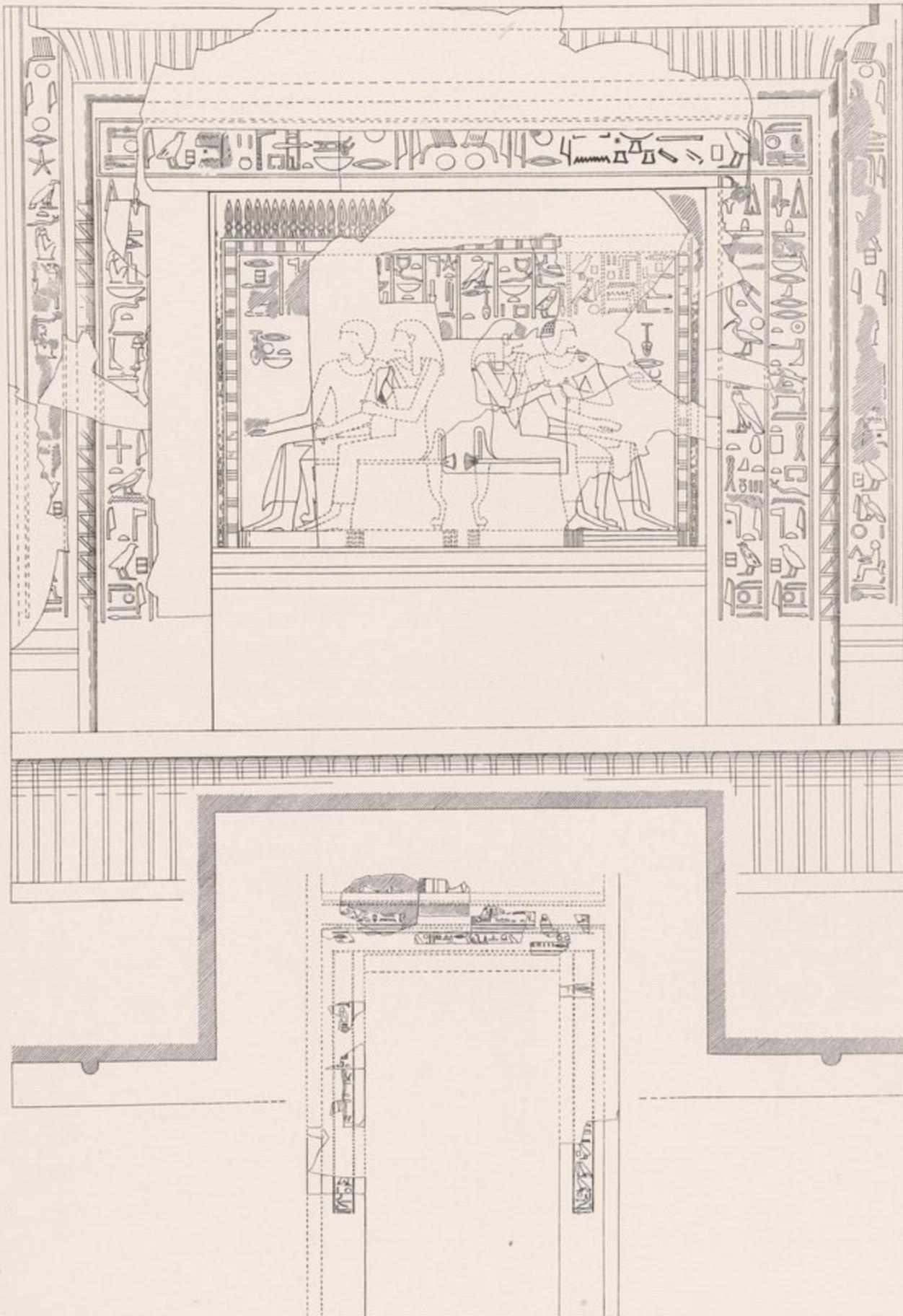
PLATE LXII

SOUTH CHAPEL. PLAN AND DRAWING OF THE NICHE IN THE  
BACK WALL. SCALE 1:10

The dead man and his wives at meat

(See pages 3, 4, 38)

THE LOWER PART OF THE DOORWAY TO THE SOUTH CHAPEL. SCALE 1:20



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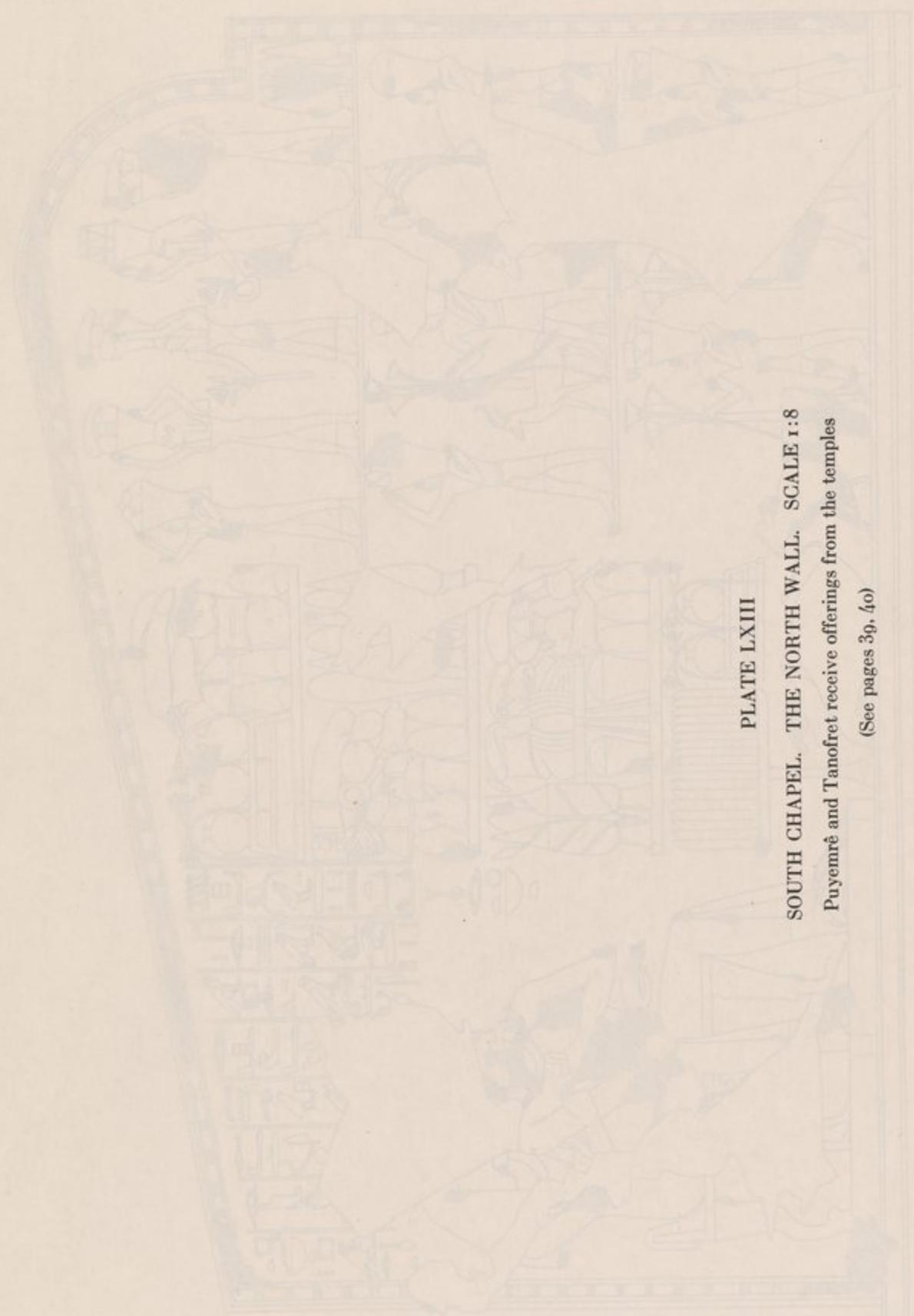
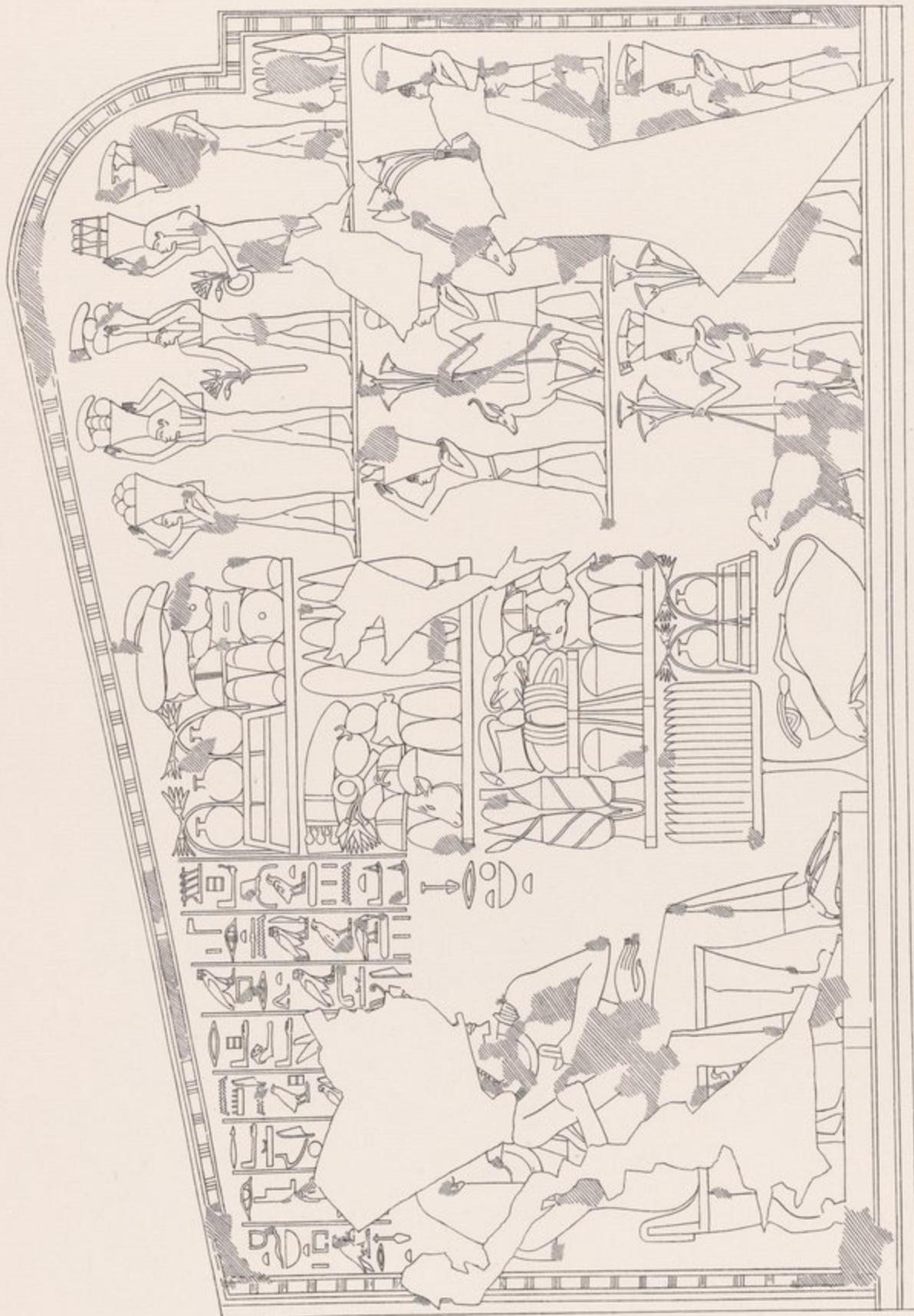


PLATE LXIII

SOUTH CHAPEL. THE NORTH WALL. SCALE 1:8

Puyemre and Tanofret receive offerings from the temples

(See pages 39, 40)



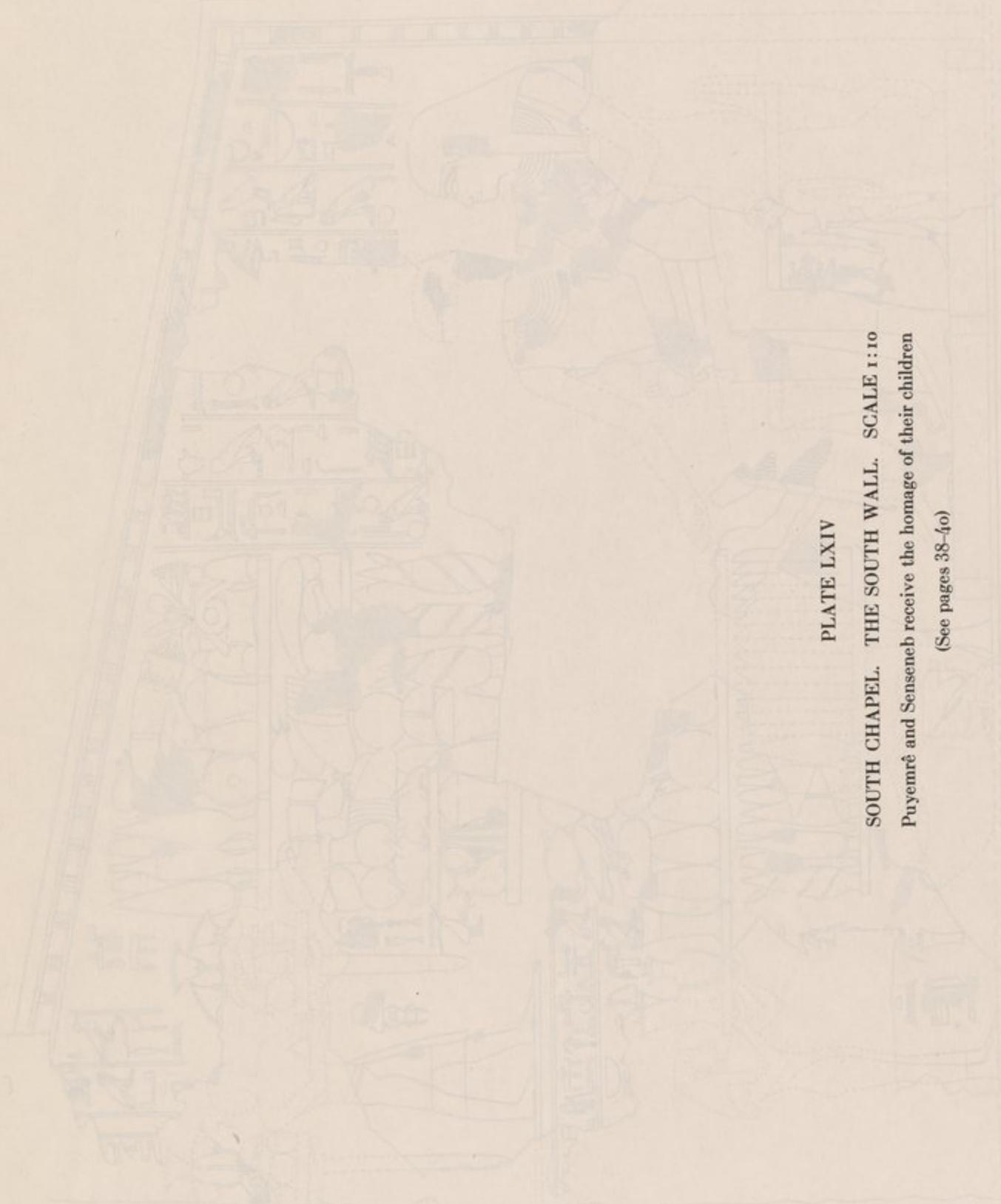
Made in England by Charles R. Hollingworth & Sons (Preston) Ltd.

PLATE LXIV

SOUTH CHAPEL. THE SOUTH WALL. SCALE 1:10

Puyemrê and Senseneb receive the homage of their children

(See pages 38-40)



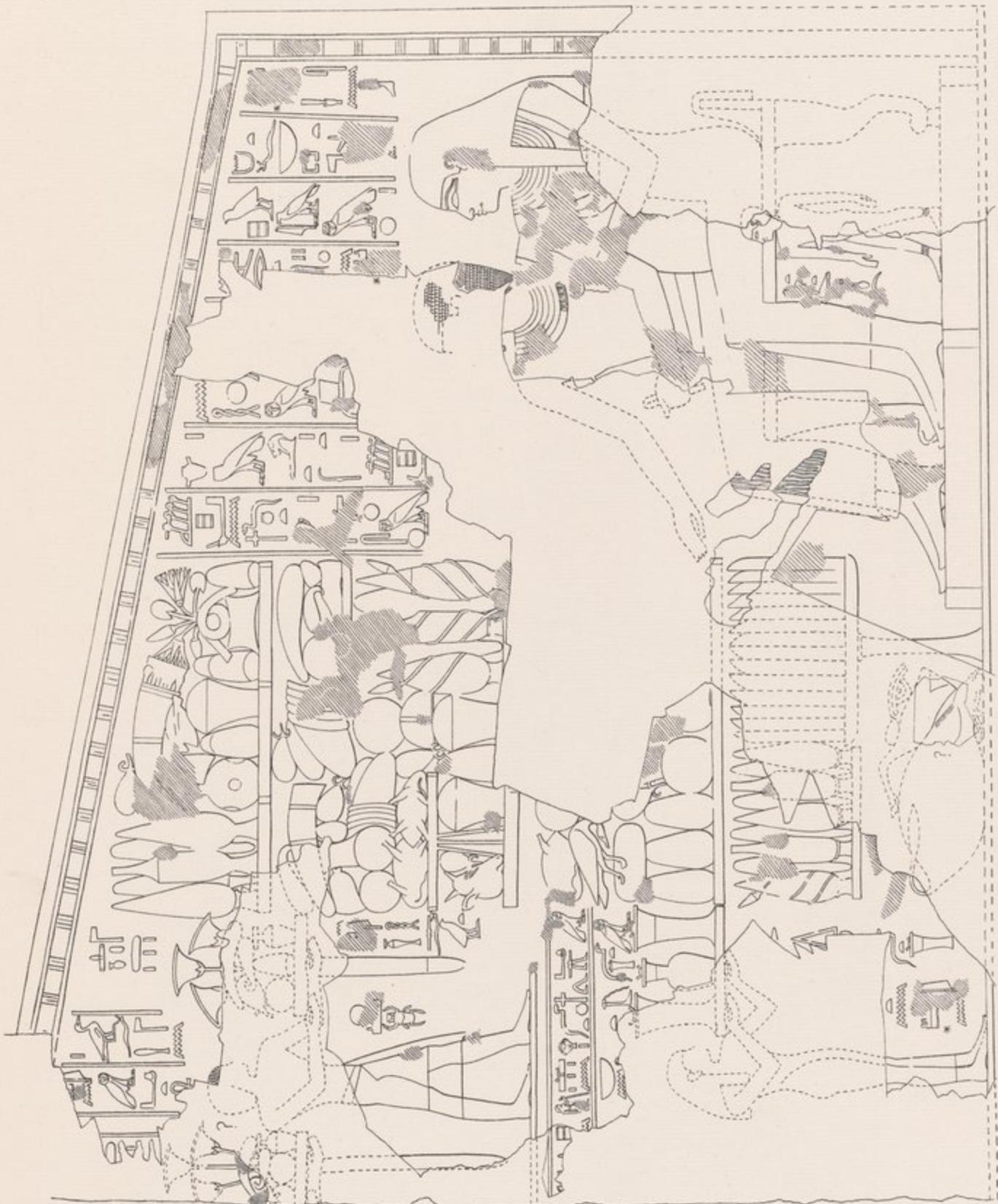


PLATE LXV

PUYEMRÊ AND SENSENEB

A. Head of Senseneb from the South Chapel

(See page 39 and Plate LXIV)

B. Granite statue of Puyemrê in Cairo Museum

(See Volume I, page 21)





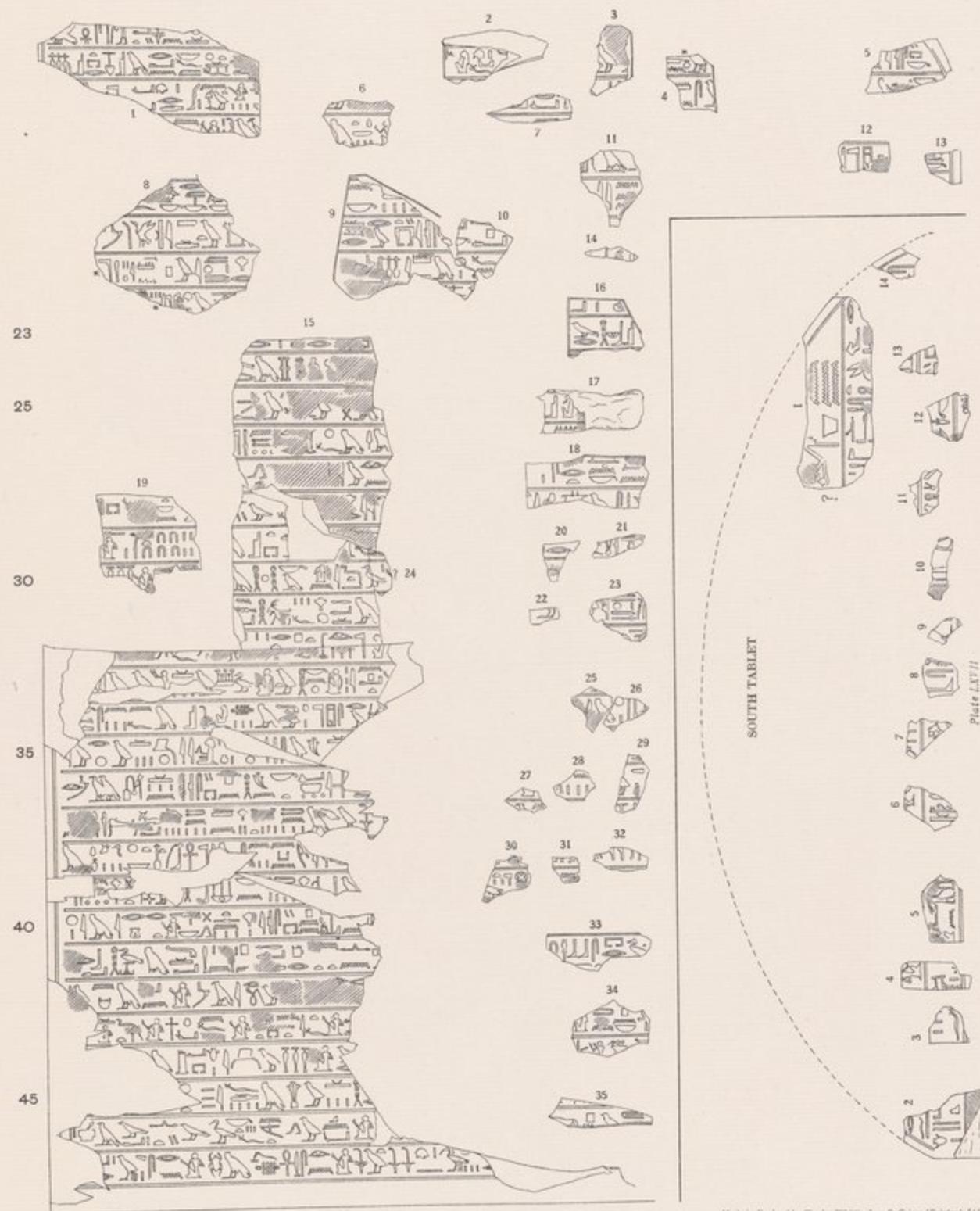
PLATE LXVI

FAÇADE. BIOGRAPHICAL TABLET A. SCALE 1:7

Contains also the first lines of Tablet E. The numbered fragments here and in

Plate LXVII were derelict

(See Volume I, pages 39-41)



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Plate LVI/II

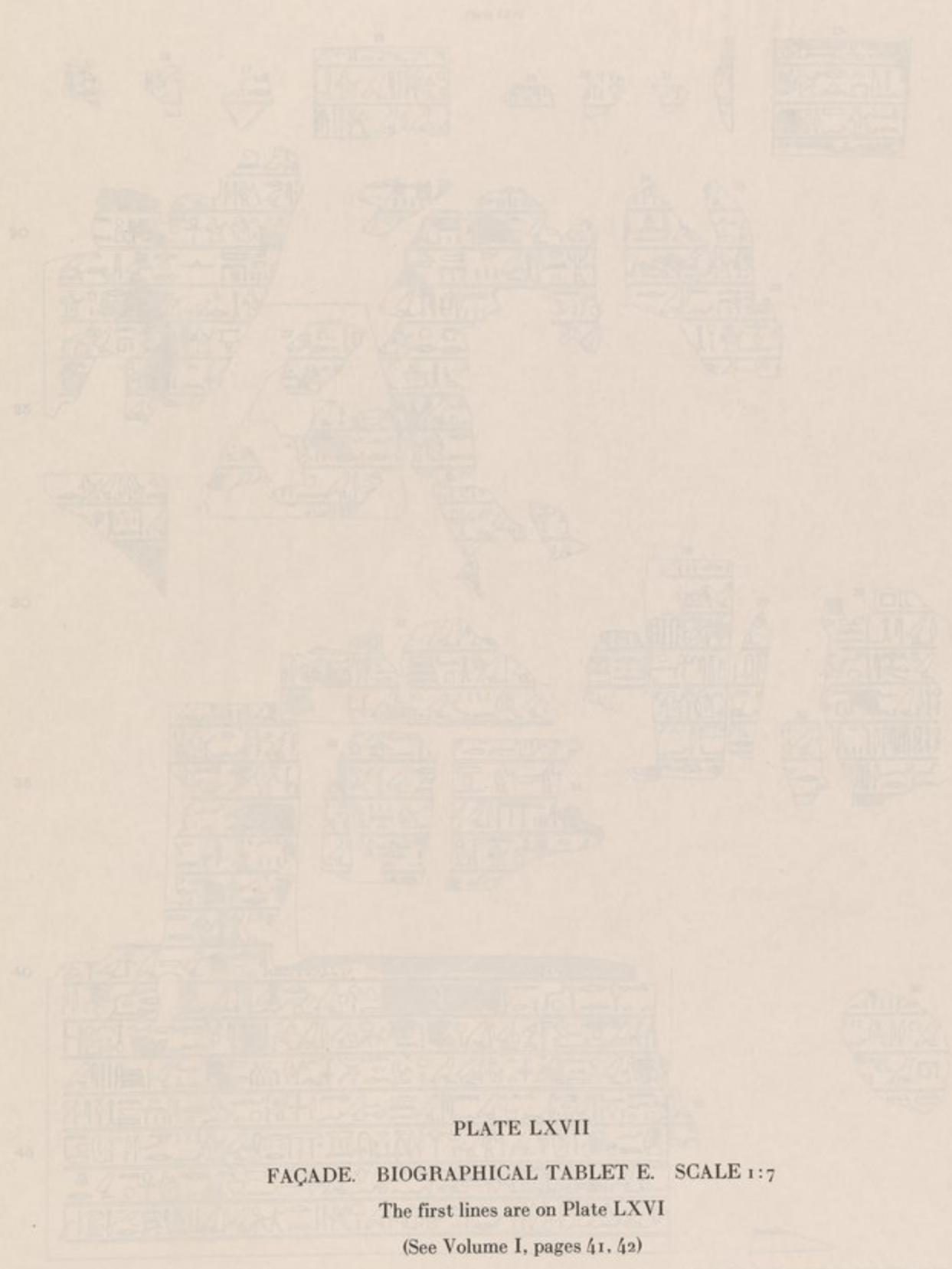


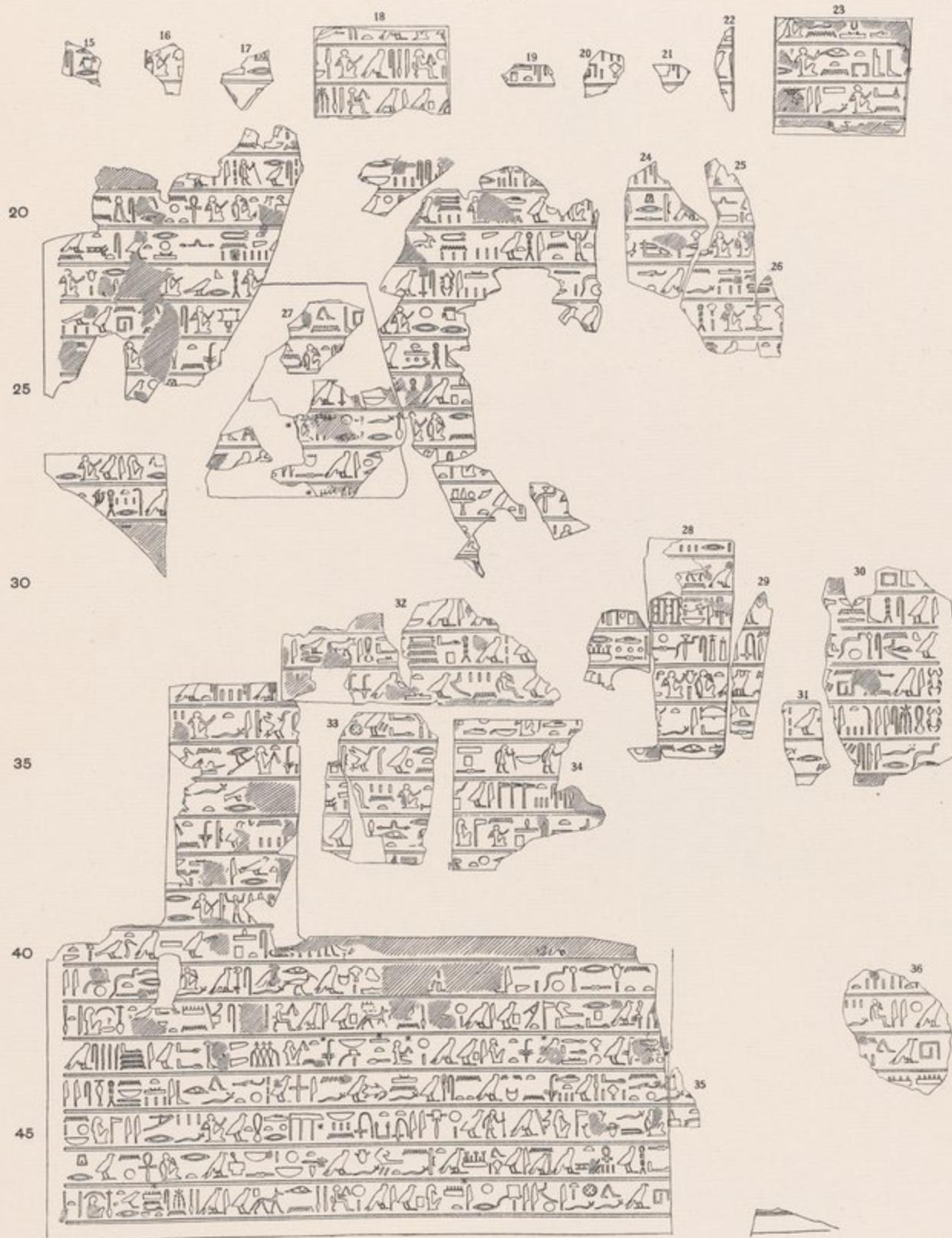
PLATE LXVII

FAÇADE. BIOGRAPHICAL TABLET E. SCALE 1:7

The first lines are on Plate LXVI

(See Volume I, pages 41, 42)

Plate LXVI



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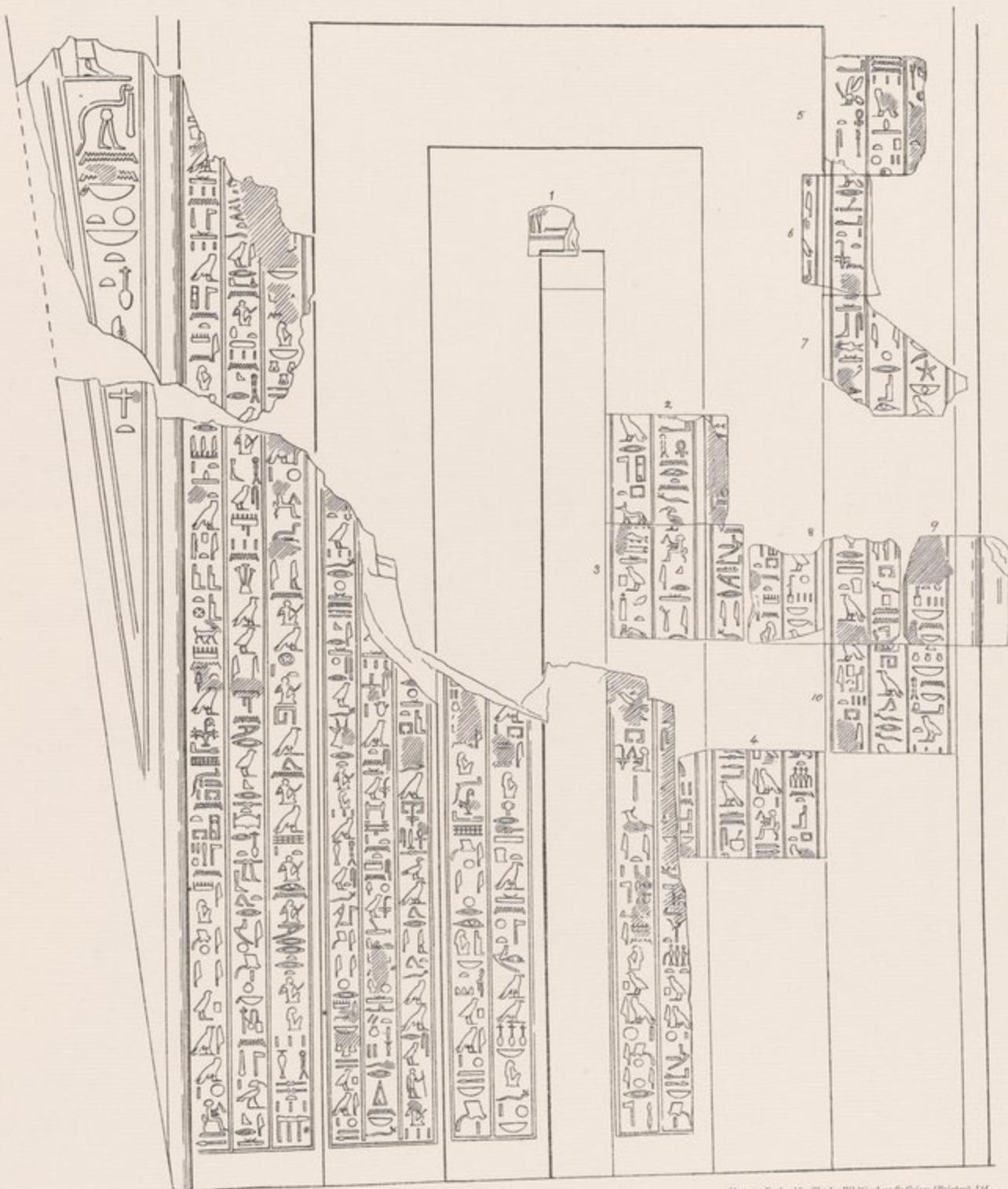


PLATE LXVIII

PORTEICO, NORTH WALL. STELA D. SCALE 1:10

The numbered stones are those found and replaced so far as evidence serves

(See pages 44, 45)



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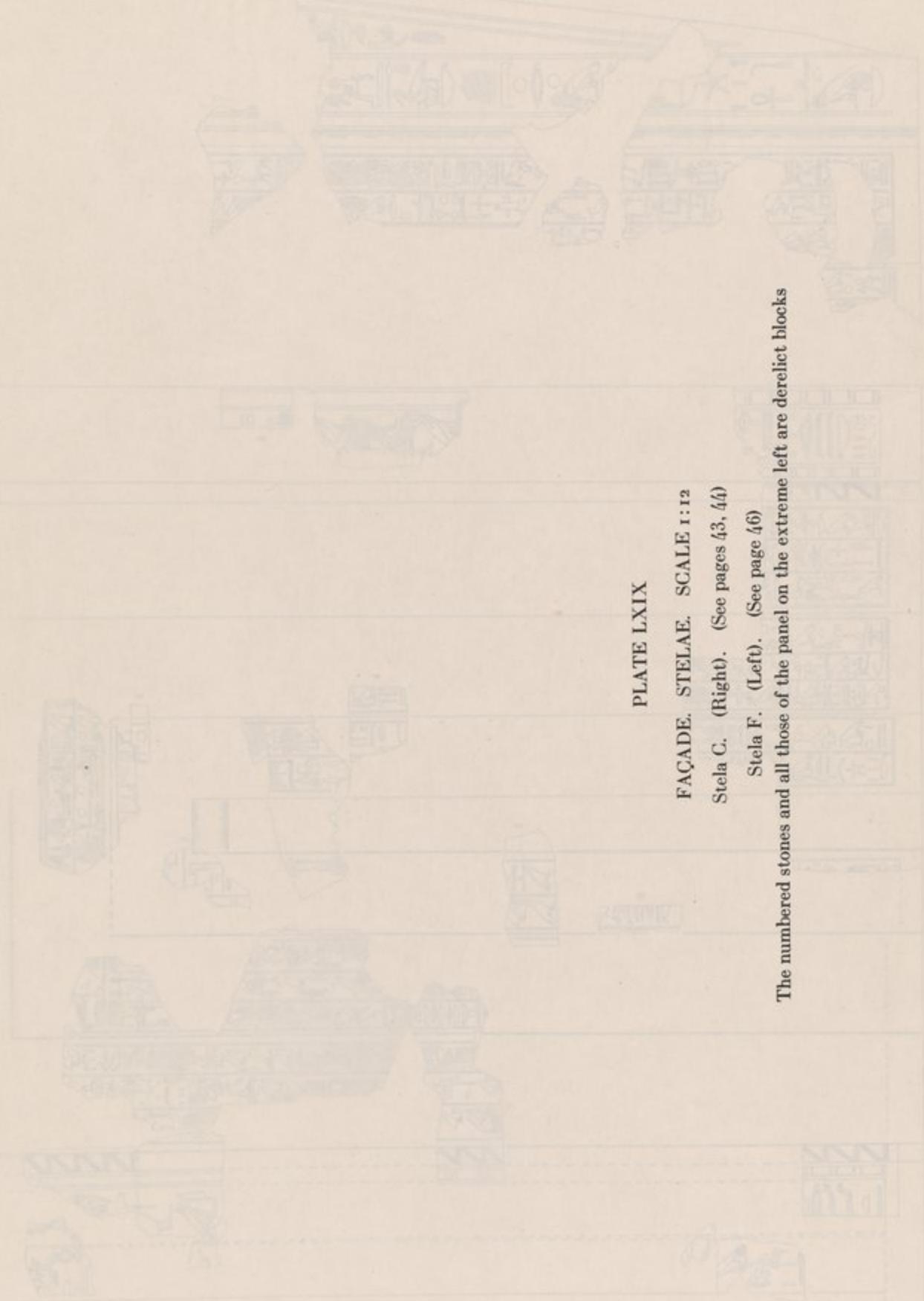


PLATE LXIX

FAÇADE. STELAE. SCALE 1:12

Stela C. (Right). (See pages 43, 44)

Stela F. (Left). (See page 46)

The numbered stones and all those of the panel on the extreme left are derelict blocks

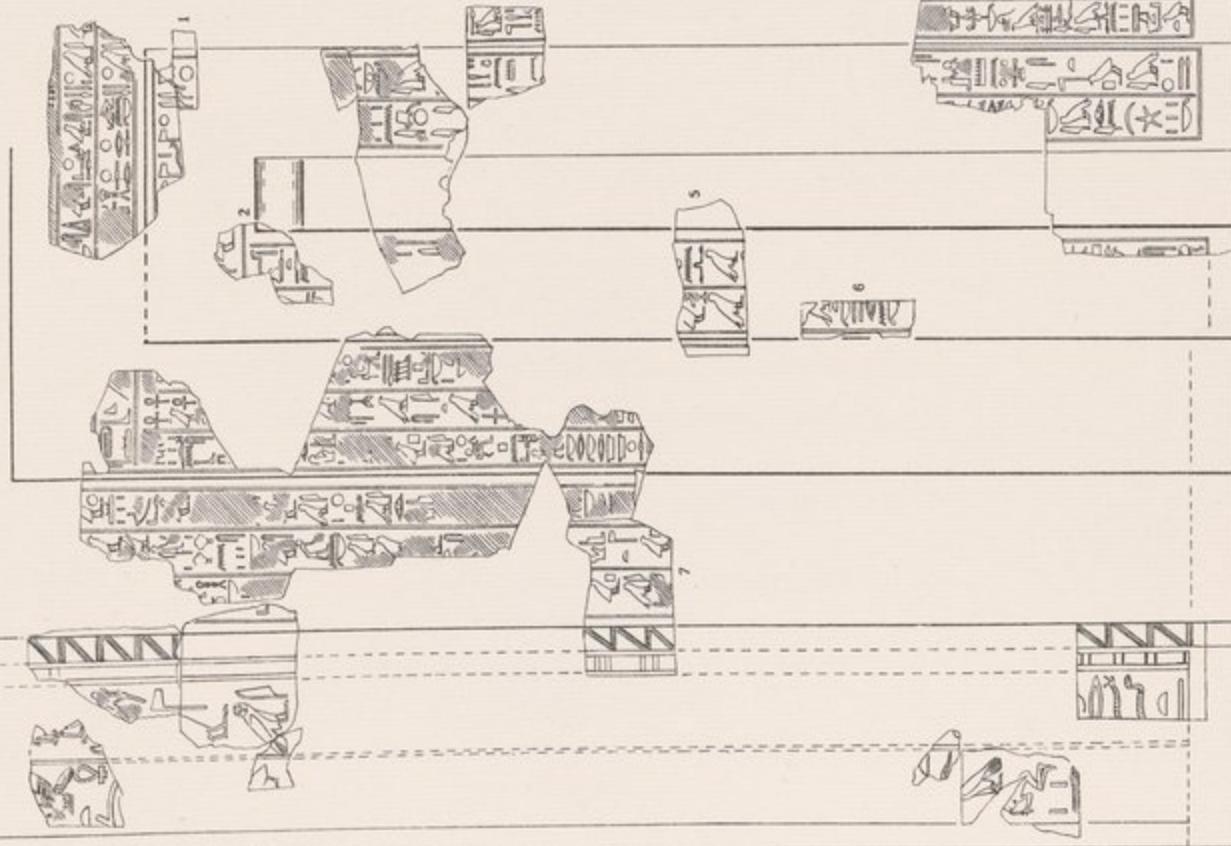
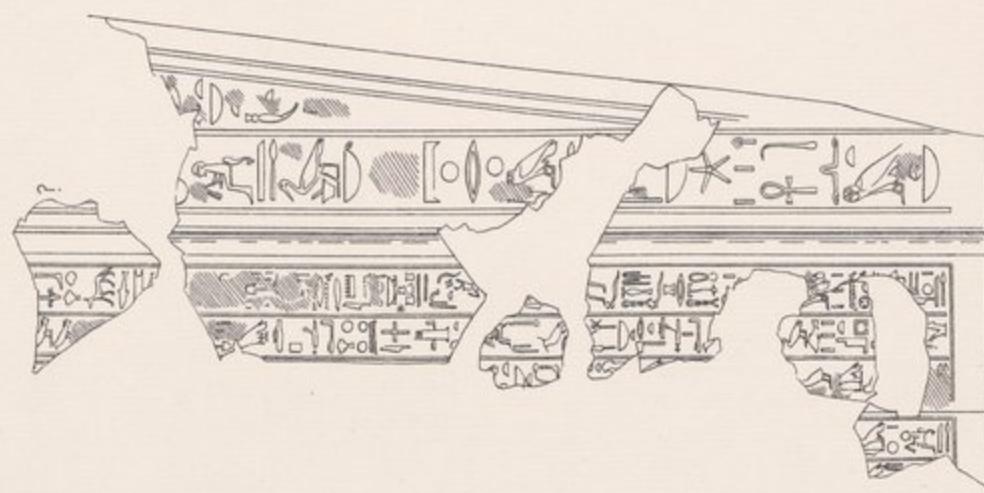
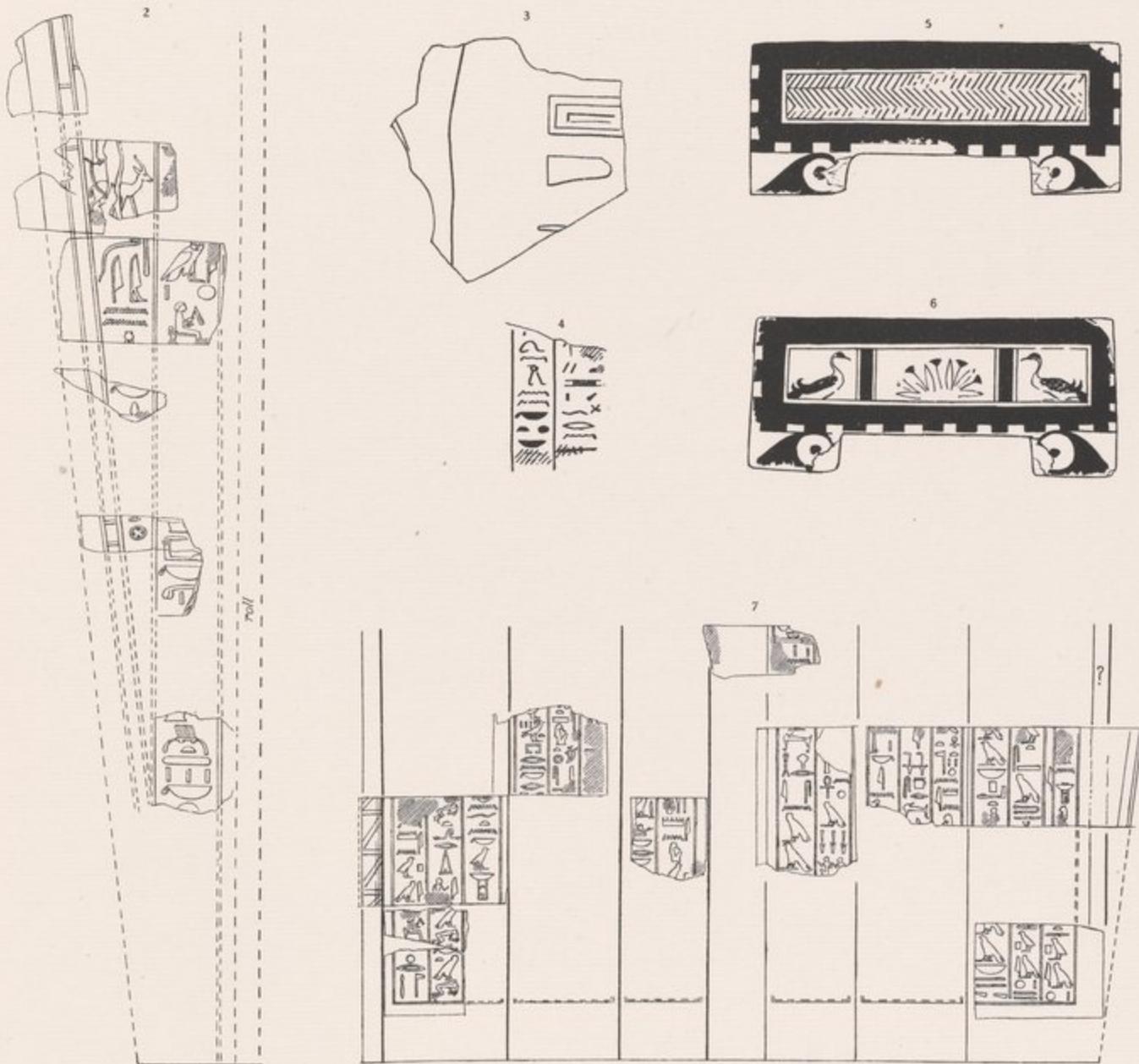
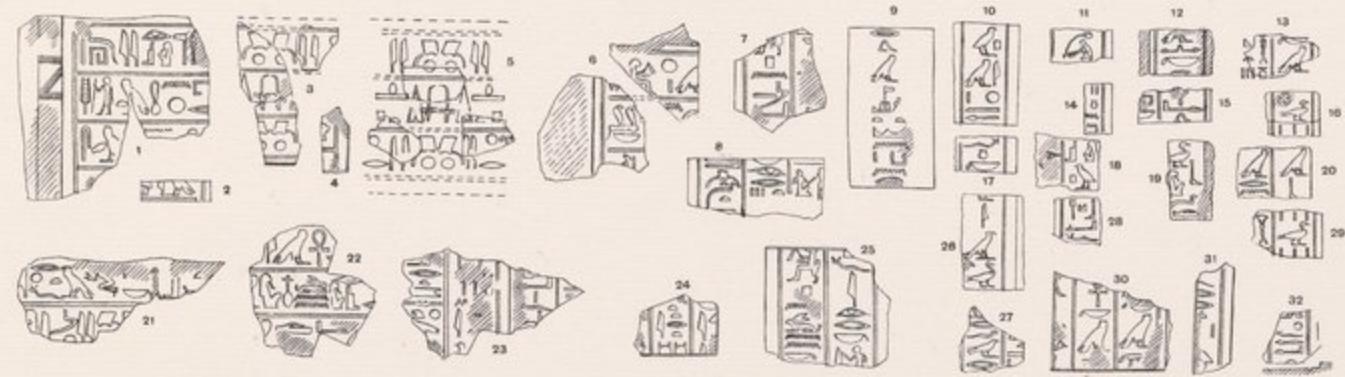




PLATE LXX

FRAGMENTS FROM THE PORTICO AND ELSEWHERE

1. The larger unplaced fragments of the stelae. Scale 1:12  
(See pages 45, 46, 61)
2. The panel at the east end of the façade (reconstruction). Scale 1:12  
(See page 47)
- 3, 4. A fragment and its memorandum on a shard. Scale 2:3  
(See Volume I, page 15)
- 5, 6. Sides of a painted wooden stand. Full scale  
(See Volume I, page 16)
7. Stela H (reconstruction). Scale 1:12  
(See pages 47, 53)



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PLATE LXXI  
PORTICO WALL, INNER FACE. SANDSTONE FRAGMENTS WITH SCENES IN POLYCHROME RELIEF. SCALE 1:5  
(See pages 63, 64, and Volume I, pages 5, 6)



PLATE LXXII

PORTICO WALL, OUTER FACE. SANDSTONE FRAGMENTS WITH INCISED SCENES. SCALE 1:5

(See pages 55, 64, 65, and Volume I, pages 5, 6)

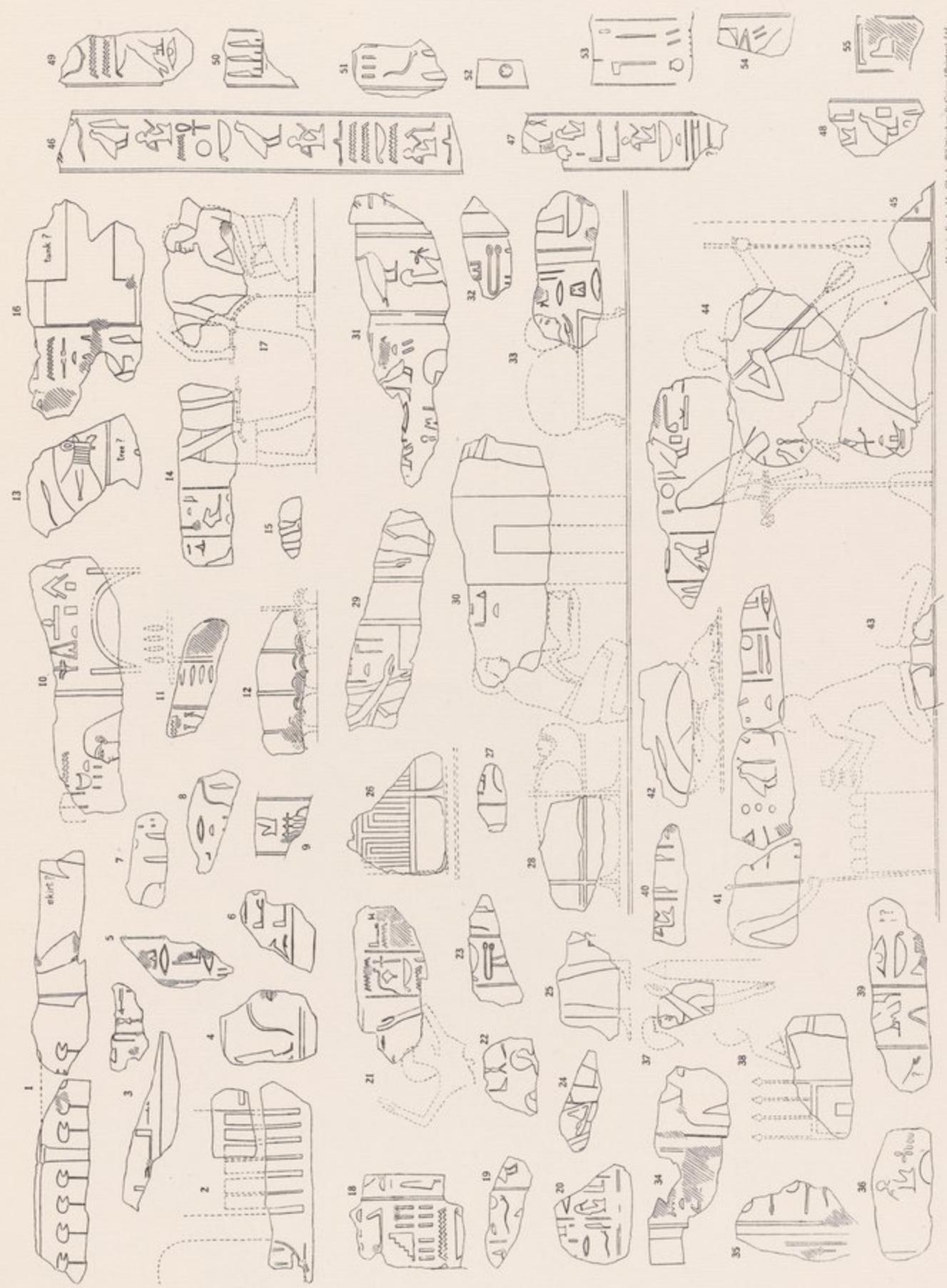
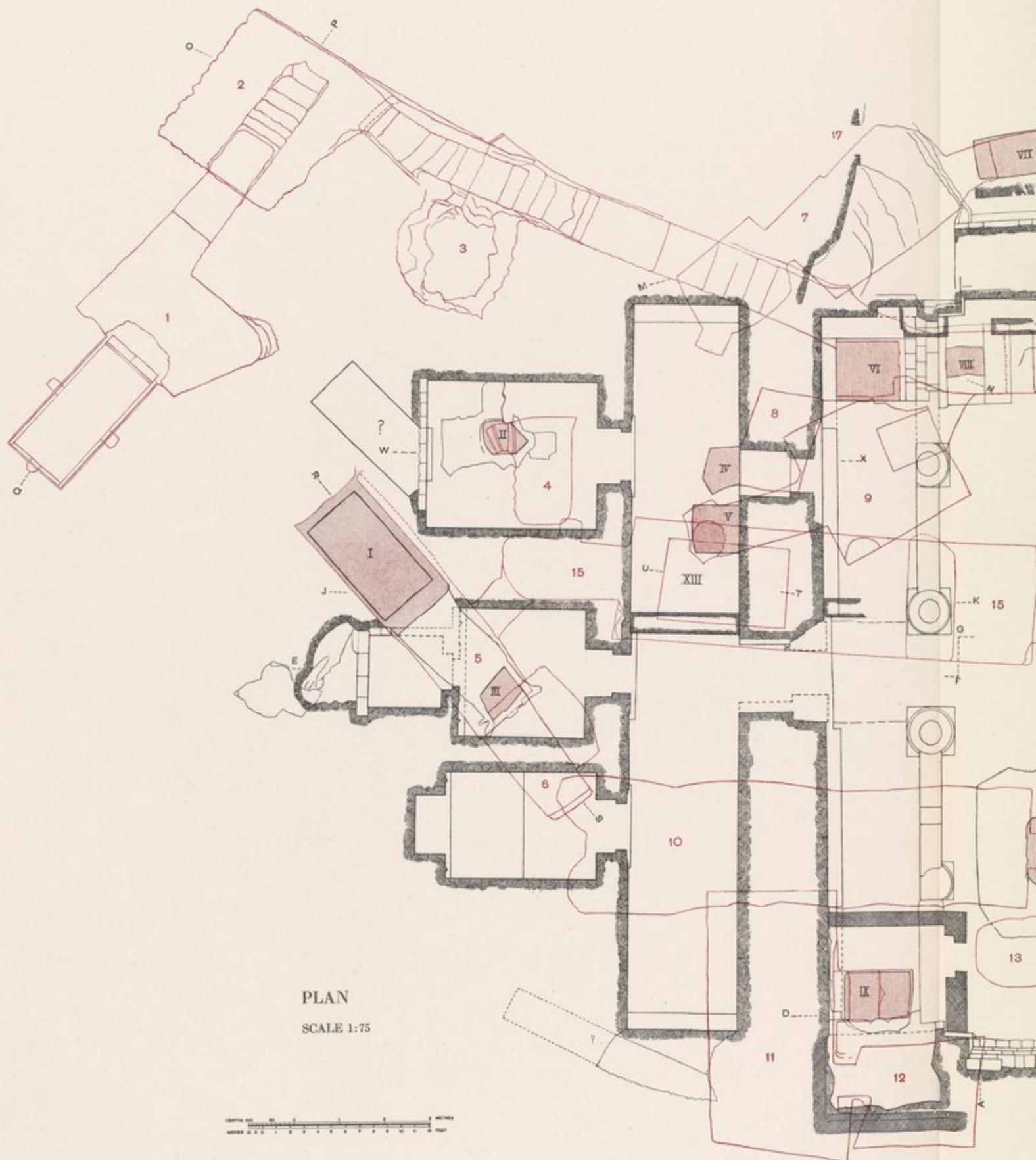


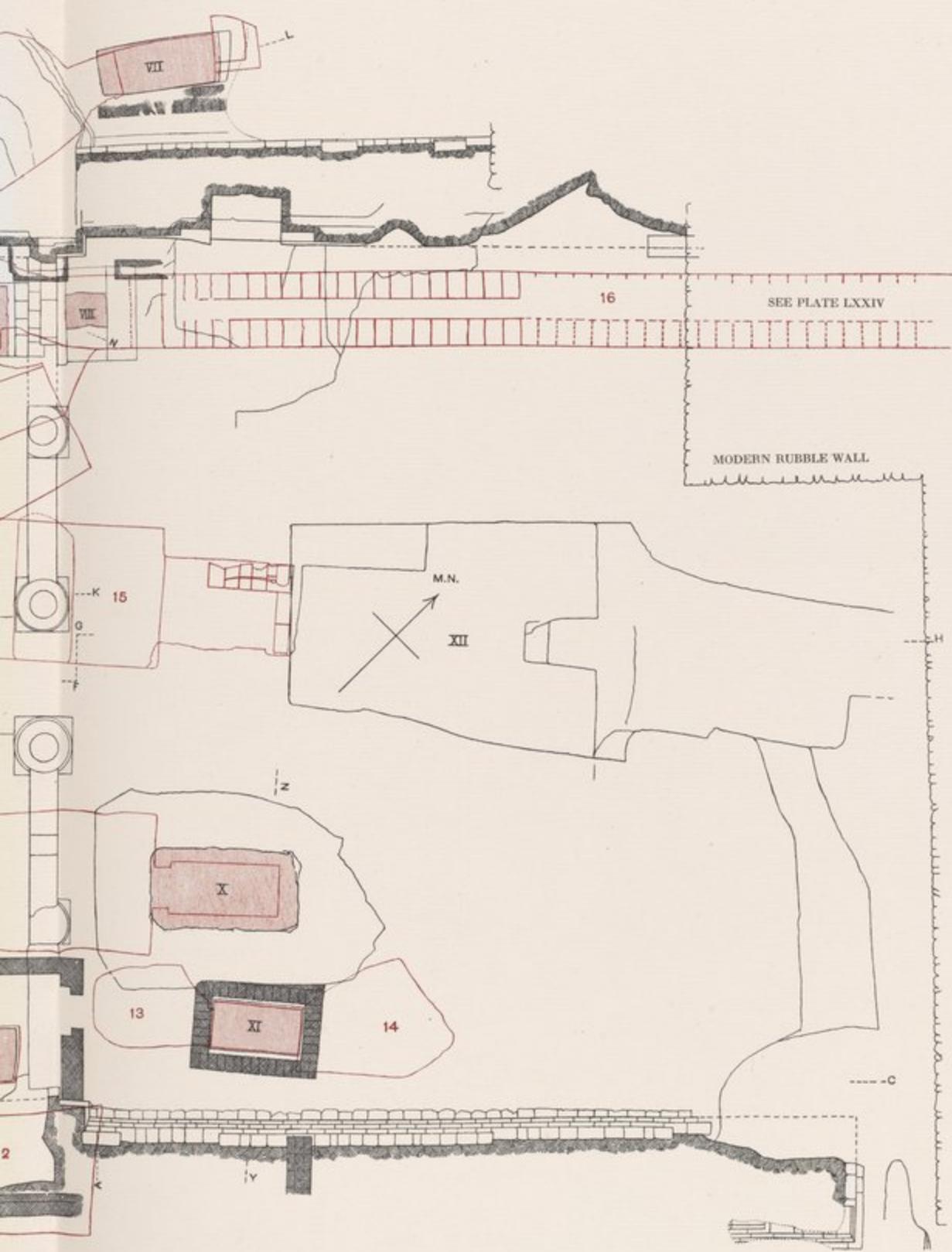
PLATE LXXIII

PLAN OF THE TOMB AND THE COURTYARD. SCALE 1:75

The burial shafts are marked with Roman and the underground chambers with Arabic numerals  
Both are printed in red

(See pages 52-62 and Volume I, pages 3, 6, 11, 12)





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PLATE LXXIV

1. PLAN AND SECTION OF THE STAIRWAY TOMB. SCALE 1:100

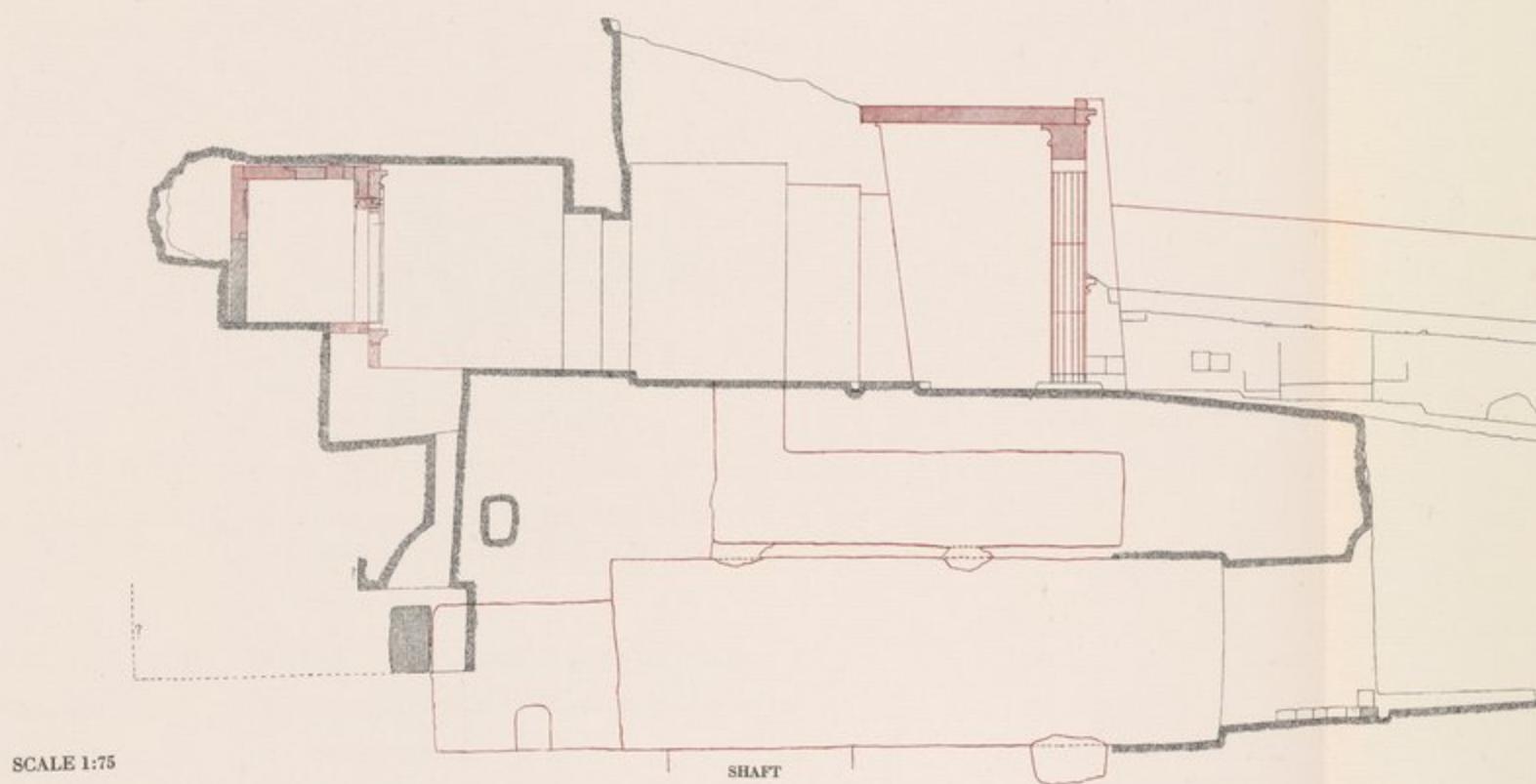
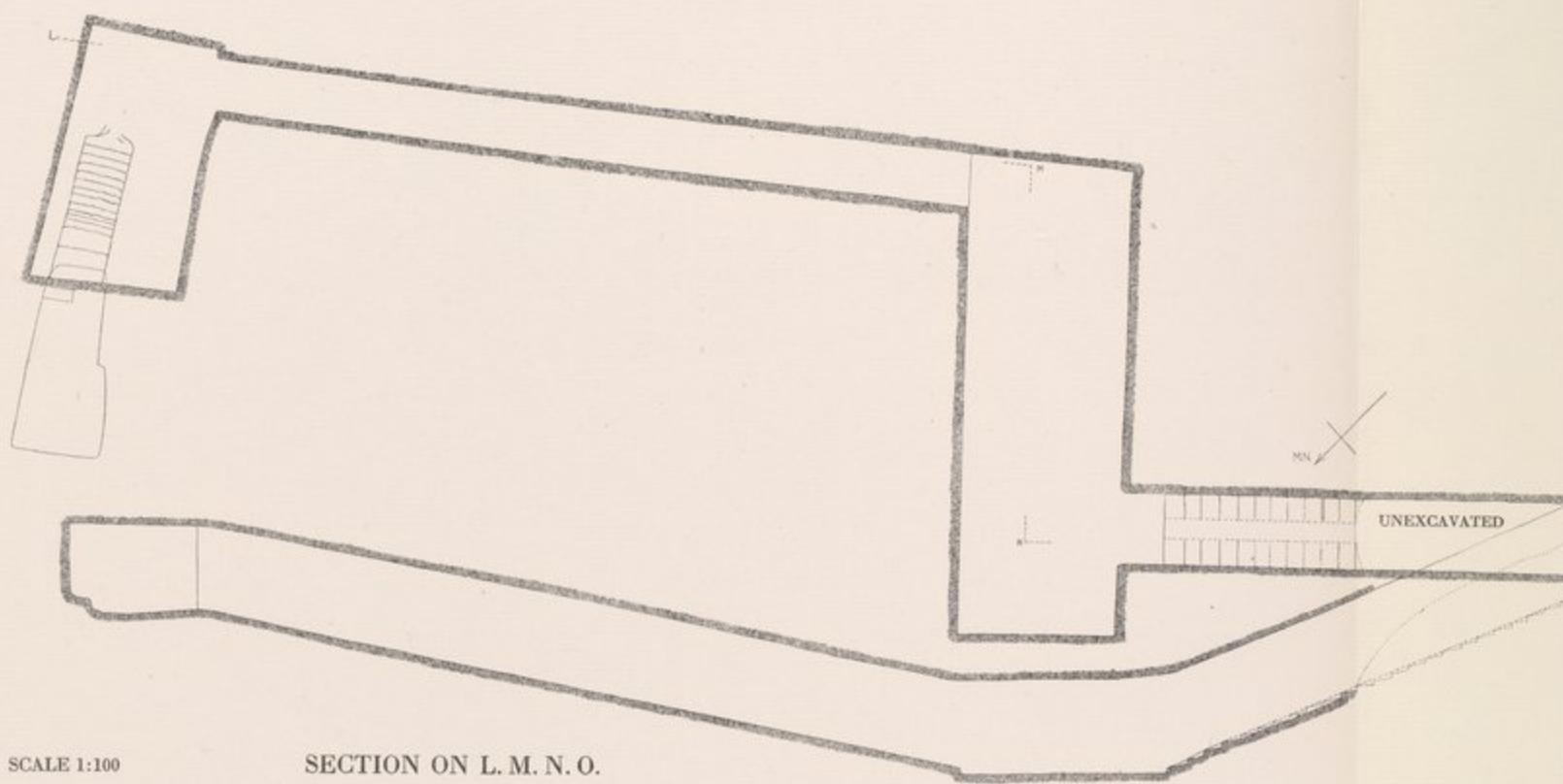
It is reached by Shaft VIII and is not shown complete on Plate LXXIII. The section is placed across it for convenience

(See pages 57-59)

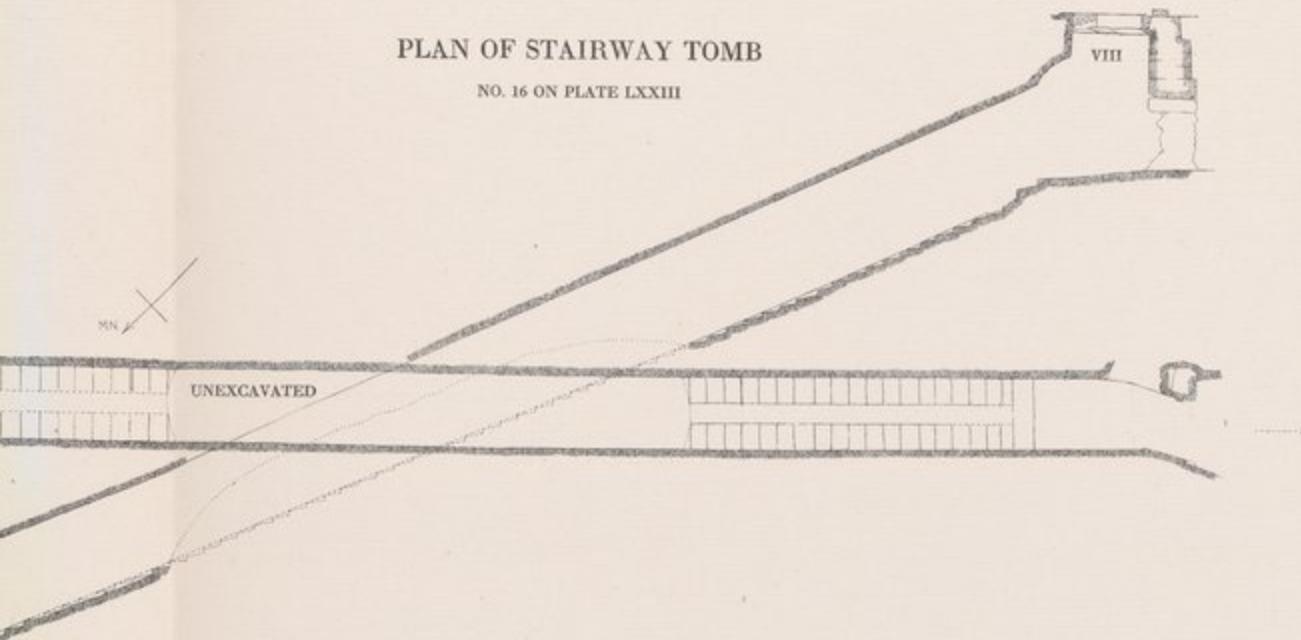
2. SECTION DOWN THE AXIS OF THE MAIN TOMB. SCALE 1:75

The north boundary wall is shown in elevation. Restorations are in red

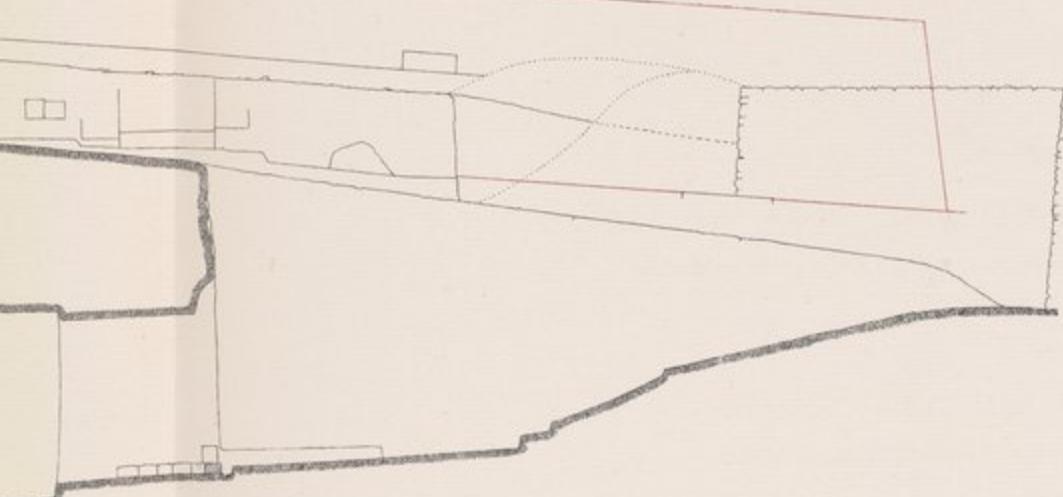
(See pages 51-57)



PLAN OF STAIRWAY TOMB  
NO. 16 ON PLATE LXXIII



SECTION ON E. F. G. H.  
SEE PLATE LXXIII



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PLATE LXXV

1. RESTORED ELEVATION OF THE PORTICO, GIVING A SECTION ALSO OF  
THE BOUNDARY WALLS

(See pages 53-56 and Volume I, pages 4-7)

2. SECTIONS OF SHAFTS X AND XI

(See pages 59-60)

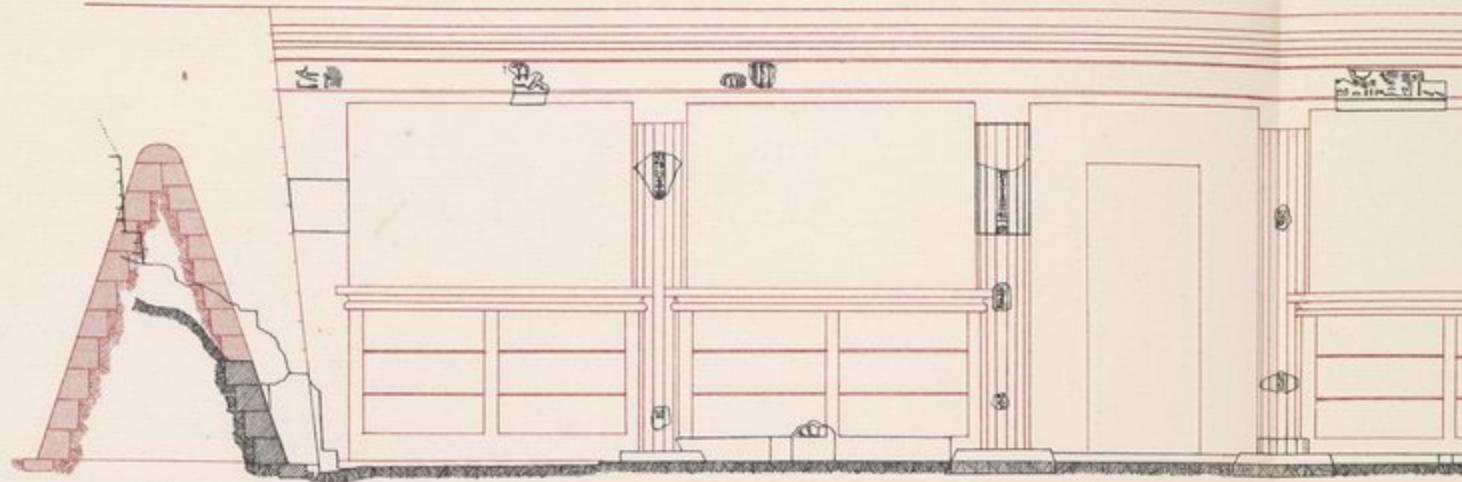
3. SECTION THROUGH THE PORTICO SHOWING THE EAST  
BOUNDARY WALL

(See pages 53-56)

4. ELEVATION OF THE FAÇADE OF THE TOMB ON A LARGER SCALE

Hypothetical reconstruction in red with insertion of extant fragments in black

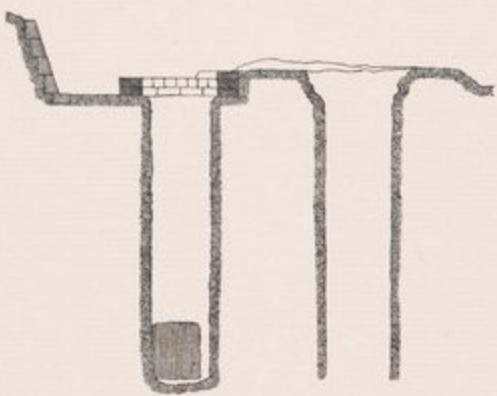
(See pages 51, 52 and Volume I, pages 6, 7)



CENTIM. 100 80 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 METRES  
INCHES 12 8 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 FEET

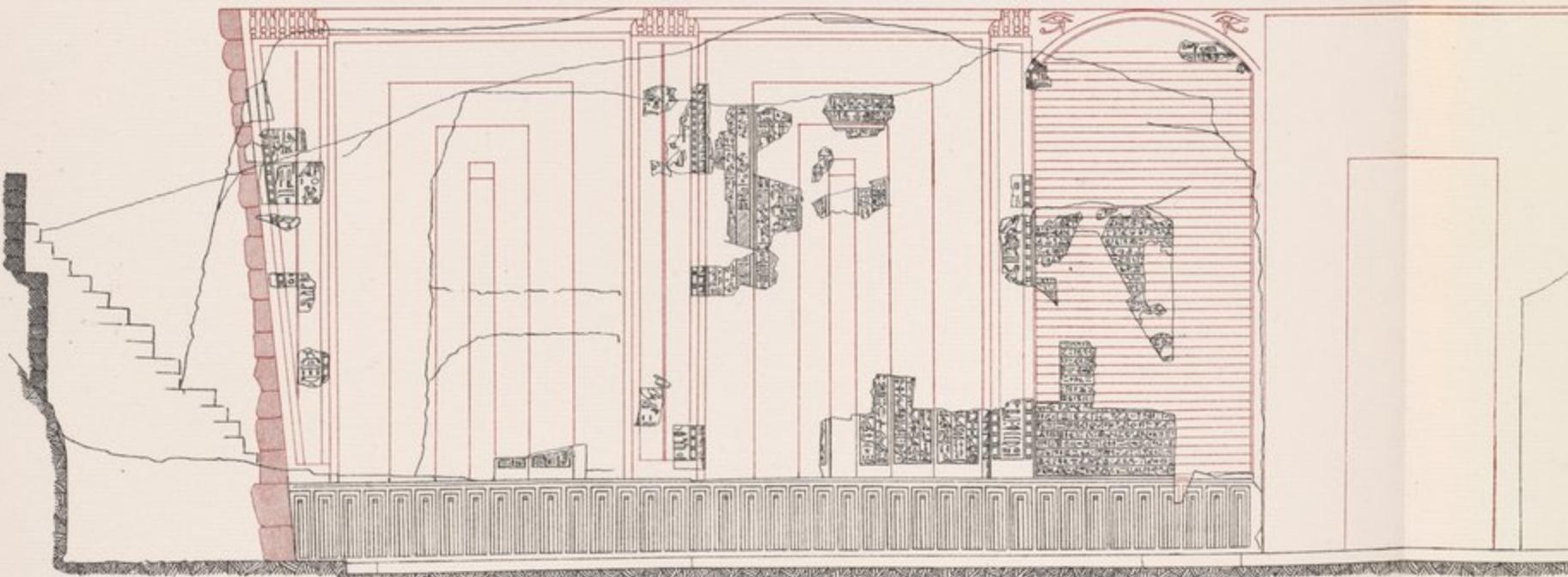
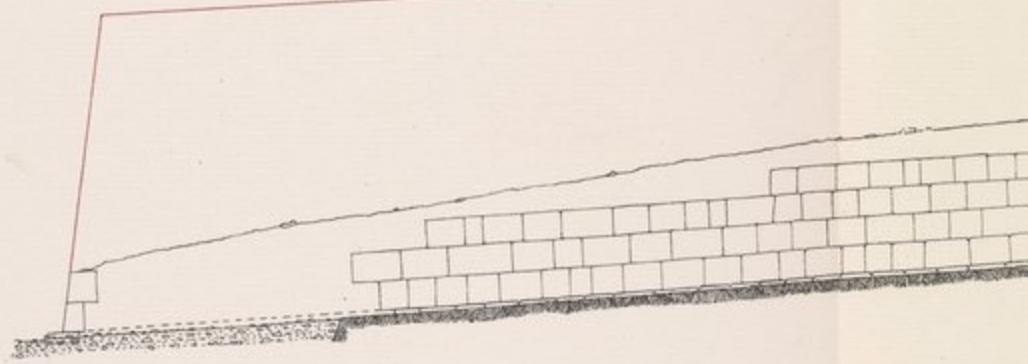
SCALE 1:50

ELEVATION OF PORTICO

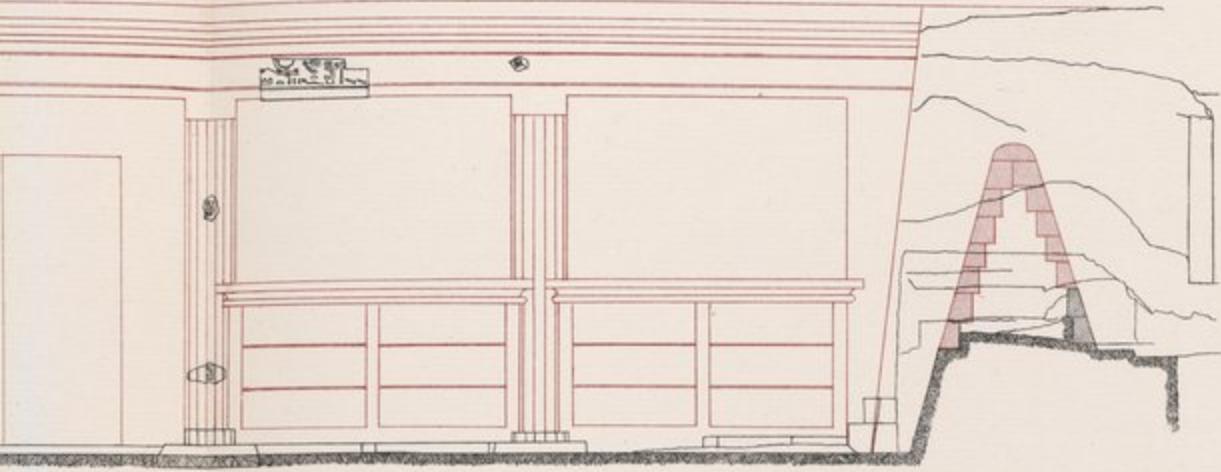


SCALE 1:75

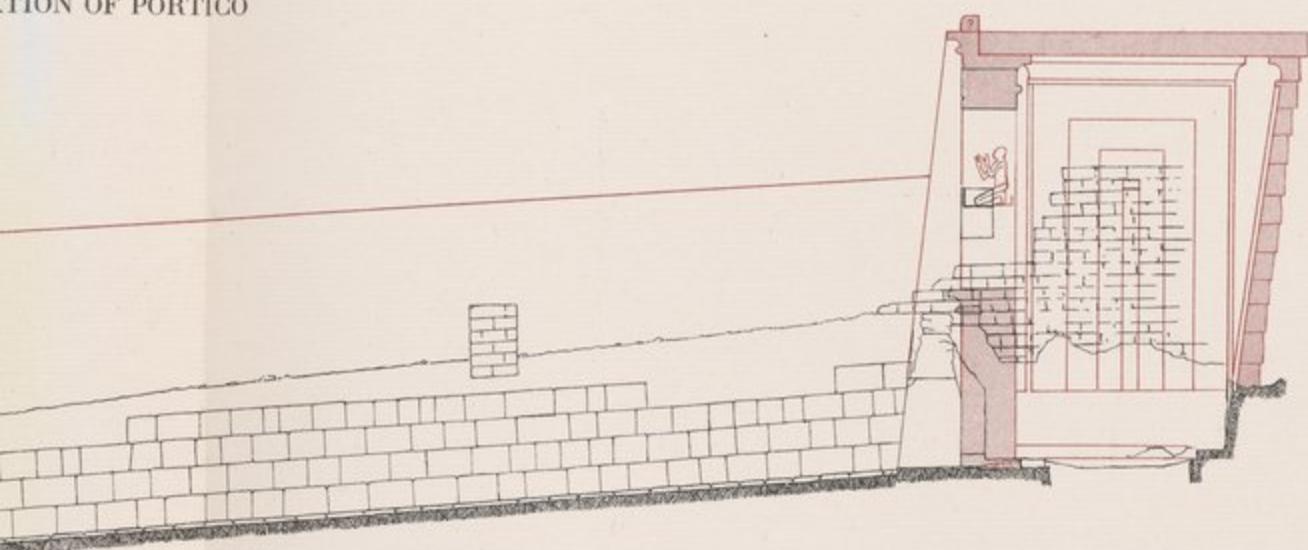
SECTION ON Y.Z.



ELEVATION OF FAÇADE

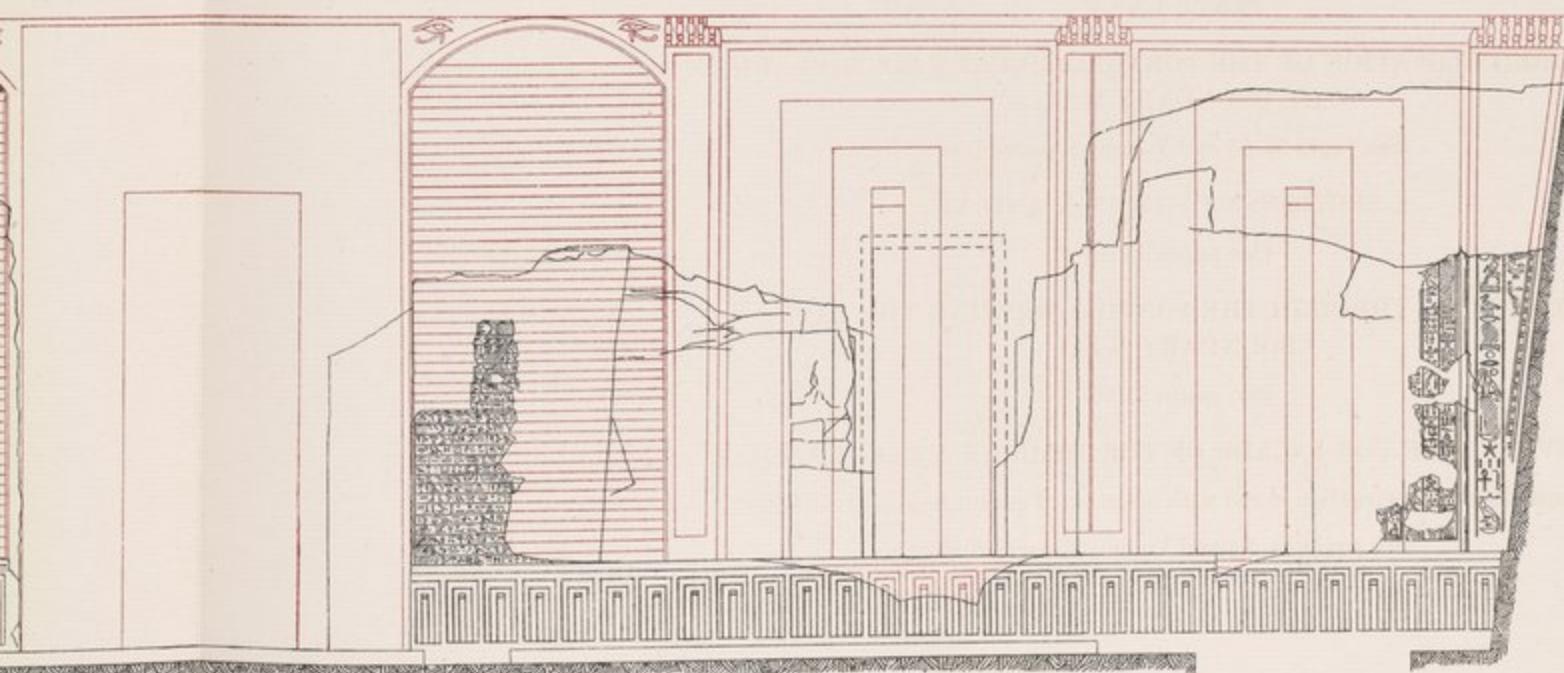


SECTION OF PORTICO



SECTION ON C. D.

SCALE 1:50



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SECTION OF FAÇADE

SECTION ON N. O.  
SECTION

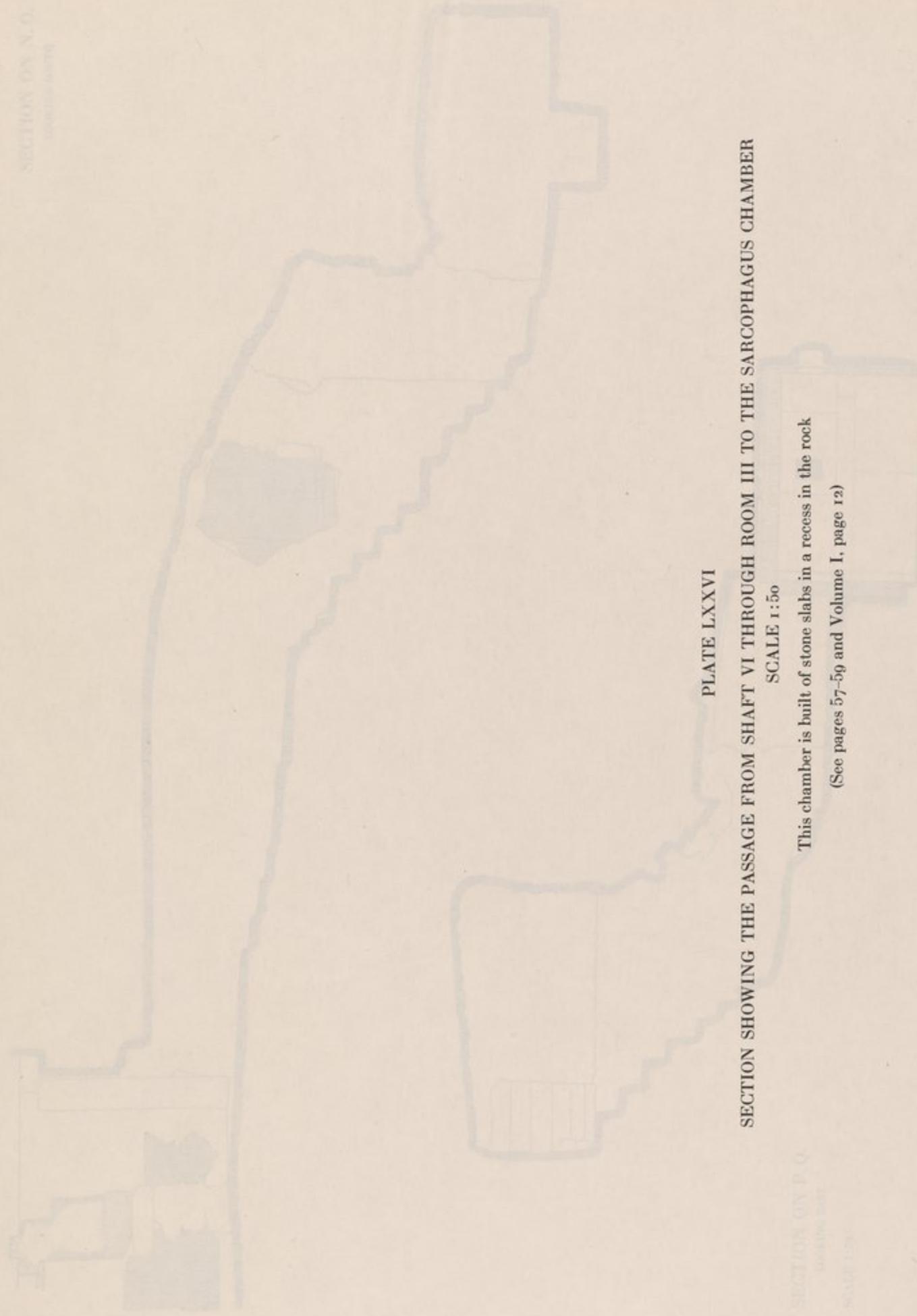


PLATE LXXVI

SECTION SHOWING THE PASSAGE FROM SHAFT VI THROUGH ROOM III TO THE SARCOPHAGUS CHAMBER

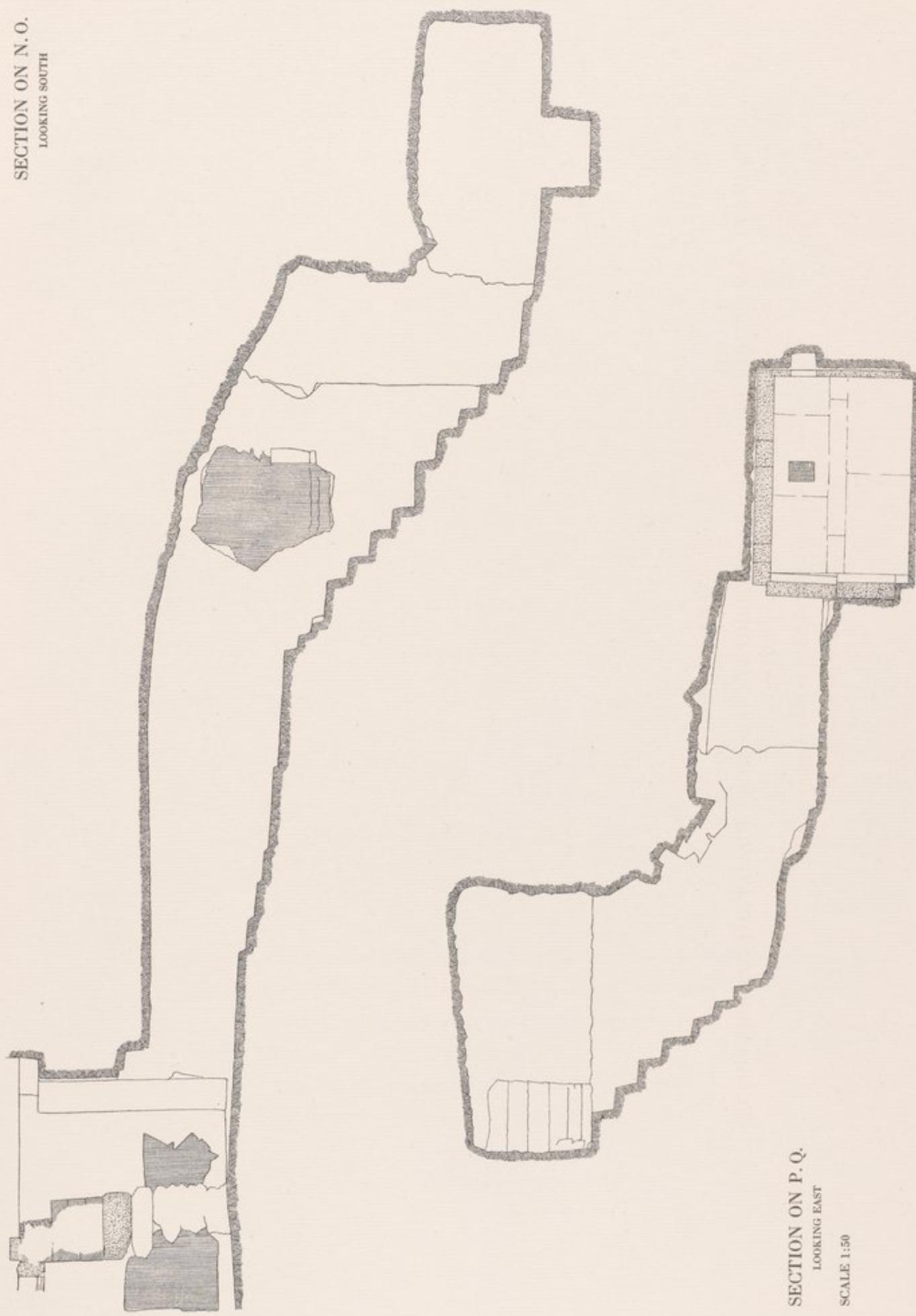
SCALE 1:50

This chamber is built of stone slabs in a recess in the rock

(See pages 57-59 and Volume I, page 12)

SECTION ON P. Q.  
SECTION  
SECTION  
SECTION  
SECTION

SECTION ON N. O.  
LOOKING SOUTH



SECTION ON P, Q.  
LOOKING EAST  
SCALE 1:50

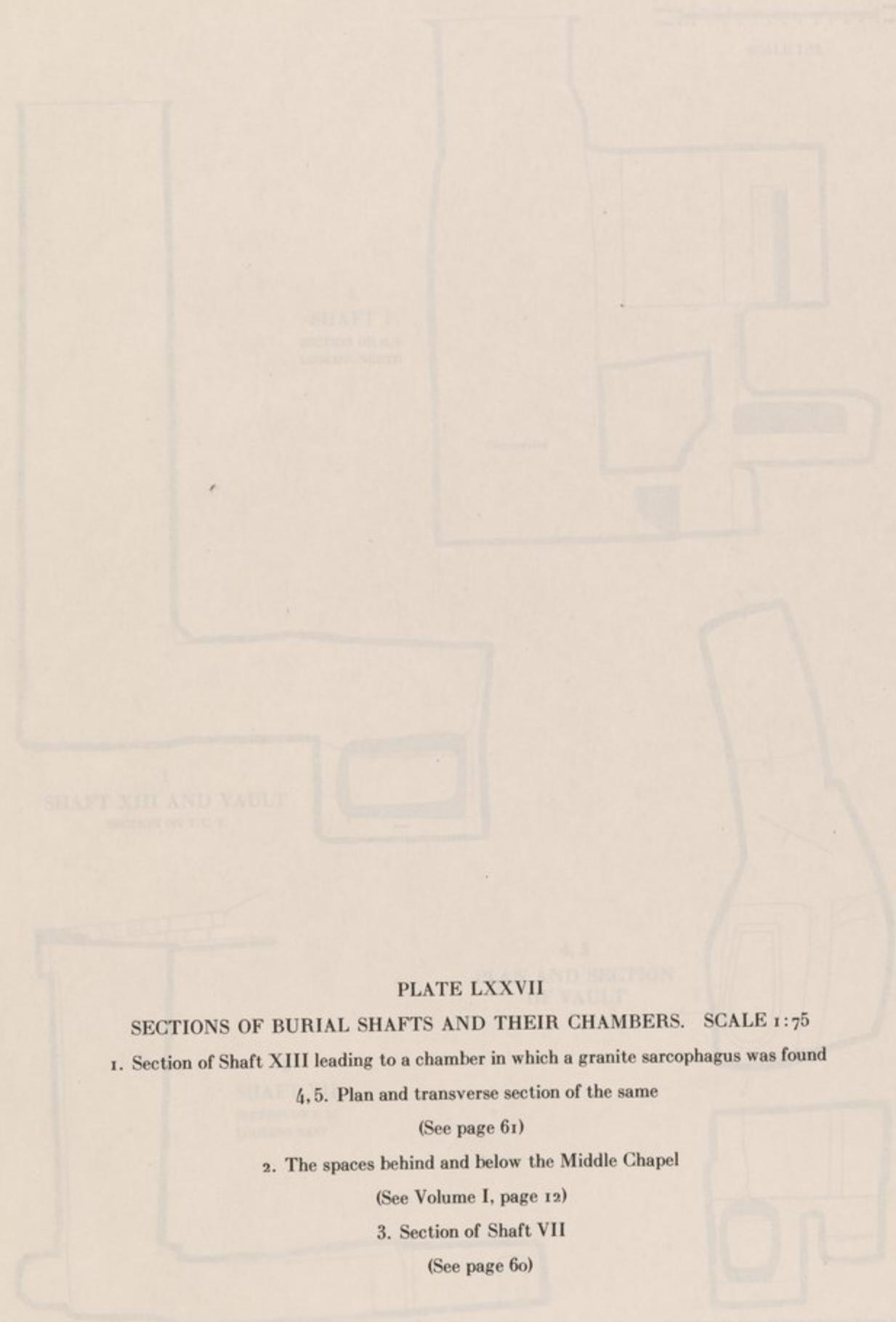


PLATE LXXVII

SECTIONS OF BURIAL SHAFTS AND THEIR CHAMBERS. SCALE 1:75

1. Section of Shaft XIII leading to a chamber in which a granite sarcophagus was found

4, 5. Plan and transverse section of the same

(See page 61)

2. The spaces behind and below the Middle Chapel

(See Volume I, page 12)

3. Section of Shaft VII

(See page 60)

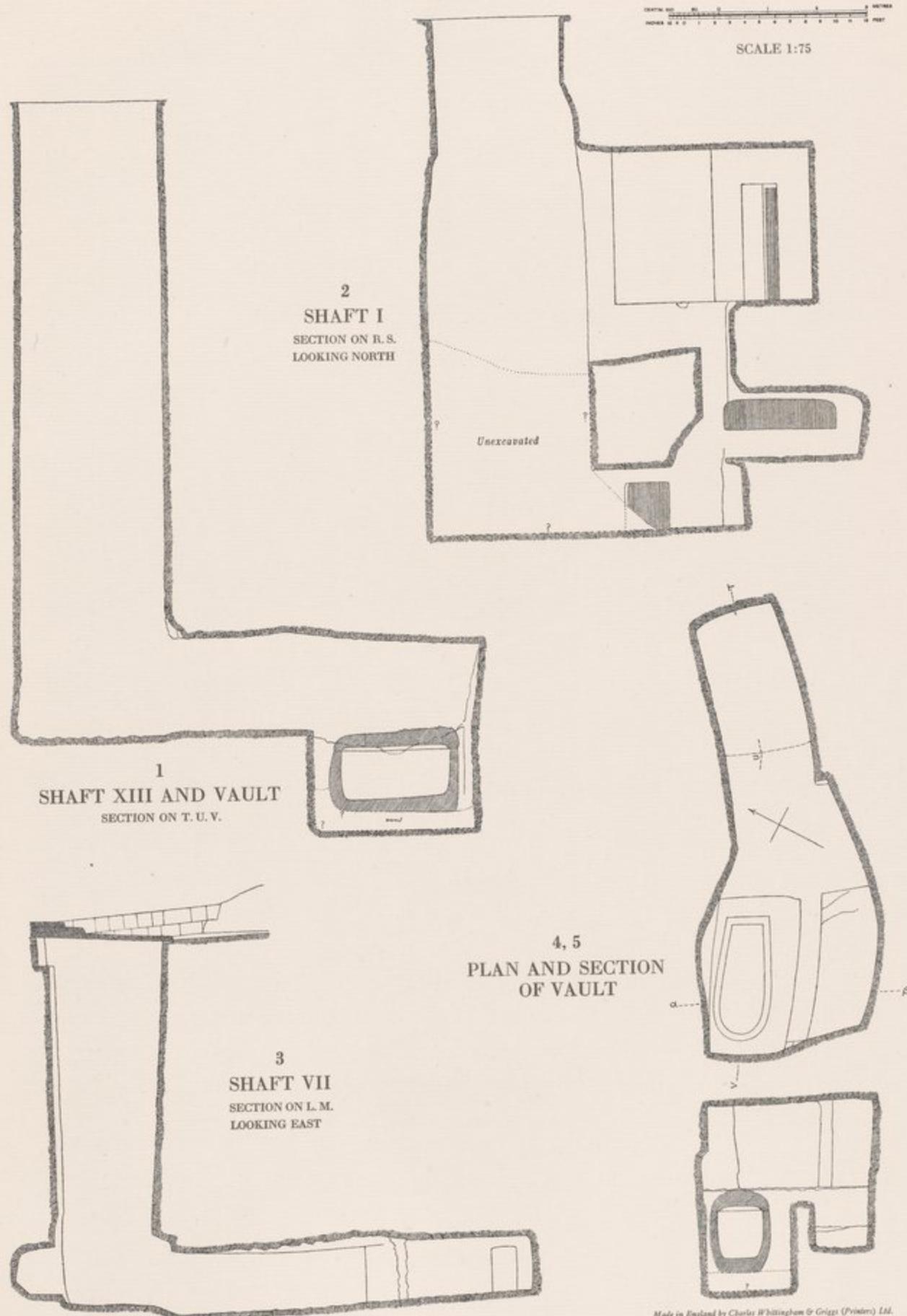


PLATE LXXVIII

INTERIOR DOORWAYS

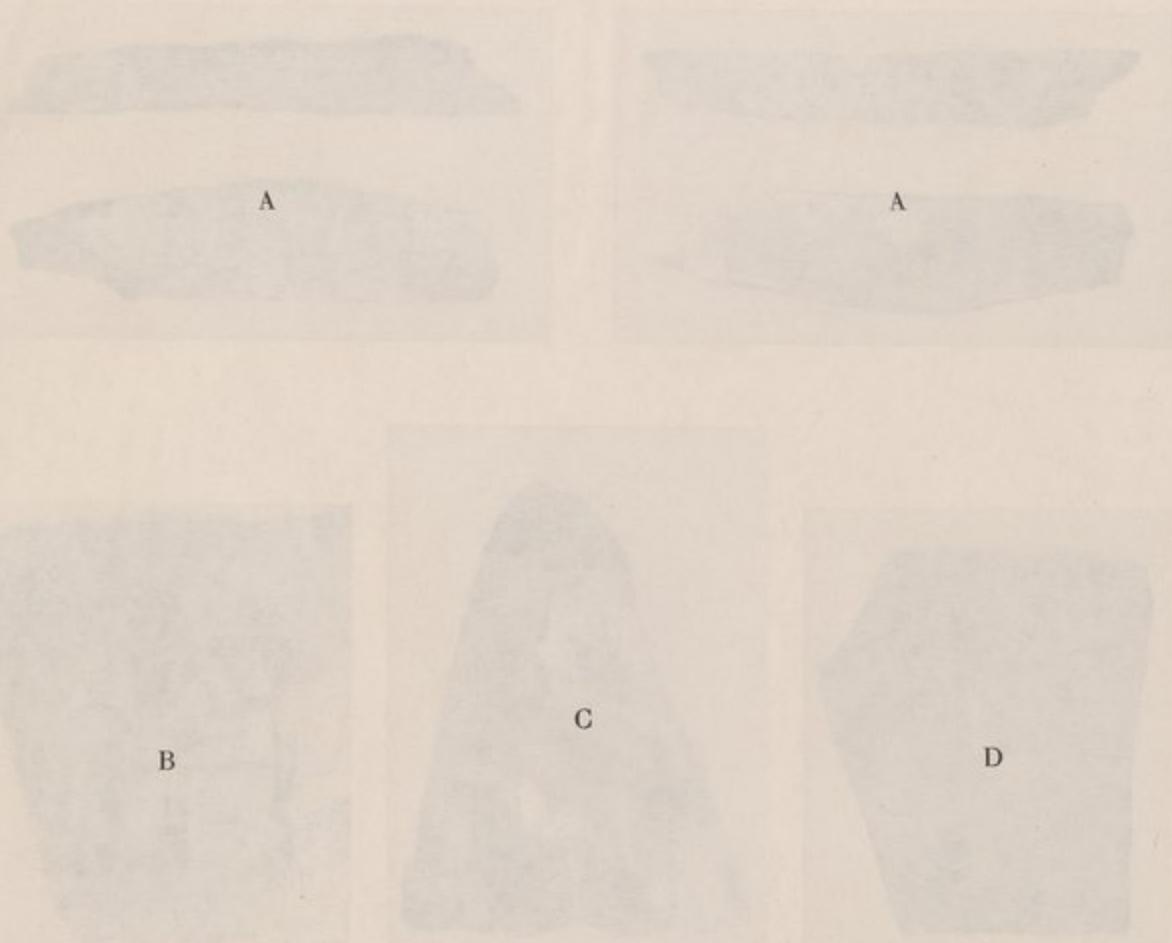
A. The doorway to the North Chapel

(See Volume I, pages 8-10, and Plates XLIV, XLV)

B. The reconstructed shrine doorway

(See pages 26-28 and Plate LVI)





A

A

C

B

D

F

PLATE LXXIX

PHOTOGRAPHS OF OBJECTS FOUND ON THE SITE

A. Obverse and reverse of splinters from a tablet with hieratic inscription

(See page 62)

B and C. Painted sketches on limestone

(See page 63 and Volume I, page 15)

E

G

D. Potsherd with sketch of a mural scene drawn in ink

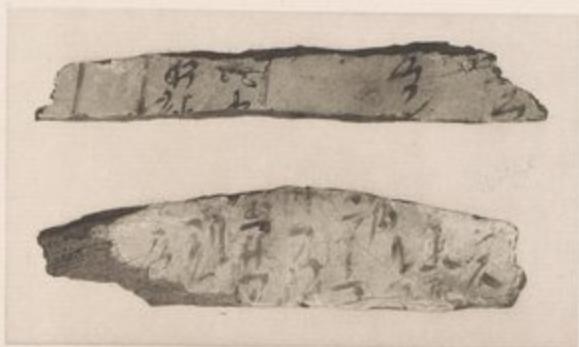
(See Volume I, page 15)

E and G. Two fragmentary *shawabti* figures of Puyemrê in limestone

(See Volume I, page 14)

F. Fragment of a squatting limestone statue of Puyemrê

(See Volume I, page 14)



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IN THE MONTH OF MAY  
MCMXXIII

