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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF EGYPT

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TWENTY-FIRST MEMOIR

FIVE THEBAN TOMBS

(BEING THOSE OF MENTUHERKHEPESHEF, USER, DAGA, NEHEMAWÄY AND TATI)

BY

N. DE GARIS DAVIES

WITH FORTY-THREE PLATES

LONDON

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PREFACE.

My real indebtedness for the power to publish this volume is due, though indirectly, to the Metropolitan Museum of New York. In its service I have been stationed at Thebes since 1907, with the object of securing for the archives of the Museum copies of the scenes which adorn the walls of the tombs. Set in the midst of paintings threatened with disaster or calling loudly for speedy publication, I gradually found myself also with a certain amount of material on hand, the fruit of leisure hours. By the further good-will of the Museum authorities I was able to complete these erratic enterprises and make a gift of them to the Archaeological Survey of Egypt. Thus, while the book is indebted for its appearance to the public spirit of an English society, it owes its inception to the American love of the arts which has placed me for years in closest touch with the monuments of Thebes.

I have besides to express my gratitude for ever-ready support and sympathy to Sir Gaston Maspero, Director of the *Service des Antiquités*, to Mr. Weigall, its Inspector in Southern Egypt, and to Mr. F. Ll. Griffith, the Director of the Archaeological Survey, as well as to many friends whose generous help is acknowledged coldly in foot-notes but so much the more warmly in my memory, and not least to my wife, the companion of these labours in the Necropolis.

N. de GARIS DAVIES.

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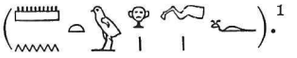
FIVE THEBAN TOMBS.

CHAPTER I.

THE TOMB OF MENTU-HER-KHEPESH-EF ().[1]

A.—The Rock Sepulchre.

1. Its Discovery. The burial-place of this noble lies low down on the slope of the western hills, just outside the village of Draa Abu 'l-Negga, and a stone's throw beyond the tomb of Tehuti (No. 12), excavated by Newberry and Spiegelberg in 1898–9.

In 1882 Mons. Maspero, who was exploring the necropolis, came upon the tomb in the course of his excavations. Entering it through the tomb of Nebamon (No. 24), the thin partition wall of which had collapsed, he took notes of it, and having secured four photographs of the south wall by the help of Mons. Insinger, closed it again. In 1886 he had the tomb re-opened and the scenes copied, and in 1893 published the sculptures of the south wall.[2] Unfortunately, the location of the tomb having been lost, the illustrations could not be revised, and contain serious errors, only some of which receive correction in the text. Two of M. Insinger's photographs were included in this publication, the other two having turned out badly.[3]

In the summer of 1910 Mr. Weigall, in the course of an energetic campaign for safeguarding the threatened monuments of Thebes, caused the tomb to be sought out and excavated with the object of blocking all adits to the inscribed chamber. This was done under the surveillance of Rushdy Effendi, the fragments found being preserved in the tomb. But, as usually happens, the natives, taking a much deeper interest in the tomb than the officials, had also been much better informed as to its position, so that in the interval the tottering partition-wall had been further wrecked, and great slabs had been sawn out of the walls by a dealer in antiquities.

Visiting the site late in 1910, and finding what was left of the precious sculptures either hanging precariously on a shattered wall or lying in fragments on the ground, I employed

[1] Tomb No. 20 in the new numeration of the Theban tombs. The above transcription of the name *as spelt* does not of course represent the true pronunciation. The name signifies "Mont is at his right hand," Mont being the hawk-headed god of war, who was chiefly worshipped in the vicinity of Thebes.

[2] *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, tome v., pp. 435–468, quoted henceforth as "Maspero" simply. Sir Gaston Maspero has kindly furnished me with the dates of the discovery and first re-opening of the tomb. See also Maspero, *Études de Mythologie*, i., pp. 221, 224; Bouriant, *Recueil d. Travaux*, ix., p. 95.

[3] I have to thank the unfailing kindness of Dr. Schaefer of the Berlin Museum for prints of these two precious failures, which after vain inquiries elsewhere I found among its archives at the last moment. By sacrificing a printed plate I have been able to incorporate most of this new evidence even in my illustrations. It is possible that other photographs or notes, taken before the destruction of the tomb, may become available.

some leisure hours in copying the scenes, replacing the fallen fragments on the walls or introducing them into their proper places in the copy.[1] Having obtained a small grant for the purpose from the Egypt Exploration Fund, I was able to clear for the first time the transverse chamber and the entrance, and was rewarded by finding hundreds of fragments, known and unknown, and some interesting pieces of burial equipment. During the next season the burial shaft was cleared out, a few more fragments being obtained from this source. A wider clearance in the vicinity would probably increase the number, and as even a few consecutive hieroglyphs might be most enlightening as to the purport of the scenes, it is to be hoped that this may some day be undertaken. The number of fragments and the ruined state of the walls has made the task of publication a very laborious one; but I hope that it will not only supply some new material, but thoroughly correct or authenticate most of the old, and thus give new weight to Sir Gaston Maspero's valuable commentary on the scenes, and permanence to his provisional sketches.

2. Description of the Tomb (Pl. XV.). The Entrance to the tomb lies at present some ten feet down in a mass of débris, and is no more than an aperture in a roughly hewn rock-face. It occupies a projecting corner of the hill-side, and the selection of this awkward site is puzzling. How many of the tombs which now break into it on all sides were then extant we cannot say, but a shaft certainly descended right in the fairway.[2] The entrance and one corner of the hewn chamber are violently askew to the axis of the tomb, and perhaps this shows a clumsy attempt to avoid the shaft. But this direction would have led across the corner of the rock into the open again. The workmen resolved therefore to take in the shaft after all, and diverted the axis of the tomb to the north.

It is no longer possible to plan the outer door. Fragments of two limestone jambs, seventeen inches wide, built in blocks and adorned with inscriptions have been found, and these admirably fit the aperture in the rock, where the modern stonework holding the iron door stands (doubly hatched on Pl. XV.). But two cut stones, if not three, of the north entrance wall are *in situ*, taking a direction in line with the axis of the tomb, and it is impossible to see how the old and the new directions were reconciled.[3]

The Outer Chamber lies, as usual, athwart the axis. So little care was used in excavating it that only a few square feet of rock were utilized for the actual walls. For the rest, the room was lined with limestone blocks. One or two courses of these remain in position round the three sides of the north bay; and rock, patched with blocks, gives a smooth surface still

[1] As is my practice where it is possible, all the drawings reproduced here were made to full scale as corrected tracings or dry squeezes.

[2] It is a matter of importance for dating the tomb to decide whether the adjacent tomb of Nebamon was earlier or later. It seems necessary to put it later; for it is difficult to suppose that our tomb would have been begun on a site still more restricted, or that the cramped and awkward shape of Tomb 24 was determined by anything else than necessity. As Nebamon was in the service of an almost unknown queen of Thothmes III., he is not likely to have long survived that monarch, so that Mentuherkhepeshef probably falls within that reign.

There is a curious cutting, black with age, made by the removal of the upper part of the wall of rock between the outer chamber of our tomb and the end wall of the tomb of Nebamon. I imagine this to be a subsequent excavation of a small *loculus* for burial, the cutting of which may have brought down the east end of the partition wall and the roofing slab resting on it, and certainly broke into the stela of Nebamon. Of the fragments of the stela then split off I found several in the course of my work.

[3] Two stones on the south side may or may not be *in situ*. Those on the north, together with all those of the lowest course of the adjacent wall of the chamber, bear a mason's mark in red ink, a circle divided from the centre into three segments.

In my description of the tomb I keep to the fiction that the tomb in facing riverwards points east, though here it is far otherwise.

for half the height of the west wall in the south bay. The rest of the room has been stripped of its lining and remains a mere cave.

The absence of remains shows that the room must have been without decoration except for the framing of the INNER DOORWAY. This was built up of limestone blocks. The lowest course on the north side is still in place, and the fragments found show that the jambs were decorated with three columns of *hetep dy nisut*[1] prayers, with a seated figure at the foot; all in careful incised work, coloured yellow (Pl. XIII. B, C.). The lintel contained *h. d. n.* prayers, running in both directions from the centre. A corner fragment from the north jamb (asterisked) shows that the northern door-thickness held a text in small ink characters, and there is some indication of an incised figure of M. on the opposite side. Fragments of sandstone lintels, with *h. d. n.* prayers and coloured incised hieroglyphs, may come from the inner side of the outer entrance or from the adjoining tomb No. 165.

It may be added here that the OUTER DOOR-JAMBS were decorated with four columns of uncoloured signs and with two lines of titles over a seated figure (A., Pl. XIII.). The lintel seems to have held three or more horizontal lines ending with the name (lowest fragment of B., Pl. XIII.). A corner stone (asterisked) shows that a figure standing in prayer and facing outwards was incised on the north thickness. This description of the door-framing is derived solely from the study and fitting together of scores of fragments, not one of which can be put in position.[2] The ceiling of this room is very roughly hewn and hence unadorned. A breach in the north wall gives access to the rough burial-chamber of some other tomb.

The INNER CHAMBER, or axial passage, which we now enter through a doorway of which even the ground-plan is with difficulty to be recovered, is in almost as ruined a condition as that just described. The north side, like the walls of the outer room, was almost entirely formed of mason's work, but only the blocks of the lowest course remain in position. Only three small patches of the surface are formed of living rock, although this is of fair quality. The reason is that the quarrymen here ran into two previous excavations, one a shaft of which we shall speak presently, the other a rough excavation which had shattered the rock in its vicinity.[3]

The south wall is in somewhat better plight. Here the rock itself formed the wall-surface for the entire length, with the help of a good many patches and of plaster filling in the smaller holes and fissures. But the upper part of the east half of the wall was so reduced in thickness near the ceiling by a deep groove designed to take roofing slabs that it measured no more than three or four inches through, and must have been ready to collapse from the first. Much of it fell before 1882; much has fallen or been thrown down since then, so that little now remains of the sculptured surface. Of the western half the patching stones have fallen or been removed, three scenes have been sliced off with a saw, and the remaining reliefs, having been preserved by the roof from the inrush of protecting sand, have been turned so black by the foul atmosphere, that it is hard to imagine that they were once as gay in colour as the buried fragments.

Through a plain doorway at the west end of the chamber we enter a third room, if the word can be applied to a cave the floor of which is so roughly hewn that one can scarcely find a level

[1] This is the reading by which Prof. Sethe proposes to replace the familiar word *seten* (*Ä. Z.*, xlix., p. 15).

[2] The arrangement adopted in the plate is either obvious from the sense or from the cut edges, or, in the case of floating fragments, is quite arbitrary.

[3] I was not in a position to clear out this unpromising hole anew. It did not look to me like a chamber excavated from Tomb 20 and then masked by a wall of masonry, but like a burial cave leading out of one of the neighbouring tombs.

place to stand upon: the walls and ceiling are no less shapeless and jagged. It affords no room for a decent burial, and leads to none. A thieves' entrance breaks through near the roof.[1]

Burial Shaft. From the floor of the passage a wide shaft descends fourteen or fifteen feet, giving access to a low burial chamber on the west. The shaft and chamber had been cleared on some previous occasion, apparently under European supervision, as all the large stones had been stacked in the chamber. Various sculptured fragments were found in the shaft, but no traces of burial furniture except a few pieces of the "Canopic" jars of a certain Amenmes, other parts of which had been found in the débris of the tomb.

The shaft offers a difficult constructional problem, by reason of the fact that it does not commence at the floor of the chamber, but extends through its roof to the upper surface of the hill-side and cuts a foot or more into the north wall of the tomb along its entire length. It cannot be later than the tomb; for the chamber was roofed over with slabs bearing the name of Mentuherkhepeshef. It seems scarcely possible that it should be contemporary; for it would have been absurd to pierce the roof or to cut away a wall of the tomb, rather than place the shaft wholly inside the passage.

It must then have been in existence when our tomb was made, and, in default of evidence to the contrary, the above-mentioned Amenmes has the best claim to the proprietorship both of the shaft and of the relics of burial furniture found in the tomb. If the latter claim be granted his death cannot be placed earlier than in the reign of Hatshepsut.

Ceiling Beams. As has been said, the gap in the roof of the tomb caused by this inconvenient shaft was bridged over by six or seven sandstone slabs about eight feet long, the ends of which rested in grooves cut in the rock wall on both sides.[2] On the north side the westernmost beams had no better support than the wall of sculptured blocks built up on the filling of the pit.[3] Yet all but one of them seem to have held up for a long time, as all are deeply blackened by exposure, save a few brightly coloured fragments.[4] On the under side these beams were adorned with ceiling patterns arranged on both sides of a broad band of hieroglyphs (blue on yellow ground), which ran down the centre of the room (Pl. XIII.). The fragments found are numerous but incomplete, and so blackened as to be almost illegible.[5] The patterns are very singular; I know none like them, and they have rather more affinity with patterns from Middle Kingdom false doors than with ceiling designs of their own period (cf. Pl. XXX.). The number of the designs is uncertain; perhaps there were only three, with slight additional variations in detail. The changes from one pattern to another were abrupt, without so much as a dividing line; at least one stone shows two patterns so juxtaposed. The rock-ceiling was too rough to allow this decoration to be continued on it.[6] The inscriptions also seem to

[1] A proper place of burial was probably projected here, but it was not provided owing to the burial shaft and chamber they had unexpectedly stumbled upon.

[2] A second and shallower groove runs round the shaft nine inches above the deeper one, as if a supplementary roof had been placed here to relieve the first. But it is hard to believe that it can have been effective with so slight a hold on the rock.

[3] Hence it is not likely that M. was buried in the shaft, since the sculpture and the roof could then only have been added after the interment. It may be asked why the quarrymen on meeting the shaft did not take it completely into the passage. Had they done so they would have found it difficult to bridge the increased span. As it was, all the roofing slabs snapped.

[4] The easternmost slab seems to have given way very early, bringing down the pieces shown in Pl. III. and letting in a flood of sand. The limit of the bright and almost perfect colouring at this end of the passage marks the slope of this intrusive débris.

[5] The reproductions on Pl. XIII. are based mainly on tracings, with a little restoration. Neither form nor colour can be guaranteed in every detail.

[6] Among the fragments recovered were several pieces of thick plaster and one patching stone faced with plaster,

have followed on one another unconnectedly, for we have at least three recitals of the name and titles of the owner. The longest preserved consisted of a prayer to some goddess: "..... lady of heaven, the guardian of the fan, M., *maakheru*. May she grant that ....." The name of the divinity, the sign on fragment G, and some signs preceding on another stone, have been chiselled out.

3. Antiquities found in the Tomb. No record of any discoveries by previous workers is known to me. Interesting material must surely have been forthcoming at the first clearance, but the statement by M. Maspero[1] of the conditions on which it was conducted renders inquiry useless. Rushdy Effendi in 1910 dealt only with the out-throw of M. Maspero's labourers. The character of the débris in which I worked in 1911 and 1912 may be gathered from the fact that fragments of the same objects were found at the most widely separated positions and depths, so that the location of my finds was an almost valueless *datum*, except in the case of the lowest levels outside. A simple catalogue of objects discovered will therefore suffice, supplemented by a few comments.

(1) A simple, rough blue-glaze finger-ring.

(2) A bundle of bruised (chewed?) sticks used as paint-brushes and tied round with string.[2]

(3) A sherd filled with blue paint.

(4) A plasterer's float and brush.[2] (Nos. 2, 3, 4 were found together.)

(5) A hardwood leg, rung, and part of the seat of a chair.[2]

(6) The cross-bar of a bed.[2]

(7) The lid and one side of a mitred wooden box with inset bone pegs.[2]

(8) Polished hardwood head of a walking-stick.[2]

(9) Clay sealing of Amenemheb.

(10) Strut of wooden coffin of the same man.[2]

(11) Pieces of a wooden coffin, coated with black pitch and inscribed roughly in yellow.

(12) White eye (opaque glass with pupil inlaid).[2]

(13) Child's leather sandal.[2]

(14) Two cones of *Mentu*, surnamed *Sen·res*, "chief priest of Amon-Min." (Daressy, *Cones funéraires*, No. 75.)

(15) One cone of (Daressy, *ib.*, No. 214).

(16) Seven cones of *Nebamon* (of Tomb 24). (Daressy, *ib.*, No. 83.) He is Superintendent of the *rwt* hall of the king and of the barge of the king.

(17) Broken cone of *Kha* (Daressy, *ib.*, No. 120).

(18) Broken cone of *Lulu* (Daressy, *ib.*, No. 106).

(19) Burnt wedge of clay with four impressions of cone of Nebamon.

(20) Two bricks (one roughly burnt) with "the scribe Nebamon" stamped on them inside an oval ring.

(21) Fragments making up parts of four thick greenish-yellow pottery "Canopic" jars, inscribed for Amenmes.

(22) Two pieces of thin light-red pottery with "Canopic" inscriptions.

(23) Eight small coarse green or unglazed black clay ushabtis of *Ankh-f-n-Amen*.

(24) Three ditto with overseer's tunic.

---

painted with brightly-coloured patterns, which are not ceiling designs (D, &c., Pl. XIII.). Yet some of them make up readily into a pattern resembling the types G, H. (E. Restored from the fragments shown, red being hatched.) Others are the very counterpart of the patterns shown on a decorated false door on the south wall of the passage (Pls. III., V.). Can this latter represent a false door which actually had a place in the tomb, and of which these are fragments? Scarcely, for it would be a unique survival from the Middle Kingdom.

[1] *Études de Mythologie*, i., pp. 224, 225.

[2] Photographed on Plate XVII.

(25) Thirty small blue-glaze ushabtis, inscribed for □ and .[1]

(26) Five red pottery ushabtis painted yellow, the figure lying on a mat (?) in overseer's tunic. Inscribed for the chief (?) priest of Amon, Tha-nefer.

(27) Two ditto of a woman on a mat (?).

(28) Upper part of sandstone male statue with support at back.

(29) Fragment from the lip of a large and beautifully polished jar in dark green stone. Upright ribbed handle of same (?). Serpentine or green jasper.

(30) Half a small toilette-vase in translucent white quartz.[2]

(31) Two pieces of dull red pottery vases, decorated with several vertical bands of black and red lines enclosing a chain of black spots, and with a horizontal band without spots below the two (?) handles.[2]

(32) A dozen fragments of a Cretan vase. Fine buff pottery with black painted decoration (Pl. XLI.).

The last entry will show the importance of all data which may help to establish the age of the tomb, and will justify the following comments.

No. 2. Now in the National Collection at Cairo. Here we have the equipment of the decorator of a carefully painted tomb, just as he set it down in some corner at the close of work. These are presumably not the tools with which he did the finer work; for they are ludicrously clumsy and simple, being nothing more than thick pieces of palm-rib or other fibrous wood, chewed or bruised till the fibres separated and formed coarse bristles. When found they were still clogged with paint, and tied round with a string reddened with ruddle. This was the cord that the draughtsman stretched across his field and snapped to obtain his horizontal lines. The broken end of a jar was his paint-pot. Chewed reeds or stems were no doubt also used by the Egyptians for finer work; probably never hair, even for those lines whose fineness defies imitation. The crude tools and admirable results will not seem incompatible to those who have seen the modern forger at work in this self-same village.

No. 5. This also is in the Cairo Museum, being as beautiful a specimen of the cabinet-maker's craft as can well be imagined; perfectly shaped, accurately fitted, light and yet sufficiently strong. It is of dark wood with a fine grain, evidently the wood which in Egyptian paintings is coloured black with yellow markings. It still retains a high polish after all the mauling it has undergone. The leg was turned in a lathe, the pivot-hole being apparent at the foot. The tenons of the rungs are well cut, and bear marks corresponding to others on the mortised holes in the leg. These holes are cut right through to the face and the aperture concealed by inset squares of white bone, which thus form a natural ornamentation. The joints were secured by a resinous-looking glue. The difficult adjustment of the swelling end of the rung to the rounded leg is perfect. The leg measures 41 cm. from the underside of the seat to the foot.

No. 8. This little piece of turnery exhibits great fineness of finish and fitting. It is probably also of foreign wood (beech ?).

No. 14. Can this Mentu be the shortened name of Mentuherkhepeshef? The titles, though not dissimilar, do not correspond, and of the alternative name we hear nothing in this tomb. He is more likely therefore to be a son.[3]

No. 21. The broken inscriptions are for "the Osiris Amenmes, worthy before Mesti, Qebhsenuf and Duamutef." Professor Petrie places such jars late in the XVIIIth Dynasty.[4]

[1] Cf. MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie*, i., p. 225.

[2] Photographed on Plate XVII.

[3] The wife and father of the neighbour Nebamon have also names compounded with *res*, and his desire to place his tomb so near to M.'s, hints at a connection between the two families. Possibly M. married a daughter of Nebamon.

[4] The inscriptions are also of this date, being of the type III*a* (shortened form) given by Dr. Reisner in *Ä Z.*, xxxvii., p. 66. No. 22 has a similar inscription.

Nos. 29 and 30. Both give the impression of fine workmanship and costly burial equipment.

No. 31. Prof. Petrie dates the jar shortly before Thothmes III. It is, perhaps, an Egyptian imitation of Cypriote ware.

No. 32. It is regrettable that so interesting a find as this is not securely dated. As we have no proof of the burial of Mentuherkhepeshef in the tomb, it is safer to assign this and other burial furniture to Amenmes, who can scarcely be earlier than Hatshepsut or later than the reign of Thothmes III. The vase, though it has no exact parallel, has many close affinities, and is adjudged by Sir Arthur Evans a good specimen of the second period of the Late Minoan era; a date which synchronizes well with that to which its surroundings point. The chief fragments were found just outside the tomb, but others were subsequently added from the back chamber and from the burial-shaft. Judging that their most suitable resting-place was in the Ashmolean collection of Cretan remains at Oxford, I obtained them for that museum through the great kindness of Sir G. Maspero and his Committee, and with the consent of the Egypt Exploration Fund. They have been most successfully built up by the Curator into the form of the original three-handled vase (one handle and indications of a second extant, the third implied. See Pl. XLI.).

B.—Scenes and Inscriptions.

1. The Outer Room (Pl. XIII.). As has been said, the two door-framings were apparently the only parts which received decoration. The fragments of the outer door-jambs are almost entirely from the right side (A). The only consecutive fragments give us "[to] the *erpati hati-a* prince, Royal Chancellor, Sole Companion, Great [Chieftain of the Xth nome]." This last title is supplied from the left jamb (Ba; cf. also Pl. VIII.). In the case of the inner doorway most of the fragments are from the left jamb (C). Each of the columns began with an *h. d. n.* formula. "May the king give an offering of Ptah Sokar (var., 'Ptah fair of face' or, 'Ptah, lord of . . . . .') for the *hati-a* prince, M., *maakheru*, possessor of worth. [May he give to him . . .] offerings and all manner of gifts (var., 'vegetables')." Of the right side (B) there remains "[. . . . . Ptah south of] his wall, for the prince . . . . ."

2. The Inner Room. North Wall (Pls. XI., XII.). The scene on Pl. XI. is from the west end. The left hand portion is cut on the rock face; the rest is on scattered blocks. All are quite black and devoid of colour. The dog is in an attitude to which I do not recall a parallel. Is this second personage a father or a brother? Apparently no names were cut on the wall, but an unsullied fragment from some part nearer the doorway (3, Pl. XIV.) seems to read "his brother (sister?) [of the place of] his heart, Tha . . . . . ." (perhaps "Thanefer," No. 26, p. 6). Fragments 3 and 7 (Pl. XI.) must, from their appearance, have come from this part of the wall. No. 4 may have had its place under the table ("abundance of incense and oil").

On the rock-face in the middle of the wall we find traces of figures and inscriptions in ink, with which also fragment No. 8 must be connected. Nos. 2, 2*a*, also in ink, must come from near the ceiling, as they form part of a list of offerings. The lowest register is occupied by a series of figures bringing offerings, with a prayer for M. written in front of each. One reads "[An *h. d. n.*] of Anubis [lord of] the divine shrine for the *amakhy* M."[1] The figures in the registers above

[1] Pl. XII. For the spelling see also Pl. IV. Pl. XII. is a reconstruction of all the pieces which I assign to the east half of this wall. It is correct in height but it ought to be very nearly half as long again, the throng of animals being crowded up to save space, since the greater part is missing and the arrangement quite uncertain. Only the lowest fragment on the left of the plate and the topmost on the right are fixed, being cut in the rock. All the rest is an arbitrary arrangement, and the three fitted-

show familiar acts of ritual, among them that puzzling performance called [ ].[1]

Hunting Scene (Pl. XII.). The juxtaposition of a scene of sport and of funerary rites on the same wall (the one, however, facing outwards to the world, the other inwards to the place of burial) may seem strange, but was the regular custom at Thebes in the middle of the XVIIIth Dynasty, perhaps because the sport represented was that which was looked for in the fields of the blest.

M. is seen on the left hand stretching his bow against the mass of game which the beaters have driven inside the stockade (white cords stretched on a red paling). The hunt takes place in the desert, as the pink undulations sprinkled with red pebbles show. The fragments of sculpture preserved exhibit careful work and brilliant colours. M.'s bow is pink with darker graining: for the arrow see Pl. I. He is followed by servitors carrying spare weapons and other articles, and is preceded by a servant or relative. A figure inside the net, who receives the day's booty, is probably M. himself in this new rôle, or a son. Destructive as M.'s sportmanship appears to be, he hopes rather for the capture than the death of his quarry; for a block preserved to us shows men bringing in animals alive or wounded—two antelopes, a hare, and a fox or wild dog (white), the last securely muzzled (Pl. XVI.).

Few of the many interesting depictions of driven game in the Theban necropolis have come down to us intact, and those the poorest examples. This representation must have been among the best, as Pl. I. will show better than any description. We are fortunate in having saved from the wreck of the wall the block containing the stag's head, a rare subject, which here shows an uncommon type of antler and a convincing naturalness of pose as the wounded animal sinks its head.[2]

For the rest the topmost register shows some fragments of galloping antelopes, a desert hare, and a gazelle suckling her fawn. In the next row we see the bushy tails of a pair of hyenas (light reddish-grey with darker bars), two fulvous antelopes (ibexes? or is one a lioness?), a stricken gazelle (?), and finally a couple of wild sheep.[3] In the register below three gazelles bound away beneath the archer's flying shaft. A doubly unfortunate wild ass (?) is surprised at the moment of giving birth to her foal, which a cunning jackal seizes as it is dropped by the defenceless mother.[4] Some small fragments show the head of a whiskered hare, hunting dogs

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up blocks on the right hand (a wild ass foaling and the sheep above her) are added stones from the Cairo Museum, the only ones there that answer to the description in Maspero, *Études de Mythologie*, i., p. 224. The lower part of the gazelle suckling her young makes a passable fit with the extant fragment; otherwise I should have judged the work to be rather different in style. I describe the scenes as they are placed in the plate. The two fragments, which have figures in ink on one hand and in relief on the other, plainly give the connection between the ceremonial repast which faces the left and the hunting scene which faces the right. Of the former, all except the large figures already noticed are only drawn in ink, having had no attraction for the artist.

[1] On the back of this loose block is the incised inscription (cf. Pl. IV., col. 5). This precaution, which ensured the preservation of the name even when all the surface records had been expunged, occurs again at least twice. On the back of the thick block carrying the stag's head (now in the Cairo Museum) is the inscription No. 5 on Pl. XI., while another block bears the name only. Compare the hidden name of Senmut (Weigall, *Guide*, p. 148). The act perhaps betrays a consciousness of insecurity.

[2] Stags are portrayed in *El Bersheh II.*, xvi.; *I.*, vii. (?); *Beni Hasan II.*, Pl. iv.; Borchardt, *Sahure*, pp. 13, 14; Tomb of Thy (Saqqareh); of Antefaqer (Thebes, no. 60).

[3] Barbary sheep (*Ovis lervia*). Sir Harry Johnston records that these animals have been known to wander as far east as Nubia even in these days.

[4] This is frequently depicted. It is, perhaps, an illustration of some hunter's story by a clever artist, whose work was admired and freely copied. But I suppose a frightened doe far advanced with young might be delivered prematurely, and that the impudent jackal could not let an opportunity of rapine pass, even in such a moment of danger. For a similar close and half-humorous observation of nature see *Ptahhetep I.*, Pl. xxii.

biting at prostrate or flying animals, and also part of a hedgehog whose spiny coat is coloured a brilliant blue. To these must be added the fragments shown on Pl. I. No. 2 shows the head of an ibex between whose horns an arrow speeds harmlessly: above are the legs of a dog among antelopes. No. 3 contains the head of a bubale (?); No. 4 those of a pair of antelopes of some sort; No. 5 the head of a dog who fastens his teeth in the throat of an oryx (?). This dog with the collar, which we have already seen stretched at rest under its master's chair, belongs to a sturdy breed of hunting dog which is often shown in pictures of the chase, and may have been introduced from the land of Punt.[1]

Of the INNER FRAMING of the doorway which adjoins this scene nothing remains in place, but I consider that its decoration has been preserved to us in the three fragments shown together on Pl. XIV. They represent men bringing the sacred unguents, the *seth heb*, the *hekenu* (?), the *seft*, the *khnem* (?), and the "best Lybian" oils, as well as the green *mesdem·t* salve. I have nothing to assign to the opposite (south) jamb, where similar figures were probably placed.

3. INNER ROOM, SOUTH WALL (Pls. II. to X.). As has been said, scenes sculptured on a rock-surface cover the whole extent of the wall and exhibit a single subject. The right half is extant, though sadly mutilated; of the left half only the lower part is in place, and this greatly injured.

A few words may make the division of the scenes clear, with the help of the key on Pl. XIV. The wall is divided longitudinally into two unequal parts. In the three upper registers the movement is to the left, where a large figure of M. stands on the same level (Pl. V.). Below this figures move to the right in a single register, which extends unbrokenly along the whole wall till it reaches two seated figures of M. and his mother occupying the full height of the wall (Pl. IV.). These two pictures, as their opposite direction indicates, are as perfectly distinct as if the line of separation had been drawn from top to bottom in the centre of the wall. The contemporary mode of decorating the axial chamber is to cover the north wall with the rites of "opening the mouth" and the hunting scene, while the ceremonies of interment occupy the south wall. This arrangement is followed in the tombs of Tehuti and Heri[2] close by, which are executed in much the same style as our tomb. Why then did M. replace the regular series of burial rites by others recorded nowhere else in the necropolis? Did he, being of royal blood, lay claim to exceptional treatment at death, or had rites foreign to Thebes some claim on his sympathies?

THE BURIAL PROCESSION (Pls. II., IV.).[3] The funeral cortège which stretches in a long line under the main scene differs in few important respects from other representations, yet the individuality shown in this tomb is ever coming to expression. Three figures walk at the head of the procession, who, though not named, are marked by their size as near relatives of the dead man, an eldest son, perhaps, a pace or two in front of the rest.[4] They are followed by three men who drag on a sled a crouching man, to whom this and other texts assign a name *tekenu*, which unfortunately conveys no meaning to us. This personage, in whom many see a human sacrifice, regularly plays a part in the

[1] CARTER, *Deir el-Bahari*, Pl. lxxi.

[2] Nos. 11 and 12.

[3] In these plates the extant portions are enclosed by lines of fracture. Continuous outlines beyond these indicate portions added from the photographs of M. Insinger. Broken lines are restorations from M. Maspero's illustrations. Additional evidence from the Berlin prints is noted in the text.

[4] See Pl. XI. (1) for a tracing of this figure and the adjacent parts, taken from the original slab which I discovered on the walls of the British Museum, and which by the kindness of the authorities I was allowed to copy. It had been acquired at the sale of the dealer de Rustafjael, and is figured in his catalogue.

full burial ceremonial, the various phases of which are commonly shown in tombs of this period. But nowhere save here and in Pl. VIII. is he seen free of all encumbrance, and to all appearance crouching voluntarily on the sled. In the tombs of Rekhmara and Sennefer his hand is free and is held palm upwards before his face, but, though his attitude is the same as here (except that a chair is substituted for the sled), the rest of the body is swathed in an enveloping mantle. In every other case (eleven in all) he is so muffled from head to foot in a black wrapper that only the two uncovered figures enable us to recognize the human form below it. In seven other cases a human figure, which is also three times called *tekenu*, is shown in a kneeling posture, wrapped in a yellowish cloak, but with the head free. The hair is long, but the figure, including the face, is generally of an indefinite form and colour.

The accompanying texts are sometimes corrupt, as if no longer understood, even the word *tknu* being falsely spelt. This is probably already the case in our standard copy of the scenes in the tomb of Rekhmara, where the mysterious statement is made, "Bringing to (?) the city of (?) the skin (*mska*) as a *tekenu* one who lies under it (the skin?) in the pool of Khepera" (perhaps "the pool of transformation"). In our tomb the superscription is "M., *maakheru*, coming to see the *tekenu* being brought and the ointments conducted to the top of the mountain."[1] Those who drag the sled say to one another, "Come! drag the *tekenu* that he may depart to (?) his city."[2] The same absence of any note of sacrifice is exhibited by the superscription in Tomb 55, ". . . to bring the vizier Rames, *maakheru*, to the necropolis that he may rest, and that it may be well with his body for ever and ever." The pictures also invite a mild interpretation; for the *tekenu* is being hauled to the grave just in front of the sarcophagus, in the same way and to the same cries, "To the West! To the West! the land of pleasant life" (Paheri, El-Kab). In short, this seems no more than another and simpler form of burial, which is retained in semblance alongside the more elaborate and more modern form.[3] We shall meet with the *tekenu* again. The three men who drag the sled are given the titles "guardian (?) of Serqet," "guardian," and "embalmer."[4] They are followed by four others, accompanied by a lector, who haul a panelled naos fastened on runners.[5] It contains, we must suppose, the sacred oils to which allusion has been made. A funerary prayer to Osiris is inscribed on its side.

Over the next figures there is a superscription: "The fan-bearer M. coming to see the removal from the house (or 'of the *gs* house') by the two

[1] That is, where the tomb lay, if is the reading.

[2] There is scarcely any doubt that the inscription reads . The photograph shows the loop of the to the left of the fracture.

[3] If this be so, is it too bold to suggest that we have here a ceremonial survival of the ancient practice of burial in a crouching position, which only gradually gave place to the full-length burial, and in Nubia lasted on, there is reason to suppose, even into the XVIIIth Dynasty? For how could an Egyptian artist represent the contracted burial, in which the knees are drawn up to the elbows and the hands held before the face, otherwise than in this way which to us suggests a crouching position? Burial beneath a skin is thoroughly characteristic of the ancient period, and so foreign to the later that it would naturally be emphasized in the rite. In this case the meaning of the word *tknu* might have to be sought outside the Egyptian language?

[4] The photograph shows the *sa* sign over the first figure to be extremely doubtful; yet the title is given by Maspero a second time (Pl. IX). In Tomb 82 the *tekenu* is drawn by the , and the files of the Berlin *Wörterbuch* show an instance of a title . From the same source I learn that the creature sacred to Serqet is not a scorpion, but always has a forked tail, as here, till comparatively late times, and is so represented occasionally even in the XIXth Dynasty and later. Cf. CARTER, *Deir el-Bahari*, Pl. cxvi.

[5] Notice by contrast with this regular form of the sled the archaic mode of showing the sled of the *tekenu*, as if seen from above and from the side simultaneously. So exceptionally the sled of the naos in Pl. VI.

red oxen."[1] But this seems out of place and applicable only to a subsequent group. The vertical inscription before the men is incomprehensible. As M. Maspero has pointed out, we have the phrase written in the tomb of Rekhmara over the first figures of the same company in a form which seems equally corrupt ( ). It is apparently meant to be a description of the men or of their action. The fourth man of the file is called the *hem wash*.[2] A *semer*, a *rekh nisut*, and an *imi is* follow as an escort, it seems, to the sacred oils. We are not yet in a position to attach any real significance to these religious titles or offices.

A fresh incident or rite is now depicted. Five officials are seen facing an enclosure in which a ram is kept. A large *ded* sign in front of the animal seems meant only to announce its identification with the ram of Mendes (Dedet), sacred to Osiris or to Ra. To him very unsuitable offerings are spread by his visitors, "standing in the presence" of the god. In the tomb of Rekhmara these officials with others are spoken of as entering a certain building (*sn·t*), "which is in the necropolis." Perhaps a sacred ram was kept there as a visible form of the god of the dead who might be propitiated in person. There is no parallel, I think, to this picture.

The actual conveyance of the coffin is next shown. It is enclosed in a gaily-coloured naos fixed on runners, and is drawn by three pairs of oxen separately attached to it, and ostensibly by nine men also who hold one of the ropes in order to conform to prescribed rule. Over two of the pairs of oxen is written, "Two red oxen draw (it)."[3] These draught animals were probably slaughtered at the tomb; if red was really the supposed colour of Set the enemy, that may be the reason for the choice. Several of the company have titles attached to them. A man who makes music by striking resonant sticks together is called "the instructor."[4] After the "embalmer" and "royal acquaintance," we meet with a "wife of the god," who is not elsewhere shown in this connection. The broken title of the woman who follows her is also unfamiliar. The two women who precede and follow the bier are the younger and elder *zeryt*, mourners who impersonate the sisters of Osiris, Ast and Nebhat. The attitude of the latter in holding out a bowl (of incense?) is unusual.

The figures of M. and his mother, towards whom the procession moves (Pl. IV., now horribly mutilated), are executed in the stiff style of the early XVIIIth Dynasty. Before them is the usual table of offerings, and beneath their chairs their two pets. The Egyptian artist has not often attained better comedy than in the attitude of dignified rebuke worn by the master's dog when he finds that the lady's ape has him in leash.

The long inscription reads as follows:—

"The *erpati hati-a* prince, real chancellor of the King, beloved by him (?) . . . . . scrupulous of conscience in all that is laid upon him, without any instance of laxity,[5] the superintendent of priests, M., *maakheru*. He who spake what was good and repeated

[1] The photograph shows as the end of the text . It appears also to confirm the four titles below, save that the second should be *smr*, not *sm*. These two superscriptions are similar in form to the headings of the seven vertical sections above. It may be that the sculptor had these scenes of burial also before him arranged in two similar sections, and that in fitting them to the long subscene he displaced the component parts somewhat.

[2] In M. Maspero's edition this man is represented as striking the man before him with a stick. Two fragments replaced by me on the wall seem to make this impossible; but the figure is so represented in the scene in Rekhmara, and in Tombs 122 and 125 an officiant swings a club or a sceptre threateningly.

[3] Of the inscription over the middle pair I can make nothing. is almost certain: the sign below seems to be green.

[4] In Rekhmara he is a *sem* priest. He occurs also in Tomb 60 (Middle Kingdom).

[5] The files of the *Wörterbuch* have enabled me to restore this passage with some certainty, the phrase being a conventional one. The Berlin print gives much more support to it than the wall in its present state. Read

what was amiable, who has power among the gods, the fan-bearer M., *maakheru*. Great one of the king of the South, magnate of the king of the North, son of a noble, born of one high in rank (*shps·t*), superintendent of the hall of the sovereign (?), M., *maakheru*, possessor of worth. Chief governor in the nomes of the South, superintendent of a department, M., *maakheru*. One on whose word men take their stand (?),[1] great (?) of memorial buildings in the necropolis, Prince of Thebu (capital of the tenth nome of Upper Egypt, between Abydos and Siut), M., *maakheru*. His mother, whom he loves and who performs his heart's desires in daily matters, worthy before Osiris, mistress of a house, Taïsent, *maatkheru*."

To these titles we have to add "Son of the King" (Pl. IX.),[2] "Chief Governor of the Tenth Nome," "Sole Companion," and "King's [messenger] in all countries" (Pl. VIII.). That M. was a king's son in more than a titular sense his name proves. For the names compounded of the name of a god and the phrase *her khepesh·ef* or *her wenem·ef*, "on his right hand," are confined to the sons of Ramesside kings, with the sole exception of M. himself.[3] Yet we have no further knowledge of his ancestry, and it is strange that he should mention his royal descent casually, but pride himself on being the son of a *sahu* and a *shepset*. His silence regarding his wife may be a sign that his marriage was in his opinion a *mésalliance*.

THE BURIAL RITES (Pls. V. to X.). These, as I have explained, all move to the figure of M. on the left (Pl. V.), and the inscription over him might be expected to explain the significance of the whole scene. Unhappily the wall here has had to be reconstructed out of a score and more of fragments, and the result is not very legible.[4] "The prince, superintendent of priests, and guardian of the fan,[5] M., coming to see (?) . . . the end (?) and the interment of the coffin (?) . . ."

In front of M. stands a piled-up table of offerings, which is painted with unusual delicacy and detail. The colours of the fragments found have lost little or nothing of their brilliancy, and present an astounding contrast to the parts which have been exposed. Over this pile is a strange scene (Pl. I.), recognizable, however, as the equivalent of one of the regular rites, in which an officiant passes the haunch or the heart of the victim into the door of the tomb. Here the officiants are replaced by personified symbols of life and stability. The lower one seems to be called "the lector" ( ). The false door is decorated in a way reminiscent of Middle Kingdom forms (see the note, p. 5). This picture above M.'s head ought perhaps to be taken as an eighth scene, with the inscription belonging to it.

The scenes are grouped in seven unequal compartments, each one of which has a descriptive heading and is intended to form a unit by itself.[6] These headings, however, do not seem to be applicable to everything within the compart-

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[1] Reading . I owe the suggested translation to Dr. Alan Gardiner.

[2] As the lacuna in that plate leaves room only for the name, is almost, and quite, impossible. Fragment 8, Pl. XIV. is incised and I doubt if it can belong to the tomb.

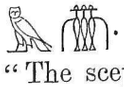
[3] Dr. Grapow has supplied me with the occurrences of these names from the files of the *Wörterbuch*. It may be that, as the sons of Ramesside kings were given the rank of fan-bearers on the right hand of the king, these names were bestowed on them as though they were representatives of the gods in that position of trust.

[4] The fitting is fairly certain except for the two lower pieces of the inscription, which might obviously be lowered a little. Fragment 5, Pl. XIV., may belong here. Fragment 7 (beautifully coloured) I now see should be reversed, and supplies the head and leg of the crane and the back of the duck in Pl. V.

[5] I take it that "guardian of the fan" (cf. Pl. VIII.) and "fan-bearer" refer to the same office.

[6] The headings face the same way as the figure in Pl. V. because they describe his action, not that of the actors in the scenes.

ment, but only to one *tableau* or rite out of several. Within these compartments there are various figures of the deceased. These do not seem to play any part in the action, but they may perhaps serve to divide off the representations. There is little or no sign of any continuity of action, a beginning or an end. But as the last action would be near the figure, and as the disposal of the coffin would probably occupy the first place, let us commence with the scene farthest to the right.[1]

SCENE 1 (Pl. VI.). The superscription runs: "The fan-bearer M. coming to see the carrying." This applies only to a single group of seven men, "companions" and "royal acquaintances," who carry a catafalque on their shoulders, "entering and setting (it) on the ground." In the tomb of Rekhmara this scene is labelled "appearance in the temple," a note which might be applicable to the scene below, as it takes place in a corniced (?) building. The second scene depicts a well-known rite. Here the catafalque is placed on a bier, and this again on a sled (on which also a bow is laid). The embalmer (*wt*) seizes a rope attached to one end of the sled, the *hem ka* seizes one attached to the other, and while the one cries "saying, 'I seize it and conduct it to the north,'" the other retorts, "I seize it and conduct it to the south." This demonstration may refer to the pilgrimage to Abydos and back, a journey which may not always have been made by water. The next register shows us a catafalque (dedicated to Anubis instead of Osiris), before which seven officiants kneel. One is the *imi khent*, who plays a foremost part in the funeral rites. Perhaps the man to the left of the shrine is also an  . The inscription above him may read, "The sceptre stretched on his throne." Behind these men, in a corner of the hall, stand nine (?) pieces of cloth, and over them is written, "To be said the first time towards the West, the second time [towards the East], the third time towards the South (?), the fourth time towards the North." Another phrase is injured. If this cloth is a burial gift, it is the only one shown.

The lowest register depicts a very interesting and mysterious ceremonial. The catafalque (inscribed with a prayer to Osiris, lord of eternity) is seen on the right in charge of two officials. Laid on top of it are a bow and another object, , called on Middle Kingdom coffins, in which it was often laid, the *ped aha*. Two "companions" approach, furnished with a bow and the , and proceed to inflict death upon these objects by cutting them with a knife. A lector sees that this act, enabling the weapons to accompany the dead man, is properly performed. Over the two is written, "Placing . . . and cutting the bow (?),"[2] and "Cutting the *ped aha*." The latter object is then set upright before the shrine, an operation sufficiently important to call for the services of the lector. The two objects seem then to be received by the waiting officiant and placed upon the coffin. "Putting the bow in his dwelling; putting the *ped aha* behind him."[3]

The association of this object with the bow suggests that it is a weapon (perhaps the curved staff of the Bedawîn, perhaps a throw-stick), though this original significance is so lost in its use as an amulet, that it is early supplied to women as well as to men. It is furnished in

[1] The scenes we have already studied may be regarded as the three first acts, by which the catafalques to be interred have been brought to the necropolis.

[2] I think I see the sign for a bow after the in the Berlin print.

[3] The Berlin print shows clearly. Two bows and possibly a second follow. The Middle Kingdom coffin-texts often prescribe where the object is to be laid, and this phrase, "in his dwelling" (the dead man's coffin?), regularly occurs and with this very object. Mr. A. C. Mace informs me that the *ped aha* is always found on the right-hand side in the coffin.

pairs, and the tie we see at the angle perhaps serves to keep them together.[1]

This object, as well as the bow, later became a sacred token, and is carried by a priest in the procession of the emblems of the fanes of Egypt at the *Sed* festival.[2] This significance, as well as the form it finally assumed, may be far removed from its original use as the handy weapon of primitive man from which he feared to be parted even in death, and which probably gained for it its use in writing as a determinative of the word "watchful." The seated figure of M. should be carrying a sceptre with a longer staff and a shorter head than is shown in the plate (see Pl. XI. 1).

Scene 2 (Pl. VII.). Superscription: "The fan-bearer, M., seeing the opening of the ground."[3] The upper register contains only a procession of officials carrying the several parts of a victim. The *hem ta* ("servant" or "striker of the ground"), the *qed ur*, the *ḥer ur* are all titles which occur again in this tomb, but rarely or never elsewhere, and of which nothing definite is known.

The next two registers show us the rite which M. is interested to see. Two similar groups (perhaps only presenting two of the four repetitions prescribed) are seen, in which a man with a great *an't* adze is picking the ground, while another facing him pours something from a bowl into the trench.[4] The inscription is "Opening the ground four times," the action of the man with the bowl or basket being characterized as "the great god filling the ground four times." I know of no parallel to the scene, so that it is left to conjecture whether the filling is with seed or soil.[5] The final incident, which might have explained the whole, is broken. We see a "royal acquaintance" "wielding (?) the hoe," digging perhaps, or making a feint of digging, the round shaft (?) which M. Maspero saw in front of the *qed ur*. The rest is lost.[6]

Scene 3 (Plate VIII.). The presence of M. and his mother, with four columns of titles before them, gives an importance to the rites here portrayed which they fully sustain.[7] The superscription is "The fan-bearer M. coming in peace to see the dragging of the *tekenu* on the [sled ?]."[8] Accordingly we see four men hauling the crouching or recumbent figure on the sled, and the cry goes forth, apparently from the men who drag him, "Lo! the *tekenu* sets out." This is not the first act, however. As if to emphasize the voluntary nature of the performance we see the actor walking towards the sled. "The *tekenu* enters." The rest of the picture is in a tantalizing state of mutilation, and M. Maspero's

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[1] One of these objects was found in a coffin at Lisht by the expedition of the New York Museum (cf. also *Fouilles de Licht*, p. 78). It is of wood and its section that of a double-barrelled gun. The shorter piece is fixed at an angle to the stock by wooden pegs. Mr. Mace is about to discuss the matter in his publication of the tomb of the lady Senbetes. Cf. Griffith, *Hieroglyphs*, p. 62.

[2] Naville, *Festival Hall*, Pl. ii.

[3] This early use of the two eyes for the word *maa*, "see," is also found in Tomb 38 and in the symbolic writing in the neighbouring tomb of Tehuti. See also Pl. XIV.

[4] The size of the gap and the two inscriptions made it evident that M. Maspero's picture was at fault. I therefore supplied another figure with the pick. But a fragment found after the plate was printed (Pl. XI. 6) shows that I ought to have been bolder and repeated the whole group.

[5] Perhaps with sand for a foundation. Brugsch, *Aegyptologie*, p. 426.

[6] Fragment 10, Pl. XIV., I can place nowhere else but here. In that case the ceremony depicted would seem to be connected with the consignment of the sled to the pit (Pl. VIII.).

[7] The figures are now destroyed. They are added to the plate from a squeeze in the possession of Prof. Spiegelberg. The Berlin print covers only the second register and the lower part of the first.

[8] The last title of M. must be (or). The hawk-headed sphinx (on Pl. IX. it is a hawk-headed god) which is used as a word-sign for shows the tendency to fanciful writing and to novelty. Notice the title "Superintendent of the priests of Nebui" in the vertical column, evidently a designation of the mysterious double god of that nome whose name is usually written , , or set on a perch. See Sethe and Gardiner, *Ä.Z.*, 1910, pp. 48–50, to the last-named of whom I owe the identification.

draughtsman has made such grave omissions as destroy all confidence. He saw at the head of the procession a man holding a hide before him, and the Berlin print certainly shows a hanging tail. If this be accepted, it is tempting to connect it with that "city of the skin" (*meska*) of which the text of Rekhmara seems to speak, and to find the word itself written above.[1] But the text as it is delivered to us yields no meaning.[2]

Little can be said of the next register where, on the left, scenes of sacrifice are being performed. It is characteristic of the tomb that even in such matters it cannot conform to custom. One would gather that the heads of the bulls were struck off at a blow as they ran about, for though the heads are severed the bodies appear to be just falling on the ground. The illustration scarcely requires the superscription "cutting off the heads." The slaughterer seems to be pointed out as such by the signs over his head.[3] The next group, where a man, "the embalmer of Anubis (?)," is engaged with another victim, has a broken legend over it, "[Killing] the red [ox] and cutting off the thigh (?)." The centre of interest in the next tableau, to which two groups of men holding one another's hands draw near from opposite sides, is badly defaced. In M. Maspero's drawing it resembles the sled of the *tekenu*, and the one word "carrying off" is not inappropriate. A fragment which I place here tentatively has longer cross-pieces than those of the sled, and rather resembles an altar of burnt-offering.

The scene in the lowest register is sufficiently attested, but its interpretation will afford ample room for speculation. It must be granted that it has all the appearance of a scene of torture or execution, whether performed in reality or in make-believe. In the centre is a circle, which seems to represent the burial-shaft or a pit.[4] Within this a sled is shown with two poles set upright in it, and also the legend, "the pit (*khebt*) of burial."[5] Two men are in the act of consigning something to the pit. A curious hieroglyph conceals rather than explains their function.[6] Behind them men are seen carrying on their shoulders one of the sleds used in the funeral cortège. "Conveying (it) to the pit (?)."

The scenes to the left seem independent of the rest. Here a tragic note is struck, notwithstanding the unresisting attitude of the victims, which really betokens weakness and pain rather than acquiescence. A cord is passed round the neck of two kneeling men, the ends of which are in each case in the hands of two men ("strong ones"),[7] who stand on opposite sides, and thus can in a moment throttle their prisoner. This person is described as "a Nubian Anu," that is, a native of the region south of the First Cataract. Precision seems meant to be added to this information by a fortified oval, such as serves to designate a captured place, which is here set on the victim's head and supported on each side by a tiny figure. It contains two hieroglyphs which ordinarily would spell the word "sculptor," and apparently form the name of some Nubian fortress or district whence these men

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[1] This mention of the skin has been the subject of several dissertations which, though often building on dubious texts and translations, are full of incentive to further study and of valuable references. Cf. especially LÉFÉBURE, *Le sacrifice humaine*, *Sphinx*, iii., pp. 129–164, and MORET, *Mystères Égyptiens*, pp. 38–54.

[2] The text may well be corrupt, like others in the burial ritual. The word *tknu* occurs seven times elsewhere, and takes the forms (thrice), (twice), (sic), (sic).

[3] The first sign represents a joint of meat. Cf. LANGE and SCHAEFER, *Grabsteine*, ii., p. 356.

[4] These strange circles occur seven times in the tomb, and nowhere else save in the Tombs of the Kings. They are coloured to imitate the desert, and it is clear that they represent a piece of ground marked off in some way.

[5] The word recurs in the seventh scene.

[6] Does it signify "gardener," "vine-dresser"? Or does it read *shesemu*, after the god (of vintage?)? See LACAU, *Recueil*, xxiv., p. 198. There is an uncanny resemblance in the sign to the action of the garotters close by.

[7] Perhaps the hieroglyph reverts to its pictographic value, and means a "man of the bludgeon."

were brought as prisoners, or supposed to be brought.[1] It is of course conceivable that the tableau expresses no more than abject submission, as with the historic burghers of Calais.

Near by are two other Nubians in little better plight than the first. They are said to be "laid on (their) side."[2] Each is swathed like a mummified god, with the hand only protruding from the bandages. In pictures of the *sed* festival men of this and other subject nations are shown in much the same posture, but with the whole arm free. As they are there described as doing homage we need not consider these either as necessarily doomed men.[3]

Scene 4 (Pls. IX., XIV., XVI.).[4] Superscription: "The prince coming to see the procedure practised in the land of Kenemt (the Oasis of Khargeh)." There is only one figure of M. shown in this division; perhaps only a single rite is portrayed. In the upper register a row of officiants passes, each with a bowl. There is added to our stock of ignorance a *sem* priest of Nekhen (?), two "governors," and a "leader of the land." An ox bound for sacrifice awaits its lot. There follow four female ministrants: the foremost holds a loaf in the baking-pan, the second a libation-vase, the third and fourth merely lift the hand in adoration. They wear a short dress, one of the gay costumes worn by the women who dance or shake the sistrum at ceremonies, and who are called the harem of Hathor or of the mortuary estate.[5] The appended explanation of the action is "offering carob-beans (?)." The two last women are called *demdy't*, a name often applied to female officiants at the burial rites. The register is closed by a figure of M. clothed in hunting tunic, and with a staff or spear in his hand.[6] At his feet lies a bound ox, apparently lying in one of the pits or circles, and with the staff he seems to pierce the animal's rump. That this is more than seeming is suggested by the inscription, "opening the ordinary ox (?)."[7]

The mystery is not relieved by the lowest register.[8] One of the pits we are now growing familiar with is seen in the middle. It contains the word *tekenu* and hair, heart, fore-leg, and hide (of the *tekenu?*). If we can trust the record, this scene is of the highest importance, as showing that the human *tekenu* has been replaced by an animal victim. The inscription above yields no meaning to me. Four officiants perform the ceremony. After the phrase "the priest of Serqet puts" a tabulated list follows, showing one

[1] The reversal of the signs in the right-hand oval is an error of mine.

[2] My hypothesis regarding the real posture of the *tekenu* is thus strongly supported. But Dr. Alan Gardiner reminds me that the translation "laid aside" is possible. Cf. Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv., p. 7.

[3] Cf. Naville, *Festival Hall*, Pls. ii., xi., xiv., xv.

[4] Pl. IX. is to be corrected by Pl. XIV. (after the Berlin print) and also compared with Pl. XLIII. The latter plate and these references to it have been added at the last moment in consequence of the happy discovery by Dr. Alan Gardiner that the newly acquired tomb of the vizier Amenemapt (No. 29, Sheikh Abd el-Qurneh) contains scenes parallel to those of Tomb 20. Amenemapt was vizier under Amenhotep II., and is therefore probably a generation later than M. The scenes in his tomb seem to be derived from our tomb or from a common source. Only a small part of the whole remains, but happily this falls in the great lacuna comprised in Plate X. The pictures are painted roughly on the mud plaster of the right-hand wall of the direct gallery. They were probably arranged in four registers, but the lowest may have shown the burial convoy as in M.'s tomb. The scenes face a figure of the seated vizier with interesting epithets. Behind him is a recess in the rock which may have contained a false door (cf. Pl. V.), and beyond it is another seated figure of A. Most of the other walls of the tomb are blank or stripped of their scenes. What remains shows nothing uncommon. As the text of this volume was in print when this discovery was reported, I have made few changes in it, and have confined my observations on the new material to this and subsequent footnotes.

[5] Tomb 93.

[6] The wig of M. should be a flowing one, ending in several rows of little locks.

[7] The ox and inscription are not contained in the Berlin print. The red spots round the animal are in paint only. I have assumed that they form a circle round the animal. It is much more likely that they represent the pit as usual than spirting blood.

[8] The Berlin print does not help us here.

portion each of black eye-salve, green salve, incense, cloth, green salve (repeated), and natron, and ten of bread and drink. All these gifts, save the natron, are actually seen later on in the pits. The hair of the victim seems a special object of solicitous burial; for we also see the *qed ur* ("chief mason") and the "guardian of Serqet" occupied in digging a pit, as if to build a receptacle for the "black hairs" (such is the writing in the buttressed enclosure). This mysterious significance of the black hair seems to have been bequeathed by Egypt to European necromancy.

Scene 5 (Pls. X., XIV., XVI.). Superscription: "The prince and superintendent of priests M. seeing the uplifting of the olive tree (?)."[1] The curious scene underneath must, I think, be set down as a performance of mimes or jugglers, behind whose amusing exhibition a religious idea may well lie hidden, whether conscious to them or no. We need not be surprised at this. Dancers with strange action and head-gear are a regular feature of the burial ceremonial. Contortionists are seen in the tombs, and agile dancers accompanied by apes. In the *sed* festival also we see extraordinary postures, comic masks, strange head-gear like that worn here, a performing (?) bull, as well as birds carried on the head as sacred emblems.[2] The foremost pair of the performers carry upon their heads a large tray containing, according to M. Maspero, figures of a falcon, a bull, and a god. Whether it was a feat of dexterity to balance these objects, or whether they are symbols of Amon or Mentu, must remain doubtful. Behind these men is a kneeling figure having in his hand an object which, owing to the inscriptions, I regard as a tree or plant. An inscription over him says, "Going forth, consecrating and uplifting the olive tree (?)." Two men stand behind him, their hair adorned with a high crown of flowers. A third performer has titles which leave us ignorant of the part he plays. With the scene below we revert, it appears, to more serious rites. In the centre is a pit of the usual form and colour, but with a serrated edge, which, taken in conjunction with a determinative in the baffling inscription above it, seems to signify that flames are issuing from it.[3] Within it are "cloth of festival, . . . ," *bast* ointment, incense, and other offerings. One "companion" attends to it. The rôle of the other who approaches with a pot is not clear. In front a companion is in charge of a red package bound round with a blue band.

The lowest register brings us back to familiar scenes. An ox is being cut up and the officiants wait to receive the joints. Among them is a "father of the god." A foreleg is already laid on a table. The description is "lending a hand in choosing . . . . . south." The instructions of

[1] The part of the picture which I have redrawn from the Berlin photograph (Pl. XIV.) must be used to correct Pl. X., and especially the error in the superscription derived from M. Maspero's sketch. It will be seen that Tomb 29 (Pl. XLIII.) confirms the revised reading, but adds the astonishing sequel "for his father is the great bull." In consequence I venture to suggest that the strange performance depicted here may be a rehearsal of that myth of continued survival which is enshrined in the tale of "The Two Brothers." The hero there becomes by successive transformations a bull, a tree, and finally a crown-prince with the title "royal son of Kush." As M. also possessed both these titles the myth was peculiarly appropriate. What is left of the scene in Tomb 29 guarantees the strange receptacle which the two men (the two brothers?) carry on their heads in M. Maspero's sketch, the third figure in it (which seems to be that of a herdsman), the two figures with a crown of flowers, and the fish on the head of the last performer. These latter men may possibly be representing the flower of the tree which held the soul of Bata, and the fish which also played a part in the story. The Berlin print seems to confirm the first two signs of the last title, and perhaps also the hawk and bull in the tray, and suggests that the fish may be an oxyrhyncus.

The reference to "the great bull" makes it likely that fragment No. 1, Pl. XIV., ought to be set in front of the first performer; for it reads ". . . . . to the city of Dep (Buto), entering the residence of the great bull." (See the illustration on the next page.)

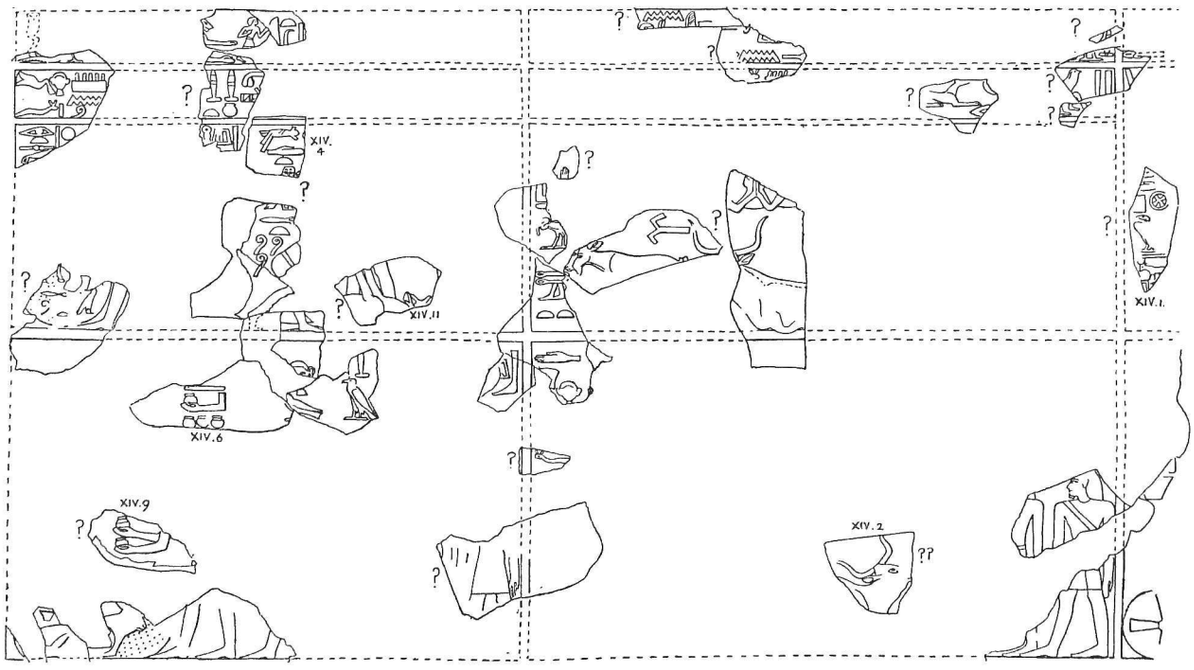
[2] See Naville, *Festival Hall*, Pls. XIV., XVI., XXII.

[3] The translation "the burning brazier" is perhaps possible. The fragment at the junction of the four scenes is misplaced. See the illustration, p. 18.

the lector to the butcher are "Select his foreleg; remove his heart."[1]

Scene 6 (Pl. X.).[2] The superscription may have read: "The guardian of the fan, [M.], *maakheru*, coming [to see the placing of the *mentet* (cow?) in bonds and the performance of . . . M.] comes, [*maakheru*] before Anubis [lord of the *mentet* in this his residence]." The descriptive note to the first register is, "Two red oxen (or 'males') . . . ," as in Tomb 29. But two red goats are the foremost objects. Behind them is an ox or cow, in whose hide black predominates over red, and another animal (light-coloured, but an ox in Pl. XLIII.); both of them bound but alive. In Tomb 29 the word "bound" is written over the goats, and "the bound *mentet*" over the fettered animal, and of this inscription the last sign is preserved in our picture.

The scene below has entirely disappeared. But the descriptive legend can be completed from Pl. XLIII. "Putting a skin [behind him]." So much of the scenes, too, exist there as to show us a red and white hide laid out, and what is apparently a complete skin, head and all, placed on the ground in the attitude of an ox at rest. There is also a bound animal to which the designation is given "the *mentet* of Anubis." The rest is broken away.



Scenes 6 and 7. (Revised grouping of fragments.)

In the lowest row a scene of sacrifice is again presented.[3] One animal is already slaughtered, and a new officiant, the *za*, is handing some

[1] The Berlin print supports Maspero's readings.

[2] Little of the upper two registers of Scenes 6 and 7 remains in position. Only the two "pits" and the fragments in the left-hand top corner and the right-hand bottom corner had their places fixed when Pl. X. was printed. Subsequently the pieces 1, 2, 4, 6, 9, 11 of Pl. XIV. were come upon, and the opportune discovery of the scenes of Amenemapt enabled me to fit these into the gap and to rearrange the whole. Hence the above diagram supplants Pl. X. The two large groups of fitted fragments are now assigned beyond doubt to their respective scenes, but for the superscription Tomb 29 is the only guide. Where stones do not fit on to one another a mark of interrogation has been added.

[3] M. Maspero's sketch of the scene is very defective. The two goats belong elsewhere, and I do not think the inscription should be duplicated. I have carelessly written the title *za* backwards.

part of it to the *hem ta*, saying, "Take (it)." A butcher is seizing a bound animal by the mouth and horns, as it seems. The words "the ox . . ." and "two red (oxen)" are written over the scene.

SCENE 7 (Pl. X.). The superscription may have read: "The prince [and superintendent of priests] M., [*maakheru*, coming to see the presentation of offerings to the] pit. M. [comes . . .] in the presence of the staff (of priests) . . ."[1] The introductory note of the upper register can be completed from Pl. XLIII. "Putting the viscera in the pit of burning and performing the rite in front of . . ." In accordance with this description we see one of the "circles" with "viscera" written under an ox. Behind the . . . and the lector who officiate here, a *her ur* is seen actually drawing the entrails out of the belly of a slaughtered ox.[2]

The second register shows another circle with a bound ox and some offerings placed within it. A *hem ta* offers two bowls of wine. He is accompanied as usual by the *her ur*, the *za* and the lector.

A very similar scene occupies the final division. The pit this time contains, as well as the bound but living victim, green and black eye-pigment, incense, and a tray of offerings.[3] The legend may signify, "The funeral (?) reaches the pit"; but the scenes close, as they began, on a strong note of interrogation.

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[1] Both lines of the superscription may have begun in the same way as in Scene 6; indeed the fragments carrying these signs may belong to either scene. There seems no room here for the phrase "performance of the obsequies," which Tomb 29 inserts. Nor can I make the broken white hieroglyph after *seshem n* in Scene 6 read *qrs·t*.

[2] It is black and white. The action is made quite clear in Tomb 29. The title of the first officiant shown there may possibly be the same as that in Pl. VIII. (lowest register). Following Pl. XLIII., I have inserted the fragment 11, Pl. XIV., but in colour it does not at all match its surroundings.

[3] It seems worth while to point out that the burial of complete animals, among them oxen and goats, is a feature in Nubian cemeteries, where also the fondness for eye-salve is even more conspicuous than in Egypt.

CHAPTER II.

THE TOMB OF USER (𓂋𓊪𓏏).[1]

A.—The Tomb itself.

1. Its Discovery. I do not think that this small tomb was known to any of the early workers at Thebes, nor indeed till Mr. Robert Mond, in making one of those systematic clearances by which he has done so much for this part of the Necropolis, came upon it in 1906.[2] An iron door was affixed to it a year or two later by Mr. Weigall, and during the winters of 1910–11 and 1911–12, I took the tracings and notes which are made use of here.

2. Description. The tomb lies low down on the slopes of the hill of Sheikh Abd el-Qurneh, below the tomb of Imesib (No. 65), and above the pathway to Deir el-Bahari. It faces nearly east. As usual, a small platform has been cut out of the hill-side, thus furnishing both a level court and a wall of rock in which the entrance to the tomb could be made. The façade so created had a slight slope, and was continued upwards by a wall of rough masonry for a little distance farther, thus giving a higher frontage and affording security against a rush of débris down the hill-side. The face was probably once covered with plaster, but this is now stripped off; and at some time, when the true entrance was blocked, a second doorway was pierced to the north of it by persons who wished to use it as a dwelling or a tomb. The frontage, therefore, is in the roughest state, and the entrance is completely denuded of its plaster coating. In the south-east corner of the courtyard there is a shaft a few feet deep with a room opening out of it on the south; but of the numerous relics of the dead which Mr. Mond found here and elsewhere on the site most, if not all, were manifestly much later than the original burial.

A Transverse Chamber into which we first enter is in a sorry state. Partly with intention, partly by natural collapse, partly in consequence of later *loculi* for burial being hewn in the lower parts of the walls, the thick lime-plaster which covered the sides and ceiling of the room has been stripped off, so that only a few patches of decorated surface remain. Even these are defaced; for those who first re-appropriated the tomb, probably as a place of burial, obliterated the pictures in both the transverse chamber and the direct passage by covering them with a wash of lime, through which they faintly showed here and there.[3] There are now three places of burial in this chamber, but probably none of them is contemporaneous. Two are hewn out in the walls at the cost of the scenes. The third is a very rough hole in the north-east corner of the floor, from which a small chamber is reached just

[1] This tomb (No. 21) has been selected for inclusion because, being close at hand, small, and unknown, it was specially suited to fitful hours of leisure.

[2] An account of this part of his work has yet to appear. The mutilations show that the tomb was known to the natives before this.

[3] This had all to be carefully scraped away with the knife before tracings could be made. Hence it is not surprising if the coloured plates of this tomb are somewhat crude and the outlines uncertain at times.

below ground-level and outside the area of the tomb.

From the outer chamber we enter an AXIAL PASSAGE, the walls of which are only in slightly better condition than those we have already surveyed. About three-quarters of the plaster surface is gone. The jambs of the second and third doorways having crumbled away, especially on the north side, those who re-used the tomb built up brick jambs to take their place.

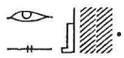
The THIRD CHAMBER is fortunately in better condition, though here too the injuries are serious. Of the two walls on each side of the entrance half is lost; a great gap occurs in the middle of another; two vain attempts have been made by natives to remove the head and shoulders of a figure; bats have played their odious part. But, as no attempt was made here to obliterate the paintings, the colours retain a large part of their original brightness, and the pictures present a good example of the precise outlines and technical skill of the first half of the XVIIIth Dynasty. The golden background gives a certain richness to the whole, though it is scarcely in accord with modern taste.

The back wall held four statues, which were roughly hewn in the friable rock and then modelled in plaster upon this core. Now nothing but the core remains again, or scarcely so much as that; and the four seated figures, still in their utter ruin making a show of dignified family affection, present a spectacle that is not without its pathos (Pl. XIX. 3, from a photograph). The two central figures are those of men who embrace one another with interlocking arms. Each has a long spreading wig. The southern figure wears a short white tunic, while his companion has a white dress that reaches nearly to the arm-pits; he may therefore have been a vizier or mayor by rank. Each has his disengaged arm on his lap, being embraced by the arm of his female companion on this side. The names, if they were ever there, have perished. The group may represent two brothers with their wives. Or perhaps we have here User and his wife, together with his father and mother.[1] By the side of each female figure there is a panel painted in black outline on a yellow ground, depicting four female figures. As they face away from the statues they belong to the pictures on the north and south walls, and represent the two (four ?) daughters of User, Wazyt-renpet and Mut-nefert (Pl. XIX. 2).

There is a *loculus* for burial opening out of the south-east corner of this chamber, and a small pit in the floor at the north end.

B.—THE SCENES AND INSCRIPTIONS.

1. THE OUTER CHAMBER. As has been said, little of the scenes remains, and next to nothing of a band of inscription which ran at the head of the pictures on each wall. This was surmounted by a "ribbon" border and the *kheker* ornament as usual. Throughout the tomb the scenes are painted against a golden-yellow background.[2]

The DOOR-FRAMING on the east wall was painted in, but is lost save for a tiny fragment of the lintel showing horizontal *hetep dy nisut* prayers. The western door-framing stood out slightly from the wall. On the jambs *h. d. n.* prayers in blue hieroglyphs were painted in three columns, with a seated figure of User at the foot. At the left end of the lintel a large *uza·t* eye can be seen, and a vertical inscription beginning  .

Of the scenes on the BACK WALL, fragments on the south side near the door show a large seated figure of User, with a female figure of similar size standing behind him. Between them is a small male figure carrying lotus flower, leaf and bud. He wears a long garment reaching nearly

[1] Of the four similar statues in the tomb of Anena (No. 81; WEIGALL, *Guide*, p. 137), the deceased and his wife are on the left and his father and a female companion on the right.

[2] Yellow backgrounds are used at Deir el-Bahari, and in tombs No. 93 (Amenhetep II.), 80, and part of 181 (Amenhetep III.).

to the wrists and to the middle of the calf which seems distinctly Syrian. The horizontal superscription began at the door with an *h. d. n.* formula. On the other side of the doorway a fragment of the superscription gives us the titles and name of User (written). Below it, in four broken columns, are the remains of a descriptive legend belonging to a scene (of sport?) which must have faced towards the right: (1) ; (2) ; (3) ; (4) . "The [steward] and scribe User coming . . . [favourite] of the lady of sport (?)." The South Wall is destroyed. The North Wall contains part of a rounded plaster stela projecting slightly from the wall (Pl. XX. 3). Its lunette is filled by a decorative design. Some narrow upright sign (apparently erased) occupied the centre between two sacred eyes. It was probably a solar symbol; for User kneels beside it in adoration, saying (on the west side), "[Thou] settest in the west of heaven,"[1] a phrase that was no doubt balanced on the right by, "Thou risest in the east of heaven." Behind User is the dog Anubis, "the embalmer," on a pedestal.

The inscription runs:—

" . . . the prince who thoroughly satisfies the Lord of the Two Lands, the chief steward of *Aa-kheper-ka-ra* (Thothmes I.), the scribe User, *maakheru*. May the King grant an offering of (?) Osiris, lord of Abydos, . . . in all his shrines, of Ra lord of heaven, of Horakhti, of Thoth . . . of Tum, lord of . . . abundance of green things of all sorts, abundance of cloth, abundance of incense, abundance of offerings and food, abundance of . . . Mayest thou drink water which issues from the deep and assuage thy thirst with . . . "

On the south side of the Front Wall a tiny fragment survives at the top near the door, showing a man of dark purplish flesh-tint engaged in making or filling a jar. On the north side there may have been three subjects. That at the north end is totally destroyed. Near the door there was once a large figure of User facing it, offering, no doubt, to the gods. We have also fragments of a central scene, in which User stood "inspecting" field-work. Of this only the upper register remains intact (Pl. XIX. 1). Four heifers are seen on the threshing-floor treading out the corn. They are linked to one another by collars to prevent them eating too much of the grain. One man keeps them moving with a two-thonged whip, while his comrade trims the pile with a fork. Two men bring up fresh ears in a double panier. A small figure standing before a pile of grain at the foot of the wall shows that the scene extended from top to bottom. Of the running inscription I can only decipher part of a prayer for "all things which heaven presents, earth creates, and [the Nile] contributes."

The Ceiling is divided as usual by a mid-rib down the centre and borders on each side, all three yellow bands being inscribed with blue hieroglyphs. On each side of the central beam was a coloured design (Pl. XX. 2). On the west are black whorls starting from a green centre against a yellow ground. The white interspaces are filled by a blue disc with red centre, surrounded by four triangles, green in one row, red in the next. The other design is composed of interlocking chains of blue and green lozenges, separated by a red zig-zag. Each lozenge encloses a yellow field with two concentric black squares. Between the double chains of lozenges is a chain of red crosses with blue centre and four red spots.

The Ceiling Inscriptions read as follows (Pl. XIX. 4):—

"May the King grant an offering of (?) Rennutet, dweller in the sacred land, great mistress of the necropolis, lady of . . . provisions . . . [the steward of] Thothmes I., the scribe User *maakheru* before Rennutet . . . May his statues become alive at will; may he never be thwarted of his desire for ever and ever, he the Osiris, the scribe User, *maakheru*." (West side.)

[1] Notice the unusual sign for "West," a feather between two loaves, as a pendant to the sign for "East."

"May the King grant an offering of Ra-Horakhti, whose uraeus-effigy (?) is an august power, the great luminary who dawns in gold and traverses heaven in . . . " (Centre.)

"[May the King grant an offering of Osiris, ruler of eternity,] lord of endless time, who gives long life and extension of years . . everything (?) of his giving, long life and high respect on earth, happiness, a respected end and a fitting burial by his (the King's ?) favour in this tomb of the necropolis[1] . . . the *erpati hati-a* prince who thoroughly satisfies the Lord of the Two Lands, the chief steward of Thothmes I., the scribe User [*maakheru*]." (East side.)

2. The Passage. The inner framing of the doorway contains two *h. d. n.* prayers, starting from the centre of the lintel :—

"[May the King grant an offering of] Horakhti (). May he give *pert r kheru* offerings to the *ka* of [the steward of Thothmes I., User, *maakheru*]." On the north side the prayer is for some gift of "[Osiris] lord of eternity."

Of the North Wall only the lower part of a hunting scene is extant at the east end (Pl. XXII.). On the extreme left is seen the wheel of the chariot in which User was shown attacking his quarry.[2] The game is arranged in three registers. Of the topmost one only the head of an ibex remains. In the next we still see a hare leaping over a bush in its flight, a hyena (?),[3] and an oryx staggering under a deep wound from an arrow in its flank. On the left hand of the third register a hunting dog stands over a prostrate antelope. Animals bound away, but a fennec (?) tries to conceal itself in the sparse bushes. A hound wearing a collar is at the throat of a gazelle which it has brought down. Two gazelles have been transfixed by arrows, and a buck brought to its knees by a shaft in its side.[4]

The lowest register exhibits the trophies of the chase, and once again we gather that the capture of the living animal was the first object of the hunt. An ibex and a gazelle are led forward still untamed though captive. A fawn is carried on the shoulders, and a striped hyena of ferocious aspect is borne, slung on a pole, by two of the beaters.[5] Four hares, whose long ears lose nothing in the drawing, are brought, an oryx also, and a full-grown ostrich. The manner in which this bird is hunted and the complacence with which it is being handled show how unfamiliar the artist was with its habits; and its presence here, even if we suppose its feeding-grounds to have extended nearer to Egypt than now, demonstrates how little these scenes correspond to actual conditions.

Behind the chariot another group of representations begins, which faces inwards, and comprises the operations by which the functions of the living man are restored to the mummy (Pl. XX. 4). As I have before remarked (p. 8), this strange juxtaposition of subjects is quite regular for this position in the tomb. Only two of the *tableaux* are preserved. In one the *semer* pours the waters of purification over the mummy, saying, "Pure, pure!" The rite is that of "Passing round him four times." The same rite seems performed a second time by another officiant, who wears a mat-like shawl over his shoulder.[6] The mummy is set up

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[1] Reading :

[2] The wheel is evidently of hard-grained wood (cf. the bow, Pl. XII.), and the four spokes are bound to the rims with leather thongs. For the use of the chariot in hunting, see Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, ii., p. 92, and Tombs 56 and 84. The horse must be bounding over the fallen animals; for there is scant room for it.

[3] I think this animal was meant to be blotted out by the ground colour. The oryx also has now two superfluous hind-legs.

[4] I have since discovered that this animal has the curving horns of the gazelle faintly marked.

[5] A comparison of Wilkinson, *M. and C.*, ii., p. 78, Caillaud, *Arts et Métiers*, Pl. xxxvii., and Prisse, *Art*, ii., 24, shows that these three pictures of the captured hyena, though following the same design as our picture, are from other sites, Tomb 53 being one of them. For the reproductions in colours on Pls. XXIII., XXIV., I am indebted to my wife's brush; but the state of the wall is deplorable.

[6] It is worn by the *ami-khent*, and is to be seen in Tombs 60, 74, 84, 85, 181.

for the ceremony on a pile of pure desert sand.

South Wall. The customary scenes have been assigned to this wall also. At the far end User and his wife (?) sat before a table of the traditional type and mats heaped with offerings (Pl. XX. 1). A fragment near the ceiling shows jars as in Pl. XXVII., and a broken inscription with the names and titles of the pair.[1] Opposite them were the figures of two sons performing rites of consecration ("Presenting an offering"). The lower figure, which was in the usual attitude and dress of a *sem* priest, has been erased by the Aten-worshippers, who had a special hatred for this ceremony. Of the inscription above him we can only read " . . . offering the oblations of a god . . . [by] his beloved [son] . . ." The name and figure in the upper register is also lost, but his rôle is recoverable from the note, "Burning incense and pouring out water doubly pure for the Osiris, the scribe, strong for Amon, User, *maakheru*."

The wall-space to the left of this scene is divided into two parts. In the upper part, and perhaps for its entire length, was depicted the pilgrimage by boat to the shrine of Osiris at Abydos, a pious duty incumbent on the living, but which, if neglected, could perhaps be made good after death. We only see the prows of one or two ships on the return journey with their sails bent on the yards.

In the lower part the goddess of the West stood facing the left.[2] The rites of burial are being performed before her, arranged in four registers (Pl. XXI.). This collection of ritual acts, which in the fullest copy (in the tomb of Rekhmara) numbers about one hundred separate performances, is nearly always exhibited in fully decorated tombs of the first half of the XVIIIth Dynasty, both at Thebes and at El Kab, and always in this position. Excerpts occur in tombs of the Middle Kingdom also, and they are reproduced as an archaism in the tomb of Aba (No. 36). As the copy given here is so fragmentary and devoid of the accompanying texts, I propose to deal very cursorily with the pictures; for many of them baffle all sure interpretation, even with the help of all the known variants. The order of the various groups has often no intelligible or authoritative grounds.

The Upper Register shows a procession which is almost certainly that conveying the sarcophagus to the grave.

In the Second Register a scene of sacrifice is followed by the convoy of the viscera or the sacred oils. In the Third Register the following *tableaux* are shown:—

(1) A harem, containing the mistress and two women.
(2) Osiris in his shrine.
(3) The two sacred sycamores (?).
(4) Armless phantoms guarding the gates of the underworld.
(5) A pond set in a grove of date-palms.
(6) Two obelisks, probably those set up before the tomb.
(7) Two professional dancers (?) within a light structure.
(8) Two men, who pour the water of life over a man seated on a large jar, which perhaps is meant to insulate him from the impure ground. The disc overhead may be a reminiscence of a similar picture where the water flows from an inverted vessel overhead (Tomb 96).
(9) Two mooring-stakes, fashioned at the top into human heads. They probably belonged to the ship that brought the dead to Abydos, and were dedicated there.
(10) Two steering oars (of the same ship?).
(11) A perch supporting the emblems of the patron deity of the ship (?), the two coils of mooring rope from the prow and stern.

[1] Expressions new to the tomb are "favourite of the good god," " . . . of south and north," and "[steward] *of the house* [of Thothmes]."

[2] The arrangement is common, and scraps of her black hair and yellow arm survive.

(12) The deceased as a king being served with meat on a boat.

(13) An officiant performing three separate services to statues of the dead within shrines.[1]

The LOWEST REGISTER contains :—

(14) Men bringing parts of the burial equipment, viz., collars, a chair, a writing-case and forked sticks, two quivers and a bow-case, two coffers.

(15) Women impersonating Ast and Nebhat offer bowls to four tanks.

(16) Four victims round a tank.

(17) Four sacred oxen.

(18) A draught-board and its men (?).

(19) Three tanks.

(20) Seven closed shrines.

(21) The same (?) open, showing Anubis with three other gods and three goddesses.

(22) An officiant purifying the mummy four times over (hence four jars).

(23) A *sem* priest muffled in a robe, who acts in dumb show the rehabilitation of the dead.

These last two scenes really belong to the operations of "opening the mouth," &c., on the opposite wall. The rest are all well-known items in the series of rites.

There are no inscriptions on the mock-beams of the ceiling. The pattern is the same as that in the shrine, save that the cross within the green lozenge is red, with black spots in the angles.

3. THE SHRINE. The decoration here is peculiar in that the two halves of the east wall show the same picture and inscriptions with slight variations, the same being true of the north and south walls. Thus the room contains only two scenes, but this repetition becomes helpful in face of the damage which the walls have sustained. The formal drawings, with their clean washes of bright colour against the golden background and the severe conventions adopted for the hair, the dress, the flowers, are not without considerable charm, while the household animals with pet names attached reveal warm feeling behind the stiff design.

The EAST WALL contains two representations of the reception by User of the symbolic bouquet at the hands of the priesthood (Pls. XXVII., XXVIII.).[2] In each case User sits on a chair placed upon an unusually broad mat and spread with a fringed coverlet. He has a short wig and beard, and wears two or three white garments.[3] A close-fitting loin-cloth or tunic extends from the waist to the knees. Over this is worn a longer and ampler skirt, a little higher in the waist (where it has a selvedge) and reaching nearly to the ankles. On the upper part of the body a vest is worn, broad enough to cover the shoulders and upper arm when the arm is passed

[1] I gather this from Tombs 61 and 84. The statue is hidden in the narrow shrine. Here men and shrines stand in a (blue) stream of water, which I think has been prolonged by error from scene 12.

[2] These bouquets were brought from the temple to the devout, gaining additional virtue from their name *ankh*, "life," as the papyrus did from its name *waz*, "verdure, prosperity." This bouquet seems made of one lotus bloom, two ranunculi, and a mass of small red and blue flowers set in rows and tightly bound into a garish bunch. This extreme ill-taste belongs to the early reigns of the Dynasty.

[3] They are coloured red and white in the picture, but this only indicates that the garment was full, not clinging tightly as the conventional outlines suggested. Thus where the creased material touches the skin the flesh colour shows through as a subdued red with men, yellow with women. The garment ought therefore to be white when no longer seen against the flesh. But though this is true of the skirt on Pl. XXVI., it is not so shown in Pl. XXVII., nor in the case of the empty sleeves on Pls. XXVII., XXVIII. (white ripples on light red), or the stretched sleeve in the latter plate (red on white). The garments are distinguished by a change of colour (white ripples on light red down to the belt and from the knees, the loin-cloth and belt red on white), white properly predominating where the limbs are doubly covered. The long fringes are white. That the loin-cloth is an under-garment is only proved by cases where the man is standing and the over-skirt falls wide. In Pl. XXVII. I have inadvertently reversed the colours of the vest: down to the belt the ripples should be white on light-red instead of *vice-versa*.

through the slits left for the purpose. The right arm, however, is habitually left free.[1]

Under User's chair is his pet dog, which is of the same breed as that belonging to his wife (Pl. XXVIII.). Whether the names are authentic or whether they are common dogs' names is a matter for speculation. One name is lost, the other animal is styled "His favourite, Trusty." This species is always white with some faint red markings, and is evidently closely allied to the more sturdy hunting-dog (Pls. XI., XII., XXII.).

The stand in front of User is piled with good things, amongst which we may notice as interesting features the round cake with the imprint of the four fingers, the gazelle's head, the double wine-jars with intertwined lotus blossoms, and the mat-work dish set on a stand and shewn in section in order to reveal the contents.

The bouquet is presented to User by the "serving priests of the temple of [Amon], who say, 'For thy *ka* [a bouquet of Amon].'" There is scarcely room, however, for more than the one man whose hands we see. User's greeting to them is given: "He says before them, 'Ye have come safe and sound and approved by King Aa-kheper-ka-ra and your fathers who are in the necropolis.'"[2] The ceremony is thus described: "The *erpati hati·a* prince, the companion great of love, who thoroughly satisfies the good god, the chief steward of Aa-kheper-ka-ra, the scribe User, *maakheru* before Osiris (or 'the lord of eternity'), watching that (ceremonial) which guilds (of priests) have handed down to guilds."[3]

On the North and South Walls User's wife Bekt sits by his side.[4] She has a striking profile which reminds one somewhat of that of Queen Aahmes at Deir el-Bahari. Over the pair is written: "May the king grant an offering of Osiris, chief of the Westerners, the great god, lord of Abydos; that he may grant the various offerings on his burnt altar and the pleasant airs of the north and proper burial after old age to the *ka* of one who was excellent and free from transgression, true of heart, who did . . . [Said] by the prince, &c., User and the house-mistress, enshrined in his heart, Bekt."

Nothing calls for remark among the offerings piled on the square table, except the ewer of water and the folded napkin placed near at hand for ablutions.[5]

Their daughter (?) extends a white saucer of wine to the pair. Her dress, instead of being white like her mother's, has yellow ripples, to indicate looseness and transparency.[6] Her address to her parent is: "For thy *ka*! Drink and drink deep and make holiday. Do not give thyself gloom (?); the god Aa-kheper-ka-ra loveth thee, thou prince who lovest wine and art the favourite of frankincense![7] Thou shalt never cease to enjoy thyself within thy happy home."

The Ceiling (Pl. XIX. 4) has an inscribed midrib. "To be said, 'O chief steward of King A.,

[1] Compare my note on dress in *El Amarna* I., p. 10.

[2] The verbs are of the *sdmtiwni* form. (Erman, *Grammatik*, § 326.) Cf. Griffith, *Kahun Papyri*, Pl. XXXII., l. 12; Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv., 66; Dümichen, *Hist. Inschriften*, 40a, 14; Thebes, Tomb 93, W. Wall. These parallels have been drawn from the files of the *Wörterbuch* through the kindness of Prof. Erman.

[3] Reading . This or was almost certainly written.

[4] The name is added in black instead of blue colour over an erasure or in a lacuna; on the north wall the name has not been added to the sentence. Apparently, therefore, the decorators were not aware of the name of the wife. Nor can we be sure of the relationship, for on the wall of the passage where "[his] sister" (*i.e.* "wife") is still legible the name is broken away, only *maatkheru* remaining.

[5] It is strange that excavators never find on the wine-jars these conical or truncated black seals, round which two lines of white paint are run in spirals till they trickle down upon the jars (to prevent pilfering?).

[6] Rippled dresses are shown also in Tombs 39 and 79 (Virey, *Mém. Miss. Française*, v., pp. 323, 328). Two dancing girls in Tomb 179 are so dressed; so the diaphanous garment may have been thought unfit for matrons. The practice of showing creases was resumed in the XIXth Dynasty by the use of lines or stripes instead of waves.

[7] That is, "who art never without wine and incense." Alter Pl. XXVI. to (?).

User, *maakheru*! She who spreads herself out over thee is thy mother Nut in her name of "She who stretches out heaven." Thy voice is true against thine enemies for ever.'" The same pattern extends to right and left on each side of this rib. It consists of chains of blue and green lozenges separated by a red zig-zag. Within the lozenges are black crosses on a yellow ground with red spots in the angles. The rib is bordered by a red and a black line enclosing red and white triangles.

C.—User.

The loss of the names of User's sons and relations leaves us without any clue to his family or connections. We can only say that he had a responsible post at court early in the dynasty. If his father were a vizier, we must think of Imhotep, vizier to Thothmes I., or Hapusenb, whose tomb is close to User's. If the hypothetical vizier were a brother, he is likely to be Aahmes, and User would then be uncle to User of Tomb 61, who was vizier under Thothmes III. In any case, our User is not unlikely to be a member of that influential family which furnished at least three viziers in succession. Two other stewards of Thothmes I., Roy and Bek by name, are known to us.[1] User therefore probably succeeded to the office in the last years of the king or even after his death; for it seems that such posts did not necessarily cease with the end of the reign.[2] As the name of the king is written in the tomb without the usual prefix and with the addition of *maakheru* and *neter* (Pl. XXVI.), he seems to have been dead when the tomb was completed. In any case the tomb can scarcely be later than the reign of Hatshepsut, though its affinities, I think, bring it down a considerable distance from the early years of Thothmes I.

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[1] Daressy, *Cones funéraires*, no. 15. A cone in my collection enables me to correct Bekt to Bek.

[2] *El Amarna* V., p. 9.

CHAPTER III.

THE TOMB OF DAGA ( ).[1]

A.—The Tomb itself.

1. Its Discovery. When Lepsius was in Thebes in 1844–5, the passage was apparently open down to the burial chamber, for he entered it and saw lying there the fine monolithic limestone coffin which he afterwards published.[2] In 1883 M. Maspero had the coffin transported to the Cairo Museum, uncovering also in the process a Coptic church at the mouth of the tomb with valuable mural graffiti.[3] Up to that time, therefore, the rubbish must have completely concealed the transverse gallery and given some excuse for Lepsius's hasty conclusion that tombs of that date consisted of rough galleries. Apparently neither of these scholars saw or removed anything else dating from the early period. During the winter of 1907–8 Lord Carnavon, it is said, dug in the main entrance and brought some inscribed blocks to light, but as they did not answer his expectations he abandoned the site. Whether or not they were the same as are described later on I cannot learn. In 1910 Mr. Weigall cleared out the eastern end of the corridor, isolated it by a party wall, and affixed an iron gate. At the same time he and Dr. Gardiner called my attention to the scenes in the east end of the corridor, pointing out to me the early date of the tomb, and suggesting that I should copy it. The name of the occupant was not fully legible, and I believed this chamber to be an independent tomb. When the reading of the name occurred to me, and it was plain that the neighbouring gallery was that from which the coffin of Daga had been taken by M. Maspero, the difference in titles still led me to believe that I was dealing with the separate tomb of a like-named relation. In January, 1912, I dug out both the eastern and central entrances, and at once saw that they were parts of one extensive whole. It was impossible for me to extend my inquiries further. Fortunately Mr. H. E. Winlock took up the matter for the Metropolitan Museum of New York, and in a few weeks his trained workmen cleared the whole site, laying bare both this interesting tomb and the Coptic monastery which had been erected in its court, and bringing to light many valuable documents of both these widely severed periods.[4]

2. Description (Pl. XXIX.).[5] The tomb must have presented an imposing appearance when in a complete state, having a frontage which

[1] Tomb 103 (21 of Lepsius). The ear is determinative apparently of the syllable *d(n)(r)g*, for it is found in the word *dng*, "dwarf," and the name *Denrega*.

[2] L., *D.*, II., 147, 148. L., *D. Text.*, III., p. 251, gives a short account of the discovery. Cf. also Lepsius, *Letters*, pp. 254, 255, 267.

[3] Maspero, *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, 1885, pp. 43, 48; *Mémoires, Mission Française*, i., pp. 134–181; *Études de Mythologie*, i., 181, 183; Bouriant, *Mémoires, Mission Française*, i., pp. 33–50.

[4] Some work has already been done on the Coptic material with a view to publication. In the hope of its timely appearance as a memoir of the Metropolitan Museum, I shall entirely disregard the later occupation of the site.

[5] The plans on Plate XXIX. were measured and plotted almost entirely by Mr. Palmer Jones, surveyor to the expedition of the Metropolitan Museum.

combined the appearance of a mastaba with that of a colonnade.[1] The latter idea may be derived from the porticoed front of an Egyptian house, but it is more likely that the architect was directly influenced by the temple of Mentuhetep which stood against the cliff only a few hundred yards away. The rock here is a crumbling conglomerate, and the quarrymen probably realised as they attempted to cut, or rather to leave, pillars of rock square in section that these would not suffice to carry the enormous weight of the rock roof. They therefore built up heavy buttresses of brick against each pier.[2] Not only so, but they even erected similar buttresses flanking the tomb-front on either side, as if to hold up the mountain itself. Later, two broad walls prolonged these down the hill-side, thus marking out an immense court. The chief difference of construction which the oblong piers involved was that the rock roof had to be supplemented by an artificial ceiling resting on the brick piers. This was formed of logs about five inches in diameter, no doubt supporting brushwood, and plastered above and below.[3] The long piers also afforded considerable wall-space for decoration, of which full advantage was taken; and, strange to say, it is the paintings in this exposed position which have been best preserved, the upper part of the brick walls having collapsed and buried the lower.

A long transverse corridor having been formed in this way, a direct gallery was run, as usual, into the mountain opposite the central entrance.[4] But in the tomb of Daga this gallery constitutes a curious feature, since it starts, not from the back wall of the corridor, but from the façade itself, and is conducted across the corridor by walls of fine masonry which line it throughout. In this way an independent tomb is formed, as it were, in the heart of the old; and the two halves of the corridor, with their entrances, are cut off both from one another and from the central aisle. This severance is made not only by the stone walls, but also by a party-wall of brick which is run across each corridor close to the third entrance, and which to all appearance is contemporary with the decoration of the tomb.[5] While the stone-lined passage cannot well have been part of the original design, it seems to have been added before the corridor was finished, either from a desire for greater magnificence, or to change the form of the tomb, or for some less obvious reason.[6] The rock ceiling still exists from the eastern end up to the party wall (half Coptic, half modern work of 1911) blocking the corridor at the second pier, and again from the east side of the fifth pier to the west side of the sixth. As there are no holes in the cliff to receive beams, the rock roof probably existed right along at the date

[1] The batter of the façade is 2·5 in 1, a slope that is halfway between the pyramid angle and that of the mastaba. The peculiar pitch suggests that it was chosen simply as a convenient slope for a buttress.

[2] The rock piers themselves are much more oblong on the west side, as if the quarriers had already learnt by experience.

[3] I found numbers of these logs when clearing the eastern entrance. The ceiling therefore must have lasted until the tomb was so neglected that the débris was allowed to remain where it fell. I should judge by the way it lay that the painted walls and ceiling had fallen at the same time.

[4] Other tombs with a porticoed façade but with upright piers are those of Anena, Aahmes, and Hapusenb (Nos. 81, 83, and 67). All of them are of a date when the long colonnaded frontages of Dêr el-Bahri were likely to have made a great impression. Two of them are tombs of viziers.

[5] On the plan the eastern party-wall is hidden by a paving-stone which the Copts raised to this level to form the floor of their chapel.

[6] It seems to be not unlikely that the cutting of a wider span for the central entrance resulted in the collapse of the roof and an enormous fall of rock, so that an artificial ceiling became necessary here and could safely rest only on stone walls. I do not think the main fall of rock was subsequent, or it would have so blocked the entrance that the Copts would never have utilised the tomb. Previous workers in the tomb had such indifference to what they could not carry away that they have left no record of the tomb as they saw it.

of the completion of the tomb, or at least as far as the central passage on both sides. The whole of the exterior of the tomb, as well as the side buttresses, the entrances and the corridor, is covered with a thin coating of coarse cream-coloured lime plaster, plentifully mixed with straw, on top of a layer of mud plaster. This also extends into the main entrance as far as the jambs of the doorway. The ceilings are similarly coated and painted in red splotches to imitate granite.

THE CENTRAL PASSAGE. If this passage existed before the stone lining was resolved on, it probably did not include the square hall into which it soon expands. The passage is carried on beyond this, but at a higher level. It then enters another hall, roughly hewn; but as the passage had already begun a steep descent, the rest of the room is left isolated on two high shelves.[1] The passage continues at a slope on which it is hard to keep one's footing, and at last enters an irregular cave in which the sarcophagus must have lain. All is rough and unplastered. I do not think it probable that the entrance to this unsightly passage was left open, but that the stone lining of the hall was carried across it, perhaps taking the shape here of a false door or of a niche for statuary.

The stone-work does not begin at the façade. The floor of the main entrance was probably of plaster raised a few inches above the ground, like the rest. A little way in two flat slabs of sandstone form a door-sill, and from this point the whole passage, including the hall, was paved with such slabs. Nearly all of it, however, was removed by the Copts. On this a portal and lining walls of the finest white limestone were built up, their limits being first marked out on the floor. Owing to this we can restore the ground-plan, and indeed for a few feet along the passage the lowest course of blocks still remains in place. They are beautifully jointed and painted black on the face. Inside the door-jambs the neatly-shaped hole is seen in which the pivot of the swinging door fitted, the wooden block which served to reduce the wear of the pivot being still in place. The corresponding quadrant in the ceiling is also preserved, showing that the ceiling beams also were of limestone. The insertion of the stone walls made the main entrance of equal breadth with the others. A piece of an eight-sided column of sandstone, with square base (or capital), was found in the hall. It may have formed, singly or with others, the ostensible support of the hall ceiling, or it may be a relic of the Coptic building. Most of the stone blocks lining the hall and passage were carried off before Coptic times. A few complete stones and hundreds of fragments and splinters were found in the course of the excavations, and give some idea of the subject and quality of the sculptures that adorned the hall and passage. A hole filled with late remains, and among them a basketful of fragments of Coptic papyri, was discovered in the north-west corner of the hall.

The Copts used this hall as a church, but, instead of clearing the rubbish away from the entrance, they constructed a flight of steps down to the lower level, with plastered recesses on either hand. They also built two solid dwelling-places in the court, going down to the rock for foundations, but placing the floor at the level of the surrounding accumulations. They used a great many stamped bricks brought from the tomb of Mentuemhat (No. 34) for the purpose.

3. OBJECTS FOUND. So far as these were of late Egyptian or Coptic origin I shall make no mention of them. They were mostly unimportant, except for the papyri already mentioned and between one and two thousand inscribed ostraca, which should prove of considerable value. Nothing was found which could be referred to the period of the tomb itself, except some large unstamped cones, nineteen inches in length. Examples were also found of later cones, viz., Nos. 137, 146, 202 of DARESSY (*Cones funéraires*),

[1] Tomb 61 has the same feature.

and those of two Aahmes, chief priest and second priest of Amon respectively. Also two cone-stamped burnt bricks of Min (DARESSY, No. 242), and eleven similar mud-bricks of Senmen (DARESSY, No. 16).[1] This transference is probably due to the Copts. A few fragments of incised sculpture and inscription, apparently of much later date, and a large cartouche (perhaps from Deir el-Bahari), do not merit further mention.

B.—SCENES AND INSCRIPTIONS.

1. THE CORRIDOR. The scenes in the corridor and its six entrances are painted boldly on a coarse surface and with no attempt at detail. The paintings have survived only on the lower parts of the walls in the entrances and at the east end of the corridor, where in the darkness the remnants of the half-destroyed pictures were allowed to remain, though the place served as an inner room of the Coptic building.

THE WEST CORRIDOR. On the east (partition) wall there are remains of a bed or chair under a canopy (?) supported on slight columns and of men approaching it.[2] The turn of the wall to the fifth entrance is covered with a large black and white chequer. On the back wall we can still make out two men squatting opposite one another and blowing up the fire under a cauldron through yellow tubes (?). Farther to the west are men (←) bringing haunches of meat and braces of ducks. Between the fifth and sixth entrances the topmost row seems to show men at work on a boat, one superintending; in the lowest, men may be stepping a mast in a ship. In the bottom register, between the sixth and seventh entrances, is a group depicting either a man at work on the feet of a seated statue, or a seated figure doing something to a man at his feet. Behind them is a squatting man working upon a white mass almost as large as himself. A fallen fragment from the corner (Pl. XXXI. 7) shows offerings, men bringing gifts, and the name "the prince (?) Daga."

THE EAST GALLERY. The greater part of the picture on the back wall east of the party-wall exists in a riddled state. Opposite it are a few traces of pastoral scenes. A man kneels on the ground and holds down a long-horned ox or cow by a rope fastened to the head or fore-leg. His name is perhaps . Low down on the west wall the feet of several men are seen (→).[3] On the north side of the corner is a chequer, as in the west gallery.

Towards the east end of the back wall, but still some distance from it, we see Daga facing to the right.[4] His titles are recorded overhead (Pl. XXXII.):—

(1) *Erpati Hati·a* prince (cf. Pl. XXXIV.).
(2) Royal Chancellor and Sole Companion (cf. Pls. XXX. 3 and XXXVIII. 3).
(3) Superintendent of the double Treasuries of silver and of gold.
(4) Superintendent of the double granary.
(5) Superintendent of the two bath-rooms.[5]
(6) Superintendent of all that heaven gives and earth creates.
(7) Nomarch (?).
(8) Regulator of the *beth·t* (determined by an offering-table ?).
(9) Overseer of the cultivated land of the people.[6]

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[1] Better in SETHE, *Urkunden*, iv., 418. I read the first column ; the second, ; and the third, . The impressions of all are very imperfect.

[2] I think it showed the bed being spread by servants, as in *Deir el-Gebrâwi*, II., Pl. xxxiii.

[3] Fragments of the legs of a file of men were found in the main entrance, and the piece No. 9, Pl. XXXI. in this corner. Probably, therefore, there was a picture here of men bearing a palanquin.

[4] The broken sign in the last column (?) suggests that his wife stood behind him.

[5] Dr. Alan Gardiner has directed my attention to this meaning and his note upon it in *Receuil*, xxxiv., p. 198.

[6] Cf. MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, pp. 229, 419.

(10) Foremost of seat.[1]
(11) "Mouth of Nekhen (?)."[2]
(12) *Sem ka* (?) of . . . . . .[3]
(13) Priest of . . . . .
(14) Regulator of food (?).[4]

This list of offices is to be completed by:—

(15) Superintendent of all the temples of South and North (Pl. XXXI. 3).
(16) Superintendent of the pyramid-city (Pls. XXXI. 3 and XXXVIII.).
(17) Judge of the Supreme Court (Pls. XXX., XXXI. 3, and XXXVI.).
(18) Vizier (Pls. XXX. and XXXI.).
(19) "Favourite of the god" (Pl. XXXVIII. 3).
(20) "He who has power among the gods" (Pl. XXXVIII. 3).[5]
(21) ". . . . . of Horus (?)" (Pl. XXXVIII. 3).

and from Pl. XXXIV. (fourth and following columns):—

(22) *Sem* (doubtful in Pl. XXXII.).
(23) Regulator of all vestments.
(24) . . . . . of the *hesat* cow.[6]
(25) "Concerned with the incense of . . . . (?)."
(26) *Wab* priest of the two ropes.[7]
(27) Priest of . . . .
(28) Priest of Horus (?) of . . . . (cf. no. 21).[8]

From the figure of Daga below we see that the vizier's dress, as we know it in the XVIIIth Dynasty, was not yet in use (cf. also Pl. XXXVIII. 4). The chancellor's blue seal-cylinder, hung round his neck by a white cord which passes through it, is very instructive. The description of the scene given in Pl. XXXIV. probably applies to the whole wall: "The prince Daga seeing (?) the reckoning [by the . . .], the guardians (?) and the board . . . [of] all the imposts [of the] mortuary estate (?)."

The procedure of the Treasury is shown in three registers, the lowest of which has perished. Above, on the right (Pl. XXXIII.), are some enormous-looking blocks, perhaps representing gold, silver, and lapis lazuli. Two men are weighing out the precious metals, a bag of gold dust (?) against pebble-like weights of copper (?), while a superintendent (?) keeps an eye on the valuables. "Weighing metal (?)" is the note appended. The man holding the rude balances says, "Put (it) on it," and the other, a foreman (?), gives the usual polite reply, "I do your pleasure." Two trusted servants of the Treasury bring forward the reckoning, while a third holds out the material in the scale of the balance for inspection. One is "the treasurer and attendant Sebekhotep (?), son of Apa"; another "the treasurer praised of his master, ..."; the third "the treasurer beloved of his master, Imhotep (?)." In the register below, a man, "the second *hen-ka* (?)," brings forward a bird, so it seems. Farther back four men are packing the bags of precious metal in a box. The taxes seem to be paid in kind; for the next scene, in which a foreman (?) is emptying some liquid into a large jar while "the superintendent of the Treasury" looks on, is labelled "Making balls of ointment" and "The tribute . . ."

In the scenes which face to the right (Pl. XXXIV.) two men busy themselves with a box (?). Below these, with the single word "Come," a defaulter is haled before his lord by a "guardian of the Treasury," and threatened with a stick.

Daga here wears the same dress, and carries a long walking staff and a wand of authority. His wife (or mother) Metenemti (?), "whom he loves and commends," accompanies him. Only

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[1] *Ib.*, p. 70. I obtained this and several other references from Miss Murray's *Index of Titles*.

[2] A judicial title, see Gardiner, *Ä.Z.*, xlii., p. 122.

[3] Mariette, *ib.*, p. 70.

[4] This column seems to have extended down to Daga's elbow.

[5] Cf. p. 12, and Borchardt, *Grab-denkmal d. Neuserrê*, p. 120.

[6] Cf. Borchardt, *ib.*, p. 113.

[7] Cf. p. 24, and Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, II., p. 2.

[8] What follows must be, from the traces,

fragment No. 5 on Pl. XXXI. can be seen beyond this.

The pictures are finished off above with the *kheker* ornament and a rough "ribbon" border, the black edging and bars of which have altogether disappeared. This frieze is applied to all the pictures in the entrances and to the sculpture as well.

2. THE ENTRANCES. At the top of the WEST WALL of the EASTERNMOST ENTRANCE, close to the corridor, are the titles (Pl. XXXI. 3) already noted. This implies that a full-size figure of Daga, facing outwards, stood below them, and this is probably the case on all the walls of the first three entrances. Nothing more can be said of the scene than that it was enacted on water.

EAST SIDE. A fragment of the outer part of the scene is preserved to us (Pl. XXXI.). It represented the vintage. One man picks the bunches from the low-hanging vines and places them in a basket, while "the superintendent of the tenants,[1] Sebekra," looks on. Fragments of the scene above this were also extricated with difficulty from the hard soil and pieced together (Pl. XXXI. 2).[2] It shows green bushes covered with green leaves and yellow fruit, and a gardener who stoops down to water them from the pots hanging from the yoke on his shoulders. The name of Daga (Pl. XXXI. 8) also comes from this passage.

SECOND ENTRANCE. EAST SIDE (Pl. XXXV.). Parts of two of the three registers which the wall must have held are extant. The scene lies in the papyrus marshes, but is not easy of explanation. In the upper row two men are busy with a heap of dark-red oval pellets which they are roasting (?). Behind them is a green object which seems to be the fen-man's mat shelter, in which he himself is sitting or his belongings are piled.[3] A comparison of this and the lower picture with scenes at Beni Hasan makes it clear that we have here to do with the manufacture of reed fibres for coarse weaving.[4] "The herdsman Hema," on the left, seems to be taking the bruised stem or mass and separating it into fibres. "Opening out the hank" is the description.[5] A virtuous admonition is put into Hema's mouth, "Work well for the master of the house." The task of his companions seems to be that of folding up the pieces (of coarse cloth or papyrus?), which are the final result of their industry; for while a small white sheet is spread out between them, each holds a white, fringed, and folded napkin in his hands. We are told that the operation is "folding (?) the hank,"[6] and that the names of the workers are the herdsmen Khety-ankh and Khety-her-khenty-heb (?). They are men of few words. "Put your heart (into it)." "I am doing so."

WEST SIDE (Pl. XXXVIII. 2). This is a very familiar scene. Cattle (both long-horned and polled, with black or red markings) are being taken across a piece of water. Three men accompany them in a boat and help them by supporting the calf at the end of a rope, and by

[1] "Tenant-farmer," according to Meyer; a title growing rare in the Middle Kingdom.

[2] Possibly it comes from the west side.

[3] *Beni Hasan* II., Pls. iv., xiii. *Pefs nut*, "heating the fibre (?)," for the purpose of softening the stems, is there one of the operations, as is also the beating of the mass with mallets. The above scene no doubt represents one of those processes. In modern manufacture also the stems of the flax are roasted.

[4] L., *D.*, II., 77, 105, 106. ERMAN, *Ancient Egypt* p. 440, and often in similar marsh scenes. For the upper scene see MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, p. 328.

[5] For *seshen* see Pl. XXXVII. and similar scenes at Beni Hasan (*loc. cit.*), where this is the first operation in preparation for spinning. In Tomb 39 a man is shown splitting up a papyrus stem with his fingers.

[6] For the word *wekha* compare the scenes in Beni Hasan, L., *D.*, II., 76–78, and Pyramid Texts 161, 204. Dr. Grapow, who has given me these references from the files of the Wörterbuch, defines the word as "throw off, shake out." But the scenes seem to me more consistent with the action of folding, perhaps "fold up and put away." Yet *qen*, which is a bundle of stalks or threads, does not quite suit this interpretation.

keeping a careful watch for crocodiles. And one of these creatures is to be seen lurking at the bottom of the water; it is fantastically coloured a light red with black spots.

The occupants of the boat excitedly point out to one another the place where they think they espy him. "You, herdsman, keep close watch on this reed (?) which is on the water.[1] He comes unnoticed and without . . . Be quite ready for him (?)." Accordingly "the herdsman (?) Dadu" holds a stick in readiness.

Third Entrance. East Side. A few remnants of the scene remain at the foot. Daga (?), leaning on a staff under a canopy, receives the trophies of the chase. A man approaches him leading an oryx (?), then another with two other antelopes (red), and a third with a gazelle (? fawn-colour).

West Side. Here was a companion picture, in which Daga, accompanied by personal attendants (?), viewed the capture of birds and fish. Water runs along the bottom of the picture, and a fallen fragment shows birds running and flying over a papyrus thicket. The rest of the picture was destroyed when a Coptic monk built a weaving bench against the wall.

Fifth Entrance. West Side (Pl. XXXVI.). Here was shown the voyage down stream to Abydos. Three ships were shown, the second and third, which remain to us, being in tow of the first. In the second the sail is furled and the mast lowered on its crutches, the crew having only to keep way on the boat with their oars. The deceased must have sat in the third boat, for we see a lector and a woman in it. Above the scene an *h. d. n.* prayer to Osiris and the titles of Daga are still visible.

East Side. The return journey is shown here. The sail is now set on the second boat; the first boat has perhaps furled hers in preparation for arrival. The barge of Daga is lost to us.[2] No great standing figure of Daga has a place in this or the succeeding entrances.

Sixth Entrance. East Side (Pl. XXXVII.). We have here an interesting depiction of spinning and weaving, though inferior in point of preservation to the very similar pictures at Beni Hasan.[3] On the extreme left, a women is seen drawing a thread or stem of flax between two (red) sticks in order to bruise or clean it.[4] A companion has a (black) heap of yellow fibres lying before her,[5] and from these is twisting a thread on her thigh and then winding it into a ball which she lays behind her. This may be a coarser yarn for the warp; for the third figure seems again to be going through the preliminary process of teasing out the fibres (*seshen*). The woman in front of her is again making yarn by taking the fibres from the mass before her, twisting them into a loosely coherent strand, and laying it in a coil behind her. The fifth figure is that of the spinning girl, who is however not spinning direct from the mass, but only giving a finer twist to the strands already prepared by her companions, and hence it is possible for her to perform the feat of keeping two spindles in action. One thread she draws from a bucket into which the yarn prepared by the other two women must have been coiled. The other she may be drawing from a second bucket behind the first; at any rate it comes, as we see, from the coil laid out by

[1] The inscription restored from Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 175. Cf. L., *D.*, II., 105; *Ptahhetep*, I., Pl. iii.

[2] I thought I saw a broken cartouche here, but it may only be the words . The bowsprits nailed to the prow are noteworthy. The rowlocks and mooring rings are black; the boats themselves are red.

[3] *Beni Hasan* I., xxix.; II., iv., xiii.; IV., xv. *El-Bersheh* I., xxvi. (the latter closely similar).

[4] Perhaps "scutching"; that is, breaking the flax preparatory to separating the fibre from the woody centre. The "rippling" (tearing off the seed-capsules) is always depicted as done in the field when the flax is pulled. I owe these and other technical terms and the explanation of the processes involved to Mr. Ling Roth, keeper of Bankfield Museum, Halifax.

[5] Perhaps the fibres are meant to be lying on a dark patch of ground.

her companion.[1] Of the two spindles one is hanging and gyrating; to the other she is giving the needed twirl on her uplifted thigh. At the same time she is turning round to the women who keep her supplied with thread and crying, "Come! hurry!" No distaff is used, nor is the filling of the shuttle anywhere depicted.[2]

The thread having been made, the next thing is to form the warp. For this purpose two palings have been erected and the long thread stretched between them. It is then taken and the rods to which it is fixed are pegged out on the ground.[3] Two women sit on opposite sides of it, and having placed two "laze-rods" between the threads of the warp to separate them and admit the passage of the shuttle, they throw this to and fro, driving the weft home now and then by means of the heavy "beater-in." At the bottom of the picture we see the fine woven material accumulating on the "breast beam."

Two disconnected fragments of the register above this show a man and a women supporting pieces of curved yellow matwork. It must be a picture therefore of the making of boats or other objects out of that material.

West Side. The operation depicted here was that of storing grain. The upper registers therefore probably showed harvest scenes. On the right is a light blue building with a red-framed hatch or window. Outside is a heap of grain with men measuring it or filling sacks. To the left are ascending steps.

Seventh Entrance. East Side. The scenes here are not so utterly defaced but that one can see that brewing operations were depicted. As there are not only innumerable representations of this manufacture, but a well-preserved series in Tomb 60 of the same period, it would be purposeless to study these fragments. Pl. XXXI. 1 shows a composite fragment from a scene of cooking which probably comes from this wall.

West Side. Here fortune has been more kind to us, and left us a picture of the baker's business. In the upper of the two extant registers two men are seen, as one sees them in the bazaars of Cairo to-day, pounding the husk off the grain with heavy pestles in a mortar.[4] A woman then sifts the grain from the chaff by letting it fall from a basket. Her companion proceeds to grind the corn into flour. She has a flat stone set at a slope on a bed of mud, and as she passes a grinder to and fro over the surface the flour slowly slides down and collects in a hollow prepared for it.[5] The actual baking is lost to us.[6] The man on the extreme left in the lowest register is probably tending the furnace where the long cone-shaped baking-pots are heated. We see five of these pots, set upright in the sand, being filled with

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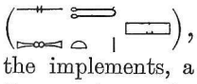
[1] This spinning without a distaff from prepared strands and with two spindles is shown on every occasion at Beni Hasan. The action is properly called *seta*, "drawing out," *mesen* being the term used for the preparation of the loose yarn.

[2] The operation seems shown in Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.*, xli., 4. There they stretch the warp  , and when it is ready a girl brings the implements, a "beater-in," a bobbin and a shuttle (?). In our picture the two laze-rods are side by side and perhaps rest on crutches in the ground. As Mr. Ling Roth points out to me, the doubling of the threads at this point may indicate the "lazing" (*i.e.* crossing) of the two sets of threads. See the illustration, Garstang, *Burial Customs*, p. 134.

[3] The loom may appear vertical but is not really so, as Wilkinson, *M. and C.*, ii., 170, 171, shows, the latter picture depicting the rarer vertical loom seen in Tombs 49 and 104. For these, see Mr. Ling Roth's forthcoming paper on Ancient Egyptian and Greek looms.

[4] Behind him a bending woman can be seen, and then a man cooking a fowl on a spit over a heap of coals. Fragment 4, Pl. XXXI., showing a like action, comes perhaps from the brewing scene on the opposite wall, or from the topmost register of this.

[5] Or dough, according to Garstang, *Burial Customs*, p. 128, water being mixed with it during the grinding.

[6] In Tomb 60, where the scenes are closely akin, we see a woman mixing the dough in a great jar and a dozen pots of it packed on top of a blazing furnace. The furnace and the packing of conical loaves is shown also in *Beni Hasan* II., Pl. xii.

the dough by a woman. After they are baked and have cooled, another woman takes them and shakes the conical loaf out of the pan on to a growing heap.[1] These *shens* loaves are taken by the "caterer" and piled up once more upon a mat to "provision" the house of Daga. Then "the caterer Apa-em-sa-ef (?) packs the loaves" in wicker baskets for removal. The scene is consecrated to the purposes of the tomb by the legend "Daily provisions for the *ka* of the prince, the superintendent of the pyramid-city, Daga."

3. The Main Entrance and Hall. Of the scenes which decorated this hall none remains in place, and it is obvious that we have only a few samples of the work that once lined the walls of the passage and of the hall. We are fortunate in possessing a few blocks which give us an idea of the scale and the quality of the work. It only remains to make a guess at the subjects which the walls displayed.

It may be said at once that the materials and the use made of them are alike of the best. The photograph on Pl. XLI. is sufficient to demonstrate the quality of the work, which was probably not excelled by any reliefs of the Middle Kingdom.[2] The work is of course precise, and the colouring bright to a degree; but the care lavished on the wing-feathers of the ostrich shows what pains the artist was willing to spend on attractive subjects. Almost all the work is in relief. The decoration of the back wall of the hall was perhaps executed on the stone in paint only.

The fragment XXX. 6 may well come from the left outer jamb, and XXX. 3 from the lintel of the entrance. The latter is incised work, and my first impression was that it was a stone brought from the temple of Mentuhotep. But the small fragment is quite similar, and this obviously contains the titles of Daga, "royal chancellor and sole companion."

The entrance is most likely to have contained the more secular subjects, and these would probably look towards large figures of Daga facing outwards. Fragments 2 and 9, Pl. XXX., are therefore probably to be placed high up on the east side of the passage. The ostrich is one of many animals that must have been contained in the netted stockade. The bird has black wings; for the legs and unfeathered parts are coloured rich orange-yellow. The boat in the neighbouring scene is a vivid blue-green with yellow lashing, the water bright blue, the crocodile dark brown and black in chequered squares which indicate its scales. Possibly the men in the boat were fishing, for the small fragment shows a net of fish being brought to land. In the tiny relic of sculpture on the edge of the block one can recognize the flower-wreathed head of one of the boatmen, who tilt with their punting poles at one another.[3] The inscription is suitable, "he strikes thee in thine eye." In XXXVIII. 4 we may have the figure of Daga (exactly similar, be it remarked, to the painted figure in the corridor), who watches the sport. A fragment showing the lower part of a figure with a long skirt would also suit this position, and the inscription, XXXVIII. 6, may belong here too. On the opposite wall we may place the strip on Pl. XXXV., coming from the top of the wall under the *kheker* ornament. It shows Daga inspecting his herds. First there are the

[1] This and similar pictures certainly lend some force to the argument that the funerary cones represent loaves (it would perhaps be better to say baking pots filled with dough). I am by no means convinced of this. If it be so, the loaves were given an antiquated form, reserved for funerary use, and probably when, in the XVIIIth Dynasty, they were stamped with inscriptions, it had been forgotten that they ever represented bread.

[2] I regret not to be able to include a coloured facsimile of this fragment, but it was found when the allotted funds were exhausted. The stone is in New York and a coloured copy by my wife is in the possession of Dr. Alan Gardiner.

[3] Compare *Ptahhetep*, II., Pl. xiv., and many such examples.

polled cattle under their herdsman, docketed as "milch-cows ('nurses'), 32,500 (!)." Behind them come long-horned beasts, no doubt to as apocryphal a total. The hand of a great figure grasping a staff may be part of the figure of Daga, and the fragments 1, 10 and 11, Pl. XXX., may also belong here. The two large figures (bright in colour and now in New York) probably represent sons, one of whom is named Se-ast. Fragment 10 is the inset head of a scribe; no. 11 the head of a singer (?).

What is left of the religious scenes does not point to anything very interesting. Judging from XXXVIII. 3, there was a band of inscription round the hall with pictures above and below. The titles of Daga on this stone have been already noticed. The pile of brown objects among the offerings may either be pieces of meat or pans for baking the *ta* loaf.[1] The fragment XXXVIII. 1 shows the familiar operation of cutting up the ox. The chief lector, Teta-em-sa-ef, pronounces the prayer, "[May the king] give an offering. Abundance of bread, beer, beast and bird to the *ka* of the prince Daga."[2] Another fragment (XXXVIII. 5) shows the servant Apa pouring water under the runners of a statue or bier which is being dragged by men.

Scores of small fragments, of which XXX. 5 is a good specimen, yielded no information to me at all, though fragments of the name and titles of Daga appeared. One fragment, however, showed "his mother, whom he praises and loves," and another, ... , over a large figure. Hence the lady on Pl. XXXIV. may be his mother.

There remain a large number of fragments of quite different aspect, which I relegate to the back wall of the hall. In Tomb 60 (Antef-aqer) the corresponding room ends in a niche with false doors on each side, and this, or something like this, may have been the arrangement here. For we have—

1. A number of fragments of painted stone from a false door, or rather façade, of the Middle Kingdom type, such as is found in Tomb 60 on plaster. The door was not in one plane, but had slight recesses. The largest fragments are shown in Pl. XXX., Nos. 7, 8.[3] It is impossible to reconstruct the monument.

2. A few splinters of incised work against a ground painted to imitate rose granite. One shows the armpit and breast of a large male figure (coloured a bright orange), others the feathers of a winged disc or vulture. I suggest that this came from a central recess, or from the recess of the false façade.

3. Fragments of a number of vases painted on stone, and fragments of inscriptions in paint (mostly green, a few in blue), belonging perhaps to a list of offerings, but containing also Daga's name. The fragment XXX. 4 is important, as it proves that the stonework also comes from the Daga who was Superintendent of the pyramid-city, Chief Justice, and Vizier. I think that these large vases may have been ranged up the sides of the false façade, and the inscription perhaps on or over it.

4. A few fragments of blue incised lists of offerings and perhaps of other inscriptions.

5. A large number of small fragments of religious texts written in columns in black ink with red rubrics. They are so fragmentary that they can be studied only by an expert in these texts, if by anyone. One or two fragments seem to come from a list of offerings (interspersed in the texts?). The fragment XXXI. 6, showing hawks on stands with rolls of cloth below, belongs to this class. One would not expect to find these texts mixed up with sculpture on the

[1] Two other large fragments of offerings were found.

[2] Final has been omitted from the name in the plate.

[3] None of the pieces fit together, but the adjustment of the main fragments is probably correct (*p.* stands for "pink"). Fragment 8 looks more like a ceiling pattern.

walls of the hall.[1] The burial chamber itself is so rough that it is not likely that the texts can have been on a stone lining there, and neither Lepsius nor Maspero makes mention of inscribed material among the rubbish. This, with most of the material found, lay in the two feet or more of débris which had accumulated in the hall. Fragments 1 and 2, Pl. XXX., were found just outside the main entrance.

C.—Daga.

The long list of titles and epithets which are bestowed upon Daga (pp. 31–2) is probably largely complimentary, only a few of them having real significance. Many of them, it is likely, had the additional glamour of being quite obsolete, the state machinery having undergone great changes since the days of the Old Kingdom to which they specially belong. As vizier Daga seems to have felt himself at liberty to assume every lower grade of honour. We need not then concern ourselves further with them. The great titles which usually accompany the vizierate (Nos. 1, 12, 14, 15, 16) are conferred on him; the absence of the title "high-priest of Maat" is probably due to the incomplete state of the wall.

When we compare the titles given to him in the corridor (on plaster) with those in the main entrance and hall (on stone), they are found to be in full harmony, for the few titles preserved on stone are just those essential to the vizier and of political importance. The Daga of the original and he of the transformed tomb are thus the same.[2] When, however, we come to compare these titles with those enumerated on the stone coffin which was found in the burial chamber, the case is far different.[3] Daga is there styled

The first title, one not common at this time, seems to indicate his real office, but the reading and the scope of it are alike unknown. It does not appear to have been a very high office, though at a later time high officials might assume the title (*v.* p. 8). Since, then, it is impossible to think of a vizier leaving his rank unmentioned, and the office which the owner of the sarcophagus held is not included in the long list of those assumed by the owner of the tomb, the conclusion is unavoidable that the two are different men, related perhaps as father and son, or more remotely. The tomb may have originally been a simple gallery driven into the cliff, in which the humbler Daga laid himself to rest. Or Daga the vizier may have given his father honoured burial in his fine tomb; he himself either not finding a resting-place there after all, or being buried in one of those great wooden sarcophagi which would invite robbery by a later generation.

As to the period when Daga lived, the evidence of the sculptures points to the early part of the XIIth Dynasty. For the figures have a low relief and purity of outline which makes them equal, if not superior, to the best work in the temple of Mentuhotep. There is no trace of the cruder work of the XIth Dynasty, unless the elaborate feathering of the winged disc carries a reminder of the laboured work of the age of the Mentuhoteps.[4] On the other hand, the frescoes in the entrance present us with good Middle Kingdom work in this medium, and are so closely akin to pictures in tombs of the first reigns of the XIIth Dynasty at Thebes (Tomb 60), at El-Bersheh (Tomb 2), and at Beni Hasan (Tombs 3, 15, 17), that the artists must have borrowed from one another or have had access

[1] M. Lacau suggests that these fragments may represent the missing lid of the sarcophagus.

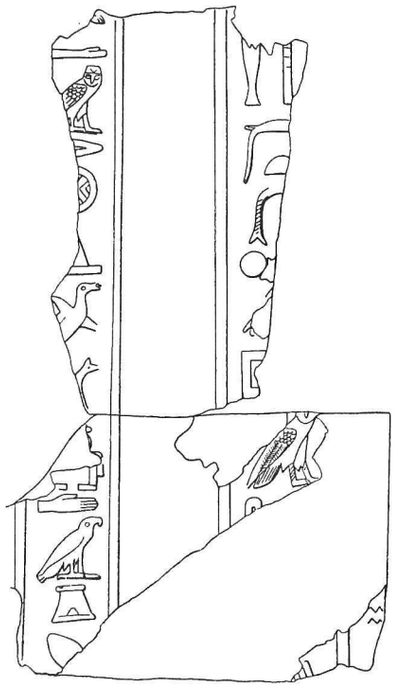
[2] The name is not uncommon in the Middle Kingdom. Cf. Chassinat, *Une campagne*, Pl. xiii. (Xth Dynasty); *Florence Catalogue*, No. 1770; *Beni Hasan*, I., xxx.

[3] I do not further refer to this handsome and important coffin, with its interesting paintings and texts, but direct the reader to the excellent publications in L., *D.*, II., 147, 148; Maspero, *Mém.*, *Mission Française*, i., Pl. ix. (coloured false door); Lacau, *Sarcophages*, i., pp. 56–60.

[4] Cf. Petrie, *Dendera*, Pl. xii.

to the same models or traditions. The titles in the corridor certainly have an archaic ring. But as some of them are peculiar to very early times we can scarcely take them seriously, but must regard them as an artificial survival.

But chance has fortunately furnished us with surer evidence of the date of both Dagas. The excavation of the temple of Mentuhotep-Nebhepetra at Deir el-Bahari has produced several



Scale: one-eighth.

blocks containing figures of officials in attendance on the king, perhaps on the occasion of a *sed* festival. Among these are at least two viziers: one the , Beba, the other the .[1] The latter is indubitably Daga, the owner of Tomb 103, who therefore, it can scarcely be doubted, was vizier under the king who decorated the temple. Nor is this all. A second fragment, the insignificance of which sets it in striking contrast to the first, shows a small figure of the standing in an attitude of respectful attention.[2] Extraordinary good fortune has thus confirmed the existence at the same period of a second Daga of comparatively humble rank, whom his burial-place proves to have been of the same family as the vizier.

If then, as seems assured, the sculptures of the early temple of Deir el-Bahari are to be assigned entirely to the reign of Nebhepetra, Daga the vizier at least falls within that period. The affinities in the tomb to XIIth Dynasty models suggest that but a small space of time separates the two periods. The discoveries in the temple have already set back the rise of the fine art of the Middle Kingdom to the later years of the XIth Dynasty, and it is no wonder that the vizier who superintended its erection found the opportunity to adorn his tomb close by with work of equal merit, or that both became models for succeeding generations. Tomb and temple alike are wrecks of their former beauty. But it is something that we should have saved these relics and added two viziers to the short list of those who are known to have administered Egypt during the Middle Kingdom.

[1] This inscription appears to be referred to in NAVILLE, *Eleventh Dynasty Temple*, I., pp. 6, 7. Acting on a kind suggestion of Prof. Naville I turned over the blocks left on the temple site, and easily discovered, not only the stone containing the name, but another which completed the inscription and showed its relation to one preceding it. The latter occupied at least two columns, and mentions a priest and the palace court (*wakh*), but its purport is not clear to me. From the size of the hieroglyphs one would judge that the figure (below?) must have been more than half life-size.

[2] No. 43123 in the British Museum. I am indebted to the authorities there for giving me facilities for studying the fragment. Mr. Hall has no doubt that all these stones are contemporary with the construction of the temple and belong to its sculptures.

CHAPTER IV.

THE TOMB OF NEHEMAWÄY ( ).[1]

TOMB 165 is a small chamber, less than 12 feet by 6 and only man's height, lying close to that of Mentuherkhepeshef (see Pl. XV.), and almost certainly subsequent to it in date. No door framing is extant, and the back wall has been pierced through from a tomb in the rear and almost destroyed. The decoration is by paint only, and is of a very summary character, and badly worn and injured. It will suffice to catalogue the scenes.

Nehemawäy was goldsmith and sculptor. His wife was named Tentamentet ("She of the West") and surnamed Käy.

BACK WALL. A strip down the east side shows priests (←) performing the "opening of the mouth," &c., on a male and a female mummy (four rows). The top row at the west end contains three girls standing (→) before a table of offerings.

WEST WALL: UPPER HALF. On the right hand N. and T. sit on chairs (←). Beyond a breach in the wall a number of guests are arranged in three registers: the men sit on chairs, and are served with drink by men; the ladies squat on mats, and are helped to wine and ointment by three serving-girls. The end of the scene is lost in a second breach. Beyond it is a large figure of N. (←). He holds a flaming brazier on which a bird lies, and with the other he pours incense on offerings before him from a vase . In front of him are (1) jars of unguents with sprays of vine cast over them, (2) a mat of offerings, (3) red vases, (4) a man cutting up an ox and another bringing a table of food. Both these scenes closely resemble those in the tomb of Nakht (No. 52).[2]

WEST WALL: LOWER HALF. This is occupied by burial rites in two registers. On the right hand N. and T. sit (←). Eight men march towards them (→) carrying a funeral boat on their shoulders. A smaller one follows, borne by three men (a scene below this is lost). Behind these the voyage to and from Abydos is depicted in two registers. Above, a funeral barge is being towed on the water (→) by three men. A ship follows. Below, a ship (←) rowed by five men tows a barge containing the deceased (←), to whom a *sem* priest (→) burns incense.

EAST WALL: UPPER PICTURES. On the left N. and T. sit (→). A son and daughter sit on lower chairs beside them. Before them is the conventional table spread with halved loaves. A short list of offerings is over it. On the other side of this a son (?) faces them, offering a bouquet. The inscription has not been inserted.

Nearer the door and facing it is a second scene. The centre is occupied by a clump of papyrus with birds and butterflies hovering over it.[3] On the left of this, N. (→), standing on a boat (but this is gone), knocks birds down with

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[1] "He who rescues the plundered." The consort of Thoth of Hermopolis bore the feminine form of this name. The however is nowhere fully preserved, so that might be read, giving us Nehemwäy. But I know no parallel to this.

[2] *Mém. Mission Française*, vol. v., pp. 470–485, and a forthcoming publication by the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

[3] Of the form shown in *Mém. Mission Française*, vol. v. (Horemheb, Pl. vi.).

a boomerang. In front of him is his son (?) holding a spare weapon, and behind him (as the inscription on Pl. XXXIX. shows) stood his wife "Tentamentet, called Käy." An inscription, now very faint, says, "The favourite of the 'lady of sport' (Sekhet), the goldsmith and sculptor N., *maakheru*, amusing himself, looking at the good things, and taking part in outdoor exercises (literally, 'in the labours of Sekhet,' the goddess of the uncultivated land)."[1]

On the other (right-hand) side of the papyrus and facing it (⟵), N. spears the fish in the water below his boat. He has on board with him not only his daughter, who kneels at his side, and his wife, who stands behind him with papyrus stems in her arms, but also a goose, the family pet.[2] The inscription reads, "The [favourite] of the lady of sport, the [gold]smith and sculptor N., traversing the pools, penetrating the nesting-places, amusing himself spearing (?) the fish ( ) in the marshes." Over his wife is "His sister whom he loves heartily, the favourite of Hathor, T., who is called Käy."

A third scene follows, in which N. stands (⟵) leaning on a staff, while two men (⟶) make offering, one pouring out a libation, the other presenting two strips of cloth.

East Wall: Lower Pictures. On the left N. sits (⟶) in a chair under a canopy. His arm is thrown round the neck of his wife, who occupies a stool by his side. Piles of offerings, including live birds, lie on mats before him, and a servant brings forward a table of food.

On the other side of a gap is the rough sketch of a wine-press, girls picking grapes from a trellised vine, men cleaning fish and catching birds in a clap-net.

The pictures terminate above in a "ribbon" border, over which is a fringe of pendant lotus buds and flowers alternately, with yellow ranunculi (?) between each. The ceiling is covered with a pattern of a common type, very similar to that in the tomb of Nakht, No. 52. From end to end run narrow red zig-zagging lines, whose points approach one another and form a chain of lozenges. These spaces enclose blue and green lozenges in alternate rows, the blue containing a dark red cross with blue centre, the green a blue (black ?) cross with red centre, the field being red in both cases. Two lines of blue hieroglyphs on a red ground form a border to this pattern on the east and west. On the east we read, "May the king give an offering . . . [that the god may grant] that my soul is not withheld from its desire nor repelled from . . . in the daily dues . . . in their festivals of the New Year (?) . . . N." ( ). On the west there remains only "May the king give an offering . . . of Karnak (?) . . . wine, milk, grain, vegetables . . ."

The dress of the women resembles that shown in the tomb of Nakht, the scenes of which it so often recalls. That tomb I am inclined to place in the reign of Amenhetep II. or Thothmes IV., and I suggest therefore the same period for that of Nehemawäy.

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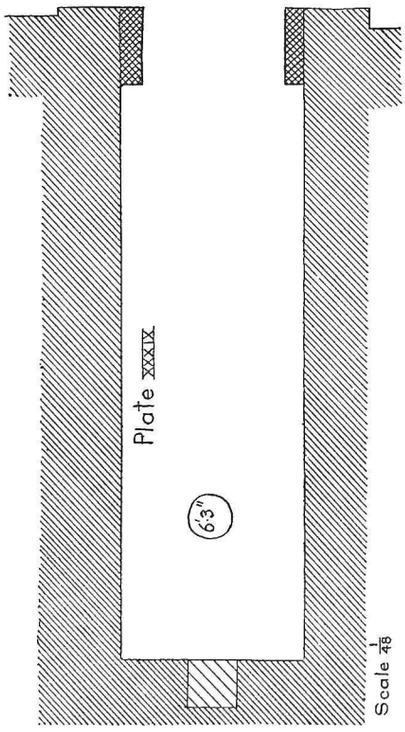
[1] Dr. Alan Gardiner has pointed out to me that the word *sm*, in spite of the determinative, must be the verb "to be active." In this recurring descriptive legend it is often written (with a loop to the base), as if to distinguish it from , reading *sḫt* (Tomb of Nakht, and Sethe, *Urk.*, iv., p. 512). Spelt in Tomb 128.

[2] Thus in the tomb of Nakht, in Tomb 172, and in Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, ii., 107, 108.

CHAPTER V.

THE TOMB OF TATI (𓅱𓏏𓏏𓅱).

THE tomb is now numbered 154. I know of no previous reference to it. It lies high up on the south side of a little *wady* which runs up into the mountains just to the south of the entrance to the valley of the Tombs of the Kings. The tiny chamber was cleared and fitted with a door by Mr. Weigall in 1910. He then called my



attention to the curious representation of the sinking of a well and expressed a desire that it should be copied and published.

The tomb is merely a tiny tunnel, and only a fragment of the ceiling, giving the owner's name, and a strip along the base of the pictures on the west side survive. These are presented on Pl. XXXIX. The scenes are drawn rather roughly, such colour as remains being thinly laid on. The white background is almost gone, allowing many false lines to reappear as well as all the guiding lines with which the wall was squared up. These were very close, the squares numbering twelve in seven inches. The minute hieroglyphs are almost erased, and the outlines of the figures often very faint and uncertain. I should set the tomb down to the reign of Thothmes III., but there is not much evidence to go upon.

SCENES AND INSCRIPTIONS. On the extreme left the deceased sits on a bench set upon a mat, with his wife behind (*i.e.*, beside) him. Under her chair are a mirror and two pots of cosmetic. Under his, is his dog. A woman and a man make some presentation to him. Behind them a woman squats playing the harp. The next figure is probably also that of a female musician. The guests are then shown, first a son (?), [Nefer]-hebef, and "his wife Aahhetep (?)." A male servant is preparing to rub the arm of the honoured guest with some unguent. A pair related by marriage only (note the decreased size of the figures) are his brother-in-law (?),[1] Gergtawi," and "his (G.'s) wife Senhetep."[2] Two ladies, who have to be content with the floor, are named Hentari (?) and Satamen. Each of the guests has a dab of ointment on the head.

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[1] Dr. Gardiner informs me that 𓋴𓅱𓅱 signifies some relation by marriage, the word occurring in Coptic as ϣⲱⲙⲉ, and in Demotic. See GRIFFITH, *Rylands Pap.*, p. 300, note 5.

[2] Or, possibly, "his (G.'s) wife (who is) his (Tati's) sister, Hetep."

Dependants follow with offerings. "The keeper of the cattle" brings a bullock. Others follow with vegetables, dates, a large jar and some grass-packets hung from a yoke (?), a stem of papyrus, birds and fish.[1] In the upper register additional guests are shown, and men bringing stands of beer with four or five jars in each. The process of making this beer was next shown in two registers. In the lower one we see two men pressing the mass (of fermented dough ?) through strainers of basket-work placed over large jars. The first of these men is "the brewer ( ) Hesy (?)." Two dipping-cups, which seem formed after a Cretan model, red above and black below, are seen near them. Behind them "the . . . Nebsen (?)" brings a small measure of beer for testing (?).

In the lowest register the tomb itself seems to be the object presented to the deceased. Men are seen engaged in fabricating a stone stela, such as were carved in the rock or set up near the tomb entrance. The "overseer of the builders" performs some operation which seems to be that of spreading a wash of lime over the surface to fill up inequalities and give a better ground for inscriptions. A panel with the kneeling figure of the deceased is seen above, and two workmen are seen cutting out the central recess in the stela with mallet and chisel.[2] Unique as the next picture is, it seems evident that it depicts the digging of the burial shaft.[3] On the ground a (white) mass of rock is seen. On this two brick pillars have been erected (blue for mud-colour), and across these a beam (red) has been laid. The head and shoulders of a man, "Anhur," appear, emerging from the centre of the rock. The excavated material is lifted out in a bag, which is pulled to the surface by a rope passing over the beam and hauled by the man below. The rope passes over a tapering block cut in or fastened on the beam, by means of which the rope is kept in the same spot as it unwinds. A man steadies and receives the bag when it reaches the top and hands it to another, who carries off the contents to the tip-heap. An abraded inscription above runs, , "Providing a tomb in the necropolis for the butler . . . Tati, *maakheru*."[4] It looks as if this scene had been put in at the request of the quarriers, who desired to be immortalized in this way.

The ceiling pattern is of a simple type, consisting of crosses of the usual form (red, black, red, yellow) on coloured squares (white, yellow, white, blue) in diagonal rows. The hieroglyphs on the central (painted) beam have preserved for us the name and occupation of the owner of the tomb.

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[1] Every scale is marked on the fish and separately coloured.

[2] Dr. Gardiner suggests that one of the men is a , "wielder of the chisel." may also be the name of a craft.

[3] It is no argument against this that the tomb shows neither shaft nor stela. The picture is general. A shaft may even exist; for the site has not been cleared. And a stela could have been carried off long ago. The only alternative explanation I can suggest is that the men are hollowing out a limestone sarcophagus by means of a boring instrument , which is suspended from the beam and perhaps helped in its action by the torsion of the rope.

[4] The traces that make this reading practically certain could not be represented in the plate.

APPENDIX.

ADDENDUM TO MEMOIR IX., PLATES IV., XI.

SHORTLY after I copied the tomb of Ptahhetep at Saqqareh, in 1898–9, the tomb was cleared to the floor by the *Service des Antiquités*, and in the course of the work four sculptured blocks were found in the corridor. One of them, which supplied the missing part of a scene in the north-east corner, was replaced in position by Mr. Quibell. That the other blocks also belong there is proved by a peculiarity common to two of the stones and to those already *in situ*. For some sixteen inches from the north end of the wall the scenes are not cut but drawn in ink, and while this part of the wall-surface is clean the adjacent sculptured parts are strongly discoloured. The complete clearance of the corridor has furnished the explanation. After the room was built and the scenes sketched out in ink the corner was filled up with a buttress of blocks, perhaps in order to remedy some fault of construction. The lower part of this addition still remains, and the proof of its continuation to the ceiling is given by the unsoiled state of the drawings which it masked, and by the inability of the sculptor to cut these scenes or even to work close up to them. The connection of the new subjects with the main scene is not obvious. The idea must be the provision of meat and drink. The real motive perhaps was the desire of Akhethetep's sculptor to imitate the attractive hunting scenes in the chapel of Ptahhetep. Plate XL. contains tracings of these new blocks, and thus gives completeness to the Memoir for 1898–9.

The scenes of animal life do not add much to previous records. In the upper block we see a gazelle in the grip of its captor (a lion?), two bubale, and a hedgehog. In the next men lead off a calf (a decoy?) and an addax. The crouching gazelle, the hedgehog, and the gaily dressed huntsman, who points excitedly to some feat of his hunting dog ("*thesemu*," perhaps the dog in the fragment below), are imitations of the work in the inner chamber.[1]

The scene in which wine is being decanted has received a welcome addition, the jocund utterance of the man presenting the jar of wine being now complete, "May thy heart get much good (from it), more (even) than thy palate."[2] The action of the other two men is defined by the inscriptions as "Sealing the wine," and "Drawing off the wine and (?) sealing it."

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[1] *Ptahhetep*, I., Pl. xxii.

[2] Literally, "than the water of thy mouth."

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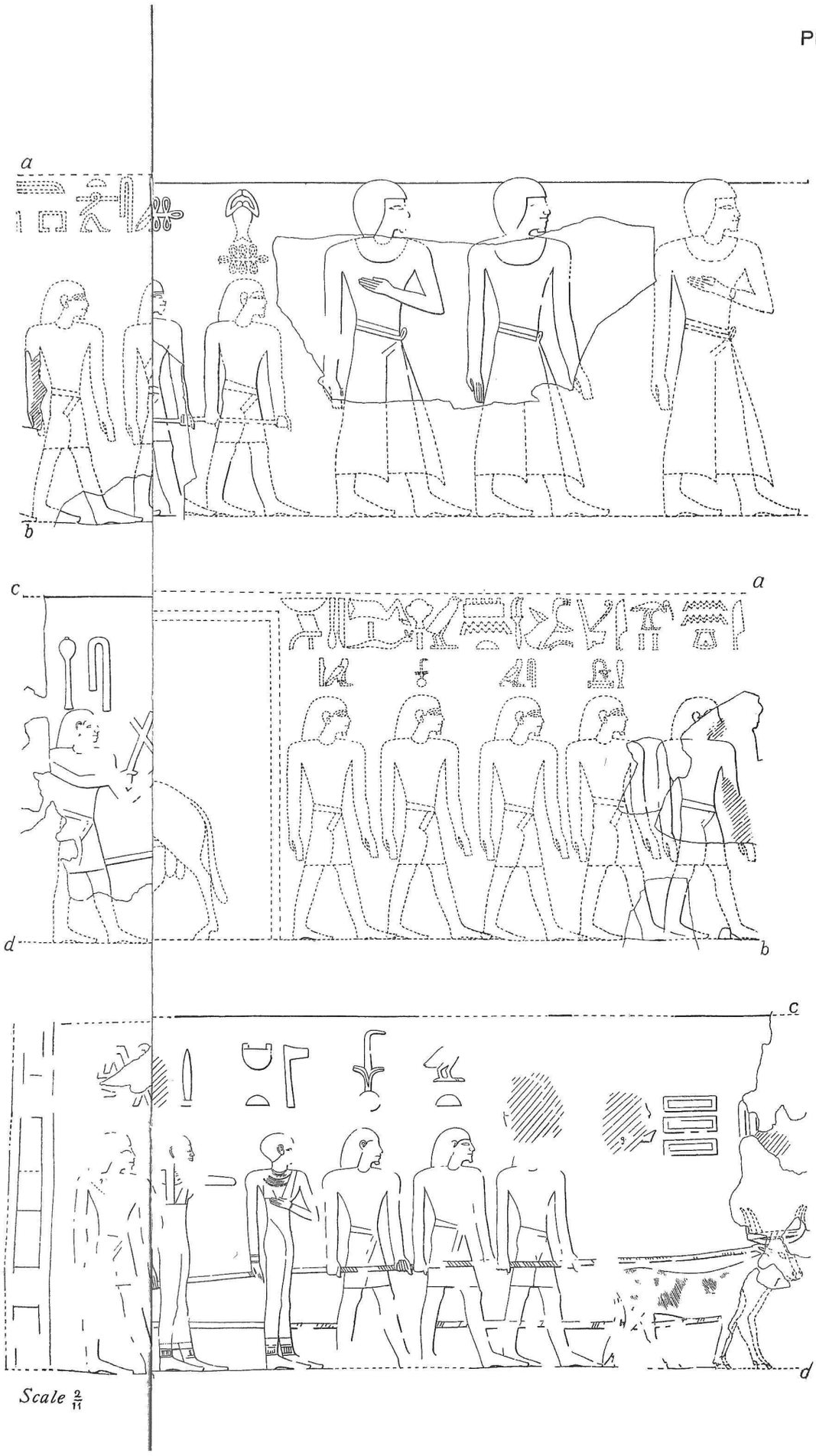

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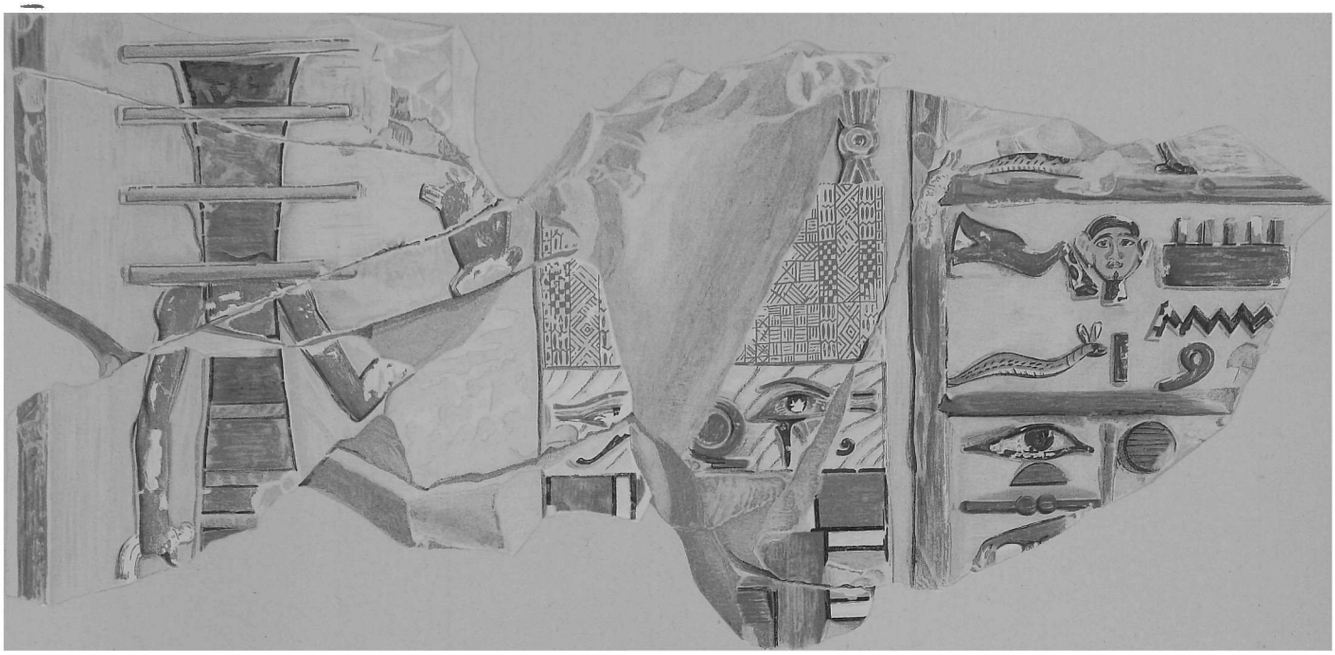
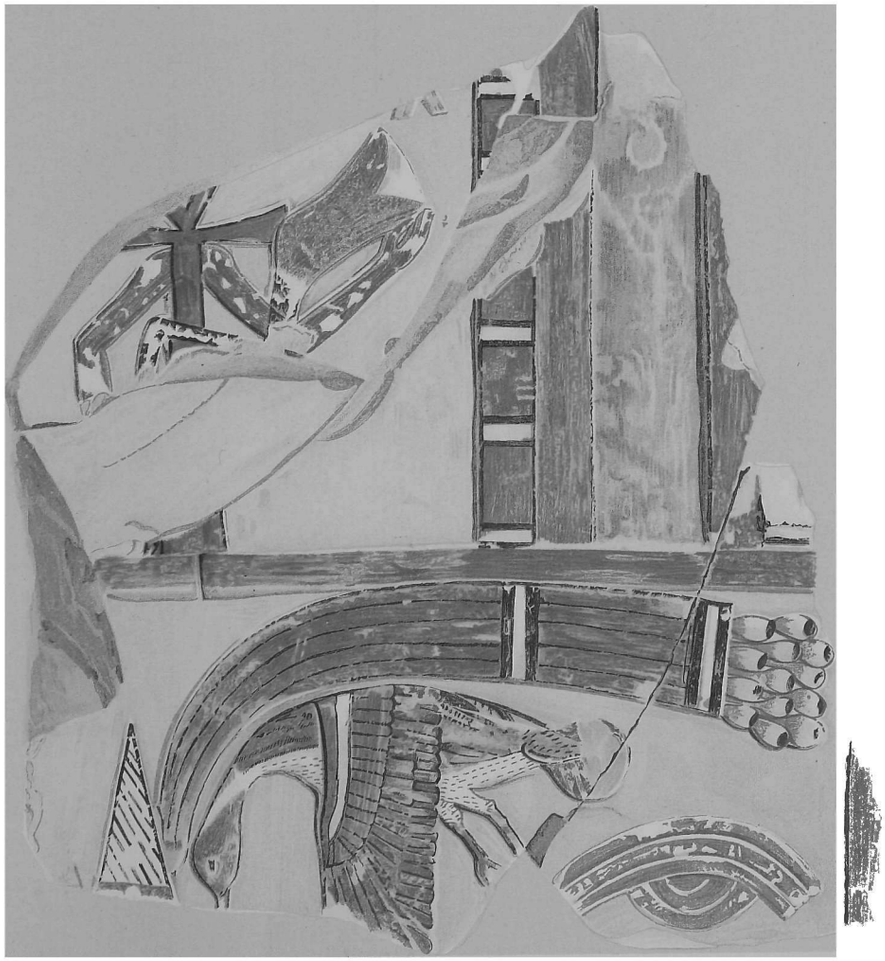
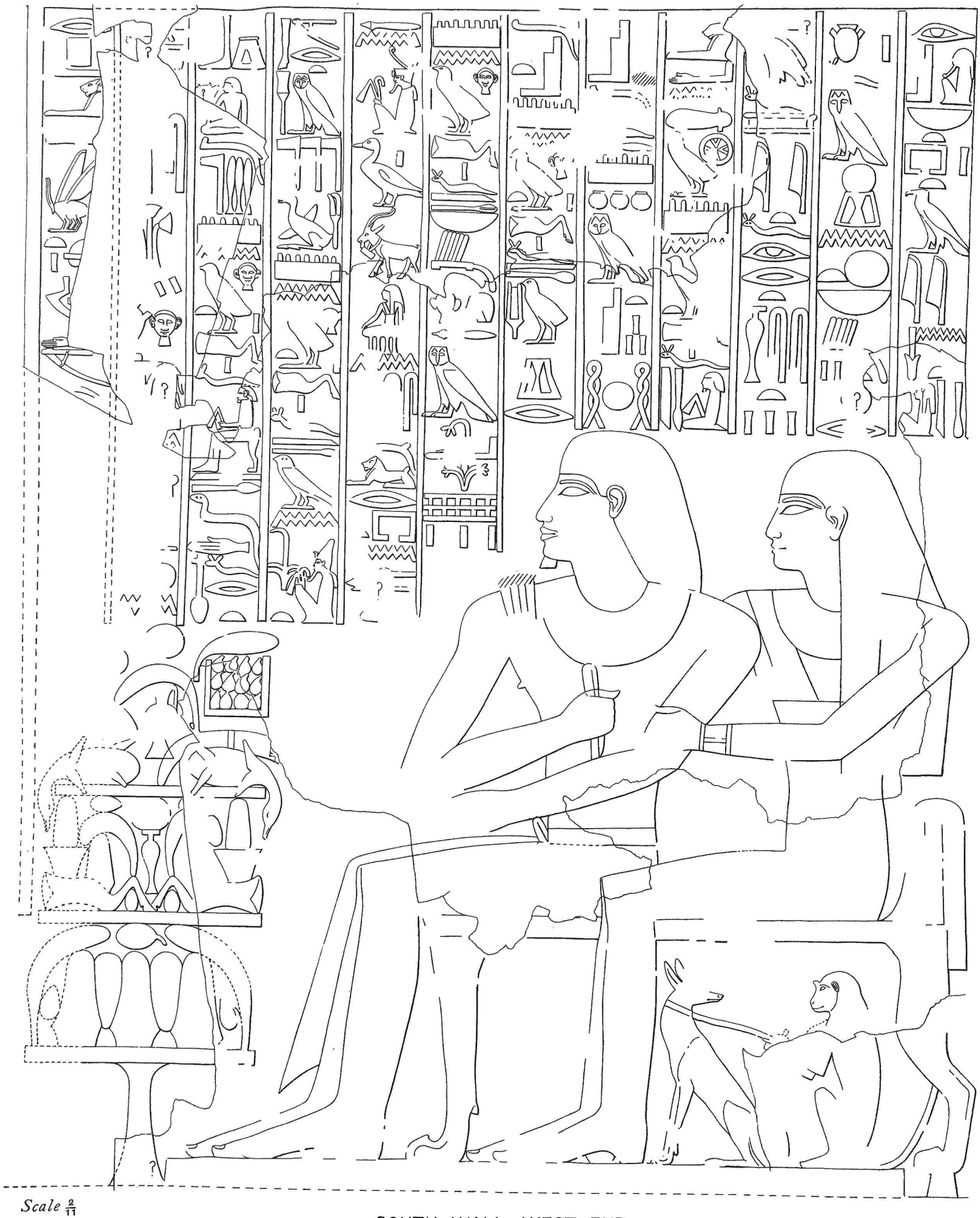




OFFERINGS BROUGHT TO THE FALSE DOOR
(SEE PL. V.)

McLagan & Cumming, Edinr



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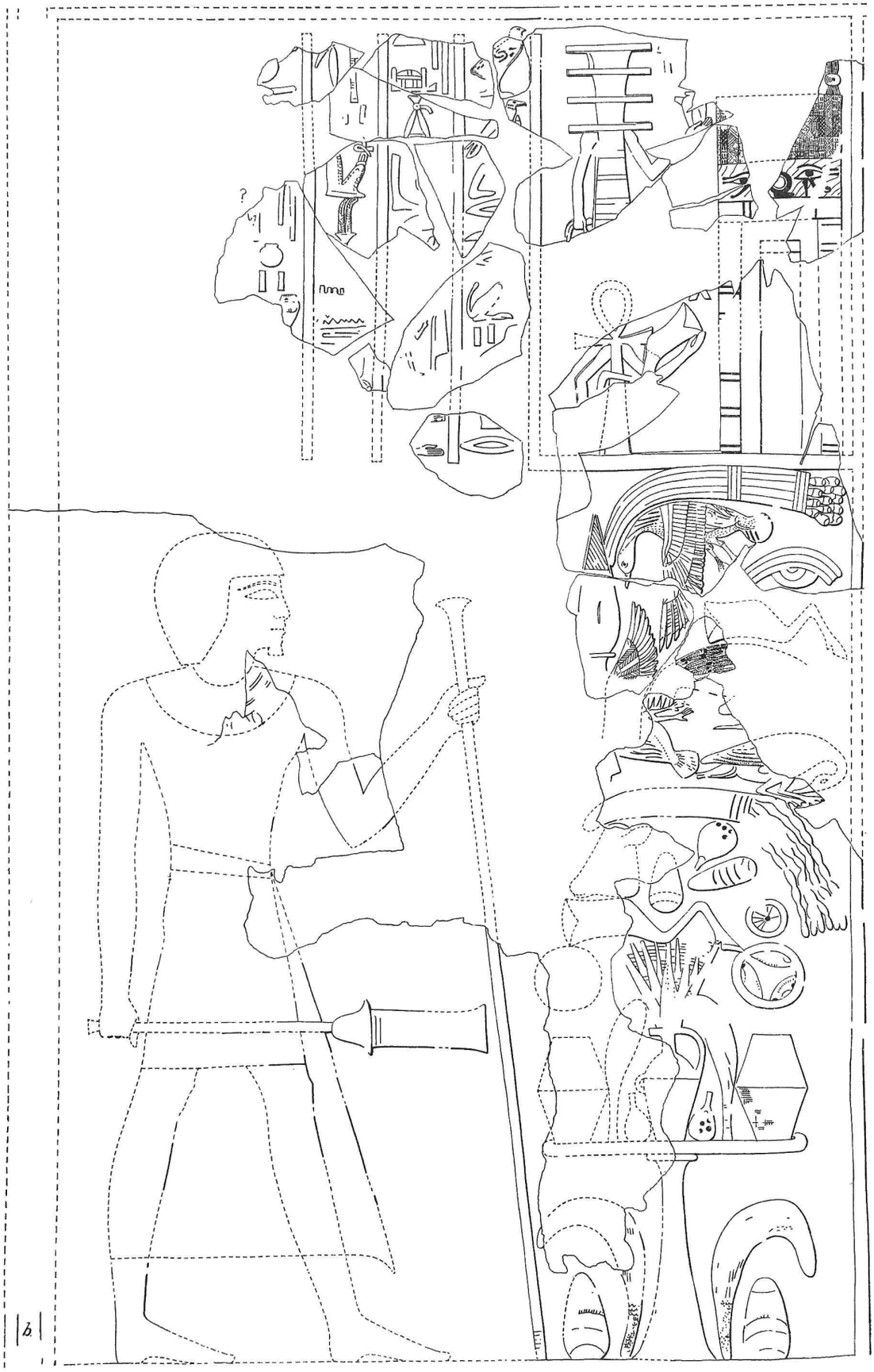
SOUTH WALL. WEST END.



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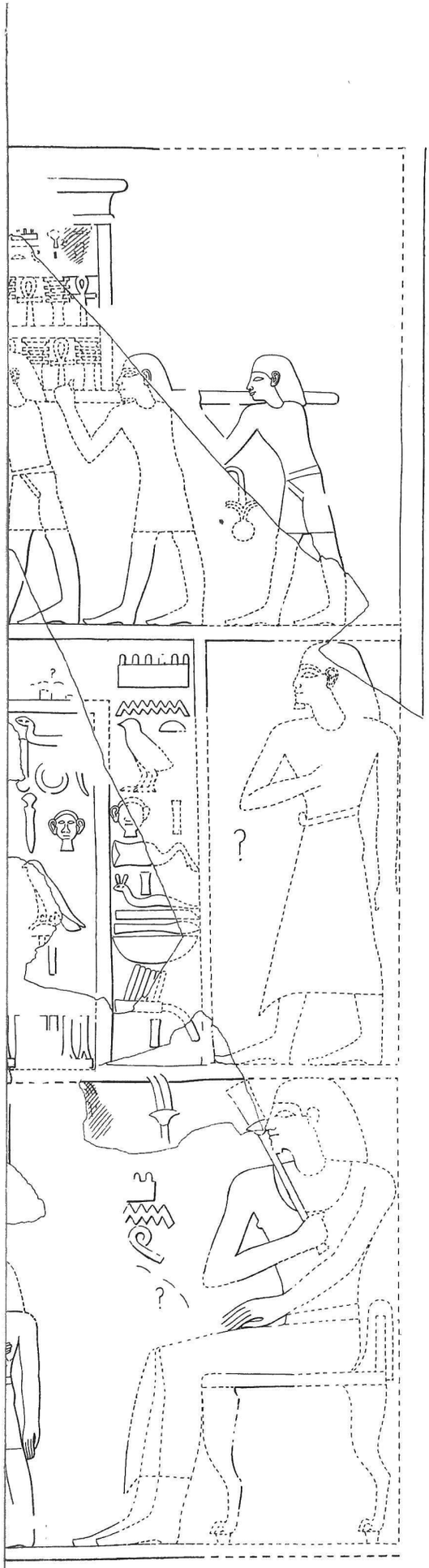

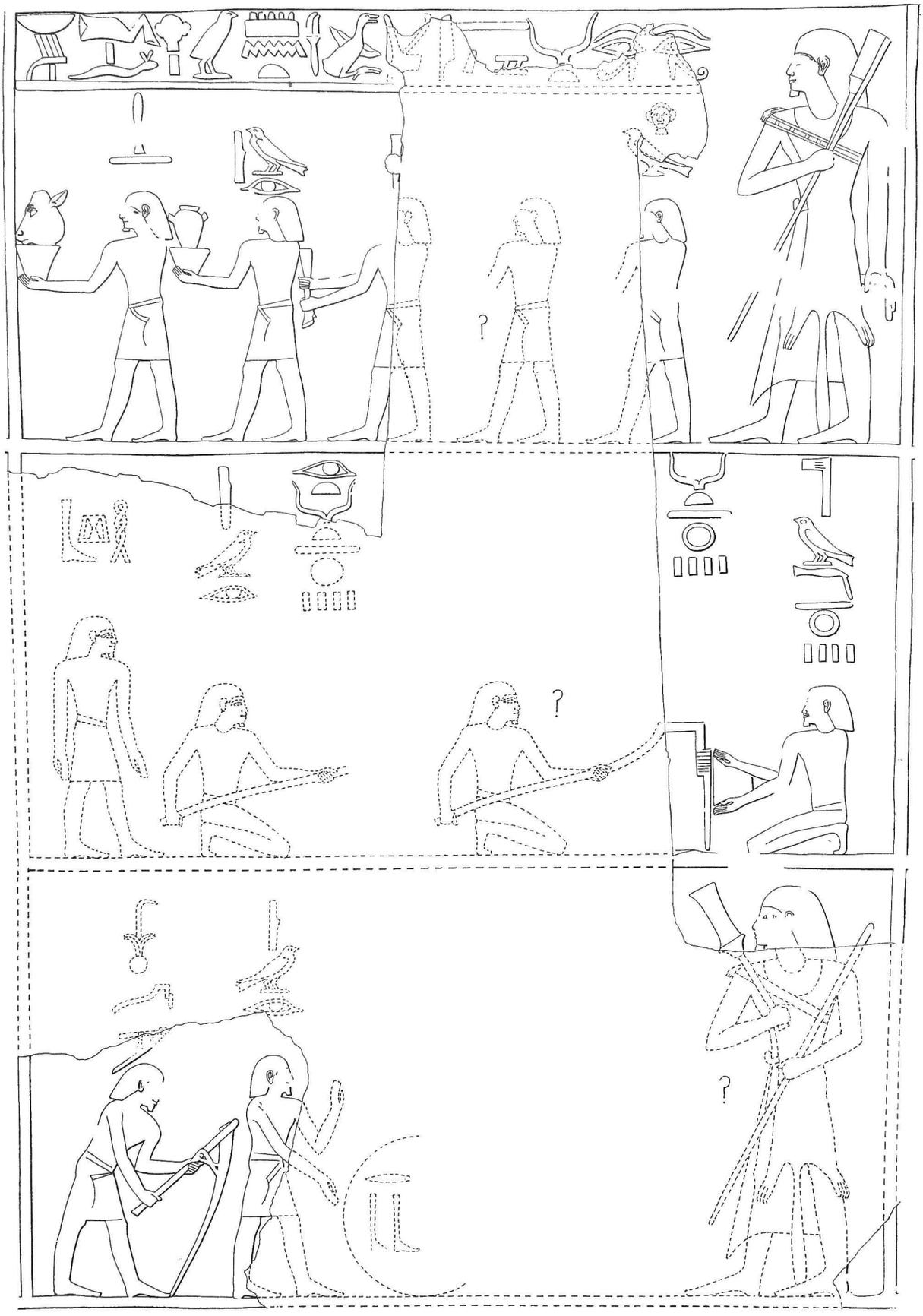

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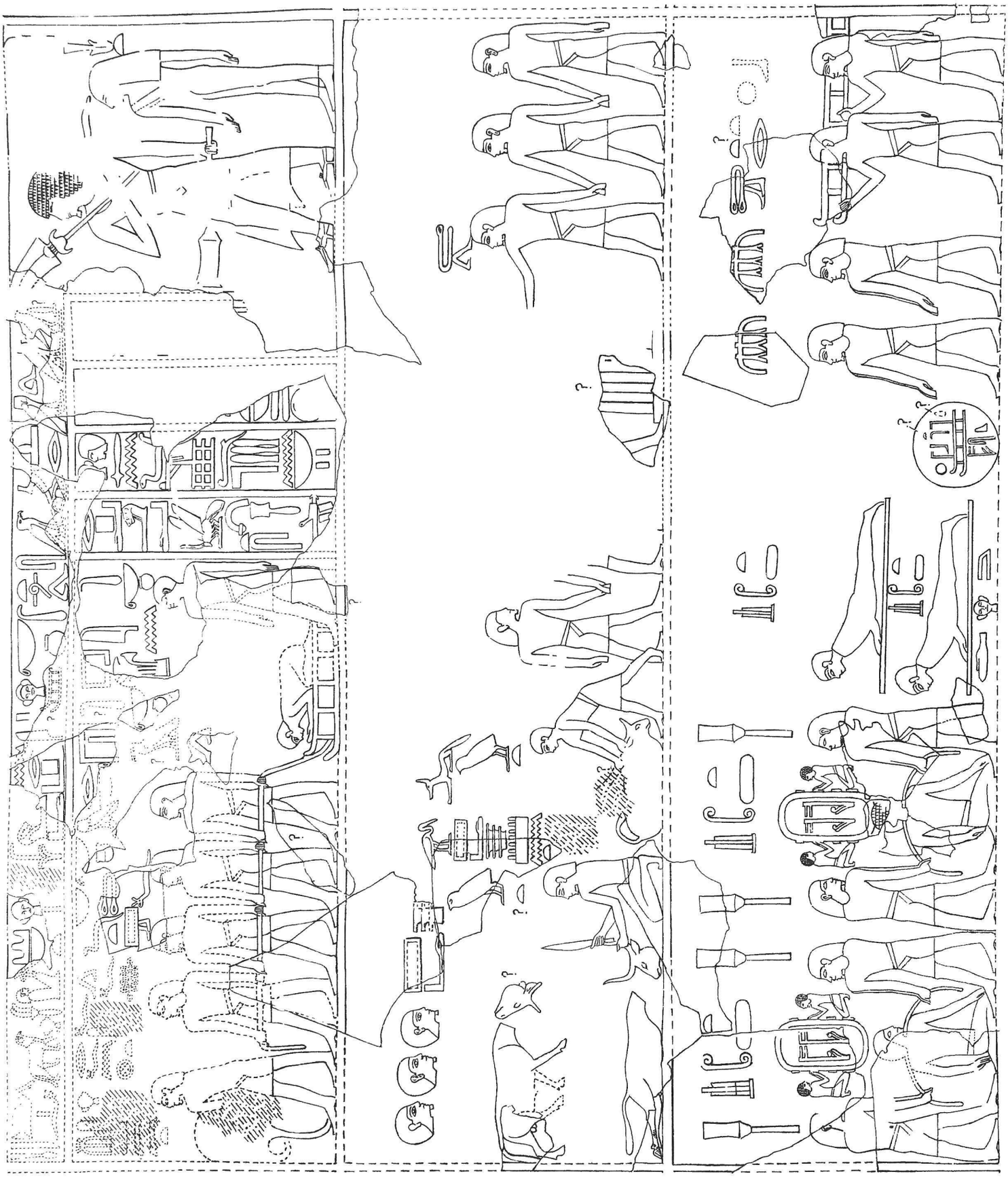
SOUTH WALL. SCENE 2.



SCENE 3.

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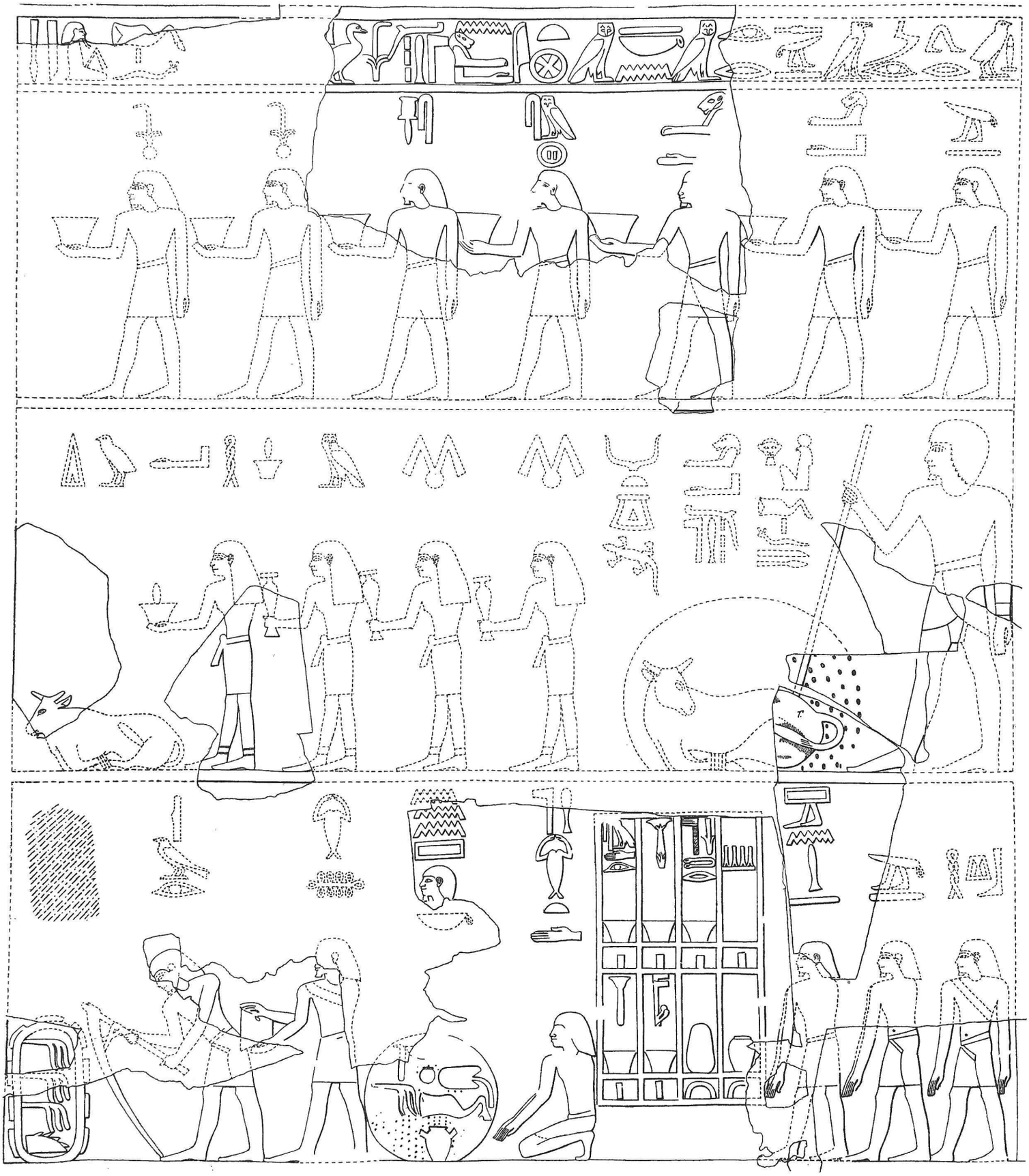

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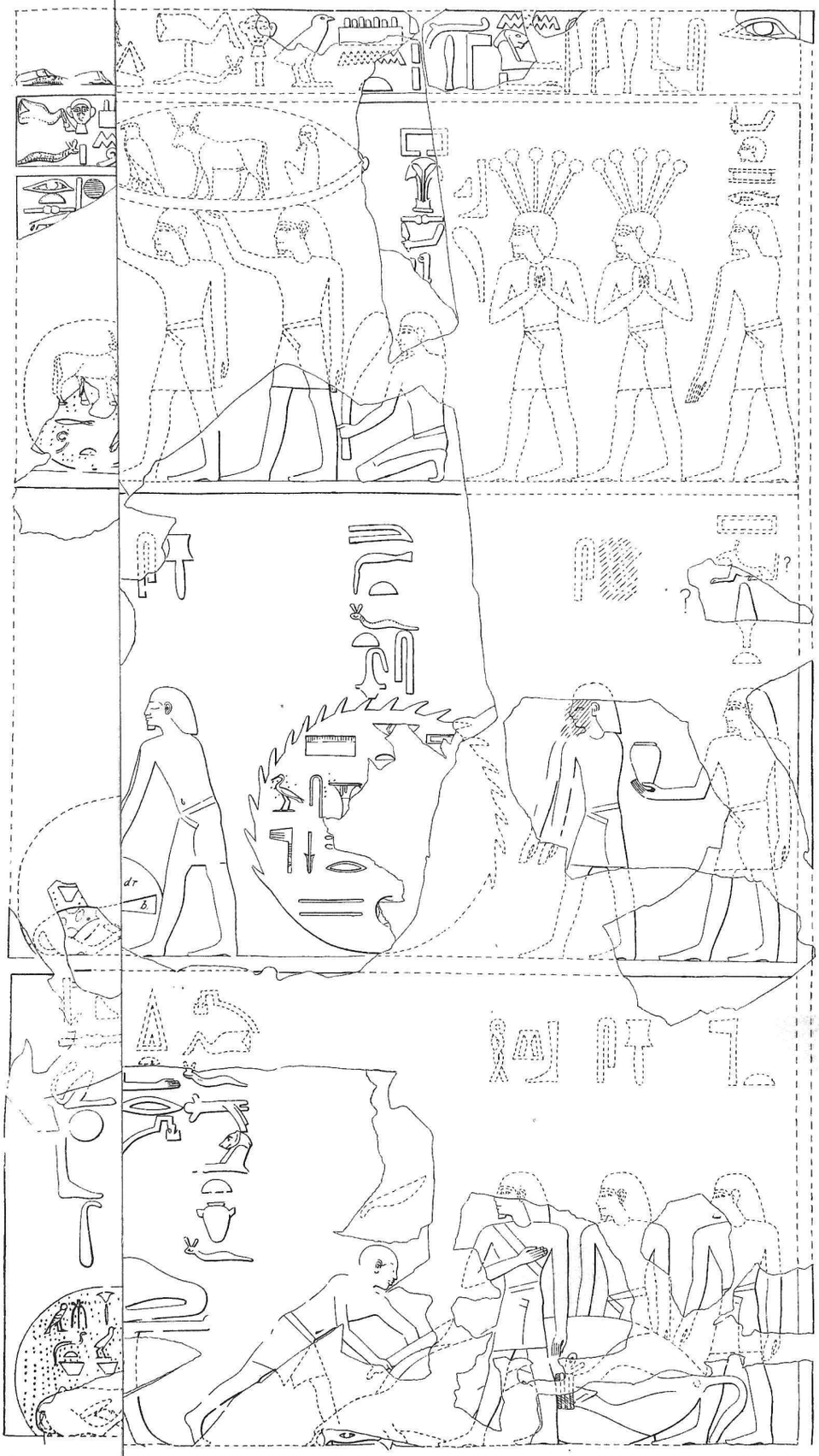

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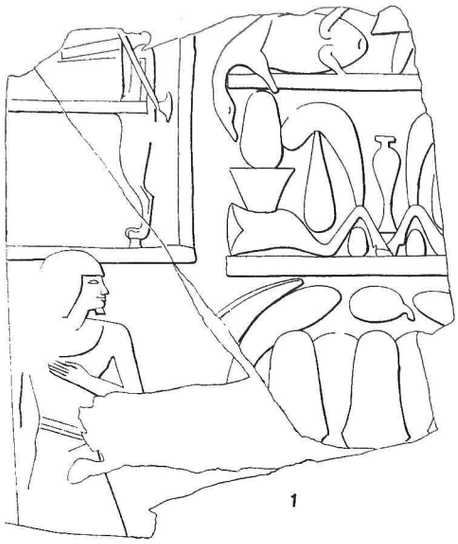
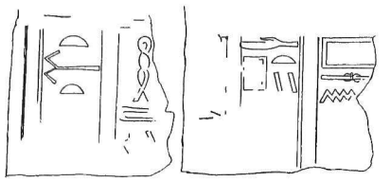
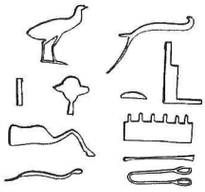
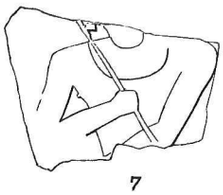
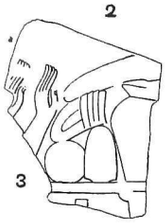
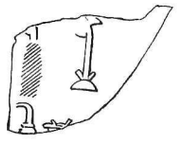


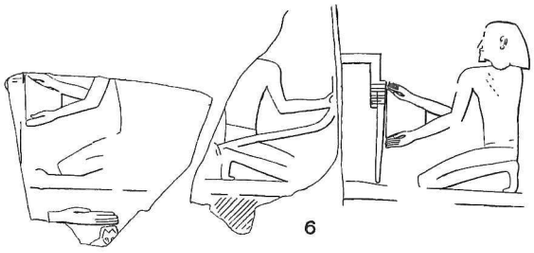


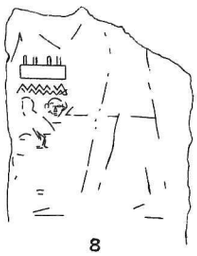






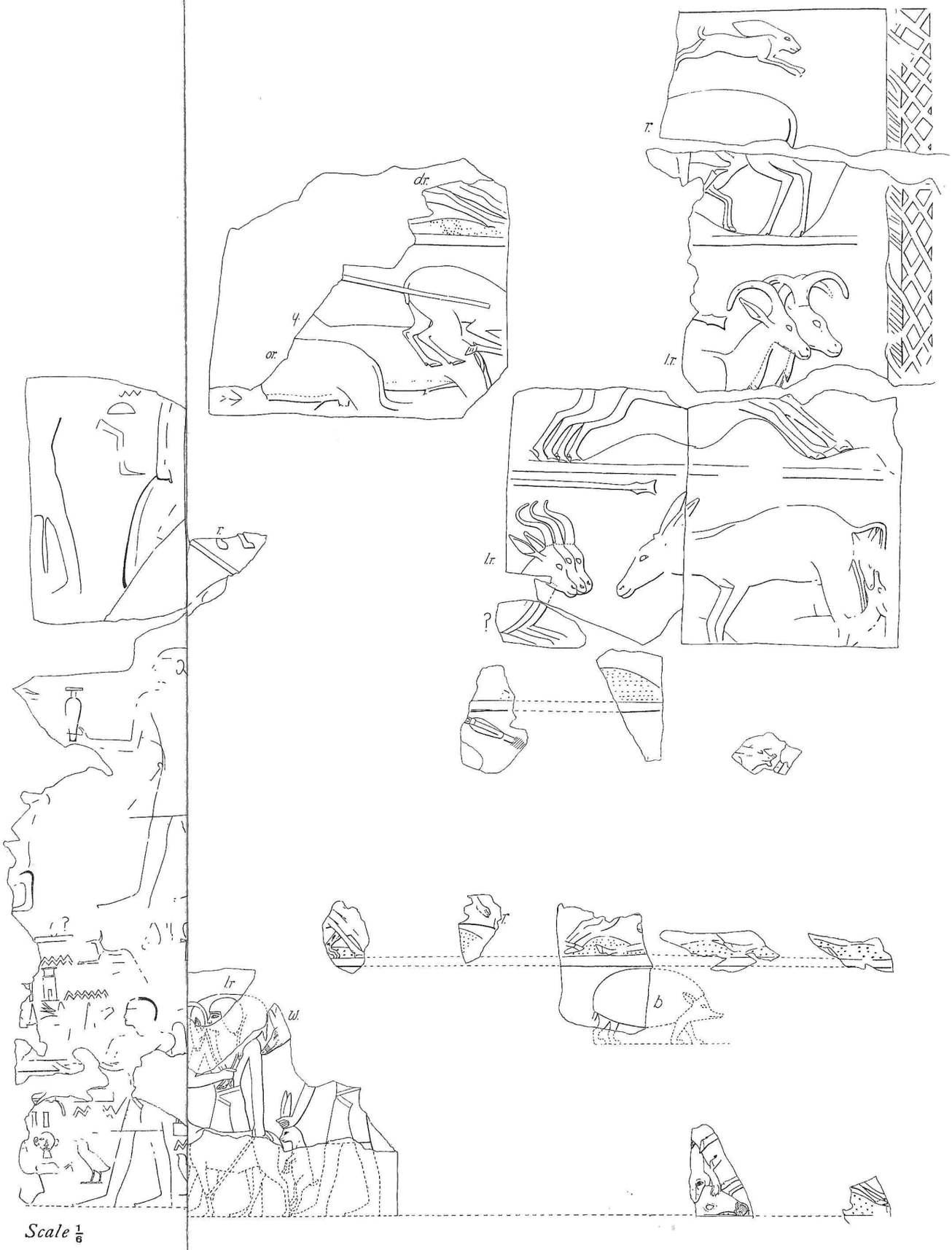






Scale $\frac{1}{6}$

WEST END OF NORTH WALL AND FRAGMENTS.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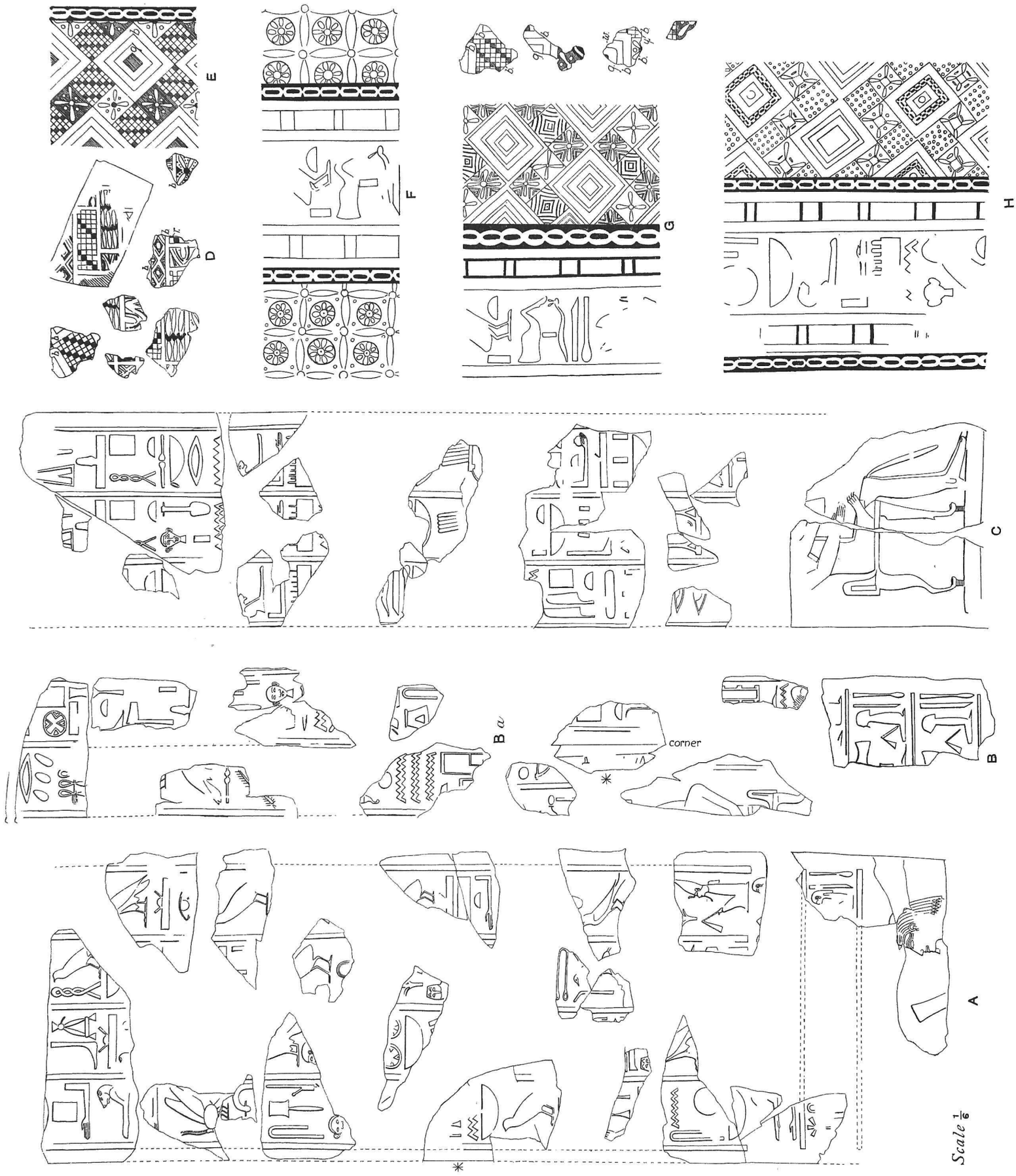
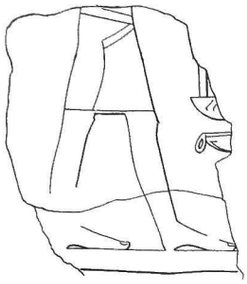
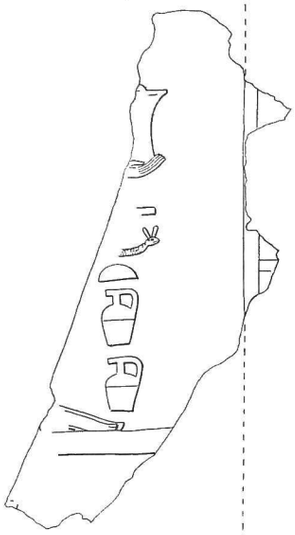
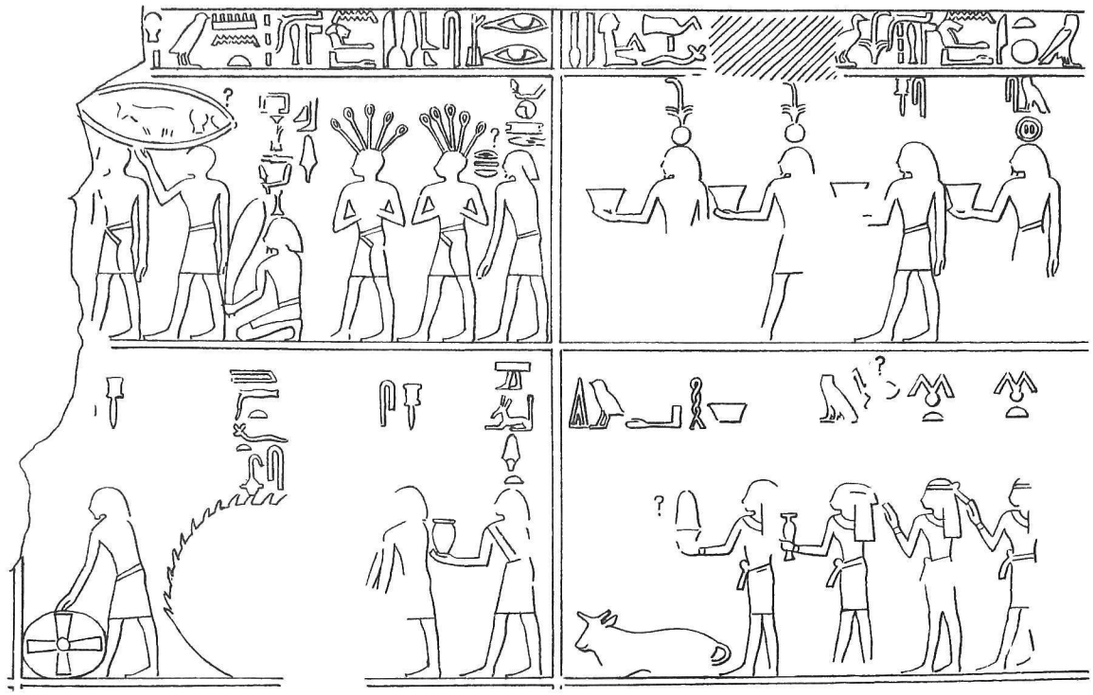
Scale $\frac{1}{6}$



JAMBS AND CEILING PATTERNS.



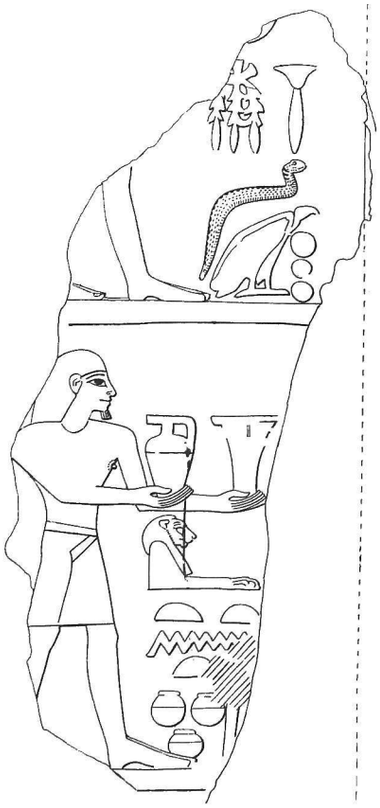




SOUTH WALL. SCENES 4 AND 5.

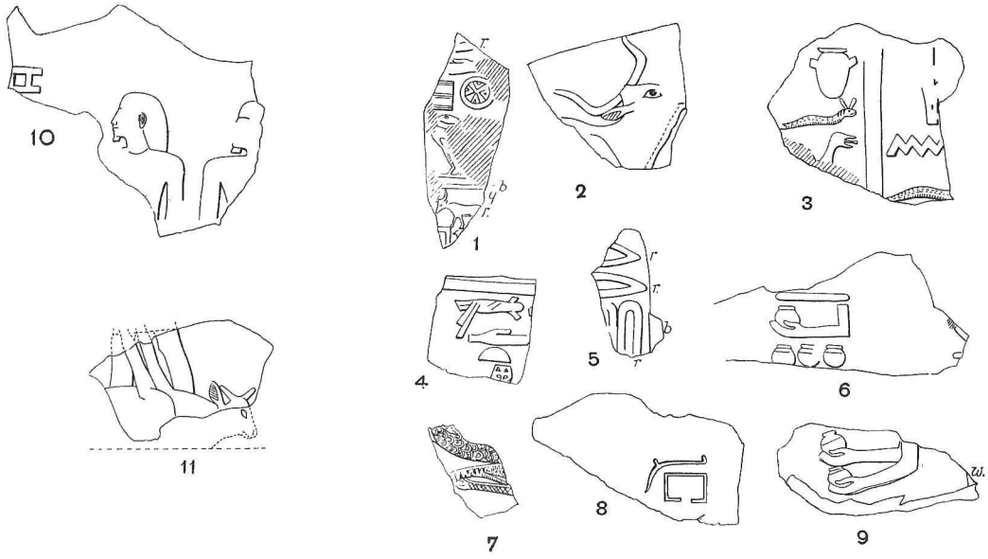
Plate V.	*Plate X.*			*Plate IX.*	*Plate VIII.*	*Plate VII.*	*Plate VI.*	*Plate IV.*
Plate II								

SOUTH WALL. KEY PLAN.

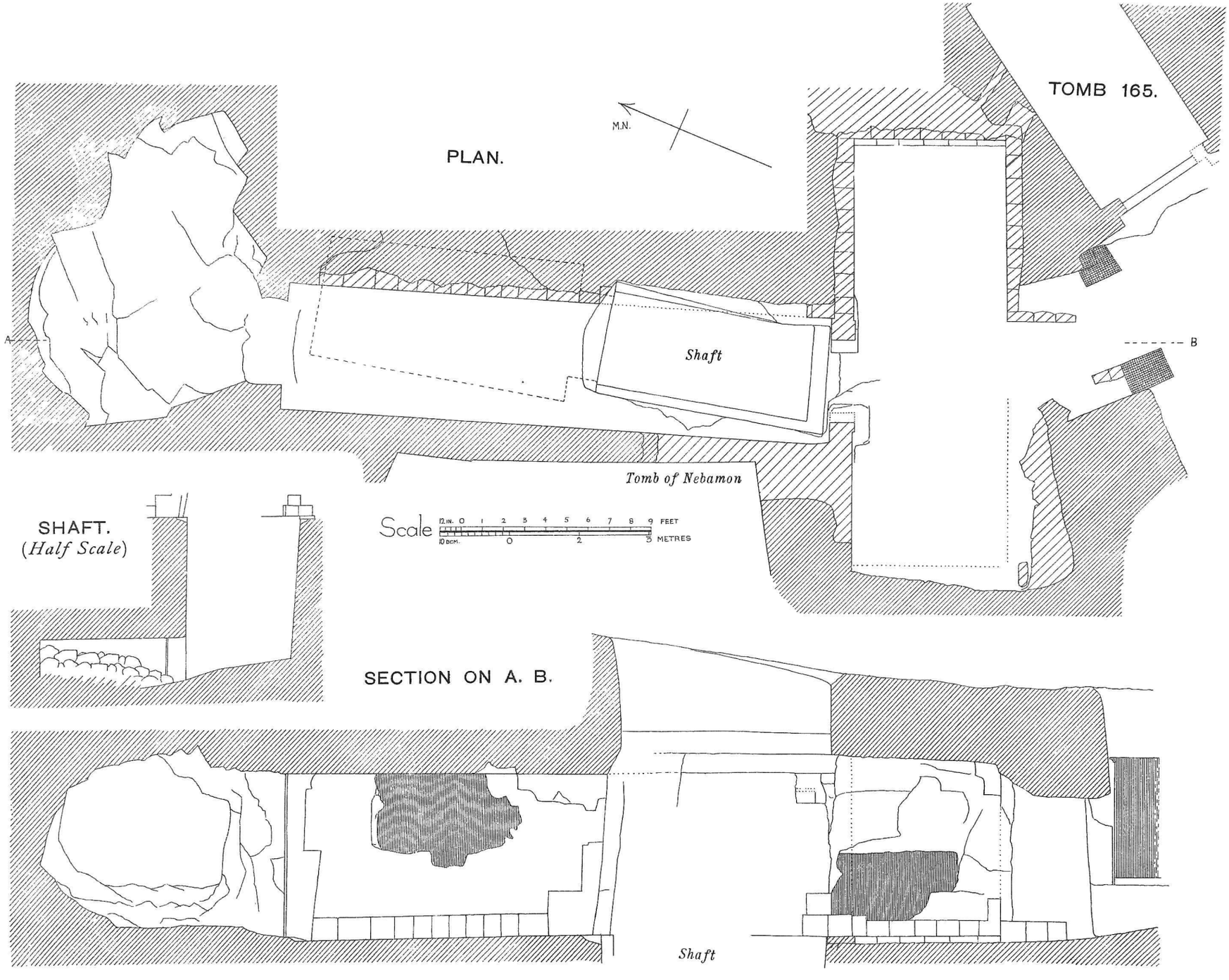


JAMB.

Scale $\frac{2}{9}$

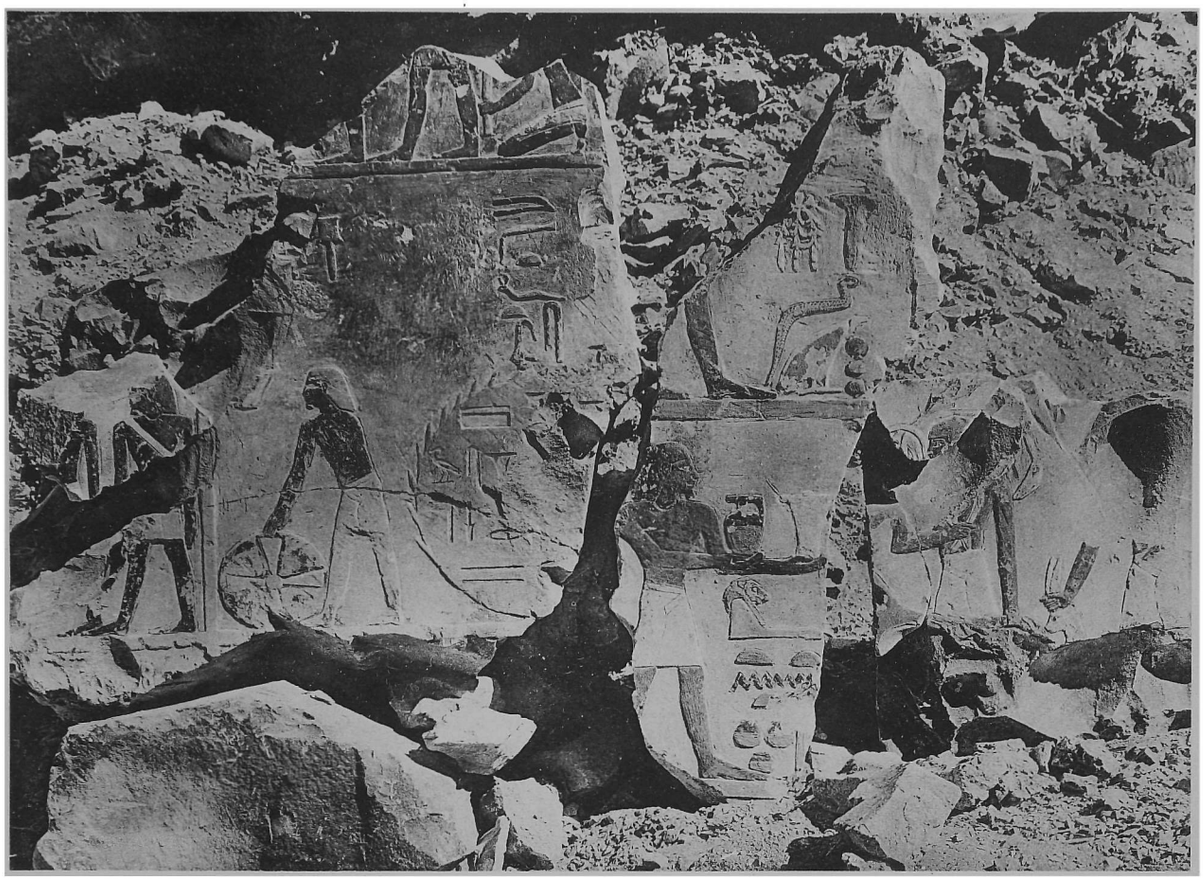


FRAGMENTS.

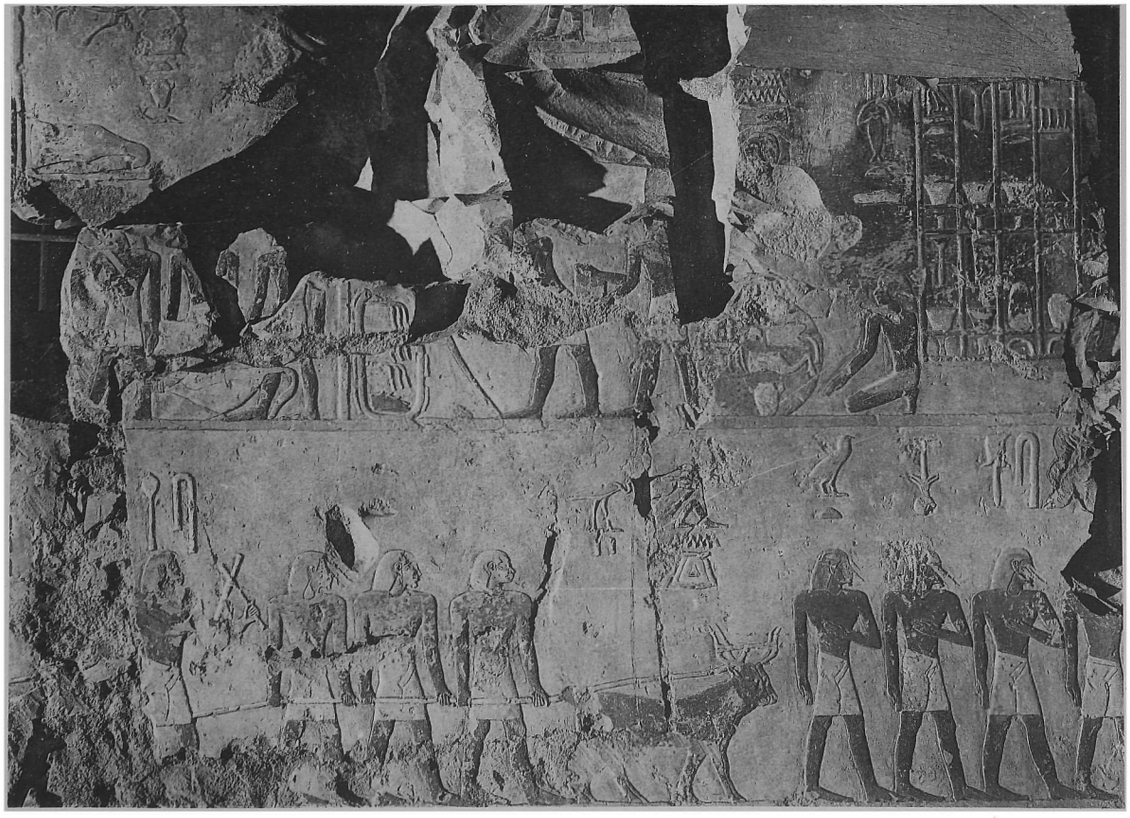


Scale $\frac{1}{72}$

TOMB 20.



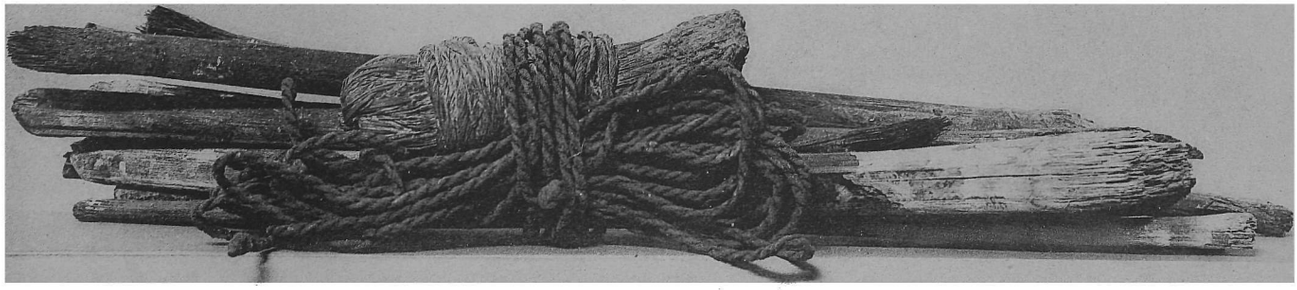
FRAGMENTS.



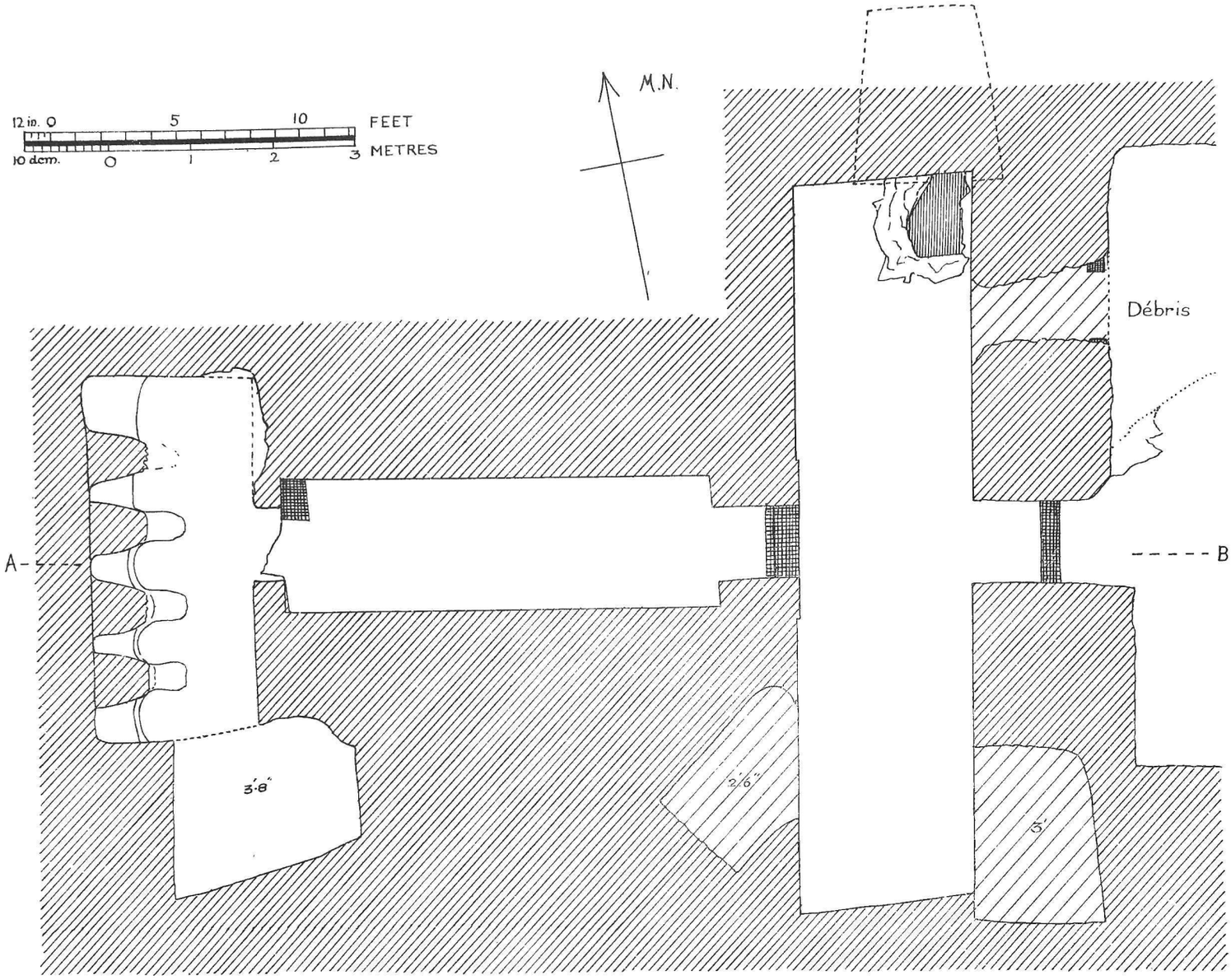
SOUTH WALL.

TOMB 20.

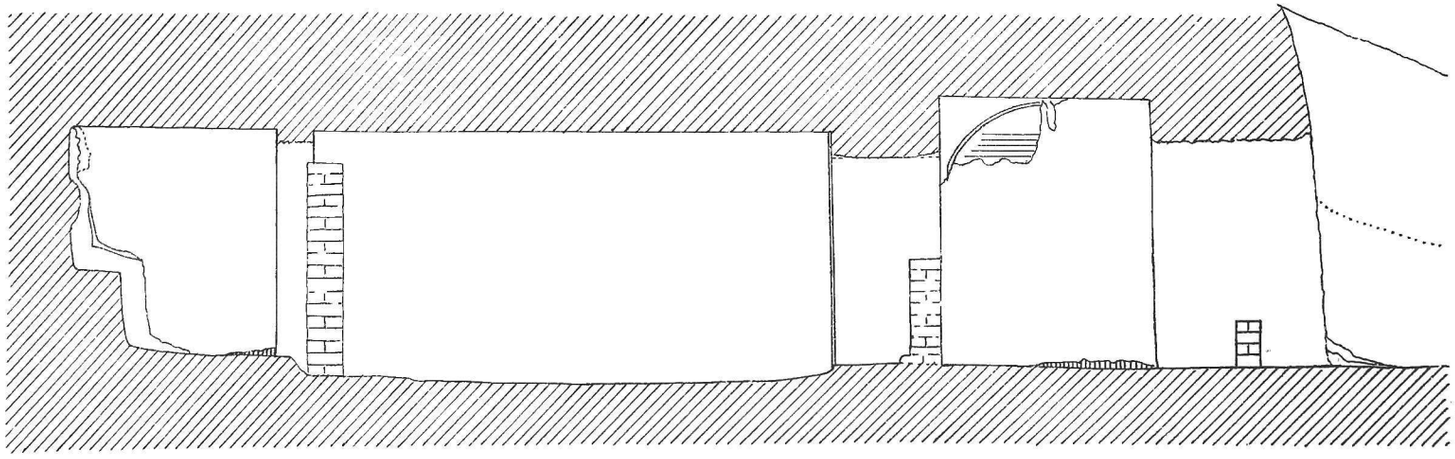
BURIAL FURNITURE.



PAINTER'S EQUIPMENT.

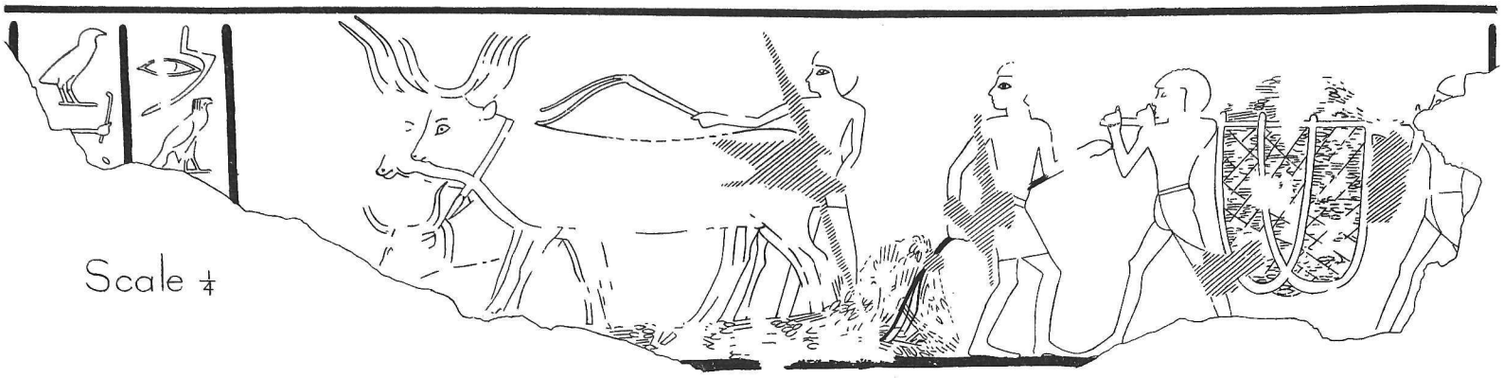


PLAN.



Scale $\frac{1}{72}$

SECTION ON A. B.



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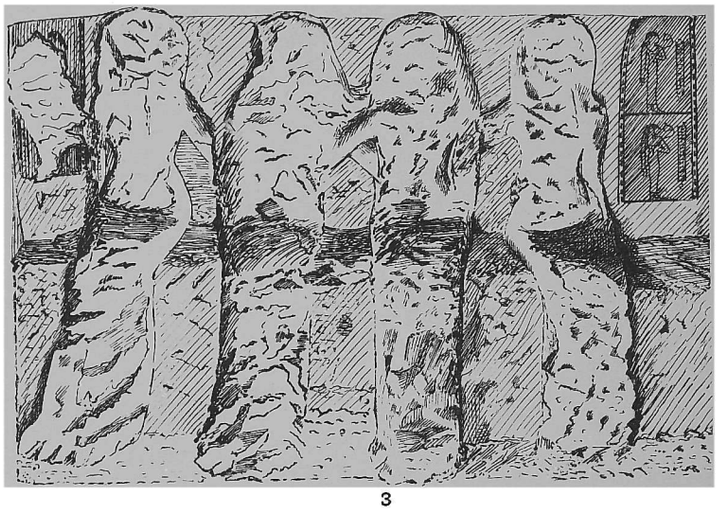

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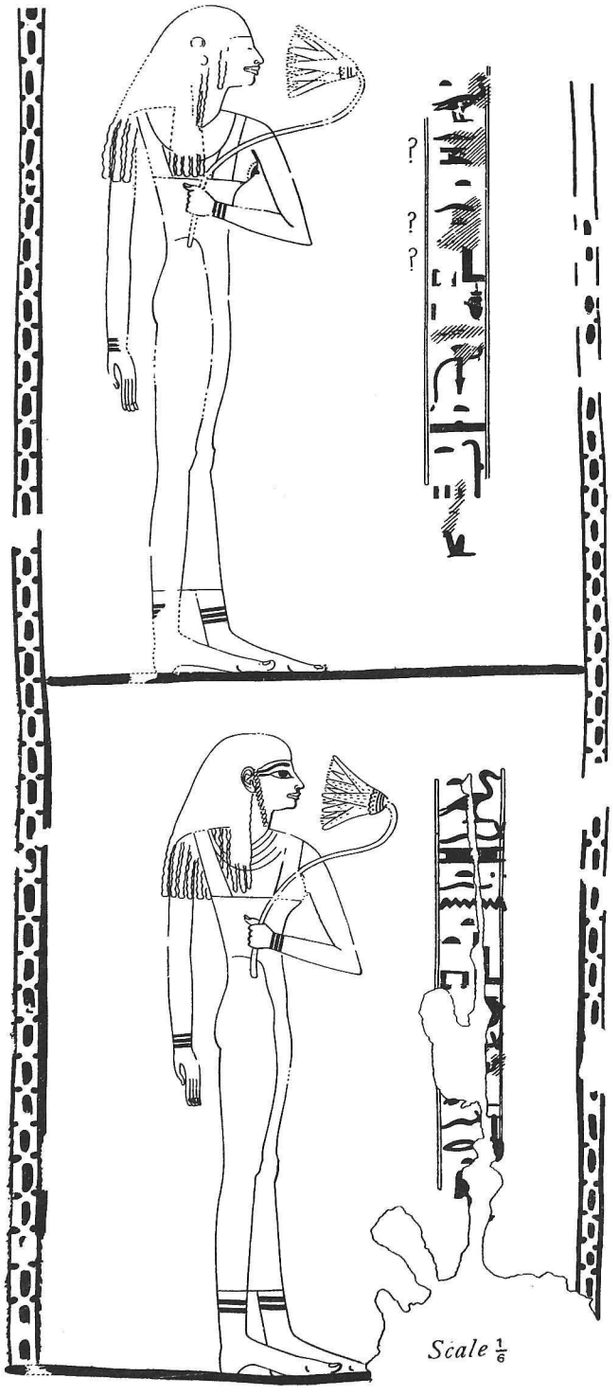

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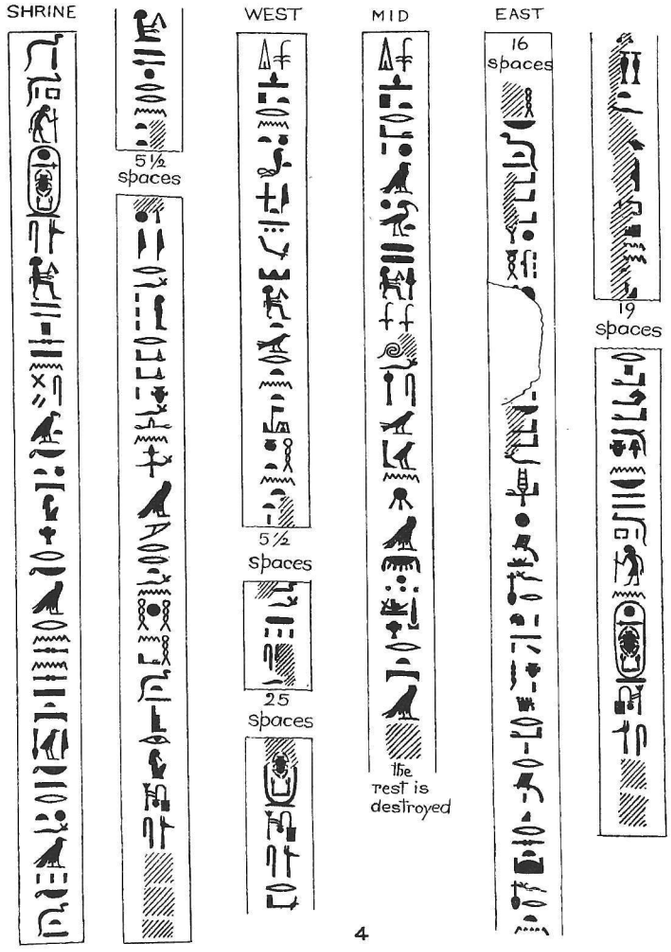
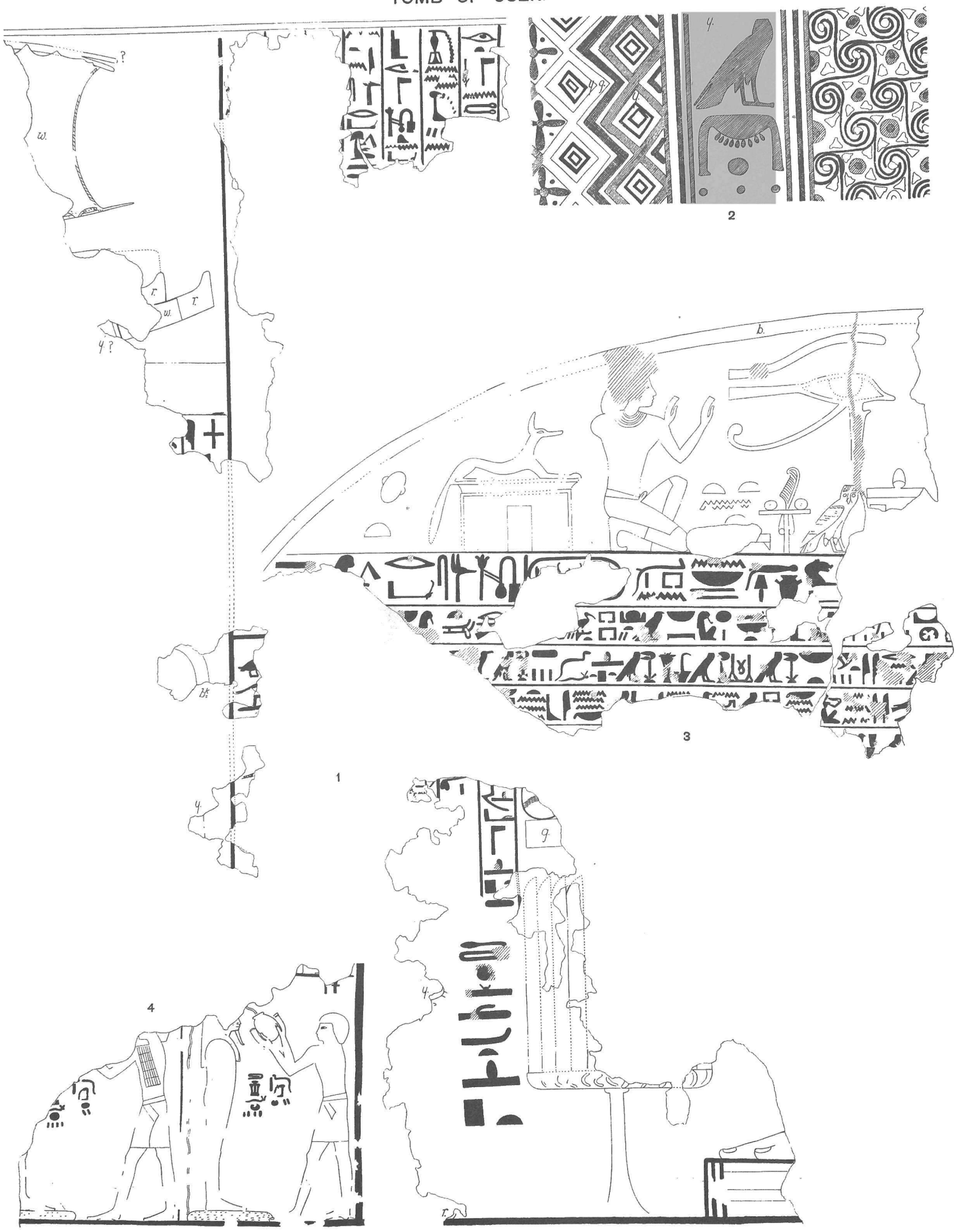


4

BACK WALL OF SHRINE, ETC.

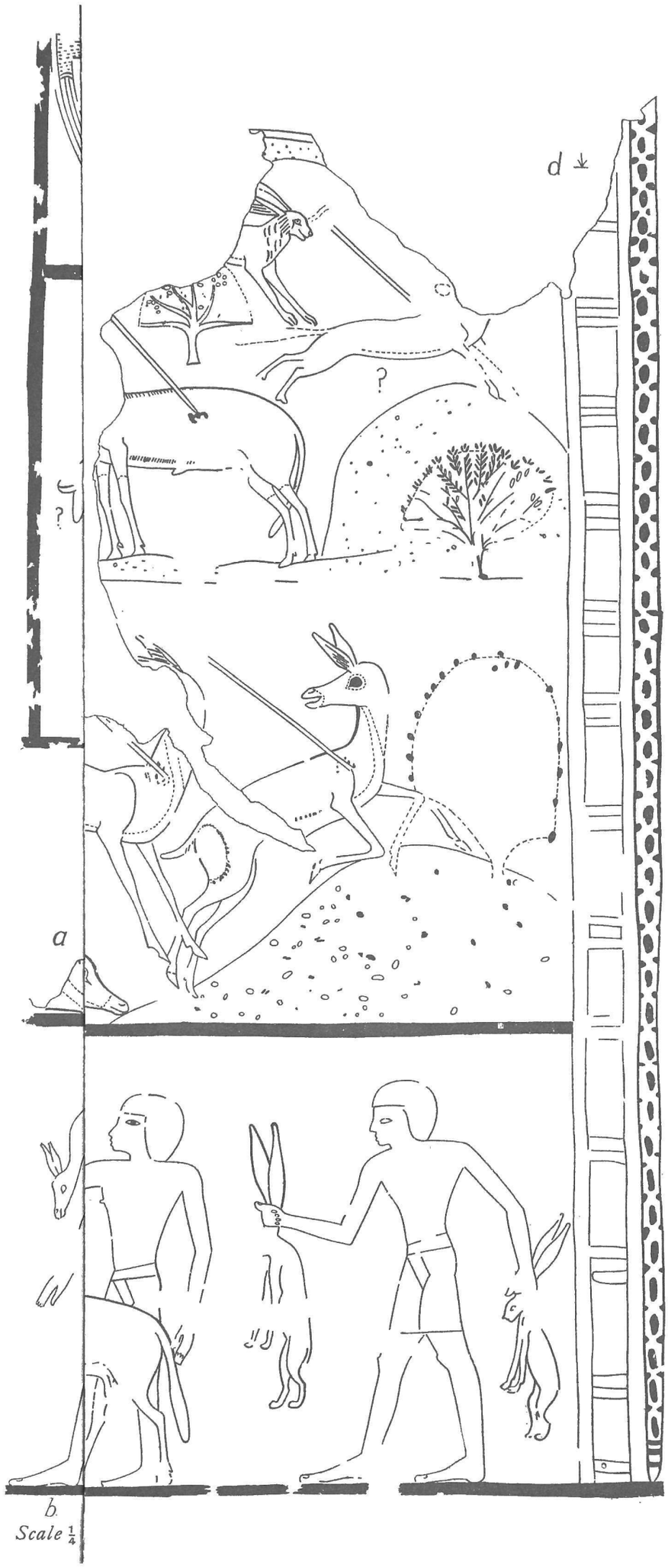
TOMB OF USER.



Scale $\frac{1}{6}$

FRAGMENTS.

a
b
c
d
Scale $\frac{2}{9}$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?
a
b
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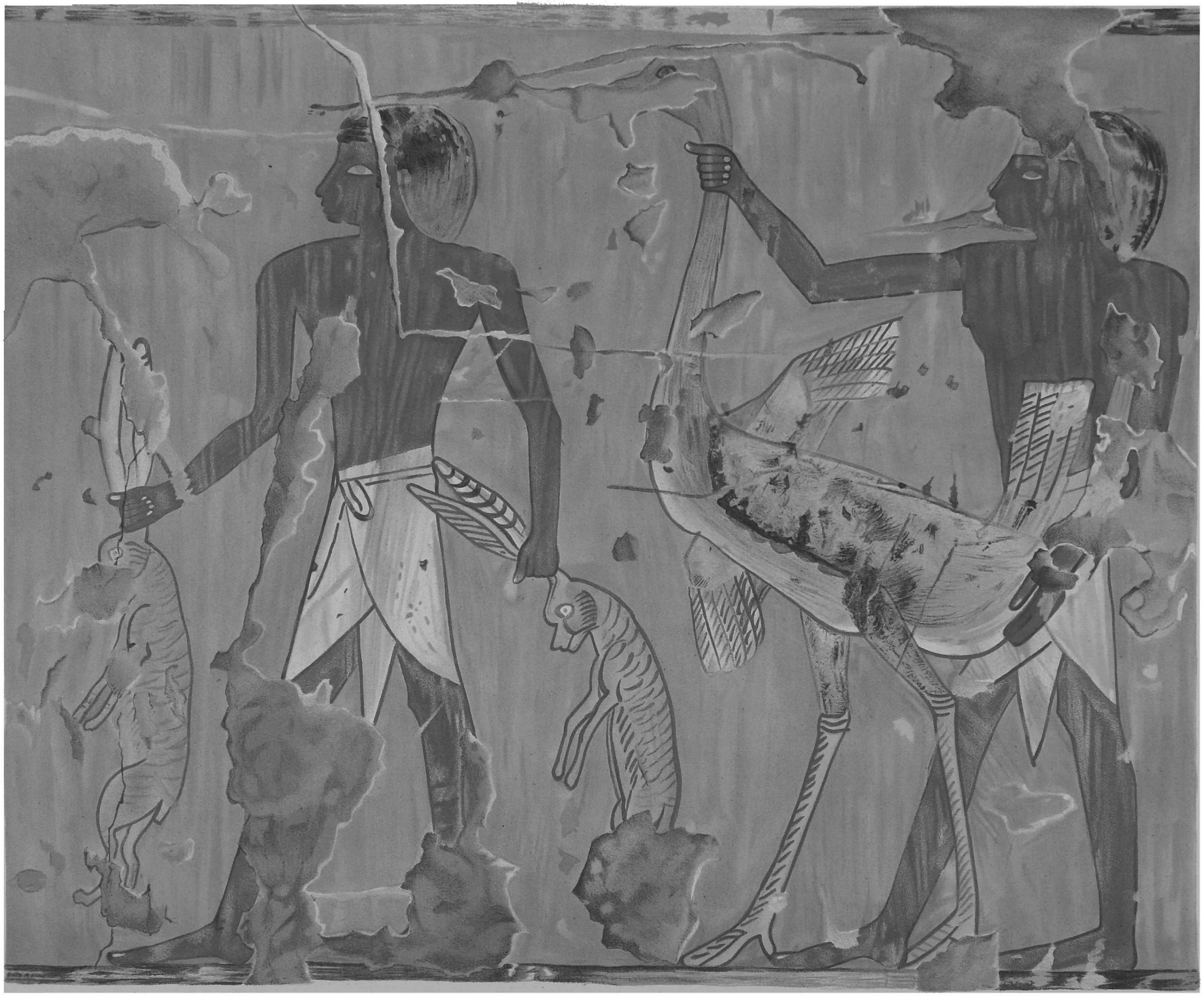
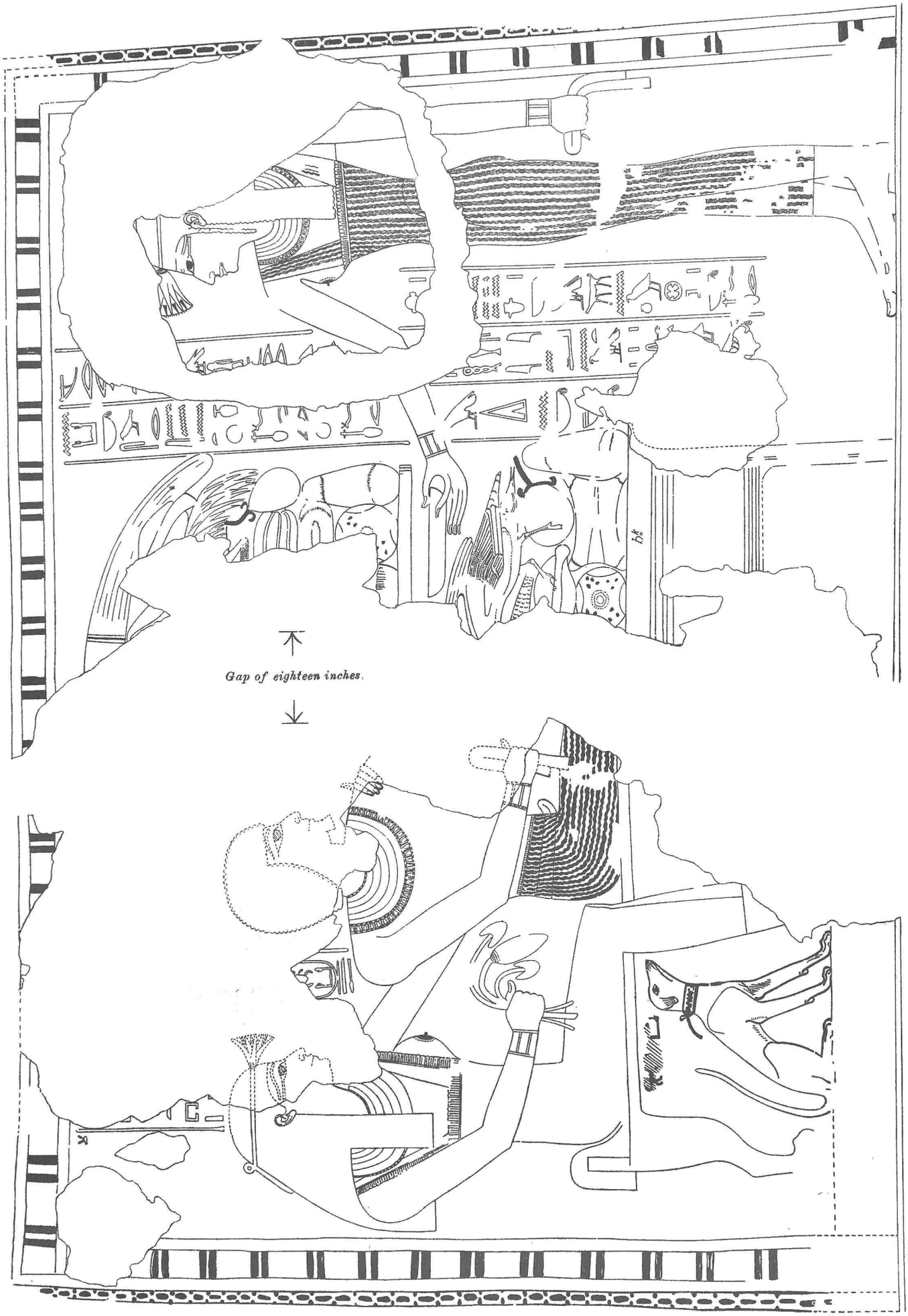


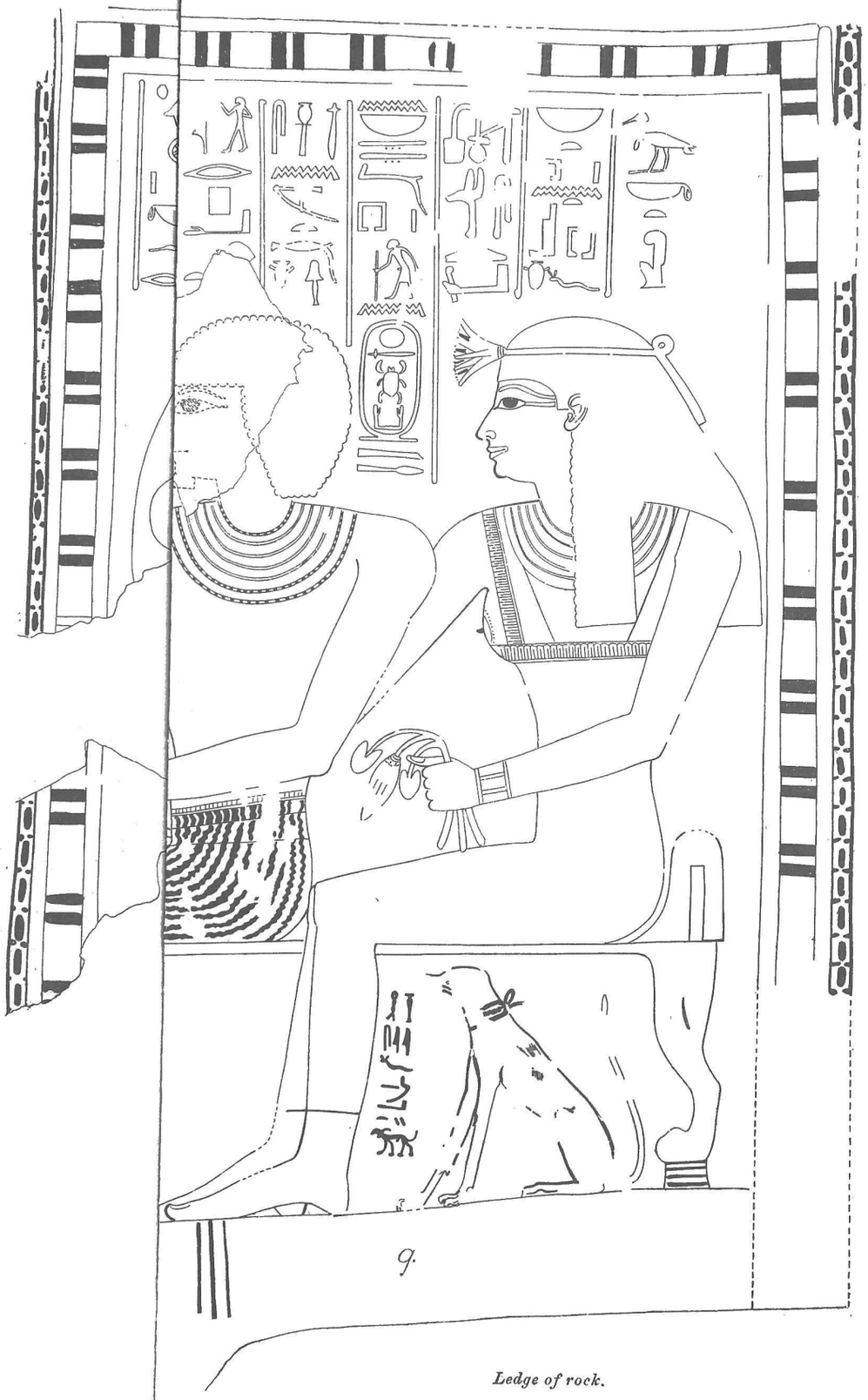
TROPHIES OF THE CHASE

A CAPTURED HYENA



SHRINE. NORTH WALL.

Scale $\frac{1}{6}$

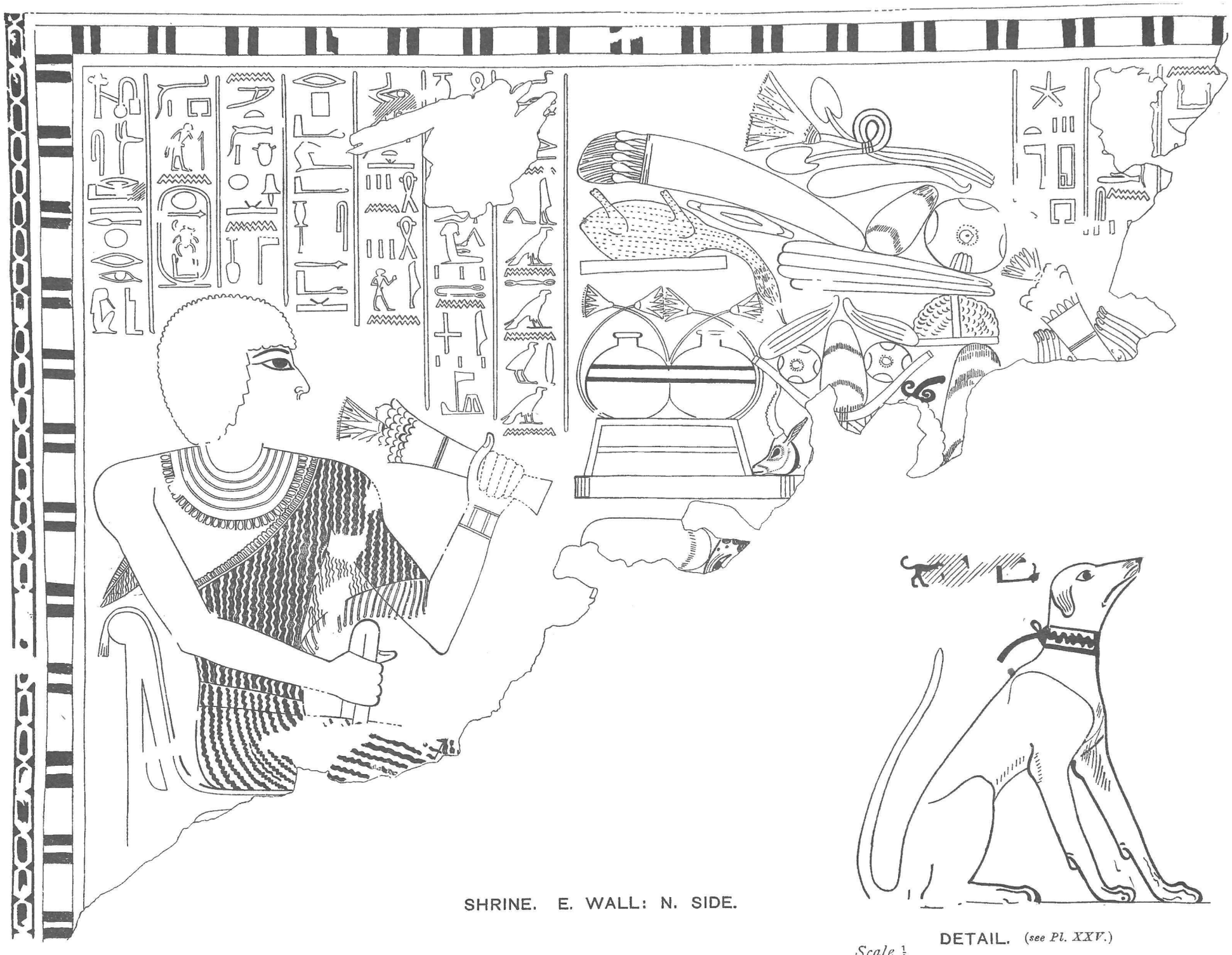


Ledge of rock.

Scale $\frac{1}{5}$

Scale $\frac{2}{9}$

SHRINE. E WALL: S. SIDE.



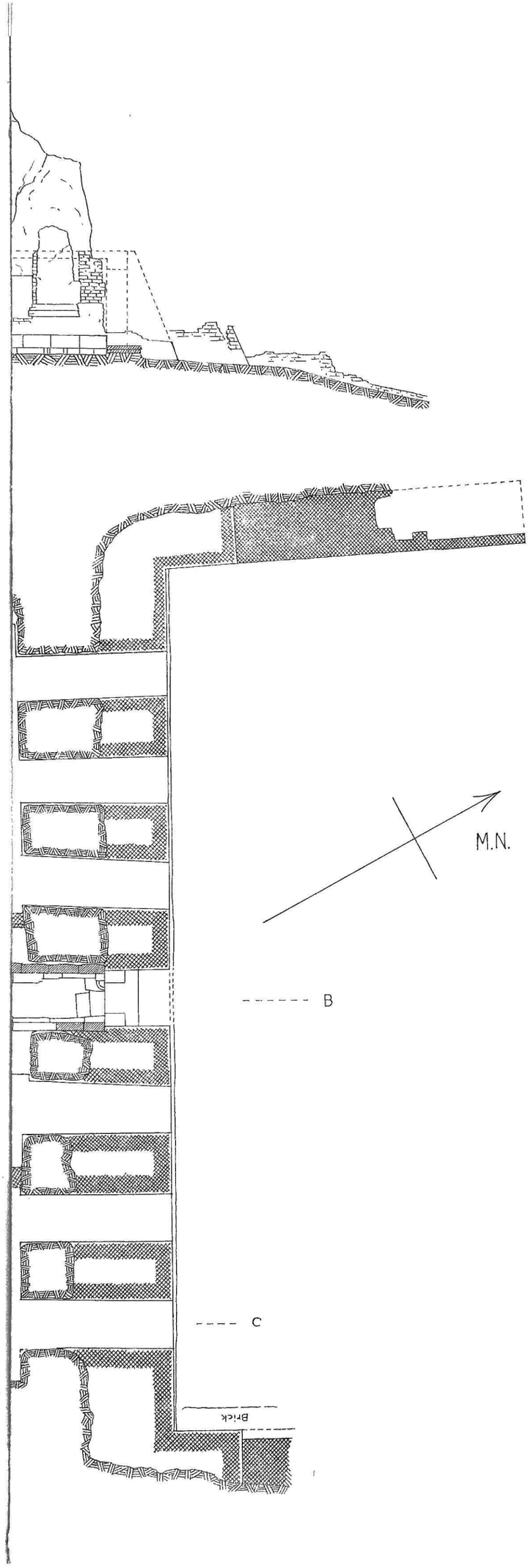
SHRINE. E. WALL: N. SIDE.

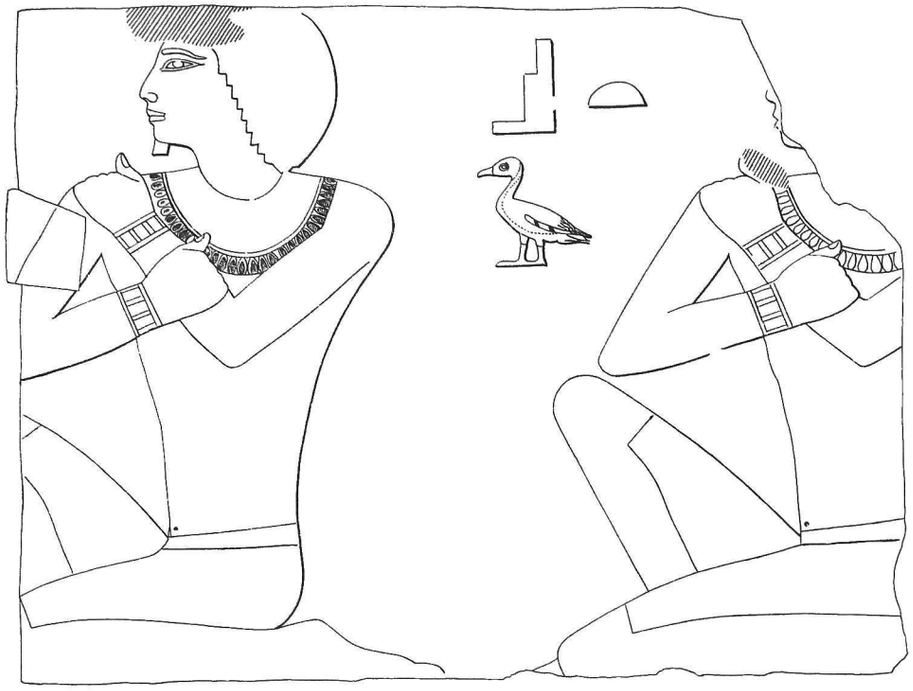
Scale $\frac{2}{9}$

DETAIL. (*see Pl. XXV.*)

Scale $\frac{1}{3}$

PLATE XXIX.





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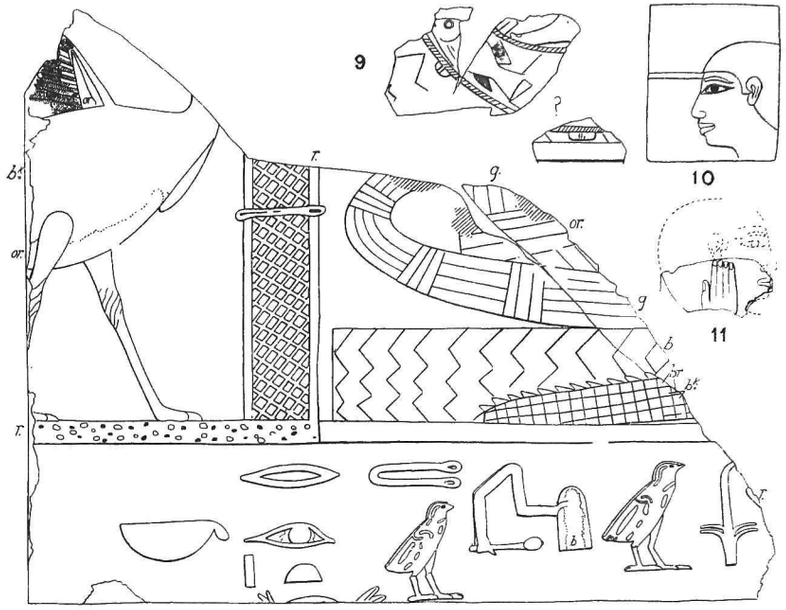

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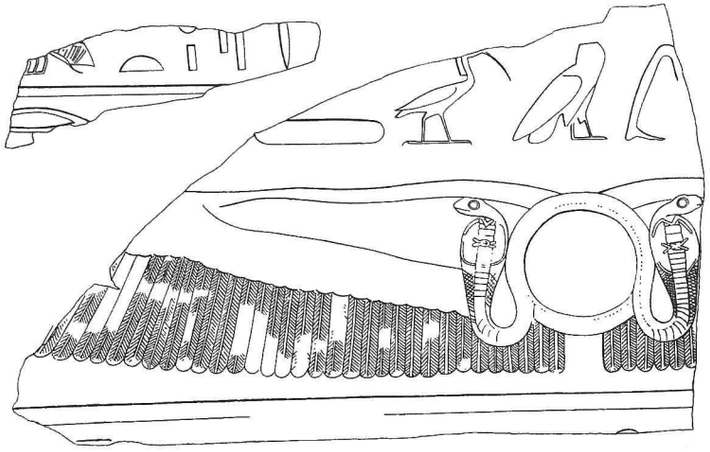

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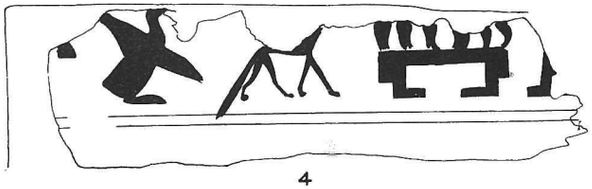

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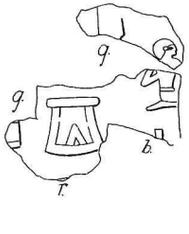

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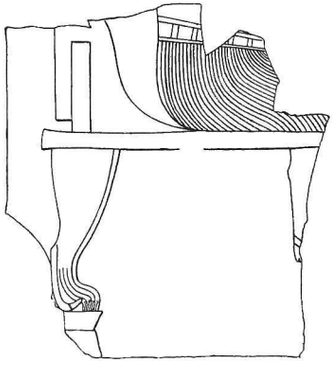
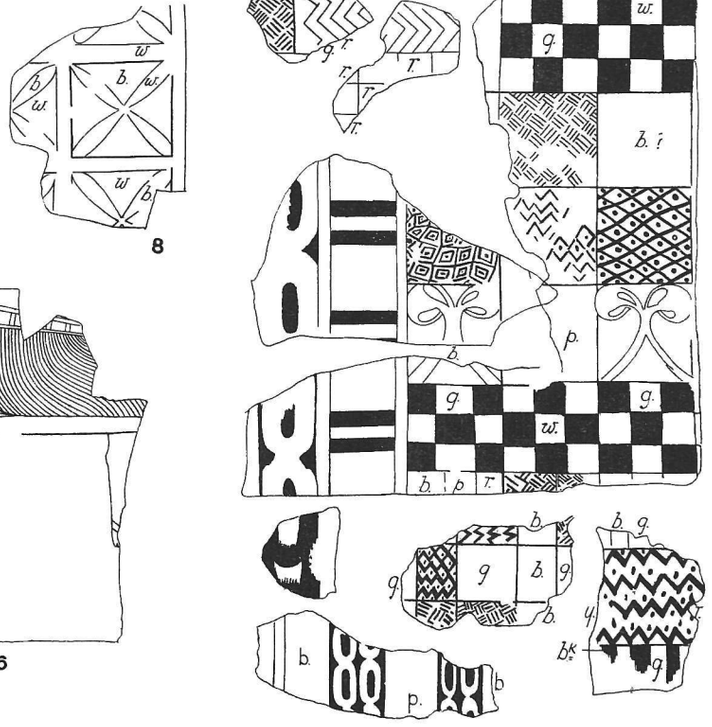


6



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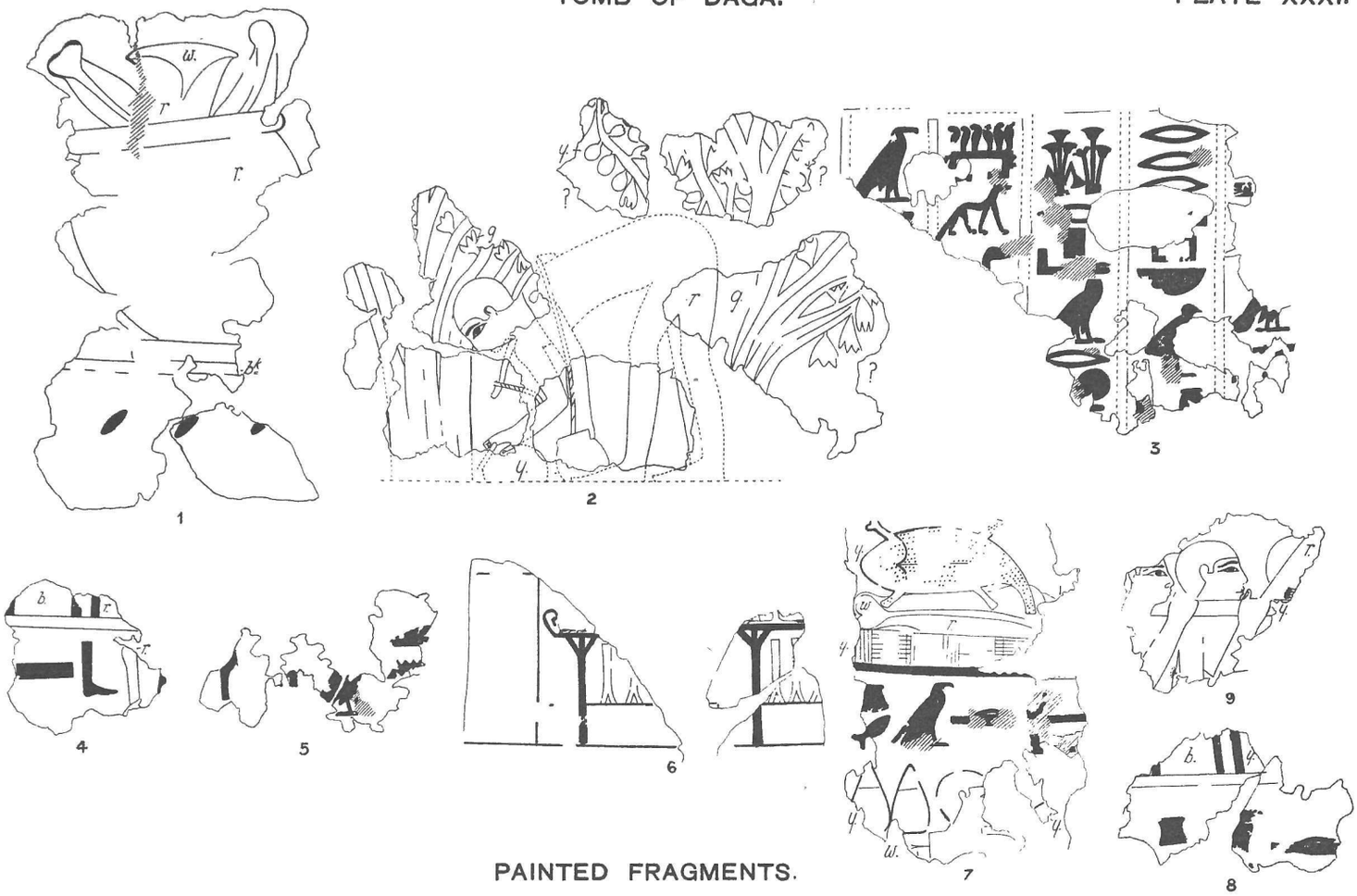
Scale $\frac{1}{5}$

STONE FRAGMENTS.



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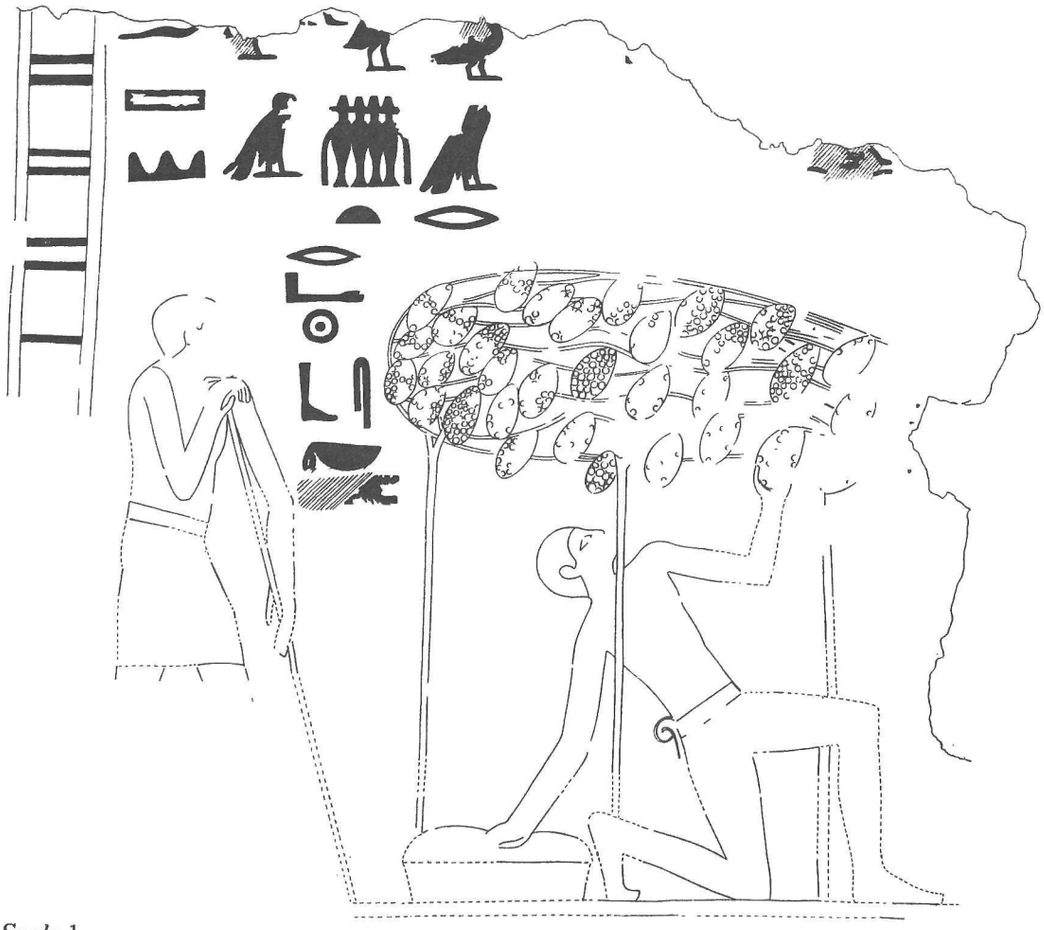

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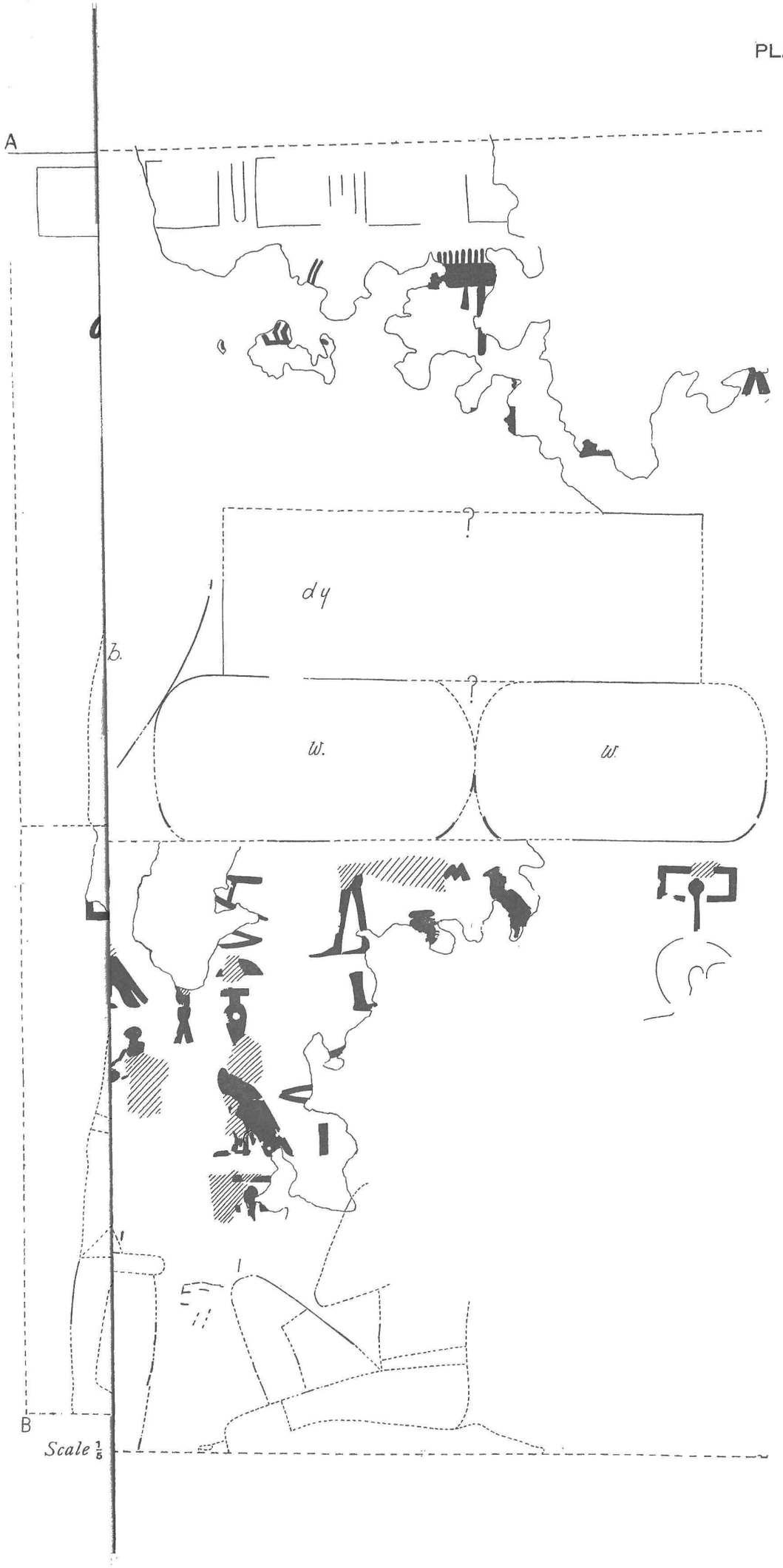
FIRST ENTRANCE: EAST SIDE.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B
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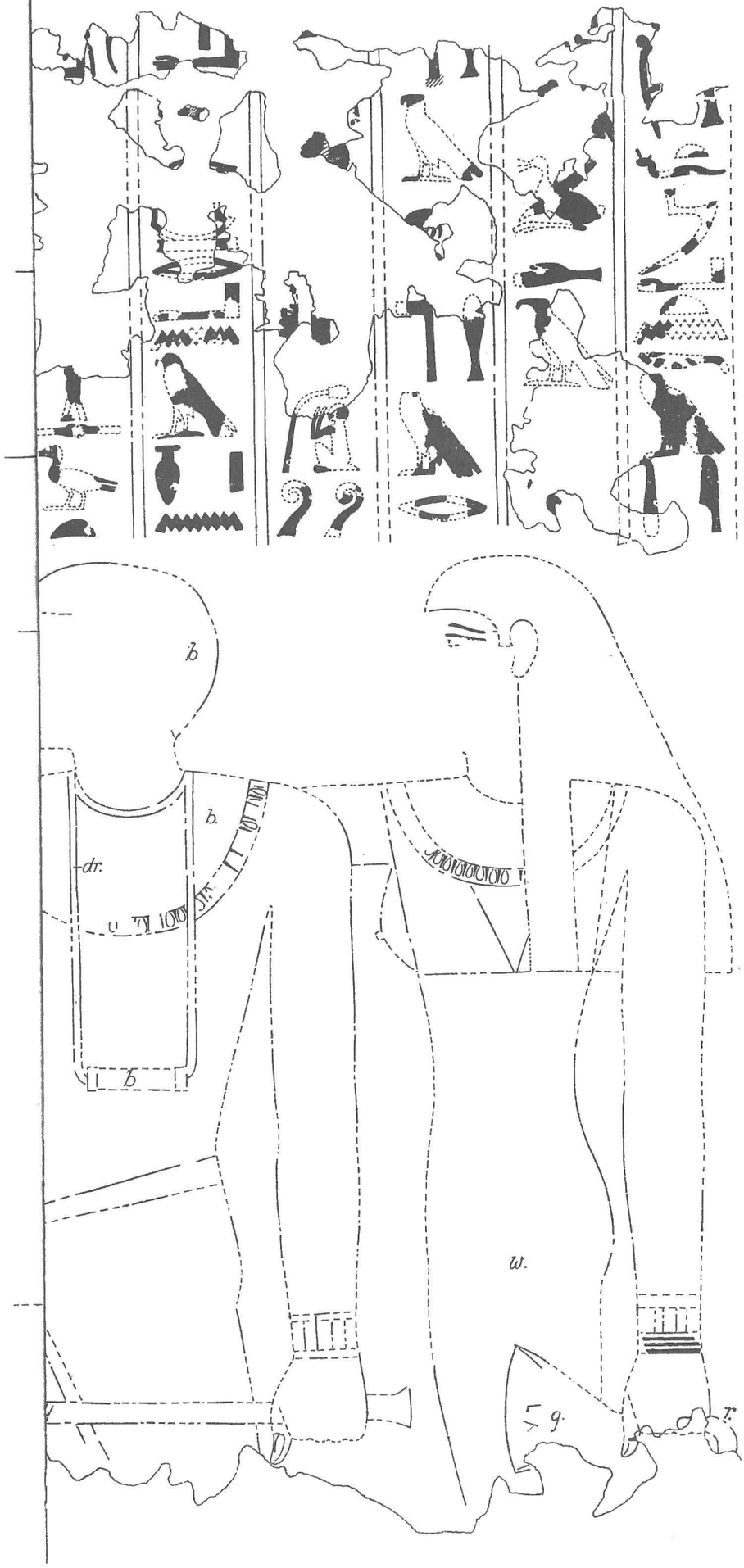
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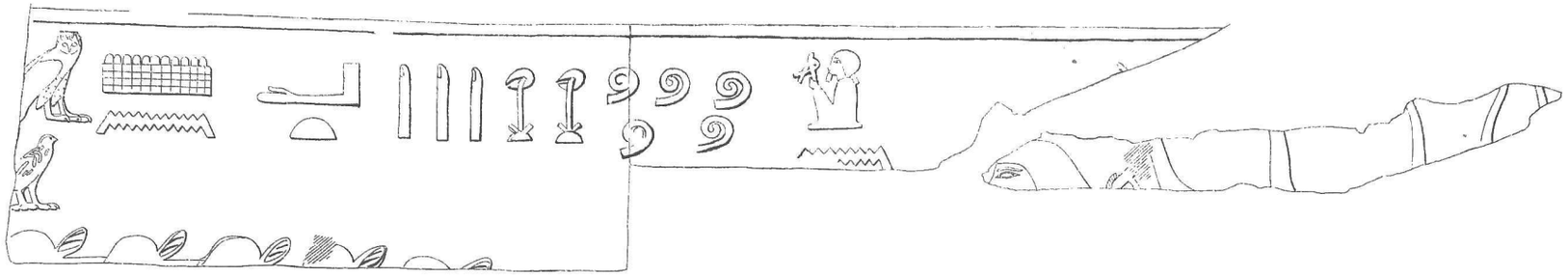
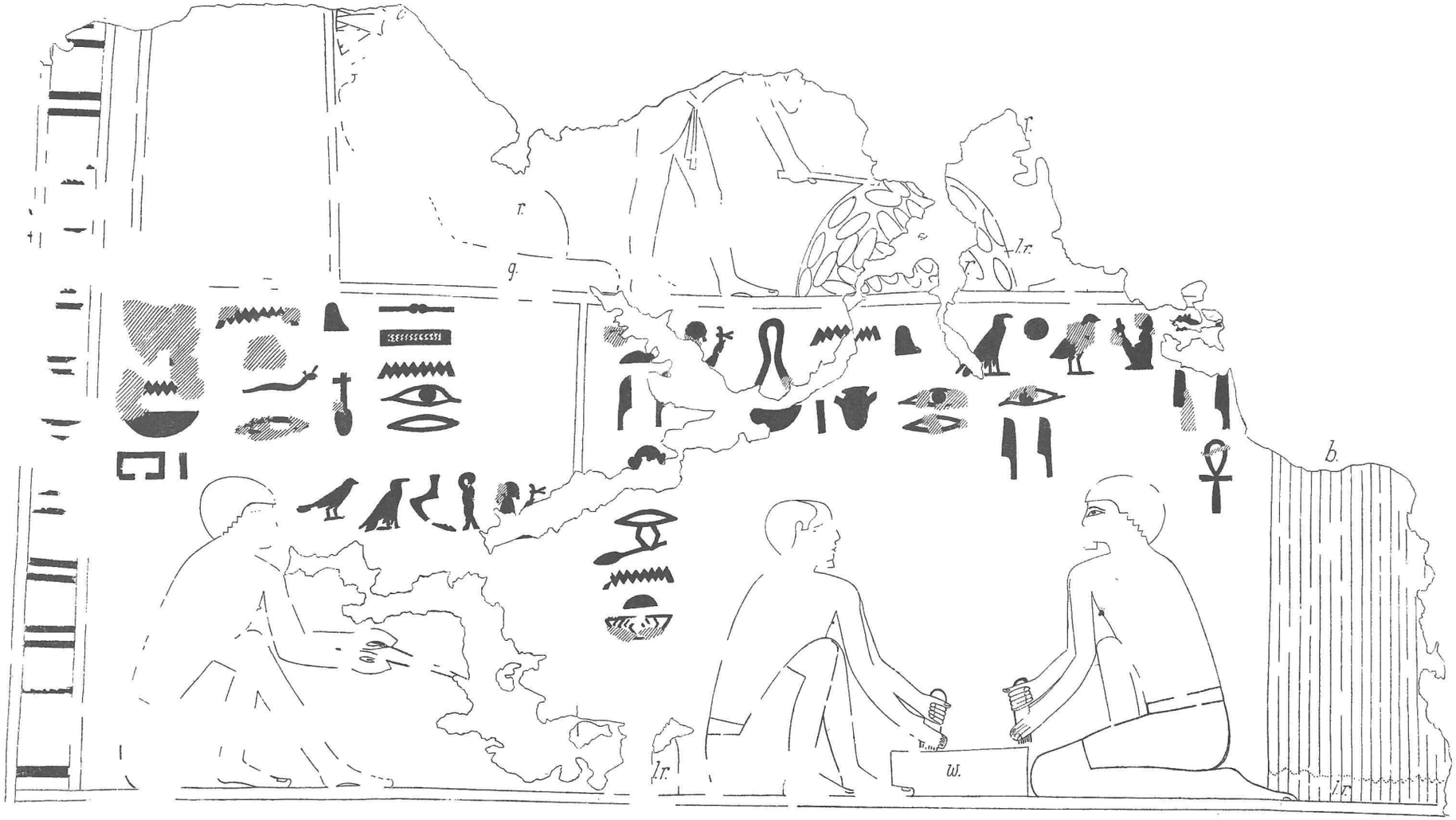


SCULPTURE FROM MAIN ENTRANCE.



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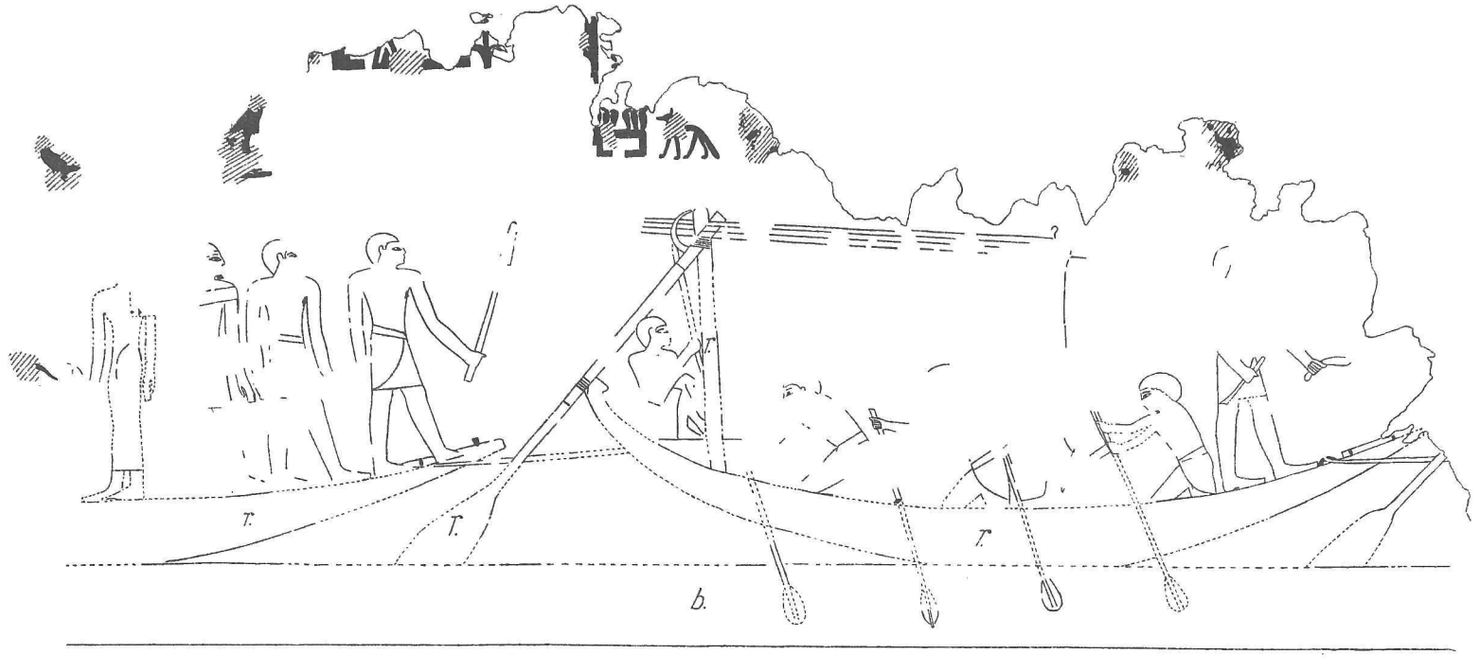
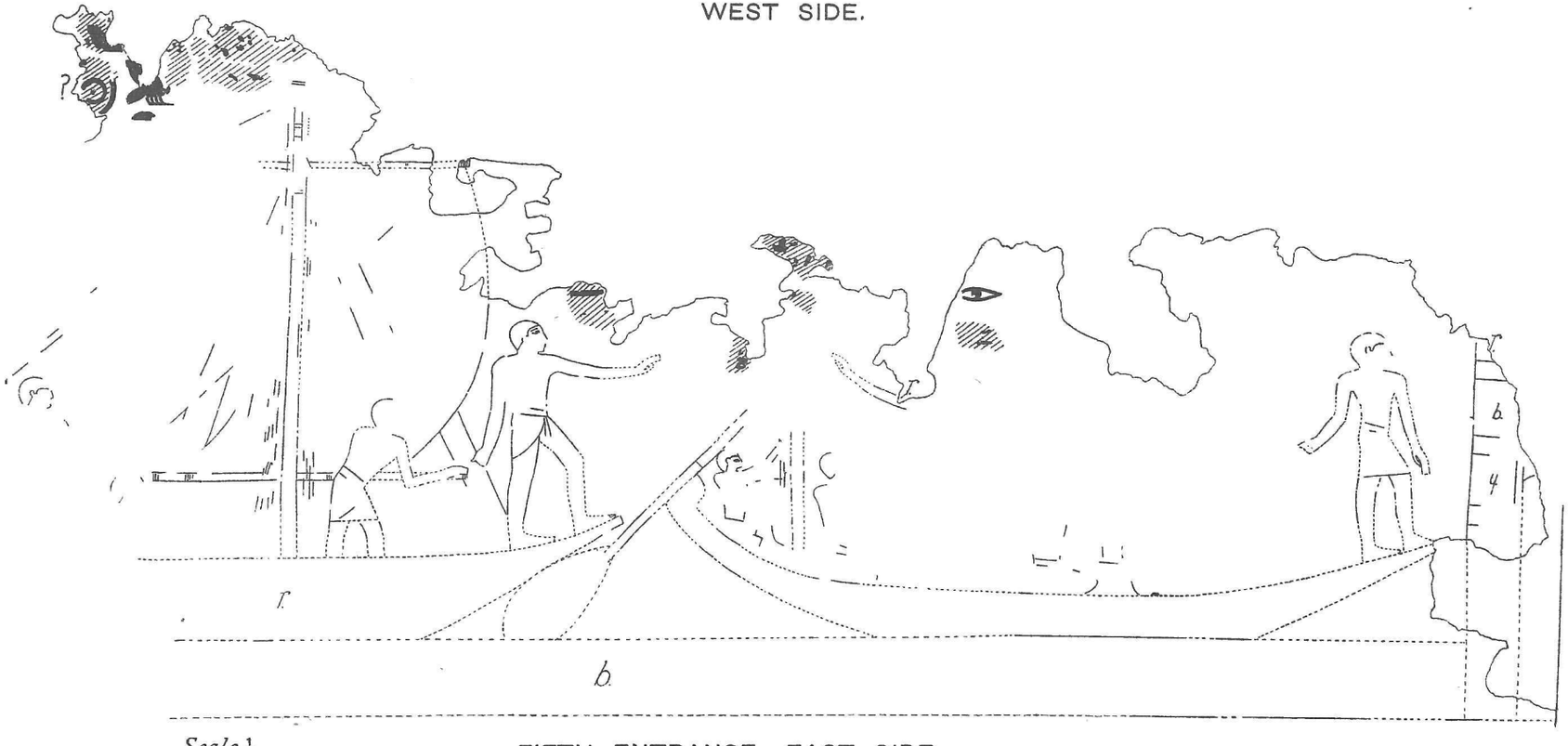
SECOND ENTRANCE: EAST SIDE.

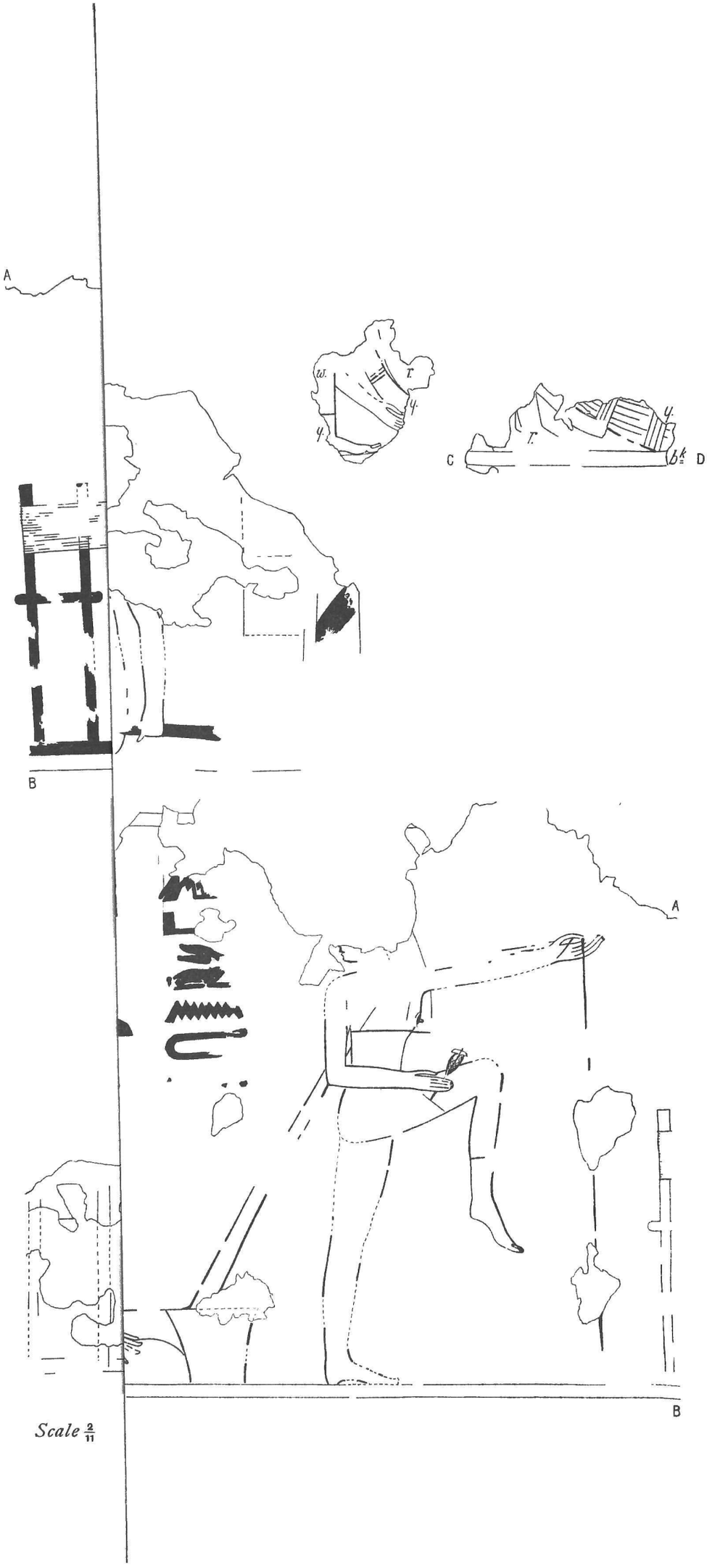


WEST SIDE.



Scale $\frac{1}{9}$

FIFTH ENTRANCE, EAST SIDE.



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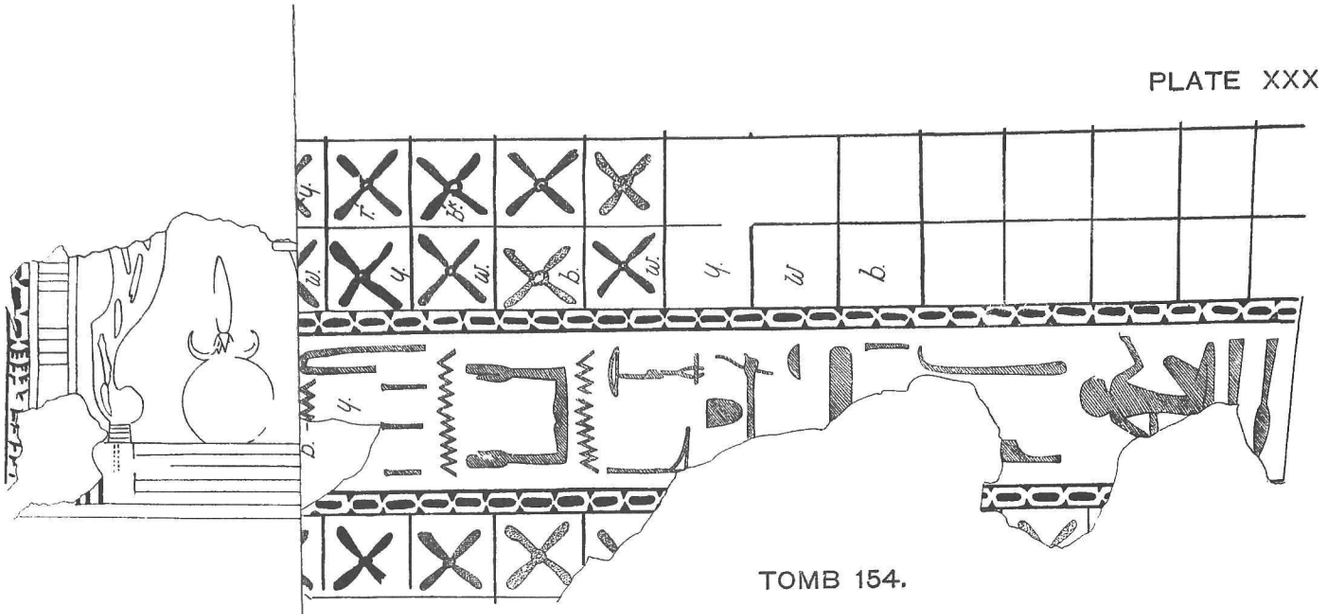
Scale $\frac{1}{7}$



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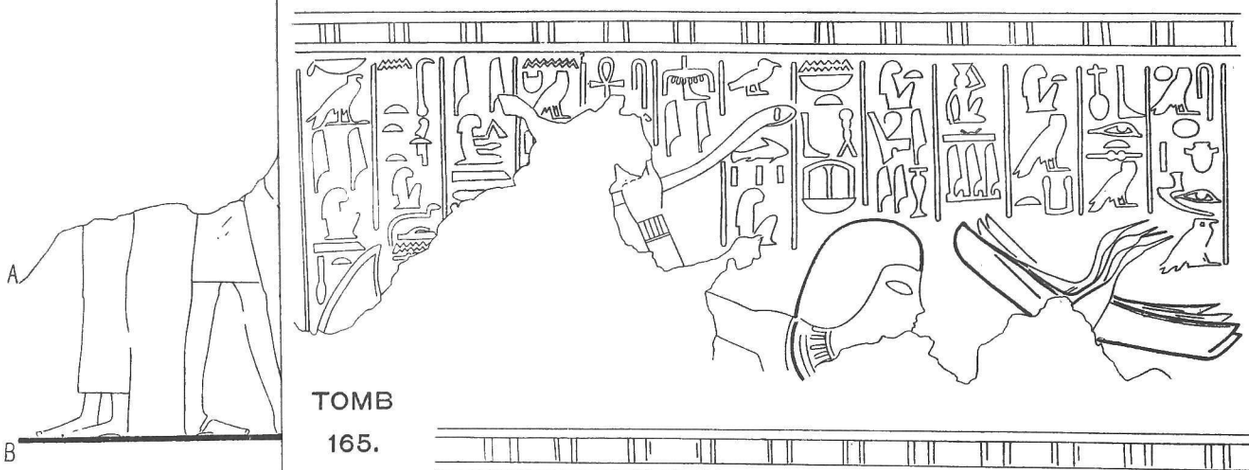

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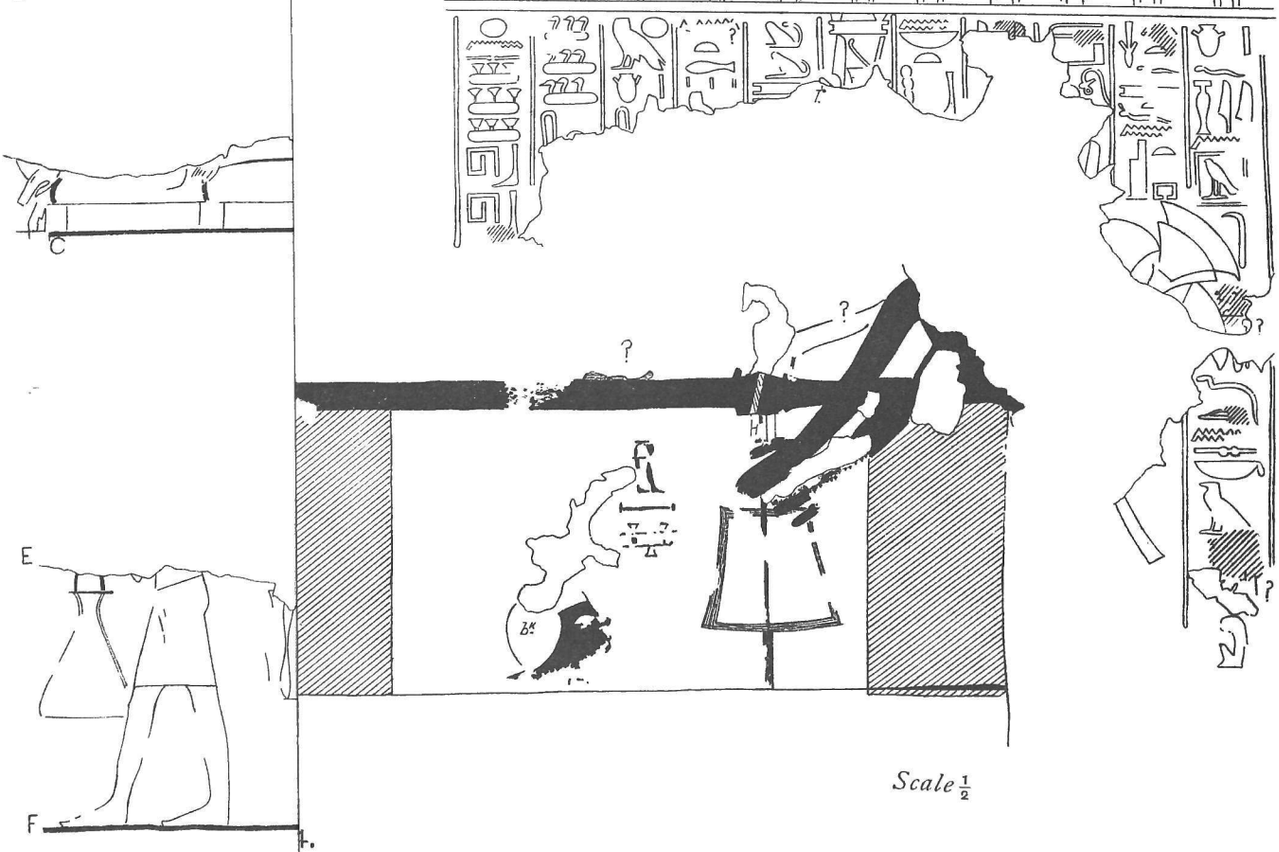

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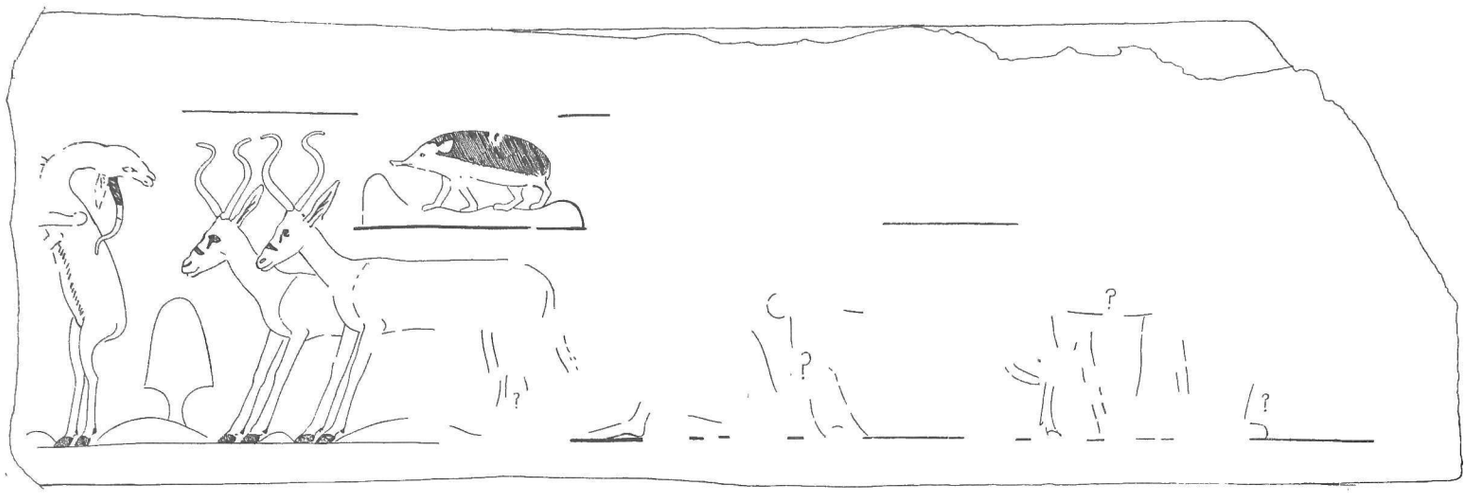
Scale $\frac{1}{5}$



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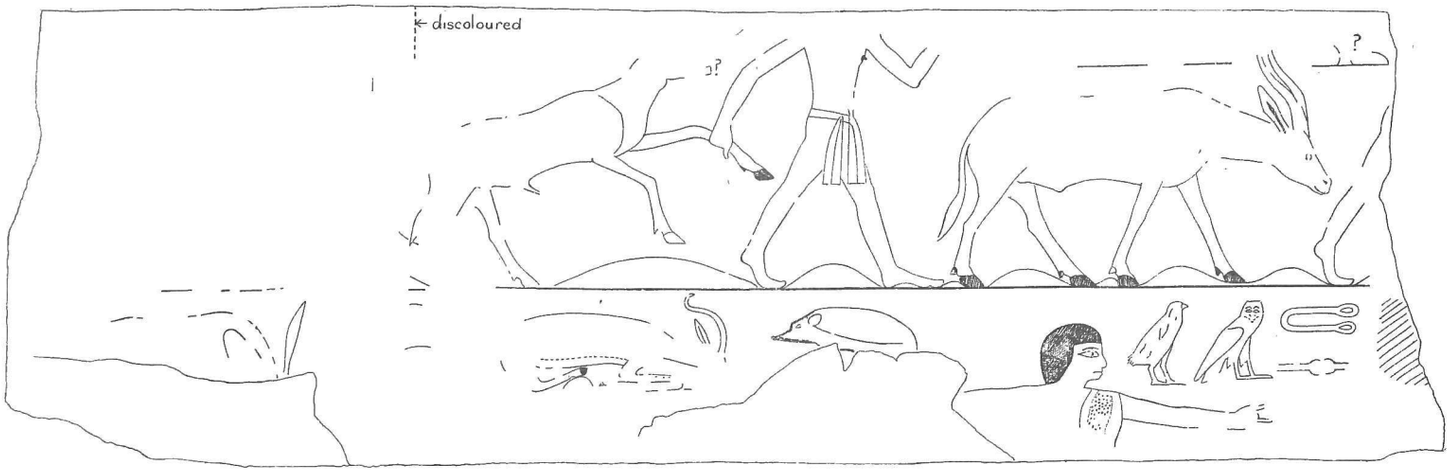

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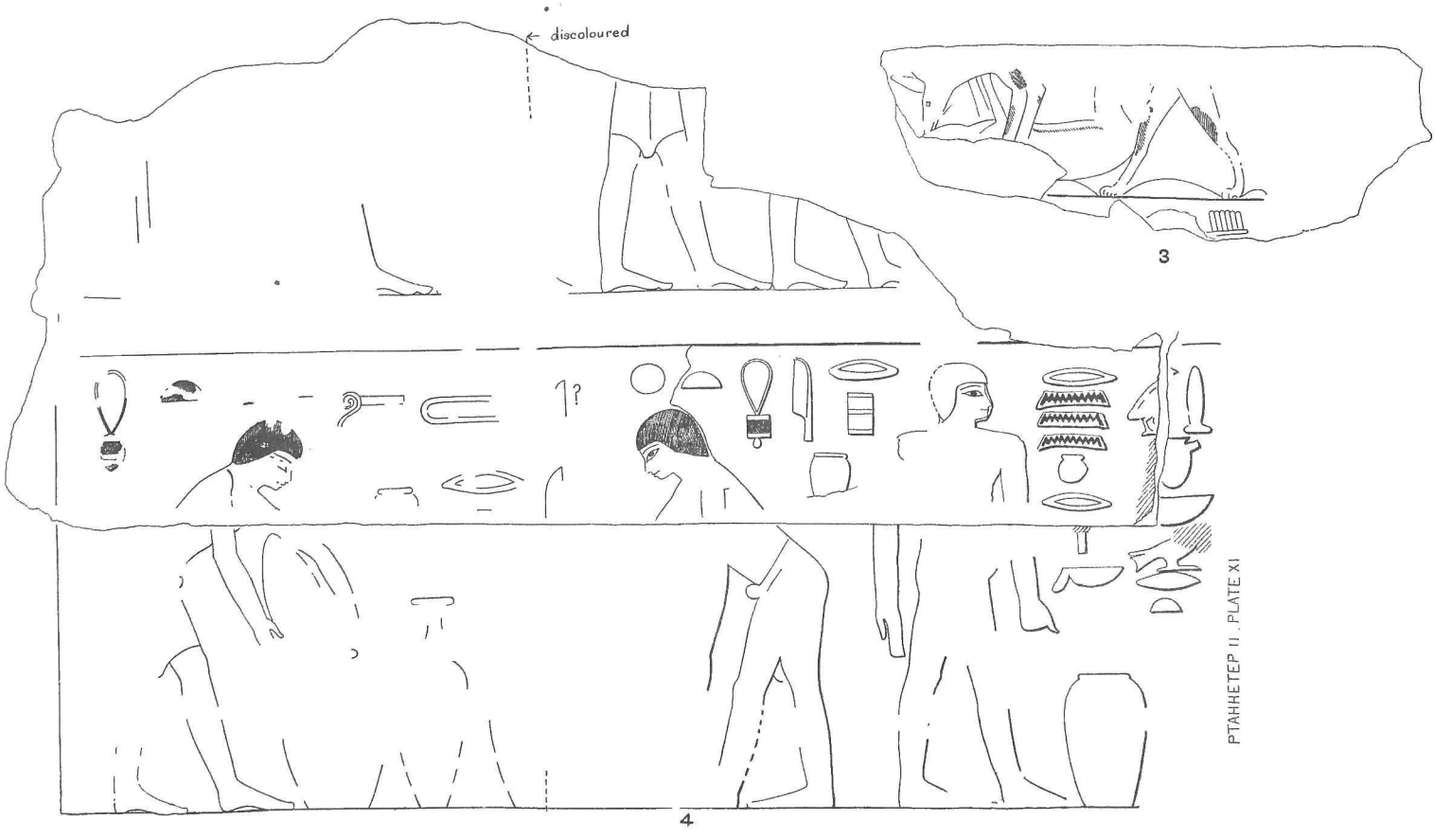


3

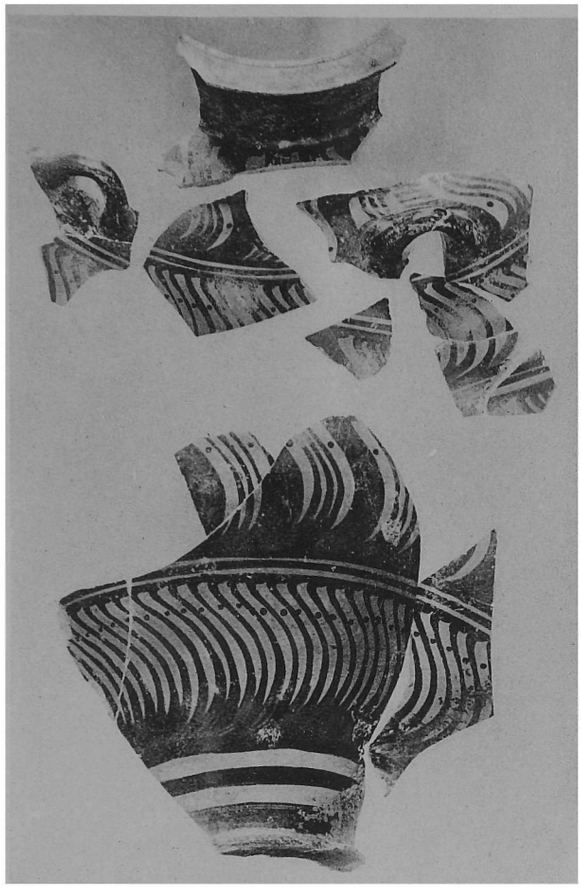
4

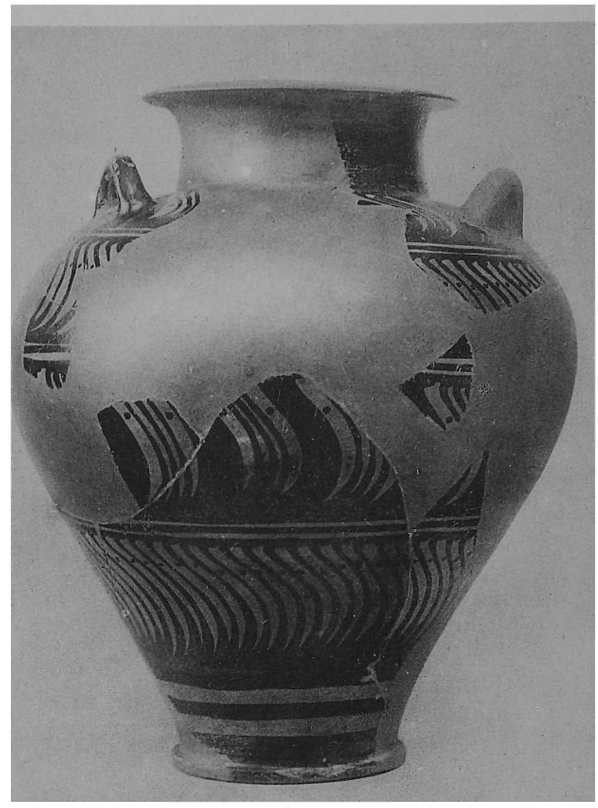
Scale $\frac{2}{9}$

ADDENDA.

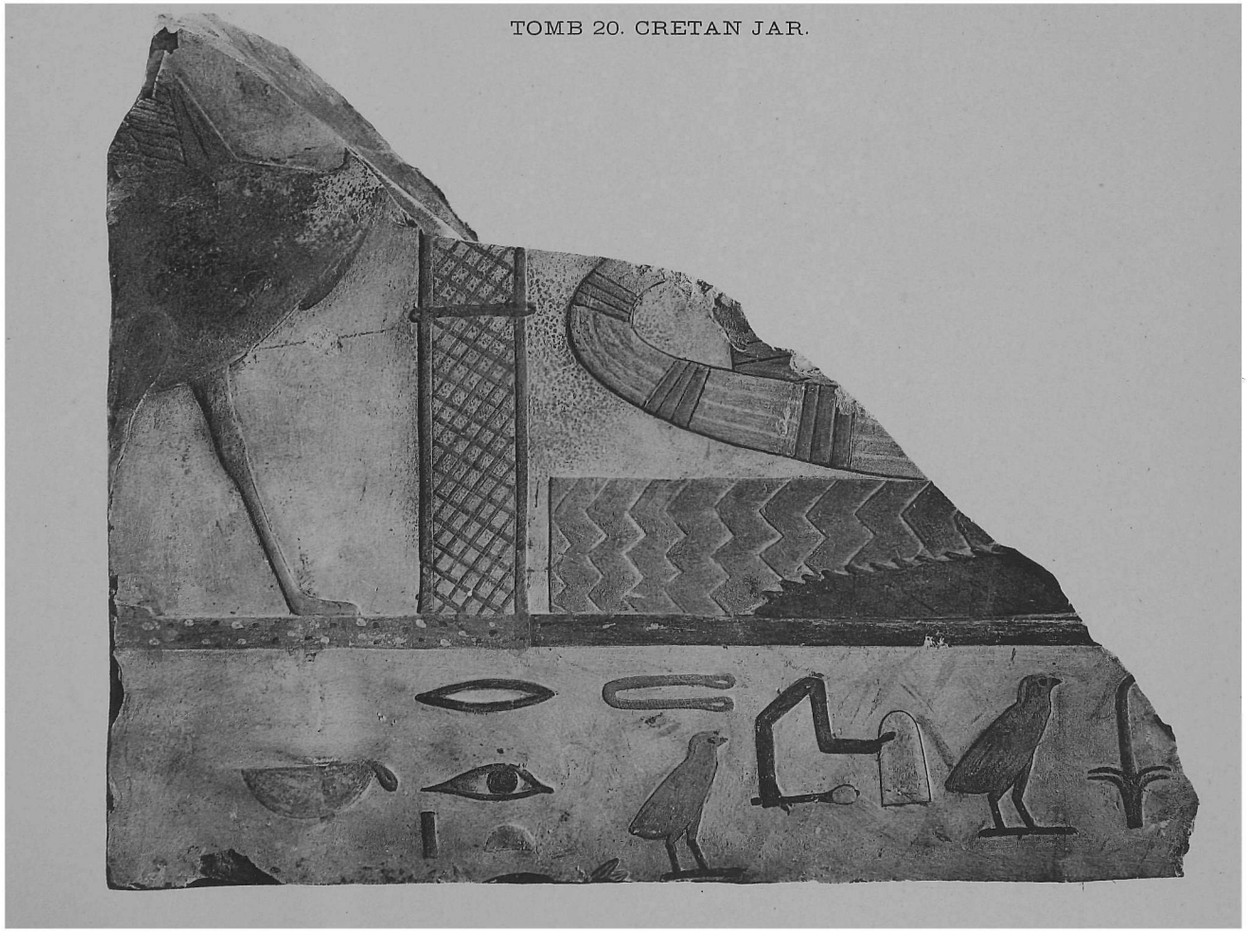
PTAHHETEP II. PLATE XI

TOMBS 20 AND 103.





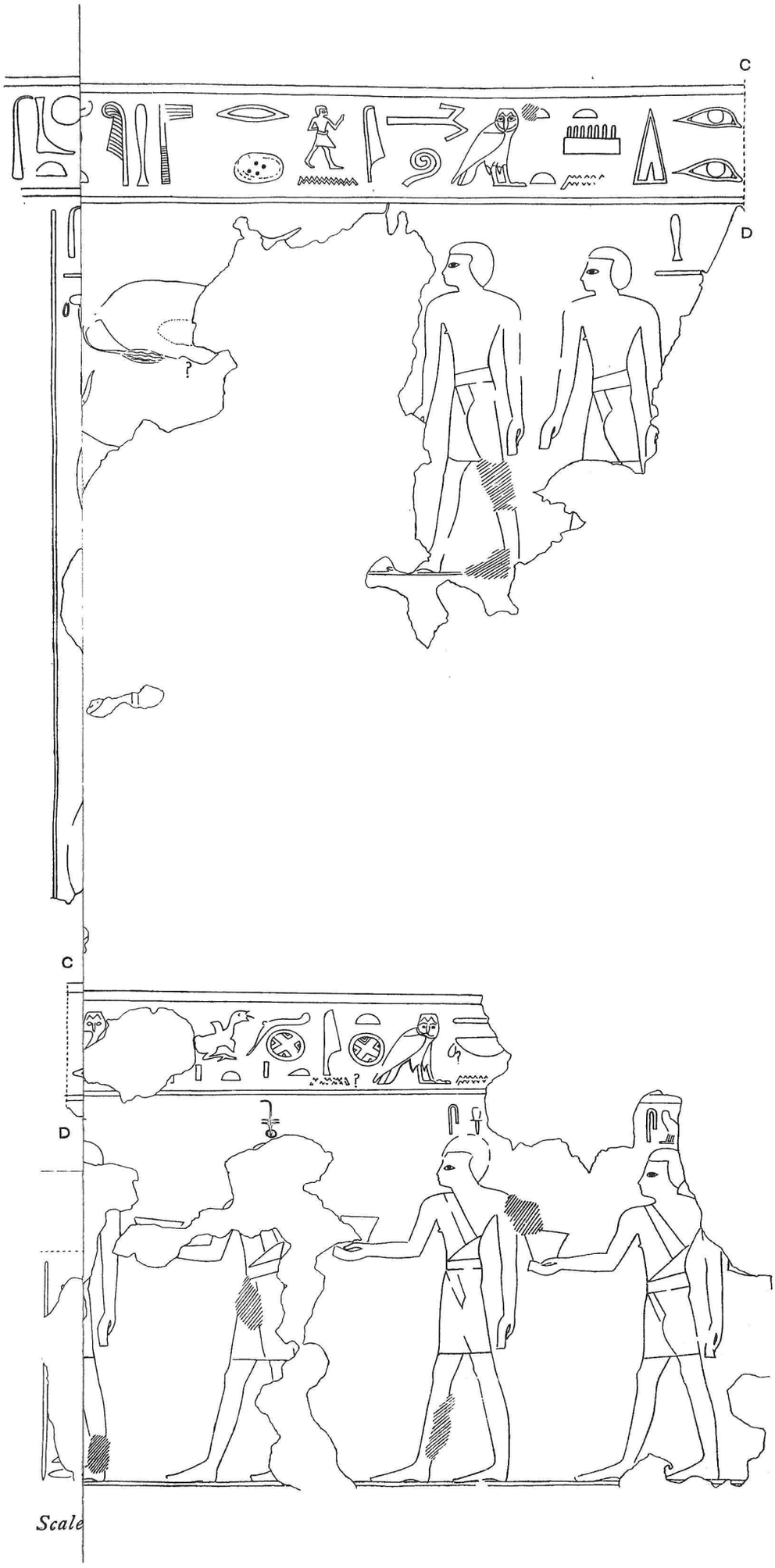
TOMB 20. CRETAN JAR.



TOMB 103. PAINTED FRAGMENT.

TOMB OF DAGA (103).

Phototypie Berthaud, Paris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