PUBLICATIONS OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION

EDITED BY ALBERT M. LYTHGOE
CURATOR OF THE DEPARTMENT OF
EGYPTIAN ART

—

ROBB DE PEYSTER TYTUS MEMORIAL SERIES VOLUME I

THE TOMB OF NAKHT AT THEBES

MUSIC AND DANCING

West Wall, South Side Copy by Lancelot Crane

(See pages 57–59)

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

THE TOMB OF NAKHT AT THEBES

BY

NORMAN DE GARIS DAVIES

WITH PLATES IN COLOR
BY L. CRANE, NORMAN DE G. DAVIES,
AND F. S. UNWIN
OF THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION
AND
NINA DE GARIS DAVIES

NEW YORK

MCMXVII

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

PREFACE

WITH the creation by the Trustees of the Museum, in 1906, of a Department of Egyptian Art, and the organization of an expedition to undertake work in Egypt as a basis for its development, an integral part of the program consisted of a plan for the formation of records of both the constructive and the decorative features of Egyptian monuments. These records were to provide the Museum with material which would serve as a ground for study and investigation, and when given to the world through publication be a contribution to our knowledge of the art and life of ancient Egypt.

The excavations of the expedition were established at the Pyramids of Lisht in the winter of 1906–07, and the following season it became possible to initiate a part of the special branch of its work devoted to the collection of records, to which Norman de Garis Davies was appointed. The site chosen for its beginning was the necropolis of Thebes, where the brilliantly decorated tombs of the officials seemed, from their liability to destruction, to afford the most needed ground for application; and here he and his associates have since been constantly engaged.[1]

Meanwhile, the attention of the expedition has also been directed toward the recording of monuments of other types and periods, and in the years 1910–11 William J. Palmer-Jones completed an architectural study of the Coptic monasteries of the Wady Natrún and of some of the Coptic churches of Cairo.[2]

[1] Cf. *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, March, 1911.

[2] Cf. *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, February, 1911, and May, 1912.

PREFACE

In 1914 the expedition's work of recording the monuments of Thebes was very considerably augmented through a munificent gift made for the purpose by Mrs. Edward J. Tytus, in memory of her son Robb de Peyster Tytus, who himself had conducted archaeological work on a Theban site.

Robb de Peyster Tytus, the son of Edward Jefferson Tytus and Charlotte Mathilde Davies, was born February 2, 1876, at Asheville, North Carolina. He prepared for college at St. Mark's School, Southboro, Massachusetts, and received the degree of Bachelor of Arts from Yale College in 1897. He then devoted himself to the study of art in London, Paris, and Munich, and in 1899 went to Egypt where, in 1901–02, in coöperation with Percy E. Newberry, he conducted excavations upon the site of the palace of Amenhotep III, on the west bank of the Nile at Thebes. In 1903 he published the results of these excavations in a *Preliminary Report on the Reëxcavation of the Palace of Amenhotep III*, with plates in color from his own drawings of the painted pavements and other decorative features of the structure. In the same year he received the degree of Master of Arts from Yale, and in the succeeding years, 1904–06, he published a number of poems and stories relating to Egypt, some of them in collaboration with his wife. In 1911 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society of London. He died at Saranac Lake, New York, on August 14, 1913.

Through his friendly interest in the work in Egypt of the Metropolitan Museum, the concession for the palace of Amenhotep was transferred in 1910 to the Museum's expedition, with the permission of the Egyptian Government. The site covered a large area, much of which still remained to be investigated, and on it excavations of great interest have since been conducted.

The fund now contributed by his mother provides, during a period of five years, both for the recording of Theban monuments and for their publication in a series of volumes, of which the present one is the first. With the regular course of excavations which the Museum

has been pursuing at Thebes since 1910 and the presence there of members of its excavating staff, it has now become possible through this memorial gift from Mrs. Tytus to engage in a plan for the clearing of tombs at Sheikh Abd el Ḳurneh and its neighborhood, with the purpose of determining their characteristics in plan and decoration under successive dynasties and reigns of the Empire.

The task of Mr. Davies and his assistants in recording the mural decorations of the tombs by means of tracings and color copies is being supplemented by a photographic record, which includes their constructive features, by Henry H. Burton, to whom has likewise been intrusted work of a similar character on Theban temples. The plans and architectural drawings illustrative of these monuments are being prepared by Lindsley F. Hall, the architect of the expedition.

ALBERT M. LYTHGOE.

New York, August, 1915.

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INTRODUCTION

WITH this volume The Metropolitan Museum of Art commences an enterprise which, though far from being pioneer work, has the merit and privilege of renewing a task long neglected—that, namely, of using the fullest mechanical resources of the time to present the sepulchral art of Thebes in faithful reproduction for the benefit of those who must perforce study the wonders of the world in books. The heroic age of Egyptology lies nearly a century behind us when gentlemen of France and England, following the first gleams of inward light thrown by the genius of Champollion on the sun-bathed monuments of Egypt, were kindled to an enthusiastic quest, and, happily for us, employed their pencils even more than their pens through long years of toil. The determination, industry, and public spirit required to carry such enterprises on to the printing point are, however, rarer gifts, and not all reached this promised land of research. Thebes by its extent, its associations, the comparative accessibility of its monuments, and their brilliant coloring, naturally attracted special devotion, and more than one worker became a well-known resident on the sacred hill of burial. Some of their names still cling about the ruins of the houses they built for shelter there—ruins which retain potent memories of international comradeship in a romantic pursuit. If, owing to its inevitable weakness in inscriptional material, we disregard the encyclopaedic work of the *Description de l'Égypte*, F. Caillaud (in Egypt, 1815–22) was the first adventurous spirit to publish serious

copies drawn from the Thebaïd and elsewhere. The labors of Champollion at Thebes (1828–29) became fertile, not only in the letterpress and sketches of his *Notices Descriptives* (1844), but also in his great collection of plates, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie* (1835–45). At the same time, and partly in collaboration with him, Rosellini, at the head of a Tuscan Expedition, gathered the materials for a similar corpus, *I Monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia* (1832–44). Sir Gardiner Wilkinson (at Thebes, 1828) drew on the accumulated spoils of years for *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* (1837–1841), and other lesser works. Robert Hay of Linplum (1826–38 in Egypt) sought the help of many professional assistants, among them at times Arundale, Catherwood, Bonomi, and Burton; but his own painstaking and tireless pencil contributed the main share to the superb mass of material which lies in the *Additional MSS.* of the British Museum. Later on, Germany began its great services to Egyptology with the Prussian Expedition under Lepsius (1842–45), the results of which were promptly made accessible in the invaluable *Denkmäler.* Prisse d'Avennes was the first to secure careful reproductions in color for the clever creations of his brush in *L'Art Égyptien* (1868–79). I mention, of course, only the largest contributors to our knowledge of the necropolis.

For nearly half a century after this date little was added to the history of Theban art (though much must have been irretrievably lost in the interval) until the Mission Archéologique Française of Cairo, with praiseworthy zeal, but not always with resources commensurable with the brilliant past or with modern advances in technical aids, reminded the world of this neglected treasury by *Tome V* of its *Mémoires* (1891), as well as *Tomes II, III, XV* dealing with the royal tombs. With the beginning of the century the activity of the inspectors now resident at Thebes, and the opening up of new or long-forgotten tombs under their hands, gave the needed impetus to slumbering forces. In 1904 a home for German research was built in the necropolis itself under the generous patronage of the Kaiser, and was

dedicated by Prof. Kurt Sethe's collection and publication of all the inscriptional material of historic interest then and there accessible (*Urkunden der* 18 *Dynastie.* Volumes 1–4). The powers of photography also began to be employed with good effects, especially in the attractive series dealing with newly discovered royal tombs, of which the late Theodore M. Davis of Newport was the generous patron. When, in 1906, an expedition to Egypt was organized by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the collection of archaeological records was made an essential part of its activities, Thebes was clearly marked out as its first field of labor of this sort. If the members of the expedition who were engaged in this graphic work were for a time alone in their crusade at Thebes, this was not a little owing to the generous confidence in their aims and methods on the part of other workers in Egypt. No success this expedition may have had, or can look forward to, can bring so much pleasure as the good feeling that prompted this hesitation in rivalry or the harmony in which sister enterprises have since been started. Of these, one proposes somewhat similar but less elaborate publications under Dr. Alan Gardiner's oversight; Dr. Wreszinski of Königsberg is issuing a photographic atlas of Egyptian archaeology, largely from Theban sources; a wide scheme for protecting, repairing, and photographing the necropolis has been already put into operation by Mr. Robert Mond; and there is a less defined project on the part of the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. It is an honor to have a foremost place in aiding this renaissance of Thebes. The materials for the present volume were gathered during parts of three winter seasons—1907–08, 1908–09, 1909–10. As all of the scenes in the tomb were copied in color to their full size and with a view to the exact rendering of the original in detail and in technique, and as I and my helpers had during that time to choose and accustom ourselves to a new medium, and to learn the peculiarities of a task to which we were for the most part unused, these periods were not lightly occupied.

My first acknowledgment of help received is due to my wife, who

in the first season's work was good enough to aid me greatly with the tracings and in other ways. Two of her paintings are reproduced in the volume (Plate XVII and the cat on Plate X) by kind permission of the Royal Museum, Berlin, and of Dr. Gardiner, their respective owners. To Mr. Francis Unwin, an artist of exceptional gifts, whom the Museum sent out to assist me in 1908, it owes not only Plates XXIV, XXV, XXVI, and the lower part of Plate X, but much sound professional counsel. Mr. Lancelot Crane, his capable successor, is responsible for the Frontispiece. Our endeavors, however, to copy in exact facsimile would have been so much time thrown away, so far as we had publication in view, had it not been for the exceptionally high level to which the *Kunst-Anstalt Albert Frisch* of Berlin has brought the art of color reproduction and the pains which its directors took with the difficult subjects we intrusted to them. The results attained, I feel, set a high standard for the future to emulate. Finally, our thanks are due to Sir Gaston Maspero, himself the author of the treatise by which the tomb of Nakht has hitherto been introduced to the public, and who as *Directeur Général du Service des Antiquités* secured to us facilities for work in this frequented tomb; as also to his *ad interim* successor, M. Georges Daressy, through whom we obtained permission to clear the burial-shaft. Thanks to this, the statuette of Nakht again hailed that light whose praises it had vainly sung through many thousand years. On its passage to America, however, in the steamship *Arabic*, this monument of ancient human faith and love was buried again, it is to be feared finally, in the depths of the Irish Sea. The introductory volume of Dr. Gardiner's series mentioned above, which has but recently appeared, contains valuable *prolegomena* to the subject, which at times follow somewhat the same lines as my own introduction, but with greater elaboration and citation of proofs. The privilege which I have of close association with the author in friendship and labor will sufficiently account for many points of harmony. My manuscript, however, was practically ready for publication more than two years ago,

and has not been substantially altered since. Had Dr. Gardiner's book lain before me earlier, my whole text would probably have taken a somewhat different form.

N. DE GARIS DAVIES.

Oxford, September, 1915.

CHAPTER I

THE NECROPOLIS OF THEBES

CHAPTER I

THE NECROPOLIS OF THEBES

ITS CHARACTER AND EXTENT

The Theban necropolis

THE tomb which is the subject of this memoir being one of a series of rock-tombs whose mural paintings are being copied by the Egyptian Expedition of The Metropolitan Museum of Art with a view to publication, it seems well that the general character of Theban sepulchres should be presented in a chapter which may serve as an introduction to following volumes also.

The western mountains

The necropolis of Thebes, a veritable "city of the dead," lies on the western side of the Nile valley some three miles from the river, on the opposite bank of which stand the modern villages of Karnak and El Uqsor (Luxor), and the great temples named after them. Of the ancient city itself few traces have been found, the mud of its crude brick walls having become one again with the soil from which it was derived. The shifting course of the river also would tend to obliterate even substantial buildings. Yet Thebes has not altogether perished. As each household passed away and the river-side city knew it no more, its members entered into fresh habitations, more luxurious perhaps and certainly more lasting, in the slopes of the Libyan hills.

These mountains form an ideal and impressive "Campo Santo" (Plates I–IV). Right opposite Thebes they rise from the foothills in steep slopes or sheer walls to the height of several hundred feet. From this imposing natural platform, again, a peak shaped like a step-

The western mountains

pyramid rears itself. To this the ancients ascribed mysterious and terrifying personality. "Beware of the Peak of the West; for there is a lion in the peak and it strikes as a lion which fascinates [its prey]; it lies in ambush for all who sin against it."[1] This dominating eminence is called "The Horn" (*Ḳurn*) and from it the village below derives its name, Ḳurneh.

Extent of the necropolis

The stretch of hills in whose heart the Theban dead lie buried, cell by cell, has natural limits. South of the temple of Medinet Habu the hills recede sharply from the river, and on the north the deep ravine *Wady Bibân el Mulûk* ("Valley of the Tombs of the Kings") forms another clear boundary, though the cemetery of the early Middle Kingdom is situated beyond this point.

Burial-places in the foothills

In front of the two-mile line of cliff are four isolated foothills. (1) To the south is *Ḳurnet Murraï*, most of the tombs in which have been stripped of their records by the natives who dwell in them, the tomb of Huy being the only notable exception. (2) In the center of the field is the chief burial-place of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the hill of *Sheikh Abd el Ḳurneh*, a celebrity whose ruined sepulchre on the summit is still the object of local devotion and perhaps has replaced an ancient fane of Meryt-seger or some other popular Egyptian divinity. (3) A spur just to the east of the last-named is well called *El Khokheh* ("The Honeycombed Rock"); for countless tombs, mainly of the Eighteenth Dynasty, penetrate it on both sides and sometimes meet in the middle. The valley *El Assasîf*, lying between this and the main range, is occupied by underground labyrinths of tombs mainly post-Ramesside, and by the processional roads to the two temples of Deir el Baḥri. (4) A small and unimportant mound just north of the entrance to the Bibân el Mulûk is named *Elwet ed Dibbân* ("Hill of Flies").

And in the cliffs

Of the burial-places in the range itself we have, from south to north, the tombs of the Ramesside queens and princes (*Bibân el Harîm*), then the Ramesside tombs clustering round the Ptolemaic temple of

[1] Maspero, *Études de Mythologie*, II, p. 407.

And in the cliffs

Deir el Medineh. A few scattered but uninscribed tombs lie behind the hill of Sheikh Abd el Ḳurneh, including the shaft which yielded up the great *cache* of royal mummies in 1881. On the farther side of the temple of Deir el Baḥri are tombs of the high priests of Amon and others, which go back to the Middle Kingdom but now are stripped of their records. The slopes above the village of *Dra' Abu'l Naga* hold some crumbling brick pyramids, apparently of late date, and among the houses of this immemorial nest of robbers and forgers of antiquities lie the entrances to many a plundered tomb of the eighteenth and succeeding dynasties. To the north of the village and in a side valley farther on are tombs of the same period, but few of them have any great value now. The magnificent royal hypogea far up the ravine in the folds of the mountains close the long series. Only the tombs in the hillsides have been enumerated, whereas the lower slopes also, every bank and ridge, and even the levels at the foot as far as the edge of the cultivated land, are thick with tomb chambers, all, with rare exceptions, robbed of their main contents.

Mortuary temples

Along the desert edge, too, the kings of the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Dynasties built their mortuary temples in an almost continuous line. Of these only Medinet Habu on the south, Ḳurneh on the north, and the Ramesseum in the center still stand upright and help us to restore in imagination the heavy grandeur of the necropolis of Thebes. And far in the green plain the twin colossi, doorkeepers of a vanished temple, form the imperishable outpost and fitting symbol of "the demesne of the gods."

THE ART OF THE NECROPOLIS

Influence of local conditions on architecture and art

To provide these tombs the rock itself has been called into requisition. The pyramidal tombs, of which few now remain, and the immense superstructures of the late tombs in the Assasîf are indeed brick constructions. But apart from these, the sepulchres are formed by excavation, except that a portal or portico is here and there added,

Influence of local conditions on architecture and art

or a point of weakness made good in brick or stone. This feature of the necropolis would no doubt have resulted in many fine products of the sculptor's art had it not been that most of the stone was of the worst possible quality. The great mass of these hills consists of coarse limestone resting on a thick bed of green argillaceous shale, so crumbling that it can often be picked to pieces with the fingers. Underneath this again, fine limestone of a close grain is found; but it could be utilized only in the low-lying tombs, such as those of Khâemhêt, Ramosy, Puyemrê, and others, as well as the kings' tombs. As the rock, then, generally made sculpture impossible or valueless, the Thebans had to adopt the methods of decoration which they employed in their own houses and cover the walls with a coating of mud or lime plaster. At an earlier period the vizier Daga of the Eleventh Dynasty had been conspicuous, though perhaps not alone, among his contemporaries in challenging the expense of a stone-lined and sculptured hall. For at that time painting on plaster was regarded, in Upper Egypt at any rate, as an unworthy substitute for sculpture and perhaps as a medium beneath the attention of great artists, in spite of such early masterpieces as the geese of Meidum. But with the rise of a large and wealthy city at Thebes, where the majority of the rock-tombs did not admit of the slower and more expensive form of decoration, the school of painting on plaster quickly reached a high level. The tombs of Daga and Antefoḳer, both of the Middle Kingdom, mark the transition period when the artist hesitated to place on a plastered surface anything but large figures and broad masses of color. But as the mason learnt to lay a coat of fine lime plaster on top of the mud surface or apply it directly to the rough rock, a new art sprang up, encouraged by the scope of the medium and the great increase in patrons. This succession of painters is the pride of Thebes, though the sculptor still found employment and achieved the highest results whenever the nature of the rock invited the chisel.

The Theban school and its methods

Of this school of painting we know little or nothing. Not a single artist's name of the best period has come down to us attached to his

work, the reason being, perhaps, that in art, as in literature, few men in those days could regard their work as an individual achievement. Conventional groups, postures regulated by unvarying tradition, and designs which served as a type, though never as an exact model, formed the basis of the artist's work. The detail in which his individuality might be shown lay only in the minor parts. He amused himself therewith and was probably rather ashamed than otherwise of what lay outside his professional routine, though for us it is often just these deviations that confer special distinction. It might be suggested that the best work of the masters lay in stock designs which their pupils adapted to the requirements of patrons. But as no fragment of papyrus or stone has come down to us which contains such a mural design, it is almost certain that such compositions did not exist. Small and separate studies were the utmost that the artist permitted himself by way of practice. His designs, like the themes of the ancient poet or narrator, were accumulated, corrected, perfected on the sensitive tablet of memory alone, and first became actual as a complete composition on the walls of a tomb. There others studied it and thence transferred it, if it pleased them, to other sites. This transference by memory alone explains why close similarities abound, but copies rarely or never; even though the wearisome repetition of certain figures and objects strongly urged to it.[1]

The Theban school and its methods

It is strange that the artist did not rank higher in Egyptian society. Superlative value apparently was attached to his art. It had power, within limits, to create and destroy, to make and unmake destinies, to confer salvation or annihilation, to preserve individuality, or mar it forever. His powers must have seemed magical to the multitude. He was indispensable to the king, the means by which the monarch's fame and piety were immortalized and by which the

The inconspicuous artist

[1]Apparently, artificial methods of reduplication were rarely used, the trained fingers of the draughtsmen being already so facile an instrument of reproduction. Yet the devotion to early models which often influenced artists necessitated the taking of sketches and notes, and in two instances subjects are found squared up for copying to scale (Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal d. Sahurê*, I, p. 105, Fig. 132, and Tomb 93, Thebes). Cf. Davies, *Dêr el Gebrâwi* I, Plates XIII–XVI, XXIV, XXV; Erman, *A. Z.*, LII, p. 90.

The inconspicuous artist

favor of the gods was won for him in return for the splendor given to their temples. Yet the artist is not pointed out to us among the crowd of courtiers. In the throng of busy craftsmen we occasionally see the sculptor and even the painter of statues and small objects, but not the creator of large designs; nor are his appliances or the conditions of his work very clear to us.[1] Soldiers, administrators, priests record their achievements and rewards by his brush, but the draughtsman himself has no monument in the Theban necropolis. It can only be said of him, as of the great English architect, "*Circumspice.*"

ITS CREATIVE IDEAS

Faith in the future and the psychology behind it

A city of the dead can only be created by a people to whom the human state after death is one of varied activity vividly conceived and triumphantly believed in. The prominence of this feature among the ancient Egyptians is too well known to need re-statement here. The attributes of brightness which they attached to the necropolis, setting it under the guardianship of their best-loved divinities and making it a place for the special exhibition of divine grace, are convincing in this respect. The cemetery was to them, as to the brightest Christian faith, "God's acre" (*Khertnuter*). The tired mortal on the border line of life past and life to come found himself welcomed by a goddess, "the fair lady of the West," who wound her arms about him and called him to sweet repose and eternal protection. This faith was founded equally on the beneficence of the gods, whose mild disposition the Egyptian inferred unquestioningly from his own, and on the nature of man. Into the intricacies of the latter subject it would be out of place to penetrate here. To set forth a clear delineation of man's spiritual nature according to Egyptian teaching would be the surest proof that we had failed to enter into its thought. Religion and philosophy have quite different aims, and this people was deeply religious without being really philosophical. Their great gain was to

[1] Once (Newberry, *Beni Hasan* II, Plate IV) artists are seen making studies on wood panels. On the subject of the signed work of artists see Erman, *Ä. Z.*, XLII, p. 128; Roeder, *Ä. Z.*, L, p. 76.

Faith in the future and the psychology behind it

possess a firm belief that man's constitution permitted, if it did not involve, a spiritual life. Death was not cessation, and need not be diminution of life. That they held this faith under many pictures and symbols, made few attempts to define and systematize it, and retained manifold contradictory and superfluous elements with the utmost ease, is a matter for congratulation to them and should not be allowed to be a cause of annoyance to us. Their distinction of body from spirit, and their indissoluble association of both, are both perceptions of vital truth; and their practical wisdom is shown in their cheerful abandonment of any hope of precisely dissecting complex man. Their readiness to personify a concept, or even a word, makes it impossible to take their psychology very seriously. An inscription[1] which has come down to us in a broken state seems to set forth the various aspects of man. It begins with the self (*ka*), his stela (meaning by that, presumably, the name and character written upon it), and ends with his spirit (*yakh*), his dead body (*khat*), his shadow (*khabt*), and all his (other) forms of being (*kheperu*). The missing part of the inscription may possibly have mentioned his soul (*ba*), his name (*ren*), his mummy (*sahu*), his inner man (*ib*), his power (*sekhem*). But this enumeration is only a precautionary tribute to the unknown man. A commonly expressed hope of future life is summed up in the phrases "my spirit in heaven, my body in the underworld," and correspondingly immortality is desired for the spirit, life or well-being for the soul, victory (over evils) for the body. This presents to us man viewed in different spheres or forms of existence, not disintegrated man. On the contrary, individuality is craved above all things. "Thou livest again after death, thy soul does not forsake thy body, thou becomest that which thou wast . . . . (all thy members regain their powers) . . . . thy heart is really thine, thy heart of aforetime, thou comest as thou wast made in thy prime."[2]

[1] Davies-Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhēt* (*No. 82*), p. 99. A duplicate inscription even adds environing influences to the list of personal aspects and appears to attribute to each of them superhuman personality.

[2] Tomb 127. The numbers used in connection with Theban tombs are the official numbers as given in Gardiner and Weigall's *Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes*.

The future state

As the man is entire and perfect, so all spheres of existence are open to him that are open to the gods themselves. But above all, the sweet privilege of life in the old haunts is free to him "as when he was on earth." This mode of existence may not be defined, but neither is it restricted. It is true that at times the existence of the dead may seem from the evidence both of the texts and of the actual provision for the dead to be a dull and dark survival in the coffin underground. Other indications may point to an existence limited to the tomb-chapel or to the necropolis. The assurance that "nothing is destroyed of that which he did on earth" and the hope "that my memory may abide on earth but my soul live with the Lord of Eternity" may induce the suspicion that the share of the dead in earthly interests is merely a matter of clear retrospect or of undying influences bequeathed during life. But the picture of a return to the pleasant places on earth is too definite to admit of any such refinements. Amenemhab, owner of Tomb 85, for instance, is depicted going out into the sunlight "amusing himself . . . . . in his garden, cooling himself under his trees, working in the open air among his flowers, drinking pleasant draughts from his ponds, smelling the lotus blooms, culling the buds." He visits the haunts of men, takes pride in his well-planned tomb, and when he is tired he goes back to rest in the burial chamber in the presence of the kindly god. So, too, Amenemhêt (of Tomb 82) hopes to revisit his earthly home, enjoy the music and dancing in it, and be a protection to his descendants there for ever and ever. This mundane picture, however, is not deemed incompatible with a tenuous existence maintained within a statue by the offerings laid at its feet, an ethereal course as a star among the stars, or an adventurous career as a follower of the sun through a hostile underworld. The essential thing is that no pleasures or powers are thought to be unreasonable for the blessed dead and no sphere of being barred to them.

Attitude toward eschatological problems

Two uncomfortable thoughts the Egyptian put away from him. What was the fate of those who failed to acquire the favor of the

gods or to provide themselves with defenses against the spiritual enemy? And what was the extent to which the dead were dependent for happiness on the piety of the living? The practical answer lay in doing as much as possible to secure for oneself and one's friends all the guarantees or aids to future bliss, and to shrink from no redundancy of means to this end. Burial equipment, daily offerings, amulets, pictures and inscriptions, prayers and contracts with the priests were all effectual acts of piety. Those most in favor at any one time might vary with the ideas, the customs, the prosperity of the age. But this much stands fast that, though the good-will of the gods is indisputable, no prudent man will neglect, or suffer posterity to neglect, all the help of rite and magic to secure their favor, or to achieve the end despite their indifference. Even rites no longer understood or commonly practised should be performed if possible. For that moral nexus between conduct and happiness which to us means so much and to the Buddhist everything, was feebly conceived by the ancient Egyptian, and considered only on its favorable side. "I know that at the last God returns evil to him who does it, justice to him who brings it. May justice be done to me as I have done it, and good be repaid to me in every way."[1]

Attitude towards eschatological problems

As the funerary monuments of ancient Egypt are the fullest sources of its history for us, we are apt to look on them as historic documents and judge them accordingly. But if the biographical instinct comes to expression at times, it is never in the least historical, never attempts to set the individual life in its place in the greater story of the nation, but is always based on inordinate, and generally bombastic, self-esteem. For to the greed of earthly good are added ambitions for the eternal life based upon the former. "O every one that liveth upon earth, I will tell you (my) way of life, I bear witness to you of rewards." "O every one who desires to reach old age, interment, and proper obsequies (when) one is sated with life, hear for yourselves! Enter my tomb and see how great is that which was done to me."

A purely biographical impulse lacking in the tombs

[1] Tomb 83.

[2] Davies, *El Amarna*, VI, pp. 27, 34.

A purely biographical impulse lacking in the tombs

The facts of life and character are thus engraved upon the walls of the tomb with a view to proper rank in the world to come. In this the stelae of the Middle and New Kingdoms with their shrewd delineations of personal character and habits mark a great advance on the older lists of titles. They show a thirst for individuality and individual existence, combined with a keen sense that character makes the man. The stela thus became a pendant to the statue or the painted figure. One perpetuated the outer, the other the inner man, in the hope that both men might survive as an indestructible unity to all time.

Clarity of thought not to be expected

Therefore in turning to consider the reflections of these ideas in line and color in Theban sepulchres, we must be chary of assigning simple motives without admixture in explanation of what we find, or of forcing on this ancient people a scheme of salvation and a consistent picture of heaven which they did not cherish and under which they would have felt the greatest uneasiness. Rather, we must postulate an intense love of life and hope of happiness which overbore all difficulties, an instinct for evading controversy which accepted and combined all the products of thought and imagination, and perhaps the customs and traditions of several races as well.

An era ends with the XVIIIth dyn.

It only remains to be said that what follows is concerned almost entirely with monuments of the Eighteenth Dynasty. With the failure of the mysterious movement, political and religious, which culminated under Amenhotep the Fourth (Akhnatón), the most promising era of Egyptian history came to a sudden end in full prime and every subsequent growth was checked. The reflection of this change in the Theban tombs is very marked, both as regards execution and the ideas that inspire it, though the influences of the past era are carried over into the first reigns of the Nineteenth Dynasty. The predominance of the priest and of sacerdotal thought and motive in the new era is marked from the very first, and the beliefs and imaginations which are kindled by, and in touch with, life suffer a fatal defeat. In the tomb, the thoughts and imaginations of the burial vault rise up like spectres and invade the freer air of the upper chambers, filling them with mephitic

vapors. Man is delivered from anthropomorphic fancies; but instead of rising to spiritual aspirations, he is enslaved to a morbid demonology. Thoughts are no longer complex merely, but are confused. Tasks are assigned to the artist which cannot inspire him even to good craftsmanship and, just when the love of freedom is really being kindled in him, he becomes bound in a more hopeless slavery. Of course, neither art nor human nature dies out with the establishment of the Ramesside kings; but there is a great change, and we need not allow it to confuse our minds at present.

An era ends with the XVIIIth dyn.

THE FORM OF THE TOMB

Has the variety of forms which the rock-tomb assumes in Egypt and especially at Thebes any law of development? One might expect that its shape would be determined by the fact of its being an excavation in rock of a certain character. But though this has force, the Egyptian was not practical but governed by ideas; so much so that what we admire in him is the indomitable courage and patience with which he pursued his ends against all opposition of nature. If the products of his art are rarely very spiritual, it was not for lack of fancy but because his world of imagination was so closely bound to his narrow material experiences. He did not accept the practical advice of the quarryman, because he was not intent on making a cave, but a house for the spirits of his dead. Yet, on the other hand, if the idea of the tomb as a mansion of the spirit be applied too stringently as an explanation of form, it will result in many forced theories. The truest motivation will be a double one, taking into account the older and simpler desire of finding a safe place of burial for the corpse, as well as the later and more sophisticated idea of providing an eternal home for the spirit attached to the body. The climax of the first pursuit is the early mastaba or the great pyramid, with its shafts and portcullises, or the royal hypogeum at Thebes with

The form of the tomb depends little on practical considerations

The form of the tomb depends little on practical considerations

its long passages and its *culs de sac.*[1] The other impulse leads to the many roomed family mastabas at Saḳḳâra, the gaily painted chambers at Ḳurneh, the columnar halls of El Amarna, the intricate catacombs of the Ethiopian period in the Assasîf, and perhaps even the great mortuary temples at Thebes. One might have expected that the simple desire for interment would rule almost exclusively in the rock-cut tomb. But this was not so. It, too, was forced, in face of many difficulties, to take on the semblance of a house. The desire to provide within the mountain itself a place where the body will be safe from violation or decay, naturally leads men either to sink a perpendicular shaft with a chamber at the bottom or else to drive a horizontal or descending gallery, having a room at the end to receive the interment. Such simple forms survived in Egypt to latest times, and when we find this narrow gallery driven straight forward into the hillside, it expresses the preponderating motive of burial, even though this passage should only be part of a more complicated whole. Where, however, a chamber is provided, not at the far end of the gallery but at the entrance, there we have the idea of housing the spirit; even though the provision be only a niche in the face of the mastaba or cliff, where the ghost may feed on the offerings provided.[2] From a niche it becomes a walled chamber; store-rooms may be added, and even columned halls and a porticoed front. In any case it is a home, arising out of a more optimistic view of the condition of the spirits of the dead and of their friendly attitude to those that meet with them in the tomb chapel.

The royal tombs betray the double motive

The distinction of the two motives in burial, though of course they are never altogether severed, has its most complete expression

[1] I do not mean to say that any custom of burial, even the earliest, reveals nothing but a desire to hide and preserve the body. There may have been a superstructure even to prehistoric graves. The early mastaba and the pyramid had, as we now know, cult-chapels and elaborate temples. The disappearance of the latter has left only the place of sepulture visible and created quite a false impression of the ideas behind these burials. Yet their fate is not fortuitous. The survival of the place of sepulture is the result of the disproportionate care lavished on it. I add this note at Dr. Gardiner's suggestion, who rightly judged that the allusion in the text stood in need of it.

[2] Daga, the owner of Tomb 103, in the XIth dyn. seems to have felt the insufficiency of this primitive type and added to it (subsequently?) a long portico.

The royal tombs betray the double motive

in the royal tombs of Thebes, where the places of burial are separated by more than a mile from the places of offering. The galleries of Rameses II in the Bibân el Mulûk are decorated indeed and complex, yet all the provision of room and ornament is for the dead and for his gloomy life in the underworld. On the other hand, the gigantic Ramesseum, on the edge of the cheerful fields, with its lofty halls and courts, its labyrinth of store-chambers, and its pictures of war and worship, is the home of the royal spirit. We shall see later how the two motives are reflected not only in a difference of form but of decoration also.

The city house

If we ask of what sort was that dwelling in the city to which the Egyptian would wish his tomb also to approximate, we have but slight information until we come to that city of the desert at El Amarna which we may reckon as Theban, since it was formed by the artificial transference of the complete capital to that spot.[1] Here the labors of Petrie and Borchardt have revealed to us the type of the Theban mansion with its many variations. It generally forms a compact rectangle, with many smaller rooms ranged round a pillared hall and with a stairway leading to a second story or to the flat roof. In rock-tombs of the period there is nothing to correspond to this, though perhaps the tombs of Mereruka and Ti at Saḳḳâra and the subterranean chambers of late tombs in the Assasîf present a certain resemblance.

The country bungalow

But there was another type of Theban dwelling which probably came nearer to the ancient form and was vastly more adapted to imitation in that curiously inverted construction, the excavated tomb. I refer to the country house or bungalow, which is often quaintly represented in Theban paintings.[2] It was a light edifice, the chief features of which are an elongated ground-plan with narrow frontage, the rooms lying one behind the other and occupying the whole breadth and height till the small rooms at the back are reached. The arrangement is perhaps better revealed in the palace at El Amarna or

[1] Kahun is instructive, but too closely settled to be conclusive as regards the single house.

[2] Cf. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, ed. Birch, I, pp. 359, 366, 377. Reconstructed in Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 167, 172, 180.

The country bungalow

the arrangement of the simpler temples. Practical and ideal ends met in the selection of this type of house as a model for the rock-tomb. For not only was this house of narrow frontage, with the light streaming down the axis from room to room, almost the only one suitable for a cliff-side; but the love of the Egyptian for an out-door life, surrounded by his garden, his vineyard, and his pond, would of itself have led him to choose this country cottage as the model of his eternal home in the necropolis.

The latter type imitated in the rock-tomb

Now there is a type of rock-tomb which corresponds closely to such a house, having its rooms in an axial series. It sprang into general favor along with the movement of Akhnatón, as if the love of domesticity and the bright faith which that monarch exhibited had influenced even the form of the tomb. There are examples at Thebes of that period in the Tombs of Ramosy (No. 55) and Surer (No. 48) (see Figure 1). Other tombs, like that of Amenemhab (No. 85), approximate roughly to the type. The principal feature is a wide hall, supported on pillars or columns; one or two rooms lie beyond it without an intervening passage. The burial in such tombs at El Amarna was often at the bottom of a stairway descending from the hall, as if from a wish to afford the spirit still easier communication with his pleasant rooms. Tombs like this might have been common at Thebes also, had the quality of the rock generally admitted of columnar halls leading out of one another. As it is, the ordinary tomb at Thebes is one that seeks to provide both seclusion for the body and a home for the spirit and is therefore marked both by a passage leading directly toward a place of interment in the heart of the hill, and by an outer chamber transverse to the axis (see Figure 2), this latter being usually of the same narrow character as the passage and only by exception pillared and spacious.

Occasionally the likeness of the tomb to the garden villa is enhanced by the provision of a portico in front of it (see Figure 3). We find this already in Fifth Dynasty mastabas at Saḳḳâra and in one of the rock-tombs at Beni Hasan. At Thebes, owing to the nature of the

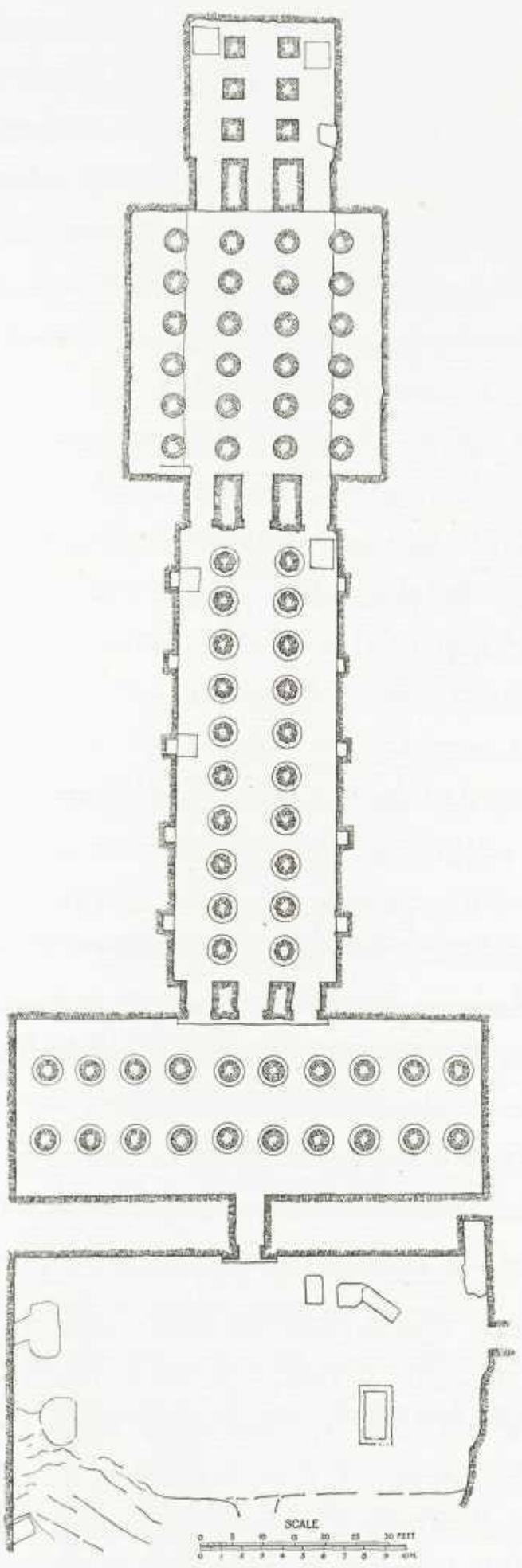


FIGURE 1

TOMB OF SURER (No. 48)

The latter type imitated in the rock-tomb

rock, it is rarer, and where it occurs the pillars have to be square and clumsy to have any chance of supporting the weight above. The Theban porticos are probably influenced by the colonnades of the temples of Deir el Baḥri, which run right across a wide frontage. Sometimes

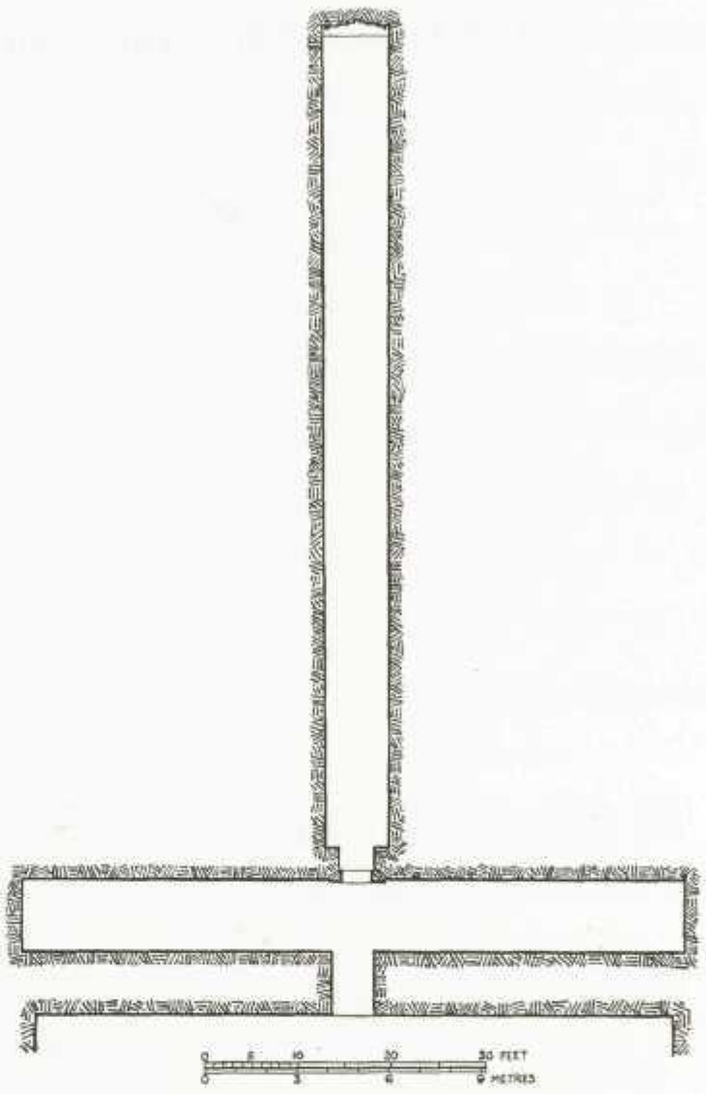


FIGURE 2
TOMB OF REKHMIRÊ (No. 100)

(as in Tombs 39 and 51, belonging to Puyemrê and Woserhêt) the bases of papyrus columns show that a light portico was run up in sandstone to shade the facade.[1] But, as a rule, the rock front of the Theban tomb is left wholly unadorned save for the door-framing.

Early expressions of the home feeling

The idea of the home of the dead was not a late development. Wherever the tomb had grown to house-like shapes and dimensions, the haunting idea had come to expression. The chamber of Ptahhotep

[1] Tomb 39 is that of one of the builders of the temple of Deir el Baḥri and is greatly influenced by its architecture in the form given to the chapels and elsewhere.

at Saḳḳâra (Fifth Dynasty) is furnished with windows and its roof formed to imitate log-beams.[1] The ceiling of Khnemhotep at Beni Hasan (Twelfth Dynasty) is covered with patterns which evidently recall mats spread under the rafters, or else the painted mud ceilings of the house which themselves were the memory of such a provision. Otherwise the practice had been to color the ceiling of the tomb in

Early expressions of the home feeling

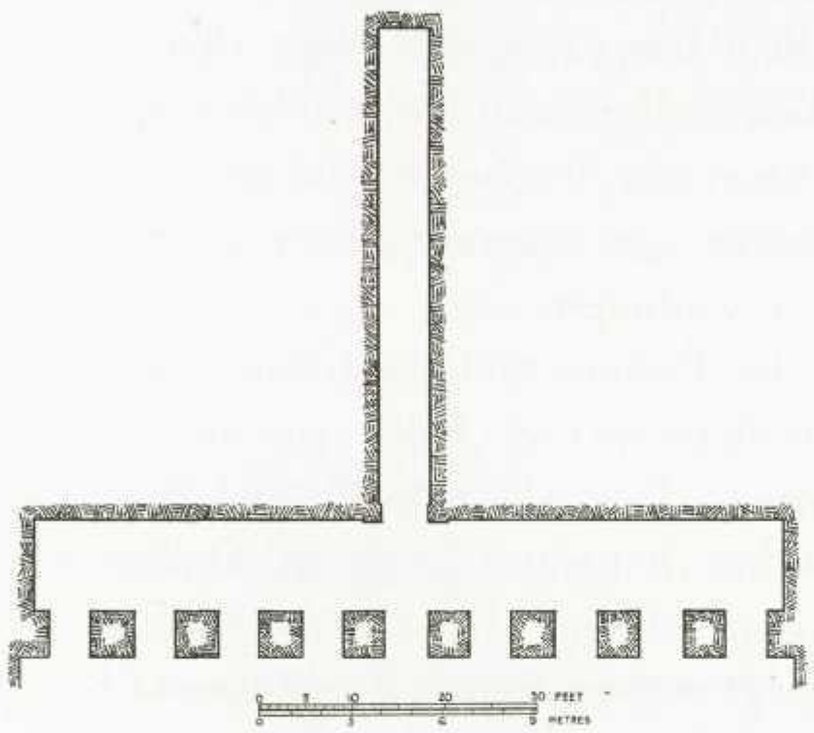


FIGURE 3
TOMB OF AHMOSY (No. 83)

imitation of the granite roofing slabs which passed as an unattainable ideal of luxury and solidity.

With the more common, because inexpensive, provision of chambered tombs in the crumbling hillside of Thebes, the idea of the house came to fuller expression. The chief evidence of home feeling is the lavish decoration given to walls and ceilings, of which more will be said immediately. But a secondary sign of it is the flat ceiling itself, which, against all the suggestions of nature, is generally employed in the rock-cut chambers in Egypt and even in the direct gallery. Over

As shown by the form and the decoration of the tomb

[1] Windows occur occasionally in rock-tombs at Thebes. In Tomb 93 they give light to side chambers. The dead man is sometimes shown in Old Kingdom tombs looking out of a window of the conventional façade.

As shown by the form and the decoration of the tomb

and over again a fall of rock from the roof had taught the quarryman the principle of the arch and the natural curve of support, but always in vain. The high vault is rarely found, simply because it was not familiar to them in their houses.[1] The same preference for a flat roof may be noted in the shape of all early coffins, which also may have derived their form from the house, or through a mastaba which imitated the house. The Egyptian mansion was commonly of brick, often, no doubt, with facings of stone to the doorways. These latter have been preserved to us in a few cases, and show that the house-jambs were sometimes inscribed in the exact style which tombs have made familiar to us. So that when the Theban tomb-builders framed the doorways of their rock-sepulchres in masonry, they were still keeping close to the model of the town-house.[2]

Résumé

To sum up, the Theban rock-tomb takes many forms, even if we exclude from consideration the brick pyramidal tomb, the stairway (Ramesside) tombs of Deir el Medineh, and the late hypogea of the Assasîf. The Middle Kingdom tombs at Thebes seem to have been generally of the simplest kind, lacking the outer chamber and consisting merely of a direct gallery leading to a place of burial (e.g. Tomb 60, belonging to Antefoḳer), and this form, with many other customs of the Middle Kingdom, lasted on into the earlier reigns of the Empire (cf. Tomb 61, belonging to Woser, a vizier of Thothmes III). But as a rule we can distinguish (1) the outer chamber, (2) the place of burial (or the ante-room containing the entrance to it), and (3) the passage connecting them. In tombs which thus make provision both for burial and for communion between the dead and the living these two governing impulses remain unobscured, whatever shapes and proportions the several parts assume. Tombs which contain only a small chamber with a burial shaft in it may be regarded as cheap substitutes for the complete form.

[1] It is significant that where the vault is employed it is generally in the direct gallery. A concession is so far made that a slight camber is often given to the ceiling of the outer chamber. Vaults are common in the later brick-lined Deir el Medineh tombs.

[2] Cf. Davies, *El Amarna* V, p. 21; Borchardt, *Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, Mitteilung No. 46*, pp. 19, 20.

THE DECORATION OF THE TOMB

The burial-place in the tomb

The practice as to the place of deposit for the sarcophagus and burial furniture varies greatly and is often hard to determine owing to the provision made for later burials on the same site, either by friends or by intruders. The casting out of one occupant to make room for another has indeed taken place with such frequency that an undisturbed burial of the Eighteenth or Nineteenth Dynasty has very rarely been seen by a European excavator. In early times interments in large tombs were often made at the end of a direct gallery which sloped down into the heart of the cliff. In the Eighteenth Dynasty the regular mode of burial is through a shaft in the floor of the inmost chamber. At the bottom of this, one or more rooms were provided, generally rough-hewn, but sometimes shaped with care or even inscribed with funeral texts and scenes.[1] Often, however, the pit was sunk outside in the level court, which was prepared in front of the tomb wherever opportunity offered. Such pits often open underground into so intricate a network of passages and chambers that it is impossible to say which are original and which are later adjuncts.

THE DECORATION OF THE TOMB

The decoration is in harmony with the above theory

The distinction which has been drawn between the tomb as the sepulchre and as the home of the dead may seem strained, but it is strikingly supported by the decoration of the distinctive parts, the inner passage or room and the outer hall. We never, as a matter of fact, find a private tomb of the Eighteenth Dynasty adorned with pictures relating merely to sepulture. The crude motive of interment would not in itself have inspired mural decoration. Hence, though we find at Thebes tombs of the direct-passage type (see p. 20), their pictures are two-fold, funerary scenes directed inwards and occupying the far end of the passage, and more worldly scenes lying near the entrance and facing it. Where, however, the provision of both an outer room and a direct passage enabled the scenes to be

[1] As in Tombs 61, 82, 87, and 96.

The decoration is in harmony with the above theory

grouped according to subject, the rule is observed that the scenes relating to burial (dedication of offerings to the dead, funeral procession, burial rites, pilgrimage to Abydos, judgment scene) are relegated to the passage, while the scenes more nearly concerned with the present life occupy the walls of the outer room. Where there is an inscribed chamber at the far end of the passage, the scenes are still funerary or are connected with the cult of the dead, statues of the deceased and his near relatives often finding a place at the back of the room. It may be mentioned as a regular feature that the series of burial rites occupies the south wall of the passage, and the ceremonial by which the mummy is rehabilitated, the north wall. Less frequently the latter is replaced or accompanied by a convivial festival in honor of the dead.[1] An apparent irregularity is the frequent introduction of a hunting or fishing scene on the north wall. This seems to have been given a religious significance and perhaps was thought applicable to life in those Elysian fields which were placed in the north of Egypt. It is an almost invariable rule that burial scenes are not placed in the outer chamber, even where, as in the tomb of Nakht, the second chamber is unfinished or uninscribed.[2]

Gloom not manifest in the scenes of burial

These pictures are funereal without breathing an air of gloom or mourning. In the earlier period it is rare that any trace of grief is shown, but with the rising prosperity of Egypt even the prospects of the dead grew brighter. The idea that owing to forsaken shrines and neglected altars the dead might be condemned to swallow filth and wander forlorn and hungry in the necropolis is lost in happier pictures of their lot. "To the West! To the West! the land of pleasant life, where all that thou lovest is, the fair West who opens her arms to thee that thou mayest rest. In peace! In peace! Thou art pure as the gods are pure." These are phrases to which the pictures correspond in every way. The scenes are serious; for

[1] Tombs 53, 82, 93, and 100.

[2] The only clear exception is Tomb 181. In Tomb 55 painted burial scenes have been added to the sculptures of the hall, but partly erased again (under Akhnatón?). Tomb 55 is, Tomb 181 may be, of the revolutionary period.

Gloom not manifest in the scenes of burial

the means of salvation are complicated and costly. But to the provident salvation is sure. The unseen enemy against whom the precautions are taken is not formulated to the mind, still less pictured; the dangers are not defined or illustrated, while on the other hand food and luxury (the gods being duly propitiated and the means of grace observed) are the sources of happiness in that life, as in this.

Until later times

It was only natural that the vast issues and moral problems that were ignored by this resolute optimism should in time avenge themselves. At the height of the golden age disintegrating thought and conscience begin their work. The judgment scene appears now and then upon the walls.[1] The widow in uncontrollable sorrow prostrates herself before that corpse which on no scheme of faith is any longer her daily companion and protector.[2] A human sorrow which no faith comforts and which is borne by the weak with transports of grief, by the high-minded with dignified resignation, takes the place of shallow thought.[3] In the days of greatest national depression the suppressed cry dares to write itself even on the stones of the sepulchre. "I have heard all that has happened to the ancestors. Their walls fall down: their place is no more. They are as though they had never existed." "Cast behind thee all cares and think of joy till there cometh this day when we journey to the land that loveth silence."[4] Henceforth the priest comes to power again on a new plane. The childish faith in a mundane heaven is replaced by more subtle dreams, woven by theology, not by the human heart, achieved by magic and in conflict with fiends. Scenes of earthly life grow rare in the tombs. Their walls are covered instead with pictures of worship or of ritual, excerpts from religious texts, pictures of gods and demons, and an incomprehensible farrago of wild mythology and amuletic defense. Only occasionally does a scene of rural life in the fields of the blest, or a way-

[1] In Tombs 69 and 78 (mid-XVIIIth dyn.).

[2] Tomb 181.

[3] King Akhnatón in presence of his dead daughter (Bouriant-Jéquier-Legrain, *Culle d'Alonou* I, Pls. VI–XIII).

[4] Tomb 50, Song of the Harper (time of Haremhab).

Until later times

side repast on the journey thither, refresh the eyes with a more human touch.

Ceiling decorations derived from the house

A feature common to all the upper chambers in the Theban tomb is the decoration of the ceiling, derived, no doubt, directly from the Theban house,[1] the roofs of which were flat and formed of logs overlaid with ribs of palm leaf or sticks. Probably the early inhabitants covered the under side with matting or with appliqué leatherwork. This is presupposition, however; for all that has come down to us is the later practice of facing the ceilings of the wealthier houses with mud-plaster and coloring them with gay designs to which those found in the tombs form an exact counterpart.[2] This derivation from domestic originals is shown not only by the similarity of pattern but also by their being invariably set within a framework of beams grained or colored yellow to imitate rafters.[3] In the outer chamber where the home feeling comes most clearly to expression, the arrangement of these mock-beams is such as would be used in the construction of a roof (cf. Figure 10, p. 45). On each side of the entrance two transverse joists are shown in paint with long beams extending from them down the center of the room and close to the walls.[4] The narrow passage professes to be roofed by three longitudinal beams and the inmost chamber by one central beam (three in Tomb 82)—an arrangement which seems very unpractical. In richly decorated tombs these beams are inscribed with prayers in blue hieroglyphs, a color that would be used on wood; it is not rash, therefore, to infer that in rich dwelling-houses pious sentiments of the same or similar import were cut in the rafters or painted on them.

[1]Not from the temple; for the private tomb never has a starred ceiling. The royal tombs, being merely sepulchral, have either stars on the ceilings or astronomical designs or flying vulture-deities, but not patterns.

[2]The excavation of the palace of Amenhotep III at Thebes by the Metropolitan Museum Expedition shows this clearly.

[3]For graining see an admirable example in Tomb 15 (Carnarvon and Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, Pl. IV, i).

[4]One would expect transverse beams, as in the Old Kingdom, especially in the narrow passage. But economy is not called for in sham-joists, and my experience of the modern builder in Egypt is that he prefers to place his timbers lengthwise.

THE DECORATION OF THE TOMB

Later laxity in this respect

The patterns which cover the ceilings of Eighteenth Dynasty tombs at Thebes were such, to begin with, as could have had their origin in mat- or leather-work. Only later did elaborate designs, flying birds, and (after the Nineteenth Dynasty) mythological scenes and floral borders, find a place there.[1]

Domestic and rural motives predominant in the hall of the tomb

As scenes pertaining to life in the far-away world of the gods are assigned to the subterranean burial-chamber, and those that connect the dead with this world by rites used at burial and at subsequent festivals adorn the walls of the passage and inner room, so scenes wholly mundane in character brighten the outer chamber that lies but one remove from the busy and sun-lit life of men. In all this the idea of *appropriateness* rules, as it ruled in the ornamentation of those mansions which the tomb-chambers sought to reproduce. We know from the ruins of the palaces of Amenhotep III and his successor that painted plaster covered the walls, the floors, and the ceilings of the principal rooms, and that the subjects of the designs were chosen as suitable to the place—family groups for the living room; groups of cooks and domestic servants for the passages or dining room; figures of protective divinities for the bed-rooms; flying birds on the ceiling; aquatic birds, plants, and fishes near the water-tank in the floor; and so forth.[2] The motives that lead mankind to ornamentation are very complex and subtle, but with the Egyptians the primitive stage was far behind and the love of appropriate ornament was no doubt the ruling impulse in sepulchral as in domestic decoration. The parlor of the Theban tomb was to be as pleasant a resort for the dead as possible and was to mirror back the memories and aroused desires which would naturally come to him when so nearly in contact with the familiar scenes from which he had passed, memories which he could renew

[1] The free vine pattern is found as early as the reign of Amenhotep II (Tomb 96), but this is in a burial vault with rough ceiling, where a geometrical pattern could not be applied.

[2] The ornamentation of the inmost chamber of the tomb closely resembles that of the passage, and neither it nor the burial chamber below contains any allusion to sleep. It was not, therefore, regarded as a sleeping chamber. Nor was the sarcophagus chamber so thought of, though a bed might be provided there; for with that place earth had been definitely left behind and the region of mysteries entered, the realm of the gods of the dead.

Domestic and rural motives predominant in the hall of the tomb

and desires he could gratify again in some place and way which Egyptian optimism did not trouble to particularize. For it is scarcely to be believed that the friends of the deceased would welcome an array of family ghosts as constant visitants to the hearth and homestead. They would rather do all in their power to make the dead content as a rule with his pleasant hall on the hillside; beyond, yet in touch with, the world of men. Thus the picture of Theban life in a tomb of the Eighteenth Dynasty is a clear mirror of existence in the metropolis below, or rather of life in the homesteads around it where the nature-loving Egyptian preferred to dwell. For neither is the city anywhere pictured, nor, without special reason, its markets or workshops, its barracks or temples; rarely so much as the interior of a house or office. If the tombs, then, do not present us with the whole of Theban life, they reflect its desirable side as the educated Egyptian saw it in pensive moments.

Mural decoration in Egypt

Does the hall of the tomb, then, preserve for us the pictures which covered the walls of the houses of Theban nobles? That would be hard to decide. The preponderance of outdoor scenes seems great, yet such pictures might well adorn the porches of country mansions or be a grateful memory in town houses. The tombs at El Amarna perhaps disclose to us the scenes that covered the walls of the palace in Akhtatón; for it seems as if the court artists transferred to the sepulchres episodes from the private and public life of the king which had been designed in the first instance for the palace or for some official building in the city. Certainly they would be much more in place there.

The scenes in the hall of the tomb mirror the panorama of life

Be that as it may, the Egyptian would certainly not have judged the decorations of his house inappropriate to the outer chamber of the tomb, though the household gods which he worshiped might be other than those whose favor was especially precious to the dead. For the deceased in his tomb was not so sundered from the world that pictures of life should be cold memories to him. Given this happy faith in the full revival of the dead, the scenes are quite appropriate, being con-

The scenes in the hall of the tomb mirror the panorama of life

densations in color of the musings and emotions which his friends concluded would naturally be aroused in the dead man by the sights and sounds of the world of men. His first impulse (they judged) would be to greet the light; accordingly, the entrance-ways, as if they were mirrors, reflect his figure passing in and out, and, as if they were recording phonographs, repeat his salutations to the god. His next impulse is to give thanks and offerings to heaven. Hence on each side of the outer doorway the figures offering to the sun, Hawk of the Two Horizons; to Amon, god of Thebes; to Hathor, lady of the West and of the tomb; to Anubis, god of burial; to Osiris, the lord of life through death. From the doorway on the hillside he looks out upon the open fields spread like a picture below him, the whole breadth of Egypt within his view. It is natural, then, that the picture should be upon his walls, half a perspective, half a thought, combining in one all the phases of the short season from seed-time to garnering. Between the foot of the hill-necropolis and the fields lie the reed-beds; the jackal and the gazelle, unmindful of his presence, steal past his door, at dawn returning from the night's foray, at sunset creeping down to assuage another day's thirst and hunger. Thus sporting instincts and memories of days in the desert naturally find a regular place upon the walls. In that clear atmosphere of Egypt, where sight and sound carry incredibly far, he sees dimly the stage of the drama of life—the vintage and the fruit gathering, the tending of cattle, the white-sailed ships that pass along the river. Sounds from the gleaming city in the distance or from the settlement of necropolis-workers near by raise a picture in his mind of busy artisans making for others what they once made for him—that burial furniture stored near his body in the burial vault. This is his wealth, the models in whose fashion he is dressed, the solid weapons with whose ghostly forms he defends himself against like enemies, books of whose meaning he becomes aware by a spirit-sense, the bed on whose shape he finds rest, the chariot in the double of which his *ka* chases game in the hidden world to which it has access.

They depict essential human needs

So, too, it might be the sight of figures climbing the hill to lay a little mat of offerings and a jar of water or of wine in the family tomb, and the smell of freshly baked loaves and pungent incense or the strong odor of flesh burning on the brazier which filled all his being with longing for sustenance and for the drawn-out satisfaction of appetite. For the *ka* was intensely human; those who painted its sensations on the tomb walls never imagined it otherwise. Next to this imperative craving was the prospect of the recurring festivals when the family would gather in festal mood in this hall of the dead, accept his hospitality, and yield to his pressing invitations to partake of the unstinted bounty with which they themselves had filled his house. Then all would be as of old. The jest would pass; the hired troupe make music and merriment; the women be bright with ornament and tired hair; the pet ape or cat or dog, good-humored after good fare, nestle close by the chair. Such might be the life of the *ka* even in the tomb. With this pleasant fancy the Egyptians put away sombre fears, painful facts, and philosophical reflections. It would, of course, have been fatal to make a happy faith like this too definite, or challenge thought by putting it too often into words. One can make few actual citations in support of it. The pictures are the proof, and now and again a written word bears witness that some such belief, vague, sub-conscious, unable to bear argument or thought, lay below what the multitude knew as ancient custom. For the scenes are not in the first or the second place biographical or magical; but just homelike, decorative, and fitting.

They also reflect the memories of the dead

It was natural also that they should suppose that the *ka* would revert in memory to the part he had played in the world which still moved below him in the old ways, the salient point of his career when a war, a visit of inspection by the king, his advancement to high office, or some closer connection with the court established his fortunes. Hence such pictures also form part of this gallery and assume a biographical nature, though they are considered rather as features of life than events, and are rarely dated. The Egyptian did not think his-

They also reflect the memories of the dead

torically, cause and sequence having little interest for him. His rank, his wealth, his wife, his children, were all in all to him; how and when marriage and birth, adventure and success came about left little impression on his mind. But if as priest, soldier, administrator, or judge, he had ever been brought into close contact with the king, this event bulked large in his memories and was given corresponding importance in his tomb, the more so as the figure of the king sitting under the splendid baldachin of state made an imposing decoration. Set on the back wall, often on both sides of its doorway, these pictures met the eye of every incomer and formed a gay pendant to the scenes of worship opposite them.

His self-esteem

The love of individuality, and of official rank and personal character as elements in it, have been noted already. It finds expression in the memorial stela which is often found at one or both ends of the outer chamber, carved in the rock or painted on plaster. The aim is not biography but characterization; partly of the man as he was or was supposed to be, partly of the typical official and the perfect courtier. It is a picture of the inner man which is to be added to the personal portraits that abound in every tomb, and is often, like them, redundant.[1]

His love of family

The strength with which love of family survived death is witnessed to by the family groups painted on nearly every wall and sometimes reproduced even by life-size statues. So intense is this feeling that in the pictures the man is not parted from his wife or children or from the family pets even when as sportsman he is on the point of striking down his prey. The long rows of relatives who partake of the feast bear witness that his affections were not confined. And truly if this happy creed was boldly held, delightful reunions could be pictured as, one by one, members of the family crossed the thin boundary that severed life from death, the metropolis from the necropolis. The thought comes at least once to expression in an early tomb where a son chose a place of burial in his father's grave in the

[1]There are five inscribed "false doors" and three biographical stelae in Tomb 39.

His love of family

hope "of seeing this Zau every day."[1] Nor is the meeting with those still living an empty ceremony. At a family gathering in the tomb the cup is handed to a guest with the words "For thy *ka* in the house of thy brother (the deceased); ye shall never check fraternal intercourse."[2]

DISPOSITION OF THE PICTURES

Distribution of the pictures in the typical tomb

It will be a convenience to the student of the subject to have the typical Theban tomb of the Eighteenth Dynasty placed before him with those pictorial subjects which have a more or less fixed position assigned to their proper places in it, as shown in Figure 4. The façade is rarely decorated in the Eighteenth Dynasty.[3] The doorways are generally framed with pious declarations set out in lines and columns, accompanied by figures of X (the deceased). On the lintel the worship of the gods of the dead is sometimes shown.

A Niche for small statue of X, or painted figures of X at meat or worshiping the gods of the dead.

B, C False-doors in tombs of the Middle Kingdom. Later, figures of the deities of the necropolis or of X.

A, B, C Sometimes full-size rock-cut statues of X and family.

D, E Consecration of food to the service of X. List of offerings. Funerary feast or celebration of festivals.

F, G Rites for the profit of X.

H, H′ Figures of X going out and in. Anubis or Amentet welcomes X (rare).

I Consecration of food to the use of X. List of offerings.

I′ Series of burial rites.

J The pilgrimage to Abydos.

K Consecration of food to the use of X. List of offerings.

K′ Rites of "opening the mouth," etc., or funerary feast, or sport in the marshes.

L Hunting scene; or rites, if K′ is occupied by a scene of sport.

M, M′ Figures of X going out and in.

N, O King sitting enthroned.

[1] Tomb of Zau (Davies, *Dêr el Gebrâwi*, II, p. 13).

[2] Davies-Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhēt*, p. 64.

[3] Tombs 39 and 131 have architectural ornamentation outside, probably under temple influences.

DISPOSITION OF THE PICTURES

P, Q Tribute brought to the king from home or foreign lands or some act of official life performed. Where this subject is lacking, X presides over a family banquet or receives the produce of the marsh lands (or of the grazing ground).

Q Hippopotamus hunt, or fishing, fowling, and vintage.

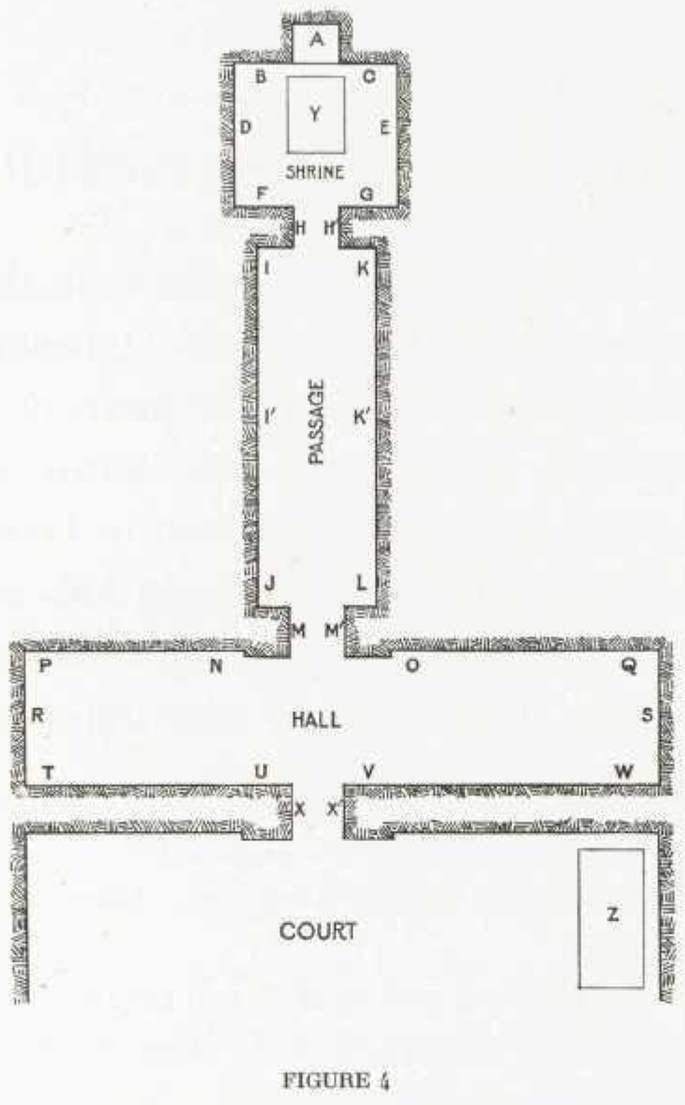


FIGURE 4

DIAGRAM OF A TYPICAL THEBAN TOMB

R, S Stelae. (Various subjects may replace these.)

T Family banquet, or agricultural scenes, presided over by X.

W Produce of craftsmen received by X. Craftsmen at work, or a banquet, or a reception of cattle or other offerings.

U, V Sacrifice performed by X.

X, X′ Figures of X adoring the light.

Y, Z Shafts giving access to burial vaults.

CHAPTER II

THE TOMB OF NAKHT

CHAPTER II

THE TOMB OF NAKHT[1]

THE SITE AND THE SEPULCHRE

The tomb not unfamiliar

These copies of the mural decorations of an Egyptian tomb are among the very few which will be familiar to a considerable number of readers. Every visitor to Thebes who has delivered himself into the hands of dragomans or donkey-boys has visited it almost perforce, and unless he has resented this compulsion, has been fascinated by its brilliant coloring and by the number of charming vignettes of daily life offered in the compass of one tiny chamber. The tourist, who generally comes to this tomb fresh from the stiff pantheon and grotesque Hades of the royal tombs, immediately recognizes these pictures as faithful, though quaint, reflections of groups which have caught his eye during his morning ride through the cultivated fields, and he feels intensely refreshed by their simple human appeal. It may be true that the popularity of the tomb has been due as much to its accessibility and good preservation as to its intrinsic merit. But by presenting the average mural art and the typical scenes of the period without any serious deterioration either in color or line, it deserves very careful

[1]No. 52 in the present numeration, formerly No. 125. Though Baedeker and other guide-books to Upper Egypt contain descriptive notices of the tomb, the only serious study of its contents up to now is M. (now Sir Gaston) Maspero's *Tombeau de Nakhti* in the *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, Tome V, pp. 469 to 485. M. Hippolyte Boussac has also given a brief account of the tomb with a plan and some illustrations in the *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects* for December 4, 1897, pp. 53–59. Tinted tracings of the scenes by the same artist are preserved in the Musée Guimet, Paris, and I am told a similar series exists in private hands on the Riviera. But as the paintings have lost little since these records were taken they have no great value for us.

The tomb not unfamiliar

publication and study. This tribute of respect seems to have been paid to it even in its own day, for many tomb-scenes in the necropolis appear to be inspired by it, and in some cases groups have been taken from it or its prototype with but slight alteration.

The discovery and the re-examination of the tomb

The tomb was unknown to the older copyists and its uninjured condition suggests that it had been recently found by the villagers when M. Grébaut cleared the site in 1889 and affixed a wooden door.[1] A railing to protect the paintings in the narrow chamber against chance injury was put up by Mr. Howard Carter in 1902. When the present writer commenced to copy the tomb for the Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum in 1908–9, he assumed too readily that the subterranean chamber which had served as the burial-vault (Figure 5) had been cleared by the officials of the *Service* and it was only in March, 1915, when it became plain that no plans of it could be obtained, that this task was taken in hand. The undertaking was unexpectedly rewarded on the first day by the discovery of a statuette of Nakht himself (Plate XXVIII) which had been flung down the shaft on its right side. Probably this occurred when the burial chamber was rifled at a date which, as we shall see, must be subsequent to the heretical movement at the close of the Eighteenth Dynasty; the last act of the robbers being to take the statuette from its place in the niche close by and to fling it on the top of the rubbish in the half-filled shaft, either from a spirit of pure malice or in order to leave the upper chambers free for re-use as a place of burial.[2] Except for injuries to the left elbow and knee caused by the fall, the statuette was practically unhurt and its brick-red flesh color and the black of the hair could scarcely have been much brighter or more complete at the first, though

A statuette of Nakht

[1] No record of this action of the *Service des Antiquités* has been made public, but M. Daressy, who was working at Thebes at the time, believes that nothing was found during the clearance except some funerary cones and some late jars with Aramean inscriptions which lay in the courtyard. These were placed in the Cairo Collection. The wooden door has been replaced by an iron one at the cost of the Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum.

[2] Since writing this and the note, p. 39, doubts have been expressed to me whether a kneeling figure of this type would be set in the upper room at all. This statuette was assigned to the Metropolitan Museum in the division of objects found during the winter 1914–1915, but was lost on the "Arabic" when that steamship was sunk by a submarine off the Irish coast in the summer of 1915.

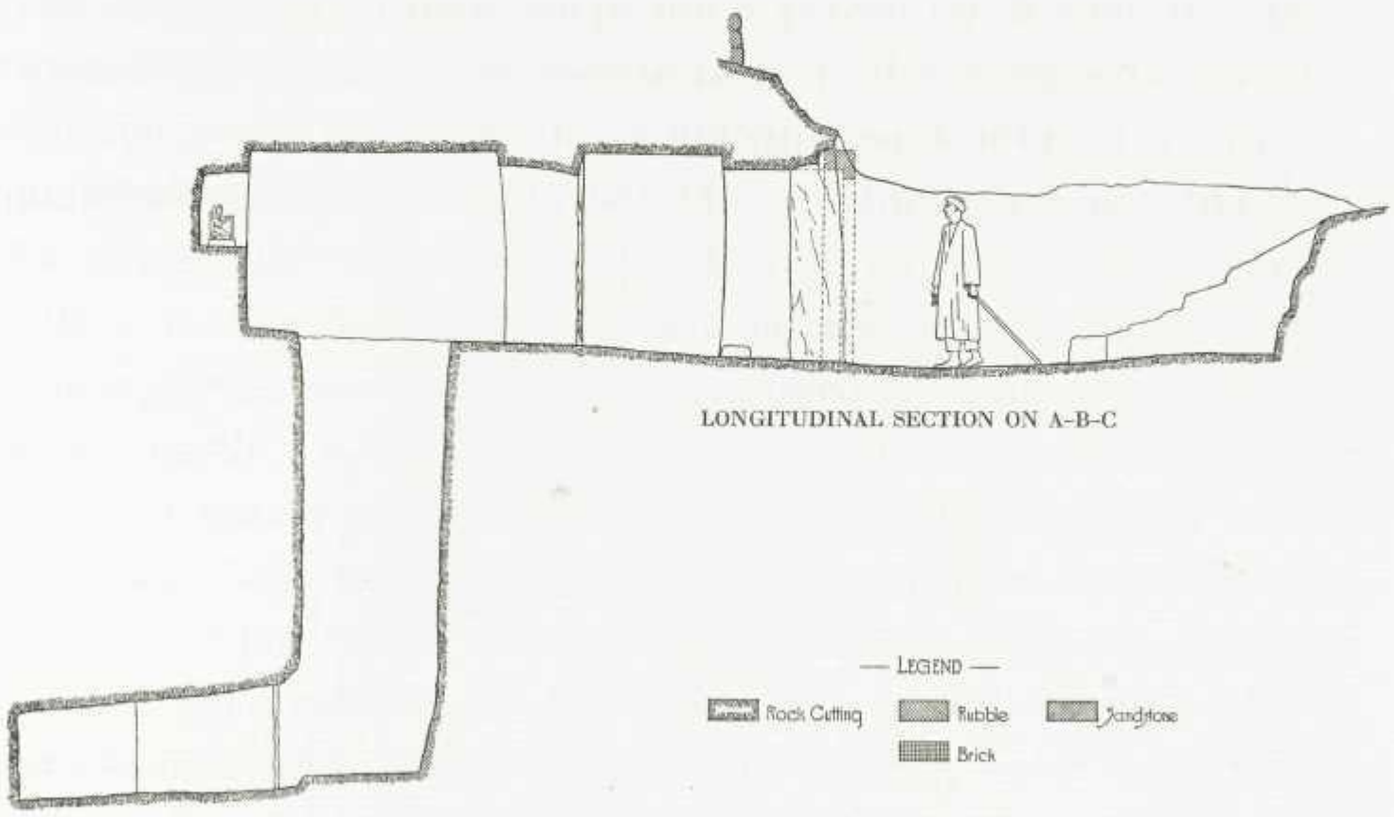


FIGURE 5

PLAN AND SECTION OF THE TOMB OF NAKHT

A statuette of Nakht

they came away only too easily at the slightest handling. Its workmanship, though not of the very finest, is excellent and resembles the mural decoration of the tomb in being thoroughly typical of good work of the period both in form and execution. It is of fine white limestone and measures 40 cm. in height. The attitude is that of a kneeling figure

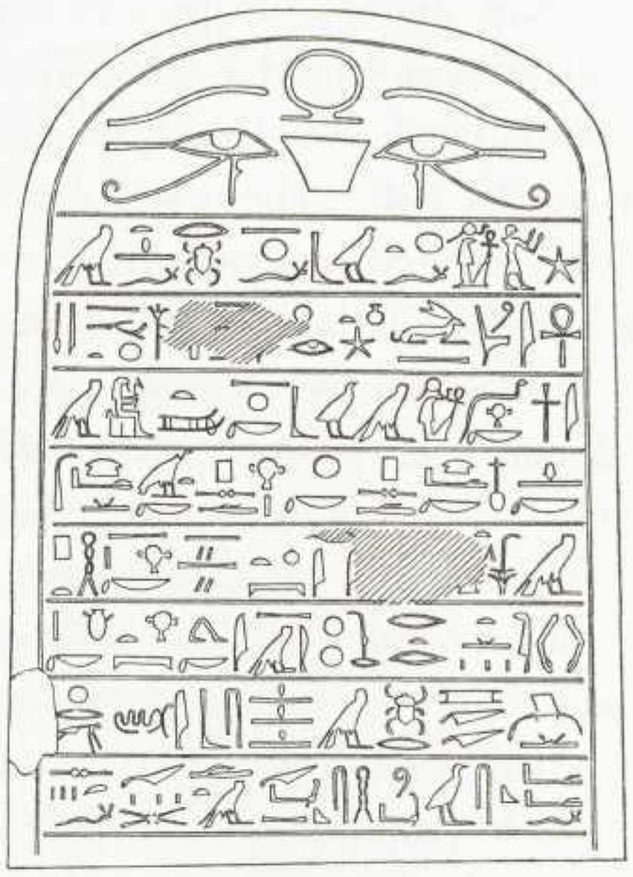


FIGURE 6
ADDRESS TO THE SUN-GOD ON THE STELA OF NAKHT'S STATUETTE

in the simple garb of an Egyptian citizen, presenting an upright stela-shaped slab on which the following address to the Sun-god (Figure 6) is cut in yellow incised hieroglyphs:[1] "An adoration of Rê, (from) the time that he rises until he sets alive, on the part of the serving-priest [of Amon], the scribe Nakht, *maâkheru*[2]—Hail to thee who art Rê when thou risest and Atum when thou settest in beauty! Thou comest forth

[1]The phrases used in this invocation will be found in the hymns to Rê with which many copies of the "Book of the Dead" open. So in the papyri of Hunefer and of the soldier Nakht (Budge, *Book of the Dead, Text*, Ed. 1898, pp. 8–12).

[2]This incessantly recurring word is used like the German term *selig* to designate the absolved and happy dead, though it can be applied also to those approved by the gods in life.

A statuette of Nakht

and art bright (*psd*) on the back (*psd*) of thy mother.[1] Thou comest forth as King [of the gods].[2] Nut meets thee with welcome, Maât embraces (thee) on both occasions.[3] Thou traversest heaven and thy heart is glad; for the region of Deswi[4] is reduced to peace, the reptile enemy is felled, his hands are bound and knives have severed his vertebrae."[5]

The burial-place and its furniture

The place of burial was found to lie as usual on the west side of the shaft, four and a half meters down. It consisted of two intersecting chambers rough in shape and extremely low. Little of value was found in the debris, such woodwork as had not been removed being much affected by dry-rot. There was every indication that the furniture had been very limited and of mediocre quality; but, though the evidence for it is scanty, all the remains appear to be those of the original interments. The sparse relics included:

1. A face from a man's anthropomorphic coffin in hard red wood, the wig painted black with yellow stripes, the eyebrows and eyes having been inlaid (with colored glass probably). Also pieces of the curved head-end painted a dull black with broad horizontal yellow bars—a common type.

2. A face from a woman's coffin of a similar type in common wood, colored white with painted eyes (black) and eyebrows (blue). Also the foot-end and a broken side-plank of a coffin of the same sort.

3. A similar face painted yellow, with eyes and eyebrows as above.

4. Pieces of a coffin smeared with black pitch with decoration in

[1] Nut, the sky goddess, according to cosmogonical legends, was the daughter of Rê and in her father's old age supported him on her back. But she was also the primeval mother who gave birth to the stars, and Rê is shown in picture and description as traveling, like them, along the under-surface of her bowed body and is therefore naturally thought of as born of her. The two opposing fancies seem to be combined here.

[2] This obvious restoration is verified by the hymn to Hunefer. The erasures show that the statue was still in its place forty or fifty years later when the emissaries of Akhnatón mutilated the monuments.

[3] The divine family welcomes its head when he leaves at morn and when he re-enters the home at evening. Maât, daughter of Rê, may often be seen behind the Sun-god with her hands resting upon him.

[4] A locality in the celestial world through which Rê passes.

[5] The occurrence of an address to the sun on this statuette suggests that it was placed facing the light of day and renders it probable that it was set in the niche on the back wall. It thus takes the place of those figures of the dead which greet the sun in the doorways of most of the Theban tombs, but which are lacking in that of Nakht.

The burial-place and its furniture

light yellow. A goddess stands on the *nub* sign at the end. A legend ran down a longitudinal column on the lid and dedications to the gods of burial down transverse bands. The name is illegible. These three (?) coffins may be attributed to Nakht, his wife, and one or more of his children or relatives.

5. Part of the stem of an octagonal head-rest, of rather rough work. The fitting had been cleverly done by the use of forked pins cut from twigs. Such a peg, on being driven in where two diverging holes ran into one, spread out and held the two pieces firmly together (Figure 7).

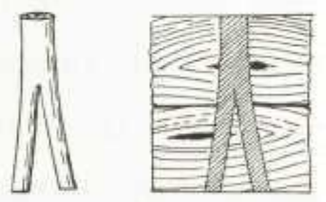


FIGURE 7
FASTENING WITH FORKED PIN FROM A HEAD-REST

6. Two pieces of a light walking-stick (probably placed originally in the coffin with the body).

7. Two of the four legs and the connecting bar of a small table or stand of hard unpainted wood. The legs were 25 mm. square in section and curved slightly outward. The table (?) was 48 cm. long and stood a little less than 30 cm. high.

8. Three of the four legs and a piece of the seat-frame of a low wooden chair painted black, 24 cm. high in front. The back legs are lower, so as to give a comfortable slope to the seat (Plate XXIX, 14, 15).

9. A similar set, painted white. Two sides of the frame are pierced with eighteen holes to take the string or thongs of the seat, which was about 60 cm. square and raised 26 cm. from the ground in front (Plate XXIX, 8, 9, 12, 13).

10. Three legs of a rougher and somewhat higher chair, painted black (Plate XXIX, 10, 11).

11. The top rail of a chair-back hollowed out to the form of the seated person and having five tenon holes to take flat uprights, a broad one in the center and two on each side. It is 37.5 cm. long, and, being black, perhaps belongs to No. 8 (Plate XXIX, 7). These three chairs probably went with the three coffins, one to each. The legs were carved, as usual, to represent the two fore legs and the two

The burial-place and its furniture

hind legs of a lion and each pair was joined half-way down by a side bar.[1]

12. A wooden bracket to strengthen a joint of a table or of the chair-back No. 11.

13. The broken sides and lid of a wooden box 40 cm. long, painted in black and white panels (Plate XXIX, 5).

14. Parts of sides, ends, and cover of one or two boxes about 35 cm. by 19 cm., painted with black bands on white and a central panel in red, the cover being slightly arched (Plate XXIX, 4, 6). Similar boxes are shown in almost every picture of burial equipment and were probably intended to hold *ushabti* figures.[2] It is interesting both in this and in other cases to be able to take in the hand and measure the actual objects pictured on the walls.

15. A slim jar (broken) of pale yellow pottery painted with four rows of blue petals between compound red lines. It stood about 30 cm. high, the actual fragment being 28 cm. long and 8.25 cm. broad at the mouth (Plate XXIX, 2).[3] This type of jar is frequently represented in Eighteenth Dynasty tombs, but is generally given a more bulbous shape and larger dimensions. Being used as a water-jar its mouth is closed with grass and its neck entwined with foliage to keep the contents cool. Hence it is appropriately decorated with painted garlands and sprays.[4]

16. Two coarse red jars, 12 and 19 cm. high, with ribbed neck and with dark red bands painted in the hollows and on the shoulder (Plate XXIX, 1). This shape of jar, which is known in pre-dynastic times and is common in the Middle Kingdom, thus re-appears in the second half of the Eighteenth Dynasty.[5]

[1] For the hollowed back see Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, I, Fig. 180. For details of the Egyptian chair, see Spiegelberg and Newberry, *Theban Necropolis*, Pls. V, VI.

[2] Cf. Scheil, *Tombeau des Graveurs*, Pls. II and VI.

[3] For a similar jar, assigned to the same period, see Petrie, *Rifeh*, Pl. XXVII k, No. 357.

[4] Cf. Pls. XV (top register) and XXI. Also Scheil, *Tombeau des Graveurs*, Pl. VIII.

[5] Cf. Rosellini, *Mon. Civili*, Pl. LIII, No. 19; Petrie, *Qurneh*, Pl. XL, No. 647. It is not *pictured*, however, till later. It is shown in a curious form in a tomb of Early Ramesside date (*Ibid.*, Pl. XXXVIII), and, more accurately, as a water-jar in the Tomb of Thotemhab (No. 45).

The burial-place and its furniture

17. A red pottery pitcher with handle, decorated with a double black line at the junction of the neck and shoulder. Similar double lines run from this to the foot, with black spots between the lines (Plate XXIX, 3).[1]

FIGURE 8
FUNERARY CONE OF NAKHT
SCALE 1:2

18. Three funerary cones inscribed with the name and titles of Nakht and his wife. The adjacent drawing is from a perfect example in my possession (Figure 8). Another in the Cairo Museum, along with a wedge-shaped brick of burnt clay (Figure 9) stamped on three sides with the same impress, is probably derived from M. Grébaut's clearance of the tomb.[2]

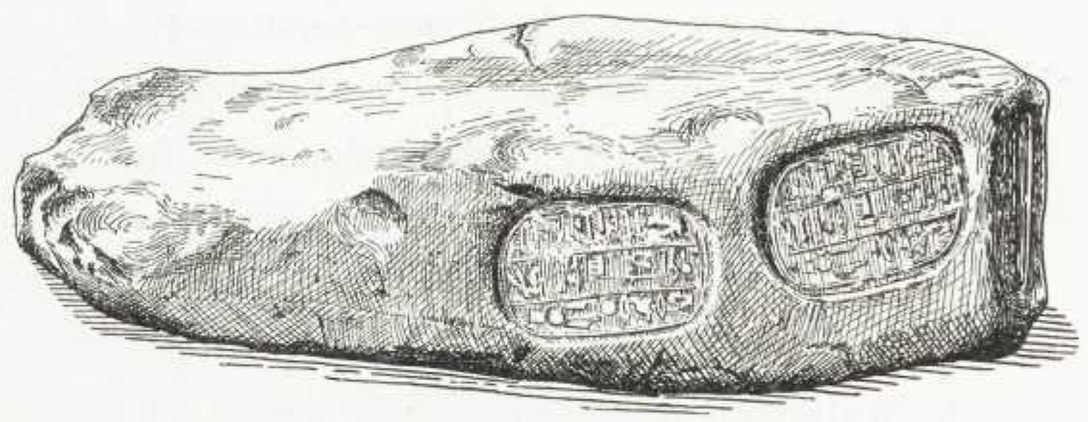


FIGURE 9
WEDGE-SHAPED BRICK OF NAKHT. SCALE 1:2

19. A tiny hard-wood stick for applying kohl to the eyes.

20. A wooden hair-pin.

The tomb of Nakht also contains, but perhaps fortuitously, a pedestal like an elongated pot-stand, carrying a round slab on top.[3] It is hollow and roughly made of unbaked mud mixed with straw. This is, in rude form, the blue pedestal of the round alabaster slab which

[1] Cf. Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, p. 6; Petrie, *Qurneh*, Pl. XL, No. 657; Rosellini, *Mon. Civili*, Pl. LV, Nos. 62, 63.

[2] Daressy, *Cones Funéraires*, No. 271.

[3] I found it in the inner room among stones derived from an excavation of a later tomb, No. 23.

in pictures we see piled up with food in front of the deceased. In a more squat form and cut entirely out of alabaster this pedestal-table was known in the early dynasties.[1]

The burial-place and its furniture

The site which Nakht chose lay on the lowest eastern slopes of the hill of Sheikh Abd el Ḳurneh, toward the foot of the rocky spur which juts out from below Wilkinson's ruined dwelling. Accumulations of house rubbish have now left it in a deep pit (Plate V), but in reality it is excavated in a gently sloping hillside, so that only a small amount of the shaly stone had to be removed in order to gain the three meters or so of rock-face needed for the façade of the little tomb and for a narrow court before the door. The entrance faces almost due south-east. The excavation itself is of the most modest proportions, and does not testify to any skill or care on the part of the quarrymen. Our excavations brought to light the lower half of a left-hand door-post of sandstone which has been replaced on the plan (Figure 5) in its probable position. It contained two burial blessings incised in as many columns; and, judging from the concluding words which are left to us, one formula was identical with that attributed to Harakhti in the same position on the stela (see page 48).

Site and description of the tomb

Passing through a doorway in which a tall man has to stoop, we enter first the decorated chamber, an oblong room only a little higher and measuring barely five meters by one and a half (Plates VI and VII). It is violently askew, the walls are neither vertical nor plane, the ceiling dips and curves, and the entrance to the inner room is merely a rough opening faced with plaster. This latter chamber is a little more regular in shape, but its plastered and whitened walls are devoid of all ornamentation. A little niche in the back wall perhaps once contained the kneeling statue already described. As has been noted, provision for burial was made by rooms at the bottom of an oblong shaft which occupies most of the floor space of this inner chamber.

The ceiling of the decorated chamber is brightly colored in the

The ceiling

[1] This example is 59 cm. high and in diameter is 28 cm. across the top (34 cm. across the slab), 19 cm. just below it, 20 cm. in the middle, 17.5 cm. above the sloping foot and 27 cm. at the base.

The ceiling

way that is usual and with patterns that are more common in the necropolis than any others (Figure 10 and Plate XXVII). The yellow bands that represent the roof beams are roughly laid on and carry no inscription. The short beams follow the axis of the tomb and are therefore askew to the rest, but they are not even parallel to one another. The pattern between them is formed of colored zigzags. The two panels marked A are filled in the same way, but on the north side the black cross has lost almost all its color owing to some accident in the mixing or application of the paint. The pattern D is similar, save that yellow and white have changed places, as have also red and black within the lozenges. The carelessness of the execution is shown by the omission of the border line to the beams in the north bay. The patterns here, as always, have been built up on a network of squares.[1]

ITS OWNER

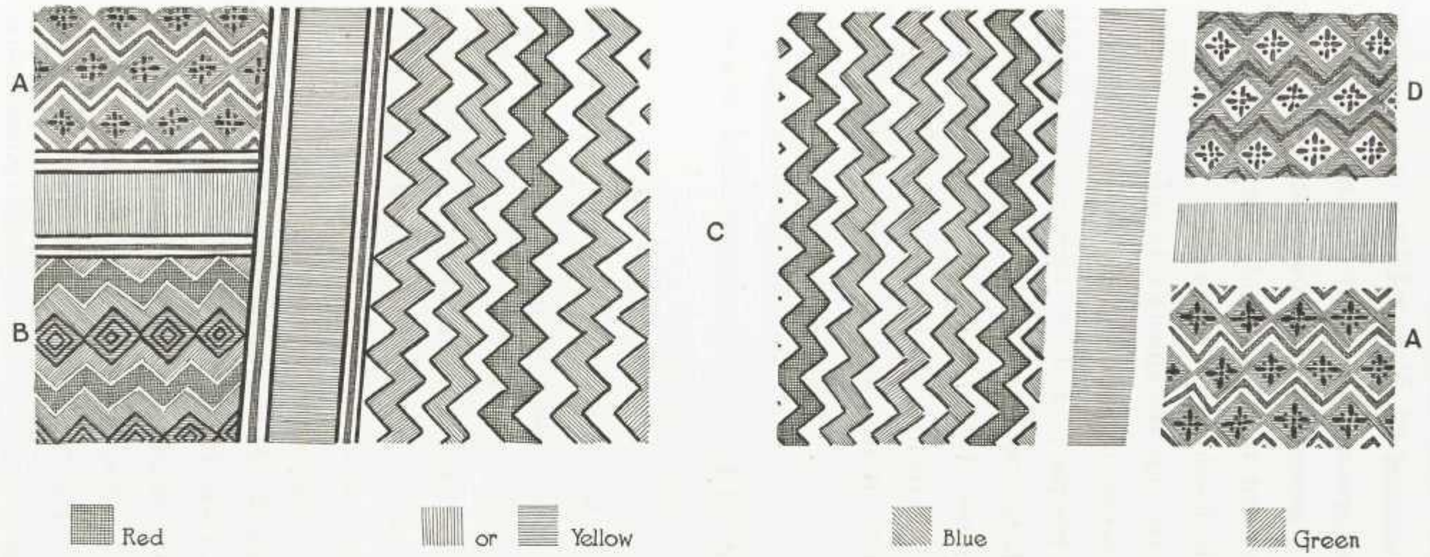
(SOUTH WALL—PLATES VIII, IX, AND X)[2]

A theory that the tomb was not designed for Nakht

M. Maspero was of opinion that we have here an example of one of a number of tombs which were excavated and painted with scenes as a matter of speculation by men who undertook such things and disposed of them ready-made to customers, the blank spaces being then filled in with the designation of the purchaser and his family and such prayers as might be desired. The stereotyped nature of the scenes, the absence of personal and domestic notices, and the unfilled columns on the north wall give some support to this supposition. But these deficiencies occur in a very large proportion of tombs. Such a contractor would surely have provided at least a completely finished tomb or have sold it under contract to complete it. He would also have given first attention to the stereotyped pictures which would fit

[1] The two samples on Plate XXVII have been selected to show the juxtaposition of patterns, though this involved in one case the substitution of a better-preserved portion of the ceiling.

[2] For descriptive purposes the axis of the tomb is assumed to be due east and west, the actual deviation being ignored.



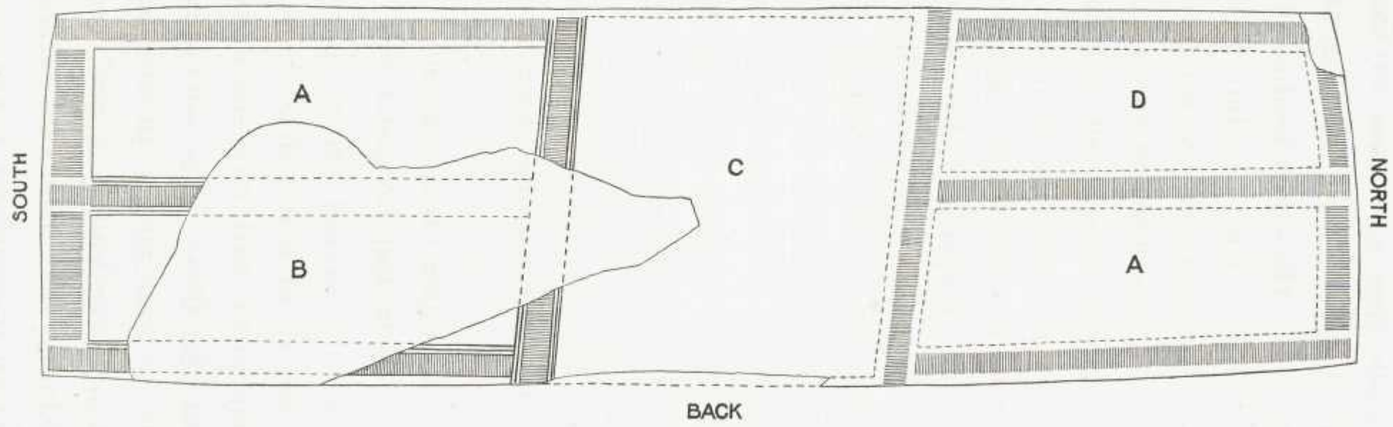


FIGURE 10

PLAN OF CEILING OF DECORATED CHAMBER, SHOWING ARRANGEMENT OF PATTERNS
SCALE OF PLAN, 1:20. SCALE OF DETAILS, 3:20

A theory that the tomb was not designed for Nakht

any customer, the burial ritual of the inner room, the presentation of gifts, the figures praying in the entrances. But when we come to examine the tomb, we shall find that it is just these scenes that are absent or hastily executed; because, being commonplace and without interest for the artist, they were neglected by him. Had the upper part of the banqueting scene been preserved, it would very likely have made us acquainted with the names of Nakht's family; and the introduction of the pet cat and goose is more likely to reflect a domestic fact than a contractor's whim. The scenes are no doubt such as were common to the life of most middle-class Egyptians. But, then, it was probably Nakht's good fortune to be just a commonplace Egyptian with a comfortable estate, a moderate education, and light official duties. So that the very *banalité* of the scenes is itself in part personal and we may be content to feel that they are putting us in touch with the memories and hopes of an ordinary Egyptian gentleman and not with the speculative instincts of a shrewd tradesman.

The stela the natural source of biographical information

It is convenient that the question who Nakht was should be settled by going to the burial stela which, like a hatchment over the entrance to the dwelling of the deceased, may inform us of his name and style.

The stela described

This mock stela does not occupy the whole wall, but is set in the middle of it and surrounded with representations of men who lay gifts before it. At the same time, the reassuring suggestion is conveyed that the dead is not dependent for sustenance entirely on such acts of human piety, but receives daily bread from a divine source as well, for at the foot of the stela (conceived of, that is, as lying in front of it) is a great pile of offerings decoratively arranged upon a mat. This is the gift of Nut, that goddess who, the pious Egyptian believed, would emerge from the sycamore tree when the soul halted in its shade on the journey toward the abode of the dead, and would give it an earnest of future well-being in refreshing food and drink. Nut, who is generally shown dryad-like within the tree, has her personality

made clear here by an emblematic sycamore upon her head.[1] She holds in her hand a simple repast of bread and onions, beer and grapes, and that triple stem of papyrus which is as much a symbol of verdure and prosperity as a floral decoration. The whole forms a colored composition of considerable beauty.

The stela described

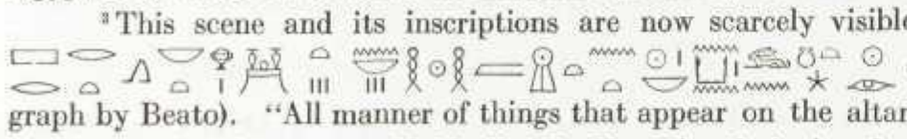
Of the side panels, where gifts are tendered, the topmost show the presentation of rations like those just noticed and of a jug of beer, and are labeled respectively "Giving to the scribe Nakht the offerings of a god," and "Presenting beer to the scribe Nakht." The figures in the middle row bring cups, "The gift of a cup of water to the spirit (*ka*) of the Osiris, the serving-priest [of Amon], the scribe Nakht, *maâkheru;* thou art pure (as) Horus is pure," and "The gift of a cup of wine to the Osiris, the serving-priest of Amon, the scribe Nakht. Thou art pure as Set is pure."[2] The donors in the lowest row present an unguent, powders, and cloth. "Giving the scribe Nakht, *maâkheru*, cosmetic and green and black powders," and "Giving cloth to the Osiris, the scribe Nakht."

The side panels

The stela is painted to represent rose-granite and the hieroglyphs are in the green color which would be used on that stone. It is of the usual shape with a double outer and inner framing and a panel above the doorway representing Nakht and his wife sitting at table.[3] Over the entrance is a device which is commonly seen at the summit of stelae, accompanied frequently by figures of the dog Anubis. Here it consists of the watchful eyes of the sun-god with appropriate symbolic signs between them.[4]

[1] This device is made use of also in the neighboring tomb of Woserhtê (No. 51).

[2] Horus and Set (or, better, Setekh) were still, to tradition, the two deities who shared the supremacy of Egypt or to whose rival claims the suppliant prudently assumed an impartial attitude.

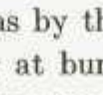
[3] This scene and its inscriptions are now scarcely visible. When first discovered they were read  etc. (Maspero, p. 472, and an early photograph by Beato). "All manner of things that appear on the altars of the Lords of Eternity as daily dues (be) for the *ka* of.....Nakht." The Egyptian desired to fare in death as Osiris himself, even to the lavish variety of the daily offerings, which seem to have been actually carried from the altars of the gods to those of their dead followers.

[4] This recurring group comprises (1) The *Shen* sign, which typifies the endless circuit of the sun and may stand here for the winged disk itself. (2) The bowl, which is a New Kingdom addition. (3) The water,

The inscriptions on the stela

The inscriptions, which start both ways from the center of the lintels, read (outside on the right hand), "A gracious burial grant[1] of Osiris Onnofer, the great god, lord of Abydos! He grants entrance and exit in the necropolis and that the soul (*ba*) is not repelled from its desire. For the *ka* of the serving-priest of Amon, the scribe Nakht, *maâkheru*," and (left hand), "A gracious burial-grant of Harakhti! He grants a sight of his beauty daily and a walk abroad to see the sun just as when on earth. For the *ka* of (etc.)." Inside these texts are other claims or requests; (on the right), "A gracious burial-grant of Amon, head of the sacred (places), the great god, chieftain of Thebes! He grants a passage across to Karnak, to provide food every day.[2] For the *ka* of (etc.)," and (on the left), "A gracious burial-grant of Anubis, warden of the shrine of the god! He grants glory in heaven with Rê, weal on earth with Geb, and victory in the western land with Onnofer. For the *ka* of the serving-priest Nakht." The inscriptions on the shorter jambs describe Nakht as approved

which is only sometimes added to the bowl and can precede or follow it. I regard these two as representing the homage paid to the adumbrated deity, either by the cup of incense and water of libation or by offerings of food and drink indicated by these two ideograms. Similar bowls of incense are offered to the device on stelae of the Middle Kingdom. (Cf. Jéquier, *Bulletin de l'Institut Français*, XI, p. 137; Boeser, *Beschreibung der Sammlung in Leiden*, II, Pls. XV, XXV; Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, Pl. III.)

[1] Literally "a boon which the king grants." Originally this seems to have referred to the divine sanction and blessing at burial which was conveyed through the mediation of the king and sometimes (perhaps, in earlier times, generally or universally) substantiated by actual gifts and offerings on his part. After Old Kingdom times the association of a god or gods with the king ("a boon which the king grants and which the god grants") in this supreme sanction is invariable instead of being merely customary, and the phrase becomes so contracted to an indefinite conception that the verb "(the god) gives" is added though it is already contained in the formula. It is, I think, clear that the phrase *holep di nisut* (formerly read *suten di holep*) has by this time become a single word (in contracted form *hlpdns*) expressing the solemn ecclesiastical blessing at burial. When he placed this revered symbol  on the doorways and ceilings of his tomb and even upon his burial furniture, the owner of the tomb laid claim to have received the blessing of the gods, to each one of whom he refers some special manifestation of the divine beneficence. Dr. Alan Gardiner has recently earned general gratitude by discussing this difficult formula at length in an excursus (Davies-Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhēt*, pp. 79–93). His conclusions lead him to translate such an example as we have above "An offering which the king gives to Osiris . . . that he may grant . . . ," but I do not find his reasons convincing, since they involve too great a departure from the ancient use. His grammatical explanation of the phrase *holep di nisut*, however, seems thoroughly sound. His most instructive inquiry into the different meaning which the formula acquires when used in connection with the ritual of offerings does not concern us directly here.

[2] The great temples (other than the royal mortuary temples) were on the eastern bank. The desired provision therefore is against a break-down in the means of communication by which a supply of offerings sanctified by association with the god could be brought to the necropolis.

before the four genii of burial, Ḳebeḥsenuf, Imset, [Ḥapi and Dwamutef].

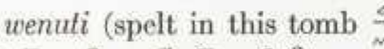
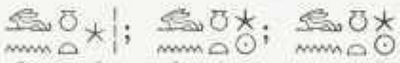
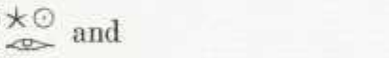
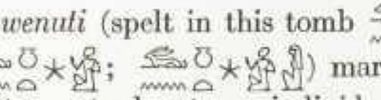
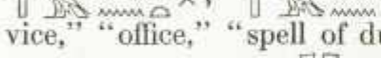
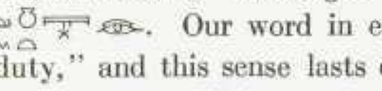
The inscriptions on the stela

The scanty information that we gain about Nakht from this monument is not supplemented elsewhere save that we learn that his wife Tawi was a chantress of Amon, like all ladies of any pretense to rank, and that his son was called Amenemapt. The title "scribe" simply means that he had had the education of an official, while that of *wenuti* is so rarely employed that it points to a quite secondary function.[1] The tomb, despite its small size, can hardly be that of a poor man or an altogether inferior functionary. We rarely meet in ancient Egypt with well-to-do persons who were not also officials of some sort; yet we can hardly doubt that there must have been many who lived on their lands withdrawn from any burdensome official duties. It is perhaps amongst these that Nakht is to be ranked.

Nakht's office

As to the period in which he lived, the erasure of the name of Amon shows that it was at least previous to the movement under Akhnatón. The tomb scenes which it contains come from a source which is common also to other tombs, one of which (No. 57) is dated

Date of the tomb

[1] The title *wenuti* (spelt in this tomb  ;  ;  ;  ;  and elsewhere also  ; ) marks a class of priest or temple official whose duties and rank are not very clear. Its use to denote an individual, as here, is very rare. By the courtesy of the authorities in Berlin I have been allowed to look through the references in the files of the *Wörterbuch* and may sum up the results briefly. The suggested translation "astrologer," "astronomer," is to be reserved for a different term  ;  . Our word in earlier times has the more general meaning of "service," "office," "spell of duty," and this sense lasts on to latest times. Nor is this service restricted to temple duties: hence  is a frequent addition to the title. The word clearly refers to members of a rota whose period of service was fixed to certain hours of the day or night and whose duties were so general that the presence of the officials in rotation was the most salient feature of their office. This rota of ministrants was so large that owing to their number the word is sometimes used as a general expression for the priesthood, although their duties seem to have been largely non-priestly or even menial. It seems that the temple staff could be described as consisting of the *wenutiu*, the bailiffs, the *wêb*-priests, the lectors, and the higher officiants (cf. Naville, *Eleventh Dynasty Temple*, Pl. XXIV). They are spoken of as cleansing the temple and one of their duties was to bring consecrated flowers from the temple to those privileged to receive them. Yet they had access to the king. The impression is given that they were laymen who were summoned to perform short spells of service in the temple and counted it an honor to fulfil the simplest duties there, much like the voluntary rota of members which in some modern churches provides custodians for the sacred building between hours of service. This would explain why few officials assumed the title save those who, like Nakht, had no more definite office in the bureaucracy. I would therefore translate the word by "serving-priest" or "lay priest." The determinative  which is at times used in this tomb, but very rarely elsewhere, seems to have been taken over from the compound word meaning "astronomer."

Date of the tomb

to the reign of Amenhotep III, and another (No. 38) probably late in the reign of Thothmes IV. The dress of the women in the tomb is peculiar, the artist having adopted a hesitating mean between the prim and clinging style of the early reigns of the dynasty and the ample skirts which are seen under Amenhotep III. In the case of the large figures of Tawi on either side of the door (Plates XI and XII) the wider robe has been roughly daubed on, as if making a grudging concession to new fashion. Similarly with the upper part of the robe. The low-cut dress supported by shoulder-straps had apparently at this time been supplemented by an outer robe hanging from the shoulders. Yet the artist seems to hesitate and in figures facing to the left passes the dress over one shoulder only, leaving the breast bare. These same signs of transition are visible and even accentuated in Tomb 43 of the time of Amenhotep II. We shall not, then, be far wrong if we assign the tomb to the end of the reign of Amenhotep II or to the early years of Thothmes IV (about 1425 B. C.).

THE PIETY OF NAKHT

(EAST WALL—PLATES XI, XII, AND XVIII)

Scene of sun-worship

One of the most common aspirations of the ancient Egyptian in contemplation of death and sojourn in the tomb being for permission to issue forth and behold the beauty of the sun, it became a custom to depict the deceased on both sides of the doorway, facing outward and adoring a god who is not represented, because his visible form is in fact the sunlight that streams in.

Its character

This is the meaning of the scene on Plate XII, where Nakht pours oil of incense from a great jar upon a pile of offerings of all kinds heaped upon a mat. An ox also has been sacrificed to the god. His wife Tawi accompanies him, carrying the *menat* and sistrum, instruments which, because especially sacred to Hathor, were appropriate to female worshipers, and as symbols of gladness had a peculiar power of

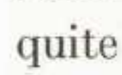
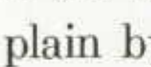
conveying the divine blessing.[1] The scene is labeled, "The serving-priest [of Amon, Nakht, *maâkheru*], and his sister, the chant[ress of Amon, Tawi, *maât*]*kheru*, placing balsam and incense on the flame [to Amon, to Rê-Harakhti, to Osiris the great] god, to Hathor, queen of Thebes, and to Anubis on his hill."[2] It forms a good illustration of the complete fusion of hopes for the dead with thoughts of the living; for an elaborate sacrifice like this which calls for the services of a dozen attendants is scarcely consonant with the state of the dead in the tomb. The intention, however reckless of logic, is made quite plain by inscriptions over corresponding scenes "Offering to the gods daily in the same way as when on earth."[3]

Its character

The representation on the south side of the door (Plates XI and

Parallel scene opposite it

[1] The *menat*, or necklace and counterpoise, is commonly inscribed with the name of the reigning king. Here, as often, the name is supposed to be concealed by the hand. The *menat* consisted of a metal or glaze plaque to which two short strings of beads were attached, the other ends of the latter being united by a mass of smaller beads arranged in strings. The Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum found two complete examples in an XVIIIth dyn. house near the palace of Amenhotep III (*Bulletin of Metropolitan Museum*, October, 1912). One is in Cairo (*Livre d' Entrée*, No. 43158), and the other in New York (Accession No. 11.215.450). When the *menat* was worn as a necklace, the plaque lay on the back and served as a counterpoise to the heavy mass of beads on the breast. For the ritual use of the *menat* and sistrum see Gardiner, *Recueil de Travaux*, XXIV, p. 72.

[2] The erasures are due to the occurrence of the name of Amon and only apply to the three signs composing it, but by accident the injury is more widespread. The names of the other gods are generally left untouched because as gods of burial they were too much enshrined in the affections of the people to be lightly contemned. The gods named are those regularly addressed in this connection. Tomb 86 has the same list but adds Atum to the solar gods. Tomb 45 names Amon, Osiris, Hathor. Tomb 38 adds Rê-Harakhti to Amon. Tomb 181 enumerates Amon-Harakhti, Osiris, Anubis, Hathor, and a crowd of lesser divinities connected with the future life. For the emendation  (*ḥr śḏt*) cf. the parallel in Tomb 181 (*Mém. Miss. Française*, V, p. 562), and for the inapplicability of the phrase see below.  is more generally written  , .

[3] Tomb of Menkheperrasonb, No. 86. On the wall of the tomb of Nakht, described above, one may notice what is frequently to be seen elsewhere, that the Egyptian artist rebelled against the vain repetitions of figures of the deceased and his wife, piles of offerings, and servants who bring them. When engaged on this wall his patience faltered half-way through his task. Having completed the face and the upper part of the figure of Tawi, he threw in the rest of it hurriedly and then proceeded to execute as rapidly as possible what remained of the scene. It cannot be called an unfinished picture; no amount of added work could have brought it up to standard. Though executed in the way in which an artist would lay in his work, it was meant to be and to remain a dashed-off sketch sufficiently good for the purpose. Though extremely rough, it shows in places the trained touch. The bunch of birds, for instance, is put in with a careless freedom which long practice alone could have assured to so reckless a mood. The omission of the outline of the white objects renders them so nearly invisible that it will be well to enumerate the gifts which the servants are bringing.

Top row. (1) A bunch of lotus flowers. Hanging from it three fish (?). (2) A table of fruit with lotus suspended from it. (3) A table of loaves with hanging lotus. A calf with a lotus attached to its neck.

Middle Row. (1) A bowl of grapes. Bunches of grapes. (2) A shoulder of beef. (3) A gazelle. (4) Papyrus, lotus, and a bird.

Parallel scene opposite it

XVIII) is almost the counterpart of that just seen, as is also the inscription above it, "The serving-priest of [Amon], the scribe [Nakht, *maâkheru*], (and) his heartily loved sister, the chantress of [Amon, Tawi], *maâtkheru*, offer all things good and pure, bread, beer, flesh of beast and bird, fat cattle and *wendu* cattle, thrown (?) on the braziers for [Amon, for Rê-]Harakhti, for Osiris the great god, for Hathor, queen of the desert-edge, (and for) Anubis on his hill."[1]

The picture merely shows those slight differences within a general similarity which often testify to the keen decorative sense of the ancient Egyptian. Here Nakht is beardless and a servant is offering to him in a dish two white cones of fat which are to be lighted or from which the flame is to be fed.[2] The sacrificial ox, too, instead of

Lowest row. (1) A bouquet of lotus with a spray of vine. A bowl of grapes and some birds. (2) A table of grapes and a spray of vine. (3) An oryx (?).

White is used by the artist not only for white objects but as a foundation for other colors, especially for red and yellow where purity of tone is required. The tomb of Neferronpet, No. 43 (reign of Amenhotep II), shows the same slovenliness and impatience. The network of painted red lines near the foot of Nakht forms part of the initial squaring-up of the wall which enabled the artist to put in his large figures in unerring proportions. It was later hidden under the white of the background, but this much has been retained in the plate to indicate the method of draughting the figure.

[1] The quick irritableness of the artist comes to view again here. The inscription being a repetition of what he has just copied with care on the northern wall, he will not do the like again, but throws the hieroglyphs in with the least possible trouble, sometimes omitting even essential features. The inscription does not fit the scene, but belongs to a picture in which the offerings are arranged on the long-stemmed hand-brazier or on the square altar of burnt offerings (cf. Scheil, *Tombeau des Graveurs*, Pl. V). The burning of fragrant and resinous oil, poured over the offerings or set on top of them in dishes and then kindled, seems to have been an alternative form of burnt offerings, a very commendable one from an aesthetic point of view. By this means the savor went up to the gods without complete combustion of the food. So in Tomb 130 we hear of the reception by the dead of offerings "which have inhaled the odor of *antiu* oil and incense on the brazier of Onnofer" (*Mém. Miss. Française*, V, p. 544).

[2] These white cones are usually supposed to be loaves, and white bread of this form, though very much less regular in outline, was certainly made and offered. But it was probably an old-fashioned shape early reserved for funeral use and perhaps lasting longer in picture than in practice. We perhaps see these loaves in this and other tombs where they are distinguished from the objects we are considering by being set several together on a mat instead of in a bowl (in the midst of offerings on Plate XXII; brought along with a similar object set in a bowl in Tomb 38). But as a rule when bread is shown on the burning brazier, the loaves are of the usual rounded shapes (Tomb 172, etc.).

In contrast with these are the white cones set in a bowl (or several apparently in one bowl) which are always shown in such close connection with burnt offerings or the lighting of incense that they must be interpreted as supplying some inflammable substance, mixed perhaps with odorous gums. Animal fat would most probably be used, but no wick is ever depicted.

This cone is brought to the officiant who is sacrificing by fire (Plate XVIII and similar scenes in other tombs; also *El Amarna* I, Pl. XXII); is set among the burnt offerings (Plate XII); is placed under the blazing altar (Tombs 38 and 69); is seen in a flaming bowl with pellets of incense or charcoal (*Papyrus of Ani*, Pls. I, II); forms with the burning brazier the sole furniture of the offering table (Tomb 181); is seen with a censing-

lying with the parts selected for offering already dismembered, is just being cut up on a mat by two men, whose legs the artist has continued below the animal with absurd effect.

Parallel scene opposite it

PROVISION FOR THE DEAD

(NORTH WALL—PLATES XIII AND XIV)

Despite his priestly office, Nakht does not seem to have attached much importance to the cult of the dead. Certainly his artist did not. The labor bestowed on different parts of the tomb has been determined by artistic considerations, those scenes having been

Careless execution of the scenes of ritual

spoon laid across it (Tomb 69); in the hand of a statuette forms a corner-piece of the great altar (*El Amarna* II, Pl. VIII *et passim*). Similar cones set on stands without the bowl are frequently seen near offerings (*El Amarna* III, Pls. X, XXX). They are not always white, but red or streaked just like one seen on Plate XII (which in another tomb is labeled "incense"). They then resemble closely the cones of fat for the hair, which are like them also in this respect that they are often decorated with ribbons or gaily colored (*El Amarna* II, Pls. XII, XXXII), apparently because white fat was found unaesthetic in appearance. In Tomb 51 white pyramids adorned with garlands are placed between flaming tapers, and in a parallel scene in Tomb 31 a priest is pouring oil (?) from a vase on to the wicks. This action is labeled "making incense."

This explanation of the cones in bowls as piles of odorous fat or gum for burning seems completely negatived by a representation which is found among the objects presented to Amon by Thothmes III and definitely labeled *ta ḥeḏ*, "white bread" (Sethe, *Urkunden* IV, p. 637, where no color is assigned to it). In this connection, however, it could only be an imitation (in silver?) of such a loaf, and on the same wall are two similar objects, a green one labeled "White bread. Malachite. Eleven" and a blue one labeled "Lapis lazuli. Thirteen" (*Ibid.*, p. 638). These nicknacks, then, are objects which only have the well-known *shape* of white loaves and more likely are meant to look like the loaf-shaped pastilles of incense. These are, in fact, often colored blue and green (in the hieroglyph  and elsewhere).

If we compare the object we have been considering with the hieroglyph for "flame"  (painted red, or white with a flaming red tip), the latter is found to differ only in that, being alight, a trail of smoke or fire is added. is a similar cone in a bowl which has three or four ears by which it may be held when hot. So also the hieroglyph for "censer," "incense" is , though in pictures burning incense is much more often shown in a shallow dish with rounded bottom than in a bowl of this form. A pyramidal candle of tallow would quickly burn down and become a wick floating in a bowl of melted fat, and a pastille of incense which needed no wick would soon lose its point. Hence and may really be the same lamp, and the white cone be properly replaced by a higher or lower flame.

It is always possible that the white cone is not the substance itself but the conical cover of a chafing dish or protected lamp. The pictures in *El Amarna* I, Pl. XVIII; VI, Pl. XX, seem to point to the existence of such utensils with a cover of this form and in I, Pl. XXII, we perhaps see the cover being lifted off.

It is curious that in all acts, whether secular or religious, where fire plays a part, no means of producing or conveying it is ever shown. Even when the act of lighting is referred to, we see no more than the lighted taper and the pot of fat (cf. Davies-Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhēt*, Pl. XXIII). This seems to show that though the lighting of lamps or tapers was a ceremonial act, the actual kindling of flame was not. Yet one would have thought that no operation could be more impressive or a more fruitful seed of myth and ritual.

Careless execution of the scenes of ritual

elaborated which had least to do with the life to come. Not only were the burial rites which should have adorned the walls of the inner chamber left undisplayed, but the scenes and inscriptions which consecrated the food to the service of the dead, and on which his existence or comfort was supposed to depend, are treated in a way that savors of contempt. The artist, in short, controls the work and what we have noted in regard to Plate XII holds good also for the adjacent wall shown in Plates XIII and XIV, except that here the inscriptions are merely scribbled in, left half written, or omitted altogether, as if the artist were at the last point of endurance or of leisure. We have seen in Plate VIII what the artist could make of these stereotyped scenes, but when set to repeat the subject on the opposite wall he shows unmistakable signs of ill-temper and impatience.

Consecration of food to the use of the dead

The north wall is divided into two scenes which are repetitions of the same theme. In each case Nakht and Tawi sit on the left hand before a table of offerings.[1] In the upper scene five men approach with flowers and with mats spread with the means for a simple repast. Below these, four men advance with jars of fat and tapers.[2] A *sem*-priest in a leopard's skin performs the rites of consecration with the traditional gesture. The inscription is broken, but Nakht and Tawi seem to have been described as "receiving offerings (such as) . . . . . [Amon], head of the sacred places, is overwhelmed with daily."[3]

[1]The hare which is seen among the offerings is a cake in that form. Similarly a calf in Tomb 74 and in Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, II, p. 34.

[2]The inscriptions over a similar procession in Tomb 82 (Davies-Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhēt*, Pl. XXIII) show that on feast days at any rate tapers were lighted and fat provided "that the eye of Horus may be wakeful" or "to brighten the path of the place of darkness" for the deceased.

[3]Emending to  .

A comparison of the flesh-colors assigned to Tawi in this tomb shows how small a part imitation of nature played in respect of color. On the east wall (Plates XI, XII) her color is a clear yellow painted streakily in two tones. On the opposite wall (Plate XXV) it is a deep salmon-yellow. Here on one and the same wall it is a bright orange and a ghastly drab suggestive of a corpse. One would have at least expected a firmly sustained convention, but apparently the artists were at once conscious of artificiality and yet in despair of realism. This failure of eye may be due to long inheritance from days of even cruder color-sense, for in the very finest painting of Khufu's age the most brilliant orange conceivable was adopted for the male complexion (on the stela of Wepemnofret found at Gizeh by the Hearst Egyptian Expedition of the University of California).

In the lower scene the pair have their food consecrated by a *sem*-priest (the figure expunged).[1] The four men who follow with offerings have the priest's shoulder-sash. Two scrawled notes accompany the upper two, "Giving shoulders of beef[2] and severed pieces. To be said four times," and "Doubly pure (are these) for the Osiris, the serving-priest of Amon, Nakht." An unfinished note to the second figure below began "Making a libation. . . "

Consecration of food to the use of the dead

FAMILY INTERCOURSE

(WEST WALL: SOUTH SIDE—PLATES X, XV–XVII, AND FRONTISPIECE)

The outer chamber, being the living-room of the dead, is appropriately decorated with scenes of banqueting and social gatherings. This hospitality, however, even at its widest, is limited to family connections, since the idea of eternal reunion is always present. The dominance of the well-filled table is indeed apt to pall on one in these mural scenes, but the depiction of larger entertainments, from their joyous tone and the opportunity they afford for lighter touches, is always welcome. If we turn to Plate XV, we shall find that our artist, relieved of the oppressive weight of religious considerations, has given us as charming a treatment of this subject as is to be found in the necropolis. A part has been lost by the falling of the stucco surface, but the essential features are preserved.

Even the dead enjoy social intercourse

The wall is divided, as commonly, into an upper and a lower scene; for the artist preferred to repeat the leading episode of the presentation of food to the deceased pair rather than carry this out in a single scene of disproportionate scale. The upper picture showed

Description of the upper scene

[1]For some yet unexplained reason the reformers under Akhnatón had an antipathy to this officiant and erased his figure systematically (the smaller figure above this one escaped notice). He often was, or represented, the eldest son, standing to the dead man as Horus "the beloved son" did to Osiris, and for that reason, perhaps, was condemned by the monotheistic fanatics, who were evidently strong enough at Thebes to interfere even with burial customs. Dr. Gardiner suggests that as performer of the *hotep di nisut* rite he impersonated the king. Did Akhnatón wish to resume an ancient royal function or to abolish a misused rite? His religious movement certainly resulted in a great enhancement of the position of the king.

[2]Reading .

Description of the upper scene

husband and wife (completely destroyed) ministered to by two men who carry gifts of food (?) from which vine cuttings hang down. The guests sit facing them in two rows.[1] In the one, four ladies sit on low chairs; in the other, six kneel on mats. Each group is served by a girl; one being gowned, the other nude. The latter is perhaps quite young, for her task is the light one of arranging the earrings of the guests. At such feasts it was the custom to provide the ladies not only with wine and fruit but also with flowers and simple ornaments, as well as with cosmetics for the head and for the skin. Their smart attire includes a gay fillet binding the hair round the brows, a pinch of fragrant ointment on the top of the head, which served also to fix a lotus bud there and let it droop coquettishly between the eyes, round earrings, a broad collar of colored beads, bracelets, and a long mantle hanging from the shoulders and dyed a deep yellow as far down as the hips.[2] Great water-jars wreathed with sprays of vine are set on stands close by the guests, and in front of them squats a harper who is perhaps to be associated with the musicians below. He is blind and fat, his comfortable habit of body being cleverly sug-

[1]There is not quite room for three registers of guests. The space left under the frieze must therefore have been occupied by inscriptions or by a row of vessels, as in the lower scene. This is the arrangement in Tomb 38, the form, decoration, and inscriptions of which so closely follow those with which we are dealing that it may be called a sister-tomb to this. It is the burial-place of one Joserkerasonb and dates probably to the reign of Thothmes IV (*Mém. Miss. Française*, V, pp. 571–9).

[2]The simple ancient gown has become an undergarment more décolleté than ever and a flowing mantle thrown over the shoulders has been adopted as well. The ends were knotted together across the breast. Sometimes while one side is shown drawn across the arm in this way, the other only rests on the tip of the shoulder. This is a trick of the artist to allow the outline of the bosom to be displayed. (Cf. Scheil, *Tombeau des Graveurs*, Pl. V.) For festal occasions this mantle was sometimes dyed a ruddy saffron in the upper parts, the dye having been allowed to run irregularly instead of ending abruptly at the hips. The mode is confined to this period (Amenhotep II to Amenhotep III) and is occasionally used by men; representations of it in the XIXth dyn. are still more fanciful. Probably at such feasts women would come into closer contact with men than on ordinary occasions and this darkening of the thin dress may have been adopted as a defense of modesty, a deepened female flesh tint being chosen. Dr. Wreszinski, in his *Atlas zur Kulturgeschichte*, pp. 28 b, 39 b, expresses the opinion that it is not dye, but shows the garment soiled by the pomade which trickles down from the top of the head and spreads over the body (cf. Psalm 133). Certainly it exactly resembles the ointment in color. If this sordid explanation of the coloring had to be adopted, I would regard it as a perverted impulse to realism on the part of an influential artist which was propagated by his pupils, but speedily misinterpreted by their successors. An alternative suggestion is that the color of the dye was chosen to obviate the danger of chance stains becoming too apparent. In Coptic times woolen garments of this peculiar hue are known.

gested by the draughtsman. He plays a six-stringed harp, the frame of which ends above in a female head, perhaps that of the goddess Maât.[1]

Description of the upper scene

Six more guests are shown in the lower picture. Three are men and sit on low stools holding impossibly rigid lotus flowers to their noses. The three women sit more easily on low chairs. Near them are ranged four handsome vases containing provision for their gratification. There is a water-jar protected from the heat and the flies by lotus flowers laid across the mouth, a breccia vase piled up with ointment for the heads of the guests, a blue-glaze pot of salve for the skin, and a pottery dish containing four fresh fillets for the ladies' hair.[2]

The lower scene

These two sets of guests need not be thought of as separate, nor the musicians who accompany them, for the two forms of harp shown here, of six and of fourteen (?) strings, could be played together.[3] The troupe of three girls forms an extremely attractive composition, spoilt only by the exceptionally bad drawing of the legs and feet (Frontispiece). Their dark color, however, is adventitious, being due to a varnish which was applied to the figures and has darkened with time.[4] It does not indicate, therefore, any difference of age or class,

[1]As the guardian of true time and rhythm? Cf. the harp in Tomb 100 (Rekhmire). Elsewhere the device is the head of a man, a woman, a king, a hawk, or an animal.

[2]These fillets were perhaps made only of flowers, petals, and other such simple materials; but even if, as is more likely, they are formed of glazed trinkets, they would still be inexpensive enough. The Metropolitan Museum possesses interesting specimens of these ephemeral ornaments found in the workshops attached to the palace of Amenhotep III. The similarity of the substance in the vase to that on the hair, and scenes in which it is actually being conveyed from the pot to the person of the guests leaves no doubt about the interpretation. That it is depicted resting on what seem to be artificial wigs is no serious objection, in my opinion. It may be that the grossness of the custom was already felt, as there is reason to think that a cap of some sort which imitated in aspect the lump of ointment was substituted for it at times. (Cf. Davies, *El Amarna* VI, Pl. I; *Bulletin of Metropolitan Museum*, March, 1911, Frontispiece.)

[3]Cf. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs* I, Fig. 211 (Tomb 81). There are fourteen pegs but eleven strings, a number that is also shown in the similar picture in Tomb 38 (Joserkerasonb). In other examples the number varies from four to twenty-two, according to Wilkinson.

[4]The use of varnish may be seen in several tombs at Thebes, particularly in that of Ḳenamon (No. 93; time of Amenhotep II), where all the walls are covered with it. It was certainly put on as a clear varnish, the inevitable discoloration not being foreseen. In this case it was applied only to the musicians and to the bunch of birds carried by Amenemapt, apparently because the artist regarded these creations of his with especial pride, and wished to ensure them a longer life and perhaps also to bring out the sheen on the anointed limbs of the girls and the gloss of the birds' plumage. The original transparency of the varnish is proved by the carelessness with which it was applied.

The lower scene

but it certainly enhances the beauty of the scene for us, being more true to Oriental coloring than the light flesh tints usually adopted. Where the feet of the women are untouched by the varnish they show the same hue as those of the guests. One girl plays the double flute; another (who wears her hair shorter) plays the great harp. Both these are clothed exactly like the guests, except that an additional bracelet is worn loosely on the forearm. The player on the lute, however, is so little hampered by her instrument as to be able to dance to her own playing. She is represented, as dancing girls occasionally are, as absolutely unclothed save for a scanty belt of beads, yet quite unabashed.[1] An interesting feature is that the artist,

[1]When troupes of female musicians or of professional female mourners are depicted, there is generally shown among them a child who is unclothed, probably as a natural consequence of her immaturity. The age up to which this freedom was customary may well have extended among the Egyptians, as among many less advanced peoples, to a period shortly preceding an early marriage. (In the Tomb of Menena, No. 69, a well-grown girl who forms one of a family party in a boat is shown unclothed, possibly for artistic reasons.) That the artists often give an aspect of comparative maturity to such nude figures need not be interpreted too pedantically; the impulse is natural. At any rate, if a moral judgment is contemplated, the sentiments of a dark-skinned people to whom complete, or almost complete, nudity was a very familiar sight must be entered into, if that is possible to us. For if it were a question of age only, the transgression of the usual limit would be a comparatively venial act, especially where there was reason for freedom of action and bodily pose, as with dancing-girls and acrobats. There is also another way of escape from the suspicion that this picture may be an indication of gross moral laxity. It is quite open to us, I think, to deny the picture its full *prima fâcie* evidence, and to regard it as an instance, not of social, but of pictorial license; the girl having been actually clothed. The possession of perfect bodily form being specially desired in slaves and dancing-women, it may be that the artist now and then omitted their tenuous robes for artistic reasons. We know how little he allowed himself to be hindered by dress from showing the lines of the female figure. And as at one period, in deference to artistic impulses, even royalty submitted to appear nude in public *pictorially* (cf. Davies, *El Amarna* VI, p. 21), dancing-girls could hardly refuse. Were a description of our own social customs derived from our art-galleries alone, there would be strange aberrations of judgment! In the Tomb of Thotemhab (No. 45), the nude serving-girls of the XVIIIth dyn. have been provided with gowns by a later artist who worked over the picture. But this is more likely to be a protest against artistic impressionism or levity than against lack of decency.

As a matter of fact, dancers are generally shown in ordinary woman's dress. The portrayal of nude figures is rare and perhaps limited to a very short period and to two or three designers. In Tombs 38 and 75 the female lute-player is nude, as well as a young dancing-girl; but both these pictures seem to have followed the design used in Nakht's tomb (Scheil, *Mém. Miss. Française*, V, pp. 571–579; Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs* I, p. 439). Cf. also a slab from the tomb of Ptahmay, in Cairo; Davies, *Dêr el Gebrâwi* II, Pl. VII and p. 8, and *Sheikh Saïd*, Pl. IV; Erman, *Egypt*, p. 250. Nude serving-maidens are depicted more frequently; no doubt they were young and generally employed in the harem. The female musicians also were probably members of the household as a rule. Finally, the guests before whom they perform in this case are very likely intended to be three married couples. The chain of beads round the hips is still worn by nude female children in Egypt and the Soudan, and should be regarded as an amulet rather than as a travesty of clothing. (Cf. Doughty, *Wanderings in Arabia*, I, p. 168.)

The lower scene

seduced by his study of the nude and by the extreme twist he has given to the body, has defied an unbroken convention and has represented the left breast *en face* instead of in profile.[1]

The musical instruments

As to the instruments, each of the reed-pipes of the flute shows two holes and others may, of course, be covered by the player's hands. The long stem of the lute is also of reed. The body of it is pierced by six small holes and the three strings, though not shown here, seem to pass over two bridges and be secured to a triangle of wood, as in the modern violin. The strings were touched by a plectrum which is attached to the lute by a string. The hollow body of the harp is, as often, covered with leopard's skin.

The deceased pair and their pet cat

Nakht and Tawi sit side by side on chairs facing this merry company, from which their son advances with bouquets and a dozen wild-fowl to add to the lavish provision before them. The inscription is broken but may be conjecturally restored. "Her (their?) son [Amen–]emapt, *maâkheru*, [presenting] a bouquet after doing what is prescribed."

Accident which has robbed us of much of the scene has kindly spared the pet cat of Tawi (Plate X), which sits beneath the chair, and to which a fish has been passed as her share of the feast. Securing it between her front paws, she is devouring it with little regard to "what is prescribed." She is of a rich orange color on the back, toning through yellow to white on the under-parts and barred from head to tail with wavy black stripes. The lithe body, short fur, and thin tail are thoroughly characteristic of the Egyptian domestic cat. This detail is one of the treasures of the necropolis.

[1] There is a partial parallel in the lute-girl of Tomb 93 (Ḳenamon; reign of Amenhotep II), the nipple of whose right breast shows faintly through her mantle, though the left breast, apparently, was drawn in side view (Prisse, *L'Art Égyptien*, II, Pl. 60; Erman, *Egypt*, p. 252). It suggests that the scene in Nakht may be by the same artist, a man of exceptional talent; the more so that there are other indications in that figure that he would have liked to draw it nude and perhaps did so, laying the white clothing over it afterward.

LABOR IN THE FIELDS

(EAST WALL: SOUTH SIDE—PLATES XVIII, XIX, XX, AND XXI)

Egyptian love of outdoor life

As has been suggested in Chapter I, pictures of daily life had primarily a decorative purpose; the subject being chosen for its attractiveness and appropriateness, and for the latter reason placed on the wall nearest the outer door. Had magical ends been in *conscious* view they would certainly have been supported by invocations. Pictures of outdoor life would be even more welcome to the owner of a tomb than to a householder, throwing a warm illusion round thoughts of interment in the grave, cheating his ready fancy with the idea of somehow still watching over his fruitful acres and of seeing the daily toil and growing increase by which the means of life and pleasure were won for men and gods and for the worthy dead. To us they are invaluable as unsophisticated pictures of ancient life and custom. "The serving-priest of [Amon, the scribe Nakht], triumphant before the great god, sitting in a booth and looking at his fields." This simple superscription informs us with what strength the inhabitant of Egypt found himself tied by his heart-strings to earth and its seasonal changes, even in his preparations for eternity.

Arrangement of the scene

We have already noticed the consecration of the piled-up offerings to the gods, which is the natural, though scarcely the conscious climax of the whole picture. In the less prominent scene extending along the foot of the wall (Plate XXI) the first preparation of the soil is shown. The stereotyped design probably consisted of two registers terminating in front of the arbor as in the scene above. But space did not quite admit of this and, rather than omit the upper row, the artist has squeezed it in, substituting for the usual black base-line a meandering brown strip which follows the contour of the picture below it and so makes the fullest use of the space.

Initial labors

This broad, brown line represents the muddy soil. The inunda-

Initial labors

tion has just retreated and has left here and there pools which will take a long while to dry up. Yet the men then, as now, take the first opportunity to venture out on the soft surface, though they sink to the ankles in it; for the work of the hoe is now vastly easier than it will be after a few days' sun, and the seed will quickly bury itself and be safe from the sharp-sighted birds. This upper row, according to Egyptian convention, shows us the land nearest the desert where the pools lie longest and where, when the inundation has been exceptionally high, the area of cultivation can be extended by taking in again a margin of land on which in the meantime rank grass, tamarisk bushes, or even mimosa trees have managed to push up. Accordingly, we see men hewing down trees, rooting up weeds with the strong mattock, and breaking up the surface with the simpler hoe.[1]

Ploughing and sowing

In the lower picture men are shown breaking up the clods with mallets, to receive the seed. Where deeper sowing is called for, teams of cows are driven up and down, dragging ploughs whose shares cut deep into the soft soil. These ploughs are of the new pattern which had come into use with the dynasty and has lasted to this day, though the old type was nearer to the modern European model. One of the ploughmen here is guiding the plough with ease; but the other, a churl with unkempt locks, such as dwelt on the edge of the desert, leans with evident labor on the upright stilts. At one end of the scene

[1] This design is repeated in the tombs of Khâemhêt (Prisse, *L'Art Égyptien*, II, Pl. 20) and Joserkerasonb (Scheil, *Mém. Miss. Française*, V, p. 576). Cf. also Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, II, p. 394. It is interesting to see how fully the artist is aware of the meaning of the rigid conventions under which he works. Relieved of the necessity of showing the soil as a ruled black line, he makes it an irregular brown strip widening out, as it actually would, in the depression where the pool lies. He knows that it appears to the eye as a background to the figures and that it is omitted only for the sake of clearness; for he runs it right round the pool. For this touch of perspective compare the winnowing scene above, a scene in Tomb 93 (Ḳenamon), where the desert forms a complete background to the animals within it, and *Dêr el Gebrâwi*, II, Pl. IX. The arm which branches off behind the pond may be a dry torrent-bed up which the cultivable level would naturally extend a little farther. Its diagonal direction may indicate the rapid rise of the desert beyond, which sets an absolute limit to cultivation (cf. *El Amarna*, V, Pl. V). The bush which the artist has set on the under side of the strip of soil is, I think, opposed to the rules of Egyptian design but is paralleled elsewhere. The artist seems to have forgotten that he was dealing with a base-line, not with a path. The need of a bush of that shape to fill up the background led him astray. The same necessity and not any feeling for perspective accounts for the trees dotted about the field. It is something, however, to have judged them to be permissible.

Ploughing and sowing

the bags of seed-corn, a meal of bread, onions, and radishes, and two *ḳullehs* of water are set out before the booth from which Nakht supervises the work; at the other, similar frugal rations are kept by the laborers under a tree, in the branches of which the water-skin hangs.[1] Apparently, the *fellah* of those days had exactly the same fare and as amazing a thirst as his descendant today.

Reaping

The harvest and ingathering of the grain form the subject of the main scene. On the left in the lowest row girls pull up flowering flax by the roots while still green and form it into neat bundles for stripping ("rippling"). On the right is standing corn, through which three reapers go, cutting off the upper third with the sickle.[2] The untied sheaves are heaped up in a wicker pannier. One man then holds a staff across the pile, and his fellow, by jumping up and hanging his weight on the other end, crams the sheaves down into the pannier and secures it with a rope. Under such conditions, the girl who is gleaning the ears is likely to fill her bag with ease. The quail and doves caught in the corn are shown in the scene above as harvest booty.

Winnowing

No room was found to show the treading out of the corn by oxen on the threshing floor,[3] but in the topmost scene we see the winnowing. The round floor of hard soil on which such operations were carried out, then as now, is represented by a semicircular background of muddy hue, against which the figures are painted. Below is the heap of mingled grain and chaff, which it is the task of eight young girls to separate.[4] It cannot have been a light one, for the girls are always shown dressed in a loin-cloth (their underwear?), with a white kerchief on the head to protect their hair from the fine dust. One of the

[1] It may well be that the practice of hanging the water-skin in a tree and setting their meals in its grateful shade gave rise among the peasants to the fancy that in the better world the hospitable goddess of the sycamore provided meat and drink for the wayfaring soul. M. Maspero (*Dawn of Civilization*, p. 121) interprets the parallel scene in Tomb 38 as an offering to the tree, but this, I think, is a mistake.

[2] The artist has once more shown his distaste for routine work by leaving the corn half-drawn, and the flax field a mere daub of green.

[3] It is included, however, in the corresponding scene in Tomb 38.

[4] The differing flesh colors are only used to make the figures stand out from one another.

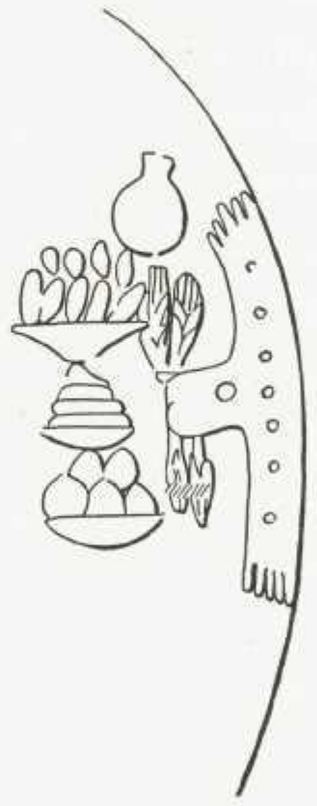
eight is furnished with two green besoms with which to keep the pile together; each of the others has two of those wooden winnowing

Winnowing

FIGURE 11
DETAIL FROM THE TOMB OF JOSERKERASONB (No. 38)

scoops which are in all our museums. A pair of these when set edge to edge form a shovel in which the grain is lifted; when they are parted, it falls down between them and the breeze carries the white chaff aside. This and the group below, where two men scoop up the grain very ineffectively in wooden measures to the accompaniment of the (unrecorded) remarks of an overseer, are common episodes in agricultural scenes.

What is uncommon, however, are the objects at the top of the brown semicircle (i.e. the farther edge of the floor), which are only known in this and its derived (?) scenes in Tombs 38 and 57. Here they appear as a red vase and over it a carelessly drawn object which has been black in color and in shape most resembles the hieroglyphic form of the crescent moon.[1] That what is depicted here is an offering laid before a deity is to be concluded from various pictures of the harvest field where the deity, when made visible, is the goddess Ernutet,



The deity of harvest

FIGURE 12
DETAIL FROM THE TOMB OF KHÂEMHÊT (No. 57)

[1] Thus ⌒. The moon itself is generally depicted with the concave side of the crescent uppermost and is colored yellow. The black tint used here might indicate the shadowed orb out of which the new moon is born as an invisible streak of light, but it might also be due to a confusion with the somewhat similar word-sign for the black pod of the carob.

The deity of harvest

"mistress of the threshing floor," under the form of a cobra. She perhaps wears this aspect because reptiles were often drawn to such places in search of mice and other prey.[1] Grain, too, was personified as a god, Nep(er)y, or as a snake headed goddess, Nep(er)t. The eighth month of the year, being that of harvest, was sacred to Ernutet.[2] Her festival, however, fell on the first day of the next month. This was the birthday of Nepy, who seems to have been regarded as her child. The celebration of the first day of the month and of the moon thus coincided with a harvest festival. It would be no wonder, therefore, that the new moon or month should be presented with first fruits at that time; and how depict this fact save by a picture of the moon as they conceived it? The absence of inscriptions from the harvest scenes in this tomb makes the interpretation uncertain, but the texts in the other tombs leave little doubt that the picture depicts the harvest festival at the turn of the month when Ernutet was specially worshiped.[3] As the object of worship bears no possible resemblance to Ernutet, the conclusion is that the offerings are laid before either the waxing or the waning moon.

[1] Offerings are made to Ernutet in Tombs 38, 48, 56, 57, 77, 112, 172, 217. See also L., *D.*, II, Pl. IX.

[2] This dedication, however, rests on late evidence and Dr. Gardiner has shown reasons for believing that by that time the festivals had shifted backward a full month (*Ä. Z.*, XLIII, p. 136). It would certainly be more fitting that the ninth month should be hers, since its first day was devoted to her cult. In later times its patron was Khonsu, the moon-god.

[3] To put the full evidence before the reader, the companion scenes and inscriptions must be quoted. The original design may be lost to us, but the Tomb of Nakht seems to be nearest the source. In Tomb 38 a whole wall is dedicated to the harvest. In the lowest register the agricultural scenes on Plate XXI are repeated with some variations. In the top register men are measuring the standing corn. In the middle register men are bringing produce to their master, who sits in a kiosk (as in Plate XX here). At the other end Joserkerasonb makes a burnt offering (1) to Amon (whose figure is totally erased) and (2) to "revered Ernutet, lady of the granaries," figured as a cobra on a basket. The accompanying inscription is as follows: "The scribe of the corn [of Amon], Joserkerê, offering all manner of good and pure food [to Amon] in every shrine of his on this day of the measurement of the *sek* grain of the twenty-seventh day of the fourth month of springtime (the eighth of the year) in the island (*ma.ul*) [of Ernutet?], whose *x* is on the threshing floor (? *ḳaḥ*)," *x* being a sign consisting of a crescent over a solid triangle  and thus closely resembling the mysterious group, which is again depicted here. Either deliberately or because it was misunderstood, the ends of the crescent are fringed, as if they were wings, and a row of red spots is painted on the blackish body (Fig. 11). The swelling in the center has become a protuberance into which the ears of corn have been taken up from the dish. The whole, in short, seems treated as a winged thing too swiftly swooping to have defined shape or color, and it is conceivable that the first crow that carried off the offering was transformed by popular superstition into a gratified divinity.

Similarly in the sculptured Tomb No. 57 (Khâemhêt), two scenes come into consideration. In one

The deity of harvest

The only alternative to the above explanation which I can suggest is that the object in Tombs 38 and 57 is the rude form of a bird or man, whether intended as a scarecrow or a god of harvest, or both in one, formed out of a sheaf of corn or straw and daubed with clay to give stiffening and admit of hands being affixed. As Nepy is sometimes depicted with a sheaf on his head, it would have a rude resemblance to him. In certain rites of the *sed* festival at Soleb the muffled figure of the King is seen receiving ears of corn in his hands in exactly the same way as here.[1] I have seen a rude male figure, made as I have suggested, set up on the edge of the corn-field in modern Thebes, apparently as a guardian spirit, since I saw at the same time a manikin nailed over the door of the village grinding-mill. But we should have to assume that either the artist of Nakht or the other copyists misinterpreted the original design, since in our tomb it is obviously not the representation of such a figure.

It only remains to add that these two detailed representations of harvest, and of a vulgar act of worship which the owners of the tombs were perhaps half ashamed to depict, are due to the profes-

(Prisse, *Monuments*, Pl. XLII), a burnt offering is made by Khâemhêt to Ernutet, who is pictured as a snake-headed goddess seated on a throne and suckling a boy. The inscription is "Khâemhêt offering all things good and pure to Ernutet, lady of the granary, on the first day of the first month of summer (the ninth month of the year), this day of the birth of Nepy." Here again we have that somewhat rare thing in tomb-scenes, a date, and the fixing of the festival depicted to the appearance of the new month or the new moon in the arms of the old. (In the contemporary Tomb 48 a similar figure of Ernutet is associated with the twenty-seventh day of the eighth month, harvest day according to Tomb 38.) The festival thus seems to have lasted four or five days. On the first of them the standing corn was measured by the officials that the yield might be estimated and the tithes assessed. Then the corn was cut and trodden out, and at the winnowing on the first of the new month offerings were made to the divinities concerned.

A second scene in this tomb shows the harvest field, and here many of the incidents are obviously taken from the same source as those of Nakht (Prisse, *L'Art Égyptien*, II, Pl. 20); among them the winnowing scene. The offering to the divinity of harvest is set at the side of the floor, there being no room above it. The gifts are more generous, but the strange object of veneration is almost exactly the same as in Tomb 38, save that it is set upright and that the protuberance seems to be more definitely conceived as two grasping hands, which have seized the ears of corn and removed them from the dishes. The spots are also more pronounced (Fig. 12). For a later association of the snake-goddess with the harvest and also with the moon see Weber, *Ägyptisch-griechische Terrakotten*, pp. 42–44, 177.

[1] For the close connection of royal festivals with harvest see Gardiner, *Journal of Egyptology* II, p. 124. If the object could be recognized as an instrument of harvest, much would be proved, since we know the measuring reel was worshiped as an embodiment of Amon. See also Harrison, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXIII, XXIV.

The deity of harvest

sional interest of these men in the subject, one being a registrar of corn and the other a superintendent of granaries. Perhaps Nakht, too, had close official connection with the corn supply, since he was concerned as a serving-priest with the supply of loaves to the private altars.[1]

THE GIFTS OF NATURE

(WEST WALL: NORTH SIDE—PLATES XXII-XXVI)

Produce of the fen-lands

Sustenance, however, was not always coaxed from the soil by severe labor of preparation, irrigation, and ingathering. On the outskirts of the desert, where the waters of the inundation tended to form swamps and the soil was left to the rough husbandry of nature, there often lay another field of plenty. Whether it was under regular ownership or open to all, or how grazing and sporting rights were regulated, is hardly to be determined. But everyone who, as the year passed, saw the produce of his furrows garnered safely, reckoned also among its most delightful seasons and richest rewards the periods which he spent in the wilder marshlands where the cattle were bred, where vines grew and the pools gave sport, and whence he returned home loaded with all manner of delicacies and needful things. This life under the free sky and among the abundant gifts of nature we find depicted on the north side of the west wall.

Reasons for introducing the scene

The upper scene shows Nakht and his family engaged in sport among the pools. The evident delight which the Egyptian gentleman had in possessing, and the artist in executing, such pictures exhibits their close touch with primitive life, and that not least in view of the life beyond death. Sport is the one form in which complex society allows the rich man to return to the primal necessity of securing daily food for himself and his family. However elaborate the provision a man made for securing sustenance in the world beyond, or servants who might furnish it, he must often have turned his thoughts to his

[1] Cf. Naville, *Eleventh Dynasty Temple*, I, p. 59.

own powers of obtaining, with only a pleasurable amount of exertion, that game with which the marshes of the heavenly Nile would surely teem and which the gods placed within his personal reach. It may be partly for this reason, partly because the full powers of the man and his capacity for enjoyment came into play here, that this sporting scene is introduced so often and so elaborately, in specially close connection with burial ceremonial, and even in the tombs of kings.[1] It accords with this that the dead man is always accompanied by his whole family, a condition which in the opinion of most sportsmen would seriously detract from the pleasure and success of the day, and cannot represent actual incident or habit.

Reasons for introducing the scene

The picture is charming in point of composition and in much of its execution, but not less characteristic in that it shows also that lack of sustained effort which so often mars Egyptian art. Details of the scene have been merely dashed in in the rough color as the interest of the artist waned, and a figure of Nakht in vigorous action has been rendered ridiculous by the omission of the spear from his hands.

The composition

The inscriptions over the scenes reveal how little the religious note comes to consciousness, and with some justice in this case, when the pictures are placed in the outer room. To the average man it was a memorial of the pleasant things of earth, not a foretaste of heaven; and Nakht was certainly not above the spiritual mean. The concise description of the upper left-hand scene is "The serving-priest [of Amon], the scribe Nakht, *maâkheru*, and his heartily loved sister, the chant[ress of Amon], Tawi, amusing themselves by looking at the good things, the products of the open lands and the papyrus beds."[2] Here Nakht and Tawi sit before a pile of the products of the marshlands, including as part of the day's catch a dozen wild-fowl, a nest of eggs,

The inscriptions

[1] As has been remarked (page 22), the scene is always on the north side and generally in the passage to the burial chamber.

[2] This inscription is in polychrome hieroglyphs, whereas the others are in blue. I take it that the former was inserted as the regular heading to the scene. The decorator, however, had a misguided zeal for filling up all the vacant spaces in the design and inserted sentences which had not the same importance. *Ta meḥ*, which generally signifies "the Delta," reverts here to its original meaning. (Cf. Davies, *Ptahhetep* II, pp. 15, 16.)

The inscriptions

and another of fledglings. The adjoining inscription concerns the scene immediately below it, "The ally of the Lady of Sport, the serving-priest [of Amon . . . . . .],[1] the scribe Nakht, *maâkheru*, amusing himself by looking at the good things, and taking exercise in field sports." "His sister, the chantress of [Amon], the house-mistress Tawi, says 'Amuse thyself with field-sports; the water-fowl has his moment (of death) reckoned for him (?)'." Similarly the note on the right has reference to the fishing scene; "The serving-[priest of Amon, the scribe] Nakht, *maâkheru*, traversing the fowling-pools, penetrating the swamps, amusing himself by spearing fish."

The scene described

The picture assumes the usual decorative scheme in which the group occupied in fishing and that engaged in fowling form almost symmetrical counterparts. The action takes place where the papyrus thicket presents a wall of stems which make a most effective background to the scene, and at the same time a support for the nests over which a cloud of birds hovers. Mingled with the papyrus are still taller rushes which bear a large head of white flower. Butterflies flutter and dragon-flies dart among the stems.

On the left, in exaggerated stature, Nakht stands in a light papyrus skiff, and aiming his ebony boomerangs at the necks of the birds, brings them down from a distance. He holds a gray heron in his hand; whether alive or a stuffed bird, it is a decoy which partly conceals his approach. Doves, ducks, and hoopoes in the bush are no less surely doomed. Two women and a young boy are in the boat with him, as two women and a little girl are in the opposed group. The squatting figure who grasps Nakht's leg may be presumed to be his eldest daughter; the woman who holds him by the waist and carries, in the one scene a nestling, in the other a spare harpoon, is probably his wife and sister, Tawi. Two servants are in attendance on the bank. One picks up the discharged boomerangs and stunned birds; the other carries his master's stick, sandals, and a bag of neces-

[1]The lacuna must have contained some epithet of Amon or some new title of Nakht containing the name of the god. must be a dittograph. For the word *śm* "to be active," see Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, p. 41. The phrases are all common save the last, the significance of which is doubtful.

saries. Their counterpart on the other side carries a spare harpoon (faintly indicated). The long spear which should have been in Nakht's hands was meant to be a doubly barbed one, and with the felicity which hope and faith attribute to the sportsman, Nakht has transfixed two fish at one blow, one of each species.[1]

The scene described

There is a feature of special interest in this conventional scene. As originally painted, the family party in each case included the pet goose, and a genet-cat (?) ran up the stem to prey on the nestlings.[2] But the iconoclasts who entered the tomb to erase the name of Amon saw in this innocent bird the goose beloved of Amon and in the beast of prey the favorite of some other deity, and so destroyed the figures of both in that ignorant zeal which marked the movement at Thebes.

An erasure

The lower scene, which shows Nakht and his wife "sitting in the booth to amuse themselves by looking at the bounty of the papyrus-swamps," really forms one picture with the upper; for the pile of provisions before Nakht and his wife includes the fish and fowl whose capture we have witnessed, as well as abundant supplies of grapes and pomegranates. The men who are amassing these good things form very decorative groups. Beyond them are scenes of vintage and fowling which closely resemble those in other tombs. In the upper register, two men are seen gathering grapes from vines growing in a natural arch.[3] The berries are then put into a trough where men tread out the juice, keeping themselves from sinking in the mass too

The scene of vintage

[1] It has been asked, "Does the water which surrounds the fish represent what is dripping from them or a bay in the pool?" Rather it is neither, but a convenient way of showing that the fish were transfixed in the middle of the water and then lifted out on the spear. Moreover, it served conveniently to divide the scene into two groups and hint that they are separate in place and time. Compare the water round the fowling-net in the scene below.

[2] They were only roughly touched in in white and yellow. The genet (of which only the tip of the tail is left) grasps the neck of a fledgling in his mouth. The red beak, white tail, and yellow breast of the birds are still visible. The right-hand bird has something white and green before it, and to this the little girl calls her father's attention. It is possibly an egg on a nest, as Wilkinson depicts an egg and speaks of a nest in his *Manners and Customs*, II, p. 107, fig. 365. Geese as pets are fairly common and are shown several times in similar pictures.

[3] The leaves of the vine are drawn in a curiously inadequate way in Theban tombs (Tomb 51 being an exception). First, they are sketched in as a circular outline. As an advance on this the circle is colored green and edged with black spots to represent the serrations. In its complete form the circle is divided into three or four segments, but at the best it has very little resemblance to a vine-leaf.

The scene of vintage

deeply by hanging on to straps suspended from a beam overhead. It is characteristically Egyptian that this beam should be decorated with hanging sprays of foliage. The juice runs out through a spout into a smaller trough whence it is conveyed away in large jars.[1]

The association of the vintage with the waste lands is too constant to be ignored. Apparently vines were not only planted round the mansion, but were abundant in the wilder districts where a poorer soil perhaps gave better results. It can scarcely be that they grew wild, though artificial training is not made clear in this instance. The press with its two papyrus columns might be a very simple affair, though pictures in other tombs show elaborate structures which could only belong to the homestead.

The use of the fowling-net

The means of netting the wild-fowl is simple. The framed net is spread below the surface of the shallow pool among the papyrus reeds. Those who operate it conceal themselves in the thicket and when the surface of the water is swarming with birds, the leader, peering through the reeds, gives the sign and the two wings of the net are clapped to by pulling the rope suddenly. If we are to believe the picture, not one victim escapes. The birds are dealt with on the spot. One man with a deft action of the fingers plucks off the feathers; another cuts the birds open on a board and cleans them, and after being dried in the sun on an improvised rack, they are packed (perhaps with the coarse salt which the desert hard by might furnish) into the jars which we see in readiness.

Recapitulation

Such were the scenes with which Nakht hoped to gratify himself when he passed from his Theban homestead to the quieter resting-place in the necropolis, and from which he may have vaguely expected to draw some more solid advantage still. The pictures are excerpts, no doubt, from stock Theban designs, and only the selection, if that, can betray individual character and habit. Yet many valuable details are enshrined in the familiar scenes, and their excellent preservation

[1] The gray tops represent the clay stopping, and the two black marks are the stamps which indicated the place of origin and the quality.

Recapitulation

enables us to pass a more than usually correct judgment upon the powers and weaknesses of the Egyptian draughtsman and colorist. Few will fail to admire his powers of composition and his decorative instinct as shown in the offerings laid before the stela (Plate X), the dancing-girls and the group of jars above them (Frontispiece), the row of guests who chatter to the music of the harper (Plate XVII), the cat absorbed in its meal (Plate X), the family group in the boat (Plate XXIV), and the struggling mass of fowl within the clap-net (Plate XXVI). All these we can appreciate, and thus by their publication here they have carried forward a joy into an after-life and into a new world vastly more distant in time, in space, and in character than the Egyptian religion ever suggested to the scribe Nakht or his sister Tawi.

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PLATE VIII
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PLATE III
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PLATE XVIII

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FROM COURTYARD

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PLATE XII

PLATE I

GENERAL VIEW OF THE THEBAN HILLS, FROM THE EAST

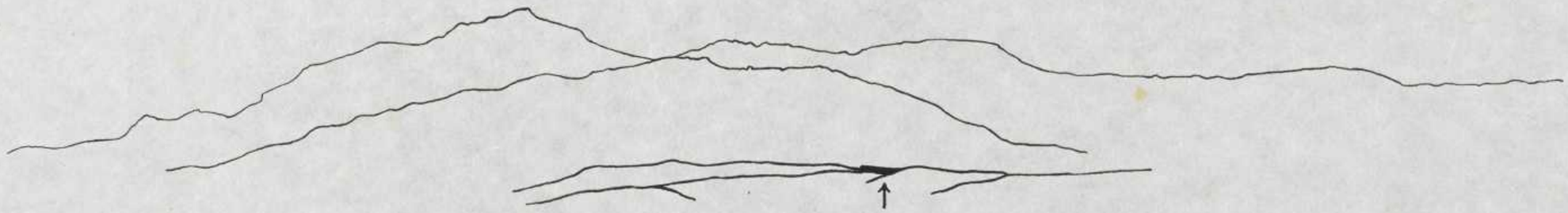

PLATE II

THE THEBAN NECROPOLIS FROM DEIR EL MEDINEH (LEFT) TO DEIR EL BAḤRI AND EL KHOKHEH (RIGHT)

Sheikh Abd el Ḳurneh is in the center, with the Tomb of Nakht on its lower slope in the middle distance

PLATE III

LOOKING SOUTHWARD FROM DRA' ABU'L NAGA

On the right is Sheikh Abd el Ḳurneh, and beyond rises Ḳurnet Murraï. In the left foreground lies El Khokheh, with the Metropolitan Museum Expedition House on its northern side, while on the edge of the cultivation beyond are the Ramesseum and the Temple of Medinet Habu

PLATE IV

THE THEBAN NECROPOLIS, LOOKING NORTHWARD FROM ḲURNET MURRAÏ

On the left is Sheikh Abd el Ḳurneh, and beyond it the long slope of Dra' Abu'l Naga

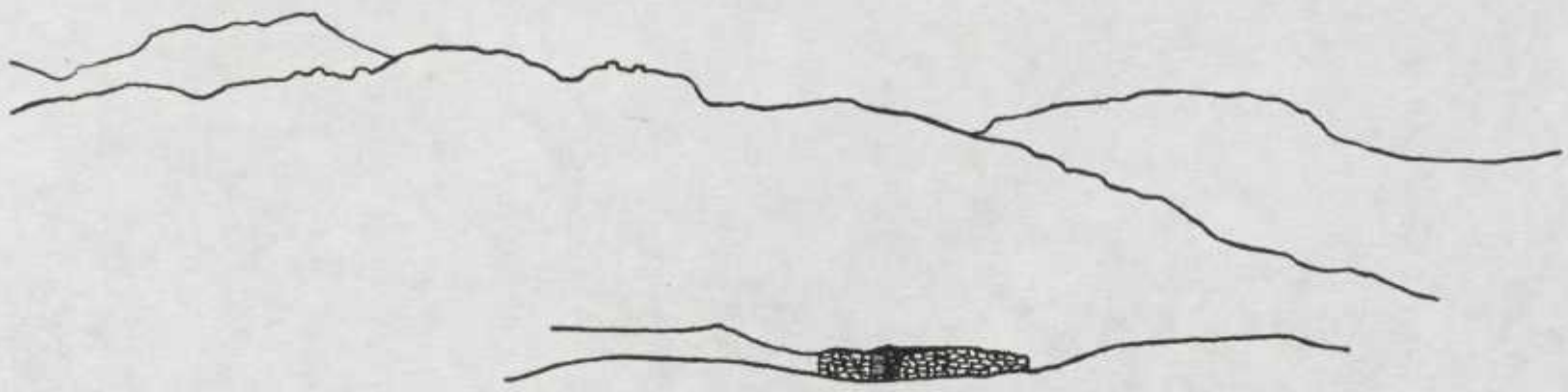

PLATE V

A. THE POSITION OF THE TOMB OF NAKHT ON THE SLOPE OF SHEIKH ABD EL ḲURNEH

(See page 43)

B. THE PRESENT ENTRANCE TO THE TOMB OF NAKHT

(See page 43)

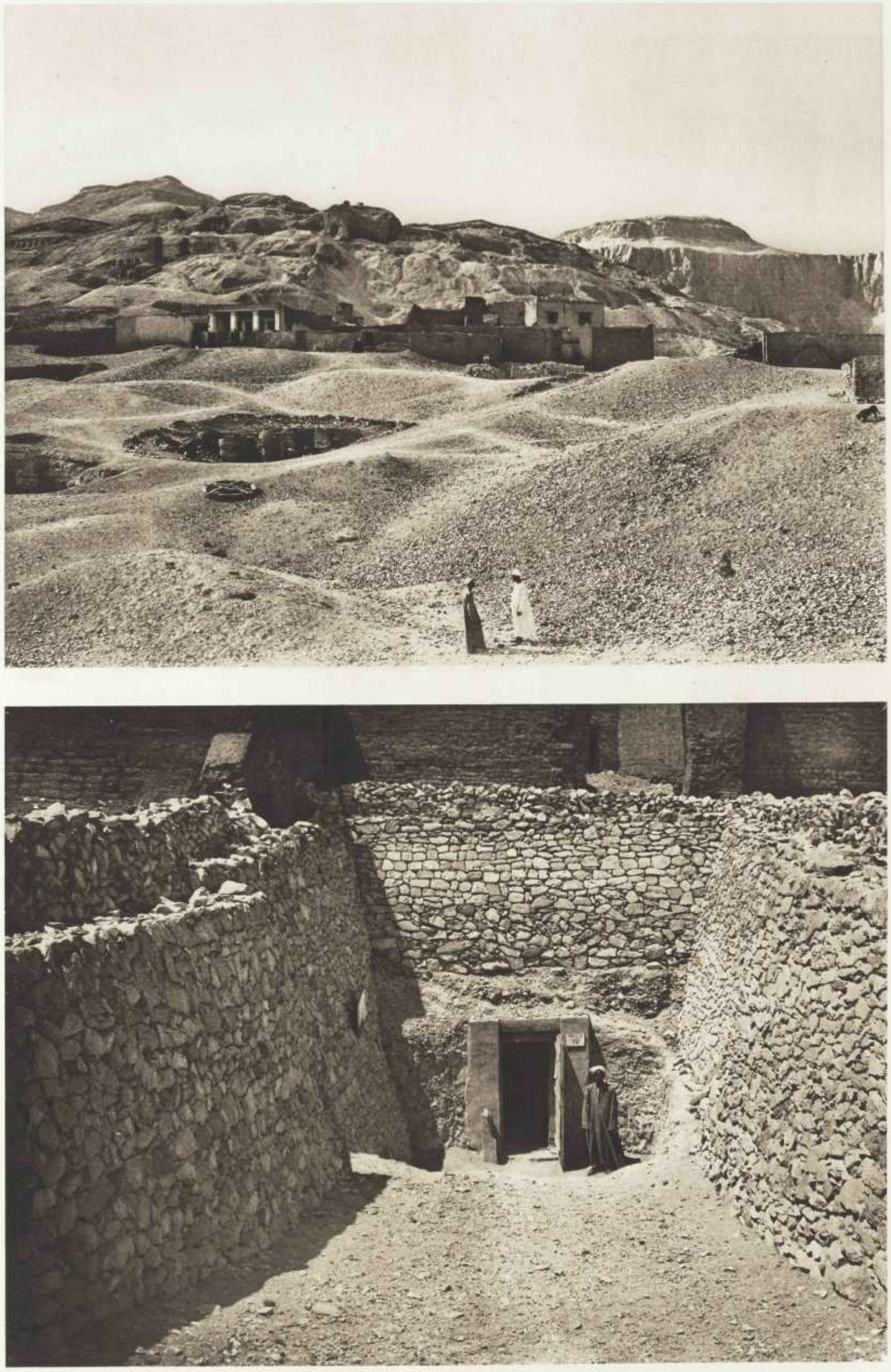

PLATE VI

TWO PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE INTERIOR OF THE DECORATED CHAMBER IN THE TOMB OF NAKHT, FACING SOUTH

On the extreme left of A is shown the entrance doorway; in the center of B is the doorway to the undecorated chamber

(See page 43)

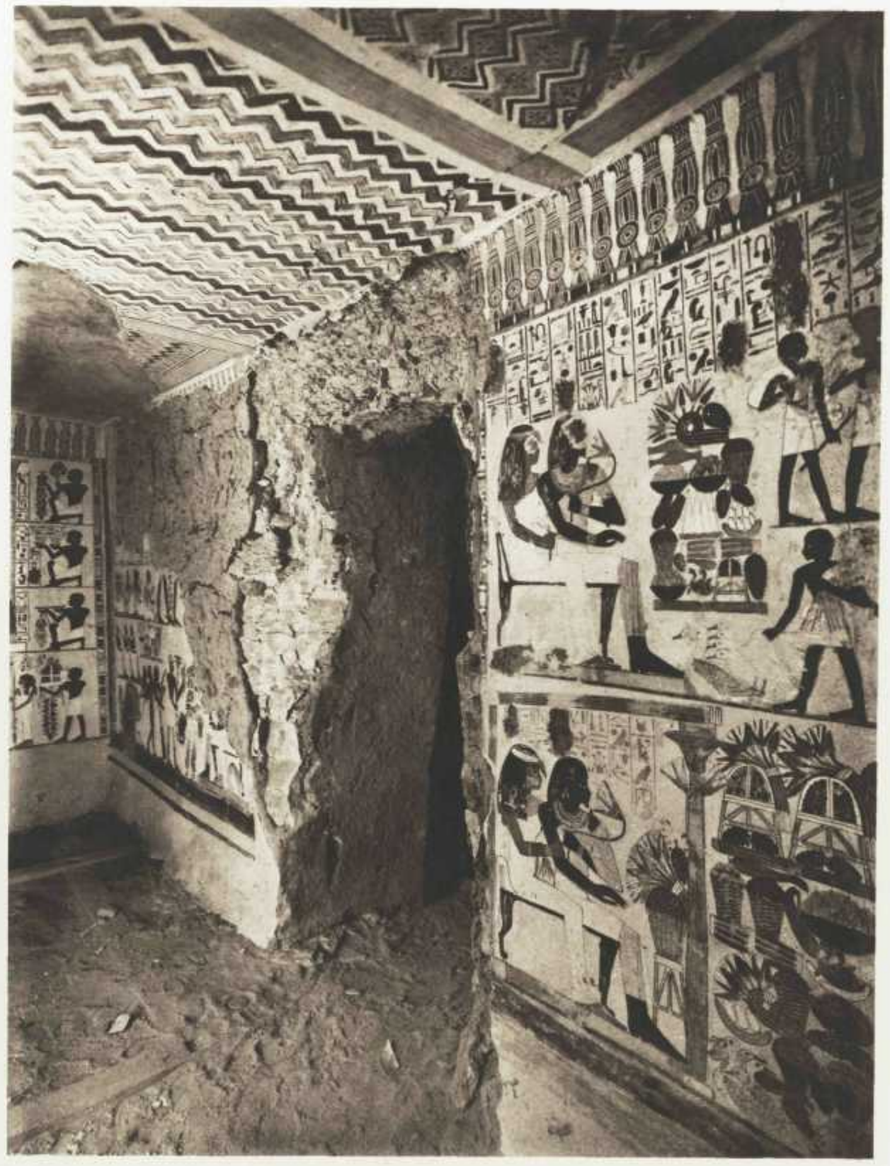

PLATE VII

TWO PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE INTERIOR OF THE DECORATED CHAMBER IN THE TOMB OF NAKHT, FACING NORTH

In the center of B is shown the entrance doorway

(See page 43)

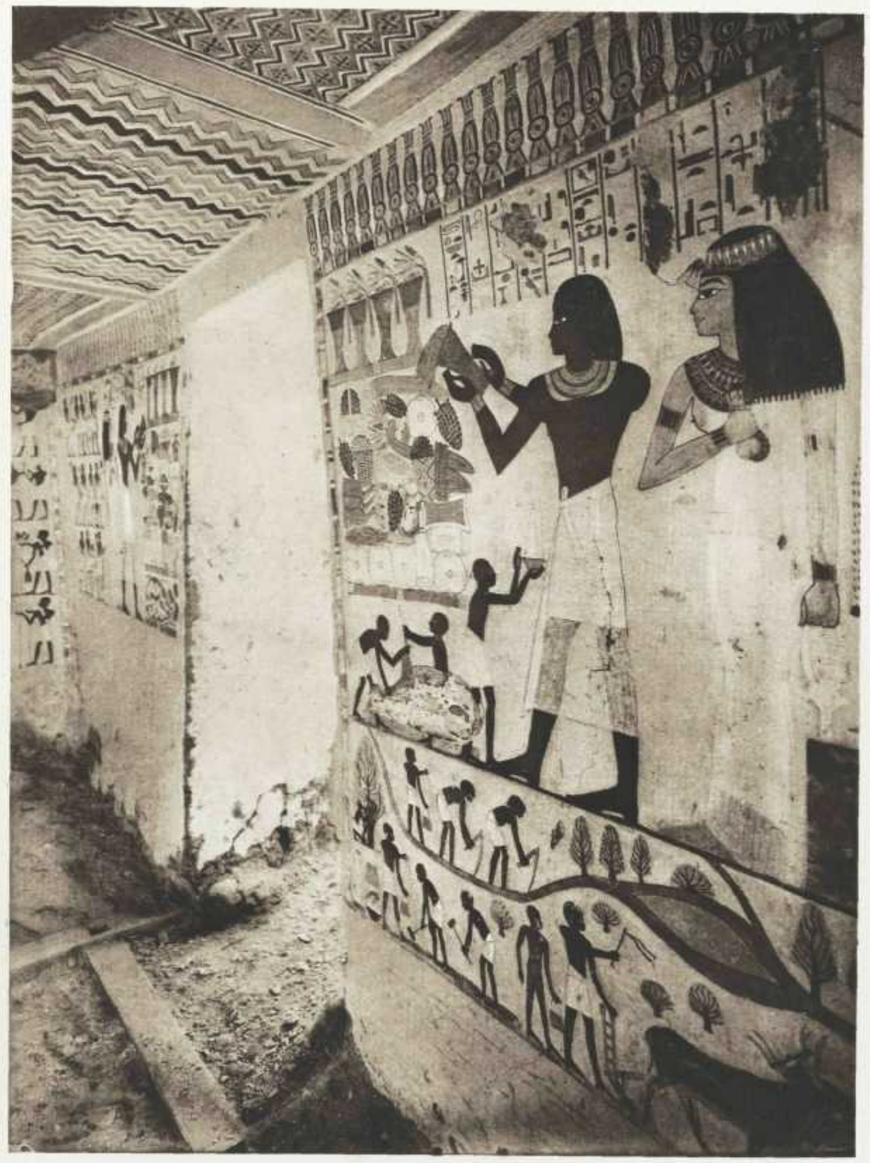

PLATE VIII

TRACING OF THE SOUTH WALL. SCALE 2:11

Above, the stela to which men kneeling on either side make offerings. Below, a pile of viands and flowers, on either side of which stands the goddess Nut followed by an attendant with further offerings

(See pages 46–49 and Plates IX and X)

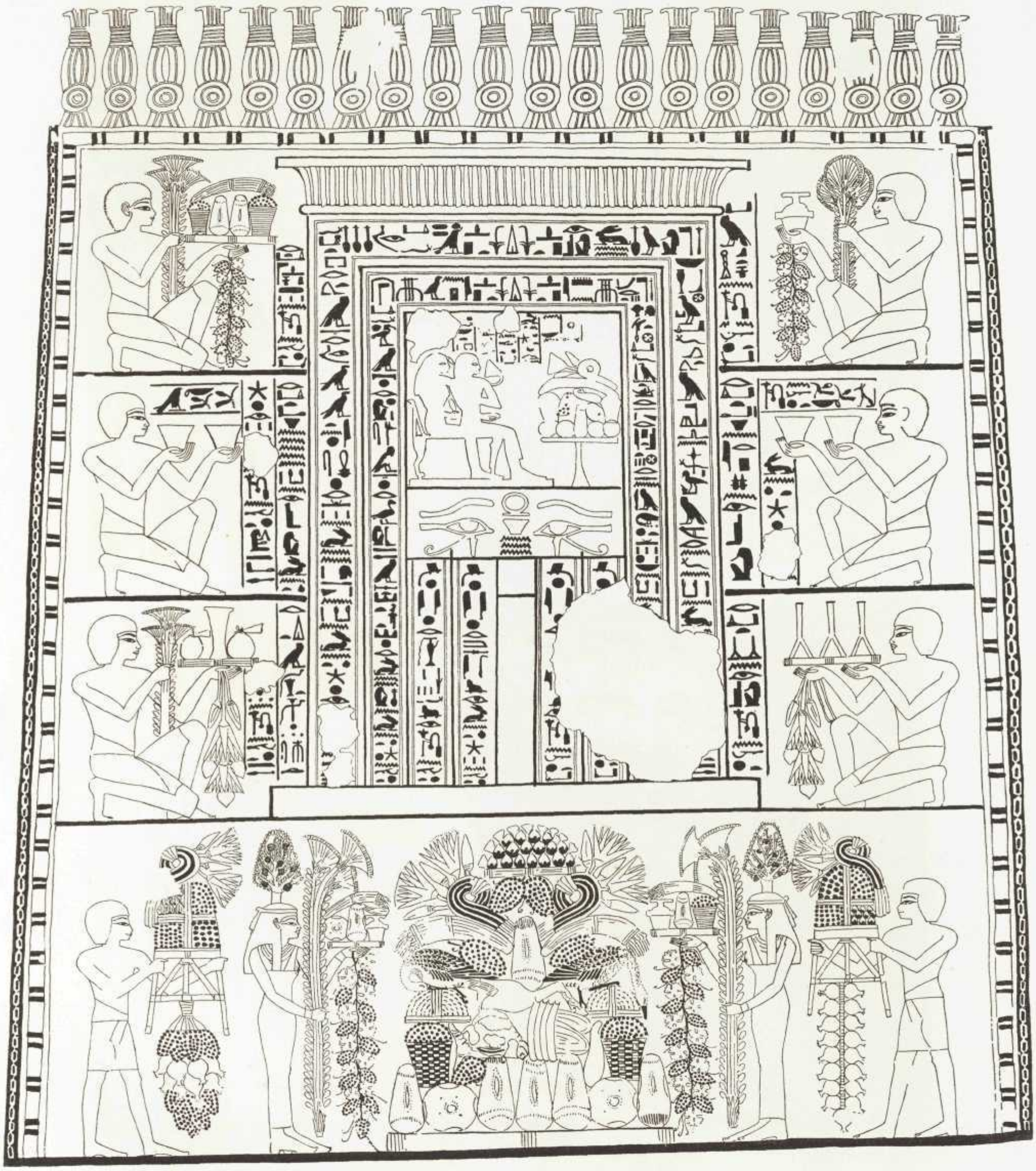

PLATE IX

PHOTOGRAPH OF THE SOUTH WALL

Above, the stela to which men kneeling on either side make offerings. Below, a pile of viands and flowers, on either side of which stands the goddess Nut followed by an attendant with further offerings

(See pages 46-49)

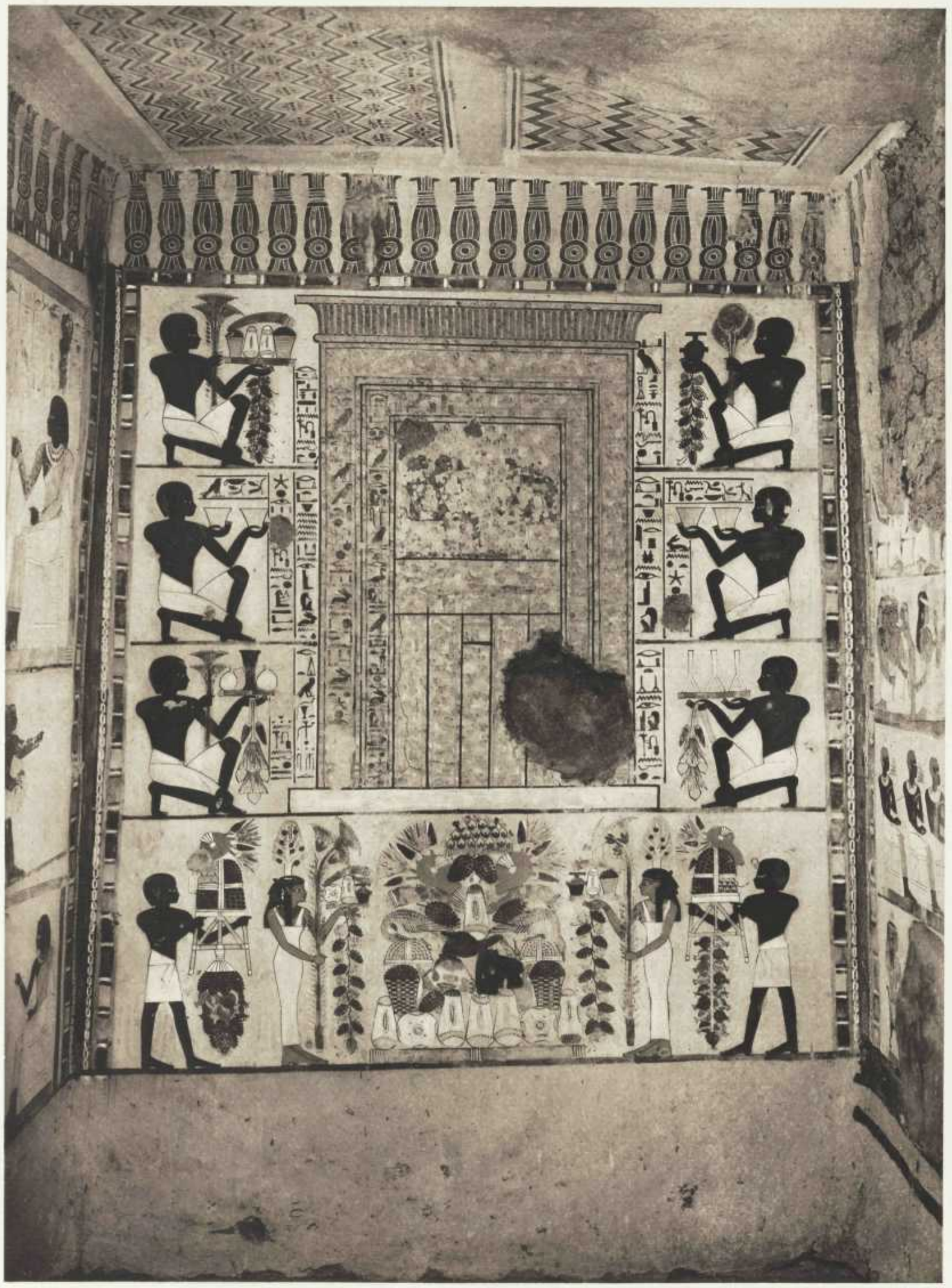

PLATE X

A. CAT DEVOURING A FISH

West Wall, South Side. Copy by Nina de Garis Davies

(See page 59)

B. THE GODDESS NUT AND THE PILE OF VIANDS AND FLOWERS BENEATH THE STELA ON THE SOUTH WALL

Copy by Francis Sydney Unwin

(See pages 46, 47)

PLATE XI

NAKHT AND HIS WIFE POURING INCENSE UPON OFFERINGS TO THE GODS

A. Photograph of the scene on the East Wall, north of the entrance doorway
(See pages 50, 51, and Plate XII)

B. Photograph of the corresponding scene on the East Wall, south of the entrance doorway
(See pages 51–53 and Plate XVIII)

PLATE XII

NAKHT AND HIS WIFE MAKING OFFERINGS TO THE GODS WHILE SERVANTS BRING UP FURTHER SACRIFICES

East Wall, North Side. Copy by Norman de Garis Davies

(See pages 50, 51)

PLATE XIII

TRACING OF THE NORTH WALL. SCALE 1:6

Two scenes showing Nakht and his wife seated while the *Sem*-priest performs the rites of consecration over a repast brought in by servants

(See pages 53-55 and Plate XIV)

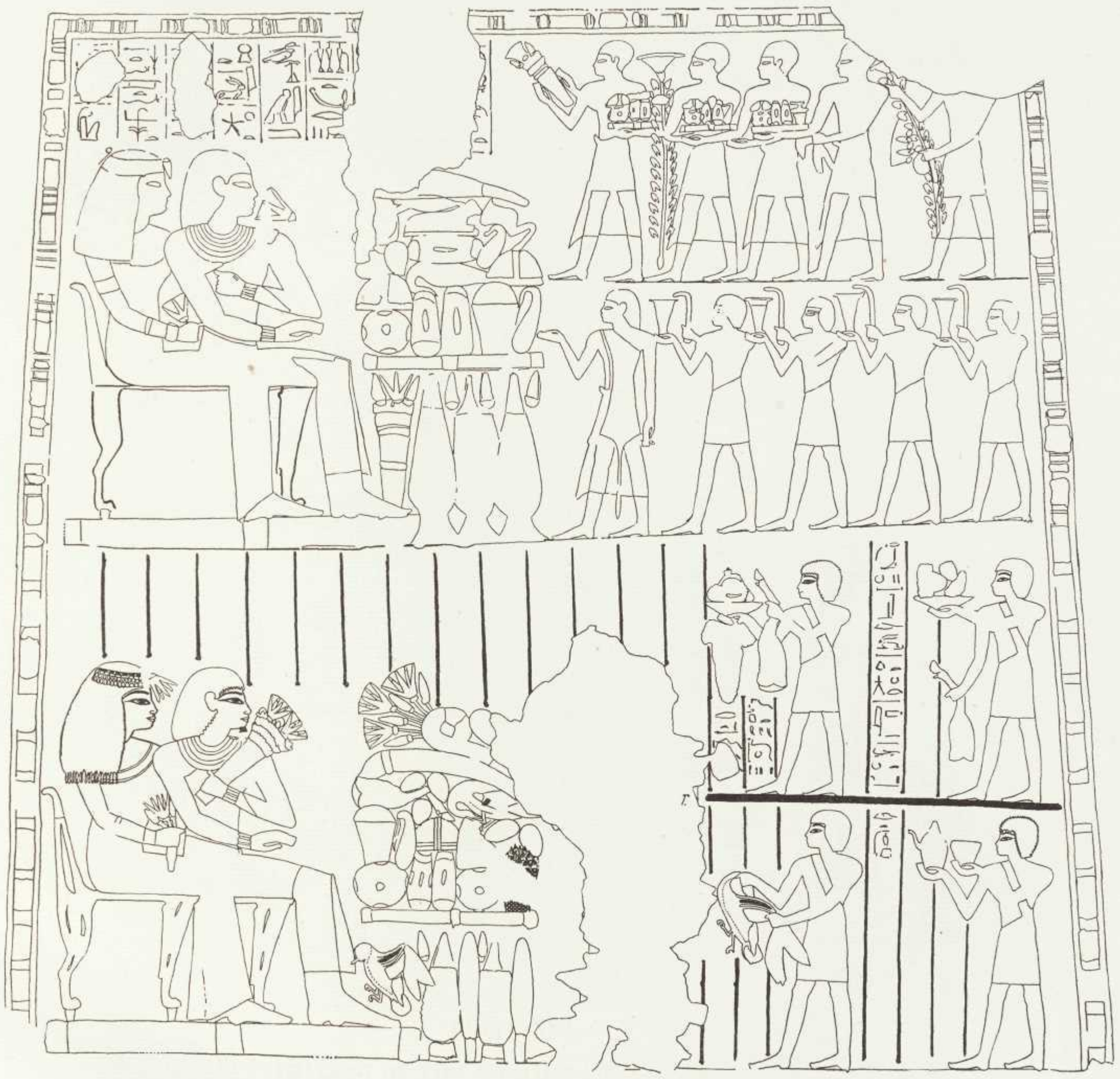

PLATE XIV

PHOTOGRAPH OF THE NORTH WALL

Two scenes showing Nakht and his wife seated while the *Sem*-priest performs the rites of consecration over a repast brought in by servants

(See pages 53–55)

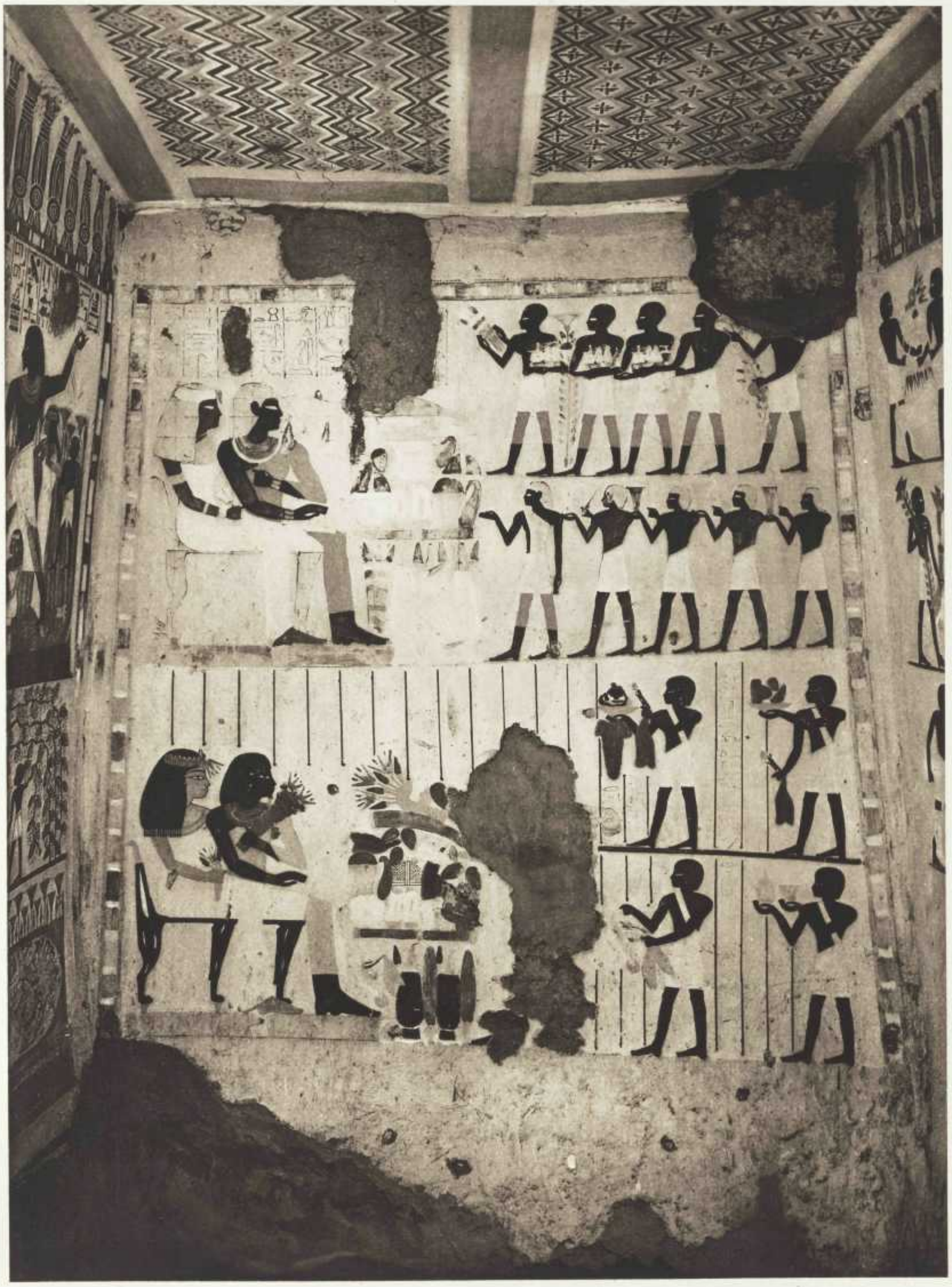

PLATE XV

TRACING OF THE WEST WALL, SOUTH SIDE. SCALE 2:9

A banquet, the guests on the left, the musicians in the center, and on the right the partially destroyed figures of Nakht and his wife with the cat beneath their chairs

(See pages 55–59 and Plates XA, XVI, XVII, and Frontispiece)

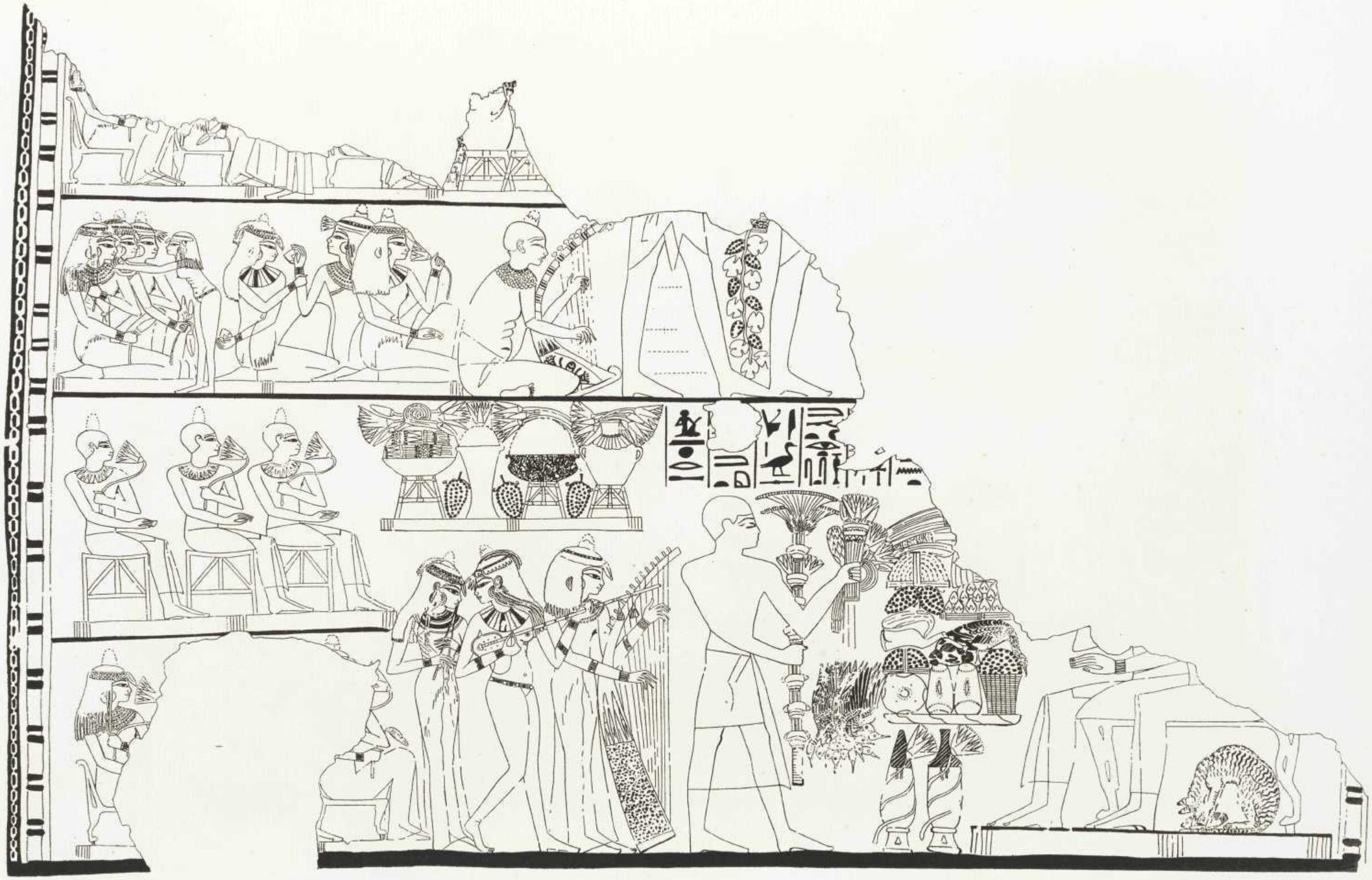

PLATE XVI

PHOTOGRAPHS OF TWO DETAILS OF THE WEST WALL, SOUTH SIDE

A. Guests at a banquet and the blind harper

(See pages 56, 57)

B. The dancing girls and an offering bearer

(See pages 57–59)

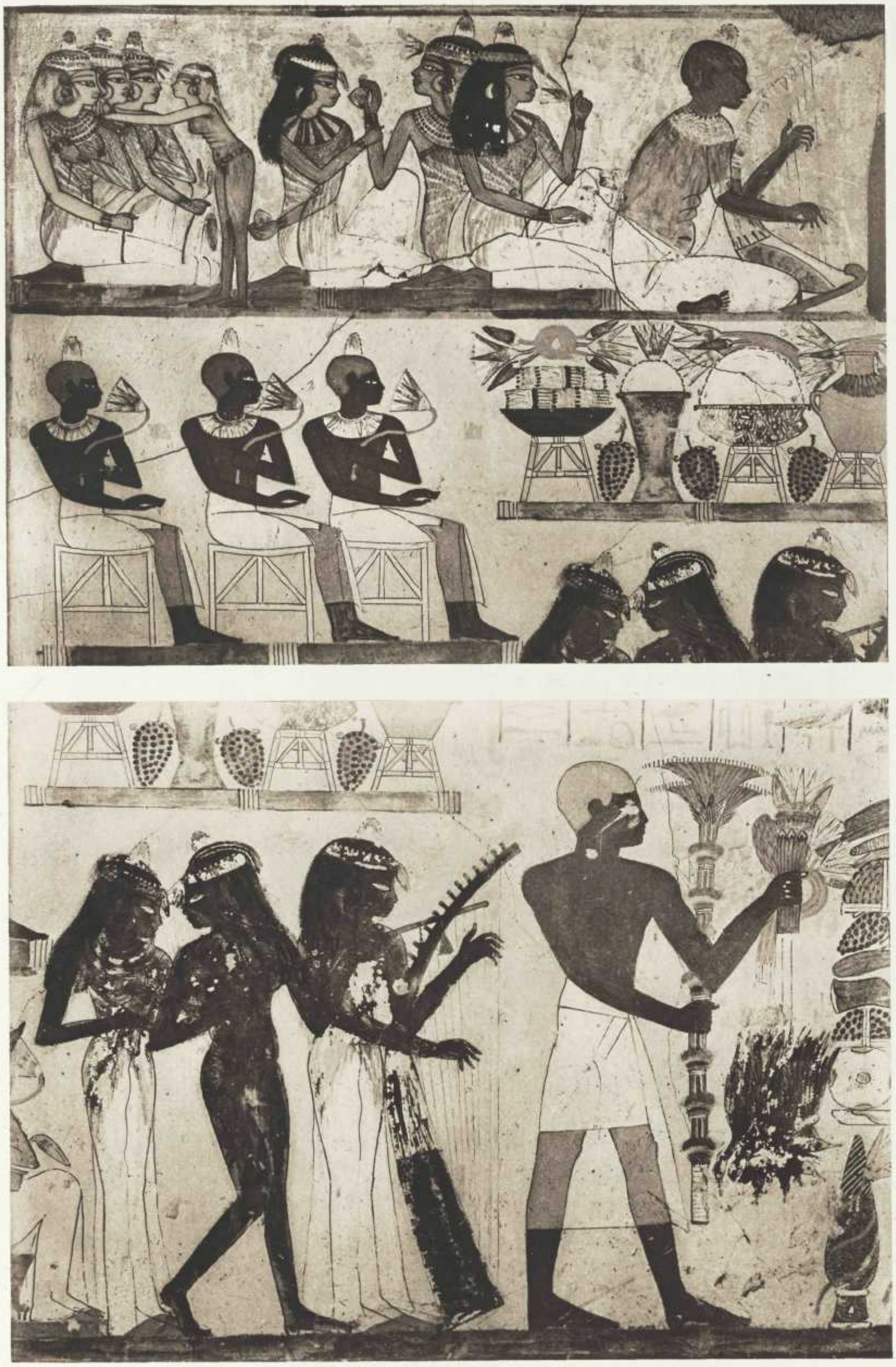

PLATE XVII

THE WOMEN GUESTS AND THE BLIND HARPER AT A BANQUET TO THE DEAD

West Wall, South Side. Copy by Nina de Garis Davies

(See pages 56, 57)

PLATE XVIII

TRACING OF THE EAST WALL, SOUTH SIDE. SCALE 2:13

To the left, Nakht and his wife make offerings to the gods; below, Nakht superintends the ploughing and sowing of his fields; above, he watches the harvest of the crops

(See pages 51–53 and Plate XIB. Also pages 60–65 and Plates XIX–XXI)

PLATE XIX

TWO PHOTOGRAPHS OF DETAILS OF THE EAST WALL, SOUTH SIDE

A. Nakht watches over the winnowing and measuring of the corn

(See pages 60 and 62–66)

B. Above, the harvest; below, part of the ploughing scene

(See pages 60–62)

PLATE XX

NAKHT, SEATED IN A BOOTH, WATCHES THE GIRLS WINNOWING THE CORN AND THE MEN MEASURING IT UNDER THE DIRECTION OF AN OVERSEER

East Wall, South Side. Copy by Norman de Garis Davies

(See pages 60 and 62–66)

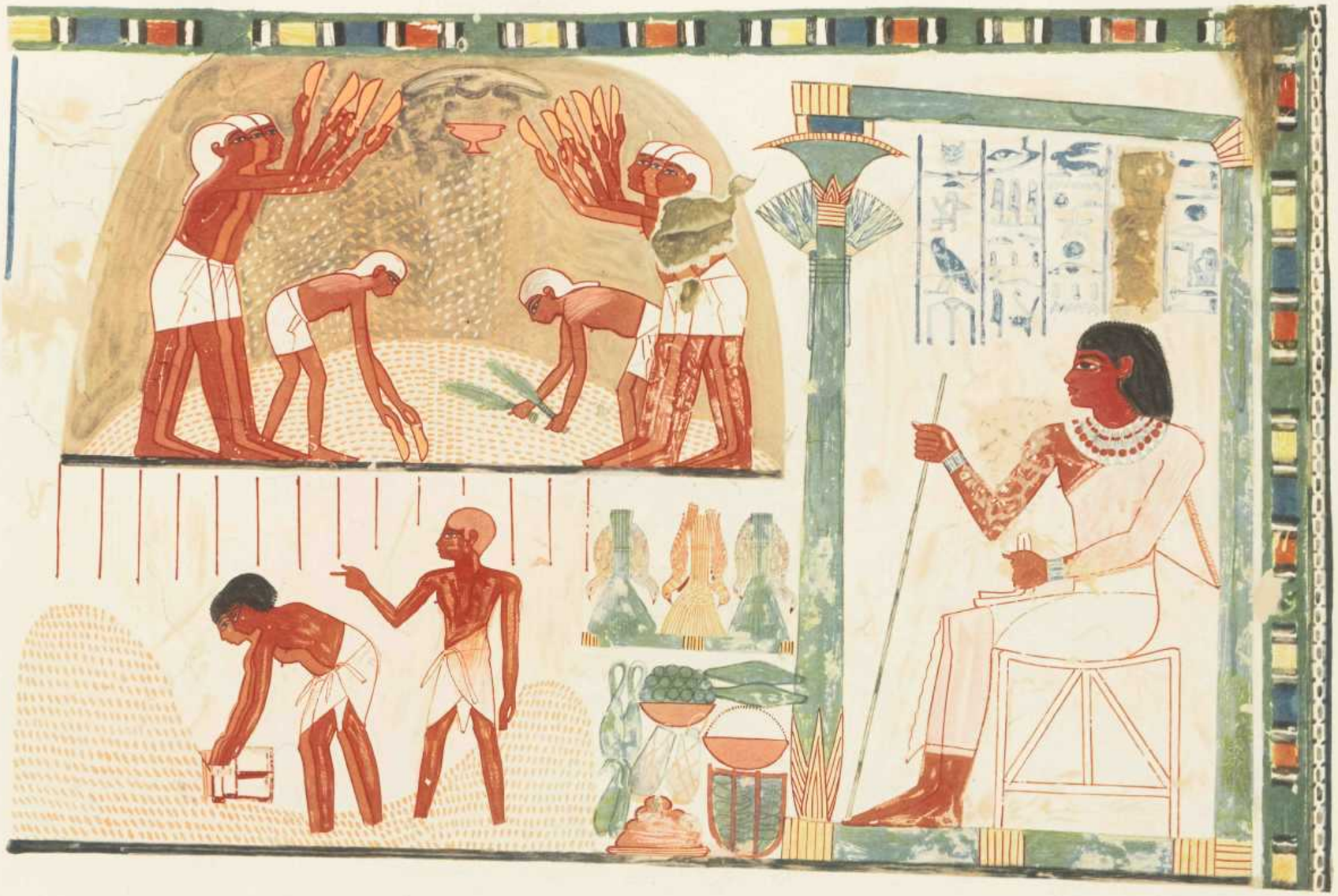

PLATE XXI

NAKHT, SEATED IN A BOOTH, WATCHES THE PLOUGHING AND SOWING OF THE FIELDS

Lower register of the East Wall, South Side. Copy by Norman de Garis Davies

(See pages 60-62)

PLATE XXII

TRACING OF THE WEST WALL, NORTH SIDE. SCALE 2:11

Nakht and his wife watch the marshland sports, the vintage, and the labors of the fowlers and fishermen

(See pages 66–70 and Plates XXIII–XXVI)

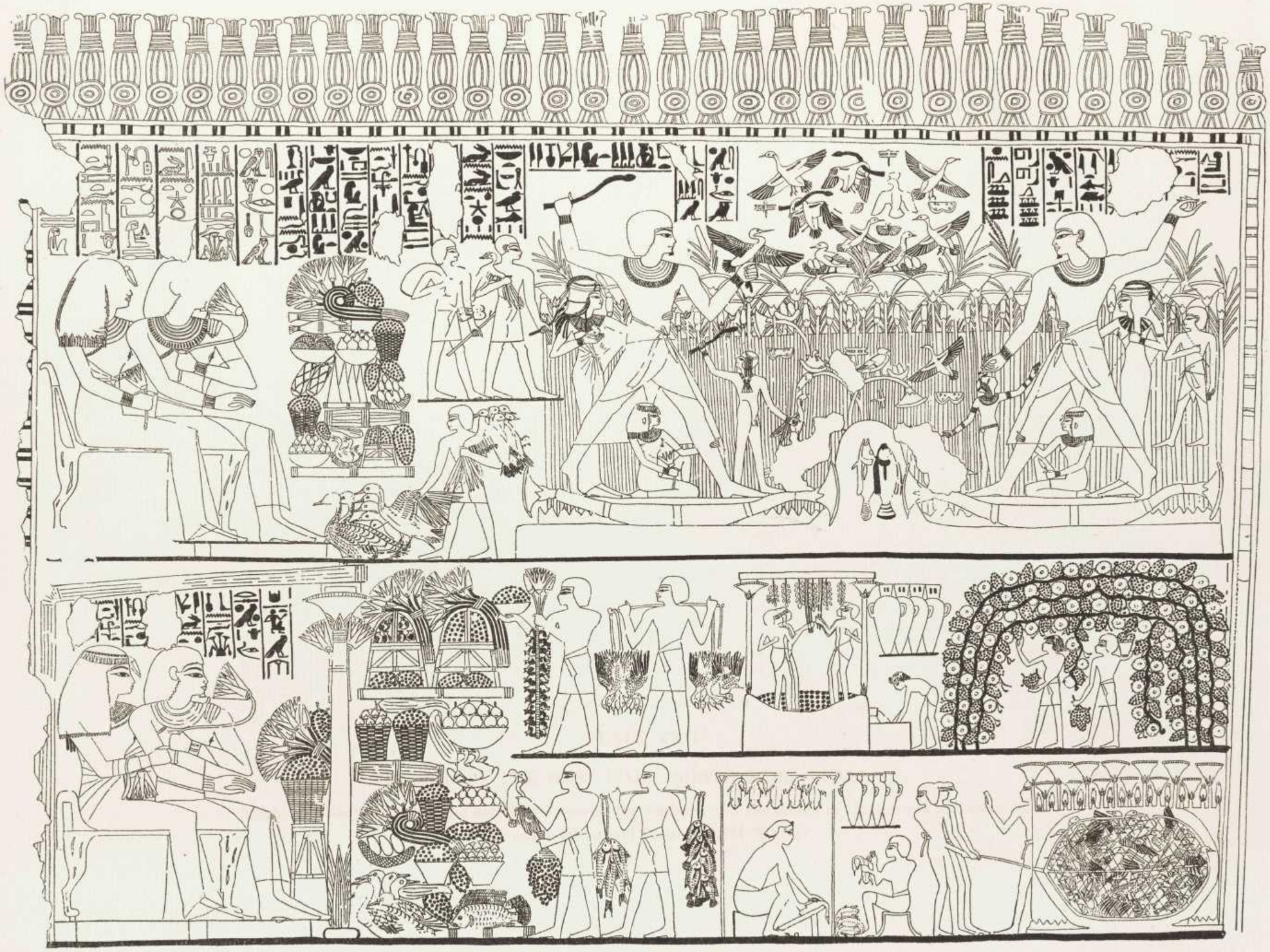

PLATE XXIII

TWO PHOTOGRAPHS OF DETAILS OF THE WEST WALL, NORTH SIDE

A. Nakht and his family hunting birds and spearing fish

(See pages 66–69)

B. The labors of the vintners and fowlers

(See pages 69, 70)

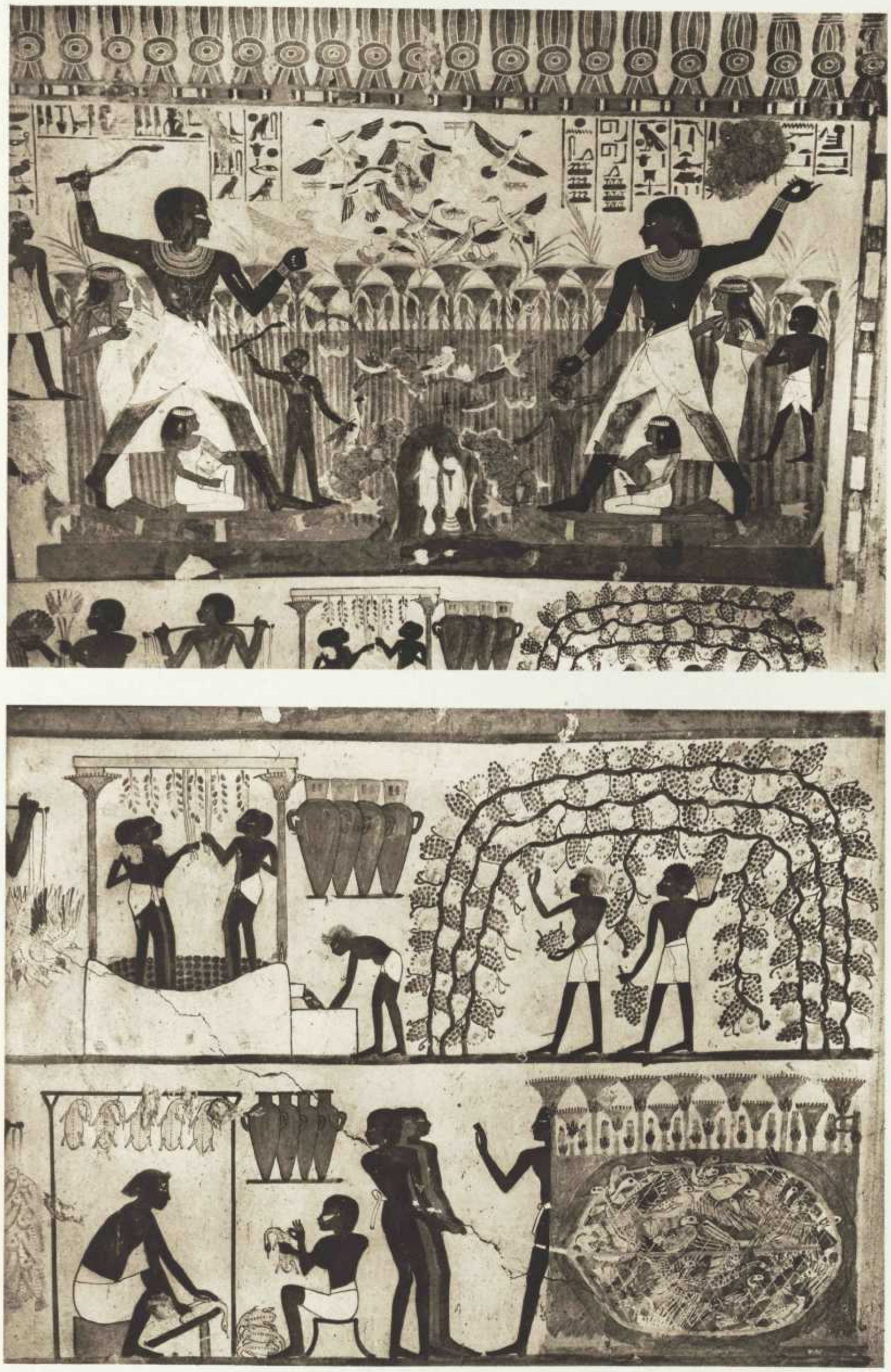

PLATE XXIV

NAKHT AND HIS FAMILY HUNTING BIRDS AND SPEARING FISH IN THE MARSHLANDS

West Wall, North Side. Copy by F. S. Unwin

(See pages 66–69)

PLATE XXV

NAKHT AND HIS WIFE SEATED IN A BOOTH WHILE SERVANTS BRING TO THEM THE FRUITS OF THE LABORS OF THE VINTNERS, FOWLERS, AND FISHERMEN

West Wall, North Side. Copy by F. S. Unwin

(See page 69)

PLATE XXVI

THE VINTNERS PICKING THE GRAPES AND PRESSING OUT THE WINE; THE FOWLERS NETTING BIRDS, PLUCKING AND DRYING THEM, AND PACKING THEM IN JARS

Continuation of Plate XXV. West Wall, North Side. Copy by F. S. Unwin

(See pages 69, 70)

PLATE XXVII

DETAILS OF THE PATTERNS ON THE CEILING OF THE DECORATED CHAMBER

Copy by Norman de Garis Davies

(See pages 43, 44, and Figure 10, p. 45)

PLATE XXVIII

FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS OF THE PAINTED LIMESTONE STATUETTE OF NAKHT FOUND IN THE SHAFT OF THE BURIAL CHAMBER

(See pages 36-39 and Figure 6, p. 38)

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PLATE XXIX

OBJECTS FOUND IN THE BURIAL CHAMBER OF THE TOMB OF NAKHT

1-3. Pottery vessels

(See pages 41, 42)

4-15. Fragments of furniture

(See pages 40, 41)