

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
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# THE TOMB OF KHERUEF

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THEBAN TOMB 192



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# THE TOMB OF KHERUEF

THEBAN TOMB 192

*by*

*THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY*

*in cooperation with*

*THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES  
OF EGYPT*



THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
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*To the memory of*  
WILLIAM EDGERTON  
*and*  
KEITH C. SEELE  
*whose standards of epigraphy*  
*have guided the work*  
*of this expedition*





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## PREFACE

**T**HE PUBLICATIONS of the Epigraphic Survey always have been a cooperative effort of all of the members of the staff. Without a continual consultation among them this volume could not have been made ready. The work of others, whose names do not appear on the list of staff members, greatly aided the smooth running of the expedition. Among these are the late Mr. John Healey, who kept the buildings, cars, and equipment at Chicago House in excellent condition; Mrs. Maurine G. Hughes, Mrs. Myrtle K. Nims, and Mrs. Mary R. Wilson, who, as wives of the field directors, supervised the household activities; and our rais, Hagg Ibrahim Mohammed Abd-el-Rahman, who was in charge of the local staff and personally took care of many special services.

The clearance of the debris by the Department of Antiquities from the tomb of Kheruef and the adjacent later tombs was under the able direction of the Chief Inspectors of Antiquities for Upper Egypt, Dr. Labib Habachi and Dr. M. Abdul-Kader Muhammad. To both of these scholars and their assistants we owe a debt of gratitude.

To Direktor Dr. Wolfgang Müller and Dr. Steffen Wenig of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin we express our appreciation for a photograph of the fragment showing the two princesses from the tomb of Kheruef and for the opportunity to make a tracing of the original. Professor David O'Connor, of the University Museum, the University of Pennsylvania, furnished photographs of the stelophorous statue E2988, arranged for the drawing of the stele by Miss Karen Krause, and gave permission to publish them.

Because of the long delay in the preparation of parts of the text by the undersigned, several have had their hand in the editing. To Mrs. Jean Eckenfels, Mrs. Jean Luther, Miss Pamela Bruton, and Mr. Richard White go our thanks for the patience they have shown in bringing consistency to the written word. Mr. Paul Hoffman has been responsible for the layout of the volume.

Such enterprises as the Epigraphic Survey could not exist without wide financial support. The Oriental Institute has paid the salaries of the staff and such expenses as were not covered by grants and donations. In 1963/64 a grant for the travel of staff members and for the operation and maintenance of our enterprise in Luxor came from counterpart funds administered through the United States Department of State. Since the season of 1965 such support has come from the Foreign Currency Program, Office of International Activities, the Smithsonian Institution; this support was administered through the American Research Center in Egypt. We are grateful to these institutions for their continuing confidence in the importance of our epigraphic work.

The cost of printing color plate 1 was borne by the Suq, the sales desk of the Oriental Institute Museum. Other expenses of publication were borne by a loyal supporter of the Oriental Institute, who wishes to remain anonymous.

CHARLES F. NIMS

CHICAGO, AUGUST 1978



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AEO	Alan H. Gardiner. <i>Ancient Egyptian Onomastica</i> . 3 vols. London, 1947.
ÄgAbh	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen. Wiesbaden, 1960-.
ÄgFor	Ägyptologische Forschungen. Glückstadt, 1936-.
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> . Second series. Norwood, Mass., etc., 1897-.
APAW	Abhandlungen der Preussischen [Deutschen] Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Berlin, 1908-50.
ASAE	<i>Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte</i> . Cairo, 1900-.
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i> . Cairo, 1901-.
BSFE	<i>Bulletin de la Société française d'Égyptologie</i> . Paris, 1949-.
CdE	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i> . Brussels, 1925-.
CGC	Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Cairo, etc., 1901-.
FIFAO	Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire. Cairo, 1924-.
IFAO	L'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire.
JARCE	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i> . Boston and Princeton, 1962-.
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i> . London, 1914-.
JEOL	<i>Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Orient Lux."</i> Leiden, 1938-.
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> . Chicago, 1942-.
L.D.	C. R. Lepsius. <i>Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien</i> . 6 vols. Berlin, [1849-1913].
MÄS	Münchener ägyptologische Studien. Berlin, 1962-.
MDAIK	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Abteilung Kairo</i> . Augsburg, etc., 1930-.
MH	The Epigraphic Survey. <i>Medinet Habu</i> . 8 vols. OIP 8, 9, 23, 51, 83, 84, 93, 94. Chicago, 1930-70.
MIFAO	Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire. Cairo, 1902-.
MIO	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung</i> . Berlin, 1953-.
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
MMAF	Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire. Cairo and Paris, 1884-1934.
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications. Chicago, 1924-.
OMRO	<i>Oudheidkundige mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden</i> . New series. Leiden, 1920-.
Porter and Moss, Topographical Bibliography	Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss. <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings</i> .
1/1 <sup>2</sup>	Vol. 1. <i>The Theban Necropolis</i> . Pt. 1. <i>Private Tombs</i> . 2d ed. Oxford, 1960.
1/2 <sup>2</sup>	Vol. 1. <i>The Theban Necropolis</i> . Pt. 2. <i>Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries</i> . 2d ed. Oxford, 1964.
2 <sup>2</sup>	Vol. 2. <i>Theban Temples</i> . 2d ed. Oxford, 1972.
5	Vol. 5. <i>Upper Egypt: Sites</i> . Oxford, 1937.
RdE	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i> . Paris and Cairo, 1933-.
RT	<i>Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes</i> . Paris, 1879-1923.
SAK	<i>Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur</i> . Hamburg, 1974-.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- SAOC Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization. Chicago, 1931-.
- UGAÄ Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens. Leipzig and Berlin, 1896-1956.
- Urk. 1 Kurt Sethe, comp. *Urkunden des Alten Reichs*. 4 pts. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums 1. Leipzig, 1903-33.
- Urk. 4 Kurt Sethe and Wolfgang Helck, comps. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. 22 pts. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums 4. Berlin and Leipzig, 1906-58.
- Urk. 5 Hermann Grapow, comp. *Religiöse Urkunden*. 3 pts. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums 5. Leipzig, 1915-17.
- Urk. 8 Kurt Sethe, comp. *Thebanische Tempelinschriften aus griechisch-römischer Zeit*. Pt. 1. Ed. Otto Firchow. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums 8. Berlin, 1957.
- Wb. Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, eds. *Wörterbuch der aegyptischen Sprache*. 7 vols. Leipzig and Berlin, 1926-63.
- Wb., Belegstellen Adolf Erman, Hermann Grapow, and W. Erichsen, eds. *Wörterbuch der aegyptischen Sprache: Die Belegstellen*. 5 vols. Berlin and Leipzig, 1935-55.
- ZÄS *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*. Leipzig and Berlin, 1863-.

# THE TOMB

CHARLES F. NIMS

## MODERN HISTORY OF THE TOMB

THE FIRST Egyptologist known to have visited the tomb of Kheruef was Adolf Erman. In January 1886 he went to the Theban Necropolis daily, guided by an elderly donkey boy who greeted him each morning with the words "I know another tomb you do not know about." One day he was taken through the labyrinthine tunnels in Asasif<sup>1</sup> into what we now know was the northern wing of the west portico of the court of the tomb and discovered the scene depicting the erection of the *djed*-pillar.<sup>2</sup> There in a dim light he sketched the reliefs and copied the inscriptions, which were later published by his teacher, Heinrich Brugsch.<sup>3</sup>

In 1911 Alan H. Gardiner discovered the connected tombs 189 through 197, and assigned number 192 to the entryway of the tomb of Kheruef.<sup>4</sup> Although the exact relation of this entryway to the rest of the tomb was at that time undetermined, Gardiner noted that "the western part of the tomb has been buried deep by Winlock."<sup>5</sup> He copied for his own record at least one of the extensive texts in the entryway.<sup>6</sup> He erected an iron gate in front of tomb 189 and walled up other means of access to the complex.<sup>7</sup>

Two years later, in the company of Norman de Garis Davies, Gardiner was in the part of the tomb seen a quarter of a century earlier by Erman, as evidenced by this entry in Gardiner's notebook:

11.3.13. The youth Awad Ali led us down through a small hole in the Assasif valley which led first to a vaulted 3-chamber tomb [no. 244], Ramesside with a few incised inscriptions round two doors belonging to a man [Overseer of Artisans, Pakharu], whose wife was [Roued-'awy] and thence to the famous tomb of [Kheruef] or part of it about 30 yards due W. of the entrance known to us, with the raising of [the *djed*-] column. The king and queen have been recently cut away, but it ought to be possible to preserve the rest of the tomb.<sup>8</sup>

The entrance of the tomb received further attention from Davies in the article published in 1923, "Akhenaten at Thebes," that included one photograph, a hand copy of part of one in-

<sup>1</sup> Asasif is the valley lying in front of Deir el-Bahri. The word is said to mean "passages under the earth leading into one another"; Alan H. Gardiner and Arthur E. P. Weigall, *A Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes* (London, 1913), p. 13, n. 1. Such passages are shown on pl. 2. The entry into tomb 191 is from the small court of the tomb of Kharua (no. 37), which also has a maze of passages.

<sup>2</sup> Adolf Erman, *Mein Werden und mein Wirken* (Leipzig, 1939), p. 218.

<sup>3</sup> Heinrich Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum*, vol. 5 (Leipzig, 1891), pp. 1120, 1190-94.

<sup>4</sup> B. van de Walle, "L'Identification d'un fragment de bas-relief provenant du tombeau de Kharouef (Thèbes, n° 192)," in *Studi in memoria di Ippolito Rosellini*, vol. 2 (Pisa, 1955), pp. 283-88.

<sup>5</sup> Gardiner and Weigall, *Topographical Catalogue*, p. 33, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> AEO 1, p. 36\*, no. 116; Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* 1/2<sup>3</sup>, p. xviii.

<sup>7</sup> Gardiner and Weigall, *Topographical Catalogue*, p. 8. This access to these tombs continued in use until the complex was cleared in 1957-59. When the court and the entry ramp had been cleared, the Department of Antiquities erected a new gate at the entry.

<sup>8</sup> I owe this account to Dr. R. L. B. Moss, who, in a letter of June 10, 1968, prefaced the quotation with this information: "Among Mr. Davies' notes on Tomb 192 was a small slip of paper headed 'AGH Notebook, p. 138,' with the following entry, presumably copied from a record by Sir Alan, but we do not seem to have the notebook mentioned [in the Griffith Institute, Oxford]."

scription, and a description of the scenes.<sup>9</sup> Although the extract from Gardiner's notebook about his and Davies's visit to the part of the tomb seen by Erman was found among Davies's papers after his death, Davies's recollection of the incident differs somewhat from Gardiner's:

Dr. Gardiner and I once entered it and found it in sad ruin, but, as we reached it by mole-like burrowings, we are not sure of its exact location, though it is in the vicinity of Tomb 192. I find no notes of the contents or shape, but see no possibility of its being part of the present tomb; so I imagine that Kheruef immediately on the accession of Amenophis IV abandoned it and commenced this other tomb in which the new fashions and faith should have expression.<sup>10</sup>

The next record of a scholar's visit to the buried section of the tomb was thirty years after that of Gardiner and Davies. On April 2, 1943, Ahmed Fakhry, then Chief Inspector of Antiquities for Upper Egypt, searching for the sources of tomb reliefs that were coming on the market, entered the tomb through the same hole that had provided access for the earlier visitors.<sup>11</sup> He noted that the limestone where the reliefs had been removed was chalk white, and this led him to believe that the vandalism was very recent. Gardiner's observations about this vandalism, given above, were unpublished, and no one knew the provenance of the relief with the heads of the two princesses that had been in the Staatliche Museum zu Berlin for at least thirty-five years.<sup>12</sup>

With characteristic energy and the assistance of Mohammed Zakaria Ghoneim, then Keeper of the Theban Necropolis, Fakhry set about clearing what is now known to be the west portico of the court of the tomb. In the same year he published an exemplary preliminary report, more thorough than many final reports.<sup>13</sup> To protect the reliefs in the west portico he built a wall blocking the entrance to the first columned hall, which was not excavated, and another along the line of the columns of the west portico. The door giving access to this enclosed area was at the south end of the front of the portico, around the corner from the entrance to tomb 364 (pl. 2).

Early in 1950 Zakaria Ghoneim, by then Chief Inspector of Antiquities for Upper Egypt, requested that I make new photographs of the reliefs in the section that he and Fakhry had cleared.<sup>14</sup> During a visit to Luxor in the spring of 1954 Miss Margaret Bell (now Mrs. George Cameron), at that time Administrative Secretary of the Oriental Institute, was much impressed by the beauty of the reliefs in the tomb. She recommended to Carl Kraeling, then Director of the Oriental Institute, that the Epigraphic Survey cooperate with the Department

<sup>9</sup> *JEA* 9 (1923): 134-36, pls. XXII.1, XXVII.n. The photograph used by Davies was one of two (negative numbers T 1090, 1091) taken by Harry Burton, photographer of the Theban expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Later, Burton photographed all the scenes and inscriptions in the entrance, with the exception of the effaced sections (pls. 19, 20, and 22). These photographs have the negative numbers T 2628-41.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134, n. 1.

<sup>11</sup> Erman probably entered the tomb through the same passages as did Gardiner and Davies. Their route can be traced on pl. 2. After entering the doorway of tomb 244, one turns left and comes out at the northwest corner of the columned hall. The overhang remaining after part of the roof collapsed prevented the debris from entirely filling the hall, and there was a passage just under the ceiling along the west, north, and south walls. About midway along the north wall, just below the ceiling, there is a breakthrough into an unnumbered tomb, at the east end of which is another breakthrough into the northern end of the west portico of the tomb, just north of the reliefs. It was also possible to enter the columned hall through the window in the east wall near the south end and pass along the south, west, and north walls. The window can be seen on pl. 6B, just above the shattered column.

<sup>12</sup> Hellmut Brunner, "Ein Bruchstück aus dem Grabe des Kheruef," *ZÄS* 81 (1956): 59-60, believes that the relief was accessioned not later than 1908. Both he and van de Walle, *Studi in memoria di Ippolito Rosellini*, vol. 2, pp. 283-88, identified the tomb of Kheruef as the source of this fragment.

<sup>13</sup> Ahmed Fakhry, "A Note on the Tomb of Kheruef at Thebes," *ASAE* 42 (1943): 449-508, pls. XXXIX-LII.

<sup>14</sup> These photographs are the bases of most of the plates in this volume that show the scenes in the portico and the entrance to the columned hall. Ghoneim received a number of sets of prints and several enlargements of these scenes and was most generous in his distribution of them. Thus a considerable number of the Epigraphic Survey's photographs of this tomb have already been published with other credits.

of Antiquities in clearing the unexcavated parts of the tomb. The department accepted the offer and in December 1957 there began two seasons of clearance; the removal of the debris was under the direction of the then chief inspectors of antiquities.<sup>15</sup> The entrance ramp, the columned hall, and the other adjoining areas were cleared of the *redim*, and new protective walls and a new gate were erected. In the 1959/60 season James Knudstad, Field Architect of the Oriental Institute, surveyed the complex of tombs and made the plans that appear on plates 2, 3, and 4. Drawings of the scenes and further photography were begun in the spring of 1961 and completed in the season of 1969/70.<sup>16</sup>

### ARCHITECTURE AND DECORATION

The tomb of Kheruef was quarried not into the hillside, as the earlier tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty in the Theban Necropolis were,<sup>17</sup> but into the irregular surface of the desert rock, as were some contemporary tombs.<sup>18</sup> Although the orientation of the hillside tombs seems to have been determined by the topography, there were at the site chosen by Kheruef or his architect in the floor of the Asasif valley<sup>19</sup> no nearby physical features that predetermined the tomb's orientation.<sup>20</sup> Thus it was possible to have it face east, like the Eleventh Dynasty tomb of Djar (no. 366), some one hundred meters to the east.<sup>21</sup>

Once the site was chosen the first task of the tomb's architect was to lay out the axial line.<sup>22</sup> For purposes of reference it is taken as a line that, at the ground level of the tomb, passes through the central point of the west doorway of the entrance passage and that of the doorway between the first and second columned halls.<sup>23</sup> Its probable position can be determined by an examination of the tomb plan (pl. 3A).

After the axis of the tomb was marked out, the work of the quarriers began. The location

<sup>15</sup> The clearance during the first season was under the direction of Labib Habachi; see his "Clearance of the Tomb of Kheruef at Thebes (1957-1958)," *ASAE* 55 (1958): 325-50, pls. I-XII. The work of the second season was in the charge of M. Abdul-Kader Muhammad; a brief account of this season is given in his "Recent Finds," *ASAE* 59 (1966): 154-55, pls. XXVI-XXIX.

<sup>16</sup> During those nine years all or part of the staff of the Epigraphic Survey were engaged in the continuing documentation of the temple at Beit el-Wali in Egyptian Nubia, in the excavation of Sera East in the Sudan, in the documentation of the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu, and, during the last three of those years, in the resumption of the documentation of the Temple of Khonsu in Karnak.

<sup>17</sup> This observation assumes that the "Lower Enclosure" was a stone quarry before the existence of the Eighteenth Dynasty tombs that are entered from it.

<sup>18</sup> These were Theban tombs 55, Ramose; 57, Kha'emhet; and 102, Imhotep. The last two have a common quarried court, and to judge from its situation the tomb of Imhotep can hardly be later than the tomb of Kha'emhet.

<sup>19</sup> The only other Eighteenth Dynasty tomb in the floor of the valley is the burial chamber of Senenmut (no. 353), near the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut. There is no evidence that there was a chapel attached.

<sup>20</sup> By the end of the reign of Thutmose III much of the valley was occupied by what still existed of the causeways of Mentuhotep III, Thutmose III, and Hatshepsut. The causeway of Thutmose III covered much of the tomb of Intef (*Jnj-jtj.f*) (no. 386). The tomb of Kheruef is beyond the southern limit of the Mentuhotep causeway.

<sup>21</sup> The orientation of the tomb of Djar is shown on the map in Dieter Arnold, *Grabung im Asasif, 1963-1970*, vol. 1, *Das Grab des Jnj-jtj.f: Die Architektur*, Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutsches archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo, vol. 4 (Mainz, 1971), pl. I. The similar orientation of the tomb of Kheruef can be determined from the aerial photograph that is the frontispiece in the same volume.

<sup>22</sup> Ernest Mackay, in his excellent study, "The Cutting and Preparation of Tomb-Chapels in the Theban Necropolis," notes that in two Ramesside tombs the axial lines are indicated on the ceilings (*JEA* 7 [1921]: 156). It is not clear how the axial line of the tomb of Kheruef was kept throughout the quarrying; stakes in the ground could have been used at the east and west limits of the tomb.

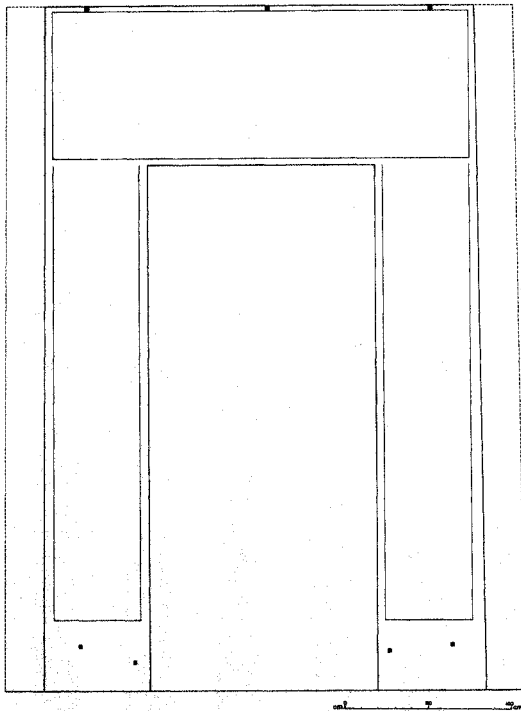
<sup>23</sup> The plans on pls. 2-4 are the result of a survey made by Field Architect James Knudstad and are based on surveyed points rather than measurements, except for such small distances as the spaces between the column bases in the columned hall. Most of the measurements and angles mentioned in the discussions below were established by calculation from the plans, and thus are indicated by the abbreviation *ca.* (circa). The difference between a surveyed plan and a measured or sketched plan can be seen by comparing pl. 2 with the plan of the same tombs in Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* 1/1<sup>1</sup>, p. 296.

of the tomb made necessary a ramp or a stairway both for the disposal of rubble and eventually for access to the tomb. Indeed, it may be that more than one ramp was used so that quarrying could be done more rapidly. Besides the present ramp at the entrance, one or more could have been started in the area where the court eventually was quarried. A possible point for the start of another ramp is a depression that ran north and south through the area of the court, evidences of which are shown on plates 3A and 6A.

The entrance ramp of the tomb of Kheruef has a slope down to the west of ca.  $15^\circ$  (pls. 3B, 5). We did not clear the upper part of this ramp; to do so would have required the removal of the remains of a mud-brick structure that rests on the debris filling the upper end of the ramp and covering the bedrock to the depth of about one meter.<sup>24</sup> The west wall of this structure (pl. 2) is bonded into the mud-brick retaining walls that rest on the bedrock on either side of the ramp passage. A doorway in the west wall seems to have been the entrance to the tomb complex in later times, although no steps leading down from the doorway were found. The other walls of the structure are bonded into neither the west wall nor each other and rest on debris that rises slightly higher than the sill of the doorway.

The upper parts of the walls on either side of the ramp, quarried into the native rock, are roughly finished. At the bottom they are about equidistant from the axial line. Approximately a meter above the floor of the ramp, and parallel to it, are rounding ledges that resemble banisters and seem to be intentional architectural elements.

At the lower end of the ramp is a vestibule with ceiling, the sidewalls prepared for reliefs. Only on the northern wall were these executed. The south wall was lined in red as a guide for the outline draughtsman and the sculptor, but their work was never begun.



*Drawing by Coleman*

FIG. 1. Schematic drawing of the face of the entry doorway, showing the peg holes

The intention was to separate the frame of the entrance doorway from the sidewalls of the vestibule by channels a few centimeters deep and about twenty centimeters wide. On the south side of the frame the channel is finished to a point above the floor that is one quarter of the height of the wall and on the north three quarters of the height. The face of the doorway has a batter of ca.  $6^\circ$ . Around this face are small plugholes, three just under the ceiling and over the top of the lintel, and two on either jamb below the reliefs (pl. 8 and fig. 1). Some of the wooden plugs are still in position. The placement of these holes suggests that they are contemporary with the tomb and were intended for the draping of curtains.<sup>25</sup>

The reliefs on the lintel and the jambs on the east side of the doorway were completed, and those on the jambs, at least, painted. On the inner side of the doorway is a depressed sill. At the northeast corner of the passage where the doorway joins the wall there are holes in the ceiling.

<sup>24</sup> The bedrock just north of the brick structure was reached during an excavation by the Fondation égyptologique Reine Elisabeth, under the direction of Hermann de Meulenaere, in the autumn of 1970.

<sup>25</sup> The contemporaneity of the plugholes and the relief is a matter of personal judgment, which may be mistaken. Ludwig Borchardt, "Metallbelag an Steinbauten," in *Allerhand Kleinigkeiten* (Leipzig, [1933]), pp. 1-11, believed that such holes



ing and the floor for socket blocks, not extant. The placement of the ceiling inscriptions (pl. 23) indicates that the hole for the upper socket was cut and the block inserted before the inscriptions were executed. The north end of the horizontal inscription adjoining the inner lintel (top of pl. 23) is interrupted by this hole, but the relief probably extended 7 or 8 cm over the pivot block. On the south wall, just inside the doorway, a bolt hole was cut through the relief, its center ca. 1.40 m above the floor (pl. 11). As far as can be determined, the floor, ceiling, and walls of the passage were completed architecturally and the reliefs carved for the length of the passage. The only present indication of paint on these reliefs is in the effaced lines and hieroglyphs of the word square (pl. 14).

Both the eastern and western doorways of the entrance passage are bisected by the indicated axial line, but the walls of the passage are not parallel to it, slanting to the north from the west end by ca. 2°. This divergence may have been caused by the necessity of making space for the door sockets at the northeast corner of the passage. The frame of the western doorway is set out slightly into the east portico of the court.

The doorway and passage from the west portico to the first columned hall, like the entrance doorway and passage, were completed architecturally, and the reliefs fully executed. These are the only sections of the tomb so finished. The face of the doorway has a batter of ca. 7°;<sup>26</sup> at the groundline it is at right angles to the axial line. The walls of the passage are parallel to this line, while the medial points of the doorway and passage are slightly to the south of it.

On the west side of the doorway is a lowered sill. At the north, where the doorway forms an angle with the wall of the passage, the hard, dark stone socket is still in place in the floor and a wooden block with a deep round hole, ca. 12 cm in diameter, is imbedded in the ceiling. The hole has a lining, which is probably of leather.<sup>27</sup> The ceiling inscriptions were executed after the block was inserted (pl. 79). The hole for the bolt of the door, its center ca. 1.60 m above the floor, was cut through the relief on the south wall of the passage (pl. 73). Beyond the inner side of the doorway the passage extends just far enough that the door, when opened, would not have extended into the hall beyond.

The details of the inscriptions and figures on both jambs of the doorway (pls. 68–71) were painted in various colors. The incised hieroglyphs on the north wall of the passage were painted light blue. No trace of paint could be discerned on the scene and inscription on the south wall. The ceiling of the passage has been so damaged by smoke and the extrusion of salt that, if the hieroglyphs ever were painted, all traces of paint have been obliterated.

The work on the doorways to the court and to the first columned hall and on both passages beyond them is complete except for that of the painter on parts of the passage walls. The work in these areas seems to have been carried out concurrently; a study of the style of the reliefs shows similarities and, in some cases, identity in treatment. A striking example of the latter is the consistency in the details of the hieroglyph of the owl. (Examples of this sign in both incised and raised relief are shown on plate 77.) Note the design on the upper wing coverts;

around the representations of gods on temple walls were contemporary with the reliefs they accompanied, but Henry Fischer, in a review of *MH* 5, in *AJA* 63 (1959): 197, thought it more probable that they were of Greco-Roman date. It is doubtful, however, that the plugholes in the doorframe of Kheruef are related to any such plugholes.

<sup>26</sup> This is close to the declination of ca. 7.5°, which seems to have been standard for the fronts of many pylons. By the use of an inclinometer 7.5° has been determined as the declination of the gateway of the First Pylon at Karnak (the surface of the pylon itself was never finished) and the Second, Third, Fourth, Seventh, and Eighth Pylons. As determined by measurement of the plan in Uvo Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu*, vol. 1, *General Plans and Views*, OIP 21 (Chicago, 1934), pl. 20, the Second Pylon of the Mortuary Temple of Ramesses III has the same declination, while that of the First Pylon is 10°.

<sup>27</sup> Consideration was given to making tests of the wood and the lining of the hole, but it was decided not to do so since it would have been necessary to destroy some of the material.

the crosslines on the primary and secondary feathers of the wing; the chevron pattern of the feathers of the breast, abdomen, legs, and undertail; and the lines on the rectrices. The feathers of the falcon in plate 16A are shown in the same style. The owls and falcons appearing in the drawings on plates 10, 12, 69, 71, 74, 75, and 76 have the same design, except that in a few instances the sculptor has omitted the chevrons on the owl, and the painter has made up for the deficiency by supplying small dots.

The consistency of the treatment of the details in the reliefs suggests that those reliefs were carved by the same sculptor or by sculptors of the same school at approximately the same time.<sup>28</sup> These two sections of the tomb—the entry doorway and passage and the doorway and passage to the first columned hall—were finished except for possible painting, while the court and porticos were never completed, as will be seen. Furthermore, the first columned hall was virtually completed, as the following paragraphs show. With quarrying going on simultaneously in the front of the tomb and more than thirty meters away in the rear, the disposal of the debris from the rear without interference with the work in the front makes probable the use of a ramp or ramps in the area of the court, which would have delayed the quarrying there.

The height of the step down from the passageway into the first columned hall is ca. 30 cm, the same as the height of the column bases and of the statue pedestal ca. 2.25 m north of the doorway. It appears that the first columned hall was quarried throughout to the level of the floor of the passageway, and then the column bases and the pedestal were outlined and the floor quarried to its present level. The floor is level throughout to within two to three centimeters.

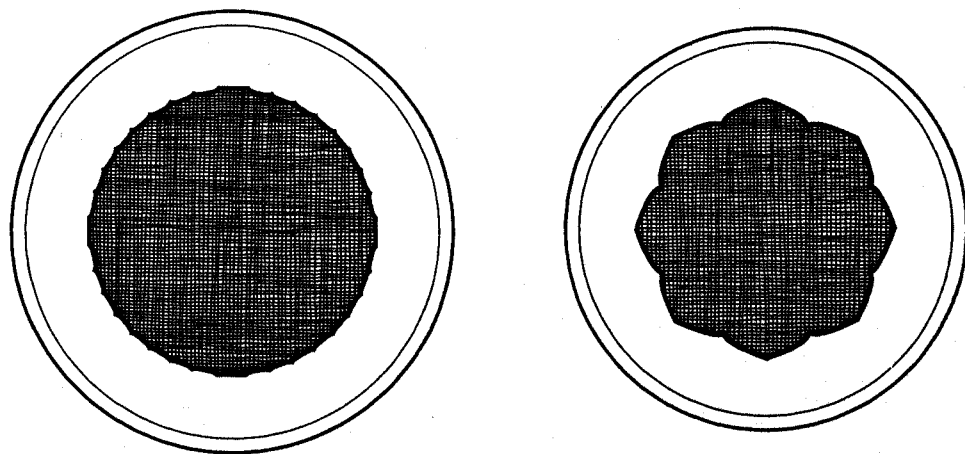
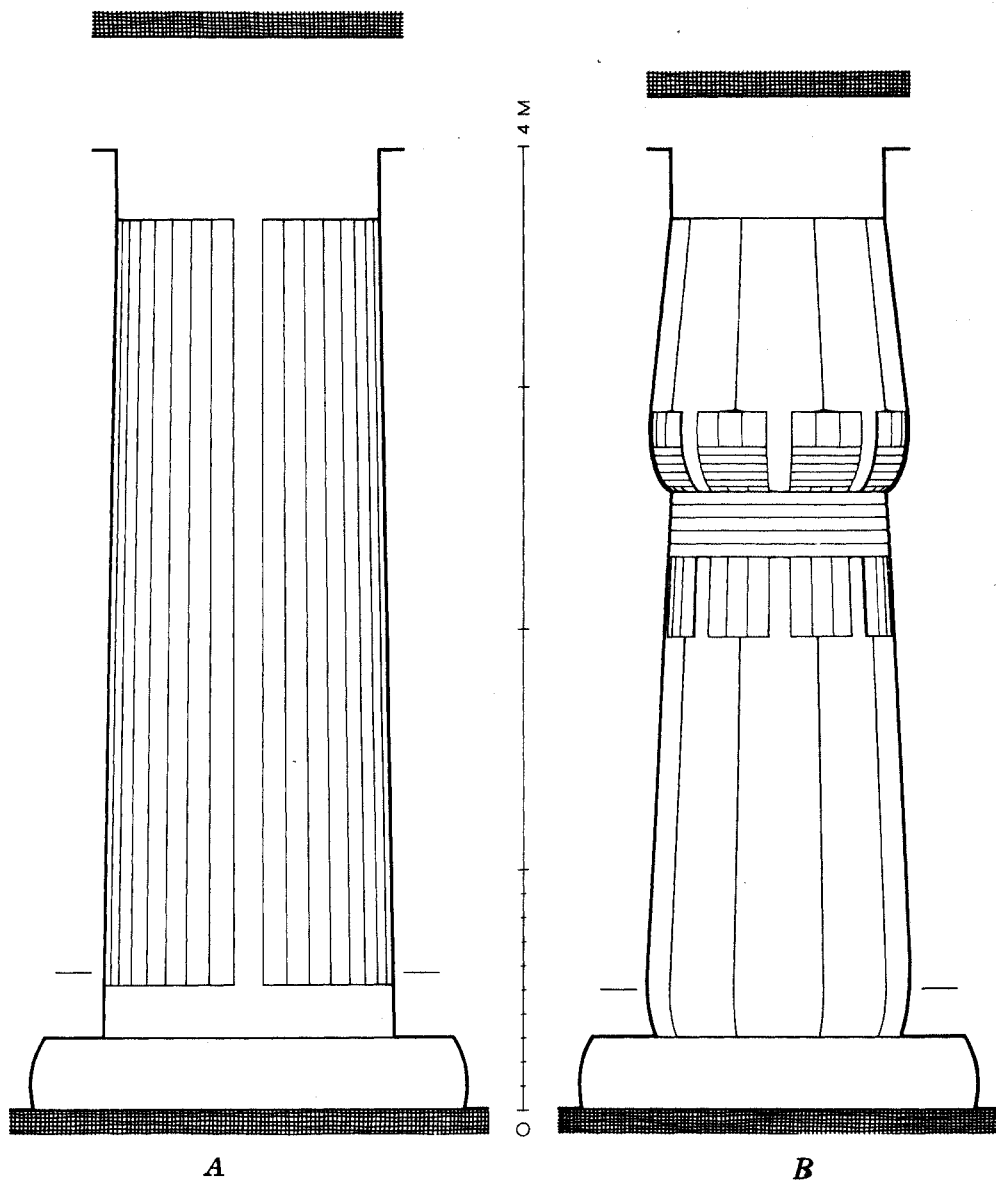
It is interesting to note a number of correspondences between the first columned hall in the tomb of Kheruef and the similar hall in the roughly contemporary tomb of Ramose. The corners of both halls are almost 90-degree angles. The floor dimensions and ratios of depth to width are similar. The height of the ceiling at the rear of the halls is the same.<sup>29</sup> The descending ramp at the start of the corridor to the subterranean tomb chambers is along the west end of the south wall in both.<sup>30</sup> The chief difference is in the number, style, and arrangement of the columns. In the first hall of Ramose there are, north to south, four rows of eight columns, which formerly had, as nearly as can be determined, cluster capitals and plain shafts.<sup>31</sup> In the first hall of Kheruef there were three rows of ten columns. Those in the eastern row, as evidenced by the two extant, had thirty-six sides; thirty-two of the sides are concavely fluted—with the curve more elliptical than circular—and are divided into groups of eight by flat strips at the compass points (fig. 2A). On the two columns flanking the central aisle in this row these strips had incised inscriptions. All of the columns in the eastern row were with-

<sup>28</sup> It is somewhat less probable that the work was done by different men of the same school. In the tomb of Ramose, where in the entrance passage the inscription on the south wall shows a similar elaboration of detail in the hieroglyphs, the treatment of the owl is quite different; see N. de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose* (London, 1941), pls. XVII, LV.1.

<sup>29</sup> As calculated from the plans, the dimensions of the hall of Ramose are ca. 13.60 m deep and ca. 25.60 m wide, a ratio of 1:1.9, and those of the hall of Kheruef ca. 12.25 m deep and ca. 24.50 m wide at the rear, a ratio of 1:2. The hall of Kheruef is 20–25 cm wider at the front; therefore the corners of the hall are not exact right angles. The method of making the published plan of the tomb of Ramose (Davies, *Ramose*, pls. I, II) is not given, but it appears to be based on measurements and not on a survey. If this surmise is correct, then the right angles of the corners of the hall of Ramose as shown on the plan cannot be taken as certain.

<sup>30</sup> Dino Bidoli, "Zur Lage des Grabes des Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu," *MDAIK* 26 (1970): 11–14, points out that in the tomb that he discusses the ramp to the tomb chamber starts in the same relative position.

<sup>31</sup> Davies, *Ramose*, p. 9.



*Drawings by Knudstad*

Fig. 2. A fluted column (with cross section) (A) and a restoration of a cluster column (with cross section) (B) in the first columned hall

out capitals, although they had the abaci. The other two rows were of eight-sectioned, papyrus-cluster columns with cluster capitals (fig. 2B).<sup>32</sup>

In the first hall of Ramose the north and south walls are equidistant from the axial line. The hall of Kheruef, however, is wider south of the axial line. This asymmetry was caused by the need for extra space between the columns and the south wall for the ramp to the tomb chambers.

At the time the tomb was abandoned the quarriers had almost completed their work in the first columned hall. The walls had been patched and dressed in preparation for the work of the sculptor, but the only decoration was the inscriptions on the two columns flanking the central aisle. The remaining column stumps and unattached fragments indicate that all but the two southernmost columns in the west row were finished. The low stumps of these two have been repaired in plaster and show no shaping of papyrus stalks.

At the north and south ends of the hall the preserved parts of the ceiling and architraves show that the two eastern bays were higher than the two western ones (pl. 6B), and that within the bays the height of the ceiling was somewhat irregular. On the west wall the ends of two other architraves are in line with the columns on either side of the axial line. Since there are no such ends on the east wall, it is probable that the architraves extended only over the bundle columns, as indicated on the plan of the conjectured final form of the tomb (pl. 4B).

At the top of the east wall of the first hall, midway between the first and second columns from the north, is a window, and to the north of the window, lines on the wall indicate the intention to quarry more windows (pl. 6B).<sup>33</sup>

The frame of the doorway in the west wall protrudes from the wall a few centimeters. The frame and the wall have a batter of ca. 2.5°. Beyond the doorway the second columned hall is incomplete. The lines of the sidewalls were established for ca. 11.50 m, about half of the apparent intended length of the hall. The dressed walls are parallel to and equidistant from the axial line. The columns are rough hewn, and more than half of them have shattered. Although the intrusion of later tombs has confused the evidence, ten columns in each of two rows and a chapel beyond the west end of the hall seem to have been intended. The conjectured shapes of the columns and the dimensions of the chapel (pl. 4) are based on other tombs of the period.

As already noted, the descending corridor to the tomb chambers begins along the west end of the south wall of the first columned hall. It descends steeply to the first group of chambers for a total length of ca. 37.5 m, with two sharp turns dividing it into three almost equal sections. The floor of this first complex of rooms is ca. 20 m below that of the first columned hall. This first complex has an anteroom, a transverse chamber, and then three small rooms, the central one of which connects with the transverse chamber and opens into those on either side of it. In the upper part of the north end of the transverse chamber is a rectangular opening, ca. 0.90 m wide, giving access to another corridor, which descends ca. 8.5 m in its length of ca. 23 m. At the end of this corridor a second complex of rooms was started. Evidently these were intended to be similar in plan to the upper complex of rooms, but of the three smaller connecting rooms only the central one was begun, and that only barely. It would seem that the upper rooms were false burial chambers and that the plan was to conceal the opening

<sup>32</sup> One fluted column is completely preserved; see pl. 6B. Similar fluted columns, with inscriptions on the flat surfaces of one of them, are in Theban tomb 107, of the time of Amenhotep III; see Abdul-Qader Muhammed, *The Development of the Funerary Beliefs and Practices Displayed in the Private Tombs of the New Kingdom at Thebes* (Cairo, 1966), pl. 2; for the inscriptions see Urk. 4, pp. 1882-83.

<sup>33</sup> Only on pl. 2 do the plans show the window, which at the time the plans were drawn was thought to be merely a robber's hole.

in the north wall of the upper transverse chamber after burial had taken place in the lower rooms.

No burial ever took place. The only artifacts found in the subterranean corridors and rooms were the charred stubs of reed torches and the bottoms of broken jars slightly blackened in spots, indicating their use as lamps. When the corridor was opened, we found little or no trace of bats throughout the whole subterranean area. This indicates that the entrance to the corridor was sealed by debris almost immediately following the collapse of the roof of the hall.<sup>34</sup>

The sunken court, with its porticos, is an innovation. As noted above, the base lines of the walls of both passages and the first columned hall show a deviation of two degrees or less from alignment with the axial line. The north and south walls of the court, which determine the limits of the intended north and south porticos, are almost parallel to the axial line, diverging from parallelism only slightly toward the east.<sup>35</sup> With such near precision in the other parts of the tomb, the considerable divergence of the west and east porticos from perpendicularity to the axial line poses problems.

The walls of the east portico, finished smoothly to ca. 3.50 m south and ca. 5.00 m north of the doorway, are at right angles to the walls of the entry passage and not to the axial line. The extensions of the wings of the east portico are roughly hewn and not completed at either end to the length needed to meet the intended south and north porticos. The presence of the set-out frames of the doorways of the intrusive tombs 189 and 194 (pl. 2) indicates that some quarrying was done in both wings of the east portico subsequent to the abandonment of the tomb of Kheruef.

The line of the columns of the east portico diverges from a right angle to the axial line by ca. 4.5°. Moreover, if the walls behind these columns had been finished along the line already established on either side of the opening from the entrance passage, they would not have been parallel to the line of columns. The divergence of the walls and columns of the west portico is ca. 7° from a right angle to the axial line. As a result the thickness of the stone between the portico and the first columned hall is ca. 0.50 m at the north but ca. 3.55 m at the south.

It has been suggested that a fault or some other obstruction in the bedrock in the area of the northwest corner of the court was responsible for the angle of the line of the west portico, but there is no present evidence of this. It may well be that this divergence was the result of an error in architectural planning,<sup>36</sup> and this explanation seems the probable one for the lack of parallelism between the line of the columns and the wall of the east portico.

Between the east and west porticos the court is ca. 1.20 m longer on the north side than on the south.<sup>37</sup> On both sides at the west end the quarrying to form columns had begun, starting downward approximately from the line of the planned architraves. The stone left for the architraves is of poor quality, and the quarrying had reached the points on either side of the court where the depression running across the area is lower than the line for the bottom of the architraves. For the completion of the architraves new stone would have been required in the upper parts of the south and north porticos. The architect's red lines drawn on the walls (pls. 3, 6A) indicate that one more column was planned for the north portico (pl. 4A) than for the south. The number of columns on the south and north sides of the court could have been made equal, however, if the columns of the north portico had been spaced a little more than 0.10 m farther apart.

<sup>34</sup> After the removal of the debris no door was placed in the descending corridor, and the bats moved in a few weeks later.

<sup>35</sup> The width of the court is ca. 22.40 m at the west end and ca. 22.80 m at the east end.

<sup>36</sup> Since the angle of divergence (ca. 7°) is close to the angle of the batter of some pylons (see n. 26), one could speculate that there was a symbolic significance to the divergence. However, it seems profitless to follow this line of thought.

<sup>37</sup> Measuring from the edges of the finished or roughed-out columns, the north wall is ca. 24.50 m long and the south wall 23.30 m long.

In the east portico there is no provision for bases on the inner sides of the rough-hewn columns. To have made these bases would have required lowering the floor of the portico. There is ample stone for these bases in the floor of the court, however, if the floor were leveled to the depth reached on the west side of the court. On the west side of the court there are areas of unquarried rock in front of both wings of the portico (pl. 6A); both unquarried areas are higher than the intended floor level of the court. It appears that the floors of the porticos, except for a low platform in front of the doorway to the first columned hall, were intended to be on the same level as the floor of the court. There is a ramp within the court serving as an approach to the platform. The orientation of this ramp is practically that of the west portico. From the platform there are shallow steps down to the floor of the north wing of the west portico, but none were begun in the south wing.

In the north wing four columns appear to have been completed and to have had fluting, though the fluting is certain only on the northern two partially preserved columns. The dressing of the stone of the ceiling of this wing was finished. At the north end of the west portico, beyond the stone left for the hewing of the corner column, the quarrying for the north portico was begun somewhat below the ceiling. The scenes on the wall of the north wing were completed to approximately opposite the point at which the columns turn to the east; the dressed surface of the wall extends farther. All reliefs except those in the narrow, lowest register were painted. It is possible that these lowest reliefs were executed after the floor was lowered and the steps down from the central platform were cut. There are no signs of any paint having dripped down on this register from above. Only a small section of the ceiling of the north wing is extant. The staining of its surface by smoke has obscured any painted pattern that may have been present. The ceiling inscriptions are incomplete, ending ca. 0.90 m short of the end of the scenes on the wall (pls. 63A; 65B, F). Only the north end of the architrave is extant (pl. 65A); the inscription ends at the point where this architrave and that of the north portico would have formed a corner.

The floor level of the south wing is, at the north end, that of the platform in front of the doorway. Toward the south end the floor is unfinished and rough, rising almost to the lower line of the reliefs. If the floor of this wing had been lowered to the level of the floor of the north wing, there would have been space on the wall for a lower register of reliefs such as occurs in the north wing. At the south end of the wall of the south wing, the stern of the bark, which is in the top register, is not finished, and the incompleting figure of the steersman (pl. 46) is only roughed out. This register is ca. 0.50 m shorter than the registers below.

As the drawings show (pl. 24), the ceiling slants down to the south. It is complete and has inscriptions at the north end, along either side, and in the center (pls. 63B, C; 64), with the hieroglyphs painted blue and a painted design between the lines of inscription (pl. 65G). Along the edge of the east side of the ceiling the face of the architrave has been finished downward for only about thirty centimeters, far enough to create a completed ceiling area for the artisans to work on. Establishing the architrave only partially in this way has created an uneven ledge at the point where the quarrying stopped. This ledge protrudes into the portico a few centimeters. The upper parts of four columns are roughly hewn down to various distances above the floor. None of the reliefs on the wall of the south wing were painted, though the long inscription of year 30 (pls. 27, 28) was given a coat of whitewash in preparation for painting.

The walls of the north and south wings of the west portico are not quite in line with each other, probably because of the protrusion into the portico of the doorway of the passage leading to the first columned hall. This protrusion makes it certain that the quarrying of the doorway either preceded or was contemporary with the planning and quarrying of the west portico. To the south of the doorway a column of unquarried stone ca. 1.00 m wide protrudes beyond the frame of the doorway and the wall of the south wing. To the north a slightly

wider area of stone, almost flush with the doorway at its base, has practically the same angle to the axial line as the wall of the north wing. The architects seem to have been unable to solve the problem of joining the perpendicular walls of the portico to the doorway that has a batter, a problem intensified because the groundlines of the walls and doorway were not parallel.

The height of the ceiling of the portico in front of the doorway was apparently ca. 1.30 m above the ceilings of the wings. A large block has fallen from the eastern edge of this ceiling and the architrave spanning the central columns opposite the doorway; the architrave has a height of only 0.25 m. On the well-finished side surface of the architrave a line of inscription has varicolored hieroglyphs against a yellow field (pl. 65*D*). The band of inscription on the adjoining, roughly finished ceiling (pl. 65*E*) shows no trace of paint.

The following is a summation of what had been accomplished when the work was abandoned. The quarrymen's work, which included the smoothing of the walls, was completed in the following areas on the east side of the tomb: the entrance ramp (though the walls are still rough), the vestibule, the entry doorway (except for the setting out of the frame), the passage beyond, and the wall of the east portico on either side of the doorway at the west end of the passage for about one third of the portico's probable intended length. At the point where the work stopped, the floor level planned for the east portico seems to have been reached. On the west side, the walls and ceiling of the west portico, the floor of the north wing, and probably the ceiling of the area in front of the doorway to the first columned hall were finished for their probable intended dimensions, except that the wall of the south wing would have been lower had the floor of that wing been made level with the floor of the north wing. The architrave and four of the columns of the north wing seem to have been completed. The doorway and the passage leading to the hall beyond were finished. The first columned hall was completed except for the windows in the upper east wall and the final shaping of the two southern columns in the rear row. The descending corridors and the upper group of funerary chambers were finished; the lower rooms, however, remained incomplete. The walls of the second columned hall were finished for about half their probable intended length.

When work ceased, the east portico had not been quarried to its full length, and the columns had only been roughed out. Although the north and south walls of the court had been smoothed, work on the columns, completion of which would have made a portico on either side of the court, had been started on the west end only. Red lines indicated the position planned for the remaining columns. Neither in the court nor in the south wing of the west portico had the final floor level been reached, and the columns and the architrave of this wing were left unfinished. In the second columned hall the columns, the floor, and much of the wall surface were only roughed out.

The work of the sculptors lagged behind that of the quarrymen. The reliefs on the north wall of the vestibule in front of the entry doorway were completed, but on the south wall, where red guidelines had been laid out, no further work had been done. On the doorway and the walls and ceiling of the passage the reliefs were finished, as were the reliefs on the doorway in the west portico and the passage beyond, and on the architraves and ceiling in front of this doorway. In the north wing of the west portico the reliefs on the wall were completed to the point where the work had stopped. The architrave over the columns had an incised inscription, which apparently reached its intended extent, while the inscriptions on the ceiling were incomplete. In the south wing, the reliefs on the walls at the southern end of the upper register were not quite finished. Probably a lower register, like that on the wall of the north wing, had been planned. The inscriptions on the ceilings were completed.

The painters had finished even less of their work. They had painted the lintels and jambs of the two doorways, the word square on the south wall of the entry passage, the reliefs on the wall of the north wing of the west portico (except for the lowest register), the entire ceiling

of the south wing of the west portico, and the incised hieroglyphic inscription on the north wall of the passage leading into the first columned hall. The long inscription of year 30 on the wall of the south wing of the west portico was covered with a wash in preparation for painting.<sup>38</sup> Whether there was paint at one time on the ceilings of the two passages and the ceiling of the north wing of the west portico cannot be ascertained.

It seems from the foregoing data that when work on the tomb stopped, either different stages of the work were being performed simultaneously in various areas of the tomb, or the work had been left unfinished in one section when another section was begun. The second alternative is unlikely.<sup>39</sup>

The style of the reliefs in the tomb is pre-Amarna, though in two instances in the scenes of the third jubilee, persons are shown in a bowed position, an artistic style that appeared in the later years of Amenhotep III:<sup>40</sup> these are the officials behind Kheruef in the scene under the throne (pl. 57B) and the two priests of Ptah in the scene of the raising of the *djed*-pillar (pl. 55). Nothing in the inscriptions indicates the new religious emphasis that appeared very early in the reign of Amenhotep IV. Various gods are named, with Amon mentioned frequently; the plural "gods" is used; and, although there are numerous occurrences of *itn*, the reference is always to the physical sun and not to its deified aspect.

The costume of Amenhotep III in the scene in the entry passage, in which Amenhotep IV is making an offering to his father (pl. 13), has figured in the discussion of whether Amenhotep III was living or deceased at the time the relief was made.<sup>41</sup> On the basis of the representation it is impossible to settle the question. Amenhotep III wears a crown with double *shu*-feathers and horns (not an *atef*-crown), which was also worn by Amenhotep II in his chapel for the second jubilee.<sup>42</sup> From the waist of Amenhotep III hangs a miniature leopard skin and head; the position and the size of the skin are unique. He wears only the head in the throne scene of the third jubilee (pls. 48, 49) and on a statue (no. 42084) in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo,<sup>43</sup> as does Amenhotep II in his chapel, mentioned above.<sup>44</sup> Amenhotep III wears sandals; a contemporary representation of a statue shows a king, presumably Amenhotep III, wearing sandals,<sup>45</sup> and an unpublished stele of Haremhab, noting his repair of steps in the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III, also shows the deceased king wearing sandals.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Such a wash is evident on much of the painted area of the north wing of the west portico. The delicate lines of the relief are frequently obscured by this wash, but it is not certain that this was so originally. It may be that some chemical change has caused the wash to swell.

<sup>39</sup> For a discussion of the sequence of the decorating, see Edward F. Wente's review of Donald B. Redford, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt*, in *JNES* 28 (1969): 275.

<sup>40</sup> Charles F. Nims, "The Transition from the Traditional to the New Style of Wall Relief under Amenhotep IV," *JNES* 32 (1973): 184.

<sup>41</sup> See n. 40. Habachi, *ASAE* 55 (1958): 348, mentions an inscription that read *ntr nfr Skr . . .*, with the implication that it preceded the cartouche of Amenhotep III. As his pl. XXII shows, the fragment with part of the cartouches of the two rulers has no other inscription on it. Unfortunately, neither additional notes nor a tracing or photograph of the fragment with the name of Sokar were made. A very extensive search in the storehouses of the Department of Antiquities failed to bring the fragment to light. It could not have stood above the cartouche of Amenhotep III, and its original place in the tomb is uncertain. It is very doubtful that this inscription can be used as evidence.

<sup>42</sup> Unpublished reliefs in the chapel of the second jubilee of Amenhotep II: pillars 28, west face; 36, east face; and 45, south face. For position, see Harold Hayden Nelson, *Key Plans Showing Locations of Theban Temple Decorations*, OIP 56 (Chicago, 1941), pl. VIII, fig. 3. These reliefs were called to my attention by Charles C. Van Siclen.

<sup>43</sup> Georges Legrain, *Statues et statuettes*, vol. 1, CGC (Cairo, 1906), p. 49, pl. L.

<sup>44</sup> The chapel of the second jubilee of Amenhotep II, pillar 40, south face. This was called to my attention by Edward Brovarski. A representation in the tomb of Surer, presumably showing Amenhotep III, has a similar leopard head; see Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, Private Tombs at Thebes, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1957), pls. XXXVII, XXXIX. For a discussion, see Donald B. Redford, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt* (Toronto, 1967), pp. 112ff.

<sup>45</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, pls. XXXVII, XXXIX.

<sup>46</sup> Found by Gerhard Haeney, of the Schweizerisches Institut für Bauforschung und Altertumskunde, at the site of the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III, and mentioned with his permission.



Kheruef served under Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV, both of whom are depicted in the tomb. The elder ruler, always accompanied by Queen Tiye, appears on the walls of the south and north wings of the west portico in scenes of the first and third jubilees (pls. 23, 47). On the north wall of the entry passage Amenhotep IV faces his parents; he is pouring a libation and offering incense before them (pl. 13). In the adjoining scene Amenhotep IV is presenting a hecatomb to Re-Harakhti (pl. 12).<sup>47</sup> To judge from the fragmentary sun disk and inscription, there was once another figure of the younger king on the opposite wall (pl. 21), next to the portico. On the lintel of the entrance doorway are two adjoining scenes, in each of which Amenhotep IV, with his mother, Tiye, standing behind him, offers wine to Re-Harakhti and Maat (pl. 9A), and incense to Atum and Hathor (pl. 9B). The lintel of the doorway to the passage that leads from the west portico to the first columned hall has a similar scene; the extant lower part is badly weathered and no inscription is preserved (pl. 67). As has already been mentioned, the decoration on the jambs of both doorways and on the south walls of both passages was probably the work of the same artisan or school of artisans. Quite possibly, the same royal figures were depicted on the lintel of this doorway and on the lintel of the entrance doorway.<sup>48</sup> The depictions of the two rulers have been interpreted differently by the proponents and opponents of the theory of a long coregency between the rulers.<sup>49</sup>

It is impossible to review here all the arguments for and against a long coregency. The evidence in the tomb of Kheruef alone suggests that permission to construct the tomb was granted in the last years of Amenhotep III, perhaps at the time of the third jubilee, and that before the decoration was begun either the king had made his son coregent or had died. The preserved scenes that show Amenhotep IV, none of which shows Nefertiti, were executed in the first few months of his joint or sole reign, when the new styles of art and faith had not yet been introduced.

### THE TOMB AFTER ABANDONMENT

Sometime after the tomb was abandoned there were purposive effacements of many of the reliefs, both of inscriptions and of depictions of persons. At least three different styles of these effacements can be discerned, and these styles may indicate three phases of destruction. The extrusion of salts in some areas, particularly on the wall of the south wing of the west portico, and other subsequent damage make it difficult at times to determine the area of the original defacements.

The name of Amon was taken out on the upper ends of both jambs of the entry doorway (pl. 10), on the upper end of the left jamb of the doorway from the west portico into the first columned hall (pl. 68), and in the vertical inscriptions at the front and back of the royal kiosk in the scene of the third jubilee (pl. 48). These effacements are rather crudely done. In no cases was the name of Amon in the royal cartouches ever touched. The plural, "gods," was erased, but not the names of gods other than Amon. These erasures must have been the work of the Amarna zealots.

The south wall of the entry passage, where the two figures of Amenhotep IV were removed (pls. 11-13), is deeply fractured, and large segments of stone are missing, as if the wall had been attacked by heavy blows from a hammer. Similar destruction was wreaked upon the figure of Kheruef on the north wall of the entry vestibule (pl. 7), on the upper part of the

<sup>47</sup> Both of these representations of Amenhotep IV have been effaced through crude hacking; see below.

<sup>48</sup> See Cyril Aldred, *Akhenaten* (London, 1968), p. 108; and Ali Radwan, *Die Darstellungen des regierenden Königs und seiner Familienangehörigen in den Privatgräbern der 18. Dynastie*, MÄS 21 (Berlin, 1969), p. 94. The worshipping male figures with sandals cannot be depictions of Kheruef, who is never shown wearing them on the walls of his tomb.

<sup>49</sup> The most recent discussions are Aldred, *Akhenaten*, pp. 107-10; F. J. Giles, *Ikhnaton, Legend and History* (London, 1970), pp. 64-65, 79-81; and Redford, *History and Chronology*, pp. 113-17.

figure of Kheruef before the throne in the scene relating to the third jubilee (pls. 50, 51), and on the upper parts of the figures of him and his mother on the south wall of the passage to the first columned hall (pl. 53). It is not certain whether these attacks on the figures of Amenhotep IV and of Kheruef were contemporary, although the damage just described to the figures of Kheruef in the scene before the throne and in the passageway was subsequent to the defacement discussed in the following paragraph.

Most of the effaced reliefs appear to have been defaced by light blows from a small instrument. In many places the shapes of the figures and the traces of the inscriptions remain, but the latter, especially, required careful examination and study to identify. The damaged reliefs include most of the examples of the names, titles, and representations of Kheruef: those on all door jambs (pls. 10, 70, 72); the lower parts of the figures of Kheruef and his mother (pl. 73); his names in the vertical inscriptions on the south and west sides of the partly preserved inscribed column in the first columned hall (pl. 80*F*, *J*); his figures and accompanying hymns in the lower registers on both walls of the entry passage (pls. 18*B*, 19*A*, 20*A*, 22*A*); and his figure and those of accompanying officials in the scenes before the thrones in both jubilees (pls. 29, 30, 50, 51). It is peculiar that in the upper register on the wall of the south wing of the west portico all the figures except those of the king and queen have been effaced wholly or in part; the extrusion of salts makes it difficult to determine the exact areas of defacement (pls. 43–46). Two other areas, neither of which is directly associated with Kheruef, suffered the same type of attack—the word square with the hymns to Amon-Re and Re-Harakhti (pl. 14) and the two priests of Ptah in the scene of the raising of the *djed*-pillar (pls. 55, 56).

In the inscription above the heads of Kheruef and his mother in the south wall of the passage into the first columned hall several groups of hieroglyphs were damaged as if by scraping. There is no discernible purpose in this defacement, and it appears to be random vandalism from a later period.

The attacks on the figures of Amenhotep IV certainly occurred after his death. The effacement of the figures of the priests of Ptah, who wore leopard skins, and of the word square, however, was carried out during his reign. The style of the defacement indicates that the attack on the figures of Kheruef was also made during the reign of Amenhotep IV, as was the effacement of the figures of the officiants in the ceremony of the first jubilee.

There is evidence indicating that the erasures of the figure and names of Amon and other gods in the Egyptian monuments were made in the last third of the reign of Akhenaten, probably after the death of Tiye.<sup>50</sup> While the dowager queen was still living, respect for her could have protected the depictions of the jubilees, but at her death such protection would have ceased and the figures of the nonroyal official participants could have been effaced. The effacements could have been made either because those particular participants were committed to the old order through personal choice or official position, or, what is more likely, because the particular ceremonies in which they appeared were identified with the proscribed faith.

If there had been an eleven-year coregency, the tomb could have been abandoned for religious and political reasons on the death of the senior king, and the effacements carried out soon after. But the evidence in the tomb of Kheruef fits poorly with the possibility of such a coregency.<sup>51</sup> If one accepts the hypothesis advanced above that respect for Queen Tiye

<sup>50</sup> Cyril Aldred, "Egypt: The Amarna Period and the End of the Eighteenth Dynasty," in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 2/2, 3d ed. (Cambridge, 1975), p. 62; Aldred, *Akhenaten*, text accompanying pls. 103–5.

<sup>51</sup> It is the interpretation of Aldred, *Akhenaten*, pp. 108–9, that the scene of Amenhotep IV offering to his father represents the celebration of the first jubilee of Amenhotep III and that it was executed at the same time. It must be noted, however, that this interpretation is not possible unless there was a seven-year gap between the execution of this relief and the execution of the reliefs on the walls of the west portico.

protected the reliefs, the effacement of the figures of Kheruef and his associates did not occur until her death, at least twelve years after the abandonment of the tomb. Why then was the work on the tomb stopped? The death of Amenhotep III would hardly have been a sufficient reason.<sup>52</sup>

Some evidence points to a different cause for the cessation of the work. In the scene shown on plates 50 and 51, the feet have not been erased on the large figure of Kheruef, and the lower parts of the skirts and also the legs on the representations of Kheruef and the pair of god's fathers have not been erased. In the lowest register, below this scene, the untouched figure of Kheruef (pl. 58) is the only wholly preserved figure of him in the tomb. At the bottom of the doorjambs of the doorway into the passage which leads into the first columned hall the lower parts of the seated figures of Kheruef have not been erased. The upper line of the untouched areas slants approximately from the back of the chair down to just above the front of the small offering table in front of the figures (pls. 70, 72). On the shattered column north of the west-east aisle in the hall, the names of Kheruef at the bottoms of the vertical inscriptions have been deliberately damaged on the south and west sides (pl. 80F3, J1), though not on the east side (pl. 80B). On fragments not belonging to these particular lines of inscription, most of which are presumably from the similar column south of the aisle, the name of Kheruef has not been erased (pl. 80C3, G2, K1, L2, N3-4).

As already observed, the collapse of the roof of the first columned hall had sealed off the entry to the corridor leading to the unfinished burial chambers. This partial collapse of the structure would have included the shattering of most of the columns. The whole south end of the hall, at least, was filled with debris. No graffiti were drawn on its walls, as there were on the north end of the east wall of the hall during the Ramesside period (pls. 81C, 82). No later tombs were excavated in the floor in the south section, as there were in the north section in the Twenty-second Dynasty and later.<sup>53</sup> The absence of erasures of the name of Kheruef on all fragments from the two inscribed columns suggests that the erasures on the shattered column noted in the previous paragraph were made after the collapse took place. Note that the marginal lines of the vertical inscriptions on the columns were, in many cases, indicated only in paint but never carved (pl. 80).

Only in the parts of the tomb where the roof collapsed were the lower areas of the figures of Kheruef not effaced and the one figure left complete. It is highly probable that this was because debris from the collapse of the roof covered up the walls to the point where the erasures stopped. Where the roof is preserved, the figures of Kheruef and his companions were completely erased.<sup>54</sup> The uncompleted inscriptions on the ceiling of the north end of the west portico end approximately at the northern limit of the missing area of the roof; this may indicate that the work stopped when the roof collapsed (pls. 64A, 66F).<sup>55</sup> All this evidence points to the structural collapse of parts of the tomb as the reason for its abandonment.

Ramesside graffiti were drawn on the lower part of the wall of the south wing of the west portico (pls. 33-36) and on the south and north reveals of the doorway into the first columned hall (pl. 81). The graffito on the north reveal is on a fracture surface. On both reveals the graffiti are situated fairly high; the person who drew them might have been standing on debris.

<sup>52</sup> It is possible that a change in or a clarification of Kheruef's position as steward occurred just before the decorating of the tomb ceased. As noted by Wente, *JNES* 28 (1969): 275, in the vertical inscriptions on the columns in the first columned hall Kheruef is "steward in the estate of Amon" (pl. 80) and not "steward of the principal wife of the king, Tiye." In the inscriptions on the ceiling of the south wing of the west portico, however, the title is "steward of the principal wife of the king in the estate of Amon" (pls. 64B, 65C). It is uncertain whether these variants represent any change in Kheruef's position. See p. 25, nn. 59, 60.

<sup>53</sup> Habachi, *ASAE* 55 (1958): 338-45, 349-50, pls. X-XX.

<sup>54</sup> Pls. 10, 18B, 19A, 20H, 22A, 29, 30, 73.

<sup>55</sup> The end of the inscriptions is even with the front of the crown of Queen Tiye, shown on pl. 56. The northern limit of the part of the roof that is missing is approximately the same as that of the end of the inscriptions.

During the Nineteenth Dynasty, eight tombs were hewn into the east portico and the south and north sides of the court,<sup>56</sup> and a stele was carved on the south face of the unfinished column of the east portico north of the axial line.<sup>57</sup> At an uncertain date, pits were quarried in the floor of the court toward the east end, and an uninscribed tomb was quarried high in the north wall. In Ramesside times, and later, there were breakthroughs from other tombs, many of which are without inscriptions and cannot be dated. Pits were quarried in the floor of the second columned hall, access having been gained through some of the breakthroughs.

At some time, perhaps in the Ptolemaic period, as Ahmed Fakhry suggested,<sup>58</sup> the north wing of the west portico was cleared down to the floor northward from where the scenes of the raising of the *djed*-pillar begin. A mud-brick cross wall was built to the south of these scenes, joining a similar outer wall along the line of the broken columns (pl. 6A). The room so enclosed was roofed by a mud-brick vault, one side resting on the outer mud-brick wall and the other on a ledge of stone remaining from the collapsed roof. Access was probably gained over the cross wall, though it is possible that entry was made through the hole used by Erman and others.<sup>59</sup> The whole enclosed area was blackened by smoke from lamps and perhaps from fires.<sup>60</sup>

In the debris at the south end of the first columned hall were two unrelated late burials.<sup>61</sup> The collapsed first columned hall and the court were used for the disposal of refuse down to modern times.

<sup>56</sup> Tombs 26, 189, 189 annex, 190 (usurped in Saite period), 194, 195, 364, 406. For position, see pl. 2; for a bibliography of the tombs mentioned, see Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* 1/1<sup>2</sup>. There was a considerable amount of debris on the floor of the court when tomb 364 was quarried; the entry to this tomb is well above the floor of the court, and the courtyard of the tomb was built on debris.

<sup>57</sup> Designated as tomb 193; for location and bibliography, see n. 56.

<sup>58</sup> *ASAE* 42 (1943): 456.

<sup>59</sup> We know that the cross wall did not reach to the roof at the time of Erman's visit to the tomb, because he was able to copy the date of the third jubilee in front of the top figures of Kheruef and two companions just south of this wall; see Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, vol. 5, p. 1120.

<sup>60</sup> The position of the cross wall, now removed, can be discerned at the edge of the blackened area at the right side of pl. 50.

<sup>61</sup> Habachi, *ASAE* 55 (1958): 336, pl. VIII.

## THE OWNER OF THE TOMB

LABIB HABACHI

**T**HE TOMB of Kheruef gives us considerable information about the owner, and other objects add to our knowledge. Parts of two statues of Kheruef were found in the tomb, and two other incomplete statues were found elsewhere. Kheruef's name is on jar labels from the palace of Amenhotep III at el-Malqata, and he appears in graffiti on the rocks at Assuan. A stelophorous statue and a funerary cone with the name of Naa on them may have been his.

The larger of the two statues discovered in the tomb was found in the first columned hall, just north of the passage from the west portico. It was lying on its left side, toppled from the base of living rock prepared for it.<sup>1</sup> It is of a dark gray, hard stone; the part above the waist is missing except for a few fragments of the arms.<sup>2</sup> Kheruef is seated, his right hand on his knee; his left arm was probably bent across his chest.<sup>3</sup> His underskirt, which is part of his tunic, is pleated only in front. A fringed, pleated shawl is tied about the waist, forming a short outer skirt that falls open at either side of his thighs. One fringed end of it lies on his lap; the other end shows just above the skirt, at the left.<sup>4</sup> His large, squarish feet are shod in sandals, though in the reliefs in the tomb he is always shown barefoot. Except for the loss of the top of the dorsal column and a small bit at the upper back right of the chair, the inscriptions are complete. The hieroglyphs were originally painted yellow; on the right side of the chair much of the color remains.

The inscriptions read as follows:

ON FRONT OF UNDERSKIRT, PLS. 85C, 83B

Let all that is issued in the presence of Amon in his mansion of Upper Egyptian Heliopolis be for the ka of the noble, count, first herald of the king, royal scribe and steward, Kheruef, justified.

HORIZONTAL LINES ON FRONT TOP OF SOCLE, PL. 85A, AND CONTINUING ON FRONT FACE OF SOCLE, PL. 83B.

A thousand of all (sorts of) offering gifts, a thousand of all (sorts of) vegetables, a thousand of alabaster,<sup>5</sup> clothing, incense, and unguent<sup>6</sup> in the New Moon Feast,<sup>7</sup> the New Crescent

<sup>1</sup> Labib Habachi, "Clearance of the Tomb of Kheruef at Thebes (1957-1958)," *ASAE* 55 (1958): pl. XXI, a; see also p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> The socle of the statue is 70 cm long, 34.5 cm wide, and 17.3 cm high; the chair is 50 cm high from the bottom of the statue, and the back, 60.3 cm high, excluding the fragment fitted in place at the upper right.

<sup>3</sup> The fragment of this arm is shown on pl. 85D.

<sup>4</sup> For a statue of the time of Amenhotep III with similar garments, see Labib Habachi, *Tell Basta*, Supplément aux *ASAE*, no. 22 (Cairo, 1957), p. 104 and pl. XXXIX. For an illustration showing how the garment may have been worn, see Mary Houston, *Ancient Egyptian, Mesopotamian and Persian Costume and Design*, 2d ed. (London, 1954), p. 82, fig. 85.

<sup>5</sup> For the spelling of *šst*, see J. R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals* (Berlin, 1961), pp. 77-78.

<sup>6</sup> The items following alabaster and clothing in the offering lists are *sntr* and *mrht*, and the logograms are to be so read; see *Wb.* 4, p. 181, 11, and references in the next note.

<sup>7</sup> For some parallels to the list of feasts, see Urk. 4, pp. 112, 469-70, 482-83; Philippe Virey, *Sept Tombeaux thébains de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> Dynastie*, MMAF 5/2 (Paris, 1894), p. 299; Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs, Private Tombs at Thebes*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1957), pl. LX; idem, "The Tomb of the Prince of Teh-khet, Amenemhet," *Kush* 11 (1963): 169.

Day Feast, the Sixth Day Feast, the Half Moon Feast, the Feast of the Procession of the *Setem*-priest, the Feast of the Great Procession, the Feast of the Heliacal Rising of Sothis, the *Wag*-feast, the Feast of Thoth, the Feast of the Great Burning, the Feast of the Little Burning, the First *Mesyet*-feast, the Birthday of Osiris, the Evening Offerings Feast, the River Journey Feasts,<sup>8</sup> and all the Feasts of Amon.

ON FRONT OF CHAIR AND ON SOCLE, LEFT SIDE, PLS. 83B, 85B

A boon which the king gives (to) Amon-Re of the Thrones of the Two Lands,<sup>9</sup> that he may grant a thousand of bread and beer, a thousand of oxen and fowl, a thousand of offerings and provisions, a thousand of every good and pure thing to the ka of the noble, count, favorite of Horus the lord of the palace, and first herald of the king, Kheruef. May you receive the food offerings that are issued upon the altar and the milk that is issued upon the offering table.

ON FRONT OF CHAIR AND ON SOCLE, RIGHT SIDE, PLS. 83B, 85A

A boon which the king gives (to) Osiris, king of the living, that he may grant the receiving of water from the hands of the mortuary priest, the partaking of offerings in company with the great ones, and the consuming of food upon the altar of Re, comprising the offerings of the lords of Heliopolis, to the ka of the royal scribe, and steward, Kheruef, justified.

ON LEFT SIDE OF CHAIR, PL. 84A

A boon which the king gives (to) "He who awakes uninjured," residing in the Mansion of Sokar, great Ptah, preeminent in the Memphite sanctuary, that he may grant air, water, incense, and unguent, a transformation into Nefertum, being well supplied upon earth in the form of a *benu*-bird, that your ba may live among Their Majesties, that you may be summoned like one of them to consume the offerings upon the offering stand, that pure food offerings may be given to you in the presence of Onnophoris, that you may eat cake and drink from the milk jug upon the offering table of the lords of Heliopolis, to the ka of the noble, count, great courtier at the steps of the throne, favorite who speaks in privacy and fills the ears of Horus with truth, with whose utterances one (i.e., the king) is content, the first herald of the king, steward of the principal wife of the king in the estate of Amon, and royal scribe, Kheruef, justified in the presence of the lord of eternity.

ON RIGHT SIDE OF CHAIR, PL. 83A

A boon which the king gives (to) Re-Harakhti and the ennead which is in his following, that he may grant a happy remembrance in the presence of the solar disk; endurance in the mouths of the living; glory, power, justification, and contentment in the place of the righteous; the institution of fixed and enduring food offerings; a coming immediately when your name is pronounced while arms are bent bearing offerings, provisions, and every (sort of) vegetable in its season, to the ka of the noble, count, seal bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, sole companion, serviceably minded toward the King of Upper Egypt and reliable unto the King of Lower Egypt, doing that with which [the gods]<sup>10</sup> are content, first royal herald of His Majesty,

<sup>8</sup> The exact meaning of *šsp itrw* is uncertain; this translation accepts the suggestion of Kees in Friedrich Wilhelm Freiherrn von Bissing, ed., *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-re (Rathures)*, vol. 3, *Die grosse Festdarstellung*, ed. Hermann Kees (Leipzig, 1928), p. 52, followed by Siegfried Schott, *Allägyptische Festdaten*, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jahrgang 1950, no. 10 (Wiesbaden), p. 88. Kurt Sethe, *Urk. 4 (Translations)*, p. 56 (translation of *Urk. 4*, p. 112), gives "Beginn des Flusses." Essentially the same idea, that it referred to the beginning of the inundation, was given by Heinrich Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum*, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1883), p. 232, and by F. Ll. Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob* (London, 1898), p. 61.

<sup>9</sup> For "Amon-Re of the Thrones of the Two Lands," see Edward Wente, "A Letter of Complaint to Vizier To," *JNES* 20 (1961): 255-56.

<sup>10</sup> There was a deliberate defacement here, the only one on the statue. The name of Amon was not touched.

knowing every regulation of the palace, issuing commands to the courtiers, royal scribe, and steward, Kheruef, justified in the presence of the great god, lord of eternity.

ON REAR OF DORSAL COLUMN AND CHAIR, PL. 84B  
(CENTER LINES)

[Words spoken by Nut]: “. . .<sup>11</sup> my children. The first herald of the king, Kheruef, justified, shall (proceed) to the sky in front of the stars which are in my belly. He shall never die but shall be glorious in the sky in(?) . . . ,<sup>12</sup> breathing nourishment through the four winds that come forth from the belly of Nut, that he may ferry across the sky in Re's following and associate with the crew . . . being powerful as a deity, that his purification be made and his mouth be opened in order to be satisfied with what is placed on the offering slab, for the ka of the noble, count, and first herald of the king, Kheruef, justified.”

(LEFT LINES)

Words spoken by Selket: “I have placed my arms around you. Your power is exalted and the terror of you is great, O Osiris, first royal herald of His Majesty, royal scribe, and steward of the principal wife of the king in the estate of Amon, Kheruef, justified, born of the royal adornment, Ruiu.”

(RIGHT LINES)

Words spoken by Neith: “My arms are over you so that I am your protection. I have given you your own head, O Osiris, . . . of the Lord of the Two Lands, castellan in the function of the jubilee, Kheruef, justified, son of the scribe of the army, Nebked, justified.”

Of the second statue found in the tomb only the head (pl. 86) and a few fragments of the inscriptions (pl. 87A) were discovered. Although the head was found in the court<sup>13</sup> and the fragments in the first columned hall, the identical red quartzite from which both are made guarantees the identification of the head. This head is ca. 15.5 cm high, the face and neck are painted red, and the hair of the wig is painted black. The style of the double wig—plain striations on the main part, curls that show on each side of the face, and the lower parts of the ears left uncovered—is very similar to that of the wig on a head of approximately the same size on a broken statue in the Brooklyn Museum.<sup>14</sup> This gray granite bust is of an unknown official at the beginning of the reign of Amenhotep IV. The face of the head from the tomb is set back a bit further from the front of the wig, but in both heads the eyebrows are treated in much the same way. On the head from the tomb the upper lip is slightly fuller, the lips lack the defining sharp ridge, and the ears are better formed. On the Brooklyn head the striations of the hair are slightly wavy, and the wig sits lower over the eyes. The Brooklyn head is well dated by the cartouches on the bust and arm, and it is almost certain that the head in the tomb is approximately contemporary with it.

The arrangement of the fragments with inscriptions on plate 87A is only for convenience and is not intended to indicate any actual sequence. Those that can be deciphered read as follows:

<sup>11</sup> The extended toe at the back of the foot of the bird precludes the reading of either *m* or *w*; *Hr* is a possibility.

<sup>12</sup> Below the break is apparently the bottom of a seated figure.

<sup>13</sup> Abdul-Qader Muhammad, “Recent Finds,” *ASAE* 59 (1966): 155.

<sup>14</sup> *Brooklyn Museum Annual* 1 (1959–60): 34; Bernard V. Bothmer, “Private Sculpture of Dynasty XVIII in Brooklyn,” *Brooklyn Museum Annual* 8 (1966–67): 79–83. I owe these references to Bernard V. Bothmer. Compare also a black granite head, believed to date to the reign of Amenhotep III (John D. Cooney, “Egyptian Art in the Collection of Albert Gallatin,” *JNES* 12 [1953]: 8, no. 32, and pl. XX). This head is beardless, and the striations of the wig are wavy. The ears, lips, and position of the wig over the eyes are much like those on the head of Kheruef.

## FACING RIGHT

... [steward of] the principal [wife of the king] in the estate of Amon, . . . ; . . . Kher[uef] . . . ; . . . two arms . . . .

## FACING LEFT

... [steward of] the principal [wife] of the king [in the estate of A]mon . . . ; . . . their hands . . . ; . . . royal scribe, Naa, [who] is called [Kheruef] . . . ; . . . present . . . ; . . . of the Lord of the Two Lands, confidant of the [good] god, . . . ; . . . [sole one] as "Staff of the Commoner[s]," . . . ; . . . [castellan] in the function of the jubilee, . . . ; . . . upon their offering table . . . ; . . . count, who gives commands to the [entourage] . . . .<sup>15</sup>

A headless statue of Kheruef (Berlin no. 2293)<sup>16</sup> shows the official kneeling and holding an altar shaped like an inverted L on which, above the *mr*-sign, are seated the god Re, who is holding the *maat*-feather, and a baboon with the full and crescent moon on its head. This group is a rebus for "Neb-maat-re, beloved of Thoth."<sup>17</sup> A breastplate in the outline of a building or altar hangs from Kheruef's neck; it bears the nomen and prenomen of Amenhotep III. The figure wears garments that are draped to fit the posture and are similar to those on the seated statue found in the tomb. The sleeves show several folds at the ends.

The inscriptions read as follows:

## ON FRONT OF ALTAR

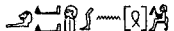
Adoration of Thoth by the royal scribe and steward, Kheruef, justified. He says: "Hail unto you, lord of divine letters, keeper of the mysteries which are in heaven and earth,<sup>18</sup> the great god of primeval times, the primeval one, who has given words and writing, who makes estates prosperous and establishes temples, who causes the gods to know what is theirs, all craftsmen (to know) their duty, lands (to know) boundaries and fields likewise."—By the royal scribe and steward, Kheruef, justified.

## ON SOCLE, RIGHT SIDE, READING FROM CENTER

There is veneration in heaven by the gods; every god and goddess pays homage to Thoth when they see him in the great bark, causing Maat to take her place before him. The royal scribe, Kheruef, justified,<sup>19</sup> has propitiated him. The royal scribe and steward, Kheruef, says: "I have come to you, O great god, Thoth, protector of his fathers, that I may adore your majesty. May you hear my cry and prolong my lifetime, (continually) beholding your beauty."—The steward, Naai.

## ON SOCLE, LEFT SIDE

There is veneration on earth by mankind when they see Thoth as king of Maat. Gods and goddesses are in jubilation since he has established their jurisdictions. The steward, Kheruef, justified, adores him. The royal scribe and steward, Kheruef, says: "I have come unto you,

<sup>15</sup> This fragment is not shown on the plate; it reads . For a parallel, see N. de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose* (London, 1941), pl. XLII.

<sup>16</sup> Königliche Museen zu Berlin, *Ausführliches Verzeichnis der ägyptischen Altertümer und Gipsabgüsse* (Berlin, 1899), p. 85; J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, vol. 3, *Les Grandes Époques: La Statuaire* (Paris, 1958), plate vol., pl. CLV.4. For the inscriptions on the statue, see Günther Roeder, *Ägyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1924), pp. 39ff.; and Urk. 4, pp. 1874-76. The statue, 43 cm high, was purchased from the collection of d'Athanasi; see Adolf Erman, *ZÄS* 29 (1891): 125. For the front, back, and left side I used photographs kindly furnished by the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Steffen Wenig has informed me that this statue was destroyed during the Second World War.

<sup>17</sup> This rebus was first interpreted by Erman, *ZÄS* 29 (1891): 125; see also William C. Hayes, "Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III," *JNES* 10 (1951): 157-58 and n. 280; Vandier, *Manuel*, vol. 3, text vol., p. 465.

<sup>18</sup> For this phrase, see *Wb.* 4, p. 299, 12.

<sup>19</sup> *Hrw* occurs only once; it is to be read at the end of both the right and left sections of this line.



bull among the stars, lunar Thoth who is in heaven. While you are in heaven your light is on earth; your radiance has illumined the Two Lands."—By the royal scribe, Kheruef.

## ON DORSAL COLUMN

...<sup>20</sup> the sole pillar, the most perfect of gods, (grant) the perpetuation of his office for eternity in favor of the local god, the spending of a lifetime joyfully, [and a good burial in]<sup>21</sup> the necropolis after old age (with) a name enduring in the mouth(s) of those who are on earth, enduring throughout eternity, to the ka of the noble and count, [one truly devoted]<sup>22</sup> to the king, the favorite whose like does not exist, truly precise, beloved of his lord, whom the sovereign himself instructed, the royal scribe and steward, Kheruef, justified.

A fragment of a statue (no. 897),<sup>23</sup> now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, was found by Naville at Bubastis.<sup>24</sup> There is only the socle with bare feet attached to it by a dovetail; on either side of the feet are parts of inscriptions. The position of the feet suggests that the figure was seated.

## TO LEFT OF FEET

... [who can approach the god's] person,<sup>25</sup> castellan of the Lord of the Two Lands, great favorite of his lord, who truly enters his heart, royal scribe and steward, Kheruef. . . .

## TO RIGHT OF FEET

... whom he brought up in his palace, true royal scribe, his beloved, castellan of the palace in [the function of the *hb-sd*],<sup>26</sup> . . . .

In the ruins of the palace of Amenhotep III at el-Malqata, just south of Medinet Habu, were found hundreds of jar labels. Three of these bear the name of Kheruef, with only his title of "royal scribe." These labels indicate gifts of fat and wine on the occasions of the first and second jubilees.<sup>27</sup>

Kheruef left two inscriptions on the rocks at Assuan. The first is at the foot of the public garden to the north of the old Cataract Hotel, directly opposite the steps to the museum on Elephantine (pl. 87B).<sup>28</sup> In the lower middle of the inscribed area, with balanced scenes on either side, is a niche containing a stelophorous statue carved from the living rock. Above the niche is a standing figure adoring the cartouche of Amenhotep III, with the inscription "Giving adoration to the Lord of the Two Lands by the King's Son of Kush, Mermose." The gods in each of the flanking scenes have their backs toward the center of the inscribed area, and a figure is kneeling in adoration before each god. Both scenes were almost certainly carved at

<sup>20</sup> Based on the suggested restoration at the top of the second and third lines there are four to four and one-half squares of inscription lost. The god named must have been Thoth. The usual *hṯp dī nsw* might have been expected at the top of line 1, but there is no resumptive *dī.f* after the epithets of the god. The damaged signs at the top of the preserved text are (in the center of the column) the bottom of a rectangular sign and (to the left) a stroke; there is room for a narrow sign at the right.

<sup>21</sup> A possible restoration is  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \Delta \\ \Delta \\ \Delta \\ \Delta \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \Delta \\ \Delta \\ \Delta \\ \Delta \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \Delta \\ \Delta \\ \Delta \\ \Delta \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \Delta \\ \Delta \\ \Delta \\ \Delta \end{array} \right]$ , though the room to the right of the *r* is rather small for *ntr*. The restoration of Helck in Urk. 4, p. 1875, does not recognize that the *r* is not centered, and his restoration does not completely fill the space required by his assumption that nothing is missing at the top of col. 3.

<sup>22</sup> The epithet possibly read  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \Delta \\ \Delta \\ \Delta \\ \Delta \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \Delta \\ \Delta \\ \Delta \\ \Delta \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \Delta \\ \Delta \\ \Delta \\ \Delta \end{array} \right]$ , etc.; see pl. 10B, right col.

<sup>23</sup> Ludwig Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten*, pt. 3, CGC (Berlin, 1930), p. 143.

<sup>24</sup> Edouard Naville, *Bubastis*, Egypt Exploration Fund Memoirs, vol. 8 (London, 1891), p. 33 and pl. XXXV, H; Urk. 4, p. 1876.

<sup>25</sup> For the restoration  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \Delta \\ \Delta \\ \Delta \\ \Delta \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \Delta \\ \Delta \\ \Delta \\ \Delta \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \Delta \\ \Delta \\ \Delta \\ \Delta \end{array} \right]$ , see Urk. 4, pp. 959, 2, 9, and 1398, 19; N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, pt. 3, *The Tombs of Huy and Ahmes*, Archaeological Survey of Egypt, Memoir 15 (London, 1905), pl. XXVII, upper right.

<sup>26</sup> Both here and twice in the inscription on the left side of the feet the copies of Naville and Borchardt differ. The translation is from my own copies.

<sup>27</sup> Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951): 100; fig. 10, 121; fig. 21.

<sup>28</sup> Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* 5, p. 249.

the same time, though perhaps they are not immediately contemporaneous with the graffito of Mermose. The scene to the right is badly eroded.

TO RIGHT OF NICHE

Giving adoration to Khnum and kissing the ground to Satis and Anukis, that they may give life, prosperity, and health to the ka of the true royal scribe, his beloved, the treasurer, Sebekmose.<sup>29</sup>

The god worshiped is named "Re-Harakhti- . . . ."

TO LEFT OF NICHE

Giving adoration to Khnum and kissing the ground to Satis and Anukis, that they may give a very fruitful duration of life, by the royal scribe and steward, Kheruef.<sup>30</sup>

The god worshiped is named "Re-Harakhti-Atum."

The second graffito of Kheruef is well preserved and rendered in finer detail than any other in the entire Assuan region. It is on a small island located northeast of the museum on Elephantine and called "Hassawanarti" by the local inhabitants. A life-sized figure of Kheruef worships the prenomen of Amenhotep III, as do the two small figures behind him (pl. 88A, B).<sup>31</sup> The inscriptions read as follows:

ABOVE FIGURE

The royal scribe and steward, Kheruef.

BETWEEN KHERUEF AND CARTOUCHE

Giving adoration to the Lord of the Two Lands and kissing the ground to the Perfect God: "I give adoration to the Perfect Ruler that his ka may be pleased every day."—By the royal scribe and steward, Kheruef.

The titles and names of the figures behind Kheruef are "the servant, Minerkhedef," and "the servant of (Queen) Tiye, Huy."<sup>32</sup>

There are other monuments and records that may possibly refer to Kheruef. The most notable of these is a stelophorous statue, now headless, in the University Museum, Philadelphia (no. E2988; fig. 3),<sup>33</sup> the owner of which was "the royal scribe, Naa." It was found by Flinders Petrie during his excavation at the ruins of the mortuary temple of Amenhotep II.<sup>34</sup> The very large hands of the worshiper appear behind and above the stele,<sup>35</sup> which rests on the ground before the kneeling figure. The same placement of the stele appears in

<sup>29</sup> The translation is from my own copy. The erosion of the rock is responsible for the faulty and incomplete nature of the published copies.

<sup>30</sup> It is probably from here that Petrie (*A Season in Egypt, 1887* [London, 1888], pl. XIII, no. 347) copied the name of Kheruef.

<sup>31</sup> This graffito is poorly rendered in J. de Morgan et al., *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique*, 1st ser., *Haute Égypte*, vol. 1, *De la frontière de Nubie à Kom Ombos* (Vienna, 1894), p. 44, 4; the feathers on top of the cartouche, only partly visible on pl. 88A, are omitted.

<sup>32</sup> It is possible that this is the man who served Queen Tiye as her steward in Amarna, where he had his tomb; see Davies, *Rock Tombs*, pt. 3, pp. 1–25, pls. I–XXV.

<sup>33</sup> The statue is 29 cm high and 19 cm wide.

<sup>34</sup> W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes, 1896* (London, 1897), pp. 6 (13), 21; pl. VIII (4). A gift of the American Exploration Society, it was acquired by the museum through Max Müller. Until our identification the museum had no record of its provenance.

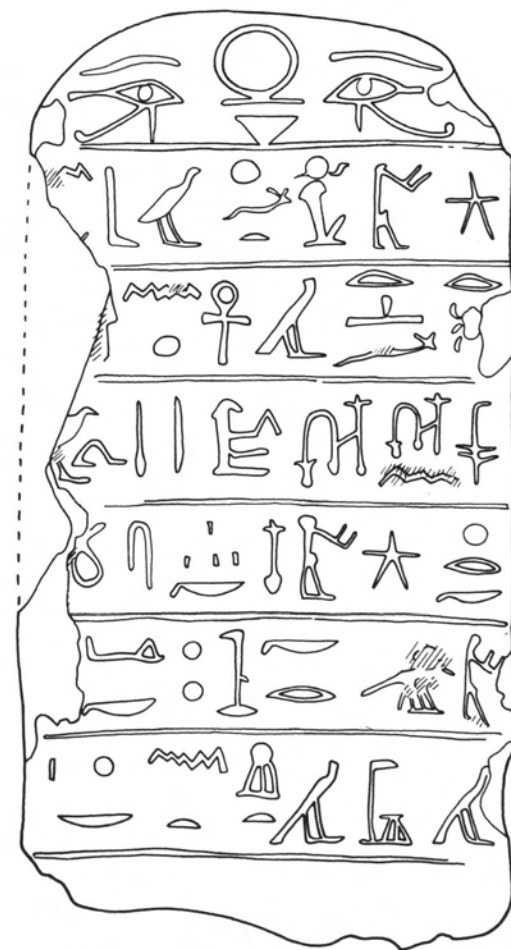
<sup>35</sup> Vandier, *Manuel*, vol. 3, text vol., pp. 472–73, notes that in the stelophorous statue BM 480 both hands are fully visible above the stele, the palms outward. He gives no date for this statue.



A



B



*Drawing by Karen Krause*

C

*Photographs, The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania*

Fig. 3. Stelophorous statue, University Museum no. E2988: front (A) and left side (B) (photographs) and the stela (C) (drawing)

similar statues from the reign of Amenhotep II onward. The first two lines of the inscription on the stele first appear about the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty and are found at Amarna. The motif of the *Oudjat*-eye and the *šn*-circle at the top of the stele is seldom found in the Nineteenth Dynasty.<sup>36</sup>

The inscription on the stele reads:

Adoring Re when he rises until his setting in life occurs, by the royal scribe, Naa,<sup>37</sup> justified. I come to you; I adore your beauty; I extol<sup>38</sup> your power at all times. May you grant [going in and coming out]<sup>39</sup> in the necropolis during the course of every day.

Petrie reported that the temple of Amenhotep II had been rebuilt by Amenhotep III and that ceramic tubes dedicated to a jubilee of the latter king were found there.<sup>40</sup>

In the Theban Necropolis was found a funerary cone of "the royal scribe, Naa,"<sup>41</sup> and also a fragmentary one of an untitled person whose name appears to have been Kheruef.<sup>42</sup>

The Metropolitan Museum in New York has an Eighteenth Dynasty bronze bottle, bought in Assiut in 1912, with an inscription telling that it had been presented by a Kheruef as a "god's offering to Amon."<sup>43</sup>

A graffito on the island of Konosso may have some bearing on our Kheruef; it reads, "scribe of the army, . . . , Pennesiatepua, son of Siked, son of Kher(u)ef."<sup>44</sup> Two of these three men have the same names as the owner of our tomb and his father. In the graffito, however, Kheruef is the father of Siked. While Kheruef is a fairly common name,<sup>45</sup> the name of Siked is uncommon.<sup>46</sup> The title of Pennesiatepua, "scribe of the army," is also the title of Siked, the father of our Kheruef. Since an office was often hereditary, and a child was often named for a grandparent, it is possible that the Kheruef of the graffito may have been the grandfather of our Kheruef, and thus Pennesiatepua would have been our Kheruef's brother. In our present state of knowledge such an identification must remain tentative.<sup>47</sup>

From the above data and those on the walls of the tomb we can reach some conclusions about the owner of Theban tomb 192. The name given to Kheruef at birth was Naa, or Naai; the latter spelling appears only on the Berlin statue. In the extant inscriptions in the tomb this name occurs only five times—twice on the ceiling of the south wing of the west portico, followed by the words "who is called Kheruef" (pls. 64*B*, 65*C*), and three times on the column inscriptions in the first columned hall (pl. 80*B4*, *C2*, *J1*). Naa also appears on a fragment from

<sup>36</sup> H. M. Stewart, "Stelephorous Statuettes in the British Museum," *JEA* 53 (1967): 34, 35, n. 4. I owe this information, and the information in nn. 35 and 38, to Edward Brovanski. Vandier, *Manuel*, vol. 3, text vol., p. 471, notes that stelephorous statues seldom occur after the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

<sup>37</sup> This writing makes it certain that the name is to be read *Nš*, not *Šnš*.

<sup>38</sup> There seems to have been no *š* written in *swš*. The same spelling is on the stelephorous statue in the Thorwaldsen Museum, Copenhagen, no. 355. This information is taken from a photograph in the files of the Oriental Institute Museum.

<sup>39</sup> Restoring  $\Delta\Delta$  after Thorwaldsen Museum, no. 355.

<sup>40</sup> Petrie, *Six Temples*, pp. 4, 6; pl. III, nos. 14-16, 18-20.

<sup>41</sup> N. de Garis Davies, *A Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones*, pt. 1, *Plates*, ed. M. F. Laming Macadam (Oxford, 1957), no. 175.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 140.

<sup>43</sup> William C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, pt. 2, *The Hyksos Period and the New Kingdom (1675-1080 B.C.)* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), p. 208.

<sup>44</sup> De Morgan et al., *Catalogue des monuments*, vol. 1, p. 69, 10. Less accurately, Petrie, *Season in Egypt*, pl. I, no. 45.

<sup>45</sup> Hermann Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, vol. 1, *Verzeichnis der Namen* (Glückstadt, 1935), p. 277.7.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 279.18.

<sup>47</sup> The name Pennesiatepua,  $\square \} \textcircled{\text{S}}$ , is not recorded in Ranke, *Personennamen*. Names of this pattern are infrequent among those assigned to the Eighteenth Dynasty by Ranke, but many names of this dynasty he assigned merely to the New Kingdom. There is no evidence in the tomb of Kheruef that he was married, so it is improbable that Pennesiatepua was his grandson. See, however, n. 55.

the red quartzite statue—there, too, followed by “[who] is called [Kheruef]” (pl. 86).<sup>48</sup> There is no indication as to when and why the name Kheruef was adopted.<sup>49</sup>

Kheruef’s father, the scribe of the army of the Lord of the Two Lands, was called Siked (pl. 70) as well as Nebked.<sup>50</sup> His mother, Ruiu, bore the titles “royal adornment, singer of Isis the God’s Mother” (pl. 72) and “chantress of Amon” (pl. 73),<sup>51</sup> and it is she rather than a wife who appears behind Kheruef in the scene of the adoration of Re on the south wall in the passage into the first columned hall (pl. 73). It is probable that she was one of the chantresses of Amon who performed in a ceremony in the celebration of the first jubilee.<sup>52</sup> If this supposition is correct, then one of the other chantresses, Henutnofert, was a sister of Kheruef.<sup>53</sup> There is no indication that Kheruef was married.<sup>54</sup>

The order in which Kheruef acquired his titles cannot be determined. Like many contemporary officials, he was count and noble. On the Bubastis fragment he is one “whom [the king] brought up in his palace,” and many of his titles indicate an intimacy with the ruler and responsibilities in the palace. His office of first royal herald, which is frequently mentioned, may be one of those that shows a close relationship with the king. It is possible that he owed the start of his career to his mother’s position in the court.<sup>55</sup>

On the Berlin statue his working titles are “royal scribe”<sup>56</sup> and “steward.” The latter title seems to be an abbreviation of the full title “steward of the principal wife of the king, Tiye.”<sup>57</sup> The name of the queen is often omitted. On the ceiling of the south wing of the west portico and on both statues found in the tomb, there occurs the title “steward of the principal wife of the king in the estate of Amon,” and on the columns in the first columned hall only “steward in the estate of Amon.”<sup>58</sup> Since there were stewards “of Tiye in the estate of Amon” at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty and under Ramesses II,<sup>59</sup> it is possible that the title which ends “in the estate of Amon” concerned an office different from that of “steward of the principal wife of the king, Tiye.”<sup>60</sup>

On the tomb walls Kheruef, acting in an official capacity, which may be indicated by the title “castellan in the function of the jubilee,” appears in scenes depicting the first and third jubilees. In the first jubilee he is rewarded with collars of gold (pl. 30) and is the first person in the prow of the solar bark (pl. 46). In the third jubilee he presents gifts to the enthroned

<sup>48</sup> It is quite possible that “the royal scribe, Naa,” who owned the University Museum strophorous statue and the individual who owned the funerary cone so inscribed are both to be identified with Kheruef, but this is not certain.

<sup>49</sup> [The name is properly transcribed *Hryw.f*; we have retained the vocalization in general use. This name may be a shortening of something like *Mry-hryw.f*, parallel to *Mry-rmtw.f* (Ranke, *Personennamen*, vol. 1, p. 161.5). CFN]

<sup>50</sup> See p. 69, n. i. *Nb-ḳd* is not attested in Ranke, *Personennamen*.

<sup>51</sup> See p. 72, nn. *bb*, *cc*.

<sup>52</sup> See p. 53, n. *v*.

<sup>53</sup> See p. 53, n. *w*.

<sup>54</sup> However, see n. 55.

<sup>55</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, p. 35, has made the same suggestion about Amenemhet-Surer, whose mother was also a “royal adornment” (often translated “king’s concubine”). [In two scenes in this tomb it is Surer’s mother rather than a wife who appears with the owner, leading Säve-Söderbergh to suppose that he was unmarried. The same situation has led some to the conclusion that Kheruef, too, was unmarried. In both cases, however, it is possible that the high position of the mother and her influence on her son’s career led to her being pictured with her son. This would not preclude the marriage of either man. CFN]

<sup>56</sup> Besides Kheruef thirteen other royal scribes are noted on the jar labels from the palace of Amenhotep III; see Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951): figs. 17–22.

<sup>57</sup> See the list of titles and epithets, pp. 78–80.

<sup>58</sup> These inscriptions may have been the last ones executed.

<sup>59</sup> Wolfgang Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, pt. 1 (Wiesbaden, 1961), p. 56. Helck places this *pr-Tjj-m-pr-Imn* at Karnak; it could, however, be anywhere in the Theban area; see *ibid.*, p. 203.

<sup>60</sup> Another “steward of the wife of the king, Tiye,” was Hori, who on stele Louvre C.203 was also, like Kheruef’s father, scribe of the army of the Lord of the Two Lands (Paul Pierret, *Recueil d’inscriptions inédites du Musée égyptien du Louvre*, vol. 1 [Paris, 1874], pp. 42–43). He may be the same person as the owner of Theban tomb no. 245, to whom Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* 1/1<sup>2</sup>, p. 333, give the title “steward of the royal wife.”

Amenhotep III and Tiye and ushers various officials into the royal presence (pls. 49, 51). In the register under this scene he is at the head of the king's retainers (pl. 58B, D).

The two statues of Kheruef found in the tomb and the one found at Bubastis bear titles concerned with the jubilee. The statue at Bubastis and the graffiti at Assuan indicate that Kheruef journeyed to both ends of Egypt in connection with one or more of the jubilees.<sup>61</sup>

The provenance of the Berlin statue is unknown. It has been suggested that it came from Ashmunein (Hermopolis Magna), where there were several monuments of Amenhotep III,<sup>62</sup> but such a provenance seems improbable since no place name or temple is mentioned on the statue. It is possible that the statue was placed in the temple of Khonsu at Karnak; both Khonsu and Thoth were identified with the moon.<sup>63</sup> No titles on this statue relate to the jubilee, so it may date to a period prior to the preparations for the first celebration of this festival by Amenhotep III.

Kheruef was an official who had the confidence of and a close personal relationship with the king. The tomb that he began is the largest private tomb of the Eighteenth Dynasty of which we have knowledge. The tomb was not completed, whether because of the political situation or because of a structural collapse we do not know. Sometime after the work on the tomb stopped, all but one of the representations of Kheruef on the tomb walls were effaced; the exception was probably concealed behind debris. Most, although not all, of the writings of his name were damaged. While this vandalism may have been motivated by personal animosity, the reason was more probably political, since the figures of other officials who participated in the jubilees were also attacked.

There is no evidence about what happened to Kheruef after the death of Amenhotep III.

<sup>61</sup> Labib Habachi, "The Jubilees of Ramesses II and Amenophis III with Reference to Certain Aspects of their Celebration," *ZÄS* 97 (1971): 68-69.

<sup>62</sup> Günther Roeder, ed., *Hermopolis 1929-1939* (Hildesheim, 1959), pp. 53, § 59c; 83-84, §§ 17-18.

<sup>63</sup> Note the baboon statues of Seti I in the hypostyle hall of the temple of Khonsu, one describing the king as "beloved of the Moon-Thoth-Khonsu" (Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* 2<sup>a</sup>, p. 235 [34]).

## INTRODUCTION TO THE PLATES

CHARLES F. NIMS

THE RELIEFS on the walls of the tomb of Kheruef are among the most finely executed of those extant in the Eighteenth Dynasty tombs in the Theban Necropolis. Unfortunately, many suffered from deliberate defacement in antiquity, and some have been obscured by the extrusion of salts from the limestone. All of the reliefs were photographed. The larger number of these photographs are published herein, along with photographs of some of the details. In areas of extensive damage, photographs of only representative areas have been used.

As has been the practice of the Epigraphic Survey, the artists worked on the photographic enlargements directly in front of the reliefs,<sup>1</sup> and the collation of the artists' drawings by the Egyptologists was done through the careful scrutiny of these reliefs.<sup>2</sup> In using a heavier line to indicate a shadow, the artists have assumed that a light is falling diagonally across the relief from the upper left. This convention enables one to differentiate between the raised and the incised relief. Raised relief occurs on the walls of the west portico (pls. 25-63) and on the south wall of the passage into the first columned hall (pls. 73-76, 77B). All other relief is incised.

Most of the fragments found by Fakhry and in the clearance undertaken jointly by the Department of Antiquities and the Epigraphic Survey have been drawn in their original positions as far as these could be determined. Where the relationship of a fragment to the relief could not be ascertained, it is shown separately. All inscriptional material, except for a few fragments of single hieroglyphs, appears on the plates.

The extensive areas of deliberate defacement were a challenge to the artist and the epigrapher. In the entry passage the hymns of Kheruef that are below the main scenes and the word square with its hymns to Amon and to Re-Harakhti required careful study by all. The preliminary work was done by the Egyptologists, who indicated all traces that could be discerned as a guide to the artist.

In the publication of these inscriptions there is a departure from the usual practice of indicating the restorations in dotted lines on the same drawing that shows the extant relief. In order to make clear the evidence of the wall, only the extant traces are given on the first drawing of the inscription, and the restored text on the second. On plate 14 the lines dividing the compartments are restored to avoid confusion; the evidence is clear for all the lines. It should be noted that compartments 7-N and 8-N of the word square had no inscription; the hand of Amenhotep IV intruded here, as shown on plates 11 and 12. It was not until we undertook the study of this inscription that we were aware of its content.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The only exception is the Berlin fragment of the first pair of princesses in the lower row (pl. 57). The Staatliche Museum zu Berlin supplied a photograph, and Reginald Coleman made a careful tracing of the original, both of which were used by Leslie Greener as the basis of his drawing. The restorations in this scene are based on Erman's sketch.

<sup>2</sup> The method is briefly described in Charles F. Nims, "The Publication of Ramesside Temples in Thebes by the Oriental Institute," in *Textes et langages de l'Égypte pharaonique*, Bibliothèque d'étude de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, vol. 64/2 (Cairo, n.d.), pp. 91-92.

<sup>3</sup> N. de G. Davies, "Akhenaten at Thebes," *JEA* 9 (1923): 135, and Ahmed Fakhry, "A Note on the Tomb of Kheruef at Thebes," *ASAE* 42 (1943): 463, both of whom thought that this compartmentalized area contained a list of offerings.

On plate 13 the fragments of the feathered headdress of the woman (who certainly is Queen Tiye) were positioned by fitting them into the broken wall behind. The placement of the other detached fragments of this scene—which include the three cartouches, the head and crown of Amenhotep III, and the head and shoulders of Tiye—were carefully calculated from the parts of the scene in situ, and we believe they are shown in their original position.

Plate 18B is a photograph of the effaced relief drawn on plate 19A, B; and the areas represented by plates 20A, B,<sup>4</sup> and 21A, B are in similar condition. The word square on plates 14 and 15 was even more damaged.

The wall to the left of the reliefs shown on plate 21 and above that shown on plate 22 is broken away. It must once have shown the figure of Amenhotep IV. The lines protruding from the right side of the sun disk, preserved only in traces on the broken surface of the wall (pl. 21), are probably of the tail of the uraeus rather than of the ray of the sun.<sup>5</sup> The border and the *heker*-frieze above the scene were not drawn; these are similar to those above the scenes on the opposite wall, shown on plate 11. There was no border on the right end of the scene.

The upper register of reliefs on the wall of the south wing of the west portico has suffered not only from deliberate defacement but also from the subsequent extrusion of the salt, which is apparent on plates 25, 27, 41, and 43. This extrusion has made it exceedingly difficult to facsimile the reliefs, but the copies are very close to the ideal. The extrusion had forced thin sheets of stone from the surface of the wall, and it was difficult to ascertain the exact position of some of the reliefs recovered, particularly the ones belonging to the scene showing Amenhotep III and Tiye in the sun bark (pl. 46). We now know that the fragment with the cartouches of Amenhotep, who stands within the cabin of the bark, was placed slightly too far to the left. If we were correct in our belief that the trace to the lower left of the cartouches belongs to the beak of the falcon on the royal forehead, as appears on plate 42, then the restored head of the king should be slightly forward of the position as drawn. The problem of positioning the lower part of the columns of text over the prow of the bark is discussed by Wente, page 54, note *b*.

From the wall we have made an exact copy of the *heker*-frieze above the reliefs at both ends; it seemed pointless to spend the necessary time copying the entire frieze, and we did not wish to abandon our standard of drawing. We felt the same way about copying the entire frieze from the north wall of the portico. Only the frieze over the throne scene is drawn (pls. 49, 51),<sup>6</sup> but it actually extends above all the reliefs on this wall.

Although the scenes on the wall of the north wing of the portico were painted, except for the bottom register, only the figures of the "Nine Bows" on the dais of the throne have retained enough paint to make feasible a color reproduction. This appears, divided into three sections, on plate 1. A comparison of the proof of this plate with the original shows that, except for the slight warming of the colors, the reproduction is faithful.

The reading of year 37 on plate 51 is certain. Erman,<sup>7</sup> copying in a dim light, was unable to see the separation between the year glyph and the stroke of the digit immediately below. The narrow space between was filled with whitewash, and only careful examination made

<sup>4</sup> That the left end of the drawings on pl. 20 is smaller than the right end is the fault of the photographer. The discrepancy was not discovered until the drawing was bleached.

<sup>5</sup> See Davies, *JEA* 9 (1923): 135.

<sup>6</sup> We noted an interesting phenomenon in regard to the *heker*-frieze shown on pls. 48–51. Where there was red paint or no paint at all on the stone there was far less swelling of the surface of the stone than in the areas where the stone was painted blue, green, or black.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 1, n. 3.



the division evident. The bottom duplicate date with the digits differently arranged is clear, though it is in part effaced.

The right side of this plate shows three depictions of Kheruef ushering in two officials. In the middle one the traces of the breast ornaments worn by the officials show that these individuals are the two priests of Ptah<sup>8</sup> who appear in the ceremony of the erection of the *djed*-pillar (pls. 55, 56).

Above the very north end of the scenes concerning the third jubilee the *heker*-frieze, the border, and the sky beneath them are uncompleted.

The vertical inscriptions shown on plate 80 are from the four flat surfaces on each of the two fluted columns<sup>9</sup> that were just beyond the eastern doorway into the first columned hall, one on either side of the east-west aisle. The part of the north column still in situ preserves the lower end of an inscribed line on its south, west, and east sides. More than 175 loose fragments of inscription from the shattered portions of the two columns were found in the debris in the hall. These fragments were fitted together as far as it was possible. Some came from the upper parts of the aforementioned lines of inscription preserved on the north column; these are shown in their relative positions (with gaps of uncertain length where the inscription is lost) on plate 80*F, J, B*. The remaining fragments were also assembled into larger elements. After the joins had been made, the groups were arranged according to the direction in which the hieroglyphs faced, the peculiarity of the margins (whether carved or painted), and the width of the inscribed areas. Some fragments could not be joined with others, and the groups may not always be in correct relation to each other.

It is hoped that the photographs of the two statues of Kheruef and the fragments belonging to them do justice to the artistry of the originals. The translations of the texts on these statues are on pages 17-20.

The photographs of the inscriptions of Kheruef at Assuan were made under difficult conditions. The texts of the inscriptions shown on plate 87*B* are, for the most part, hardly legible, and the badly eroded right end of the graffito does not appear on the plate. The reading of these inscriptions by Labib Habachi, who took the photographs, gives information not contained in earlier copies; his translations are on pages 21-22.

<sup>8</sup> For these breastplates, see Adolf Erman, "Aus dem Grabe eines Hohenpriesters von Memphis," *ZÄS* 33 (1895): 21ff., and Margaret A. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, pt. 1, British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account, vol. 10 (London, 1905), pl. I.

<sup>9</sup> For a cross section of such a column, see fig. 2*A*, p. 7.

## TRANSLATIONS OF THE TEXTS

EDWARD F. WENTE

### PLATE 7.\* HYMN TO THE SETTING SUN

<sup>1</sup>Adoration of Re as he sets in life in the western horizon of the sky by the noble, count, sole companion who has access to his lord, favorite of Horus the lord of the palace, first royal [herald], royal scribe, and steward, Kheruef, justified. He says:

Hail to you, master of perpetuity, Atum, prince of eternity. You have joined with the horizon of the sky, <sup>2</sup>and you appear in glory on the western side as Atum who is in the evening, having come in your power and having no opponent. You rule the sky as Re, and you reach both your heavens in happiness. You have banished clouds <sup>3</sup>and tempest.<sup>a</sup> As you descend from the womb of your mother Naunet,<sup>b</sup> your father Nun [makes sal]utation,<sup>c</sup> and the gods of the Western Mountain are in jubilation. Those who are in the netherworld are in joy when they see their lord, <sup>4</sup>far-striding.

O Amon-Re, lord of everybody, welcome! (You have) reached the two lands,<sup>d</sup> and you have joined the arms of the Western Mountain. Your majesty has attained veneration, having moored at your place of yesterday.<sup>e</sup> The arms of your mother are protection [around you],<sup>f</sup> while the jackals are overthrowing your enemy.<sup>g</sup> <sup>5</sup>The western souls tow you onto the way which is in the Holy Land that you may illumine the face(s) of the denizens of <sup>6</sup>the netherworld, hear the summons of the one who is in the sarcophagus, and raise up those who are placed on (their) side.

<sup>7</sup>You feed on Maat from the one who bears it,<sup>h</sup> and you rejuvenate nostrils with what is in it.<sup>i</sup>

<sup>8</sup>You are elevated thereby to an august position,<sup>j</sup> and you cause those who have become gods to be provided.<sup>k</sup> <sup>9</sup>When (you) go forth thither,<sup>l</sup> their warmth is (re)generated, as you are restored in your former state, being come <sup>10</sup>as the solar disk, the power of the sky, and being united with the ruler of [Iger]jet.<sup>m</sup> You impart your beauty <sup>11</sup>within<sup>n</sup> the netherworld, and now you shine for those who are in darkness so that those who are in the caverns <sup>12</sup>are in joy.<sup>o</sup> They adore you as you approach them with this your visage of "He who awakes uninjured"<sup>p</sup> . . . conceived at night<sup>q</sup> daily. At dawn [you are] reju[venated]<sup>r</sup> . . . [da]ys as this (divine) lad<sup>s</sup> 'radiant'<sup>t</sup> in <sup>13</sup>his form, who issues from his mother's womb without cessation and goes to rest within it at [his] time.<sup>u</sup>

. . . [Kher]uef, [justi]fied. [He] says:

[Hai]l,<sup>v</sup> O Re, when you<sup>w</sup> rise and Atum after [you] set. <sup>14</sup>May you let me be among your favored ones beholding your beauty every day and let me grasp the towrope of the evening bark and the mooring (post of the morning bark).<sup>z</sup>

\* A portion of this hymn was published and translated by N. de G. Davies, "Akhenaten at Thebes," *JEA* 9 (1923): 134 and pl. XXVII (n). Following Ahmed Fakhry's publication of the text in "A Note on the Tomb of Kheruef at Thebes," *ASAE* 42 (1943): 462-63, several translations have appeared, a partial one by H. M. Stewart, "Some Pre-Amārnah Sun-Hymns," *JEA* 46 (1960): 89-90, one by J. Zandee, "Prayers to the Sun-God from Theban Tombs," *JEOL* 6, no. 16 (1959-62), pp. 64-65, and, more recently, one by Jan Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete* (Zurich and Munich, 1975), pp. 162-64. In the Theban tomb of Surer (no. 48) there is a fragmentary version of a similar hymn; see Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs, Private Tombs at Thebes*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1957), pl. L, B; and left of the doorway on the façade of the Theban tomb of Imhotep (no. 102) there is an unpublished hymn that parallels portions of the one in Kheruef's tomb chapel; see MMA photograph no. T 809.

Zandee, *JEOL* 6, no. 16 (1959-62), p. 64, has indicated the important parallel passage in Papyrus Leiden I, 344, vs. IV, 1-5, published in C. Leemans, *Aegyptische monumenten van het Nederlandsche Museum van Oudheden te Leyden*, vol. 2, pl. CXVII. There is also a Cairo stele of Siamon, referred to in the *Wb.* Zetteln as Kairo Nr. 243 and partially rendered with some incorrect restorations by Heinrich Schäfer, "Altägyptische Bilder der auf- und untergehenden Sonne," *ZÄS* 71 (1935): 33, that contains a closely parallel text. A translation and detailed discussion of the first part of this hymn is given by Jan Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott: Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Hymnik*, vol. 1, *MÄS* 19 (Berlin, 1969), pp. 228-45, who has noted that a version of the first part of the hymn is also found in the Ritual of Amenophis I.

<sup>a</sup> See Hermann Kees, "Ein alter Götterhymnus als Begleittext zur Opfertafel," *ZÄS* 57 (1922): 114; for *hrs* as a writing of *hsr*, see Jacques Vandier, "Quatre Variantes ptolémaïques d'un hymne ramesside," *ZÄS* 93 (1966): 134.

<sup>b</sup> Just as at dawn the sun god is born of Nut, the sky goddess, so at dusk he is born from the womb of Naunet, the "under-heaven."

<sup>c</sup> For the restoration see Schäfer, *ZÄS* 71 (1935): 33.

<sup>d</sup> Emending to *s3h.(n.k) 3wy*, following the text in the Theban tomb of Imhotep (no. 102) cited in *Wb.*, *Belegstellen* 4, offset p. 6, item 20, 9; cf. also the text of the Cairo naos given in item 20, 8. "Earth" is meant by *3wy*; see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 63.

<sup>e</sup> On *r r-c.k n sf*, see Jan Zandee, "De hymnen aan Amon van Papyrus Leiden I 350," *OMRO* 28 (1947): 4.

<sup>f</sup> That is, the arms of Naunet protect the sun god after she has given birth to him. The restoration is based upon the parallel in Theban tomb no. 102.

<sup>g</sup> The parallel in Theban tomb no. 102 has, more correctly, *s3bw hr 3hrt hft(y).k*, but see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 285 and 298, for a different interpretation.

<sup>h</sup> On Maat as the food of Re, see Hans Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952), pp. 430-31. In the scene accompanying the parallel text in Theban tomb no. 102 the tomb owner, Imhotep, is depicted bearing the symbol of Maat in one hand and the *Oudjat*-eye in the other; and in the text he says, "I have come unto you, my hands bearing the *Oudjat*-eye while Maat is spread out on my fingers." It therefore seems probable that the one referred to as bearing Maat in the Kheruef hymn is the deceased; cf. P. A. A. Boeser, *Beschreibung der ägyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden*, [vol. 5] (The Hague, 1913), p. 1, fig. 4, and British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc.*, pt. 8, ed. I. E. S. Edwards (London, 1939), p. 33, lines 17-18. However, Thoth also presents Maat to Re, see n. *h* to pl. 73. Papyrus Leiden I, 344, vs. IV, line 4, uses the plural pronoun *sn* in referring to Maat, possibly indicating that in the papyrus Maat was conceived of as a plural concept.

<sup>i</sup> Assuming that *imy* is for *imyt*, although another possibility is "as one who has it," *imy* in this case being a reversed *nisbe*; see J. Gwyn Griffiths, "The Inverted Use of *Imy*," *JEA* 28 (1942): 66-67.

<sup>j</sup> Papyrus Leiden I, 344, vs. IV, line 4, has "to your august position."

<sup>k</sup> This meaning of *3htm* appears to be attested elsewhere only in the Late Period; see *Wb.* 4, p. 224, 9.

<sup>l</sup> Emending to *pr.(k) 3*, following Papyrus Leiden I, 344, vs. IV, lines 4-5. For *3* meaning "there" or "thither," see Bernhard Grdseloff, "A New Middle Kingdom Letter from El-Lāhūn," *JEA* 35 (1949): 62; and T. G. H. James, *The Hekanakhe Papers and Other Early Middle Kingdom Documents*, Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition, vol. 19 (New York, 1962), pp. 109-10.

<sup>m</sup> Restored after Papyrus Leiden I, 344, vs. IV, line 1. The ruler of Igeret, the realm of the dead, is Osiris. For the equation of the nocturnal form of the sun god with Osiris, see Erik Hornung, *Das Amduat: Die Schrift des verborgenen Raumes*, 2 pts., *ÄgAbh* 7 (Wiesbaden, 1963), 2:124; Alexandre Piankoff, *The Litany of Re* (New York, 1964), p. 11, n. 2; and Philippe Derchain, *Le Papyrus Salt 825 (B.M. 10051): Rituel pour la conservation de la vie en Egypte* (Brussels, 1965), pp. 35-37.

<sup>n</sup> For this meaning of *mm*, see *Wb.* 2, p. 2, 21.

<sup>o</sup> Understand *m h<sup>cwt</sup>*, the ending being written after the determinatives.

<sup>p</sup> On the reading *Rs-w3*, "He who awakes uninjured," see Papyrus Leiden I, 344, vs. IV, line 3; Hermann Kees, "Eine Liste memphitischer Götter im Tempel von Abydos," *RT* 37 (1915): 62 and 64; and Labib Habachi, "A Statue of Osiris Made for Ankhefenamun, Prophet of the House of Amun in Khapu and his Daughter," *ASAE* 47 (1947): 266-67. Another example of this writing is in E. A. Wallis Budge, *Facsimiles of the Papyri of Hunefer, Anhai, Kerasher and Netchemet* (London, 1899), The Papyrus of Anhai, pl. 1, line 7. *Rs-w3* is an epithet of Osiris; see *Wb.* 2, p. 451, 13; A. M. Blackman and H. W. Fairman, "The Myth of Horus at Edfu-II," *JEA* 30 (1944): 14, n. g; G. Daressy, "Un Débris de statue de Nectanébo II," *ASAE* 19 (1920): 139; and Urk. 8, p. 16 (17c). However, in Adriaan de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 7 (Chicago, 1961), p. 153k, *Rs-w3* is the son of Sokar.

<sup>q</sup> Emending to *sdr (b)k3w*; cf. *sdr iwr* of *Wb.* 4, p. 390, 16, and see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 118-20.

<sup>r</sup> Perhaps restore *rnp.k* on the basis of traces of *rn*.

<sup>s</sup> Reading the group as *hwn*.

<sup>†</sup> Possibly the verb *sti* of *Wb.* 4, p. 330, 13ff., is intended; cf. E. Brunner-Traut, "Atum als Bogenschütze," *MDAIK* 14 (1956): 25-27.

<sup>‡</sup> For the tentative restoration *r nw.f*, see *Urk.* 4, p. 1851, 12.

<sup>§</sup> Restoring *hy*.

<sup>¶</sup> For the use of the third-person suffix in a clause dependent upon a vocative, see Hermann Grapow, *Wie die Alten Ägypter sich anredeten, wie sie sich grüssten und wie sie miteinander sprachen*, pt. 1, APAW, Jahrgang 1939, no. 11 (Berlin), p. 45.

<sup>\*</sup> The Kheruef text breaks off abruptly after *mn*. The translation has been completed on the basis of the parallel in Theban tomb no. 102.

PLATE 9. AMENHOTEP IV, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS MOTHER, QUEEN TIYE, OFFERING WINE TO RE-HARAKHTI AND MAAT AND INCENSE TO ATUM AND HATHOR

AT CENTER OF LINTEL

The Behdetite, the image of Re.<sup>a</sup>  
Neferkheperure-waenre.

LEFT SCENE

Amenhotep IV, followed by Queen Tiye, presents wine to Re-Harakhti and Maat

BEFORE KING

Giving wine that he may make "given life."

ABOVE KING

The Perfect God, Neferkheperure-waenre, the Son of Re, Amenhotep, the-god-who-rules-Thebes, great-in-his-lifetime, given life like Re.

BEHIND KING

The protection of life is around him.

ABOVE QUEEN

The god's mother and principal wife of the king, Tiye.

ABOVE RE-HARAKHTI

Re-Harakhti, the great god, lord of heaven.

ABOVE MAAT

Maat, the daughter of Re.

RIGHT SCENE

Amenhotep IV, followed by Queen Tiye, censes before Atum and Hathor

BEFORE KING

Offering incense that he may make "given life."

ABOVE KING

The Perfect God, Neferkheperure-waenre, the Son of Re, Amenhotep, the-god-who-rules-Thebes, great-in-his-lifetime, given life like Re.

## BEHIND KING

The protection of all life is all around him every day.

## ABOVE QUEEN

The god's mother Tiye, may she live and be rejuvenated.

## ABOVE ATUM

Atum, Lord of Heliopolis, as he gives all life, all health, all joy, and all provisions.

## ABOVE HATHOR

Chieftainess of Thebes.

<sup>a</sup> See Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, pl. XXX, for this epithet of the Behdetite.

## PLATE 10A. OFFERING TEXTS

## VERTICAL COLUMNS OF TEXT

<sup>1</sup>A boon which the king [gives] (to) Amon,<sup>a</sup> the Primeval One of the Two Lands, that [he] may grant all that is issued from his offering table<sup>b</sup> in the course of every day to the ka of the noble, count, royal scribe, and steward of the principal wife of the king, Tiye, Kheruef, justified.

<sup>2</sup>A boon which the king gives (to) Re-Harakhti that he may grant observation of the solar disk, perception of its beauty, and egress and ingress in the necropolis to the ka of the noble, count, excellent confidant of the Lord of the Two Lands, overseer of treasurers [of] the palace,<sup>c</sup> and royal scribe, Kheruef, justified.

<sup>3</sup>A boon which the king gives (to) Osiris, residing in the Thinite nome, that he may grant a coming forth as a living ba at the voice of the depositor of offerings<sup>d</sup> to the ka of the noble, count, dignitary at the head of the courtiers, and castellan, Kheru[ef, justified].

<sup>4</sup>A boon which the king gives (to) Isis the Great, the God's Mother, that [she] may grant a goodly burial after old age in the Perfect God's favor<sup>e</sup> to the ka of the noble, count, sole one as "Staff of Commoners,"<sup>f</sup> and [royal] scribe, Kheruef, justified.

## BEFORE AND ABOVE SEATED FIGURE OF KHERUEF

The noble, count, excellent confidant . . . , [overseer of treasurer]s<sup>g</sup> of the palace, [with] whose character the Lord of the Two Lands is content, true scribe of [the king], beloved of him, and steward of the principal wife of the king, Tiye, [Kheruef, justified].

<sup>a</sup> Restore either simply <sup>2</sup>*Imn* (cf. *MH* 5, pl. 313, lines 15-16, and *The Epigraphic Survey, Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak*, vol. 1, *Ramses III's Temple within the Great Inclosure of Amon*, pt. 1, OIP 25 [Chicago, 1936], pl. 32A, lines 8-9) or <sup>2</sup>*Imn-R*<sup>c</sup> (cf. *L.D.* 3, pl. 22w).

<sup>b</sup> For the restoration, see the tomb of Userhat, Theban tomb no. 56 (MMA photograph no. 3248).

<sup>c</sup> *Nw* is restored on the basis of pl. 70, line 2. On the reading of the seal sign see Henry G. Fischer, *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome, Dynasties VI-XI*, *Analecta Orientalia* 40 (Rome, 1964), pp. 126-29, and Jean Yoyotte, "Le Nome de Coptos durant la Première Période Intermédiaire," *Orientalia*, n.s. 35 (1966): 50-51. The presence of the *tyw*-vulture in the title on pl. 70 perhaps favors the reading *sd<sup>3</sup>wt<sup>3</sup>tyw*. For the writing of the ending *tyw* with only *t* plus plural strokes, one may compare the writing of *m<sup>3</sup>tyw* in line 2 of pl. 10B.

<sup>d</sup> See *Wb.* 1, p. 257, 7, and *Wb.*, *Belegstellen* 1, offset p. 27, where examples similar to this one are cited.

<sup>e</sup> I.e., in the king's favor.

<sup>f</sup> This title was also borne by Surer; see line 2 of the horizontal inscription of Louvre no. A 50, published in Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, pl. LXX, A. On the Old Kingdom title *mdw rhyt*, see Wolfgang Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches*, *ÄgFor* 18 (Glückstadt, 1954), p. 74.

<sup>g</sup> Restoring *imy-r sd<sup>3</sup>wt<sup>3</sup>tyw*.

## PLATE 10B. OFFERING TEXTS

## VERTICAL COLUMNS OF TEXT

<sup>1</sup>A boon which the king gives (to) Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, that he may grant a coming forth from the earth to behold . . . [to the ka of the noble, count, . . . Kheruef, justified].

<sup>2</sup>A boon which the king gives (to) Atum, Lord of the Two Lands, the Heliopolitan, that he may grant entry into 'that' (*sic*) Island of the Righteous<sup>a</sup> and satisfaction from the offering slab of the lord of the Holy Land<sup>b</sup> to the ka of the noble, count, sole companion who has access to his lord, and [royal] scribe, Kheruef, justified.

<sup>3</sup>A boon which the king gives (to) Thoth, master of the book rolls, that he may grant a happy remembrance in the mouth(s) of survivors and justification in the place of eternity to the ka of the noble, count, one gentle of stride in the palace, the castellan, Kheruef, justified.

<sup>4</sup>A boon which the king gives (to) Anubis, who is in front of the divine booth, that he may place his arms around the "Lord of Life" (i.e., the sarcophagus) and make pleasant his chest<sup>c</sup> for the ka of the noble, count, one uniquely devoted<sup>d</sup> to the sovereign, the royal scribe, Kheruef, justified.

## BEFORE AND ABOVE SEATED FIGURE OF KHERUEF

[The noble, count, . . . , and steward] of the principal wife of the king, Tiye, [Kheruef, justified].

<sup>a</sup> Traces of paint indicate that the sign employed for *iw*, "island," is actually the long loaf sign. The border is blue, the center greenish, while the left end is yellow. The *p* following *iw* is certain, but may well be an error for the stroke determinative. For the "Island of the Righteous" as a designation of Abydos, see Alan H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*, ser. 1, *Literary Texts of the New Kingdom*, pt. 1 (Leipzig, 1911), p. 7, n. 1, and Urk. 5, p. 26, 12.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. N. de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose* (London, 1941), pl. XLI, 3.

<sup>c</sup> Probably the canopic chest is meant here; see the depictions in Edouard Naville, *Das ägyptische Tottenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1886), pl. III (P.e. and L.a.). Although the flesh determinative of *hn* might suggest "thorax" (see Davies, *Ramose*, pl. XVI and p. 18, with n. 4), George Nagel, "Un Papyrus funéraire de la fin du Nouvel Empire [Louvre 3292 (inv.)]," *BIFAO* 29 (1929): 52-53, argues otherwise.

<sup>d</sup> For this use of *w*, see Aylward M. Blackman, "The Stele of Thethi, Brit. Mus. No. 614," *JEA* 17 (1931): 57 (5).

## PLATE 12. AMENHOTEP IV OFFERING TO RE-HARAKHTI

## BEFORE AMENHOTEP IV

Offering a grand oblation to Re-Harakhti that he may make "given life" like Re forever.

## AT KING'S HEAD

The Perfect [God], Lord of the Two Lands, Neferkheperure-waenre, [the Son] of Re, [Lord of Diadem]s, Amenhotep, the-god-who-rules-Thebes, great-in-his-lifetime, given life like Re.

## ABOVE WORD SQUARE

Adoration of Re in the morning . . . in the horizon . . . .

## BY BULL

Young short-horned bull.

## PLATE 13. AMENHOTEP IV OFFERING TO AMENHOTEP III AND QUEEN TIYE

## AT AMENHOTEP IV'S HEAD

... Neferkheperure-waenre, . . . , Amenhotep, the-god-who-rules-Thebes, great-in-his-life-time, . . . .

## AT AMENHOTEP III'S HEAD

... Nebmare . . . .

## BY VULTURE

Edjō, Lady of . . . .

## BEHIND AMENHOTEP IV

[The protection of all life], stability and dominion, and all health is all around him like Re forever.

## PLATES 14-15.\* WORD SQUARE

## HORIZONTAL LINES

<sup>1</sup>Adoration of Amon-[Re], the divine god, beloved one, . . . by [the Perfect God], Neferkheperure, the Son of Re, Amenhotep Ruler-of-Thebes:

Hail to you, <sup>2</sup>O Re (god determinative), stately in appearances, . . . , beautiful of forms, foremost of his sanctuary, the 'soulful one', most hidden of those who are hidden when he sets, mighty of countenance, who has made all that exists, <sup>3</sup>Horus, the eldest, lord of the two conclaves, who is in the bark, repeating appearances, . . . Re-Khopri, . . . (god determinative), . . . as the solar disk, Atum, who is over <sup>4</sup>the two horizons, perfect, the King of the Gods, who advances his . . . , [great] in valor, beneficent, . . . , peaceful, . . . , great of . . . his mother, <sup>5</sup>good 'spokesman', . . . , watchful of countenance when the land brightens, Amon-Re, . . . as sunlight, . . . , ruler of Thebes, foremost of . . . Manu, 'most gracious one <sup>6</sup>of the gods', . . . , 'the greatest who has come into being', lord of those who are with him, Kamutef, . . . , lord of . . . , unique, beside whom there is none, . . . , the eldest of 'those who are glorified'. <sup>7</sup>It is the one whose power is great who illumines the earth, who traverses the sky, the lord of exultation, Amon-[Re], the unique god who is peerless, 'abiding', [great] in strength, . . . , King of Upper and Lower Egypt, <sup>8</sup>the god, lord of heaven, rich in manifestations, . . . 'entrance' of Manu, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, whose form is hidden, who has made grain, . . . , lord of eternity and master of perpetuity, great one, <sup>9</sup>good, 'king', pure lord, . . . , every . . . , great of reign, the sunlight, dazzling . . . , Amon-Re, . . . the Two Lands, . . . , <sup>10</sup>the Son of Re, Amenhotep Ruler-of-Thebes, . . . you, Re, who came forth from Nun, fashioner of forms . . . , lord of ruler[s], the Theban, who sustains everyone, mother of mothers and father of fathers, <sup>11</sup>[Amenhotep], 'Re of' . . . , presiding over his creation, . . . , who has made [all] who exist, who has no [duplicate], appearing upon earth, whose body is the solar disk, . . . , who joins . . . , <sup>12</sup>ruler [of Thebes], . . . , lord . . . , who has created what exists and who advances all beings, unfathomable, the eldest . . . 'perpetuity'.

<sup>13</sup>[Hail to you], . . . , [great] in terror, . . . all . . . , whose [body] is Nun, who sustains the Two Lands. Hail to your presence, king of [man]kind, . . . himself 'when he made' . . . , great of creativity (god determinative) forever.

## VERTICAL LINES

<sup>A</sup>Adoration of Re-Harakhti, the good 'spokesman of the gods', by the Perfect God, the Son of Re, [Amenhotep] Ruler-[of-Thebes]:

[Hail to you], <sup>B</sup>O Amon-[Re] (god determinative), the eldest, perfect, . . . , whose power is great, lord of heaven, 'king', Amenhotep, . . . , <sup>C</sup>the great god, lord of the two conclaves, King of the Gods, watchful of countenance, 'the greatest who has come into being', who illumines the earth, rich in manifestations, the pure lord, ruler of Thebes, presiding over his creation, . . . , [great] in terror, <sup>D</sup>divine in appearances, who is in the bark, who promotes the dawn, lord of those who are with him, who traverses the sky, . . . you, . . . , lord of . . . , <sup>E</sup>beloved one, . . . , repeating appearances, . . . , Amon-Re-Kamutef, lord of exultation (at the) 'entrance' of Manu, . . . every . . . , the sun who has made [all] who exist, . . . all . . . <sup>F</sup> . . . , Amon-[Re], Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, . . . image without duplicate, who has created what exists, whose [body] is Nun: <sup>G</sup>so says [the Perfect God], Neferkheperure, [great] in valor, . . . , lord of . . . , the god Amon, great of reign, who came forth from Nun and appeared upon earth, who advances all beings and sustains the Two Lands, <sup>H</sup>beautiful of manifestations, foremost of his sanctuary, Khopri, beneficent as sunlight, the sole unique one, whose form is sunlight, fashioner of his (own) flesh, who is unfathomable.

Hail to your presence, <sup>I</sup>O Re, the 'soulful one', . . . , beside whom there is none, peerless, who has made grain, dazzling of forms . . . , the solar disk, eldest one, king of [man]kind, <sup>J</sup>the Son of Re, Amen(god determinative)hotep Ruler-of-Thebes, . . . , 'abiding', . . . , lord of ruler[s], . . . himself, <sup>K</sup>most hidden of those who are hidden, . . . , foremost of . . . , [great] in strength, lord of eternity, Amon-Re, the Theban, who joins . . . 'when he made' . . . , <sup>L</sup>gracious when he sets as the solar disk, great of . . . , master of perpetuity, . . . , who sustains everyone, . . . , great of creativity, <sup>M</sup>ruler of Thebes, mighty of countenance, Atum, . . . Manu, the eldest, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, great one, . . . the Two Lands, mother of mothers, . . . (god determinative).

<sup>N</sup>Hail to you, who have made all that exists apart from his mother, most gracious of 'those who are glorified', . . . , father of fathers, . . . forever and ever.

\* The Kheruef word square is the oldest known example of this genre of inscription; see J. J. Clère, "Acrostiches et mots croisés des anciens égyptiens," *CdE* 13 (1938): 35-58; J. Zandee, *An Ancient Egyptian Crossword Puzzle*, Mededelingen en verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux," vol. 15 (Leiden, 1966); Lanny Bell, "Return to Dra Abu el-Naga," *Expedition* 11, no. 3 (Spring 1969), p. 33; and H. M. Stewart, "A Crossword Hymn to Mut," *JEA* 57 (1971): 87-104.

#### Notes to Squares

1B. The restoration of Amon-Re is probably preferable to simply Amon.

1E. For the restoration, see *Wb.*, *Belegstellen* 2, p. 104, 3.

1G. Restoring probably *in nfr nfr*.

2B. Although we have taken the sign as the god determinative, it could be read either *nfr*, "god," or *nb*, "lord."

2C. For the restoration, see *Wb.* 3, p. 241, 16.

2I. The reading *b<sup>3</sup>y* has been suggested by Mr. H. M. Stewart; see Thomas George Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day*, SAOC, no. 37 (Chicago, 1974), p. 290.

2K. Restoring the seated man with raised arms and vertically arranged plural strokes, and reading the group logographically as *imnw*, so that *imn imnw* is to be understood in both directions.

2L. Reading *štp.f*, not *m htp.f*. For *štp.f* used intransitively for the setting of the sun, see *Wb.* 4, p. 222, 14.

3C. Reading *nb itrtj*.

3D. Reading *imy w<sup>3</sup>*.

3J. Mr. Stewart has suggested that this square contained simply the god determinative serving to complete the name of Amenhotep vertically.

4G. Restoring <sup>3</sup>*kn(t)*, but *w<sup>c</sup> kn*, "uniquely valiant," is also possible.

5A. Reading *r nfr*, literally, "good mouth"; cf. *Wb.* 2, p. 390, and Hermann Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Aegyptischen* (Leipzig, 1924), pp. 117-18.

5C. Reading *rs h<sup>3</sup>w<sup>t</sup>*; cf. *Wb.* 2, p. 450, 20.

5N. Reading *htpy*; see *Wb.* 3, p. 194, 13.

6A. Tentatively restoring *nfrw*.



- 6C. Possibly read <sup>3</sup> *hpry*.  
 7A. Reading *in* with the *n*-sign over the standing man, as in Urk. 4, p. 1421, 11 and 16.  
 7D. Reading *nmi pt*.  
 7E. Restoring *nb hknw*.  
 7J. Perhaps *mn*.  
 7K. Perhaps read <sup>3</sup> *nhtw*.  
 8E. Reading *r M<sup>3</sup>nw*.  
 9B. Possibly restore  $\overline{\text{f}}\text{-}\overline{\text{a}}\text{-}\overline{\text{h}}$ .  
 10D. One might be tempted to suggest *iw n.k*, "Praise to you," but the traces hardly support such a reading.  
 10J. Possibly restore *nb hk<sup>3</sup>w*.  
 11A. Restoring <sup>2</sup>*Imn-htp* as in 10B.  
 11E. Under the book roll restore either *nb* or plural strokes.  
 11F. Restoring *iwty sn-nw.f*, as in 7I.  
 12A. Restoring *hk<sup>3</sup> W<sup>3</sup>st* as in 10C.  
 12N. *Nhh* is probably to be restored in the bottom half of the square.  
 13A. Restoring (*i*)*nd hr.k* as in 1N.  
 13C. Restoring <sup>3</sup> *nrw*, but *nb nrw*, "lord of terror," is also possible.  
 13F. Possibly the trace above the viper sign is of an 3-vulture used in a writing of *h<sup>3</sup>t*, "body"; cf. *ht.f Nnw*, "His body is Nun," in the Leiden Hymn to Amon V, 21 (Zandee, *OMRO* 28 [1947]: 101).  
 13I. Restoring *nsw rhyt*.  
 13K. The traces hardly suit the restoration of *ir nfw*, "who has made the wind."  
 13M. Or read the god sign as *nb*, "lord," in "lord of eternity" horizontally.

## PLATE 19.\* HYMN TO OSIRIS

<sup>1</sup>[Giving praise] to Osiris and paying [homage] to Onnophris by the noble, <sup>2</sup>count, great companion of the Lord of the Two Lands, confidant of the Perfect God, royal scribe, first herald of the king, and steward of the principal wife of the king, <sup>3</sup>Kheruef, justified. He says:  
 Hail to you, . . .<sup>a</sup> of the Holy Land, the possessor of horns, with a lofty *atef*-crown, great in terror, <sup>4</sup>master of eternity, lord of Maat, rejoicing over her majesty<sup>b</sup> while [he] is upon his great throne, <sup>5</sup>to whom the gods give praise<sup>c</sup> at the sight of . . . of his face,<sup>d</sup> and to whom dwellers in the netherworld come in jubilation, <sup>6</sup>. . . They bow [upon] the ground.<sup>e</sup> Your heart is gladdened in your reign, <sup>7</sup>for your rule<sup>f</sup> is established at its (proper) place while [your] son Horus is upon your throne [up]on earth having taken possession of the Two Lands <sup>8</sup>in triumph.

The royal scribe and steward, Kheru[ef], justified. He says:

Hail to you, Onnophris, [the so]n of [N]ut <sup>9</sup>and heir of Geb, lord of splendor, [gre]at of awe in the hearts of [m]en, gods, <sup>10</sup>*akhs*, and the dead, whose terror has been instilled in Busiris and whose power (has been put) <sup>11</sup>[in] Abydos. <sup>12</sup>May you let me enter <sup>13</sup>and go forth among <sup>14</sup>the righteous, who are in the following of Your Majesty, and let me consume offerings from your offering table<sup>g</sup> daily.

\* For some similar hymns to Osiris, see Louis Speleers, "La Stèle de Maï du Musée de Bruxelles (E. 5300)," *RT* 39 (1921): 117-24; Jean Capart, *Recueil de monuments égyptiens*, ser. 1 (Brussels, 1902), pl. XXX; E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Dead*, 3 vols. (London, 1898), text vol., p. 477; and Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Two Sculptors at Thebes* (New York, 1925), pl. XV.

<sup>a</sup> The traces in the lacuna suit neither *nb* nor *hry-tp*; some word expressing Osiris's prominence in the Holy Land is expected.

<sup>b</sup> I.e., over the majesty of Maat.

<sup>c</sup> See Cairo Amon Hymn, II, 1 (Eugène Grébaut, *Hymne à Ammon-Ra des papyrus égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq* [Paris, 1874], p. 5).

<sup>d</sup> Or, "before him."

<sup>e</sup> For the restoration, see Budge, *Book of the Dead*, text vol., p. 12, line 1.

<sup>f</sup> We can offer no suitable interpretation of the trace just below the left corner of the *t* in *hk<sup>3</sup>t*.

<sup>g</sup> See Davies, *Tomb of Two Sculptors*, pl. XV.

## PLATE 20.\* HYMN TO THE RISING SUN

<sup>1</sup>Adoration of Re in the morning [when he rises]<sup>a</sup> in the horizon of the sky <sup>2</sup>by the noble, count, favorite of Horus the lord of the palace, the stew[ard] of the principal wife of the king, and first royal herald, <sup>3</sup>Kheruef, justified. [He says]:

H[ai]l to you, O Re, in your rising, <sup>4</sup>Amon in [your 'beautiful' setting. You rise]<sup>b</sup> and [you sh]ine upon your mother's back, [app]ear[ing in glory <sup>5</sup>as kin]g of the [enne]ad. [Nut makes] sal[utation] before your face, and <sup>6</sup>Maat embraces you at all times. [You tra]ver[se the sky] with your [hear]t joyful, <sup>7</sup>for the Lake of the Two Knives<sup>c</sup> has become at peace since the rebel is fallen, his arms bound, <sup>8</sup>and k[nives] have severed his [vertebrae]. As to the One with [Evi]l Disposition, <sup>9</sup>[his] movement has been curtailed, and your enemies are fallen [at] their slaughter place. As to the gods, their hearts are glad when they see <sup>10</sup>you in the morning bark. Re has a (following) breeze continuously.<sup>d</sup> As to the evening bark, <sup>11</sup>it has destroyed the one who attacked it.<sup>e</sup> You cross both your heavens in triumph,<sup>f</sup> <sup>12</sup>your ennead 'appearing'<sup>g</sup> <sup>13</sup>in your following. <sup>14</sup>Your mother Nut infolds you <sup>15</sup>as you are made to flourish<sup>h</sup> at your place of yesterday.

The royal scribe, first royal herald, and steward of the principal wife of the king, <sup>16</sup>[Kher]uef, justified. [He] says:

I adore you while your beauty is in my sight and your sunshine appears upon my breast.<sup>i</sup>

\* A number of Eighteenth Dynasty parallels to this hymn have been presented by Stewart, *JEA* 46 (1960): 85-87, and Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 263-79. Other versions of this hymn are found, for example, in Theban tombs no. 181 (Davies, *Tomb of Two Sculptors*, p. 27) and no. 263 (MMA photograph T 3086).

<sup>a</sup> Restoring either *hft wbn.f* or *m h<sup>c</sup>.f*.

<sup>b</sup> The lacuna seems too short to permit with confidence the restoration of *m htp.f nfr h<sup>c</sup>.k*, suggested by parallel versions. It is possible that the adjective *nfr* was omitted.

<sup>c</sup> On the reading *mr nh<sup>3</sup>wy*, see Hartwig Altenmüller, "Messersee", 'gewundener Wasserlauf' und 'Flammensee', *ZÄS* 92 (1966): 86-95, and H. M. Stewart, "The Mythical Sea of Knives," *JEA* 53 (1967): 164.

<sup>d</sup> On the adverbial expression *m r-<sup>c</sup>*, see the Berlin Leather Roll, I, 19 (A. de Buck, "The Building Inscription of the Berlin Leather Roll," in *Studia Aegyptiaca*, vol. 1, *Analecta Orientalia*, vol. 17 [Rome, 1938], p. 50) and Sir Alan Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II* (Oxford, 1960), p. 25 (P257).

<sup>e</sup> Our reading is confirmed by the parallel in the tomb of Ramose, which we have checked at the wall. Davies, *Ramose*, pl. IV, line 5, should begin  $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{N}}$ ; there are more traces of the *ph*-sign discernible than in Davies's copy.

<sup>f</sup> Cf. Urk. 4, p. 1851, 15.

<sup>g</sup> The traces are perhaps of  $\text{⊖} \text{⊖}$ , *h<sup>c</sup>.t(i)*.

<sup>h</sup> Or possibly to be interpreted as *swd.ti*, "when you are given over."

<sup>i</sup> See Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 286-87.

## PLATE 21.\* ADDRESS OF KHERUEF ON ENTERING THE UNDERWORLD

<sup>1</sup> . . . 'lord' . . . <sup>2</sup> . . . 'king',<sup>a</sup> Lord of the Two Lands, [Neferkheperure-wa]enre . . . 'ing the horizon dweller'<sup>b</sup> . . . 'in' . . . <sup>3</sup>[Adoration of Osiris] by the noble, count, sole companion who has access to [his] lord, enduring in favors from the Lord of the Two Lands, . . . , [Kheruef, justified. He says:

Hail to you, Osiris],<sup>c</sup> you first(born) son of Geb, <sup>4</sup> . . . , the great eldest one of his father,<sup>d</sup> the mightiest among the five gods<sup>e</sup> that issued from Nut,  $\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{a}}$ ,<sup>f</sup> the great one [who is] in . . . .

'The first royal' [herald] and royal scribe, [Kher]uef, justified. He says:

<sup>5</sup>[I have co]m[e in ju]bilation in order to say in the netherworld, "The son of Isis and heir of [Osiris]<sup>g</sup> . . . forever and ever under his supervision."<sup>h</sup>

<sup>6</sup>I have come in [ju]bilation at the head of the crew that is in the following of Horus, . . . [Ge]b, for the earth has been allotted to him to (be) his property.<sup>i</sup>

<sup>7</sup>[I have] come in [ju]bilation to Onnophris after Sokar has been hauled on the day of his feast. As for his son Horus, his enemy<sup>j</sup> is fallen before him. 'Re'<sup>k</sup> himself has spoken, and (it) is done.<sup>l</sup>

<sup>8</sup>[I have] c[ome in] jubilation to Osiris, for I have seen the One with Evil Disposition fallen and Horus uniting the White and Red Crowns, the . . .<sup>m</sup> of Geb having been awarded to its lord.

<sup>9</sup>[I have come in] jubilation to the Lord of the West in order to gladden the heart(s) of those who are with him, for heaven and the Two Lands have been given to Horus. I kept shouting<sup>a</sup> on the day that he appeared in glory.<sup>o</sup>

<sup>10</sup>[I] have come [in] jubilation to the ruler of the netherworld. I was alone as leader of the war-ship. I shouted in front of the crew when Horus overthrew the disaffected one.

<sup>11</sup>[I have] come in jubilation to the King of the God[s], for Horus has occupied the dais, the couch 'being prepared and uplifted'<sup>p</sup> . . . has been awarded [to] the Sole Lord. As for the gods, their hearts are happy.

<sup>12</sup>I have come in jubilation to the one with many names,<sup>q</sup> for I have grasped the prow rope of the divine boat<sup>r</sup> and have accompanied . . . [to] the entrance of Pøker on that day of the wreath of justification.<sup>s</sup>

<sup>13</sup>I have come in jubilation [to the eldest of] the 'five' gods,<sup>t</sup> for I have seen the plumes on the head of Min and [I have] recited p[rais]es upon the terrace<sup>u</sup> after Horus took possession of the Two Banks.

<sup>14</sup>I have come in jubilation to the god of (my) city,<sup>v</sup> Osiris Ruler of Eternity, the lord of that which is and to whom that which is not belongs.<sup>w</sup> May you let the first royal herald, Kheruef, justified, go forth to behold the [solar dis]k when it rises without his being opposed or repelled from any portals of the netherworld.<sup>x</sup>

## UNPLACED FRAGMENTS

. . . image . . . .<sup>y</sup>

. . . 'self' . . . .<sup>z</sup>

\* See Davies, *JEA* 9 (1923): 135.

<sup>a</sup> Restoring *nsw* on the basis of the traces. Since there is no indication of deliberate mutilation of the *n*-sign, the name of Amon is a less likely alternative.

<sup>b</sup> We suppose that the infinitive of a verb (possibly *hpt* in the sense of "placate") followed *hr*.

<sup>c</sup> The restoration of *ind hr.k Wsir* is suggested by similar texts in Auguste Mariette, *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos découverts pendant les fouilles de cette ville* (Paris, 1880), no. 1053 (p. 379) and no. 1122 (p. 413), and idem, *Monuments divers recueillis en Egypte et en Nubie* (Paris, 1889), pl. 28e. Cf. also the text in the tomb of Khaemhat published in Victor Loret, *La Tombe de Khâ-m-hâ*, MMAF 1/1 (Paris, 1884), p. 121. The name of Osiris is, however, omitted in the British Museum Stele no. 447, line 2, published in British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c, in the British Museum*, pt. 4 (London, 1913), pl. 48.

<sup>d</sup> Restoring  $\overline{\text{𓏏}} \overline{\text{𓏏}}$ . There is no possibility for the restoration *n it.f Rc*, "of his father Re," which appears in parallel texts cited in the preceding note.

<sup>e</sup> See Kurt Sethe, *Von Zahlen und Zahlworten bei den alten Ägyptern und was für andere Völker und Sprachen daraus zu lernen ist* (Strassburg, 1916), p. 38.

<sup>f</sup> On the desert god *Hâ*, see Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, p. 267; Ahmed Fakhry, *Bahria Oasis*, vol. 1 (Cairo, 1942), p. 88; Alan H. Gardiner and Kurt Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead* (London, 1928), p. 13; and J. J. Clère, "Fragments d'une nouvelle représentation égyptienne du monde," *MDAIK* 16 (1958): 39. After *imy* perhaps restore *dwit*, "the netherworld"; see Budge, *Book of the Dead*, text vol., p. 109, line 2.

<sup>g</sup> For the restoration of *Wsir*, cf. Alexandre Moret, "La Légende d'Osiris à l'époque thébaine d'après l'hymne à Osiris du Louvre," *BIFAO* 30 (1931): 744, line 17 of the hymn.

<sup>h</sup> Perhaps restore *pt t3* before *r nhh* and translate, "Heaven and earth are forever under his charge"; cf. *ibid.*, p. 745, line 19 of the hymn.

<sup>i</sup> Cf. *ibid.*

<sup>j</sup> For the circle determinative of *hft(y)*, see pl. 20, line 9, and Davies, *Ramose*, pls. XII and XXX.

<sup>k</sup> Restoring possibly  $\overline{\text{𓏏}} \overline{\text{𓏏}}$ , though an objection to this is that the gap between the *f*-viper and the reconstructed *Rc*-group would be rather more than one expects. *Ntr* seems even less likely.

<sup>l</sup> On the construction noun + *sdm.f*, see Wolhart Westendorf, "Die Wortstellung Nomen + *sdm.f* als grammatische Konstruktion," *MIO* 1 (1953): 337-43, and Wolfgang Schenkel, "Beiträge zur mittelägyptischen Syntax," *ZÄS* 92

(1965): 68–72. For the combination of the verbs *dd* and *iri*, see Gustave Lefebvre, *Inscriptions concernant les grands prêtres d'Amon, Romê-Roij et Amenhotep* (Paris, 1929), p. 8 (f); Sethe, *ZÄS* 36 (1898): 143–44; and Nina de Garis Davies and Alan H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Huy*, Theban Tomb Series, vol. 4 (London, 1926), pl. XXXVIII, G.

\* A feminine noun, such as *iwst*, “inheritance,” or *nswyt*, “kingship,” stood in the lacuna.

\* Space favors the restoration of the preposition *hr* rather than *sm* after *wn.i*.

° On *hrw h<sup>c</sup>.f*, see Battiscombe Gunn, “A Special Use of the *sdm.f* and *sdm.n.f* Forms,” *JEA* 35 (1949): 22.

° On *mn-bit*, “couch,” see *AEO* 1, p. 36\*. The word also appears in an epithet of Prince Ramesses-Montuhikhopeshef: *iry rdwy.f m mn-bit*, “He who is in attendance upon him (i.e., the king) in the *mn-bit*” (E. Lefébure, *Les Hypogées royales de Thèbes*, MMAF 3/1 [Paris, 1889], pl. 69). We have been unable to interpret the traces of signs following the man with upraised arms, which we have interpreted as *ḥz*.

° On *ḥz rnw* as an epithet of Osiris, see Moret, *BIFAO* 30 (1931): 729, line 1 of the hymn.

\* Cf. Urk. 1, p. 232, 5; Alan H. Gardiner, “The Goddess Nekhbet at the Jubilee Festival of Rameses III,” *ZÄS* 48 (1911): 48–49; and *AEO* 1, p. 53, n. 9.

\* Cf. Spell 19 of the Book of the Dead.

\* So Davies, *JEA* 9 (1923): 135. However, the spacing does suggest the numeral six. For an example of the rare combination of six gods, see Loret, *Tombe de Khâ-m-hâ*, p. 132, line 15 of the text from the tomb of Khaemhat (= MMA photograph T 849).

\* The restorations follow a parallel text in the now inaccessible Theban tomb no. 47 of Userhat, cited in *Wb.*, *Belegstellen* 3, offset p. 102 to *Wb.* 3, p. 349, 1 (Zettel no. 1298).

\* *Nw* for genitival *n* as in Urk. 4, pp. 208, 9, and 209, 12. Cf. Adolf Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik*, 2d ed. (Leipzig, 1933), §215, and William F. Edgerton and John A. Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III: The Texts in Medinet Habu Volumes I and II*, SAOC, no. 12 (Chicago, 1936), p. 6, n. 22a.

\* For parallels to the expression *nb nty, wn(n) n.f iwy*, see line 4 of a hymn to Amon-Re at Tura published by Abd el-Mohsen Bakir, “A Hymn to Amon-Rē at Tura,” *ASAE* 42 (1943): 83–91 and pl. IV; and line 5 of the inscription on the back of the group statue of Meryre and his wife (Bologna Catalogue no. 1813) published in Giovanni Kmīnek-Szedlo, *Saggio filologico per l'apprendimento della lingua e scrittura egiziana e la interpretazione delle iscrizioni geroglifiche che si leggono sui monumenti del Museo civico di Bologna* (Bologna, 1877), pl. X, fig. 3, A.

° Cf. Budge, *Book of the Dead*, text vol., p. 41, lines 1–2.

\* This fragment appears to be part of a horizontal inscription located left of the main text.

\* This fragment belongs to the main inscription, and the traces suggest *ds*.

#### PLATE 22.\* HYMN TO THE SETTING SUN


<sup>1</sup>[Adoration of Re as he sets in life in the hori]zon b[y] the noble, count, great companion of the Lord of the Two Lands, first royal herald, royal scribe, and steward of the principal wife of the king, <sup>2</sup>[his beloved, Tiye, (may she live)],<sup>a</sup> Kheruef, justified.

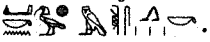
He says:

Hail to you, O Re, when you set in life. <sup>3</sup>[You have] joined [with the horizon of the sky and you appear in glory] on the western side as Atum who is in the evening, having come in <sup>4</sup>[your power and having no opponent. You rule the sky as] Re, and you reach both your heavens in happiness. <sup>5</sup>[You have] banished [clouds and tempest. As you descend] from [the womb of] your mother Naunet, your father [N]un makes salutation, <sup>6</sup>[and the gods of the Western Mountain are in jubilation]. Those who are in the netherworld are in joy when they see their lord, <sup>7</sup>. . . The western souls tow you onto the way which is in the Holy Land <sup>8</sup>[that you may illumine the face(s) of the denizens of the netherworld and raise up those who] are inert.<sup>b</sup> May you let me become a spirit among your following.<sup>c</sup>

\* Pl. 22 is an abridged version of the hymn on pl. 7; see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 228–45.

\* The length of the lacuna at the beginning of line 2 suggests this restoration; cf. pl. 46 for “his beloved,” and pls. 51 and 78, line 6, for “may she live.”

\* The restoration in translation follows the unpublished parallel text in the Theban tomb no. 102 of Imhotep (MMA photograph T 809): . The word *nmmw* seems otherwise unattested, and we suggest that both occurrences should be emended to *nnyw*.

\* The parallel referred to in the preceding note has .

## PLATE 23. INSCRIPTIONS ON CEILING OF PASSAGE TO COURT

## SOUTH BAND

Words spoken by the royal scribe and steward, Kheruef, justified: "O you reckoning gods, may you give attention to one who has done righteousness and receive me.<sup>a</sup> I have not done evil nor have I committed blasphemy against<sup>b</sup> the king. I am a servant who is beloved of his lord. It is His Majesty who has sent me."

## CENTRAL BAND

Words spoken by the first royal herald and steward, Kheruef, justified: "O you first portal of the netherworld, 'He desires entry, his abomination is egress,'<sup>c</sup> open for me! It is bearing Maat that I have come . . . ."<sup>d</sup>

## NORTH BAND

Words spoken by the castellan, royal scribe, and steward, Kheruef, justified: "O you gods, lords of the underworld, magistrates who are in the Holy Land, may you forward my plea<sup>e</sup> to the Lord of Eternity . . . ."

## EAST BAND, SOUTH HALF

Re has granted effectiveness in heaven to the first royal herald, Kheruef, justified.

## EAST BAND, NORTH HALF

Geb has granted power in the earth to the castellan, Kheru[ef, justified].

## WEST BAND, SOUTH HALF

. . . [Khe]ruef, justified.

<sup>a</sup> For the writing of the first-person singular dependent pronoun as though it were the suffix pronoun, see William F. Edgerton, "Obsolescence of the Imperative Mood in Egyptian," in *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (London, 1932), p. 62, and Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, p. 24 (P200).

<sup>b</sup> Taking *n* as the dative of disadvantage; see *Wb.* 2, p. 193, 13, and William F. Edgerton, "The Nauri Decree of Seti I: A Translation and Analysis of the Legal Portion," *JNES* 6 (1947): 227, n. 64a. Cf. Charles Maystre, *Les Déclarations d'innocence (Livre des morts, chapitre 125)*, Publications de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire, vol. 8 (Cairo, 1937), p. 95.

<sup>c</sup> The fact that this text is carved on the ceiling of the entrance passageway of Kheruef's tomb suggests that the first portal of the tomb was identified with the entrance to the netherworld; cf. the use of *imht* in Urk. 4, p. 484, 14.

<sup>d</sup> Perhaps restore *bwt.i grgt*, "My abomination is falsehood."

<sup>e</sup> For *s<sup>c</sup>r* written with metathesis of *r* and *c*, cf. Davies, *Ramose*, pl. XII. The sign before the quail chick has a pointed bottom, which suits the *hrw*-oar rather than the *nfr*-sign. The expression *s<sup>c</sup>r hrw* should be compared with *s<sup>c</sup>r mdwt* that occurs in similar contexts in Philippe Virey, *Sept Tombeaux thébains de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> Dynastie*, MMAF 5/2 (Paris, 1894), p. 300 (line 15 of stele), and *L.D.* 3, pl. 114i (line 19 of stele). On the meaning of *hrw*, "plea," "petition," see George R. Hughes, "A Demotic Letter to Thoth," *JNES* 17 (1958): 7, and Edward F. Wente, "The Suppression of the High Priest Amenhotep," *JNES* 25 (1966): 75, fig. 2, line 20.

PLATE 26. AMENHOTEP III, IN JUBILEE ATTIRE AND SEATED ON  
THRONE, ACCOMPANIED BY HATHOR AND QUEEN TIYE

## BEFORE THE KING

Re-Harakhti, mighty bull, repeating the jubilee, the Two Ladies, appearing in the White Crown and wearing the Red Crown, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, the Lord of the Ritual and Lord of Diadems, Nebmaare, the Son of Re, who has assumed the Double Crown, Amenhotep Ruler-of-Thebes, given life, stability, and dominion like Re forever.

## BELOW THE SOLAR DISK WITH URAEUS

As (he)<sup>a</sup> gives all life and all joy.

## ABOVE HATHOR

Hathor, Lady of Dendera, as she gives life and dominion.

## BEFORE QUEEN TIYE

The principal wife of the king, beloved of him, Tiye, may she live. It is like Maat following Re that she is in the following of Your Majesty.

## BETWEEN THE FANS

As he<sup>b</sup> gives all life and all joy.

## ON EITHER SIDE OF WINGED SUN DISK

The Behdetite, the great god, variegated of plumage, the lord of heaven and lord of Mesen,<sup>c</sup> as he gives life, stability, and dominion.

## ON LEFT SUPPORT OF SHRINE

Re-Harakhti, mighty bull, appearing in truth, the Perfect God, celebrating jubilees like his father Horus-Tanen,<sup>d</sup> a lord of splendor like Min upon the great dais,<sup>e</sup> the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Nebmaare, the Son of Re, beloved of him, Amenhotep Ruler-of-Thebes, beloved of Ptah the Great, South-of-His-Wall, given life like Re forever.

## ON RIGHT SUPPORT OF SHRINE

Re-Harakhti, mighty bull, appearing in truth, the Perfect God, the Son of Amon, whom he has installed on his throne upon earth to do what his ka desires, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ruler of the Nine Bows, Lord of the Two Lands and Lord of the Ritual, Nebmaare, the bodily Son of Re, beloved of him, Amenhotep Ruler-of-Thebes, beloved of "He who awakes uninjured,"<sup>f</sup> who resides in the Mansion of Sokar, given life forever.

## CENTER LINES ON PODIUM

All plains and all hill countries are at the feet of this Perfect God.

## LEFT HALF OF PODIUM.

Giving praise to the Perfect God and paying homage to the Son of Amon by the princes of all distant foreign lands who were ignorant of Egypt.

## RIGHT HALF OF PODIUM

Giving praise to the mighty king and paying homage to the ruler of Thebes by the princes of all foreign lands with strange tongue(s)<sup>g</sup> as they come in obeisance because of His Majesty's power.

<sup>a</sup> The sculptor neglected to carve the *f*-viper below *di nḥ*. The clause is probably to be understood as circumstantial, qualifying the solar disk with pendant cobra; see H. J. Polotsky, "Egyptian Tenses," *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* 2, no. 5 (1965), p. 5, n. 6. In the Theban tomb of Surer (no. 48) the solar disk with cobra is labelled "The Behdetite, the image of Re before the Two Lands"; see Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, pl. XXX.

<sup>b</sup> The suffix pronoun *f*, "he," probably refers to the divine power of the air generated by the fans held in the arms attached to the symbols of life and dominion; cf. Hermann Kees, *Der Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs*

(Munich, 1912), pp. 126–27, and Bonnet, *Realexikon*, p. 178. The same symbolic group appears without text before the enthroned king in the tomb of Ramose; see Davies, *Ramose*, pl. XXIX. In the Theban tomb of Haremhab (no. 78) two fan bearers are more realistically depicted fanning the king with similar plumes; see U. Bouriant, *Tombeau de Harmhabi*, MMAF 5/3 (Paris, 1894), pl. III.

<sup>c</sup> On the “lord of Mesen,” see Adolphe Gutbub, “Remarques sur les dieux du nome tanitique à la Basse Epoque,” *Kēmi* 17 (1964): 35–60.

<sup>d</sup> On “Horus-Tanen,” see Hermann Junker, *Die Onurislegende* (Vienna, 1917), p. 62; idem, *Die politische Lehre von Memphis*, APAW, Jahrgang 1941, no. 6 (Berlin), p. 34; Bonnet, *Realexikon*, p. 769; and Hornung, *Das Amduat*, pt. 2, pp. 147–48.

<sup>e</sup> On *st wrt*, “dais,” see Sir Alan Gardiner, “The Founding of a New Delta Town in the Twentieth Dynasty,” *JEA* 34 (1948): 21, n. 4.

<sup>f</sup> See n. p to pl. 7.

<sup>g</sup> For *ns*, “tongue,” used in reference to language, see Maj Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten*, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, vol. 8 (Brussels, 1938), p. 95, line 1, and British Museum stele no. 551, line 19, published in British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts*, pt. 8, p. 33. On the differentiation of languages, see Jaroslav Černý, “Thoth as Creator of Languages,” *JEA* 34 (1948): 121–22; S. Sauneron, “La Différenciation des langages d’après la tradition égyptienne,” *BIFAO* 60 (1960): 31–41; and Dieter Müller, *Ägypten und die griechischen Isis-Aretalogien*, Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, philologisch-historische Klasse, vol. 53/1 (Berlin, 1961), pp. 54–56.

PLATE 28. INSCRIPTION OF AMENHOTEP III DATED TO YEAR THIRTY,  
SECOND MONTH OF THIRD SEASON, DAY TWENTY-SEVEN

<sup>1</sup>Year 30, second month of the third season, day 27,<sup>a</sup> under the Majesty of Horus, mighty bull, appearing in truth, given life, <sup>2</sup>the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Nebmaare, the Son of Re, beloved of him, Amenhotep Ruler-of-Thebes, given life, at the time of celebrating the first jubilee of His Majesty: <sup>3</sup>the glorious appearance of the king at the Great Double Doors<sup>b</sup> in his palace [of the House] of Rejoicing<sup>c</sup> and ushering in the officials, <sup>4</sup>the king’s f[riends],<sup>d</sup> <sup>5</sup>the chamberlain,<sup>e</sup> <sup>6</sup>the men of the gateway,<sup>f</sup> <sup>7</sup>the king’s acquaintances,<sup>g</sup> <sup>8</sup>the crew<sup>h</sup> of the <sup>9</sup>bark, the castellans,<sup>i</sup> and the king’s dignitaries.

Rewards were made<sup>j</sup> of the Gold of Praise,<sup>k</sup> and ducks and fish<sup>l</sup> of *nbwy*-<sup>6</sup>gold,<sup>m</sup> and they received ribbons<sup>n</sup> of green linen, each person being made to stand according to his rank.<sup>o</sup> (They) were fed<sup>p</sup> with <sup>7</sup>food<sup>q</sup> of the king’s breakfast: bread, beer, oxen, and fowl. (They) were directed to the lake<sup>r</sup> of His Majesty to row in the bark of the king.<sup>s</sup> They grasped <sup>8</sup>the towropes<sup>t</sup> of the evening bark and the prow rope of the morning bark, and they towed the barks at the great place.<sup>u</sup> They stopped at <sup>9</sup>the steps of the throne.

It was His Majesty who did this in accordance with writings of old.<sup>v</sup> <sup>10</sup>(Past) generations [of]<sup>w</sup> people since the time of ancestors had never celebrated (such) rites<sup>x</sup> of the jubilee. <sup>11</sup>It was for<sup>y</sup> the one appearing in truth, the Son of Amon, who enjoys the ‘legacy’<sup>1</sup> [of his father],<sup>z</sup> given life like Re forever, that it was decreed.

<sup>a</sup> On the dates connected with the first jubilee of Amenhotep III, see Charles Cornell Van Siclen III, “The Accession Date of Amenhotep III and the Jubilee,” *JNES* 32 (1973): 290–300.

<sup>b</sup> On *rwty wrty*, “the Great Double Doors,” see Ricardo A. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* (London, 1954), p. 149.

<sup>c</sup> On *pr hꜥy*, “the House of Rejoicing,” see H. W. Fairman, “Topographical Notes on the Central City, Tell El-Amarnah,” *JEA* 21 (1935): 137–38; idem, “The Inscriptions,” in J. D. S. Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten*, pt. 3, *The Central City and the Official Quarters*, vol. 1, *Text*, Memoirs of the Egypt Exploration Society, vol. 44 (London, 1951), pp. 193–97; A. M. Blackman and H. W. Fairman, “The Significance of the Ceremony *hwt bhꜣw* in the Temple of Horus at Edfu,” *JEA* 36 (1950): 73 (74); and Jacques Vandier, *Le Papyrus Jumilhac* (n.p., n.d.), p. 158, n. 156. On the House of Rejoicing as the name of Amenhotep III’s palace at Malqata, south of Medinet Habu, see William C. Hayes, “Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III,” *JNES* 10 (1951): 83–84, 163–64, 177–78; Eberhard Otto, *Topographie des thebanischen Gaus*, UGAÄ 16 (Berlin and Leipzig, 1952), p. 68; Hans Wolfgang Helck, “Die Sinai-Inschrift des Amenmose,” *MIO* 2 (1954): 205; and Barry Kemp and David O’Connor, “An Ancient Nile Harbour: University Museum Excavations at the ‘Birket Habu,’” *International Journal of*

*Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* 3.1 (1974): 132–33. Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951): 84, n. 60, corrects L.D. 3, pl. 86a, to provide the reading *pr ḥꜣy* at the temple of Soleb, and on p. 178 he suggests that Amenhotep III's palace may have been renamed the House of Rejoicing "in honor of the first *Heb-sed*." An early example of the expression is *pr ḥꜣw* in the Cairo Middle Kingdom stele no. 20713 (H. O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs*, pt. 2, CGC [Berlin, 1908], p. 338), where Hathor is named as lady of the House of Rejoicing. This is significant in view of the prominent role played by Hathor in the jubilee reliefs of Kheruef's tomb chapel; see Edward F. Wente, "Hathor at the Jubilee," in *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*, SAOC, no. 35 (Chicago, 1969), pp. 83–91, and cf. the role of Hathor in the festival hall of Thutmose III at Karnak discussed by Paul Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, Publications de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire: Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire, vol. 21 (Cairo, 1962), pp. 174, 295.

<sup>4</sup> Restoring tentatively *smrw-nsw*; for *nsw* in honorific transposition before *smrw*, see pl. 30 and Urk. 4, p. 1967, 18. For the *smrw* associated with the jubilee ceremonies, see Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln*, pp. 24–25.

<sup>5</sup> On the *imy-ḥnt*, "chamberlain," see Max Guilmot, "Le Titre Imj-Khent dans l'Égypte ancienne," *CdE* 39 (1964): 31–40; *AEO* 1, p. 23\*; Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln*, p. 29; Friedrich Wilhelm Freiherrn von Bissing, ed., *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-re (Rathures)*, vol. 3, *Die grosse Festdarstellung*, ed. Hermann Kees (Leipzig, 1928), pp. 21–24; Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951): 101, n. 224; Sir Alan Gardiner, "The Coronation of King Ḥaremḥab," *JEA* 39 (1953): 26–27; and Miriam Lichtheim, "The High Steward Akhamenru," *JNES* 7 (1948): 163. A certain Amenhotep is known to have functioned as *imy-ḥnt* at one of Amenhotep III's jubilees; see Wolfgang Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*, Probleme der Ägyptologie, vol. 3 (Leiden and Cologne, 1958), p. 279.

<sup>6</sup> A parallel for this orthography of *rwyt* with *r* preceding the recumbent lion is Urk. 4, p. 1064, 15; cf. Hans Goedicke, "A Cylinder Seal of a Ruler of Byblos of the Third Millennium," *MDAIK* 19 (1963): 4–5. On *rwyt*, "gateway," see Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, pp. 398–99; in some cases it appears synonymous with "palace"; see Alan H. Gardiner, "Kagemni Once Again," *JEA* 37 (1951): 109, n. 2.

<sup>7</sup> On *rḥw-nsw*, "king's acquaintances," see Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln*, pp. 26–28; idem, *Zur Verwaltung*, pp. 279–80; and Hellmut Brunner, "Der Bekannte des Königs," *SAK* 1 (1974): 55–60.

<sup>8</sup> On *iryw*, "crew," see Urk. 4, p. 895, 11.

<sup>9</sup> On *ḥrpw ḥ*, "castellans," see Kees in von Bissing, *Das Re-Heiligtum*, vol. 3, p. 21; Alan H. Gardiner, "The Mansion of Life and the Master of the King's Largess," *JEA* 24 (1938): 84; and Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln*, pp. 25 and 32.

<sup>10</sup> On the impersonal use of *.tw* in *fk<sup>3</sup>.tw*, "rewards were made," see Sir Alan Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3d ed. rev. (London, 1957), §486, and Wolfhart Westendorf, *Der Gebrauch des Passivs in der klassischen Literatur der Ägypter* (Berlin, 1953), pp. 79–80. *Fk<sup>3</sup>.tw* is the first of several *sdm.f*-forms in this text that appear to be used in historical narrative. For the rare narrative use of the *sdm.f*-form in Middle Egyptian, see Joseph Vergote, "Les Formes verbales égyptiennes et leur vocalisation," *Orientalia*, n.s. 34 (1965): 348–51; H. J. Polotsky, "Ägyptische Verbalformen und ihre Vokalisation," *Orientalia*, n.s. 33 (1964): 272; Gustave Lefebvre, *Grammaire de l'égyptien classique*, 2d ed., Bibliothèque d'étude de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, vol. 12 (Cairo, 1955), §248; and T. W. Thacker, *The Relationship of the Semitic and Egyptian Verbal Systems* (Oxford, 1954), p. 225; cf. also Westendorf, *Der Gebrauch des Passivs*, p. 86, on preterite *sdm.tw.f*. However, in this text we may have an early reduction of *iw sdm.n.f* to Late Egyptian *sdm.f*.

<sup>11</sup> On *nbw n ḥswt*, "Gold of Praise," see Hilde von Deines, "Das Gold der Tapferkeit, eine militärische Auszeichnung oder eine Belohnung?," *ZÄS* 79 (1954): 85–86, and Kurt Sethe, "Altägyptische Ordensauszeichnungen," *ZÄS* 48 (1911): 143–45; cf. Heinrich Schäfer, "Die Simonsche Holzfigur eines Königs der Amarnazeit," *ZÄS* 70 (1934): 10–13.

<sup>12</sup> These rewards are depicted on pl. 30. For actual specimens of such golden fish, see R. Engelbach, *Harageh*, Publications of the Egyptian Research Account and British School of Archaeology in Egypt, vol. 28 (London, 1923), pp. 12, 15, and pls. X (14) and XXII; A. Hamada and Sh. Farid, "Excavations at Kom el-Ḥisn, Third Season 1946," *ASAE* 48 (1948): 303 and pl. X. According to Dorothy K. Hill, "An Egyptian Fish Amulet," *Bulletin of the Walters Art Gallery*, vol. 5, no. 2 (November 1952), p. 2, the fish is a variety of *Barbus*. For a depiction in color of the piece from a child's grave in Harageh, see Irmgard Woldering, *The Art of Egypt* (1963; 2d printing, New York, 1965), p. 119; cf. also Cyril Aldred, *Middle Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1950), p. 53, with illustration no. 74.

<sup>13</sup> For the reading *nbwy*, see J. R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals* (Berlin, 1961), pp. 38–39; cf. Sethe, *Von Zahlen und Zahlworten*, pp. 95–96. Harris hesitates to conclude whether *nbwy* is gold of inferior quality or silver, but, in view of existing examples of golden fish, the former appears more likely.

<sup>14</sup> Assuming that the word is identical with *šsf* that occurs frequently in Old Kingdom linen lists. See Winfried Barta, *Die altägyptische Opferliste*, *MÄS* 3 (Berlin, 1963), pp. 8 and 17, and Wm. Stevenson Smith, "The Old Kingdom Linen List," *ZÄS* 71 (1935): 134–49, where it is concluded that *šsf* was some sort of narrow piece of cloth



that might have been used for belts or ribbons. It is tempting to identify the *ssfw*-ribbons with those worn by various persons in the jubilee scenes of the tomb of Kheruef. The word is also discussed by Peter Kaplony, *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit*, vol. 1, ÄGAbh 8 (Wiesbaden, 1963), p. 331.

<sup>o</sup> On *r nmtt.f*, "according to his rank," see Zbyněk Žába, *Les Maximes de Ptahhotep* (Prague, 1956), p. 133; and Siegfried Schott, *Der Denkstein Sethos' I. für die Kapelle Ramses' I. in Abydos*, Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse, 1964, no. 1 (Göttingen), pl. 2, line 16.

<sup>p</sup> Cf. Urk. 4, p. 59, 6–8.

<sup>q</sup> For *t* as "food," see Hildegard von Deines and Wolfhart Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte*, pt. 2, Grundriss der Medizin der Alten Ägypter, vol. 7/2 (Berlin, 1962), p. 931, and the idiom *wnm t*, meaning "eat," discussed by Georges Posener, *Littérature et politique dans l'Égypte de la XII<sup>e</sup> Dynastie* (Paris, 1956), p. 156.

<sup>r</sup> The *mr*, "lake," is possibly the Birket Habu or a pool of water fed by the Birket Habu; see Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951): 240; cf. Kemp and O'Connor, *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* 3.1 (1974): 101–36.

<sup>s</sup> From what immediately follows, it appears that the royal bark was used to tow the evening and morning barks, just as the king's vessel towed the god's barge "Amon-Userhat" in the Feast of Opet and the Feast of the Valley; see G. Foucart, "Études thébaines: La Belle Fête de la vallée," *BIFAO* 24 (1924): 73, n. 1, and pls. I and II. In Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-amūn at Thebes*, vol. 1, Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition (New York, 1930), pl. XLII, and p. 41, a royal ship apparently tows the *Neshmet*-bark bearing statues of Kenamun.

<sup>t</sup> *Shšw*, wrongly read as *šnw* in Raymond O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1962), p. 213, is probably related to the *shš* of *Wb.* 4, p. 268. Cf. Davies, *Tomb of Ken-amūn*, vol. 1, p. 42, where the phrase *m shšt* is translated "in tow."

<sup>u</sup> Or perhaps *hr st wrt* should be translated "over the great place," with "great place" designating a body of water.

<sup>v</sup> On *sšw iswt*, "writings of old," see J. Černý, "Le Caractère des *Oushebtis* d'après les idées du Nouvel Empire," *BIFAO* 41 (1942): 131; Abd el-Mohsen Bakir, *The Cairo Calendar No. 86637* (Cairo, 1966), p. 61; and Jaroslav Černý and Alan H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1957), pl. LXXXVIII, vs., line 1.

<sup>w</sup> Below the plural strokes of *hwt* there are vague traces of a possible  $\overline{\text{w}}$ , but they are far too uncertain to draw and may be merely due to the extrusion of salt. For the genitive *nw* used after a plural feminine noun, see Lefebvre, *Grammaire*, §145, end; and Wolfgang Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien* (Bonn, 1962), p. 71 (e, 2) and p. 73 (i).

<sup>x</sup> For *hb(y)t*, see pls. 45 and 70, and *MH* 3, pl. 165, line 1330. We take the word to refer to "festival rites" rather than "festival offerings."

<sup>y</sup> On *wḏ.n.tw.f* as an example of an emphatic construction, see H. Jacob Polotsky, "The 'Emphatic' *sdm.n.f* Form," *RdE* 11 (1957): 111, ex. 5.

<sup>z</sup> Restoring *hṭp hrt [it].f*. For *hṭp* with transitive meaning, cf. *hṭp.k iwṯt n sš 3st*, "You enjoy (or "occupy") the inheritance of the son of Isis," Urk. 4, p. 1382, 6. *Hrt*, "legacy," appears in parallel with *iwṯt*, "inheritance," as a gift of the god to the king; see Pierre Lacau and Henri Chevrier, *Une Chapelle de Sésostris I<sup>er</sup> à Karnak* (Cairo, 1956), p. 133.

#### PLATE 30. KHERUEF AWARDED A COLLAR OF GOLD IN THE PRESENCE OF AMENHOTEP III OVER SCENE

Rewarding the castellan, royal scribe, and steward [of the principal wife of the king, Kheruef]  
. . . hand<sup>a</sup> of the king.

#### ABOVE DIGNITARIES BEHIND KHERUEF

The king's friends<sup>b</sup> and the king's dignitaries.

<sup>a</sup> Although there exists the idiom *fkš . . . hr c* (or *hr cwy*), "reward . . . from the hand of" (Auguste Mariette, *Dendérah*, vol. 2 [Paris, 1870], p. 61a), the damaged sign above the arm sign can be read as the face sign only with considerable difficulty.

<sup>b</sup> Traces of the base of the *sw*-plant are preserved before *smrw*.

#### PLATE 32. DAUGHTERS OF GREAT ONES POURING LIBATIONS BEFORE AMENHOTEP III BEFORE AND ABOVE GIRLS

Ushering in the children of the great ones<sup>a</sup> [who have come bearing]<sup>b</sup> *nemset*-ewers of gold and libation flasks of electrum<sup>c</sup> in their hands in order to perform jubilee ceremonies.<sup>d</sup> Causing them to stand at the steps of the throne in front of the dais in the king's presence.

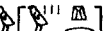
## BEFORE EACH PAIR OF GIRLS

Making purification four times.

## OVER ENTIRE SCENE

Pure<sup>a</sup> are your *nemset*-ewers of<sup>o</sup> gold and your libation flasks of electrum. The daughter of the Mentiu, she gives<sup>o</sup> to you cool water. O sovereign, l.p.h., you shall henceforth<sup>a</sup> continue to exist.

<sup>a</sup> Beneath the *wr*-bird are traces of the complimentary *r*. The girls depicted here have been described as "royal princesses" by Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamen* (London, 1963), p. 124, caption to fig. 64, and as "princesses" by W. Stevenson Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (1958; reprint ed., Baltimore, 1965), caption to pl. 112; but surely the expression *msw wrw* is that recorded in *Wb.* 2, p. 139, 8–9. *Msw*, applied to females, appears also in the expression *msw nsu* on pl. 56; cf. Kurt Sethe, *Dramatische Texte zu altaegyptischen Mysterienspielen*, UGAÄ 10/2 (Leipzig, 1928), p. 178 (69b). Although these girls have an Egyptian appearance, there are two indications that they may actually be the daughters of foreign princes, perhaps those reared at the Egyptian court. In the line of text above the entire scene, mention is made of "the daughter of the Mentiu," and in a parallel scene in Naville, *The Festival-Hall of Osorkon II in the Great Temple of Bubastis* (London, 1892), pl. XIV (3), below similar girls bearing flasks an inscription states, "All foreign lands are before them bearing *nemset*-ewers of (gold) and libation flasks of electrum." In Davies and Gardiner, *Tomb of Huy*, pls. XXVII, XXVIII, the daughters of the Nubian chieftains are designated *msw wr nw h<sup>3</sup>swt nbt*.

<sup>b</sup> After the *r* of *wrw*, we restore [Δ] .

<sup>c</sup> *Sbt* is surely identical with *snbt*. Like the *sbt*-flasks here and in Naville, *Festival-Hall*, pls. XIV (3) and XV (4), the *snbt*-flasks are in a number of instances also said to be made of electrum. See Kees, *Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs*, p. 212; Adriaan de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 2, OIP 49 (Chicago, 1938), p. 50g; Urk. 4, p. 874, 3; and Le Marquis de Rochemonteix, *Le Temple d'Edfou*, vol. 1, MMAF 10 (Paris, 1897), p. 320. A parallel for the loss of *n* before *b* is found also in writings of the words *knbt* and *knbtj*; see *Wb.* 5, pp. 53–54; cf. also J. J. Clère, "La Chute de l'*n* du suffixe *-čn* de l'ancien égyptien," *Comptes rendus du Groupe linguistique d'études chamito-sémitiques*, vol. 2 (1937): 66–68; and Gerhard Fecht, *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur*, ÄgFor 21 (Glückstadt, 1960), p. 90. On the *snbt*-flask, see Comptes Du Mesnil Du Buisson, *Les Noms et signes égyptiens désignant des vases ou objets similaires* (Paris, 1935), pp. 116–17, 134, and Heinrich Balcz, "Die Gefäßdarstellungen des Alten Reiches," *MDAIK* 5 (1934): 46–49.

<sup>d</sup> On the rather unusual use of the plural *hbw-sd* here and on pls. 51 and 56, see Wentz in *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*, p. 83, n. 2, and Baudouin van de Walle, "La Princesse Isis, fille et épouse d'Aménophis III," *CdE* 43 (1968): 49 and 51.

<sup>e</sup> This text is paralleled in Naville, *Festival-Hall*, pl. XV (4–5). For the old writing of the adjective with the *i*-ending, see Elmar Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, 2 vols., Analecta Orientalia, vols. 34/39 (Rome, 1955–64), 1: §336.

<sup>f</sup> For the preposition *m* introducing the material of which an object is made, see J. R. Harris, "A Hitherto Unrecognized Substantive," *Orientalia*, n.s. 30 (1961): 367–68.

<sup>g</sup> For an early example of the determinative of *Mntyw*, which is either a seated Beduin or Asiatic, see Ludwig Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sa<sup>3</sup>hu-Re<sup>c</sup>*, vol. 2, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, vol. 26 (Leipzig, 1913), pl. 5. On the Mentiu, see Wolfgang Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, ÄgAbh 5 (Wiesbaden, 1962), p. 268; Eric Uphill, "The Nine Bows," *JEOL* 6, no. 19 (1965–66), pp. 409–10; and S. Yeivin, "Who Were the *Mntyw*?" *JEA* 51 (1965): 204–6; though we have found no parallel for the expression "daughter of the Mentiu."

<sup>h</sup> After nominal *wnn.k* one expects an emphasized adverbial expression. Although there is an enclitic particle *rr* that functions similarly to the enclitic particle *tr* (see Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, vol. 2, §838; Klaus Baer, "A Deed of Endowment in a Letter of the Time of *Ppjj*?", *ZÄS* 93 [1966]: 8; and David P. Silverman, "Interrogative Constructions with *JN* and *JN-JW* in Spoken and Written Old and Middle Egyptian" [Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1975], chap. 3), it is also possible to take *rr* after *wnn.k* as an iterative use of the noun *ri*, "time" (see Ricardo A. Caminos, *Literary Fragments in the Hieratic Script* [Oxford, 1956], p. 34), used adverbially in the sense of "time and again" or "henceforth."

PLATES 34, 36, 38, 40.\* DANCERS AND MUSICIANS PERFORMING  
JUBILEE CEREMONIES BEFORE THE ENTHRONED AMENHOTEP III

## BEFORE THE TWO REGISTERS OF PERFORMERS

Ushering the women into the king's presence in order to perform [jubilee] ceremonies in front of the dais.

## ABOVE THE ACROBATIC DANCERS

He has given to me a 'pod' of seeds, so has done the garner man.<sup>a</sup> As for the 'pod' of seeds, I have fully roasted it and I have fully ground it.<sup>b</sup> O garner man, what I have protected has been removed, what I have protected has been removed, so that what should be high is exalted.<sup>c</sup> You spend all night, exalted one, being exalted. My eyes are bloodshot<sup>d</sup> through staring<sup>e</sup> while they are inverted.<sup>f</sup> O you whose . . . , whose tongue, whose 'throat',<sup>g</sup> and whose *ndd*<sup>h</sup> are exalted, you are exalted. O you who have sharp nails, you are *nh3i* . . . 'as a son' . . . come forth from . . . field . . . .

\* For some iconographic and textual parallels to the material on these plates, see Wente in *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*, pp. 83–91. A partial parallel to the acrobatic dancers and the text above them is found in Naville, *Festival-Hall*, pls. XV (5) and XIV (1).

<sup>a</sup> Restoring *in* before *ibh*, which we take as a *nomen agentis* from *bh* with prothetic *i*, see Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, vol. 1, §226. On *bh*, "fill," "stock," see Blackman and Fairman, *JEA* 36 (1950): 69 (32).

<sup>b</sup> Literally, "I have roasted it a roasting and I have ground it a grinding." Somewhat less likely is, "The roaster has roasted it and the grinder has ground it."

<sup>c</sup> One might compare *hrw* (<*n*) *sk3 k3t*, "on the day of exalting what should be high" (Adriaan de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 4, OIP 67 [Chicago, 1951], p. 95j).

<sup>d</sup> On *dšr* used to describe bloodshot eyes, see James Henry Breasted, *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus*, vol. 1, OIP 3 (Chicago, 1930), pp. 281–82.

<sup>e</sup> See *Wb.* 4, p. 327, 13 on *stt*.

<sup>f</sup> Taking *sk.t(i)* as dual old perfective, modifying *irty.(i)*, but "through staring at what is inverted" is also possible.

<sup>g</sup> Perhaps *htwt.f*.

<sup>h</sup> The word *ndd* also occurs in Adriaan de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 6, OIP 81 (Chicago, 1956), p. 278j.

## ADDRESS TO HATHOR ABOVE MUSICIANS

Pr[ay],<sup>a</sup> make jubilation for The Gold<sup>b</sup> and good pleasure for the Lady of the Two Lands<sup>c</sup> that she may cause Nebmaare, given life, to be enduring.

Come,<sup>d</sup> arise,<sup>e</sup> come that I may make for you jubilation at twilight<sup>f</sup> and music in the evening. O Hathor, you are exalted in the hair of Re, in the hair of Re,<sup>g</sup> for to you has been given the sky there, deep night,<sup>h</sup> and the stars. Great<sup>i</sup> is her majesty when she is appeased.<sup>j</sup>

Adoration of The Gold when she shines forth in the sky. To you belongs everything in the sky<sup>k</sup> while Re is in it, and to you belongs everything in the earth while Geb is in it. There is no god who does what you dislike<sup>l</sup> when you appear in glory.

Proceed, O Majesty,<sup>m</sup> to the place which you desire.<sup>n</sup> She has no place<sup>o</sup> . . .<sup>p</sup> wrath.<sup>q</sup> O my mistress, come and protect<sup>r</sup> King Nebmaare, given life. Make him healthy on the left side<sup>s</sup> of the sky so that he is happy, prospering, and in health<sup>t</sup> in the horizon.

All men appease her<sup>u</sup> while there is<sup>v</sup> The Gold. If [you] desire<sup>w</sup> that he live, cause him to live during millions of years unceasingly.<sup>x</sup> 'Pray',<sup>y</sup> would that this<sup>z</sup> may be protection.

<sup>a</sup> For the restoration of the enclitic particle *m(y)* after the imperative, cf. the line of text above the flutists and singers.

<sup>b</sup> For *nbw*, "The Gold," so spelled as a designation of Hathor, see N. de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Antefoker*, Theban Tomb Series, vol. 2 (London, 1920), pl. XXIX; and on the expression, see Alfred Hermann, *Altägyptische Liebesdichtung* (Wiesbaden, 1959), p. 24, n. 72, and Shafik Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult (bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches)*, MÄS 4 (Berlin, 1963), pp. 40, 81, 131.

<sup>c</sup> For Hathor as "Lady of the Two Lands," see Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult*, pp. 40 and 131.

<sup>d</sup> *Mit* is an early example of the differentiated writing of the second-person feminine singular imperative, Coptic **AMH**; cf. *Wb.* 2, p. 35, 14, and Amice M. Calverley, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, vol. 1 (London and Chicago, 1933), pl. 23 (bottom, center).

<sup>e</sup> On *k3 ir.t*, cf. *k3 ir.k* in *MH* 4, pl. 201, line 9, where the expression is used to evoke the appearance of Min (cf. *Wb.* 5, p. 1, 15). For *k3* used in connection with Hathor, see Aylward M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, vol. 1 (London, 1914), pl. II (above harper), and pt. 4 (London, 1924), pl. X (before harper on right).

<sup>f</sup> On *h3wy*, "first darkness" or "evening," see O. Neugebauer and Richard A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, *The Early Decans* (London, 1960), p. 35; cf. Erik Hornung, "Lexikalische Studien I," *ZÄS* 86 (1961): 106–8.

\* On this passage see Wentz in *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*, p. 89. It is possible that "the hair of Re" is the solar glow following sunset and that Hathor was conceived of as being manifest above the horizon at sundown.

<sup>1</sup> On *wšw*, "deep night," see Hornung, *ZÄS* 86 (1961): 108-9; and Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Tentatively interpreting the hieroglyph of the man leaning on the staff as a predicative adjective, possibly to be read <sup>3</sup> rather than *wr*; see Henry G. Fischer, "A Group of Sixth Dynasty Titles Relating to Ptah and Sokar," *JARCE* 3 (1964): 27-28.

<sup>3</sup> Literally, "through the appeasing of her."

<sup>4</sup> Reading *n.t tm m pt*; see *Wb.* 5, p. 305, 5.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the translation of *mrt.n.f*, "what he desires," cited in Lefebvre, *Grammaire*, §482, obs.

<sup>6</sup> Or understand *hmt.i*, "My Majesty."

<sup>7</sup> For the position of the suffix *.t* before the determinative, cf. *hwt* in line 2 of this text.

<sup>8</sup> Understanding *nn n.s bw*. The transition from the second person to the third person is somewhat strange, but it may be conditioned by the previous vocative, which in Egyptian is treated as third rather than second person.

<sup>9</sup> We have been unable to identify the sign whose corner is preserved below the *k*; it is probably not *p*. The sign to the left of the *k* is almost certainly the seated woman, behind whose head is what appears to be the bottom of a stroke sign. The head of the <sup>3</sup>-vulture and the walking-legs determinative may perhaps belong to a writing of the verb *ḡi* rather than *hḡi*. Before the *h* of *hḡnt* one might be tempted to interpret the traces as belonging to an *s*-sign, but the curve at the top appears rather broad for *s* and may be part of a *t*.

<sup>10</sup> Or "when you are angry." What is probably involved in this obscure passage is the dispelling of the wrath of Hathor; cf. François Daumas, *Les Mammisis de Dendara* (Cairo, 1959), p. 166, tableau II, line 4 of the king's text, and Auguste Mariette, *Dendérah*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1871), pl. 40m, right, before *Ihy*.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the Berlin Hymn to Ptah XII, 5-6 (Walther Wolf, "Der Berliner Ptah-Hymnus (P 3048, II-XII)," *ZÄS* 64 [1929]: 42).

<sup>12</sup> See Kurt Sethe, *Die aegyptischen Ausdrücke für rechts und links und die Hieroglyphenzeichen für Westen und Osten*, Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse, 1922, no. 2 (Göttingen), pp. 201-9.

<sup>13</sup> *Nfrw*, *wḡ*, and *snb* are taken as old perfective forms expressing result; see A. M. Blackman, "Some Notes on the Story of Sinuhe and Other Egyptian Texts," *JEA* 22 (1936): 36, and Lefebvre, *Grammaire*, §350.

<sup>14</sup> Since *štp* is a *terminus technicus* for the appeasement of a god (see Kurt Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten*, vol. 5 [Hamburg, 1962], p. 17; Rudolf Anthes, ed., *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, UGAÄ 9 [Leipzig, 1928], p. 84; and A. M. Blackman's review of Alan H. Gardiner, ed., *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum: Third Series: Chester Beatty Gift*, in *JEA* 22 [1936]: 106) and there is a rite *štp Ht-hr*, mentioned by Adolphe Gutbub ("Un Emprunt aux textes des pyramides dans l'hymne à Hathor, dame de l'ivresse," in *Mélanges Maspero*, vol. 1, *Orient ancien*, 4th fasc., MIFAO 66 [Paris, 1961], p. 67), it seems preferable to take *s* as an abbreviated writing of the third-person feminine dependent pronoun *sy* than to understand *štp.s* *šwy tmy*, "she satisfies all men."

<sup>15</sup> For *iw wn* with circumstantial nuance, cf. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, §468, 2.

<sup>16</sup> Restoring the suffix *.t* above the seated man with hand to mouth.

<sup>17</sup> Literally, "during a million times."

<sup>18</sup> Or possibly, "with (the words), 'Would that this may be protection.'"

<sup>19</sup> This writing of the demonstrative *nn* is attested from the Eighteenth Dynasty; see *Wb.* 2, p. 272, and Lefebvre, *Grammaire*, p. 62, n. 1.

#### BETWEEN THE CHOIR DIRECTORS

Opened are the double doors<sup>a</sup> so that the god may go forth pure.

#### OVER FLUTISTS AND SINGER

This [is] his<sup>b</sup> protection, (that of) King Nebmaare. Come, pray,<sup>c</sup> O Sobek,<sup>d</sup> to the Son of Re, Amenhotep Ruler-of-Thebes, given life, and do what he desires.

#### BEFORE FEMALE DANCERS

Pantomime.<sup>e</sup>

## ABOVE CLAPPING WOMEN

Singing.<sup>1</sup>Jubilate, jubilate!<sup>2</sup>Pray, make jubilation,<sup>3</sup> 'be effusive'<sup>4</sup>!

## ABOVE KNEELING DANCERS

Behold him as he makes for [you] sacred music,<sup>5</sup> (namely,) [the King of Upper and Lower Egypt], Nebmaare, the Son of Re, Amenhotep Ruler-of-Thebes, in order that he may celebrate the jubilee.

<sup>1</sup> The sculptor has possibly omitted *pt*, "heaven," after *ꜥwy*, "double doors"; see Wente in *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*, p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> Restoring *iw nn m hw.f*. The suffix *.f* anticipates the noun *nsw*; see Lefebvre, *Grammaire*, §589, and Paul Barguet, "Le Rituel archaïque de fondation des temples de Medinet-Habou et de Louxor," *RdE* 9 (1952): 4.

<sup>3</sup> Beginning with *mi*, "come," the passage is paralleled in Davies, *Tomb of Antefoker*, pl. XXIII, bottom (above flutist and singer), except that the particle *m(y)* is omitted there.

<sup>4</sup> The reading of the sign as Sobek is based on the form of the sign in the tomb of Antefoker, where the crocodile head seems clear. On the hieroglyph, see Elmar Edel, *Zu den Inschriften auf den Jahreszeitenreliefs der „Weltkammer“ aus dem Sonnenheiligtum des Niuserre*, pt. 2, Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1963, no. 5 (Göttingen), p. 144. For the significance of Sobek here in connection with rebirth, see Wente in *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*, p. 88, n. 39.

<sup>5</sup> Identifying *ꜥhm* with *i(ꜥ)hb*; cf. *ꜥkb* > Coptic  $\overline{\text{OKM}}$ :  $\overline{\text{OKEM}}$ , "lament" (J. Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* [Cambridge, 1976], p. 227), for the interchange of *b* and *m* (Kurt Sethe, *Das ägyptische Verbum*, vol. 1 [Leipzig, 1899], §210). In Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, p. 120, both *ꜥhb* and *ꜥhb* appear, and in William C. Hayes, "Royal Decrees from the Temple of Min at Coptus," *JEA* 32 (1946): 19, *ꜥhbw* is given. In J. Couyat and P. Montet, *Les Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât*, MIFAO 34 (Cairo, 1912), text no. 114, line 14, a country  $\overline{\text{ꜥ}} \overline{\text{ꜥ}} \overline{\text{ꜥ}} \overline{\text{ꜥ}}$  is named, which may be related to the word under discussion, according to a suggestion by Yoyotte in Henri Wild, "Les Danses sacrées de l'Égypte ancienne," in *Sources orientales*, vol. 6, *Les Danses sacrées* (Paris, 1963), p. 106, n. 67. Wild's discussion (pp. 52-53) has influenced us in our rendition of the word *ꜥhm*; cf. also Emma Brunner-Traut, *Der Tanz im alten Ägypten*, *ÄgFor* 6 (Glückstadt, 1958), pp. 80-81, for further discussion of *ꜥhb*.

<sup>1</sup> *Hst*, "singing," is the description of the scene; cf. Hans Hickmann, *Musicologie pharaonique* (Kehl [Rhin], 1956), pp. 55-58, for a discussion of the inscriptions above the group of four women.

<sup>2</sup> Taking *hnn* as a writing of the imperative of the verb *hnini*; cf. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, vol. 1, §435. For a different interpretation, see Hans Hickmann, *Ägypten* (Leipzig, 1961?), p. 84.

<sup>3</sup> This expression is perhaps to be compared with  $\overline{\text{ꜥ}} \overline{\text{ꜥ}} \overline{\text{ꜥ}}$  (*sic*)  $\overline{\text{ꜥ}} \overline{\text{ꜥ}} \overline{\text{ꜥ}}$  in Davies, *Tomb of Antefoker*, pl. XXIX, horizontal line below hymn. For *hnn* as object of *iri*, see Pyr. 500 c.

<sup>4</sup> Tentatively identifying *bn* with the verb *bnn*, meaning "overflow," see Eberhard Otto, "Die Verba Iae inf. und die ihnen verwandten im Ägyptischen," *ZÄS* 79 (1954): 42; Hermann Kees, "Ein alter Götterhymnus als Begleittext zur Opfertafel," *ZÄS* 57 (1922): 115; and William A. Ward, "Notes on Some Egypto-Semitic Roots," *ZÄS* 95 (1968): 66-67.

<sup>5</sup> For the expression *ihy wꜥb*, "sacred music," see the Stele of King Antef II, line 10, published in J. J. Clère and J. Vandier, *Textes de la Première Période Intermédiaire et de la XI<sup>ème</sup> Dynastie*, fasc. 1, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, vol. 10 (Brussels, 1948), pp. 9-10, §15.

PLATE 42. AMENHOTEP III, IN JUBILEE ATTIRE, AND QUEEN TIYE LEAVING  
THE PALACE, PRECEDED BY ATTENDANTS

## BEFORE THE KING

Appearing in glory 'in the jubilee cloak'<sup>1a</sup> by the king.

## ABOVE THE KING

The Perfect God, Lord of the Two Lands, Nebmaare, the Son of Re, beloved of him, Amenhotep Ruler-of-Thebes, given life forever.

## BEFORE THE VULTURE

Edjō, as she gives life, stability, and dominion.

## BEFORE THE QUEEN

Appearing in glory 'in'<sup>b</sup> . . . forever and ever.

## ABOVE THE QUEEN


The hereditary princess, great in favors, Mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt, the principal wife of the king, beloved of him, Tiye, may she live.

## BEHIND THE QUEEN

[The protection of life] is all around him like Re every [day].

## OVER THE PALACE DOOR (ON PL. 28)

His palace of the House of Rejoicing.

<sup>a</sup> Cf.  in the Chapel of Osiris, Ruler of Eternity, where Osorkon III wears the same dress (Karnak H 158). Alternatively, "appearing with the crook and the flail" might be suggested; cf. *Wb.*, *Belegstellen* 2, p. 306, 13 (Abu Simbel (28)).

<sup>b</sup> Or "with."

PLATE 44. ATTENDANTS PRECEDING AMENHOTEP III AND  
QUEEN TIYE AS THEY LEAVE THE PALACE

## OVER LAST TWO PRIESTS OF UPPER EGYPT

The gods who are in the jubilee who are in His Majesty's retinue.

## BEFORE FIRST STANDARD

Wepwa[wet of Upper Egypt, Leader of the Two Lands, as he gives all] . . . , all . . . , all . . .  
[like Re] forever.<sup>a</sup>

## BEFORE FIRST PRIEST

Prophet.

## BEFORE SECOND STANDARD

Wepwawet of Lower Egypt.

## BEFORE SECOND PRIEST

Prophet.

## BEFORE THIRD STANDARD

Nekhen of the King.<sup>b</sup>

## BEFORE THIRD PRIEST

Prophet.

## BEFORE FOURTH PRIEST

Prophet.

## BEFORE LECTOR PRIEST

Chief Lector Priest.<sup>c</sup>

## BEFORE FIRST PRIEST OF LOWER REGISTER

Prophet.

## BEFORE SECOND PRIEST OF LOWER REGISTER

Prophet.

## BEFORE THIRD MAN IN LOWER REGISTER

Bearer of insignia.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> For parallels one may cite *L.D.* 3, pl. 36c, "Wepwawet of Upper Egypt, Leader of the Two Lands, as he gives all life and dominion, all stability, and all health like Re," or the Temple of Khonsu, Location M 234, "Wepwawet of Upper Egypt, Leader of the Two Lands, as he gives all life and dominion, all health and all joy like Re forever." Cf. also *MH* 4, pl. 228A, line 1; and Cl. Robichon, P. Barguet, and J. Leclant, *Karnak-nord*, vol. 4, 1949-1951, *FIFAO* 25/2 (Cairo, 1954), pl. LXI. On the two Wepwawets, see E. Otto, "Die Lehre von den beiden Ländern Ägyptens in der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte," in *Studia Aegyptiaca*, vol. 1, *Analecta Orientalia*, vol. 17 (Rome, 1938), pp. 11-16.

<sup>b</sup> On the designation of the symbol, see G. Posener, "Le Nom de l'enseigne appelée 'Khons' (𓆎)," *RdE* 17 (1965): 193-95. The symbol itself has been variously discussed by Peter Munro, "Bemerkungen zu einem Sedfest-Relief in der Stadtmauer von Kairo," *ZÄS* 86 (1961): 62-63; Aylward M. Blackman, "The Pharaoh's Placenta and the Moon-God Khons," *JEA* 3 (1916): 235-49; Friedrich Wilhelm Freiherrn von Bissing and Hermann Kees, *Untersuchungen zu den Reliefs aus dem Re-Heiligtum des Rathures*, vol. 1, *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse*, vol. 32/1 (Munich, 1922), pp. 37-43; Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, pp. 141-42; and Paul Barguet, "Un Groupe d'enseignes en rapport avec les noms du roi," *RdE* 8 (1951): 12-19.

<sup>c</sup> There is evidence of recarving here. After *hry-tp* are traces of an original *nb-* or *hb-*sign, followed by what possibly may have been a *mr-*sign; cf. *L.D.* 3, pls. 83c and 86a.

<sup>d</sup> On the title *hry-nws*, see Hans Goedicke, "Sinuhe's Reply to the King's Letter," *JEA* 51 (1965): 40, n. 2; Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln*, p. 24; Kees in von Bissing, *Das Re-Heiligtum*, vol. 3, pp. 24-25; von Bissing and Kees, *Untersuchungen zu den Reliefs aus dem Re-Heiligtum des Rathures*, vol. 1, p. 78; and Barguet, *RdE* 8 (1951): 18, n. 3, who renders the title, "celui qui est sous le serre-tête *nsw*."

## PLATES 44-45. CEREMONY OF TOWING THE NIGHT BARK

## VERTICAL COLUMN OF TEXT TO LEFT OF PRINCESSES

Us[her]ing in the royal [children before]<sup>a</sup> . . . 'of' the water procession.<sup>b</sup>

## HORIZONTAL LINE OF TEXT ABOVE WELCOMERS

. . . you . . . . You take up the prow [rope]<sup>c</sup> of the evening bark and the towrope<sup>d</sup> of the morning bark, after you have transported the gods of the jubilee by water<sup>e</sup> . . . yourself [upon] the course<sup>f</sup> . . . you, while [the diadem]s of [R]e<sup>g</sup> are fixed [upon] your head<sup>h</sup> and eternity and everlastingness are before you.<sup>i</sup>

## ABOVE THE THIRD PAIR OF PRINCESSES\*

The king's daughter, beloved of him.

## ABOVE THE FOURTH PAIR OF PRINCESSES

The king's daughter beloved of him.

## VERTICAL LINES BEFORE PAIRS OF PRINCESSES

The royal [children<sup>j</sup> who . . . the 'king'<sup>k</sup> and who] play with [sistra in their] hands<sup>l</sup> . . . together with<sup>m</sup> the chantress[es] of Amon . . . 'every'<sup>n</sup> . . . Horus . . .

## VERTICAL COLUMNS OF TEXT BETWEEN PRINCESSES AND CHANTRESSES

The principal [of the concubines of] Amon-Re and chantresses<sup>n</sup> . . . [as] they . . . the Perfect God in the rites<sup>o</sup> of His Majesty's jubilee. The s[ong] of music which they utter:<sup>p</sup> Music . . . the lords of the jubilee. Setting the rhythm<sup>q</sup> . . . 'illumining'<sup>r</sup> . . . The King of Upper and [Lower] Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Nebmaare, given life, as he takes his place in the b[ark]<sup>s</sup> . . . [Universal] Lord<sup>t</sup> . . . 'adoration'<sup>u</sup>; the horizon . . . like Re forever and ever.<sup>v</sup>

## BEFORE THE HEADS OF THE FIRST PAIR OF CHANTRESSES†

. . . 'Ruiu'<sup>w</sup> . . .

## BY THE HEADS OF THE SECOND PAIR OF CHANTRESSES

His sister,<sup>x</sup> beloved of him, the chantress of Amon, Henutnofret.

## VERTICAL LINES BEFORE THE PAIRS OF CHANTRESSES

The chantress[es] of] Amon [as th]ey [perform] the ceremonies of<sup>z</sup> . . .

## HORIZONTAL LINE OF TEXT ABOVE TOWERS OF BARK

The companions of the Palace, l.p.h., officials, and magnates of . . . [A]mon, as they tow the king in the evening bark<sup>y</sup> . . . 'sacred . . . song of'<sup>z</sup> . . .

## BEFORE FIRST PAIR OF TOWERS


The overseer of northern departments.

## BEFORE FOURTH PAIR OF TOWERS


Magnates . . .

\* On the headdress of the princesses, see Ch. Desroches-Noblecourt, "Interprétation et datation d'une scène gravée sur deux fragments de récipient en albâtre provenant des fouilles du palais d'Ugarit," in *Ugaritica*, vol. 3, Mission de Ras Shamra, vol. 8 (Paris, 1956), pp. 197-204; Janine Monnet, "Remarques sur la famille et les successeurs de Ramsès III," *BIFAO* 63 (1965): 212-13; cf. Charles Cornell Van Siclen III, "A Ramesside Ostrakon of Queen Isis," *JNES* 33 (1974): 150-53.

† For similar women, see Naville, *Festival-Hall*, pls. XIV and XXV. On the gazelle-headed wands, see the references in Wente in *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*, p. 84, n. 6.

<sup>a</sup> Possibly restoring  .


<sup>b</sup> Possibly restoring genitival *nt* before *hnt*.

<sup>c</sup> Restoring  .

<sup>d</sup> Restoring *wrt* as on pl. 68, col. 3; on the word, see Hornung, *Das Amduat*, pt. 2, p. 86.

<sup>e</sup> Or, less likely, taking *hn* as imperative with reflexive dative.

<sup>f</sup> Restoring *dt.k hr wrt*.

<sup>g</sup> Restoring  .

<sup>h</sup> For the restoration of *m tp*, see *Wb.* 2, p. 61, 23 and 24, with *Belegstellen*.

<sup>i</sup> On *n-hr*, see *MH* 2, pl. 82, line 17.

<sup>j</sup> Restoring *msw-nsw*.

<sup>k</sup> Or the seated king may determine *ntr nfr*, "the Perfect God."

<sup>l</sup> Restoring possibly *irt m sšst m drt.sn*.

<sup>m</sup> Reading *m-š*.

<sup>n</sup> Restoring possibly *wrt hnt n(t) Imn-R<sup>c</sup> šm<sup>c</sup>yt . . .*

<sup>o</sup> On *hb(y)t*, see n. *x* to pl. 28.




<sup>p</sup> Restoring *hn n šmꜥ ḏd.sn*; cf. *hn n nhm ḏdw.sn* (*Wb.* 3, p. 289, 14, and *Urk.* 4, p. 2042, 1).

<sup>q</sup> For the spelling of *dhn*, see Nina de Garis Davies and Alan H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhēt*, Theban Tomb Series, vol. 1 (London, 1915), pl. XI, bottom register, right, and Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rēꜥ at Thebes*, 2 vols., Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition, vol. 11 (New York, 1943), 2:pl. XCII, bottom register, right. For discussions of the expression, see Gutbub in *Mélanges Maspero*, vol. 1/4, pp. 58–64, and Wild in *Sources orientales*, vol. 6, p. 109, n. 100 bis.

<sup>r</sup> Restoring *shd*.

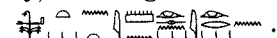
<sup>s</sup> Restoring *wš*, “bark.”

<sup>t</sup> Possibly restoring *Nb r-dr*.

<sup>u</sup> Restoring .

<sup>v</sup> The traces are possibly of the lion and the quail chick, as used in the writing of the name of Kheruef's mother, Ruiu, on pls. 72 and 73.

<sup>w</sup> If Kheruef's mother is named in the previous inscription, the pronoun “his” may refer to him and not to the king. Since the evidence of pl. 73 suggests that Kheruef may have been a bachelor (cf. Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, p. 35), it is probable that *snt*, “sister,” is to be taken literally and not as “wife” (cf. Jaroslav Černý, “Consanguineous Marriages in Pharaonic Egypt,” *JEA* 40 [1954]: 24–28).

<sup>x</sup> Restoring .

<sup>y</sup> Restoring *st3.sn nsw m msktt*.

<sup>z</sup> Restoring .

PLATE 46. AMENHOTEP III, IN JUBILEE ATTIRE, AND QUEEN TIYE,  
WITH ATTENDANTS, IN THE NIGHT BARK

INSCRIPTION OVER PROW OF THE SOLAR BARK

Year 30, [thir]d month of the third season, [day . . . ,<sup>a</sup> und]er [(the Majesty of) Horus],<sup>b</sup> mighty bull, appearing in truth, [given] life, the Two Ladies, who has established ordinances and pacified the Two Lands, [Horus of Gold, gre]at of forearm, who has smit[ten] Asiatics, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Nebmaare, the Son of Re, Amen-[hotep Ruler-of-Thebes], . . . ‘mighty’ . . . ,<sup>c</sup> the Son of Amon, to occupy the dais of the one who begat him in the jubilee which he celebrated on the West of Nē. Beginning the journey<sup>d</sup> by [His Majesty at the time] of the high Nile<sup>e</sup> in order to transport the gods of the jubilee by water . . . , beloved of Amon. Making the water procession [of] those of Pe . . . the evening bark and the morning bark . . . .<sup>f</sup>

BESIDE THE JACKAL STANDARD

Wepwawet of Lower Egypt.

BEFORE THE KING'S HEAD

. . . , Nebmaare, . . . , A[men]hotep Ruler-of-Thebes.

BEFORE THE KING

Taking his place [in the eve]ning bark by the [ki]ng.

ABOVE STERN OF THE SOLAR BARK

[At da]wn<sup>g</sup> towing them and [cau]sing them to proceed to [the]ir station[s]. Making for them the “Opening of the Mouth” and sacrificing<sup>h</sup> . . . long- and short-horned cattle, a thousand of . . . [to] . . . [for whom Amon-Re], Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, and all the gods [decreed]<sup>i</sup> very many jubilees, given life like Re forever.

OVER FIRST PERSON ON BARK

The castellan, royal scribe, and steward of the principal wife of the king, beloved of him, Tiye, Kheruef, justifi[ed].

## OVER THE SECOND PAIR OF PERSONS ON BARK

[The noble, count],<sup>i</sup> sole companion, [vizier], judge, and "He of the Curtain."<sup>k</sup>

## OVER LAST PERSON ON THE PROW OF THE BARK

The chief lector priest.<sup>l</sup>

<sup>a</sup> For the restoration of the day as either "day 1" or "day 2," see Helck, *MIO* 2 (1954): 194.

<sup>b</sup> The signs in the bottom third of the first two columns are on loose fragments that seem to fit the surface of the wall best at the positions where they have been drawn. However, if the Horus falcon is restored at the top of the *serekh*, as on pl. 28, there is no room for *hm n* below the *r* of the preposition *hr*. We have no parallel for such omission of *hm n* in this formula following a date.

<sup>c</sup> In the lacuna after the king's nomen a verb of motion with the meaning of "go forth" or "appear" is demanded. *Nht* may be an adjective modifying some noun like *nsw*, "king," or *ity*, "sovereign," or it may be a noun in such a phrase as *hr hr nht*, "content with victory"; see *L.D.* 3, pl. 82a, line 2, where it occurs as an epithet of Amenhotep III.

<sup>d</sup> See H. W. Fairman and Bernhard Grdseloff, "Texts of Hatshepsut and Sethos I inside Speos Artemidos," *JEA* 33 (1947): 26, and R. O. Faulkner, "The Battle of Kadesh," *MDAIK* 16 (1958): 110, n. 4.

<sup>e</sup> Restoring *hm.f r tr n hꜥpy* <sup>3</sup> at the top of the column. The date of this text actually falls several months before the advent of a high Nile; see the remarks of H. W. Helck, "Inhaber und Bauleiter des thebanischen Grabs 107," *MIO* 4 (1956): 21, and idem, "Nilhöhe und Jubiläumsfest," *ZÄS* 93 (1966): 78-79.

<sup>f</sup> The trace near the end of the eighth column is probably of a boat sign, such as the one used to determine the verb *hni*.

<sup>g</sup> Restoring *hd β*; cf. Richard A. Parker, *The Calendars of Ancient Egypt*, SAOC, no. 26 (Chicago, 1950), p. 62, and Michel Malinine, "Nouveaux Fragments du Calendrier égyptien des jours fastes et néfastes," in *Mélanges Maspero*, vol. 1, *Orient ancien*, fasc. 2, MIFAO 66 (Cairo, 1935-38), pp. 892-93.

<sup>h</sup> On the reading *rdit m*<sup>3c</sup> see *Urk.* 4, p. 1733, 6.

<sup>i</sup> A possible restoration is . . . *n* + designation of Amenhotep III + *wꜥ.n n.f ꜥImn-Rꜥ, nb nswt ꜥwy*, etc.

<sup>j</sup> Restoring *r-pꜥt, hꜥty-c*.

<sup>k</sup> Restoring *βty* before *sib*. The two viziers at the time of Amenhotep III's first jubilee were Ramose and Amenhotep, called Huy; see Helck, *Zur Verwaltung*, pp. 442-44.

<sup>l</sup> On this title, see Hermann Kees, "Der sogenannte oberste Vorlesepriester," *ZÄS* 87 (1962): 132. At this jubilee the chief lector priest was Puimre; see *L.D.* 3, pl. 84b.

PLATE 49. AMENHOTEP III, WITH QUEEN TIYE, RECEIVING GIFTS  
ON THE OCCASION OF HIS THIRD JUBILEE

## BEFORE THE KING'S FACE

Re-Harakhti, mighty bull, appearing in truth, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands and Lord of Diadems, Nebmaare, the bodily Son of Re, beloved of him, Amenhotep Ruler-of-Thebes, the image of Re before the Two Lands, given life, stability, and dominion like Re.

## IN FRONT OF KING

The glorious appearance of the king upon the great throne like his father Re every day.

## FLANKING THE SOLAR DISK

The Behdetite.

## BEHIND THE KING

The protection of life is around him like Re.

## OVER THE QUEEN

The hereditary princess, great in favors, mistress of all lands, associated with the king "Appearing in Truth," the principal wife of the king, beloved of him, Tiye, may she live, be fresh and youthful forever.

## BEFORE THE FEMALE SPHINX ON THE QUEEN'S THRONE\*

The principal wife of the king, beloved of him, Tiye, may she live, be enduring and youthful every day.

## BEFORE WINGED SERPENT ON THE QUEEN'S THRONE

The White One of Hierakonpolis.

## BEHIND THE FEMALE SPHINX ON THE QUEEN'S THRONE

Trampling every foreign country.

## RIGHT OF THE WINGED SOLAR DISK

The Behdetite, the great god, variegated of plumage, the lord of heaven and lord of Mesen, as he gives life and dominion.

## LEFT OF THE WINGED SOLAR DISK

The Behdetite, the great god, variegated of plumage, the lord of heaven and lord of Mesen, as he gives life, stability, and dominion.

## ON THE RIGHT SUPPORT OF THE SHRINE

Re-Harakhti, mighty bull, repeating jubilees, [whom] Amon has [installed]<sup>a</sup> on the great throne, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ruler of the Nine Bows and Lord of the Two Lands, Nebmaare, the Son of Re, beloved of him, Amenhotep Ruler-of-Thebes, beloved of Ptah-Sokar, Lord of Shetyet, given life forever.

## ON THE LEFT SUPPORT OF THE SHRINE

Re-Harakhti, mighty bull, elevating jubilees, whom Amon has preferred to [any (other) king],<sup>b</sup> the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands and Lord of the Ritual, Nebmaare, the Son of Re, beloved of him, Amenhotep Ruler-of-Thebes, beloved of Os[iris] Ruler of Eternity,<sup>c</sup> given life like Re.

## NAMES OF THE NINE BOWS ON DAIS†

Those about the *nbwt*-regions.<sup>d</sup>

Shat.

Upper Egypt.

Sekhet-Iam.

Lower Egypt.

Pedjtiu-Shu.<sup>e</sup>

Tjehenu (Libya).

Tribes of Nubia.

Beduins of Asia.

\* On the iconography of the queen's throne, see J. Leibovitch, "Une Nouvelle Représentation d'une sphinge de la reine Tiy," *ASAE* 42 (1943): 93-105. On the female sphinx, see Hans Wolfgang Helck, "Die liegende und geflügelte

weibliche Sphinx des Neuen Reiches," *MIO* 3 (1955): 1-10, and Robert Hari, *Horemheb et la reine Moutnedjemet* (Geneva, 1965), p. 222; cf. also John D. Cooney, *Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis in American Collections* (Brooklyn, 1965), pp. 82-84, with regard to the warring Queen Nefertiti.

† On the Nine Bows, see Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien* (Lund, 1941), p. 169, n. 2; J. Vercoutter, "Les Haou-Nebout (𓆎𓅓) (suite)," *BIFAO* 48 (1949): 108-28; and Uphill, *JEOL* 6, no. 19 (1965-66), pp. 393-420.

\* Restoring either *sh<sup>c</sup>.n 2Imn* or *smn.n 2Imn*.

† Restoring *mr.n 2Imn r nsw nb*, see pl. 53.

‡ Restoring *Wsr, hk3 dt*.

§ On the *H3w-nbw*, see Elmar Edel, "Beiträge zum ägyptischen Lexikon II.," *ZÄS* 81 (1956): 11-13. Various discussions of the term are presented by J. Vercoutter, "Les Haou-Nebout (𓆎𓅓)," *BIFAO* 46 (1947): 125-58; idem, *BIFAO* 48 (1949): 107-209; idem, *L'Égypte et le monde égéen préhellénique*, Bibliothèque d'étude de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, vol. 22 (Cairo, 1956), pp. 15-32; and Claude Vandersleyen, *Les Guerres d'Amosis fondateur de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> Dynastie* (Brussels, 1971), pp. 140-74.

¶ On the *pdtyw-Šw*, see Kurt Sethe, "Die ägyptischen Bezeichnungen für die Oasen und ihre Bewohner," *ZÄS* 56 (1920): 53, and cf. de Buck, *Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 2, pp. 21-22.

PLATE 51.\* AMENHOTEP III, WITH QUEEN TIYE, RECEIVING GIFTS ON THE  
OCCASION OF HIS THIRD JUBILEE

BEFORE KHERUEF

Introducing many great mementos into [His] Majesty's presence by the steward of the principal wife of the king, Tiye, and royal scribe, Kheruef.

ABOVE KHERUEF†

Providing mementos to be placed<sup>a</sup> in the (royal) presence for the Perfect God's inspection, and embellishing artifacts<sup>b</sup> in accordance with the commands which His Majesty desired<sup>c</sup> to be carried out,<sup>d</sup> since the heart of the Lord of the Two Lands becomes satisfied<sup>e</sup> with the manufacture<sup>f</sup> of great and large mementos and the decoration<sup>g</sup> of his house with electrum and with all (sorts of) vessels<sup>h</sup> without limit, they being too numerous to be recorded in writing:<sup>i</sup> pectorals,<sup>j</sup> broad collars inlaid with lapis lazuli<sup>k</sup> and with all (sorts of) costly stones, and treasures<sup>l</sup> which had never (before) been produced—by the noble, count, great companion at the steps of the throne, excellent confidant of the sovereign, favorite of Horus in his house, whom the king promoted over those greater than he, with whose character the Lord of the Two Lands is content, the royal scribe, and steward of the principal wife of the king, Tiye, may she live, Kheruef, justified, praised and beloved<sup>m</sup> before His Majesty in the duty<sup>n</sup> of inspecting mementos.

INSCRIPTIONS ON PECTORALS IN KHERUEF'S RIGHT HAND

Amenhotep Ruler-of-Thebes.

Nebmaare, the Image of Re.

Nebmaare.

The White One of Hierakonpolis.

Edjō.

INSCRIPTIONS ON PECTORALS IN KHERUEF'S LEFT HAND

Nebmaare, Amenhotep Ruler-of-Thebes.

Tiye.

Nebmaare, Amenhotep Ruler-of-Thebes.

## UPPER REGISTER OF KHERUEF LEADING TWO MEN

Year 37, ushering in the companions to be placed in the (royal) presence in His Majesty's third jubilee by the noble, count, the beloved great companion, royal scribe, and steward of the principal wife of the king, Tiye, may she live, Kheruef, justified, . . . .

## ABOVE THE MEN

. . . and companion[s].<sup>o</sup>

## MIDDLE REGISTER OF KHERUEF LEADING TWO MEN

Y[ear 37, ushering in . . . to be placed in the (royal) presence in His Majesty's third jubilee by the noble, count, . . . , and steward] of the principal wife of the king, [Tiye, may she live, Kheruef, justified], . . . .

## ABOVE THE MEN

(Inscription lost.)

## BOTTOM REGISTER OF KHERUEF LEADING TWO MEN

Year 37, ushering in the god's fathers to be placed in the (royal) presence in His Majesty's third jubilee<sup>p</sup> by the noble, count, great companion of the Lord of the [Two] Lands, [first] royal [herald] of the one who is in the palace,<sup>q</sup> royal scribe, and steward of the principal wife of the king, Tiye, may she live, Kheru[ef, justified], . . . .<sup>r</sup>

## ABOVE THE MEN

God's fathers of Amon.<sup>s</sup>

\* On elaborate vases, such as the one carried by Kheruef, see Heinrich Schäfer, *Die altägyptischen Prunkgefäße mit aufgesetzten Randverzierungen*, UGAA 4/1 (Leipzig, 1903), and Gustave Jéquier, "Coupes fleuries," in *Volume offert à Jean Capart, Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales* 3 (1935): 217–25. On the pectorals, see Erika Feucht-Putz, *Die königlichen Pektore: Motive, Sinngehalt und Zweck* (Bamberg, 1967), pp. 61–77.

† There are several parallels to sections of this text. The oldest occurs in Theban tomb no. 75 of Amenhotep-Sise, published by N. de Garis Davies and Nina de Garis Davies, *The Tombs of Two Officials of Tutmosis the Fourth (Nos. 75 and 90)*, Theban Tomb Series, vol. 3 (London, 1923), pl. XII (= Urk. 4, pp. 1211, 8–1212, 1). Three other versions are from the reign of Amenhotep III: Theban tomb no. 47 of Userhat (Urk. 4, p. 1880, 6–17; cf. Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, p. 39, n. 4); Theban tomb no. 226 (Nina de Garis Davies and Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tombs of Menkheperasonb, Amenmosē, and Another*, Theban Tomb Series, vol. 5 [London, 1933], pl. XLII [= Urk. 4, pp. 1877–78]); and Theban tomb no. 48 of Surer (Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, pl. XXXVI).

<sup>o</sup> *R dit*, literally, "for placing." Or, it is possible to interpret the group as *rdit*, an infinitive without expressed object coordinate with the initial *hrp*, "and placing (them) in the (royal) presence."

<sup>b</sup> On *k3wt* meaning "artifacts," see Merenptah's Great Karnak Inscription, line 36, published in W. Max Müller, *Egyptological Researches: Results of a Journey in 1904* (Washington, 1906), pl. 24.

<sup>c</sup> Taking *wddt* as the feminine noun "command" (*Wb.* 1, p. 395, 5) and *mrr.n hm.f* as a *sdm.n.f*-relative form modifying *wddt*. The oldest version, in the tomb of Amenhotep-Sise, has, more correctly, *mrt.n hm.f*, while the tomb of Userhat has *mr.n hm.f*.

<sup>d</sup> *M irt* is written for *m irt*, as in the tomb of Amenhotep-Sise. The construction is probably that of *m* + infinitive, literally "in making," although it is also possible to take *m irt* as a passive participle emphasized through the preposition *m*, literally "as made"; see Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, §393; and Lefebvre, *Grammaire*, §426.

<sup>e</sup> The oldest version, in the tomb of Amenhotep-Sise, omits *ist* after *m irt* and reads, *shtp ib nb [t3wy] . . . , hh 3hw[t] n . . . , shkr pr.f m d3mw*, "Propitiating the heart of the Lord [of the Two Lands] . . . , seeking benefactions for . . . , and decorating his house with electrum." Perhaps *ist htp* in the texts of Kheruef and Userhat reflects a misinterpretation of *shtp*.

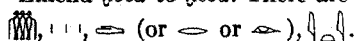
<sup>f</sup> The version in tomb no. 226 lacks the preposition *m* between *nb t3wy* and *irt mnw*, suggesting that this version also, like the Amenhotep-Sise version, consisted of a series of coordinate narrative infinitives.

\* Taking *shkr* as dependent upon the preposition *m* at the beginning of the column, although it could also be an infinitive used narratively, "decorating his house."

<sup>h</sup> *Kh* is an abbreviated spelling of *krht*, which occurs in the parallel in the tomb of Amenhotep-Sise. On this general word for "vessel," "container," see Compte Du Mesnil Du Buisson, *Noms et signes égyptiens désignant des vases ou objets similaires*, pp. 13-14; Jac. J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period* (Leiden, 1975), p. 412; and Serge Sauneron, "Copte \**ⲕⲁⲗⲁⲗⲏ*," in *Mélanges Maspero*, vol. 1, *Orient ancien*, fasc. 4, MIFAO 66 (Paris, 1961), p. 120, n. 1.

<sup>i</sup> On *iw.w* see Elmar Edel, "Die Herkunft des neuägyptisch-koptischen Personalsuffixes der 3. Person Plural -w," *ZÄS* 84 (1959): 19. Urk. 4, p. 1245, 2, provides a further parallel, while in the version from the tomb of Amenhotep-Sise the construction is *iw cš r smnt st m sš* (on which see Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, §467).


<sup>j</sup> On *wš*-pectorals, see Feucht-Putz, *Die königlichen Pektoreale*, pp. 11-13.

<sup>k</sup> Emend *hbsd* to *hsbd*. There are traces of an earlier text underlying *m hbsd m cšwt*, the identifiable signs being .

<sup>l</sup> On *bi(š)wt*, "treasures," see Erhart Graefe, *Untersuchungen zur Wortfamilie bj3-* (Cologne, 1971), chap. 6.

<sup>m</sup> Taking *hsw* and *mrw* as old perfectives, as they almost certainly are in the version in the tomb of Amenhotep-Sise.


<sup>n</sup> The variant in the tomb of Userhat (Urk. 4, p. 1880, 17) reads *m hnt n m<sup>3</sup> mnw*, "in the task of inspecting mementos."

<sup>o</sup> Above the traces of *smrw* are traces of what may be .

<sup>p</sup> For the plural strokes in *hb-sd*, see n. *d* to pl. 32.

<sup>q</sup> I.e., the king.

<sup>r</sup> We have been unable to ascertain the reading of the fragmentary signs at the end of this text. The presence of the *mn*-sign suggests perhaps the name of the god Amon.

<sup>s</sup> Reading the traces as .

#### PLATE 54. AMENHOTEP III OFFERING TO THE PERSONIFIED *DJED*-PILLAR

##### ABOVE THE OFFERINGS

Offering a grand oblation consisting of long- and short-horned cattle and every (sort of) good and pure produce to Osiris Ruler of Eternity.

##### BEFORE THE VULTURE

Edjō, Lady of the *Per-nu*-shrine.

##### ABOVE THE KING

The Perfect God, Lord of the Two Lands, Nebmaare, the bodily Son of Re, Amenhotep Ruler-of-Thebes, the image of Re before the Two Lands, whom he has preferred to any (other) king, given life like Re.

##### BEHIND THE KING

The protection of life is all around him like Re.

##### OVER THE ORYX'S HEAD

Oryx.

##### OVER THE OX'S HEAD

Ox.

##### TO THE RIGHT OF THE JARS

All (sorts of) fragrant and delicious offerings.

All (sorts of) good and pure produce.

BEFORE THE LEGS OF THE PERSONIFIED *Djed*-PILLAR

Resting in the pavilion of the walls by this god at the time of erecting the *djed*-pillar.

BY THE HEAD OF THE PERSONIFIED *Djed*-PILLAR

As he gives all life, all joy, and all health, (namely,) Osiris, preeminent in the Mansion of Sokar, the great god, king of the living.

TO THE LEFT OF THE *Djed*-PILLAR

The protection of all life is all around him like Re while he has endurance, dominion, and health upon the throne of his father Geb.

## TO THE RIGHT OF THE LEFT POLE OF THE SHRINE

You possess<sup>a</sup> life, stability, and dominion that you may rule upon the throne of Geb, O Onnophris, the son of Nut, "He who awakes uninjured"<sup>b</sup> in his house of the netherworld.<sup>c</sup>

## TO THE LEFT OF THE PODIUM

Words spoken: "I have given you food."

Words spoken: "I have given you provisions."

<sup>a</sup> On *iw n.k.*, see Hermann Grapow, *Wie die alten Ägypter sich anredeten, wie sie sich grüssten und wie sie miteinander sprachen*, pt. 3, APAW, Jahrgang 1941, no. 11 (Berlin), pp. 87-88.

<sup>b</sup> See n. *p* to pl. 7.

<sup>c</sup> On *imht* as a designation of the netherworld realm of Sokar, see Nagel, *BIFAO* 29 (1929): 53; Goedicke, *JEA* 51 (1965): 33; and Hornung, *Das Amduat*, pt. 2, p. 82 (11).

PLATE 56.\* AMENHOTEP III ERECTING THE *DJED*-PILLAR, ACCOMPANIED  
BY QUEEN TIYE AND PRINCESSES

## BEFORE THE KING

Erecting the *djed*-pillar by the king himself that he may achieve "given life" like Re forever and ever.

## BEFORE THE KING'S HEAD

The Perfect God, [Lord of the Two Lands], Nebmaare, the Son of Re, . . . ,<sup>a</sup> [Amenhotep Ruler-of-Thebes], given life . . . ,<sup>b</sup> whose . . . [has] magnified,<sup>c</sup> . . . .

## BEHIND THE KING

The protection of all life, all stability and dominion are all around him like Re forever.

## ABOVE THE TWO BOWING MEN

[Us]her[ing in the *Setem*-priest] and the Chief of the Master Craftsmen<sup>d</sup> and causing them to stand at the steps of the throne to perform the ceremonies of the erection of the *djed*-pillar in the king's presence.

## BEFORE FIRST BOWING MAN

*Setem*-priest.

## BEFORE SECOND BOWING MAN

Chief of the Master Craftsmen.<sup>e</sup>

## ABOVE THE ROPE DRAWN BY KING

Erecting the *djed*-pillar by the king himself at dawn of the jubilee.<sup>f</sup>

## ABOVE THE ROPE DRAWN BY THREE MEN

Giving a divine offering and making an offering to the *djed*-pillar.

## TO THE RIGHT OF THE OFFERINGS

Making an offering of bread and beer.

## ABOVE THE OFFERINGS

All (sorts of) good and pure produce.

## BEFORE THE HEADS OF MEN DRAWING ROPES

Royal acquaintances.

## BEFORE THE HEAD OF THE OFFERER

God's father.

ABOVE THE *Djed*-PILLAR

The erecting of the *djed*-pillar by the king which he did for his father Sokar-Osiris, the [gre]at god, residing in Shetyet, that he might give all life, all stability and [dominion], all health, all joy, and all provisions that are required<sup>o</sup> in the jubilee like his father Horus-Tanen.<sup>a</sup>

ABOVE MEN SUPPORTING *Djed*-PILLAR

[Ptah-Soka]r-Osiris.

BEFORE MEN SUPPORTING *Djed*-PILLAR

It is every day that the protection of all life shall be around him like Re.

## ABOVE THE QUEEN

The hereditary princess, great in favors, mistress of all lands, who fills<sup>t</sup> the palace with love, the principal wife of the king, beloved<sup>j</sup> of him, Tiye, may she live and be youthful every day.

\* On the erection of the *djed*-pillar, see B. van de Walle, "L'Erection du pilier *djed*," *Nouvelle Clio* 6, nos. 5-6 (June-September 1954), pp. 283-97; W. Helck, "Bemerkungen zum Ritual des Dramatischen Ramesseumpapyrus," *Orientalia*, n.s. 23 (1954): 383-411; Hartwig Altenmüller, "Zur Lesung und Deutung des Dramatischen Ramesseumpapyrus," *JEOL* 6, no. 19 (1965-66), pp. 421-42; C. J. Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals* (Leiden, 1967), pp. 116-17. Cf. the scenes in the chapel of Osiris-Nebankh at Karnak (published in J. Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXV<sup>e</sup> Dynastie dite éthiopienne*, text vol., Bibliothèque d'étude de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, vol. 36 [Cairo, 1965], p. 34, fig. 11) and in the Theban tomb no. 409 of Simut (published by Abdul-Qader Muhammad, "Recent Finds," *ASAE* 59 [1966]: pls. LXXXIV and LXXXV). The erection of the *djed*-pillar is mentioned in de Buck, *Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 4, pp. 332c-d and 335e. Restorations are based on Erman's copy in Heinrich Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum*, vol. 5 (Leipzig, 1891), pp. 1190-91.

<sup>a</sup> After *s<sup>3</sup>R<sup>c</sup>*, restore either *n ht.f*, "of his body," as on pl. 53, or *mr.f*, "beloved of him," as on pl. 42.

<sup>b</sup> To the right of the restored *nh*-sign, restore either *mi R<sup>c</sup>*, "like Re," or *dt*, "forever," as on pl. 42.

<sup>c</sup> One possible restoration is *s<sup>3</sup>.n Imn hpš.f*, "whose might Amon has magnified," as in Al. Gayet, *Le Temple de Louxor*, MMAF 15 (Paris, 1894), pl. XVI, fig. 50. Another possibility is *s<sup>3</sup>R<sup>c</sup>* (or *s<sup>3</sup>.n R<sup>c</sup>*) *ph<sup>ty</sup>.f*, "whose strength Re magnifies" (or "has magnified"); see Gayet, *Temple de Louxor*, pls. XII (fig. 54), XI (fig. 52), LXX (fig. 209).

<sup>d</sup> On these two titles relating to the high priesthood at Memphis, see Charles Maystre, "Sur les grands prêtres de



Ptah," *JNES* 8 (1949): 84-89; *AEO* 1, 38\*-39\*; and Henry G. Fischer, "An Old Kingdom Monogram:  $\text{𓆎}$ ," *ZÄS* 93 (1966): 63-65. From this scene it appears that the two priestly offices were filled by separate individuals; cf. Kate Bosse-Griffiths, "The Memphite Stela of Merptah and Ptaḥmosē," *JEA* 41 (1955): 61; Donald B. Redford, "The Coregency of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II," *JEA* 51 (1965): 111, n. 2; and Edward F. Wente, "On the Chronology of the Twenty-first Dynasty," *JNES* 26 (1967): 156, n. 7. On the individuals who functioned as high priests at Memphis during the reign of Amenhotep III, see Rudolf Anthes, "Die hohen Beamten namens Ptaḥmose in der 18. Dynastie," *ZÄS* 72 (1936): 60-68; Bosse-Griffiths, *JEA* 41 (1955): 56-63; Hermann Kees, *Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat vom Neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit*, Probleme der Ägyptologie, vol. 1 (Leiden, 1953), pp. 65-69; Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, pt. 1 (Wiesbaden, 1961), pp. 131-32.

\* Reading the traces as *wr ḥrp ḥm(w)t*. The two figures clad in leopard skins and their titles have been intentionally erased under Akhenaton. For the erasure of the *setem*-priest during the Amarna period, see Davies, *Ramose*, p. 4, n. 1; Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln*, p. 17, n. 16; and Jürgen Settgast, *Untersuchungen zu altägyptischen Bestattungsdarstellungen*, Abhandlungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts Kairo, ägyptologische Reihe, vol. 3 (Glückstadt, 1963), p. 36, n. 4.

† On *ḥd-ḥ* as "dawn" or "daybreak," see the references in Wente in *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*, p. 83, n. 2; but Mordechai Gilula, "Shipwrecked Sailor, Lines 184-85," in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, SAOC, no. 39 (Chicago, 1976), p. 81, prefers "eve."

‡ To the left of the seated man with his hand to his mouth is the trace of a sign molded in plaster that could be a stroke. With reservation we suggest that the word was written  $\text{𓆎𓆏}$ , the two upper strokes being lost in the break.

§ See n. *d* to pl. 26.

¶ The *t* restored in brackets is absent in Erman's copy published in Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, vol. 5, p. 1191, no. 5.

‡ The *t* restored in brackets is also absent in Erman's copy, *ibid.*

PLATE 57. AMENHOTEP III ERECTING THE *DJED*-PILLAR, ACCOMPANIED  
BY QUEEN TIYE AND PRINCESSES

BEFORE HEADS OF PRINCESSES IN THE UPPER REGISTER

The king's children who extol the august *djed*-pillar.

BEFORE PRINCESSES IN UPPER REGISTER

To you ka, the sistra; and to your kindly face, the menat necklaces and *sekhem*-sistra<sup>a</sup> as you arise, O august *djed*-pillar . . .<sup>b</sup> Osiris-Sokar, the Lord of Shetyet.

BEFORE HEADS OF PRINCESSES IN THE LOWER REGISTER

The king's children who propitiate the august *djed*-pillar.

BEFORE PRINCESSES IN LOWER REGISTER

Adoration of Ptah-Sokar, the *djed*-pillar of Osiris, the great god, who resides in Shetyet, by the king's children.

<sup>a</sup> On these two wishes, see Grapow, *Wie die alten Ägypter sich anredeten*, pt. 3, p. 91; and for the three objects, see Alan H. Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe* (Paris, 1916), pp. 102-3; cf. Hellmut Brunner, "Die Besänftigungsgesänge im Sinuhe (B 269-279)," *ZÄS* 80 (1955): 5-11; and François Daumas, "Les Objets sacrés d'Hathor au temple de Dendara," *BSFE* 57 (1970): 7-18.

<sup>b</sup> Perhaps restore *ḏd špsy n Pth* and render "the august *djed*-pillar [of Ptah]-Osiris-Sokar." For Ptah-Osiris, see Maj Sandman Holmberg, *The God Ptah* (Lund, 1946), p. 146.

PLATE 58D AND B. KHERUEF FOLLOWED BY ROYAL ATTENDANTS

BEFORE KHERUEF

The companions of Pharaoh, l.p.h., and attendants of the Lord of the Two Lands who are in the following of the Perfect God.

True scribe of the king, beloved of him, excellent confidant of the Lord of the Two Lands, and<sup>a</sup> steward of the principal wife of the king, Kheruef, justified.

ABOVE THE RETAINERS

The adherents of the Lord of the Two Lands who serve the mighty sovereign.

<sup>a</sup> Probably no textual material has been lost between *nb ʕwy* and *imy-r pr* inasmuch as the upper end of the divider to the left of *imy-r pr* is clearly preserved at the point where Kheruef's hand originally intruded into the column of hieroglyphs.

PLATE 59, UPPER REGISTER. MALE SINGERS AND DANCERS

BEFORE CHANTERS AT LEFT

Ptah appears in glory.  
 Praised are you now;  
 Exalted are you,<sup>a</sup> O rudder<sup>b</sup> in the boat.  
 You join with the earth  
 In order that you may travel through it.<sup>c</sup>  
 May Re favor you<sup>d</sup> because of your goodness,  
 Inasmuch as you love the great office, O Nebmaare.<sup>e</sup>  
 Come,<sup>f</sup> let us exalt him.

OVER THE CHANTERS' HEADS

Musicians.

BETWEEN THE TWO GROUPS OF DANCERS

Performing this in front of the *djed*-pillar.

<sup>a</sup> Taking *dw<sup>3</sup> tw* and *s(k)<sup>3</sup> tw* as passive participles + dependent pronoun; see Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, §374B and p. 425, and Westendorf, *Der Gebrauch des Passivs*, pp. 29 (1.23) and 71-75.

<sup>b</sup> On the metaphor, see Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Ägyptischen*, p. 154; Ricardo A. Caminos, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon* (Rome, 1958), p. 95, n. f; and Siegfried Morenz, *Gott und Mensch im alten Ägypten* (Heidelberg, 1965), p. 106.

<sup>c</sup> For a different interpretation of this passage, see Gutbub in *Mélanges Maspero*, vol. 1/4, p. 62.

<sup>d</sup> On this expression, see Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, p. 19; Grapow, *Wie die alten Ägypter sich anredeten*, pt. 3, pp. 97-98; Sir Alan Gardiner, "A Protest against Unjustified Tax-Demands," *RdE* 6 (1951):117-18; and Lefebvre, *Inscriptions concernant les grands prêtres d'Amon*, p. 38 (x).

<sup>e</sup> The "great office" being the kingship. A less likely alternative is "the great office of Nebmaare," because this involves a direct genitive between two nouns the first of which is qualified by an attributive adjective; but it is possible that *ʕwt ʕt* had become a fixed expression.

<sup>f</sup> On *mi n.n.*, see *Wb.* 2, p. 35, 15-16; Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik*, §362; Serge Sauneron, "Plutarque: Isis et Osiris (ch. IX)," *BIFAO* 51 (1952): 50-51; Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, p. 79; and Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, p. 21 (P161).

PLATES 61 AND 63, UPPER REGISTER.\* MALE SINGERS,  
 OFFERING BEARERS, AND DANCERS

BEFORE SINGERS

Opened are the double doors of the underworld, O Sokar,<sup>a</sup>  
 While Re is in the sky rejuvenated.  
 Atum appears in glory while beholding you.<sup>b</sup>  
 Dazzling are you in the horizon.

You have filled the Two Lands with your beauty  
 like the sky, radiant with glaze,<sup>c</sup>  
 Inasmuch as you have been (re)born<sup>d</sup> as the solar disk in the sky.

## OVER SINGERS' HEADS

Singer(s).

## OVER OFFERING BEARERS

Bringing bread, beer, all (sorts of) fragrant and delicious vegetables, and all (sorts of) good and pure produce to your ka, Ptah-Sokar, the *djed*-pillar of Osiris.

## BY EACH OFFERING BEARER

Royal acquaintance.

## BY MALE DANCERS

Performing these ceremonies in front of the august *djed*-pillar which is in the Mansion of Sokar (on) th[is] day [of erecting the *djed*-pillar of Osiris.

\* This hymn has been previously translated by Etienne Drioton, "Les Fêtes égyptiennes," *Revue du Caire*, no. 72 (1944), p. 62 (= Etienne Drioton, *Pages d'égyptologie* [Cairo, 1957], p. 152); cf. Barguet, *Temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, pp. 290-91; translations by Wolfgang Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie: Übersetzung zu den Heften 17-22*, *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums* (Berlin, 1961), p. 290, and G. A. Gaballa and K. A. Kitchen, "The Festival of Sokar," *Orientalia*, n.s. 38 (1969): 73.

<sup>a</sup> Or possibly, "the double doors of that which contains Sokar"; cf. *ḥr(y)t Wsir*, "the chamber that contains Osiris," in Hornung, *Das Amduat*, pt. 1, p. 163.

<sup>b</sup> Taking *mꜣn* as an infinitive after the preposition *m*. On this construction see Serge Sauneron, "Un Hymne à Imouthès," *BIFAO* 63 (1965): 80 (u).

<sup>c</sup> Cf. Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Aegyptischen*, pp. 54-55.

<sup>d</sup> Taking the construction as *mi + sdm.n.tw.f* with superfluous plural strokes after *.tw*; see Lefebvre, *Grammaire*, §732, and Fairman and Grdseloff, *JEA* 33 (1947): 26-27.

## PLATE 59, MIDDLE REGISTER. FEMALE MUSICIANS AND DANCERS

The female musicians who are making music at the time of performing the ceremonies of erecting the *djed*-pillar.

The women who have been brought from the oasis for the erection of the *djed*-pillar.

## PLATES 59, 61, AND 63, MIDDLE REGISTER.\* RITUAL COMBAT

## OVER LECTOR PRIEST

Lector priest.

## BEFORE LECTOR PRIEST

You have no opponent.<sup>a</sup>

## OVER TWO RITUALISTS

Minstrel(s).<sup>b</sup>

## BETWEEN EACH OF THE THREE PAIRS OF BOXERS

Boxing.

## BEHIND LEFTMOST BOXER

Hit!<sup>c</sup>

## OVER THE BOXERS (THREE TIMES)

Horus "Appearing in Truth" has prevailed.<sup>d</sup>

## BETWEEN THE FIRST PAIR OF STICK FIGHTERS

Men of Pe.

## BETWEEN THE SECOND PAIR OF STICK FIGHTERS

Men of Dep.

## BEHIND THE LEFT-HAND FIGHTER OF FIRST PAIR

Hit!

## BEHIND THE LEFT-HAND FIGHTER OF SECOND PAIR

Hit, hit!<sup>e</sup>

## BEFORE THE PAIR OF RITUALISTS

You have no opponent.

## BETWEEN EACH OF THE FIRST TWO PAIRS OF BOXERS

Boxing.

## OVER EACH OF THE FIRST TWO PAIRS OF BOXERS

Horus "Appearing in Truth" has prevailed.

## BETWEEN THE THIRD PAIR OF BOXERS

Boxing, boxing.

## BEHIND THE LEFT-HAND FIGHTER

Hit, hit!

## BEHIND THE RIGHT-HAND FIGHTER

Hit!

\* For a discussion of these combat scenes, see Carl E. De Vries, "Attitudes of the Ancient Egyptians toward Physical-Recreative Activities" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1960), pp. 222-38. On stick fighting, see Hartwig Altenmüller, "Letopolis und der Bericht des Herodot über Papremis," *JEOL* 6, no. 18 (1964), pp. 273-76.

<sup>c</sup> For the *t* before the suffix, see Edward F. Wente, "A Note on 'The Eloquent Peasant,' B I, 13-15," *JNES* 24 (1965): 108, n. 34.

<sup>b</sup> Reading the sign as *hsw*. For this sign, see Hans Hickmann, "La Chironomie dans l'Égypte pharaonique," *ZÄS* 83 (1958): 125-26, and idem, *Musicologie pharaonique*, pp. 63-71.

<sup>c</sup> See J. Gwyn Griffiths, "A Refrain in the Texts of the Edfu Temple," *JEA* 62 (1976): 186-87.

<sup>d</sup> For *wt* without expressed direct object, see Battiscombe Gunn, "Notes on Egyptian Lexicography," *JEA* 27 (1941): 148, n. 2.

<sup>e</sup> The dual strokes have not been carved after *sp*.

PLATES 58D, 59, AND 61, LOWER REGISTER. PREPARATION  
AND DELIVERY OF FOOD TO THE BARKS

## ABOVE THE SECOND PORTER

Royal acquaintance.

## BEFORE THE PORTERS

Delivering bread, beer, oxen, fowl, all (sorts of) fragrant and delicious vegetables, and all (sorts of) good and pure produce to the barks.

## ABOVE BUTCHER

Butchery is set to the choice cuts which are to be brought and placed onto the barks, doubly pure, under the king's authority.

## ABOVE EACH OF THE TWO PORTERS

Royal acquaintance.

## BEFORE SECOND PORTER

Bringing choice cuts to the bark.

## OVER STEVEDORE IN RIGHT-HAND BARK

Receiving all produce by<sup>a</sup> the god's fathers.

## BEFORE STEVEDORE IN LEFT-HAND BARK

God's father.

## OVER THE BARKS

The god's fathers receiving bread, beer, oxen, fowl, and all (sorts of) good and pure produce to place<sup>b</sup> onto the barks and loading all (sorts of) good and pure produce onto the barks on this day of erecting the *djed*-pillar.

## OVER THE PORTERS

Receiving to stow in the bark.

## OVER THE BARK

Loading all (sorts of) good and pure produce onto the barks by the god's fathers.

## BETWEEN BARK AND PORTER

Steady your hand!

## BEFORE THE FACE OF EACH PORTER

Royal acquaintance.

## BEFORE THE FACE OF EACH STEVEDORE

God's father.

<sup>a</sup> The *ntr*-sign is an error for the reed leaf.

<sup>b</sup> The *t* of *rdit* is represented by a vague outline and possibly was executed in plaster or paint. It may have been erased, though its presence is easier to explain grammatically than its absence.

## PLATES 61 AND 63, BOTTOM REGISTER. DRIVING OF CATTLE AND DONKEYS

## ABOVE THE CATTLE

They circumambulate the walls four times on this day of erecting the august *djed*-pillar, which is in Shetyet.<sup>a</sup>

## OVER THE FIRST GROUP OF COWS

Do not go in the direction you are looking!<sup>b</sup>

## OVER THE SECOND GROUP OF COWS

Move on!

## ABOVE THE DONKEYS

They circumambulate the walls four times on this day of erecting the august *djed*-pillar of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris.

<sup>a</sup> See Gaballa and Kitchen, *Orientalia*, n.s. 38 (1969):73-74.

<sup>b</sup> Literally, "go to your face," which in most other cases is a way of saying "go straight forward"; see Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*, ser. 1, pt. 1, p. 25\*, n. 2, and idem, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, p. 16 (P37); cf. Grapow, *Wie die alten Ägypter sich anredeten*, pt. 3, pp. 22 and 35. Here, however, the cow is looking back over its shoulder. The sentence may also be interpreted as "Do not act against going straight ahead," following Waltraud Guglielmi, *Reden, Rufe und Lieder auf altägyptischen Darstellungen der Landwirtschaft, Viehzucht, des Fisch- und Vogelfangs vom Mittleren Reich bis zur Spätzeit*, Tübinger ägyptologische Beiträge, vol. 1 (Bonn, 1973), p. 142.

## PLATE 64. INSCRIPTIONS ON CEILING OF WEST PORTICO

## A

A boon which the king gives (to) . . . [that 'he' may grant] . . . [the magistrates] of [the Holy Land, ex[tolling]<sup>a</sup> the god upon the great throne and (paying) homage<sup>b</sup> to Onnophris, the inhaling of nourishment from the Four Winds that come forth from the belly of Naunet, and the coming forth as a living ba to receive what is placed upon the offering slab to the ka of the noble, count, who is serviceably minded to the King of Upper Egypt and reliable unto the King of Lower Egypt, whose proficiency made (his rank).<sup>c</sup>

## B

A boon which the king gives (to) Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, the great god residing in Shetyet, that he may grant a coming forth from the earth in the following of His Majesty on that day of circumambulating the walls, that you may receive fayence and rejoice over it while onions are placed at your throat, that cloth bands may be given to you of red linen from the cast-off material of Onnophris,<sup>d</sup> and that pure food offerings may be given to you—on behalf of the ka of the noble, count, sole companion who has access to his lord, who enters the palace and comes out possessing favors, with whose utterances one is content, the first royal herald, and steward of the king's principal wife in the estate of Amon, Naa, called Kheruef.

## C

A boon which the king gives (to) Osiris Ruler of Eternity, the great god and king, lord of everlastingness, that he may grant the corpse to flourish in the necropolis while the ba is off to the sky to behold the solar disk as it sails in the morning bark, that he may be there in the retinue of Re and the potent bas speak to him and give him a seat in the bark in order that he may enter the abode of the righteous to the ka of the noble, count, Seal Bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, sole companion, greatest of the great and worthiest of companions, magistrate

at the head of subjects with all kilts being under his supervision, . . . , true [scribe] of the king, beloved of him, and first royal herald, Kheruef.

<sup>a</sup> Restored after Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, pl. LVIII.

<sup>b</sup> Emend to *sn* *ḥ*.

<sup>c</sup> Complete with either *st.f*, as in N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, vol. 5 (London, 1908), pl. IV, left jamb, or *st rdwy.fy*, as in Urk. 4, p. 992, 16.

<sup>d</sup> On these wishes see Gaballa and Kitchen, *Orientalia*, n.s. 38 (1969): 53-54.

## PLATE 65. INSCRIPTIONS ON CEILING OF WEST PORTICO

## A


The revered unto Imseti, the Osiris royal scribe and steward, Kheruef, justified.

## B

The revered unto Hapy, the Osiris royal scribe and steward, [Kher]uef, [justified].

## C

A boon which the king gives (to) Amon, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, the divine god, who came into being of himself, the master who has made all that is, who came forth from Nun appearing as the solar disk, the primeval one, bull of the ennead, that he may grant the passing of a lifetime with prosperity and health in the Perfect God's favor, the attainment of old age in the palace rendering worship to his (i.e., the king's) ka, and a burial in the western holy region in the vicinity<sup>a</sup> of the lord of the gods to the ka of the noble, count, privy counselor of the palace, the favorite who speaks in confidentiality and to whom Horus opened his heart inasmuch as he was efficient unto the king, the first royal herald, and steward of the king's principal wife in the estate of Amon, Naa, called Kheruef.

<sup>a</sup> Reading the traces as .

## PLATE 66. FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTIONS FROM WEST PORTICO

## A

. . . , [steward of the principal wife of the king], beloved of him, Tiye, Kheruef.  
. . . , chief treasurer of the palace and royal scribe, Kheruef.

## B

. . . .<sup>a</sup>

## C

. . . [Kheru]ef, justified.

## D

Revered unto Anubis, lord of Ro-setjau . . . .

Revered [unto] . . . .

## E

. . . revered unto Re, the Osiris . . . .

## F

. . . [Onno]phris, entering . . . the horizon of Horus . . . [nob]le, count, great companion at the steps of the throne . . . .

<sup>a</sup> Reading . . . ]*hnt*[ . . . .

## PLATE 69. OFFERING TEXTS, WITH TITLES OF KHERUEF

<sup>1</sup>A boon which the king gives (to) [Amon], preeminent in the Holy District,<sup>a</sup> that he may grant the beholding of his beauty at the time of his appearance when he comes from Karnak in his festival of the Holy of Holies<sup>b</sup> [to] the ka of the noble, count, Seal Bearer of the King of Lower Egypt in the Court of Geb,<sup>c</sup> and royal scribe, Kheruef, justified.

<sup>2</sup>A boon which the king gives (to) Re-Harakhti that he may grant entry into his mountain of the righteous and voyaging in front of the stars that are wont to go up to the sky to the ka of the noble, count, great companion at the steps of the throne, and royal scribe, Kheruef, justified.

<sup>3</sup>A boon which the king gives (to) Khopri, who is in the evening bark, that he may grant the making of transformations, being well supplied on earth in any form that he may desire, and the grasping of the towrope of the god's boat in the company of the great god to the ka of the noble, count, favorite of Horus in his house, [and . . . Kher]uef, justified.

<sup>4</sup>A boon which the king gives (to) Atum, who exults over Maat, that he may grant that work be profitable for the one who performs it, the ba belonging to heaven and the corpse to the netherworld, and a going forth from the earth to behold the solar disk according to his custom when (he) was upon earth to the ka of the noble, count, steward of the principal wife of the king, and royal scribe, [Kher]uef, justified.

<sup>5</sup>A boon which the king gives (to) Osiris Foremost of Westerners, that he may grant satisfaction from the offering slab of the lord of the Holy Land and the partaking of offerings together with the great ones as is done for one who is righteous upon earth to the ka of the noble, count, whom the king promoted over those greater than he, the castellan, Kheruef, justified.

<sup>6</sup>[A boon which] the king [gives] (to) . . . that he may grant the [pleasant] breeze of the north wind, the drinking of water from what is left over upon the offering stand, and the smelling of incense and myrrh upon the flame in the presence of Onnophris (to) the ka of the noble, count, with whose character the Lord of the Two Lands is content, the royal scribe, Kheruef, [justified].

<sup>a</sup> *Dsrt* probably designates the entire area of Deir el-Bahri (Otto, *Topographie des thebanischen Gauces*, pp. 61-62) rather than a specific structure in the area.

<sup>b</sup> The reference is to the visit of the Amon of Karnak to the Deir el-Bahri temple of Queen Hatshepsut during the Feast of the Valley; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 53 and 60.

<sup>c</sup> On the "Court of Geb," see W. Helck, "Rpt auf dem Thron des Gb," *Orientalia*, n.s. 19 (1950): 426-27. References to its occurrence as a mythological judgment hall are given in Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, p. 144, to which add Ludwig Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo*, pt. 4, CGC (Berlin, 1934), p. 114 (no. 1219).

## PLATE 70. TITLES OF KHERUEF

The noble, count, Seal Bearer of the King of Lower Egypt who has access to his lord, attendant of the Lord of the Two Lands, king's unique one<sup>a</sup> who makes inquiry on his behalf,<sup>b</sup> Pillar of Upper Egypt for the Palace,<sup>c</sup> king's retainer in the jubilee festivals, first with the rank<sup>d</sup> of castellan when he received<sup>e</sup> ribbons of green linen<sup>f</sup> in the ritual<sup>g</sup> of rowing the evening bark, steward of the principal wife of the king, beloved of him, Tiye, may she live, true scribe of the king, beloved of him, who receives the income . . . [Kheruef, justified, son of the scribe of]<sup>h</sup> the army of the Lord of the Two Lands, Siked,<sup>i</sup> justified.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Cairo Stele 20539, side I, line 14, published in Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs*, pt. 2, CGC (Berlin, 1908), pp. 150-58.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, side II, line 3; Cairo Stele 20538, side I, line 8, published in *ibid.*, pp. 145-50 (= Kurt Sethe, *Aegyptische Lesestücke*, [Leipzig, 1924], p. 69, line 23).



<sup>c</sup> The sign to the left of the *wn*-column has been carefully considered and is to be read *šm<sup>c</sup>w* rather than *nsw*. Cf. Cairo Stelae 20538, side I, lines 8–9; 20539, side II, line 3; and P. A. A. Boeser, *Beschreibung der aegyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden*, vol. 2, *Die Denkmäler der Zeit zwischen dem Alten und Mittleren Reich und des Mittleren Reiches*, sec. 1, *Stelen* (The Hague, 1909), pl. V. For the entire expression see Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Aegyptischen*, p. 164.

<sup>d</sup> For *tpy m ȝwt*, cf. N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, vol. 6 (London, 1908), pl. XIX, W. wall, N. side, lower part, line 10.

<sup>e</sup> Or take as *šsp n.f.*, “who received unto himself.”

<sup>f</sup> Cf. pl. 28, line 6, and n. *n* thereto.

<sup>g</sup> Cf. pl. 28, n. *x*.

<sup>h</sup> For the restoration, see Kheruef statue, rear, pl. 84B.

<sup>i</sup> The name Siked means “Man of Character.” On the rear of the statue referred to in n. *h*, the father's name is *Nb-ḳd*, “Possessor of Character.”

#### PLATE 71. OFFERING TEXTS, WITH TITLES OF KHERUEF

<sup>1</sup>A boon which the king gives (to) [Pta]h, . . . follow . . . wall to the ka of [the noble, count], . . . , [steward of the principal wife of the king, and [royal] scribe, [Khe]ruef, justified.

<sup>2</sup>A boon which the king gives (to) Anubis, . . . , that he may grant a ferrying across . . . , beholding . . . [in] his glorious appearances [to the ka] of the noble, count, overseer of treasurers of the pal[ace], and castellan, [Khe]ruef, justified.

<sup>3</sup>A boon which the king gives (to) Wepwawet of Upper Egypt, Leader of the Two Lands, that [he] may grant . . . [an island in the Field of R]ush[es] and a plot of land in the Field of Offerings<sup>a</sup> to the ka of the noble, count, unique one who is first among the personnel of the palace, and royal scribe, Kheruef, justified.

<sup>4</sup>A boon which the king gives (to) Min, Lord of Akhmim, that he may grant the consumption of offerings, after the rites have been performed in the ritual of the daily offerings, to the ka of the noble, count, dignitary at the head of the courtiers, and castellan, Kheruef, justified.

<sup>5</sup>A boon which the king gives (to) Thoth, Lord of Igeret, that he may grant beatification after death, with the ba belonging to the sky and the corpse to the underworld without perishing unto eternity, to the ka of the noble, count, whom the king picked from this land, the royal scribe, Kheruef, justified.

<sup>6</sup>A boon which the king gives (to) Hathor, chieftainess of the desert cemetery, that she may grant ingress . . . that he may enter his mansion of the necropolis and associate with the lords of Babylon to the ka of the noble, count, sole one as “Staff of Commoners,” the castellan, Kheruef, justified.

<sup>a</sup> The restoration in translation is based on Budge, *Book of the Dead*, text vol., p. 434.

#### PLATE 72. TITLES OF KHERUEF

The noble, count, greatest of the great, controller of controllers, magistrate at the head of the king's gentlemen,<sup>a</sup> to whom one<sup>b</sup> says what is in the heart inasmuch as he is pleasing [to] the heart, whom the King of Upper Egypt aggrandized and the King of Lower Egypt promoted, whose fortune the Lord of the Two Lands [made], easy of gait, successful of [palm],<sup>c</sup> tight-lipped,<sup>d</sup> devoid of calumny,<sup>e</sup> coming forth in the (royal) presence that he might receive favors in the house of him who is in the palace, true scribe of the king, beloved of him, and steward of the principal wife of the king, Kheruef, justified, born of the royal adornment, singer of Isis the God's Mother, and Lady of the House, Ruiiu, justified.

<sup>a</sup> For the title, cf. W. M. Flinders Petrie, G. A. Wainwright, and A. H. Gardiner, *Tarkhan I and Memphis V*, Publications of the Egyptian Research Account and British School of Archaeology in Egypt, vol. 23 (London, 1913), pl. LXXIX, line 3.

<sup>b</sup> I.e., the king.

<sup>c</sup> Reading *m<sup>r</sup> šsp*, the determinative before the book roll being a horizontally positioned rhizome. In Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē<sup>c</sup> at Thebes*, vol. 2, pl. XII, line 28, the determinative of *šsp* in the phrase *m<sup>r</sup> šsp* is a hand, but we have been unable to discern a trace of the destroyed determinative in the Kheruef example. We have adopted the uncertain rendition of the phrase given in *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 82; cf. also Alan H. Gardiner, "The Autobiography of Rekhmerē<sup>c</sup>," *ZÄS* 60 (1925): 71. A possible alternative might be "successful in undertaking(s)."

<sup>d</sup> On the expression *tnm r<sup>3</sup>*, see Alan H. Gardiner, "The Tomb of Amenemhet, High-Priest of Amon," *ZÄS* 47 (1910): 96, and Kurt Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten*, [vol. 1] (Glückstadt and Hamburg, [1935]), p. 194.

<sup>e</sup> The expression also occurs in Naville, *Das ägyptische Totenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie*, vol. 1, pl. XIV, line 16. On *snm-n<sup>s</sup>*, see Eberhard Otto, *Gott und Mensch nach den ägyptischen Tempelinschriften der griechisch-römischen Zeit* (Heidelberg, 1964), pp. 26 and 148.

#### PLATE 73. HYMN TO THE RISING SUN

##### BEFORE AND ABOVE KHERUEF AND HIS MOTHER\*

<sup>1</sup>Adoration of [Re] when he rises, Amon-Harakhti,<sup>a</sup> b[y 'the true scribe of the king, beloved of'] him,<sup>b</sup> and steward of the principal queen, Tiye, Kheruef, justified. He says:

Hail to you having risen 'in<sup>1</sup> . . .<sup>c</sup> you . . . Khopri, (ever) becoming manifest [in emanations],<sup>d</sup> <sup>2</sup>perfect in birth, the Universal Lord, [who is in] the midst of [his] bark, who is upon<sup>e</sup> his seat in the evening bark and who is great in [appearance]s in the morning bark.' Thoth . . . s<sup>e</sup> when he rises, and he propitiates [hi]m with his daughter Maat<sup>h</sup> and the worship (on the part) of those who are in jubilation. <sup>3</sup>All gods rejoice over him<sup>i</sup> when he has come forth in his power, dispelling . . . [the One with Evil] Disposition.<sup>j</sup> Joy has come to be among those who are in his following, and his crew is in exultation and jubilation.

<sup>4</sup>The true scribe of the king, beloved [of him, Kheruef, justified]. He says:

H[ail to] you, [fat]her of the god[s],<sup>k</sup> . . . who makes<sup>l</sup> the land festive<sup>l</sup> with the glow of his uraeus when he has come forth from the abysmal waters and appears<sup>m</sup> in the sky.<sup>m</sup> . . . [May you grant that]<sup>n</sup> I . . .<sup>6</sup> . . .<sup>o</sup> [with] praise, song, and clatter,<sup>p</sup> <sup>7</sup>that '[I may be] sum[moned] . . .<sup>q</sup> in the month<sup>r</sup> to the entrance of the palace, that I may sit down upon the mat<sup>s</sup> . . . , <sup>8</sup>that I may enter the great place, that I may receive the offerings that are issued in the (divine) presence from the hand(s) of the god's fathers, <sup>9</sup>that I may consume *šns*-bread, a joint of meat<sup>t</sup> and *psn*-bread at the noble stairway, that I may inhale incense and smell <sup>10</sup>roast meat,<sup>u</sup> that I may be anointed with ointment and first-quality oil, that a vessel<sup>v</sup> of cool water may be poured out and presented <sup>11</sup>to my transfigured spirit,<sup>v</sup> that I may follow Ptah-Onnophris<sup>w</sup> like those who accompany his procession, that I may be thereamong [in the presence of] Hathor, that I may transform <sup>12</sup>myself into a snake, that I may board the *Neshmet*-bark<sup>x</sup> in the *Wag*-feast beside the great god, that I may sit down in the pavilion and play <sup>13</sup>draughts in the presence of "The one who is in his *Mehen*-serpent,"<sup>y</sup> that I may be offered to in the mansion of the *Henu*-bark in the presence of the ennead and they may give to me the <sup>14</sup>pure food<sup>aa</sup> and the bread loaf that are issued in the (divine) presence.

On behalf of the ka of the noble, count, one who has rendered effective service for his Horus, the royal scribe, and steward, Kheruef, justified with the great god.


##### BEFORE KHERUEF'S MOTHER

His [mother], beloved of him, [the chantress] of Amon,<sup>bb</sup> Ruiu, justifi[ed].<sup>cc</sup>


\* This solar hymn is paralleled in a very fragmentary text in the tomb of Surer, published by Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, pl. LIII.

<sup>a</sup> The similar introduction in Karl Piehl, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques recueillies en Europe et en Egypte*, [ser. 1], pt. 1 (Stockholm and Leipzig, 1886), pl. CXXIV (L), suggests the restoration of *Imn* rather than *Imn-R<sup>c</sup>* before *Hr-šhty*; cf. also line 1 of pl. 78.


<sup>b</sup> After *Hr-šhty* there are traces of a reed leaf, which is the initial sign of the preposition *in*, "by." Further along in the break there are three minute vertical traces. The presence of these traces would seem to exclude the

restoration of  $r\text{-}p^c t h^3 ty\text{-}c$  after  $m$ , and tentatively we propose taking the three small vertical traces as belonging to  $s\bar{s}\text{-}nsw$  and restoring .


<sup>c</sup> After  $wbn.t$  (a writing of the old perfective  $wbn.ti$ ) the traces are of the owl- $m$ , and one might expect some such word as  $^3ht$ , "horizon," or  $Nnw$ , "Nun," to have followed  $m$  if it is locative. However, the  $m$  could also be used to express identity ("as"). We have been unable to determine the sign whose traces are visible at the left of the column a short distance above the level of the handle of the  $k$ -basket. The sign is not the book roll, and the inner traces do not suit the  $h\bar{t}p$ -sign very well.



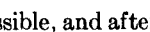


<sup>d</sup> In the Leiden Amon hymn (Papyrus Leiden I, 350: II, 27-28, published by Zandee, *OMRO* 28 [1947]:pl. II)  $twt mswt$  is preceded by  $h\bar{p}r h\bar{p}rw$ , which suggests the possible restoration of  at the end of line 1. Zandee, *ibid.*, p. 39, gives references to other occurrences of this expression in which there is wordplay on the root  $h\bar{p}r$ . The noun  $h\bar{p}rw$  is to be regarded as functioning as an accusative of respect (cf.  $h\bar{p}rt h\bar{p}rw mi H\bar{p}ri$  and its parallel  $h^c t h^c w mi ^3hty$  in Urk. 4, p. 361, 12-13) rather than as the subject of  $h\bar{p}r$  as suggested by Abd el-Mohsen Bakir, *ASAE* 42 (1943): 90 (i).

<sup>e</sup> Above the slanting strokes of  $hry$  a small mouth- $r$  is probably to be restored.


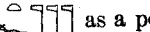
<sup>f</sup> Restoring  after  $h^c w$ ; cf. the parallels in British Museum no. 552, line 2, published in British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc.*, pt. 8 (London, 1939), pl. XXVII and p. 31, and Budge, *Book of the Dead*, text vol., p. 489.

<sup>g</sup> Immediately beneath the bark determinative of  $m^c ndt$  there is perhaps sufficient space for a sign such as  $\ominus$ , most of the damaged area being occupied originally by the hand and arm of Kheruef's figure. There may have been a sign immediately above the book roll that precedes  $Dhwty$ , but the fact that the right margin line of this column of hieroglyphs goes no higher than the book roll argues against this possibility. We suppose that a verb determined by the book roll has been lost. The verbs  $h^c$ , "appear," or  $s\bar{s}$ , "write," are possibilities.

<sup>h</sup> Following  $sh\bar{t}p.f$  there is just sufficient space for the restoration of ; see Grébaut, *Hymne à Ammon-Ra*, p. 24. For Thoth as the donor of Maat, see Patrick Boylan, *Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt* (London and New York, 1922), pp. 145-46, and Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, p. 809. In line 16 of the introductory hymn to Re in the papyrus of Ani (Budge, *Book of the Dead*, text vol., p. 3) the deceased speaks of seeing Thoth with Maat in his hands.

<sup>i</sup> Either  or  is possible, and after this,  seems a probable restoration. The vertical traces to the right of  are too thin to be part of ; rather, they are traces of plural strokes arranged vertically.

<sup>j</sup> Restoring  $Dw\text{-}kd$  (cf. pl. 20, line 8, and Urk. 4, p. 1850, 6), referring to Apopis, the enemy of the sun god.

<sup>k</sup> Following  $dd.f$  there is a trace of a reed leaf. If the traces further on are of the  $k$ -basket,  is a suitable restoration. Note what may be traces of  $hr.k$  at the end of col. 4 of the parallel in the tomb of Surer. After the probable  $.k$  in Kheruef we suggest  as a possible restoration.



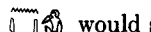


<sup>l</sup> Understanding  $shb t\bar{s}$ ; cf. Urk. 4, p. 943, 1.

<sup>m</sup> Beneath the  $r$  of  $hrt$  a loaf- $t$  probably existed.




<sup>n</sup> At some point following  $m hrt$  there must have been  $di.k$ , "may you grant."

<sup>o</sup> The parallel in the tomb chapel of Surer contains traces of signs, some of which are completely lost in the Kheruef text. In col. 8 of the Surer text the traces are of  $m^3.i nfrw.f$ , "that I may behold his beauty."



<sup>p</sup> The signs have been restored with the aid of the parallel in col. 10 of the Surer inscription. In the Surer text a short distance above the traces of  $hknw$ , there are traces of a sign that is probably either  $\ominus$  or  $\odot$ . In the Surer version there is sufficient room for  $\text{---}$ ,  $m$ , "with," just before  $hknw$ , but this is a highly tentative suggestion. Our rendition of  $t\bar{s}$  (written  $t\bar{s}$ ) is merely an attempt to take into account the use of  $t\bar{s}$  in connection with toothache in the medical texts; see von Deines and Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte*, pt. 2, pp. 937-38. In *MH* 6, pl. 420, line 18,  $t\bar{s}$  describes an activity on the part of baboons at sunrise, and one might suppose that it refers to their chatter.

<sup>q</sup> The fragment containing signs of the upper portions of cols. 7-9 is mounted a bit too low on the drawing. The traces of the initial  $n$  of col. 7 are correctly in place, but the traces of  and  below the  $n$  should be slightly higher.  would seem to be a probable restoration. The traces of  on the right side of the column some distance below the traces of  may belong to a writing of the first-person singular suffix; in this case one might expect the passive  $.tw$  to have occupied the area to the left of the reed leaf. However, between what would be the bottom of the reed leaf and the top of the owl- $m$  preceding  $^3bd$ , there is a slight space that we are unable to account for. This space is approximately the height of the  $p$ -sign in col. 8.

<sup>r</sup> The absence of the  $\text{---}$  determinative suggests simply "month" rather than "month feast."

<sup>s</sup> Under  is the trace of the head of . The stroke below appears to be situated too low to belong to a writing  $tm^3$ , "mat," and there is little possibility that  was present at the end of the column since the space below the bottom of the stroke is insufficient. Thus  $tm^3.i$ , "my mat," appears unlikely unless we simply regard the first-person suffix as omitted.

<sup>†</sup> Reading *iw*<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>‡</sup> Restore either  or ; for the latter see Gayet, *Temple de Louxor*, pl. XXXV.

<sup>§</sup> The sign is a jar of which the lid and neck are partially preserved.


<sup>¶</sup> On the meaning of *s<sup>c</sup>h*, see Lichtheim, *JNES* 7 (1948): 176-77.

<sup>‡‡</sup> On the fusion of Ptah and Osiris, see Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, p. 146.

<sup>¶¶</sup> On *hnd.i nšmt*, cf. pl. 78, line 4, and Urk. 4, p. 1803, 10, where the deceased should board the bark as a ba. On the *Neshmet*-bark, see Bonnet, *Realexikon*, p. 521, and Siegfried Schott, *Wall Scenes from the Mortuary Chapel of the Mayor Paser at Medinet Habu*, SAOC, no. 30 (Chicago, 1957), pp. 8-11.

<sup>¶¶¶</sup> On *imy mh(n).f*, see H. Ranke, *Das altägyptische Schlangenspiel*, Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1920, 4. Abh. (Heidelberg), p. 15.

<sup>¶¶¶¶</sup> The loaf-sign determinative of *šbw* was recarved in antiquity so as to elevate its position.

<sup>¶¶¶¶¶</sup> The traces suit the restoration of .

<sup>¶¶¶¶¶¶</sup> The presence of Kheruef's mother where we might expect the tomb owner's wife suggests that Kheruef was a bachelor; cf. Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, p. 35. We have no evidence that he was ever married.

#### PLATE 78. FUNERARY INSCRIPTION

<sup>1</sup>A boon which the king gives (to) Amon-Harakhti,<sup>a</sup> Osiris Foremost of Westerners,<sup>b</sup> the lord of Abydos, residing in the Thinite nome, . . . , [Ge]b, the great [one who causes] plants [to grow],<sup>c</sup> the eldest of the ennead, Nut who has [bor]ne the gods,<sup>d</sup> Isis, Nephthys, <sup>2</sup>Anubis, who is in front of the divine booth, and Wepwawet of Upper Egypt, Leader of the Two Lands, that they may grant a good burial after a [good] old age<sup>e</sup> in the necropolis of the West of Thebes, that they may spread [their] arms over me<sup>f</sup> and raise me up from inertness,<sup>g</sup> that they may unite <sup>3</sup>all unto me and gather my limbs together, that they may clasp (my) arms<sup>h</sup> in their hands and . . . my mummy wrappings<sup>i</sup> in order that I may become a living ba like those who previously came into being, that I may ascend and descend <sup>4</sup>to the place where they are in the presence of those who are in their following, that I may transform myself into . . . a divine falcon,<sup>j</sup> that I may board the *Neshmet*-bark in the *Wag*-feast together with the great god,<sup>k</sup> that I may imbibe<sup>l</sup> water in <sup>5</sup>the august quarter<sup>m</sup> and no crocodile<sup>n</sup> overpower me, that [my] transfigured spirit<sup>o</sup> may be summoned . . . [in] the presence of Onnophris, that I may sit down upon the mat . . . 'august'<sup>p</sup> . . . , and that I may enter the great place—<sup>6</sup>on behalf of the ka of the royal scribe, and steward of the principal wife of the king, Tiye, may she live, Kheruef, justified. He says:

[I have] c[ome] . . . (my) 'district'.<sup>q</sup> I did what men love and what the [ki]ng [prai]ses during my time.<sup>r</sup> I disobeyed no instruction which he issued. <sup>7</sup>May you impart what I have done upon earth to the gods of the netherworld, the magistrates who [are in the Holy Land]<sup>s</sup> . . . in peace when I reach them so that they may give me justification in the hall of judgment. <sup>8</sup>May the majesty of Anubis<sup>t</sup> admit me and Thoth judge me<sup>u</sup> that [my] jus[tification] may be found . . . 'to'<sup>v</sup> tell the truth in the presence of the courtiers. May justice be extensive at my utterance and the magistrates rejoice <sup>9</sup>over me while my righteousness is ennobled<sup>w</sup> upon my hands . . . me. May rewards of favor be accorded me by the lords of truth and I don the sacred robes of Tayet, with first-quality oil being for my brow <sup>10</sup>and genuine laudanum for my hair, '[my] heart having become filled with<sup>x</sup> joy<sup>y</sup> jubilating<sup>z</sup> over . . . [May I enter] the cavern<sup>aa</sup> "Killer of bas."<sup>ab</sup> May my mansion be made in Igeret, may my abode be spacious in it, and may my name be flourishing in my tomb throughout the course of eternity.

#### UNPLACED FRAGMENT

. . . giving pra[ise]<sup>bb</sup> . . . .

<sup>a</sup> See n. a to pl. 73.

<sup>b</sup> Emend to *hnty imntyw*. For the desert determinative after *imntyw*, see K. A. Kitchen, "Four Stelae in Leicester City Museum," *Orientalia*, n.s. 29 (1960): 79.

- ° Restoring a verb such as *srd* or *shpr* in the lacuna before *rnpyt*.
- ° For the restoration of *mst*, see, e.g., Adolf Erman, *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind*, APAW, Jahrgang 1901 (Berlin), p. 46 (Rs. 5, 2); L.D. 3, pl. 208c (= *MH* 8, pl. 605, line 4).
- ° Restoring *iwt nfrt*.
- ° Reading *psš.sn* [*wy.sn*] *hr.i*.
- ° Emending to *nwt*.
- ° *wy* is written with only one stroke, as in line 9.
- ° Perhaps restore something like *di.sn wsh wšyw.i* or *swš.sn wšyw.i*, "that they may extend my mummy wrappings"; cf. Pap. Rhind I, 11, 12, published in Georg Möller, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind des Museums zu Edinburg*, Demotische Studien, vol. 6 (Leipzig, 1913), p. 52.
- ° Reading *bik ntry*.
- ° Cf. pl. 73, line 12.
- ° See *Wb.* 3, p. 291, 2.
- ° For *hr w-rt*, see Budge, *Book of the Dead*, text vol., p. 187, line 2; p. 284, line 7; and p. 297, line 1.
- ° Or "aggressor."
- ° See n. *w* to pl. 73.
- ° To the right of the šps-sign is the trace of the end of a sign which could be 𓏏.
- ° The trace at the beginning of the lacuna is probably of 𓏏 and the one at the end of the lacuna of either 𓏏 or 𓏏. We suggest that some version of the formula "I have come from my city . . . , I have descended from my district" was carved here. For 𓏏, see Davies, *Ramose*, pl. XI, line 8 from left.
- ° Restored after *ibid.*, pl. XL.
- ° For this possible restoration cf. pl. 23, north band.
- ° Or possibly, "servant of Anubis."
- ° Emend the book roll to the reed leaf.
- ° The trace is probably of *r*.
- ° Read 𓏏|𓏏|𓏏|?
- ° Possibly restore 𓏏|𓏏|𓏏|𓏏|.
- ° Taking *nhmw* as old perfective followed by what may be 𓏏. For the tree determinative of *nhm* see pl. 21, line 9.
- ° Possibly restore *hnm.i* before *tphi*; see Alfred Hermann, *Die Stelen der thebanischen Felsgräber der 18. Dynastie*, ÄgFor 11 (Glückstadt, 1940), p. 26\*, line 5, p. 33\*, line 10, and p. 42\*, line 16.
- °° See Hornung, *Das Amduat*, pt. 2, p. 15 (33).
- °° Reading *rdit hknw*.

## PLATE 79.\* INSCRIPTIONS ON CEILING OF PASSAGE TO FIRST COLUMNED HALL

## CENTRAL LINE OF INSCRIPTION

The revered unto Amon-[Re], the reporter of the great tribunal which is in Thebes, the Osiris royal scribe, and steward of the principal wife of the king, Kheruef, justified.

## LEFT

The revered unto Osiris in his abode which is in Upper Egypt, the royal scribe, Kheruef, justified.

The revered unto Osiris in his abode which is in [Lower] Egypt, [the castellan], Kheruef, justified.

The revered unto Osiris in his abode which is in the sky, the steward [of the principal wife of the king], Kheruef, justified.

The revered unto Osiris in his abode which is in the earth, [the royal scribe], Kheruef, justified.

The revered unto Osiris in his abode which is in Ro[setjau, the castellan], Kheruef, justified.

The revered unto Osiris presiding over [his] cows,<sup>a</sup> the [royal] scribe, Kheruef, justified.

The revered unto Osiris in the *Tjenenet*-sanctuary, the castellan, Kheruef, justified.

The revered unto Osiris-Sokar, the steward of the principal wife of the king, and royal [scribe], Kheruef, justified.

The revered unto Osiris in Shenu, [the castellan], Kheruef, justified.

The revered unto Osiris Foremost of Westerners, [the royal scribe], Kheruef, justified.  
The revered unto Osiris-Onnophris, [the steward] of the principal wife of the king, Kheruef, justified.

The revered unto Osiris 'the Living One', the true scribe of the king, beloved of him, and castellan, Kheruef, justified.

The revered unto Osiris Lord of the Universe, [the steward of] the principal [wife] of the king, Kheruef, justified.

The revered unto Osiris Foremost of . . . , the royal scribe, Kheruef, justified.

The revered unto Osiris-Orion . . . , the castellan, Kheruef, justified.

The revered unto Osiris Foremost of 'the *Unet*-sanctuary', the steward of the principal wife of the king, Kheruef, justified.

[The revered unto Osiris] . . . , the castellan, Kheruef, justified.

[The revered unto Osiris] the Soul, [sovereign of the palanquin], the royal [scribe], Kheruef, justified.

#### RIGHT

The revered unto Osiris Ruler of Eternity, the royal scribe, Kheruef, justified.

The revered unto Osiris the Great 'Piercer', the castellan, Kheruef, justified.

The revered unto Osiris-Sokar, the royal scribe, Kheruef, justified.

The revered unto Osiris-Ptah the Lord of Life, the castellan, Kheruef, justified.

The revered unto Osiris Foremost of Rosetjau, the royal scribe, Kheruef, justified.

The revered unto Osiris in the melee, the castellan, Kheruef, justified.

The revered unto Osiris-Sokar in the Lake Expanse, [Foremost]<sup>b</sup> of his City, the royal scribe, Kheruef, justified.

The revered unto Osiris in Apret, the steward of the [principal] wife of the king, Kheruef, justified.

The revered unto Osiris in the Falcon City, the castellan, Kheruef, justified.

The revered unto Osiris, dwelling in his sands, the steward of the principal wife of the king, Kheruef, justified.

The revered unto Osiris the Begetter, [the true] scribe of the king, [beloved of him], Kheruef, justified.

The revered unto Osiris in Unu, the castellan, Kheruef, justified.

The revered unto Osiris in Bahbit, the royal scribe, Kheruef, justified.

The revered unto Osiris in Pe, the steward of the principal wife of the king, Kheruef, justified.

The revered unto Osiris in Asyut, the castellan, Kheruef, justified.

The revered unto Osiris in (Ne)djjet, the true scribe of the king, beloved of him, Kheruef, justified.

The revered unto Osiris in the Busirite nome, [the royal] scribe, Kheruef, justified.

The revered unto Osiris, dwelling in the desert, the confidant of the [Perfect] God and castellan, Kheruef, justified.

\*The epithets of Osiris are among those found in chap. 142 of the Book of the Dead.

<sup>a</sup> One expects "presiding over the pavilion of his cows."

<sup>b</sup> Restoring *hnty*, written with the nose hieroglyph.

#### PLATE 80. INSCRIPTIONS FROM COLUMNS IN FIRST COLUMNED HALL

##### INSCRIPTIONS ON COLUMNS

##### A

[A boon which] the king [gives] (to) Geb, prince of the gods, [that he may grant] . . . work for the weary<sup>a</sup> . . . his place, that he may enter his mansion in the Perfect God's favor, and that his

transfigured spirit may be summoned daily to be satisfied with what is placed upon the offering slab to the ka of the lieutenant for the white chapel of [Geb],<sup>b</sup> . . . .

## B

[A boon which the king gives (to)] . . . his . . . that he may grant the beholding of the solar disk . . . , [voyag]ing in front of the stars,<sup>c</sup> and adoration of Re in the eve[ning bark] . . . [to the ka of] the noble, count, first [royal] herald, . . . , Naa, justified.

## C

[A boon which the king] gives [(to) Isis] the Great, the God's Mother, that she may grant . . . that he be ennobled with her to the [first royal] herald and steward in the estate of Amon, Naa, . . . the first [royal] herald and steward in the estate of [A]mon, Kheruef, justifi[ed].

## D

. . . that he may make purification for the first royal herald and steward in the estate of [A]mon, Kheruef, justified, . . . that he may . . . there in triumph . . . to Osiris . . . Horus, protector of his father . . . .

## E

. . . among . . . making purification . . . 'red pot'<sup>1</sup> . . . first [royal herald] and steward . . . of, . . . .

## F

[A boon which the king gives (to) A]mon-Harakhti, lord of heaven and king of the gods, that he may grant a long lifetime beholding his beauty . . . , that he may [follo]w [Ptah]-Onnophris<sup>d</sup> in his festival of [the district of Po]ker<sup>e</sup> in the *Neshmet*-bark and that he may be counted among its [cre]w<sup>f</sup> to the ka of the noble, count, who is serviceably minded toward the King of Upper Egypt and reliable unto the King of Lower Egypt, the first royal herald, and steward of Amon, Kheruef, justified.

## G

. . . a good burial and interment . . . established and enduring to the ka of the noble, count, great favor[ite] of the Lord of the Two Lands, first royal herald, and steward of Amon, Kheruef, . . . .

## H

. . . the mortuary priest recalling . . . .

## I

. . . living ba . . . , coming forth . . . , being . . . true . . . life . . . place . . . [Kher]uef, justifi[ed]  
. . . water . . . .

## J

. . . the solar disk, and the Great Bear<sup>g</sup> of the northern sky that they may provide a place for the first royal herald and [steward] in [the estate] of Amon, [Kher]uef, justified, in the Field of Offerings and that he may be abundantly supplied there with vegetables and with the offerings of the Bull of the West to the ka of the noble, count, first royal herald of His Majesty, and steward in the estate of Amon, Naa, justified.

## K

[A boon which the king gives (to) Hathor, chieftainess of the desert cemetery]<sup>a</sup> that she may let the first royal herald and steward in the estate of Amon, Kheruef, justified, come 'as' . . .

## L

A boon which the king gives (to) Horus . . . the first royal herald and steward in the estate of Amon, Kheruef, justified, among the followers<sup>i</sup> . . . his, and that he may be counted among the [cre]w<sup>j</sup> . . .

## M

. . . to the ka of the noble, count, great beloved friend, . . . [evening] bark, when he sets in the morning bark daily . . .

A boon which the king gives to Osiris Ruler of Eternity that he may grant egress and ingress in . . .

## N

A boon which the king gives (to) Re-Harakhti of the City . . . good reputation in the palace, whose disposition promoted his rank, [true] scribe of the king, beloved of him, . . . steward in the [estate] of Amon . . . [Kheru]ef, justified.

## O

. . . [favor]ite of Horus . . . to the ka . . . the solar disk . . .

<sup>a</sup> For the restoration, see Davies, *Ramose*, pl. XLIII, fragments 82 and 83.

<sup>b</sup> For this title pertaining to Kheruef's participation in the jubilee, see Claude Vandersleyen, "Un Titre du vice-roi Mérimose à Silsila," *CdE* 43 (1968): 249-50, and Helck, *Orientalia*, n.s. 19 (1950): 426ff.

<sup>c</sup> See Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, pl. LVIII; cf. Bernard Bruyère, *La Tombe no. 1 de Senedjem à Deir el Médineh*, MIFAO 88 (Cairo, 1959), p. 52.

<sup>d</sup> For the restoration see pl. 73, line 11.

<sup>e</sup> For the restoration in translation, see Urk. 4, p. 98, 17.

<sup>f</sup> Possibly read *iswt*, see col. L, line 3.

<sup>g</sup> On *mshtyw*, see H. Te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, *Probleme der Ägyptologie*, vol. 6 (Leiden, 1967), pp. 86-89.

<sup>h</sup> For the restoration in translation, see pl. 71.

<sup>i</sup> After *šmsw* the *wn* may be the beginning either of *Wnn-nfr*, "of Onnophris," or of *wnnyw*, "who are in."

<sup>j</sup> See n. f.

## GRAFFITI

## PLATE 34 (RIGHT)

The *wab*-priest and draughtsman of the Temple of Amon, Neferenher, justified.

The *wab*-priest and draughtsman of the Temple of Amon, Bak(en)khons, justified.

Bak.

## PLATES 34 (LEFT) AND 36 (RIGHT)

The Osiris draughtsman of the Temple of Amon, Ashaikhet, justified, son of Pendua, justified, born of Baketamon, justified, whose maternal grandmother is Hemetnetjer, justified in peace.

## PLATE 81C

The *wab*-priest and draughtsman of the Temple of Hathor, Lady of Denderah, Sematawy, justified, son of the gentleman and *wab*-priest of Hathor, Lady of Denderah, Neferhotep, justified, born of Nubemone, justified.



The *wab*-priest and draughtsman of the Temple of Amon.

PLATE 82

The scribe Khaemope, justified.

The draughtsman Ashaikhet, justified.

Do good, Osiris, do good! Let him reach (home) 'prospering'.<sup>a</sup> Written by the scribe Khaemop[e].

<sup>a</sup> Reading *imi ph.f iw.f wd<sup>3</sup>*. The traces do not seem to suit *ph.f im<sup>3</sup>h*, but *ph.f iw s<sup>3</sup>(w)*, "Let him reach old age satisfied," might be suggested.

## TITLES AND EPITHETS OF KHERUEF

DAVID B. LARKIN

The translations of all titles as they appear in the inscriptions are to be found as follows: pls. 7-80, pp. 30-76; pls. 83-85 and 87A, pp. 17-20; pls. 87B and 88A, p. 22. For the Berlin statue and the Bubastite statue fragments, see pp. 20-21 and notes thereto.

*ḫ ib n nswt*: 64A, 80F3, 83A

*iw n šmꜣw n pr nswt*: 70

*imy ib*

*c 3 n nb.f*: Bubastite statue fragment

*c 3 n nb Bwy*: 80G2

*mdw m wꜣwt*: 65C, 84A

*n ntr [nfr]*: 87A

*n Hr*: 80O1

*n hpr mity.f*: Berlin statue, dorsal column, line 3

*Hr m pr.f*: 51, 69

*Hr nb ḫ*: 7, 20, 85B

*imy-r pr*: 7; 23; 65A, B; 73; 83A, B; 87B; 88A; Berlin statue, dorsal column, line 3, socle, left and right

*imy-r pr*

*m pr ȝImn*: 80C2, C3, D1, J1, K1, L2, N3

*n ȝImn*: 80F3, G2

*n hmt nswt wrt*: 19, 20, 22, 58D, 69, 72, 79

*n hmt nswt wrt m pr ȝImn*: 64B; 65C; 84A, B; 87

*n hmt nswt wrt mrt.f Ty*: 46, 66A, 70

*n hmt nswt wrt Ty*: 10, 51, 73, 78

    . . . : 30, 80E5

*imy-r sḏwtꜣw*

*ḫ*: 66A

*nw pr nswt*: 10, 71

*imšhy*

*hr ȝImn*: 79

*hr ȝImsty*: 65A

*hr ȝInpw nb r-sšw*: 66D

*hr Wsir*: 79

*hr Wsir-Wnn-nfr*: 79

*hr Wsir-Skry*: 79

*hr Rꜣ*: 66E

*hr Hꜣpy*: 65B

*iri šht n Hr.f*: 73

*iri hrrt [ntrw] hr.s*: 83A

*iri.n ikr.f . . .* : 64A

[*iri.n*] *nb tšwy kš.f*: 72

*iry-pct r hd n [Gb]*: 80A3

*iry-pct hšty-c*: 7; 10; 19; 20; 21; 22; 51; 64A, B, C; 65C; 66F; 69; 70; 71; 72; 73; 80B3, F3, G2, J1, M1; 83A, B; 84A, B; 85B; Berlin statue, dorsal column, line 2

*iry rdwy n nb tšwy*: 70

*čk ib.f n wn mšc*: Bubastite statue fragment

*čk r čh pri hr hswt*: 64B

*wc m mdw n rhyt*: 10, 71

*wc mnḥ ib n ity*: 10

*wc mnḥ ib n nswt n wn mšc*: Berlin statue, dorsal column, line 3

*wc n nswt smtr n.f*: 70

*wc tp n ist pr nswt*: 71

*wpy.n n.f Hr ib.f n čt m mnḥ.f n nswt*: 65C

*wr wrw*: 64C, 72

*whm nswt tpy*: 7; 19; 20; 21; 22; 23; 64B, C; 65C; 80B3, C2, C3, D1, E5, F3, G2, J1, K1, L2; 84A, B

[*whm*] *nswt [tpy] n imy čh*: 51

*whm nswt tpy n hm.f*: 80J1, 83A, 84B

*wḏ mdwt n smrw*: 83A

*pri m bšḥ hnm.f hswt m pr n imy čh*: 72

*mcr šsp*: 72

*mn hswt hr nb tšwy*: 21

*mḥ ib mnḥ*

*n ity*: 51

*n nb tšwy*: 10, 58D

. . . : 10

*mḥ ib n ntr nfr*: 19, 79

*mḥ čnhwy Hr m mšct*: 84A

*mty*

*mšc mri nb.f*: Berlin statue, dorsal column, line 3

*n bity*: 64A, 80F3, 83A

*rḥ tp rd nb n čh*: 83A

*hr nmtwt*: 72

*hr nmtwt m pr nswt*: 10

*hr.tw hr prw n r.f*: 64B, 84A

*hrr nb tšwy hr bit.f*: 10, 51, 69

*hry sštš n pr nswt*: 65C

*hsw mrw m bšḥ hm.f m htr n mšš mnw*: 51

*hrp ḥ*: 10, 23, 30, 46, 69, 71, 79

*hrp ḥ*

*n išt ḥb sd*: 84B, 87A, Bubastite statue fragment(?)

*n nb tšwy*: Bubastite statue fragment

*hrp hrpw*: 71

*sšb m ḥšt šnyt*: 10, 72

*sš.n nswt*: 72

*sḥ smrw*: 64C

*sbš.n ity ds.f*: Berlin statue, dorsal column, line 3

*smr š*

*n mrwt*: 51, 80M1

*n nb tšwy*: 19, 22, 51

*r rdw st*: 51, 66F, 69, 84A

*smr wšty*: 7; 10; 21; 64B, C; 83A

*sr*

*m ḥšt rḥyt šndyt nbt hr st hr.f*: 64C

*m ḥšt špsyw nswt*: 72

*šypr.n.f m ḥnw ḥ.f*: Bubastite statue fragment

*šynti iwn.f nmtwt.f*: 80N2

*šynti.n bity*: 72

*šynti.n nswt r wrw r.f*: 51, 69

*sš nswt*: 7; 10; 19; 20; 21; 22; 23; 30; 46; 51; 65A, B, C; 66A; 69; 71; 73; 78; 83A, B; 84A, B; 87A; 88B; Berlin statue, passim; Bubastite statue fragment

*sš nswt mšc mri.f*: 58D, 64C, 70, 73, 79, 80N2, Bubastite statue fragment

*stp.n nswt ḥnti tš pn*: 71

*sqšwty bity*: 64C, 70, 83A

*sqšwty bity n wsht Gb*: 69

*šw m snm ns*: 72

*šms nswt n ḥb sd*: 70

*šsp ḥtrw . . .*: 70

*tmm r*: 72

*tkn m nb.f*: 7, 10, 21, 64B, 70

*tpy m išt nt hrp ḥ šsp n.f sšfw nw wšdt m ḥb(y)t ḥnt msktt*: 70

*dd tp-rd n šnwt*: p. 20, n. 15

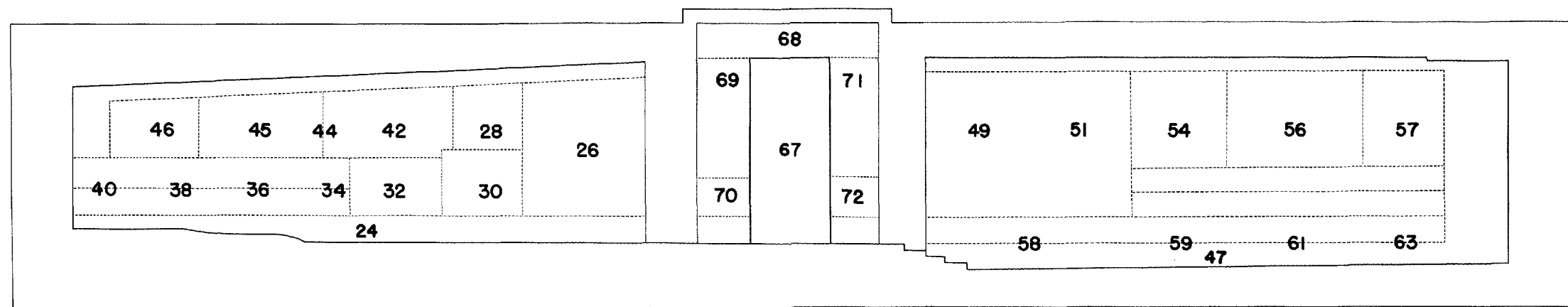
*dd.tw n.f ntt m ib n wr n mnḥ.f hr ib*: 72

. . . ] *n nb tšwy*: 84B, 87

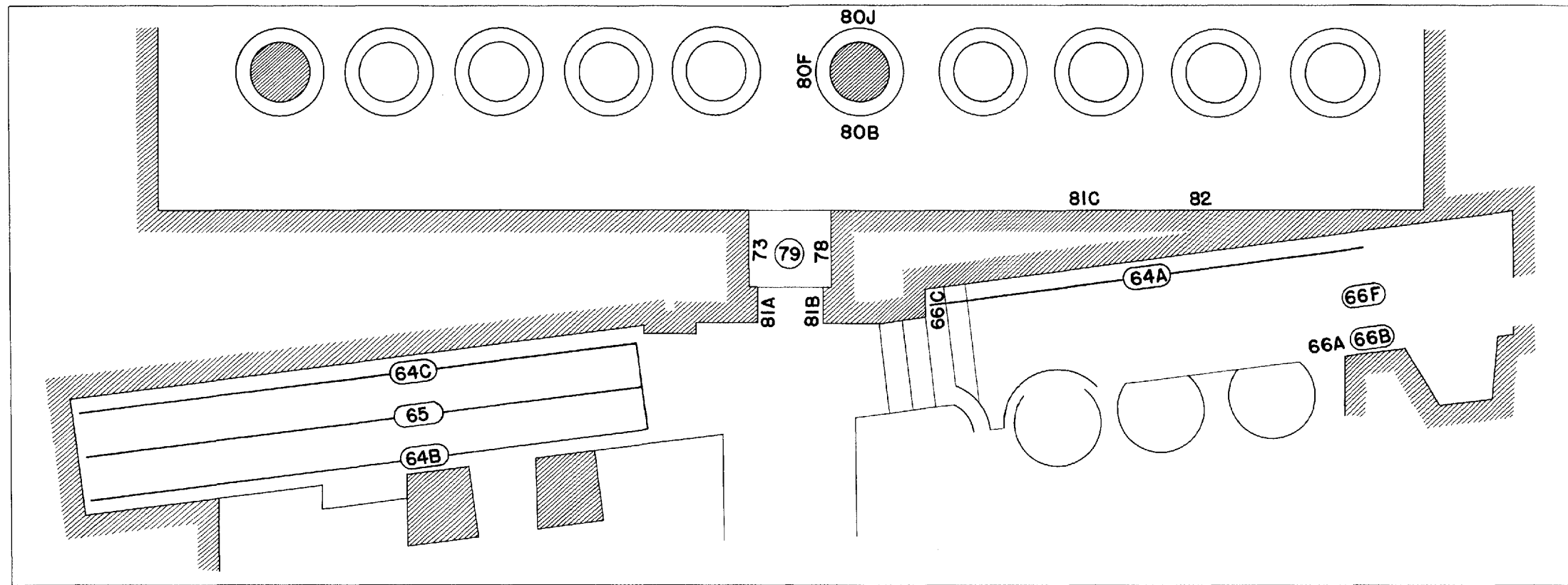
. . . ] *kd nfr m ḥ*: 80N2

**KEY PLANS AND PLATES**

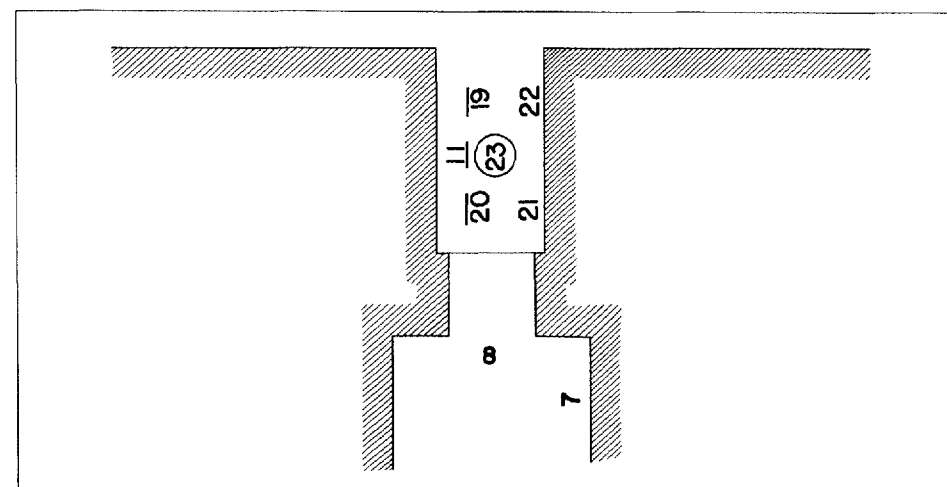




WALL OF WEST PORTICO



WEST PORTICO AND EAST SIDE OF COLUMNED HALL, GROUND PLAN



ENTRANCE TO COURT, GROUND PLAN

KEY PLANS SHOWING THE LOCATION OF SCENES IN THIS VOLUME

ENCIRCLED PLATE NUMBERS REPRESENT CEILINGS; UNDERLINED PLATE NUMBER REPRESENTS SCENES IN UPPER REGISTER; OVERLINED PLATE NUMBERS REPRESENT SCENES IN LOWER REGISTER.







A



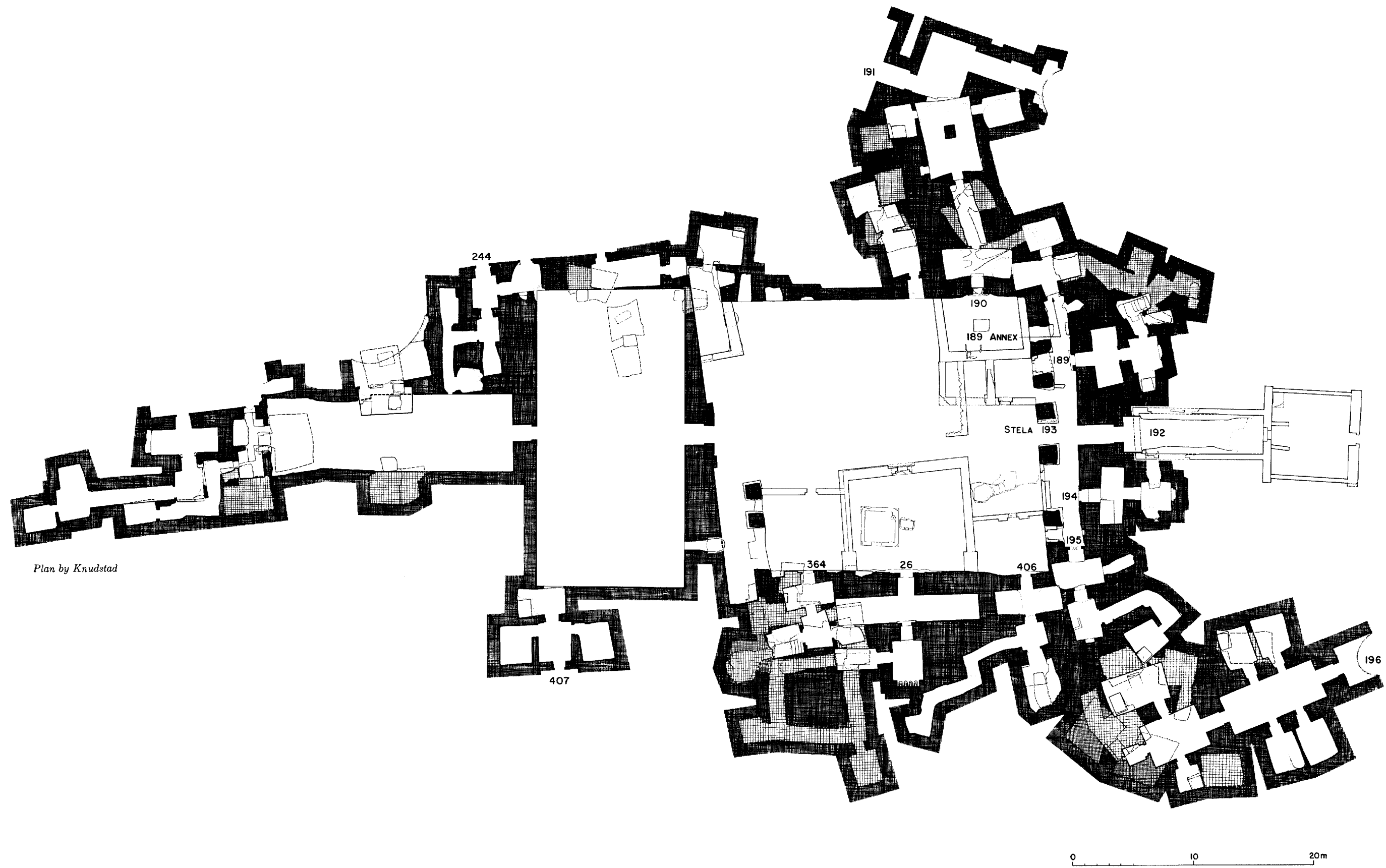
B



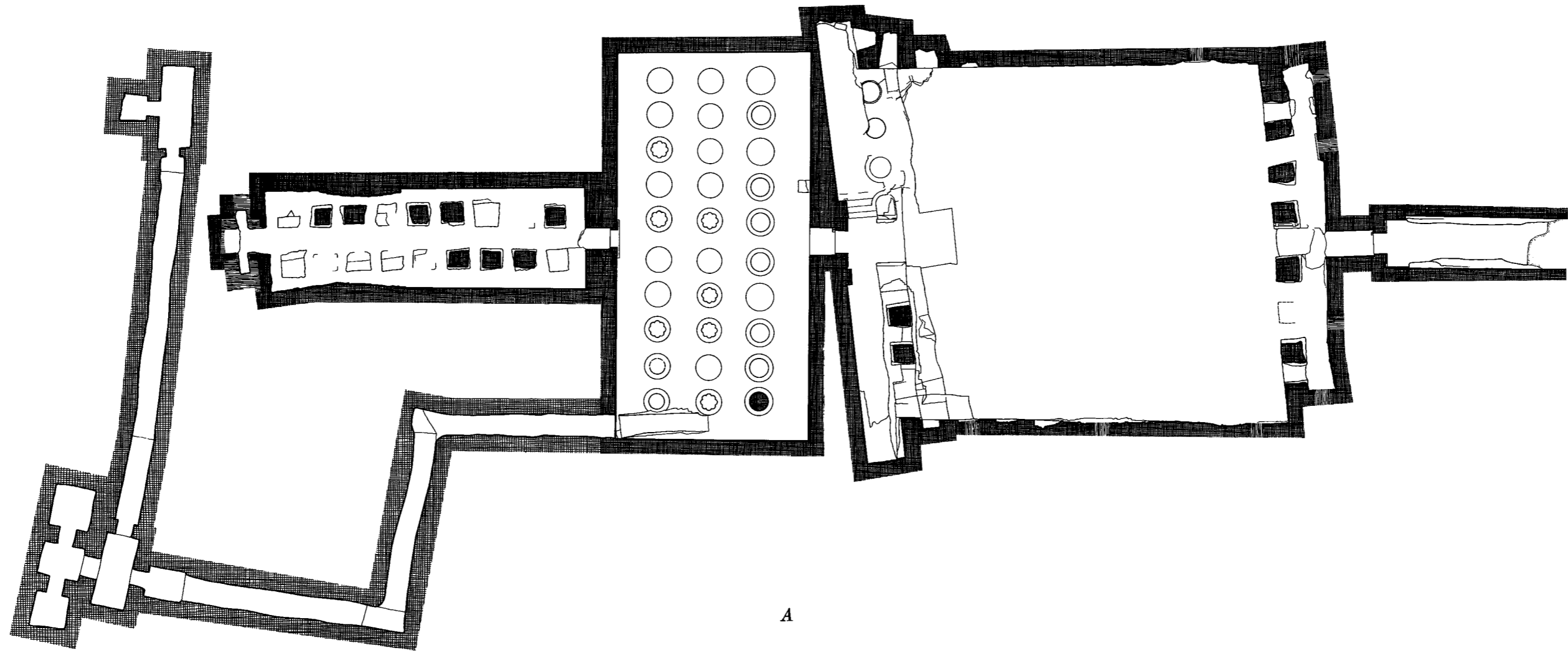
C

*Photographs by Nims*

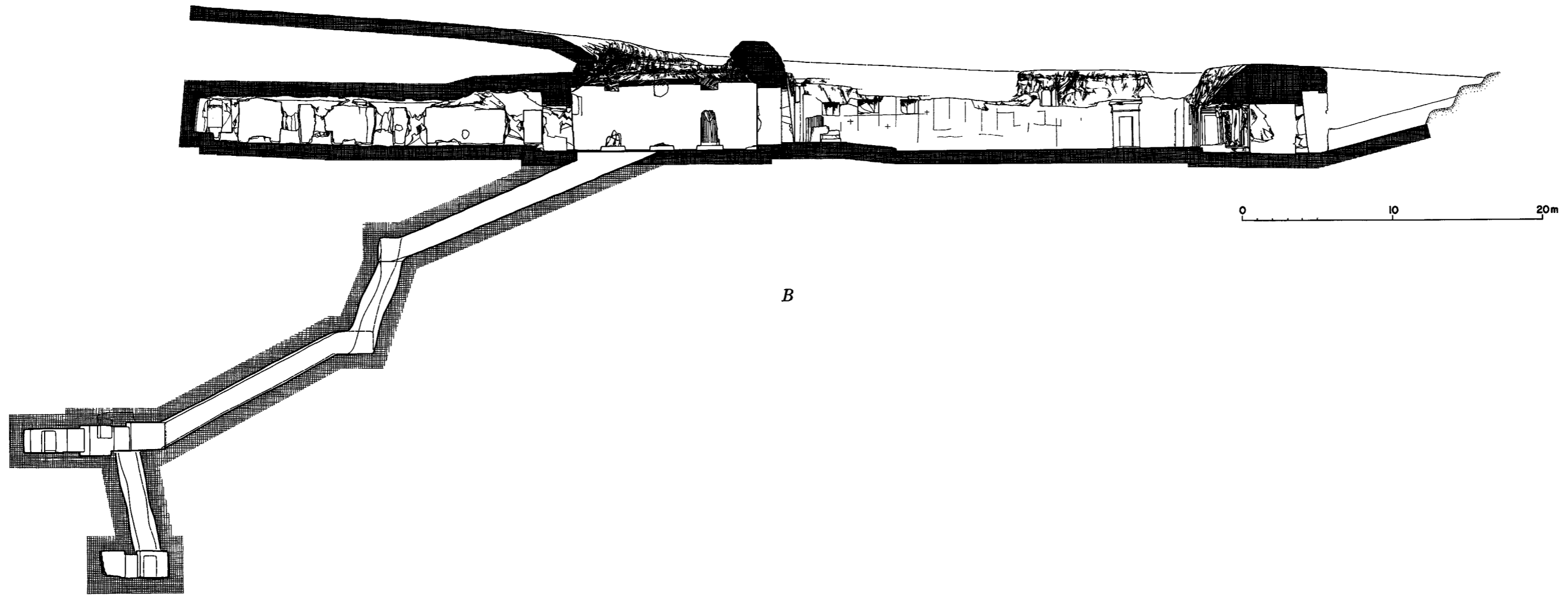
THE "NINE BOWS" ON DAIS OF AMENHOTEP III  
A. RIGHT END B. CENTER C. LEFT END  
(Compare plates 48 and 49)



GROUND PLAN OF THE TOMB OF KHERUEF AND ADJOINING TOMBS, WITH NUMBERED TOMBS INDICATED



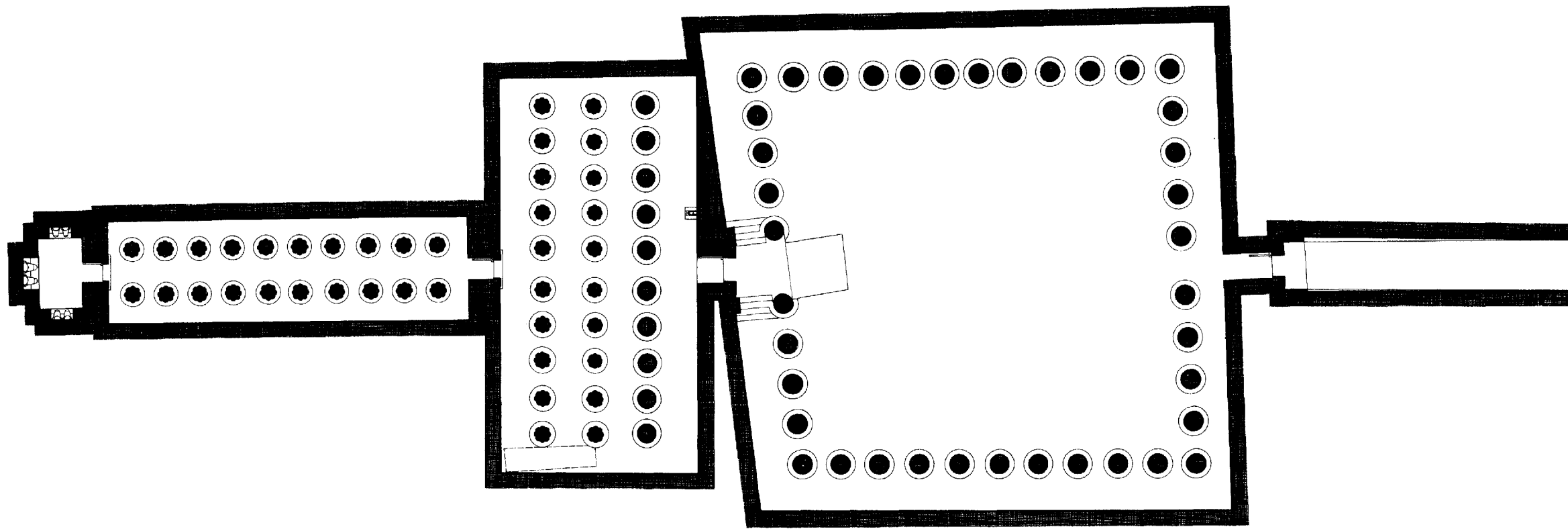
A



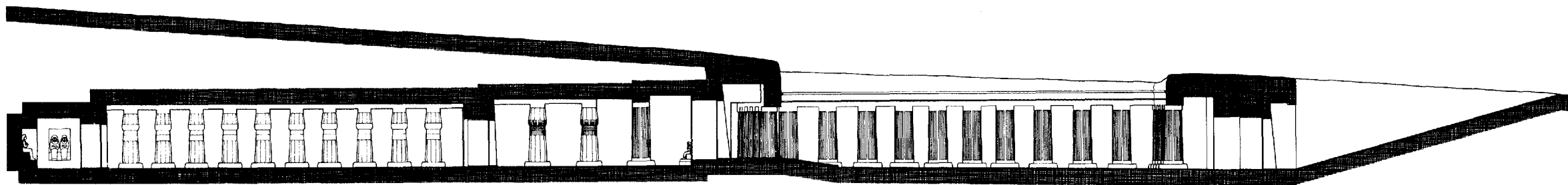
B

*Plans by Knudstad*

TOMB OF KHERUEF A. GROUND PLAN B. CROSS SECTION



A



Plans by Knudstad

0 10 20m

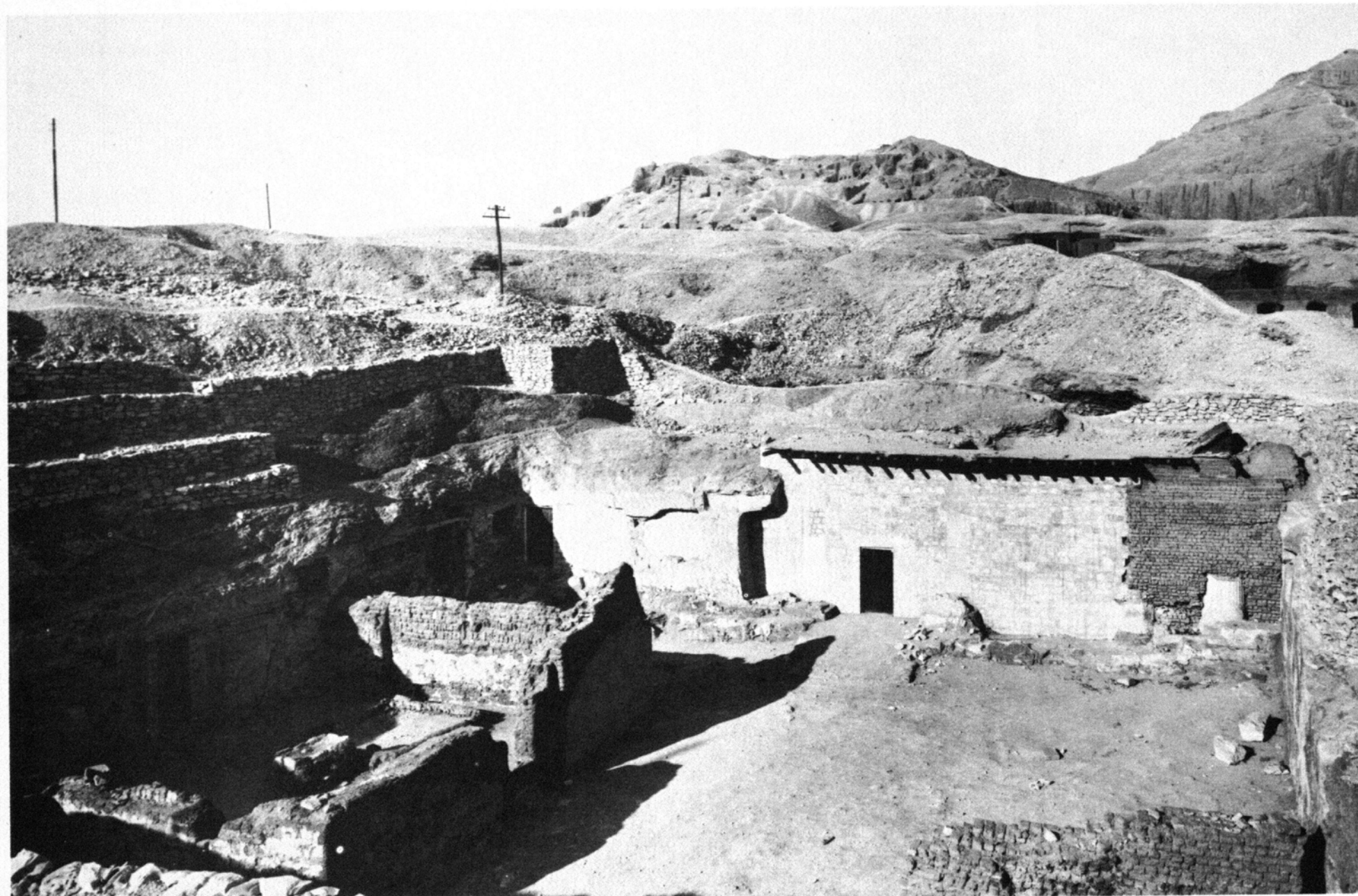
B

CONJECTURED FINAL FORM OF TOMB OF KHERUEF  
A. GROUND PLAN B. CROSS SECTION



*Photograph by Nims*

ENTRANCE



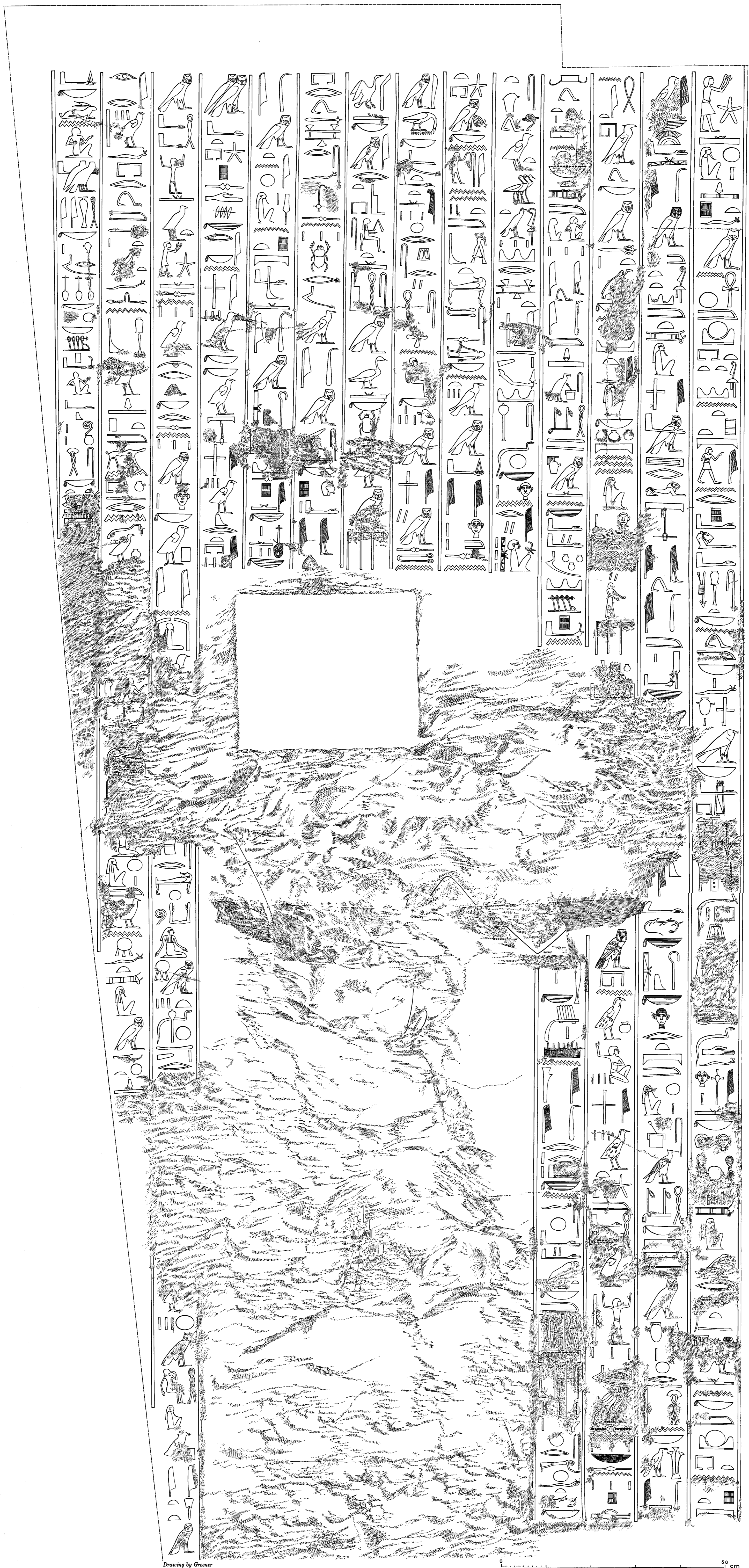
A



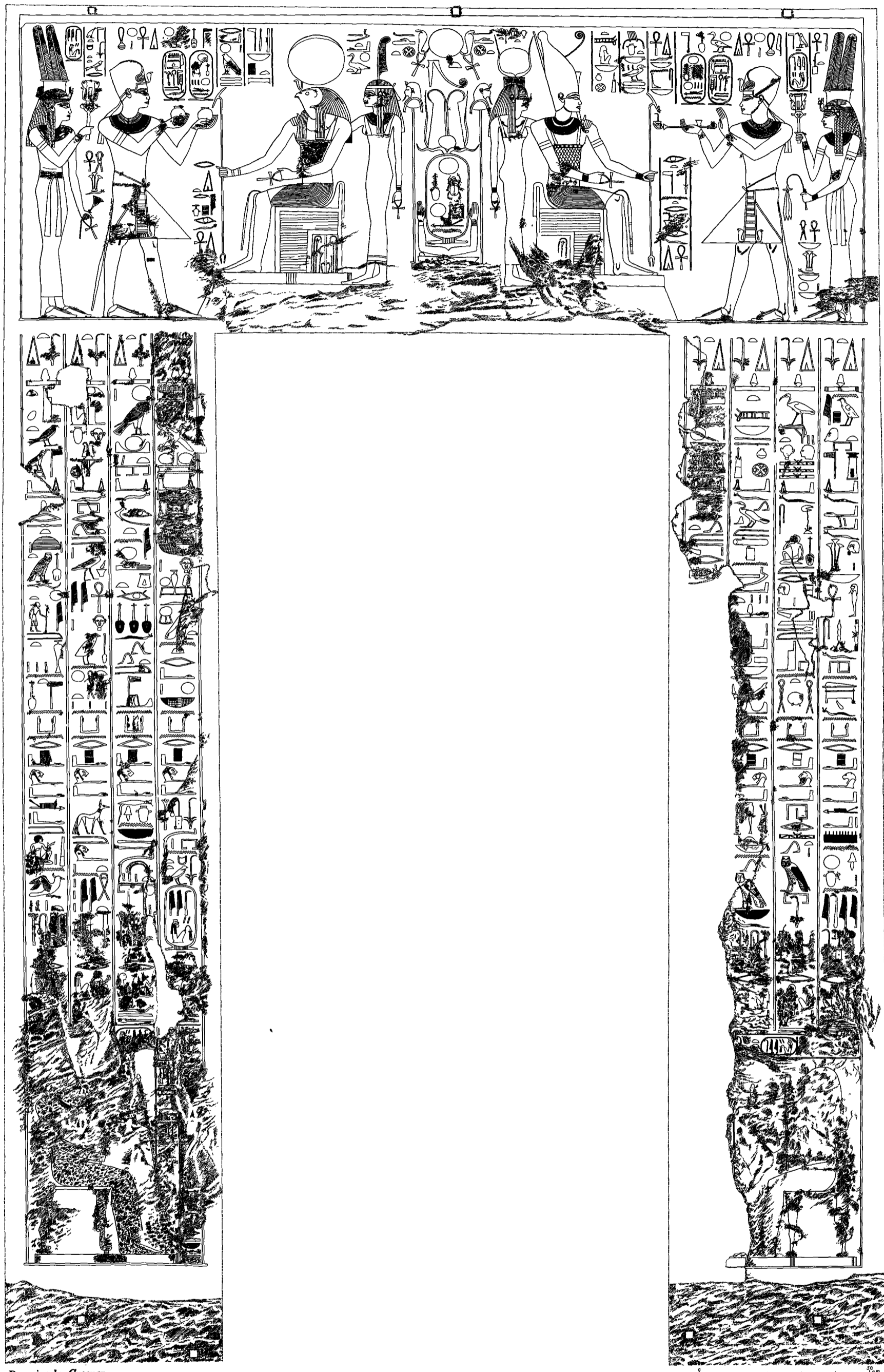
B

Photographs by Nims

A. COURT, LOOKING WEST B. FIRST COLUMNED HALL, LOOKING SOUTHEAST



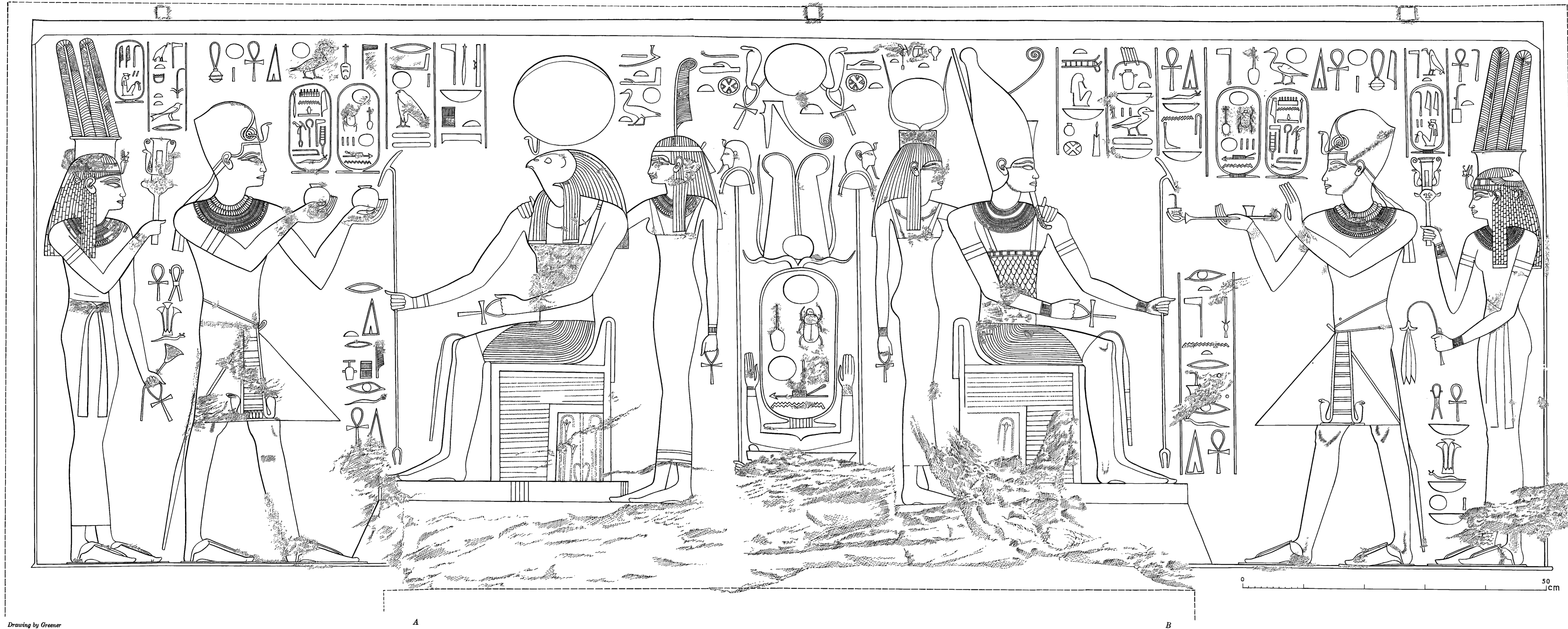
HYMN TO THE SETTING SUN, WITH FIGURE OF KHERUEF (effaced)  
 VESTIBULE, NORTH SIDE



*Drawing by Greener*

KEY TO RELIEFS ON DOORWAY OF PASSAGE TO COURT  
(See plates 9, 10)



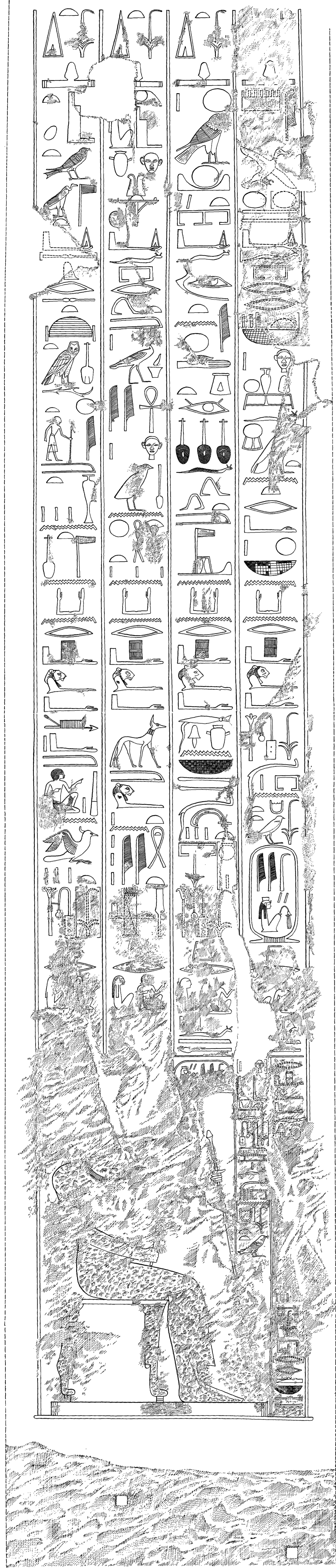


*Drawing by Greener*

A

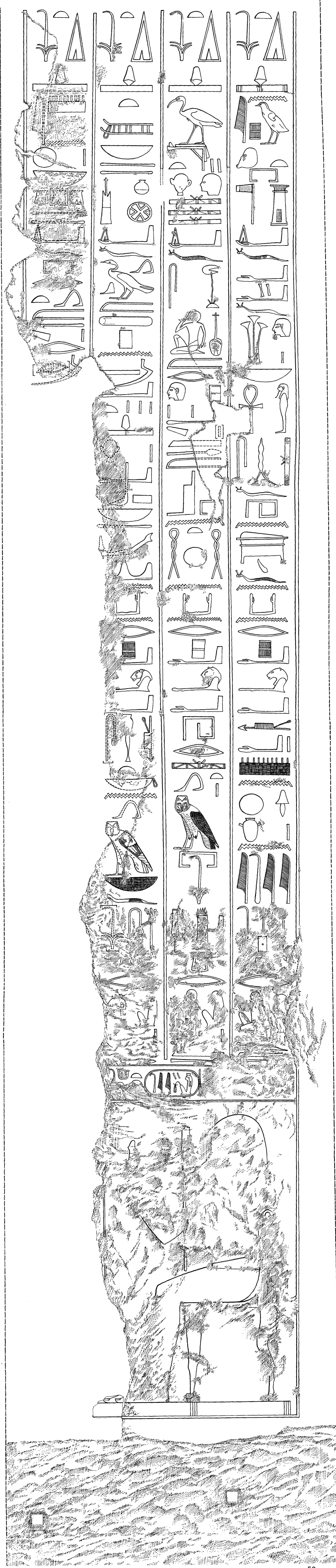
B

AMENHOTEP IV, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS MOTHER, QUEEN TIYE, OFFERING WINE  
 TO RE-HARAKHTI AND MAAT (A) AND INCENSE TO ATUM AND HATHOR (B)  
 DOORWAY OF PASSAGE TO COURT, LINTEL  
 (See plate 8)



Drawing by Greener

A

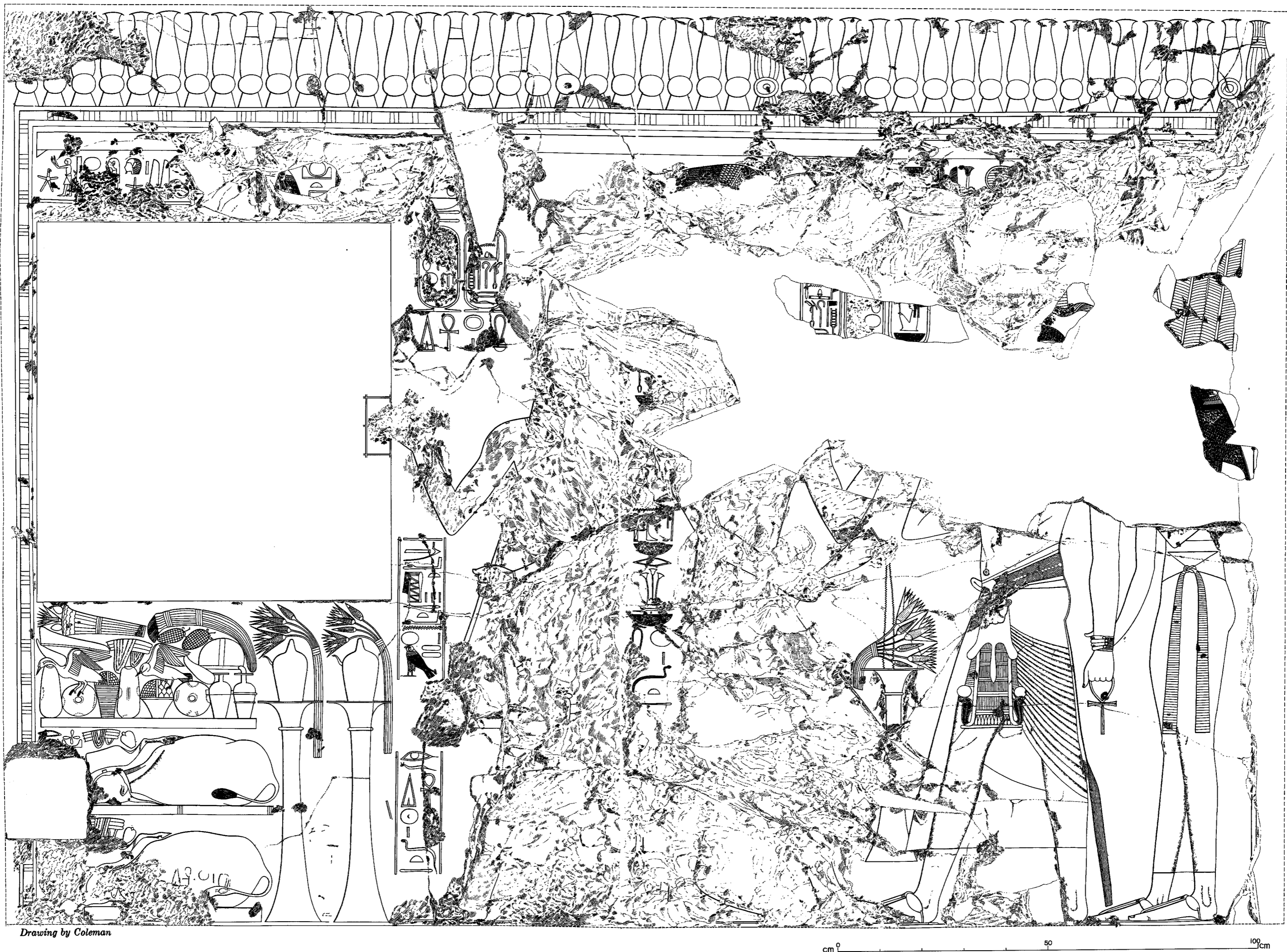


0

50 cm

B

OFFERING TEXTS, WITH TITLES AND FIGURES OF KHERUEF (effaced)  
 DOORWAY OF PASSAGE TO COURT, SOUTH (A) AND NORTH (B) JAMBS  
 (See plate 8)



Drawing by Coleman

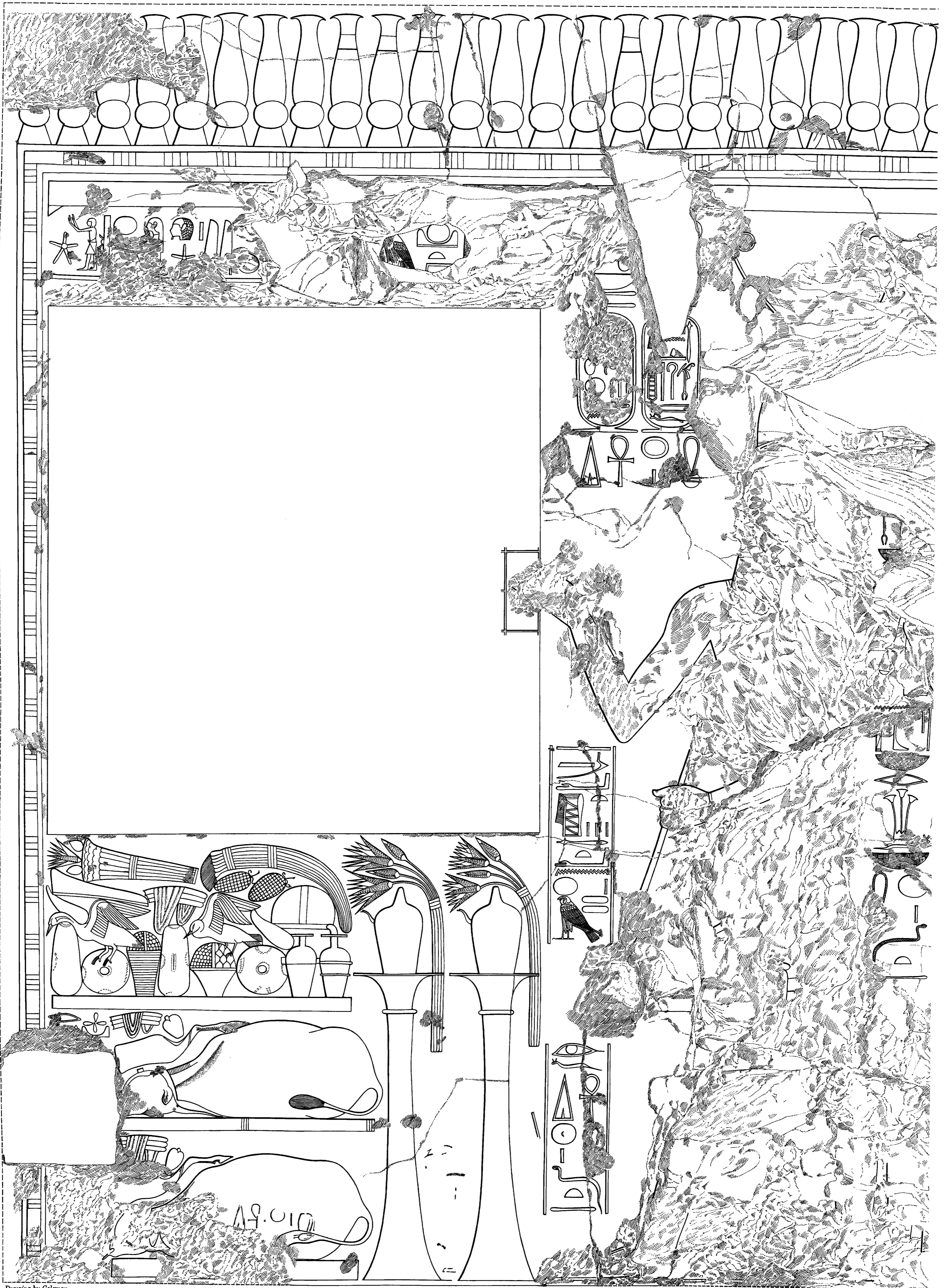
A

B

AMENHOTEP IV (figures effaced) OFFERING TO RE-HARAKHTI (A)  
AND TO AMENHOTEP III AND QUEEN TIYE (B)

PASSAGE TO COURT, SOUTH SIDE, UPPER SECTION

(Key to reliefs shown on plates 12-15)



cm 0

50

100 cm

AMENHOTEP IV (figure effaced) OFFERING TO RE-HARAKHTI  
 (See plate 11; for the inset inscription, see plates 14 and 15)



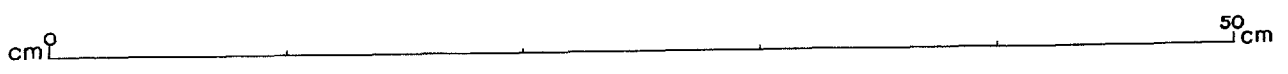
Drawing by Coleman

cm 0 50 100 cm

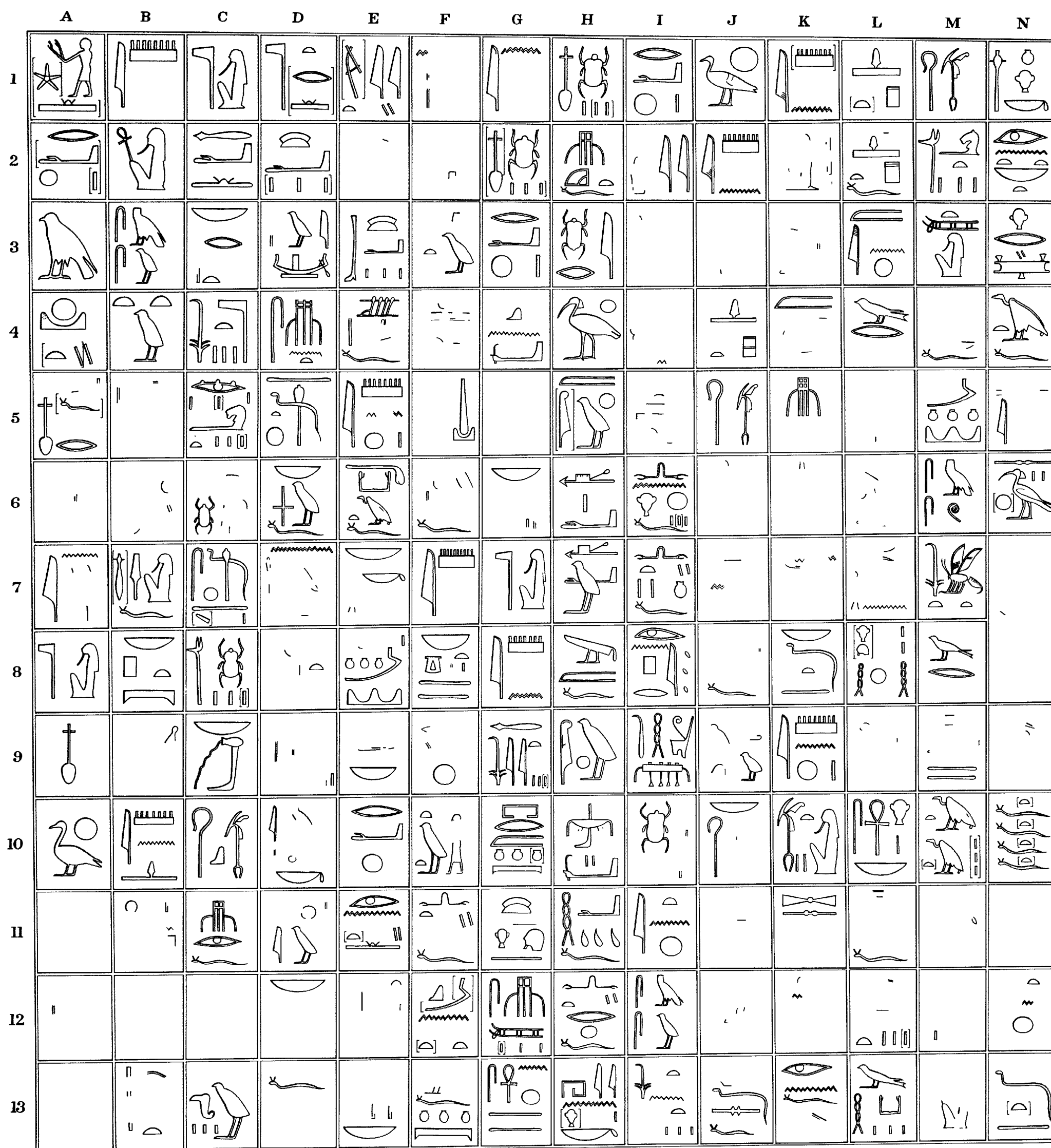
AMENHOTEP IV (figure effaced) OFFERING TO AMENHOTEP III AND QUEEN TIYE  
(See plate 11)

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
1														
2														
3														
4														
5														
6														
7														
8														
9														
10														
11														
12														
13														

Drawing by Coleman



WORD SQUARE: extant traces of effaced inscription  
(Inset of plate 12)



Drawing by Coleman

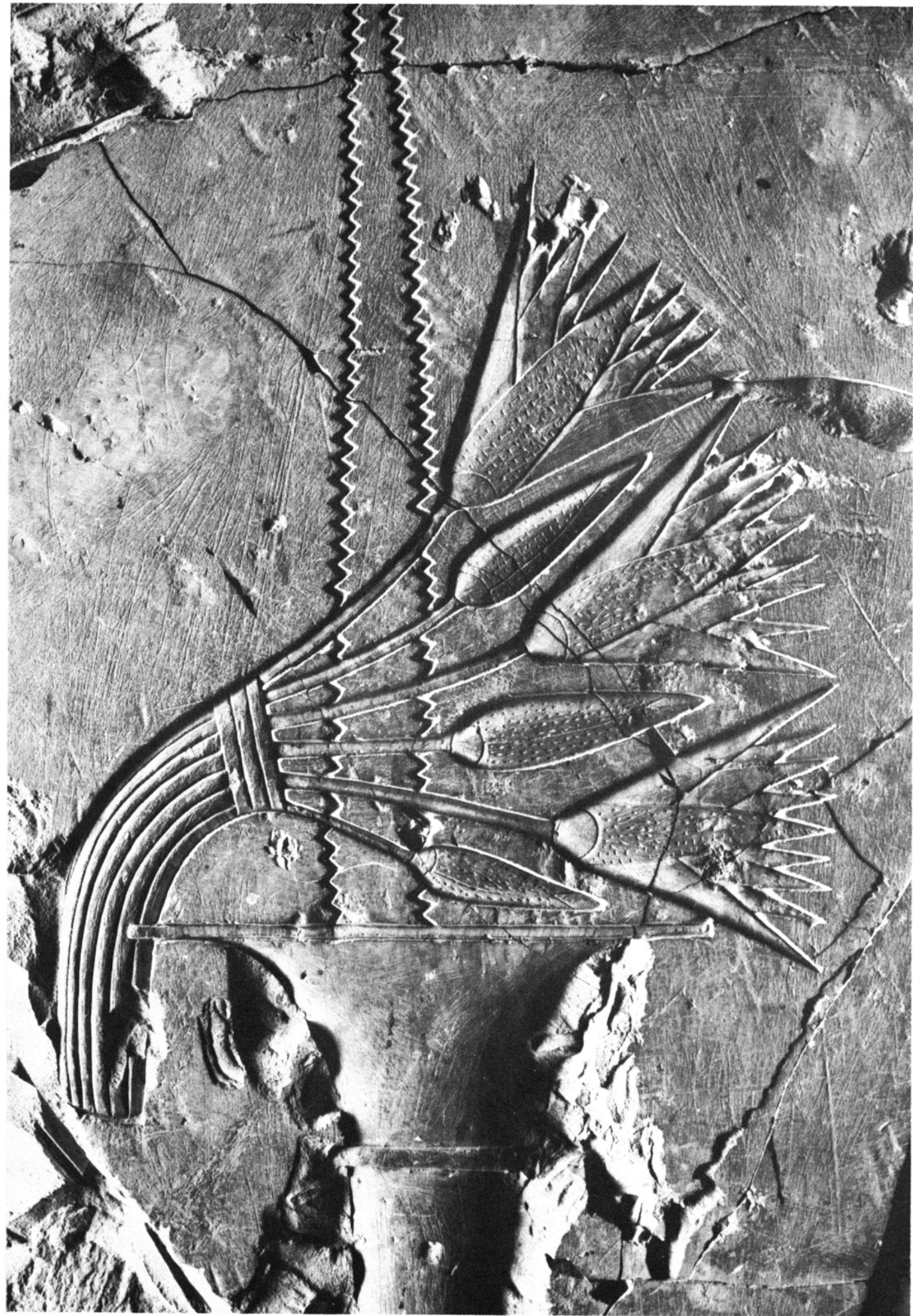
cm 0 50cm

WORD SQUARE: restoration of inscription, based on extant traces  
(Inset of plate 12)



Photographs by Nims

A



B

A. HIEROGLYPHS (detail of inscription shown on plate 12)  
B. FLOWERS UPON ALTAR (detail of scene shown on plate 13)





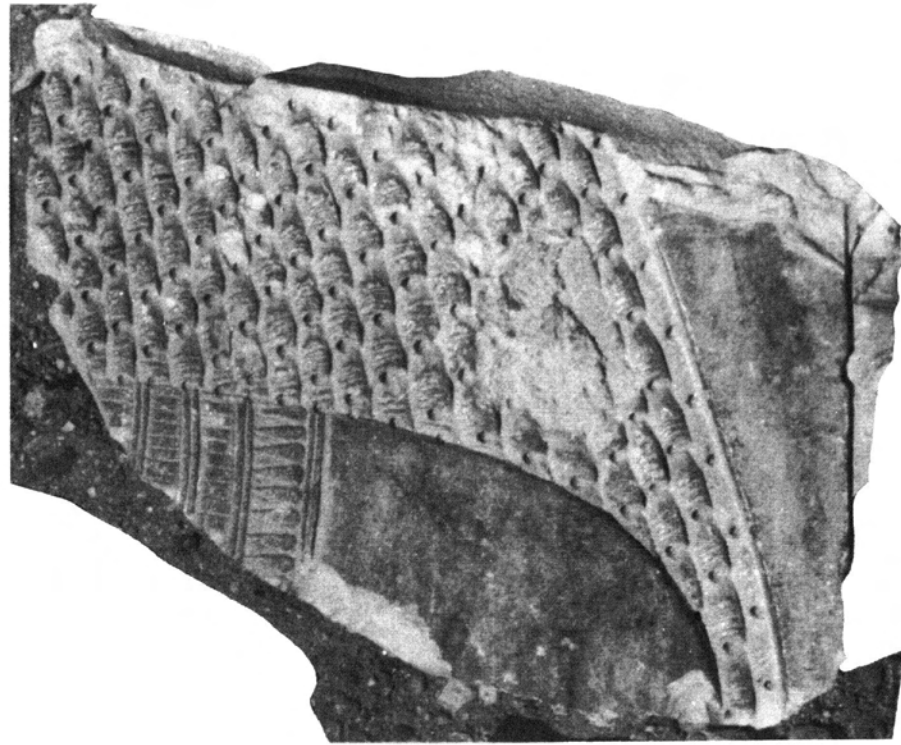
Photographs by Nims

A

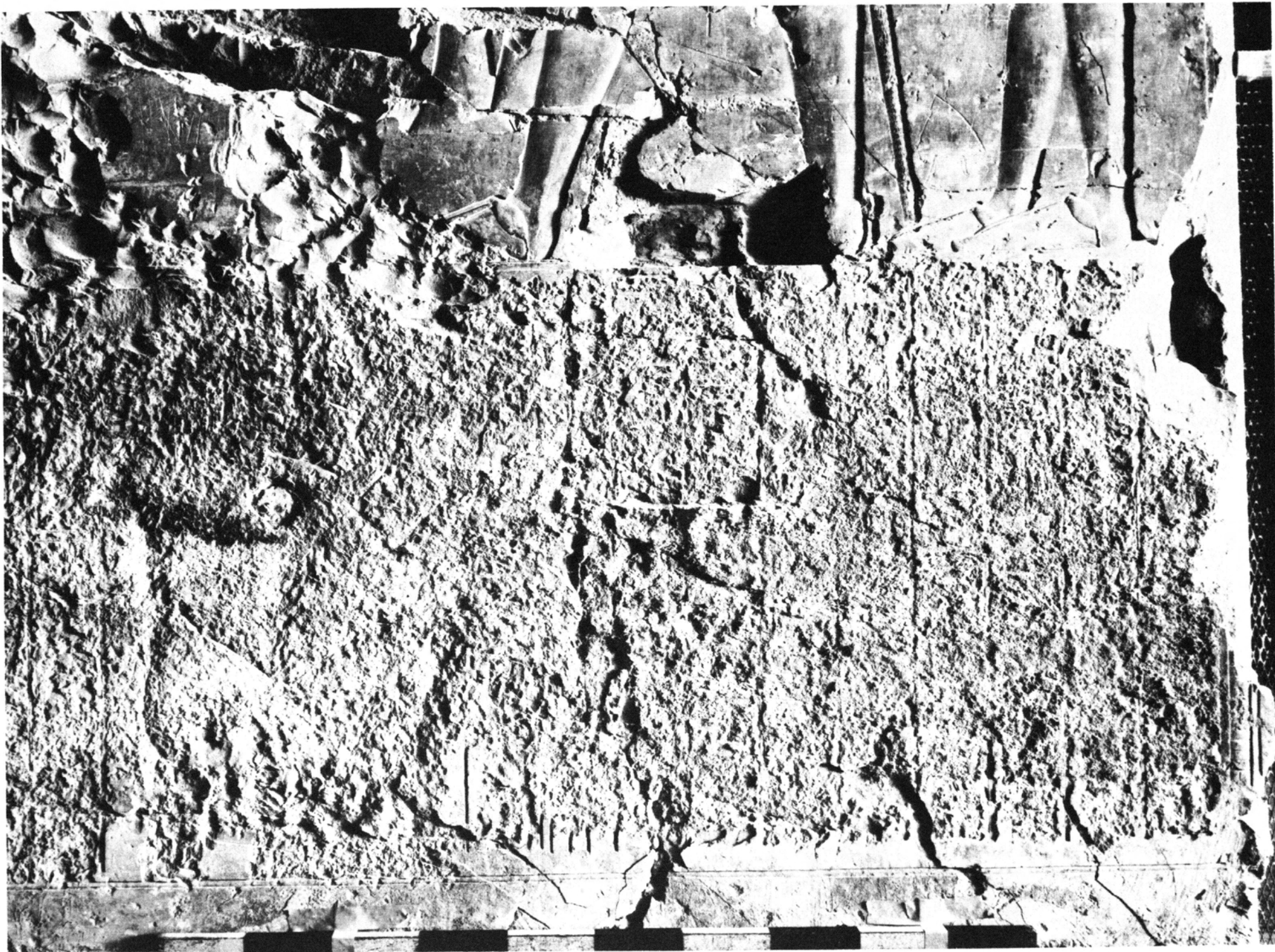


B

A. PART OF COSTUME OF AMENHOTEP III  
B. HANDS OF AMENHOTEP III AND QUEEN TIYE  
(Details of scene shown on plate 13)



A

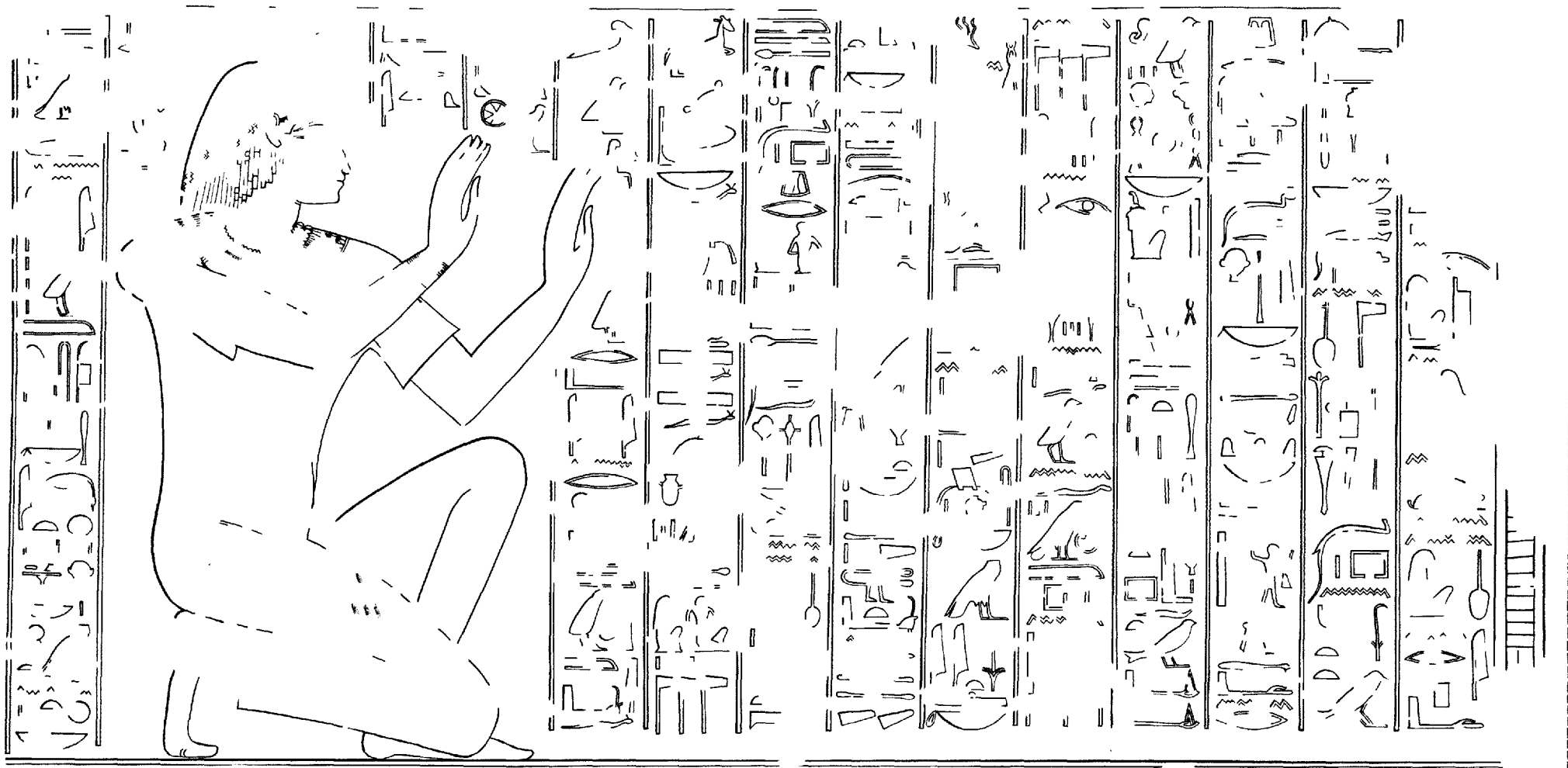


Photographs by Nims

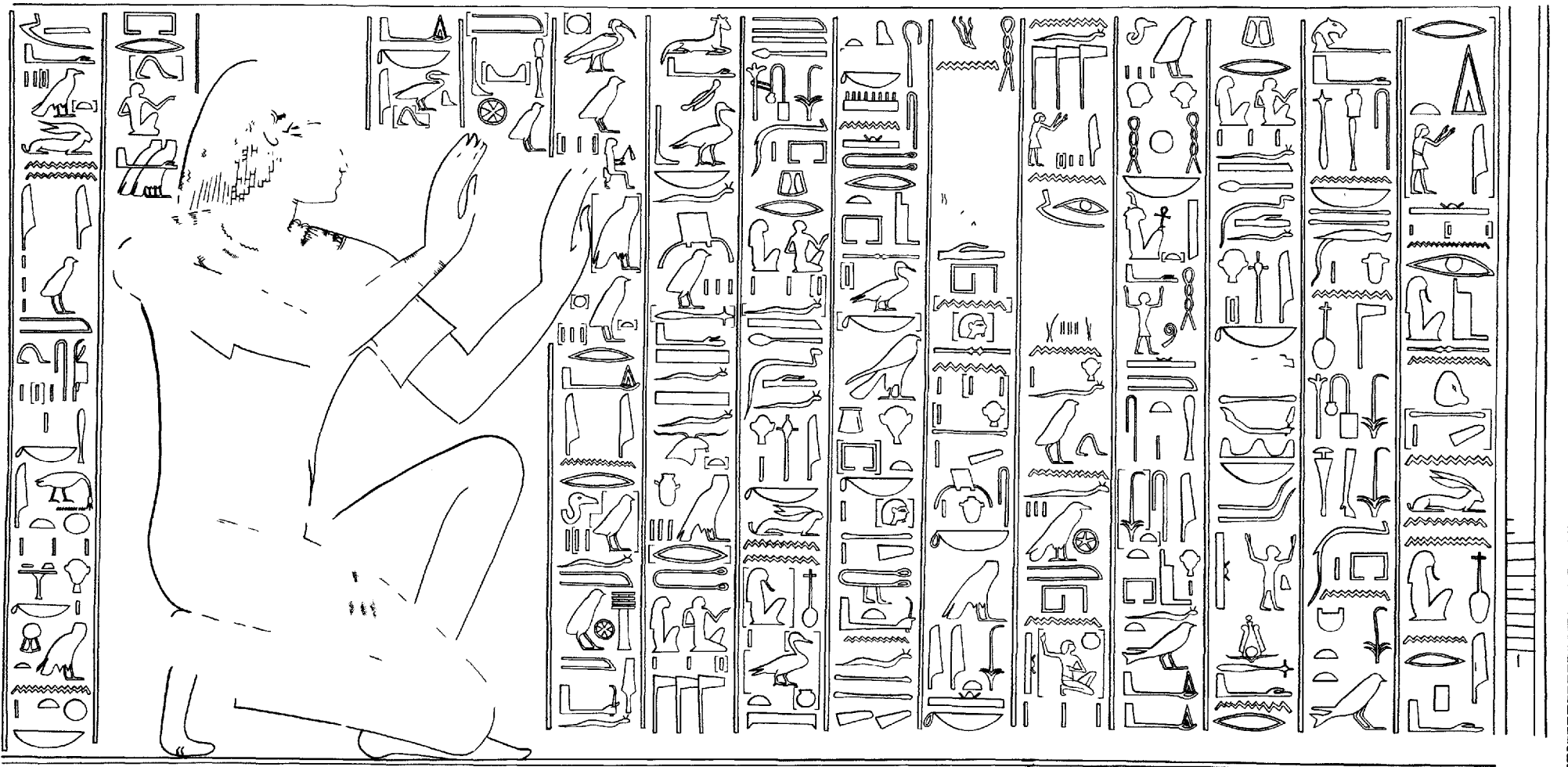
B

A. FRAGMENT OF RELIEF WITH WIG OF QUEEN TIYE, SHOWING DRILLED HOLES AT ENDS OF CURLS (scale 1:1)  
(Detail of scene shown on plate 13)

B. EFFACED INSCRIPTION AND FIGURE OF KHERUEF  
(Compare plate 19)



A



Drawings by Greener

0 50 cm

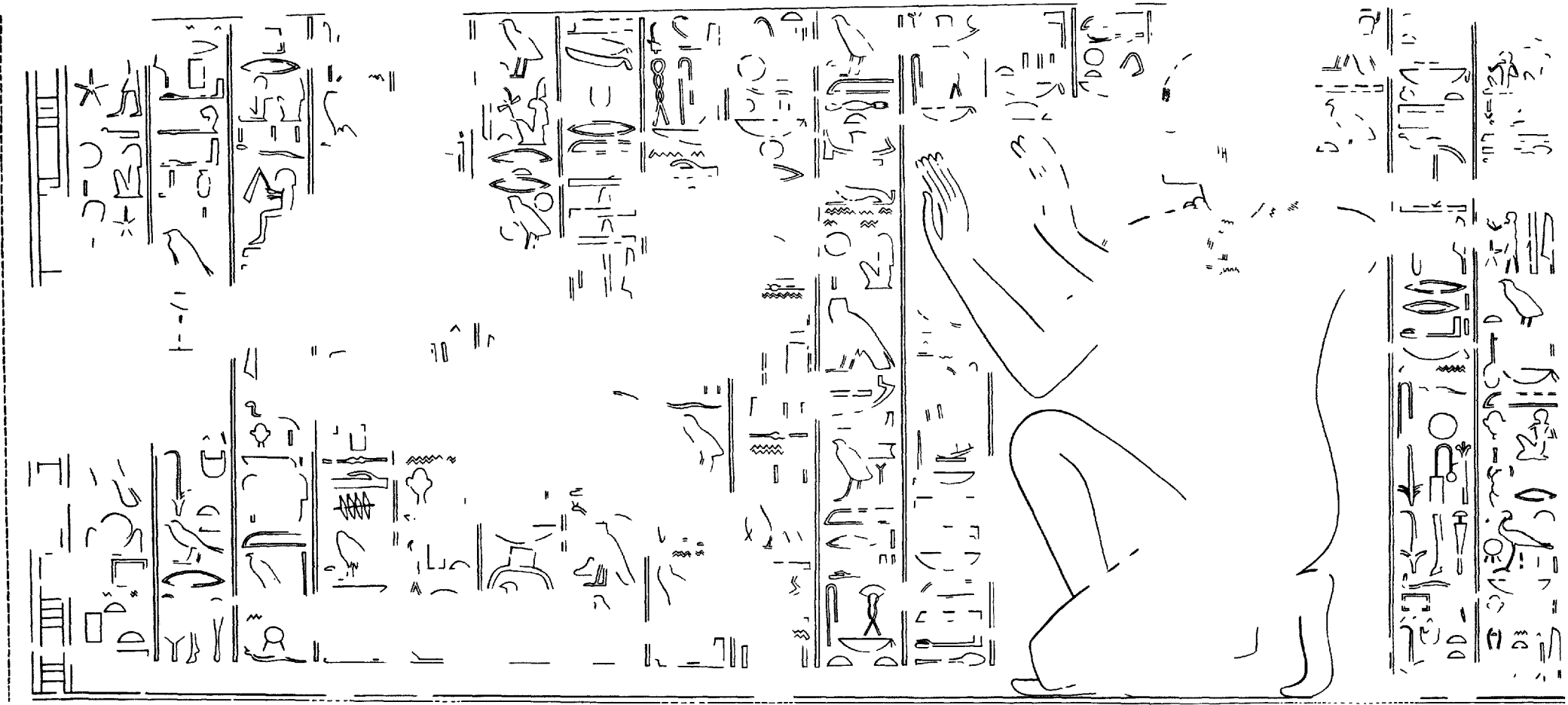
B

HYMN TO OSIRIS, WITH FIGURE OF KHERUEF

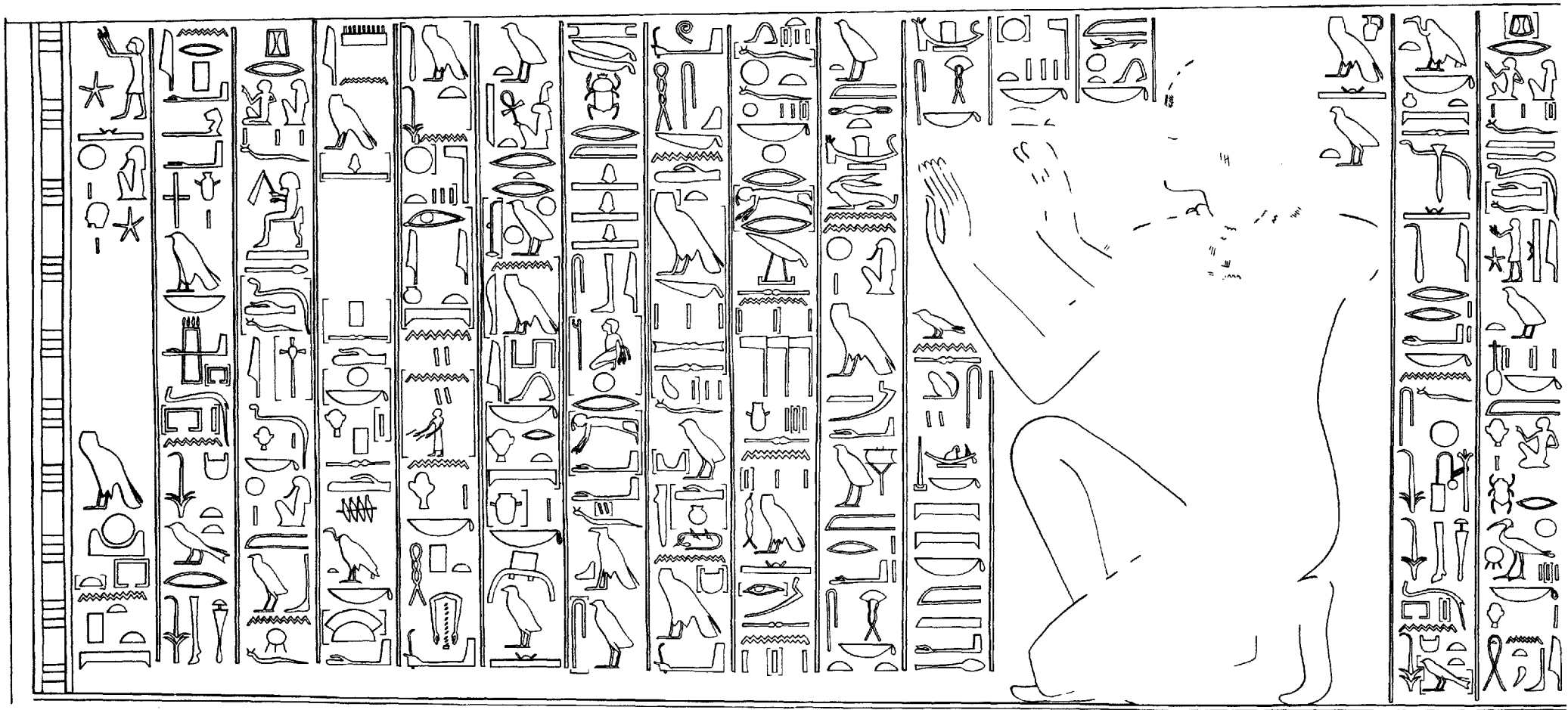
A. Extant traces of effaced inscription and figure

B. Restoration of inscription, based on extant traces

PASSAGE TO COURT, SOUTH SIDE, LOWER SECTION, WEST END



A



Drawings by Greener

B

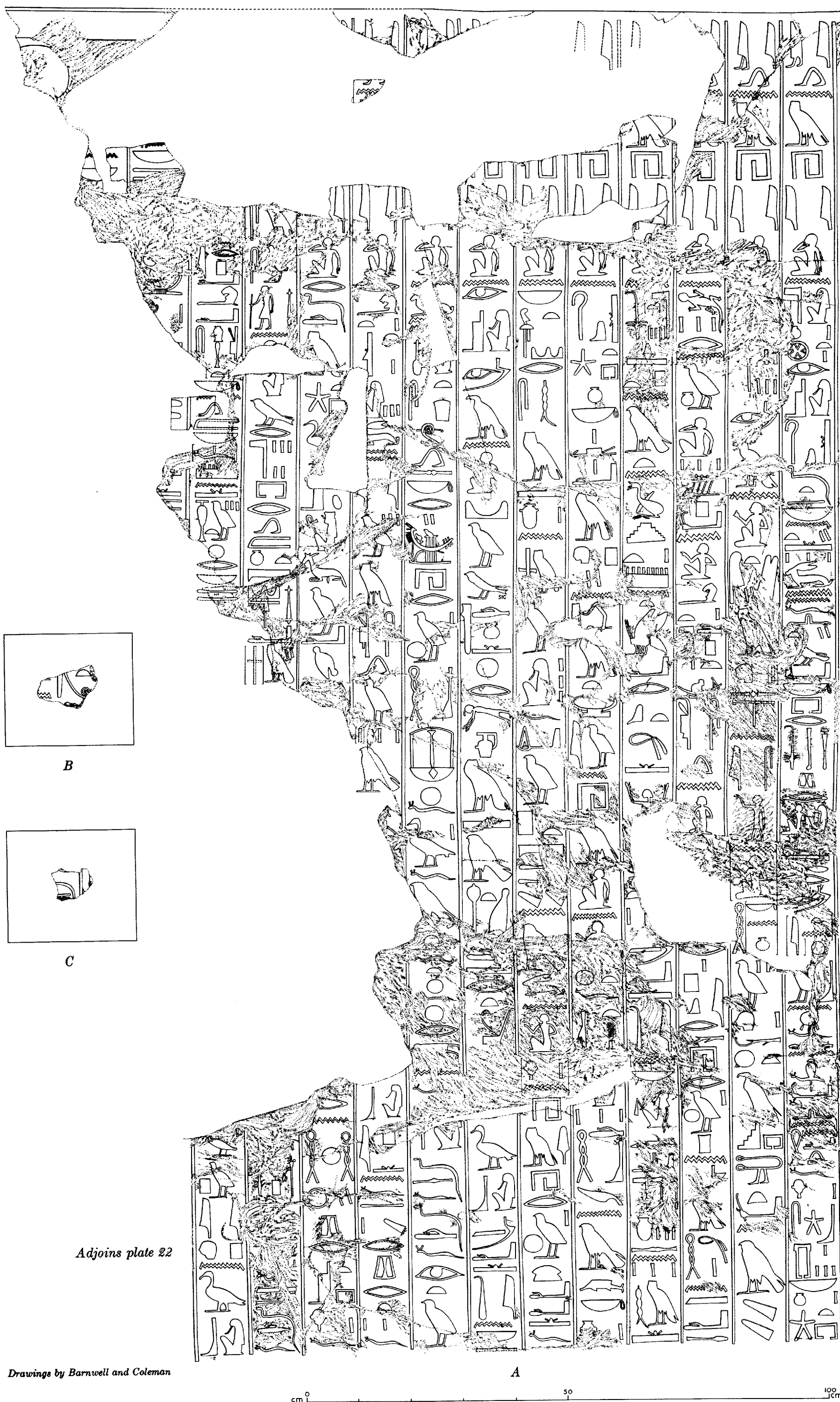
0 10 50 cm

HYMN TO THE RISING SUN, WITH FIGURE OF KHERUEF

A. Extant traces of effaced inscription and figure

B. Restoration of inscription, based on extant traces

PASSAGE TO COURT, SOUTH SIDE, LOWER SECTION, EAST END



*Adjoins plate 22*

*Drawings by Barnwell and Coleman*

A. ADDRESS OF KHERUEF ON ENTERING THE UNDERWORLD  
PASSAGE TO COURT, NORTH SIDE, EAST END

B, C. UNPLACED FRAGMENTS OF INSCRIPTIONS  
PRESUMABLY FROM DESTROYED WEST END OF PASSAGE TO COURT, NORTH SIDE



A

*Adjoins  
plate 21*



*Drawings by Greener*

0 10 50 cm

B

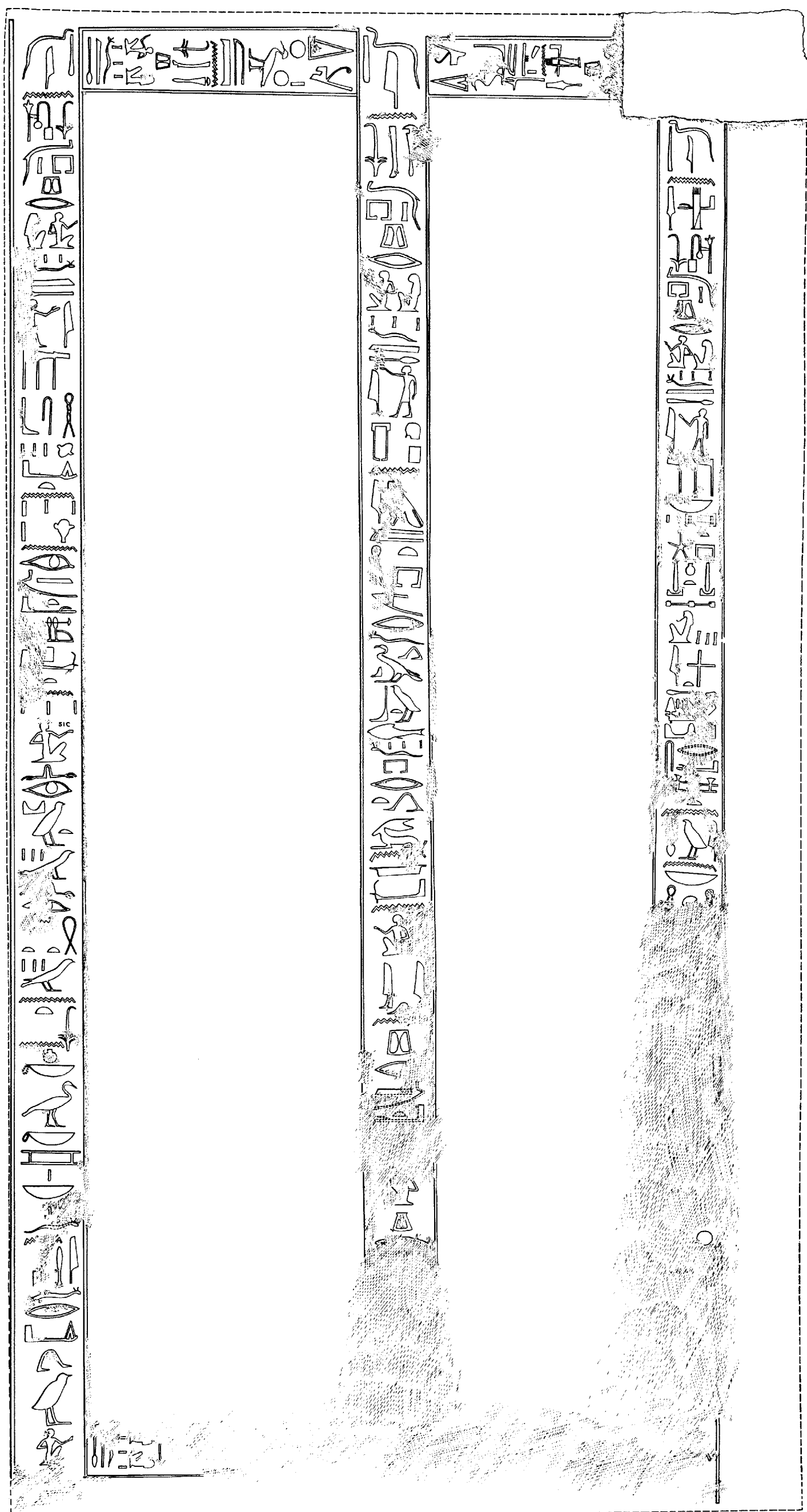
**HYMN TO THE SETTING SUN, WITH FIGURE OF KHERUEF**

- A. Extant traces of effaced inscription and figure
  - B. Restoration of inscription, based on extant traces
- PASSAGE TO COURT, NORTH SIDE, LOWER WEST END

EAST

SOUTH

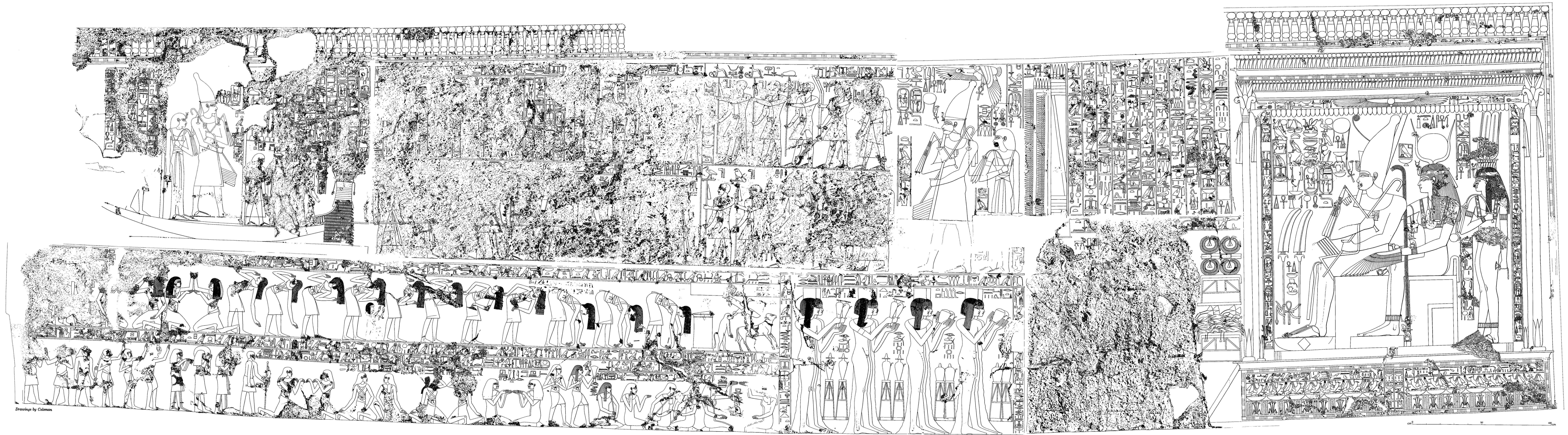
NORTH



*Drawing by Greener*

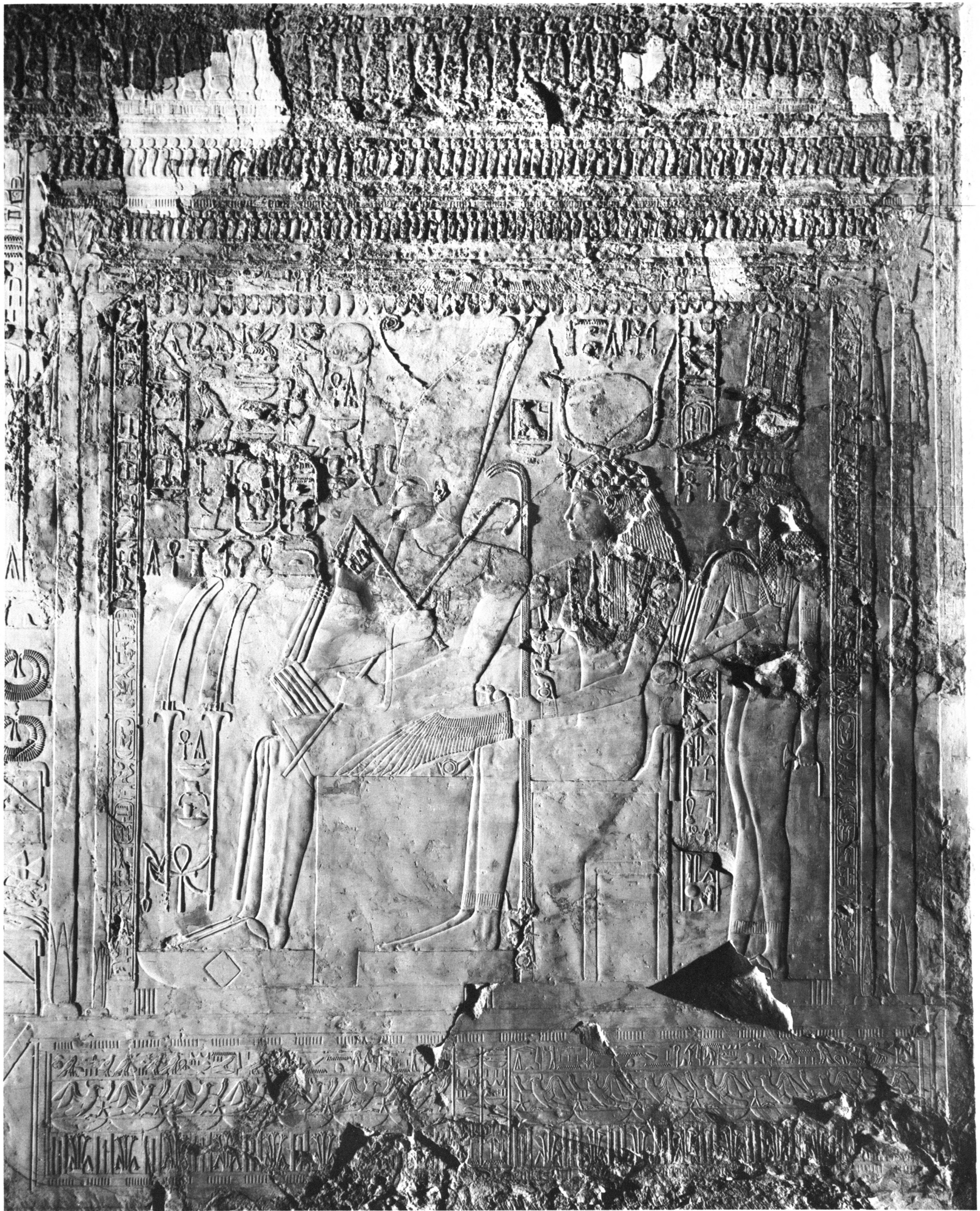
cm 0 50 100 cm

INSCRIPTIONS ON CEILING OF PASSAGE TO COURT



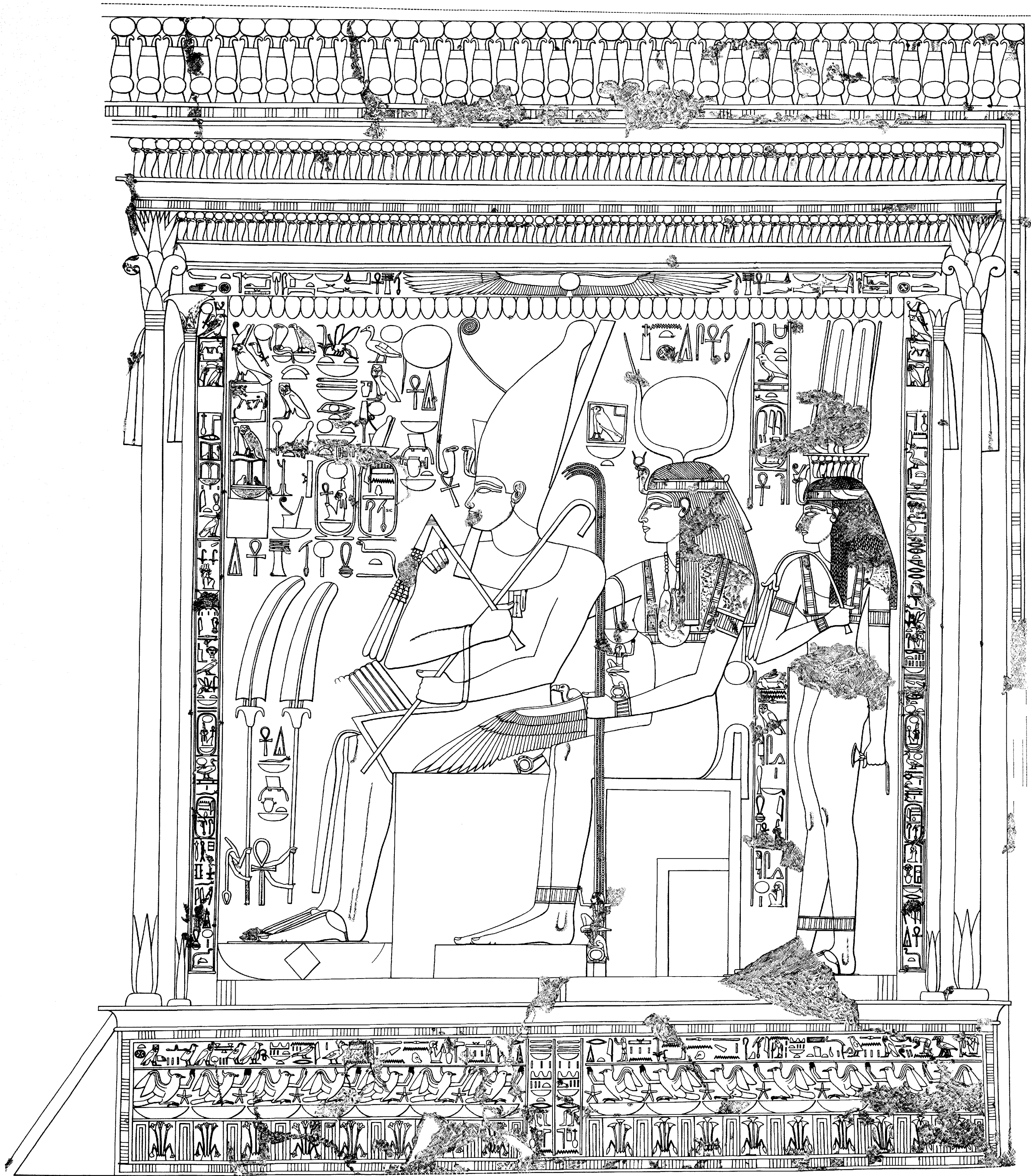
KEY TO RELIEFS DEPICTING EVENTS OF THE FIRST JUBILEE OF AMENHOTEP III  
 WEST PORTICO, SOUTH OF DOORWAY  
 (See plates 25-48; in situ these reliefs are continuous)





Photograph by Nims

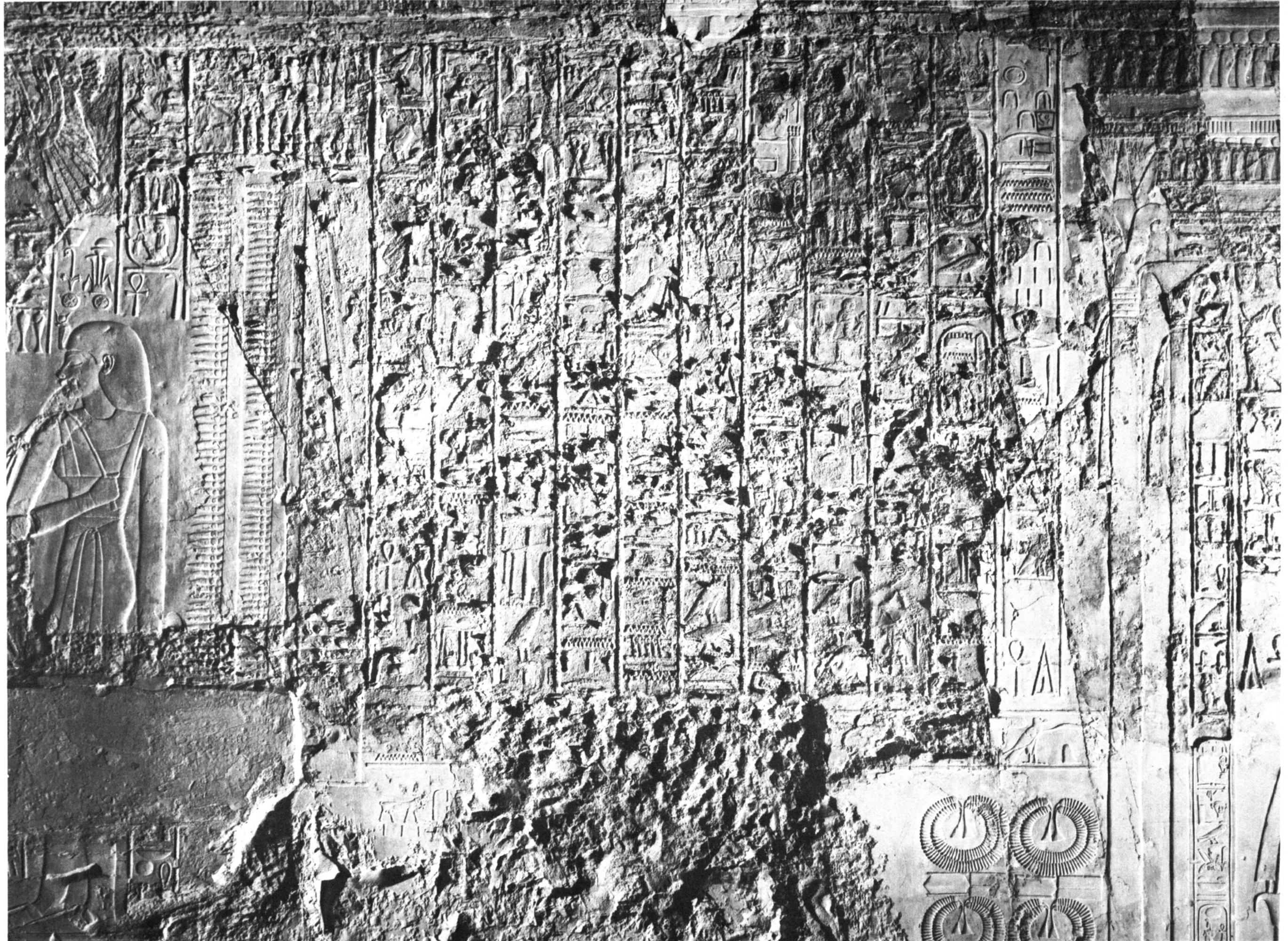
AMENHOTEP III, IN JUBILEE ATTIRE AND SEATED ON THRONE,  
ACCOMPANIED BY HATHOR AND QUEEN TIYE  
(Compare plate 26)



*Drawing by Coleman*

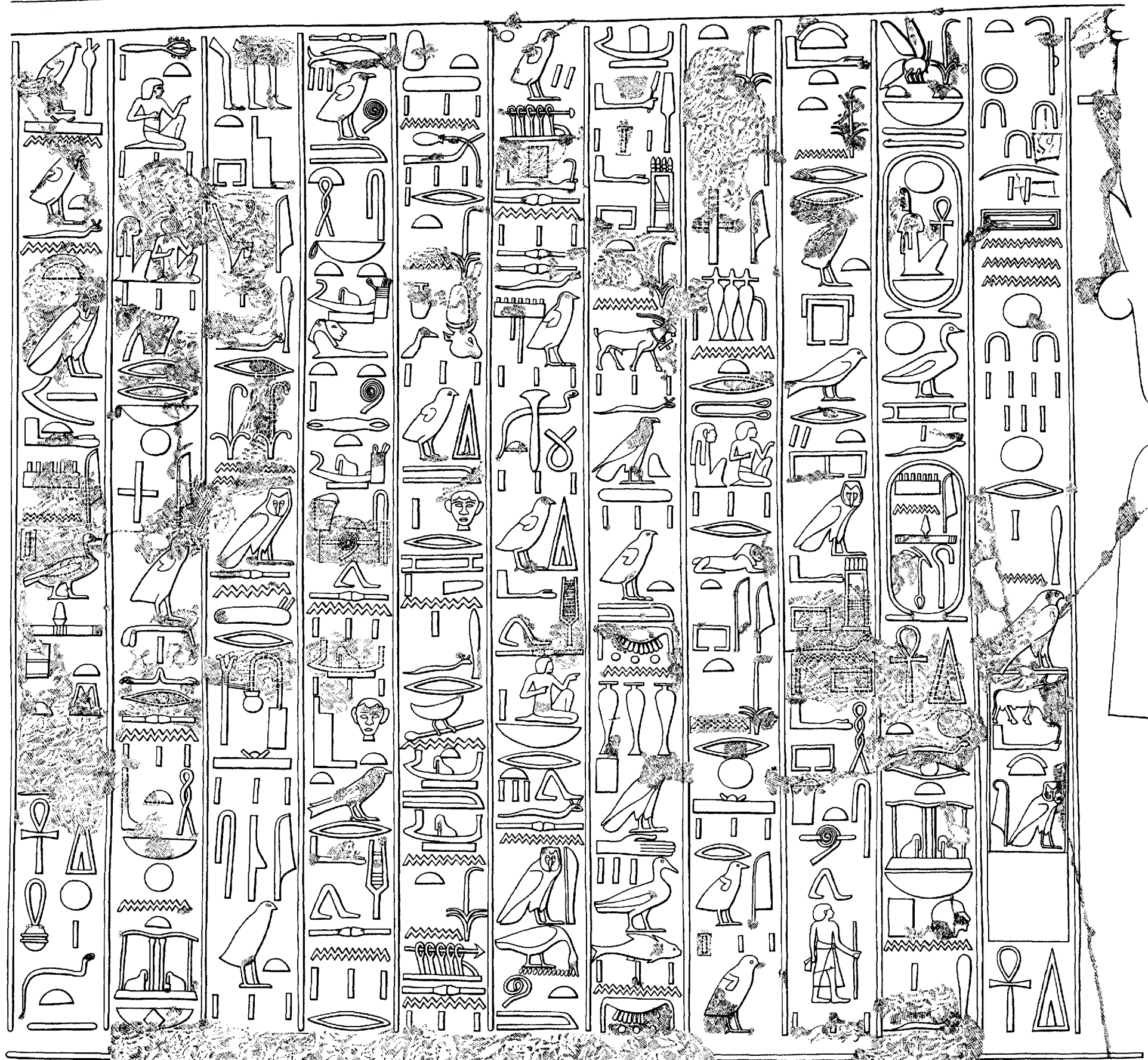
cm 0 50 100 cm

AMENHOTEP III, IN JUBILEE ATTIRE AND SEATED ON THRONE, ACCOMPANIED BY HATHOR AND QUEEN TIYE  
 WEST PORTICO, SOUTH OF DOORWAY, NORTHERNMOST SCENE  
 (See plate 24)



Photograph by Nims

INSCRIPTION OF AMENHOTEP III DATED TO YEAR THIRTY,  
SECOND MONTH OF THIRD SEASON, DAY TWENTY-SEVEN  
(Compare plate 28)



*Drawing by Coleman*

cm<sup>0</sup>

50

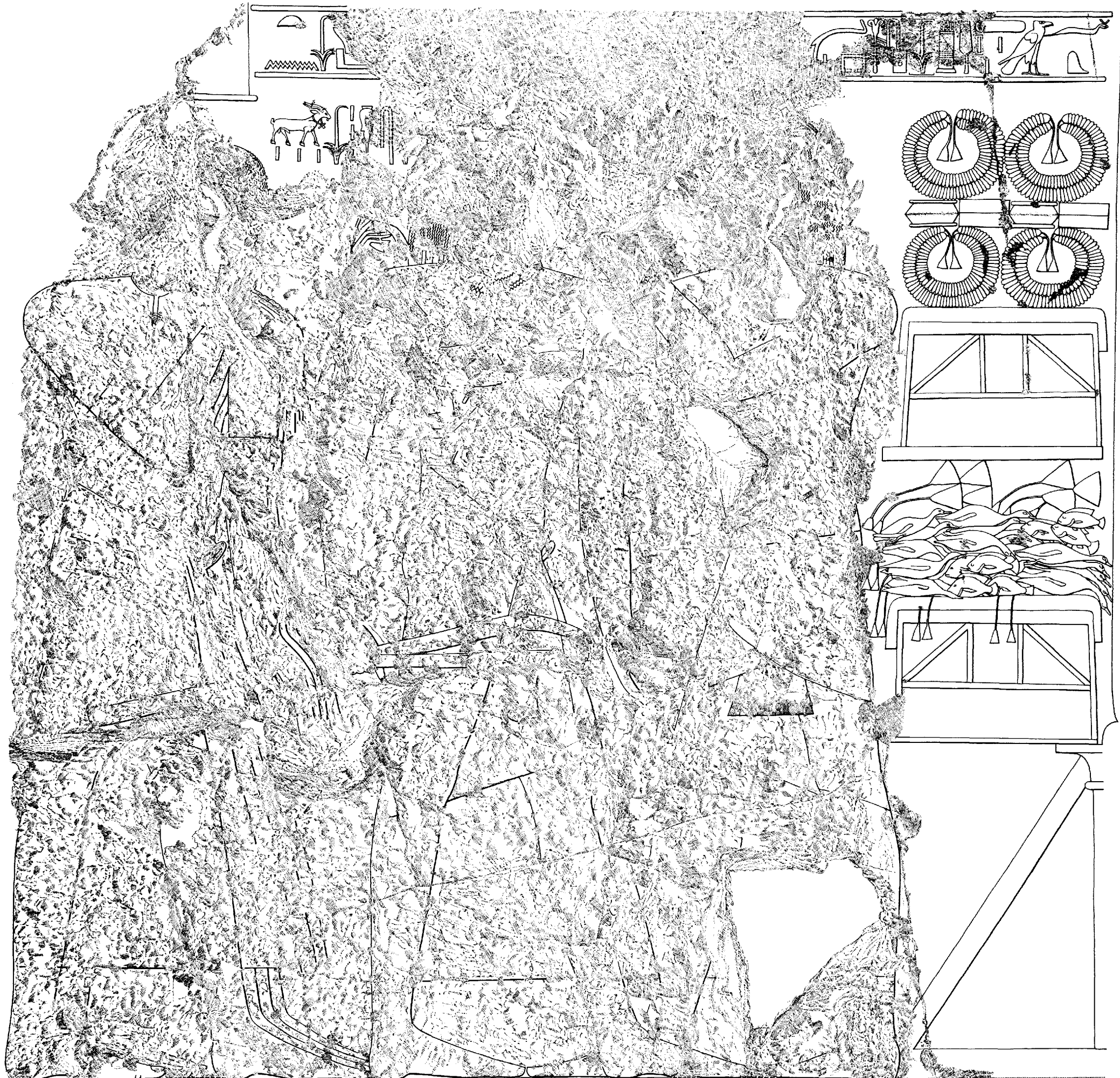
100 cm

INSCRIPTION OF AMENHOTEP III DATED TO YEAR THIRTY,  
 SECOND MONTH OF THIRD SEASON, DAY TWENTY-SEVEN  
 WEST PORTICO, SOUTH OF DOORWAY, UPPER REGISTER, SOUTH OF KIOSK OF KING  
 (See plate 24)



Photograph by Nims

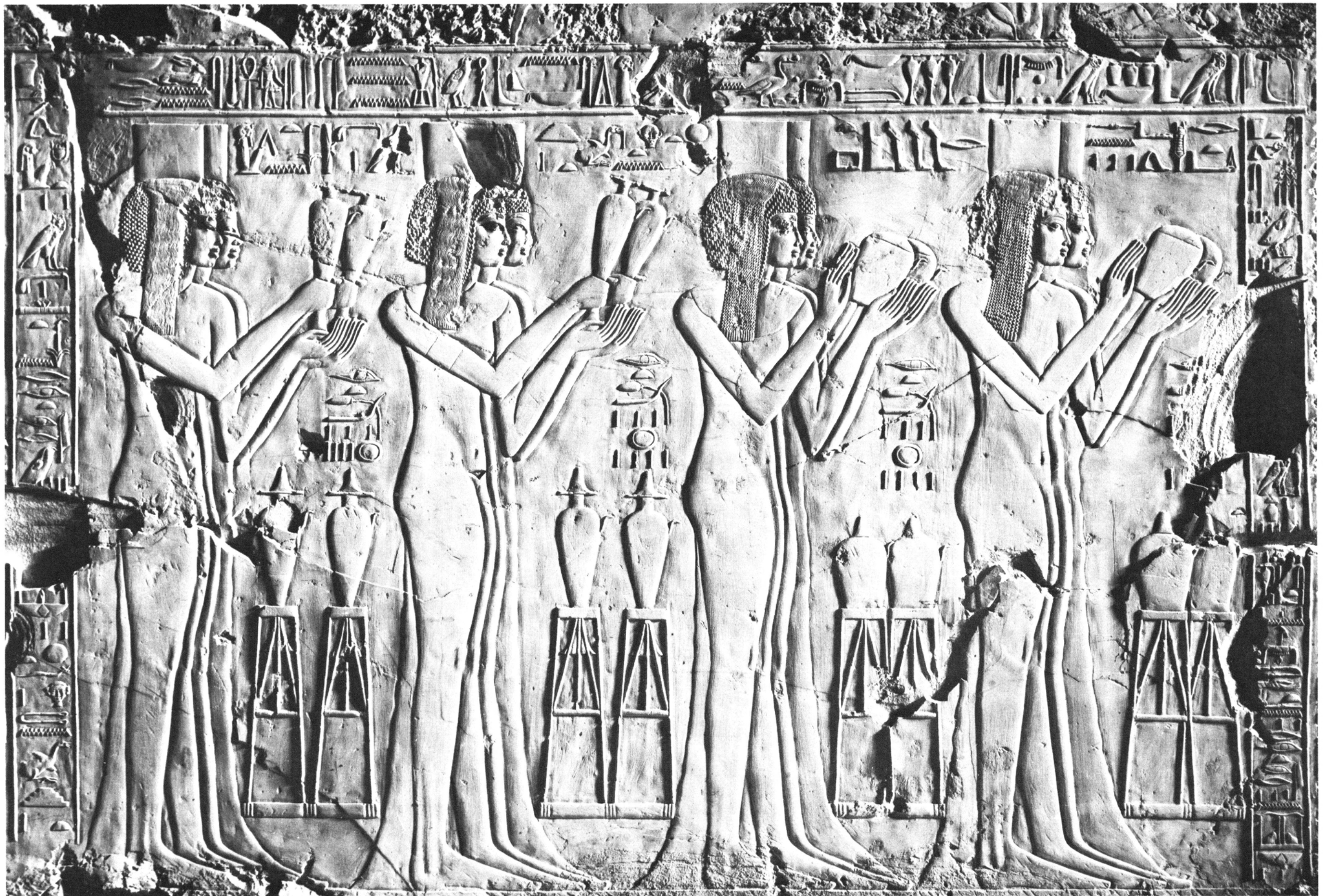
KHERUEF AWARDED A COLLAR OF GOLD IN THE PRESENCE OF AMENHOTEP III  
(Compare plate 30)



Drawing by Coleman

cm 0 50 100 cm

KHERUEF AWARDED A COLLAR OF GOLD IN THE PRESENCE OF AMENHOTEP III  
WEST PORTICO, SOUTH OF DOORWAY, LOWER REGISTER, SOUTH OF KIOSK OF KING  
(See plate 24)



*Photograph by Nims*

DAUGHTERS OF GREAT ONES POURING LIBATIONS BEFORE AMENHOTEP III  
(Compare plate 32)

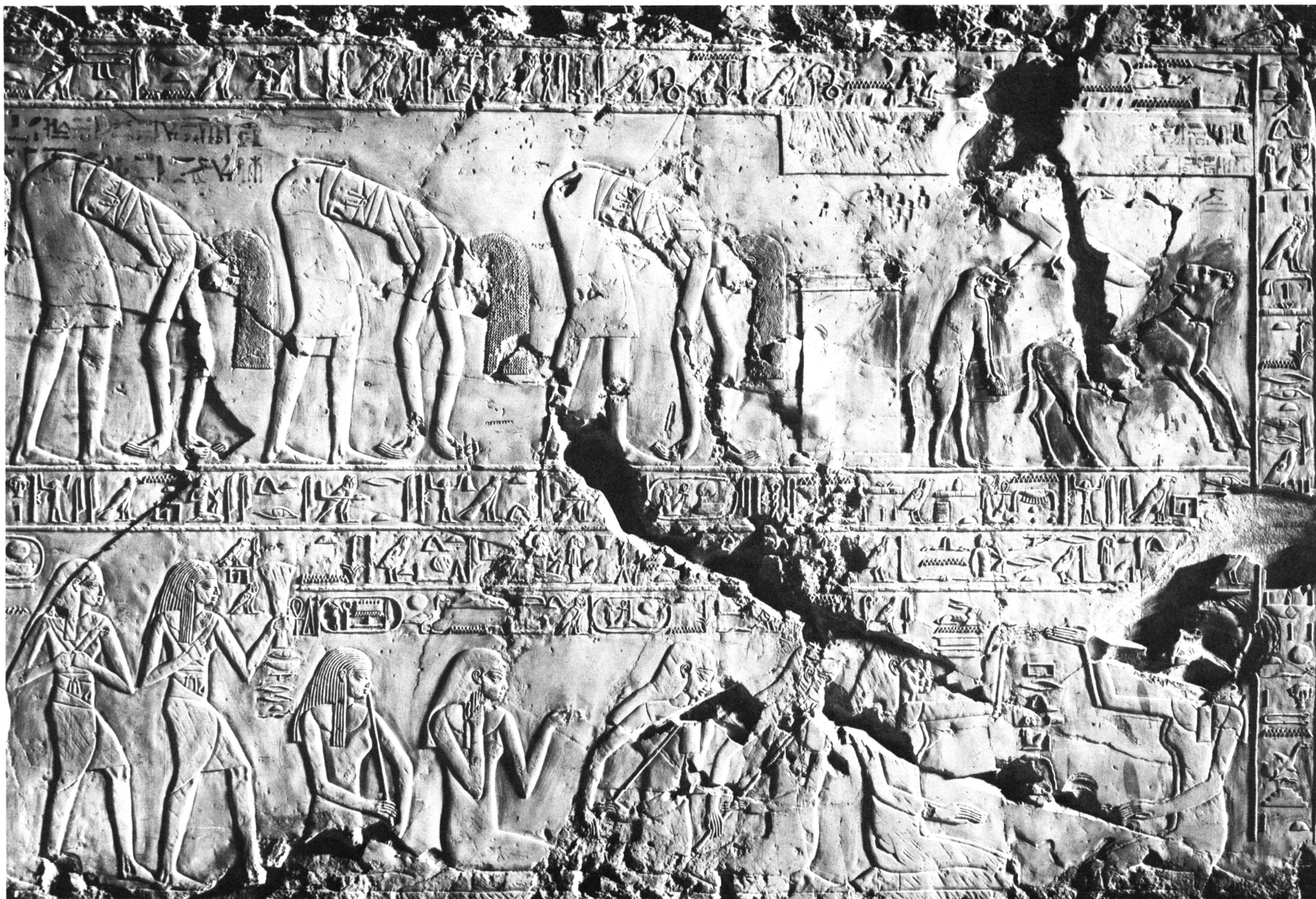


*Drawing by Coleman*

cm 0 50 100 cm

DAUGHTERS OF GREAT ONES POURING LIBATIONS BEFORE AMENHOTEP III  
 WEST PORTICO, SOUTH OF DOORWAY, LOWER REGISTER, SECOND SCENE SOUTH OF KIOSK OF KING  
 (See plate 24)

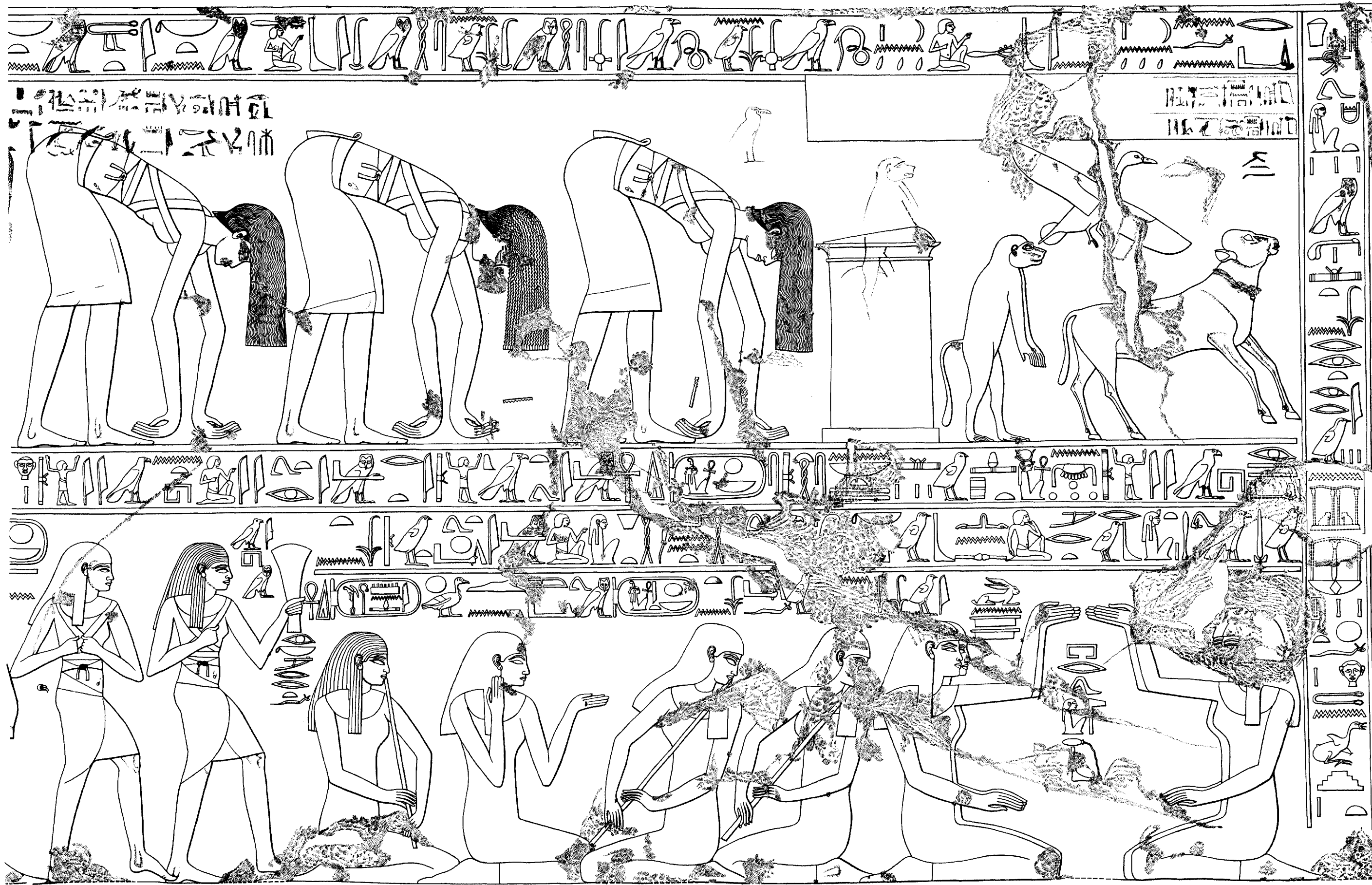




*Photograph by Nims*

DANCERS AND MUSICIANS PERFORMING JUBILEE CEREMONIES  
BEFORE THE ENTHRONED AMENHOTEP III

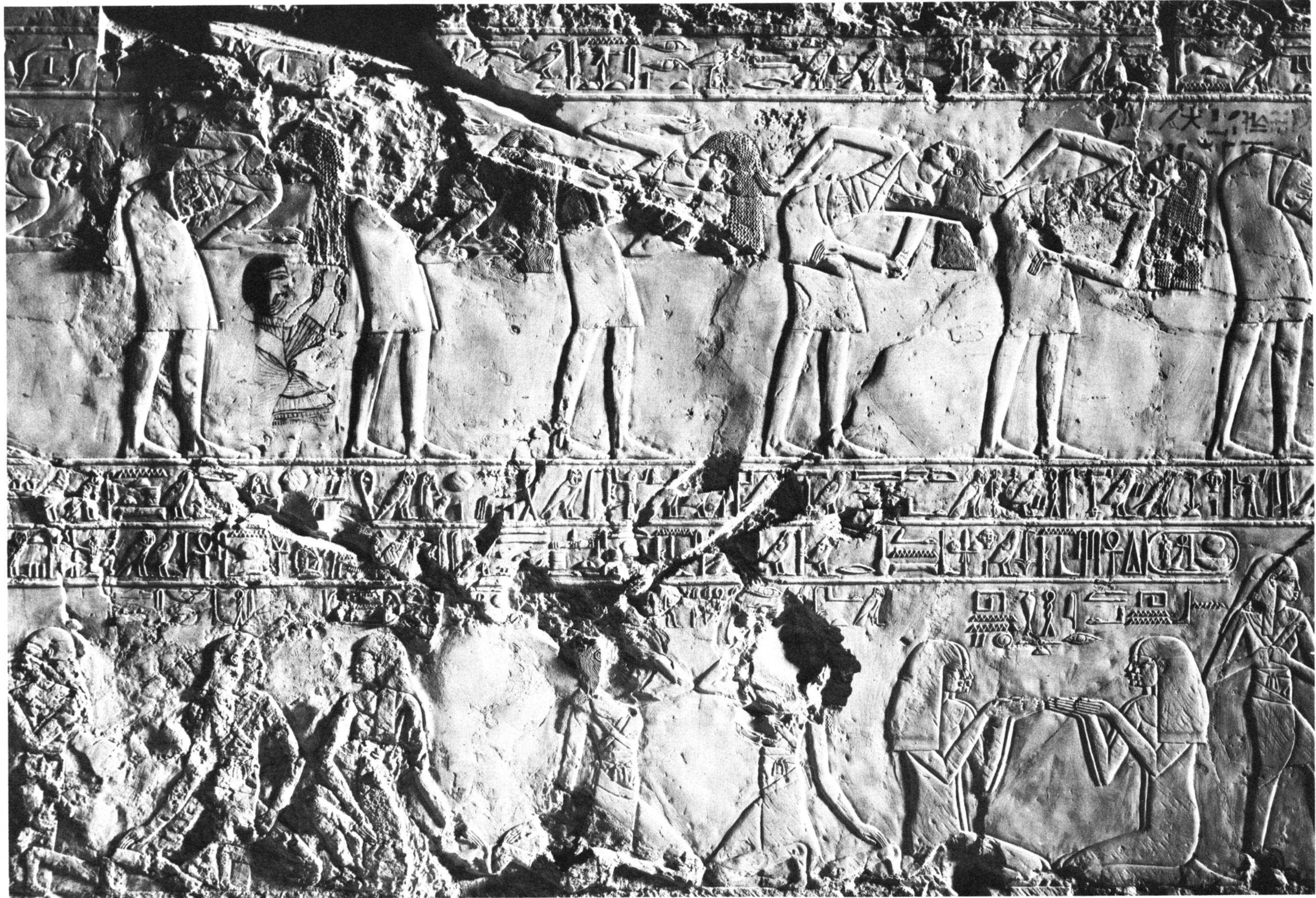
*(Compare plate 34)*



Drawing by Coleman

cm 0 50 100 cm

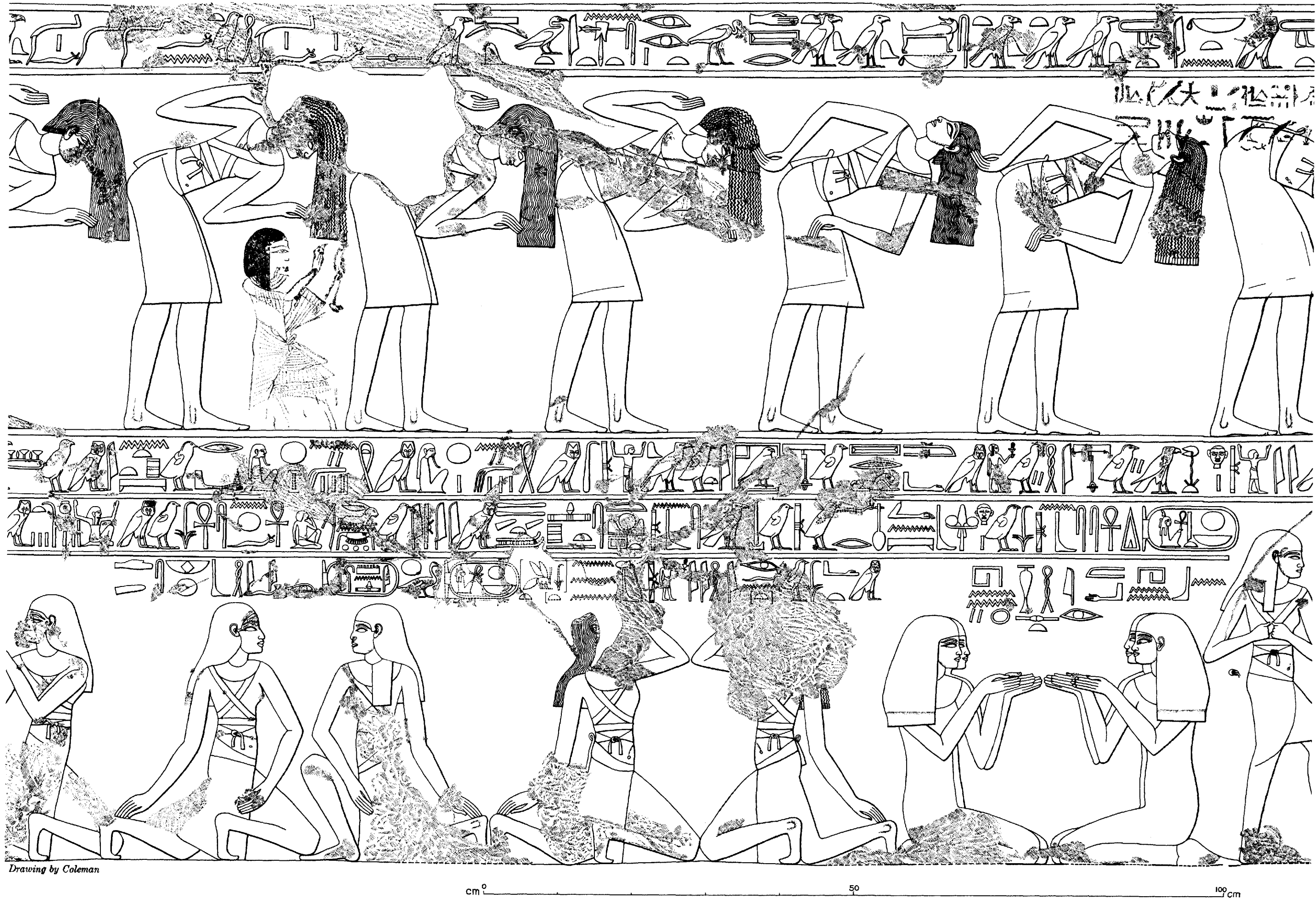
DANCERS AND MUSICIANS PERFORMING JUBILEE CEREMONIES BEFORE THE ENTHRONED AMENHOTEP III  
 WEST PORTICO, SOUTH OF DOORWAY, LOWER REGISTERS, LONG SCENE AT SOUTH  
 (First of four overlapping sections; see plate 24)



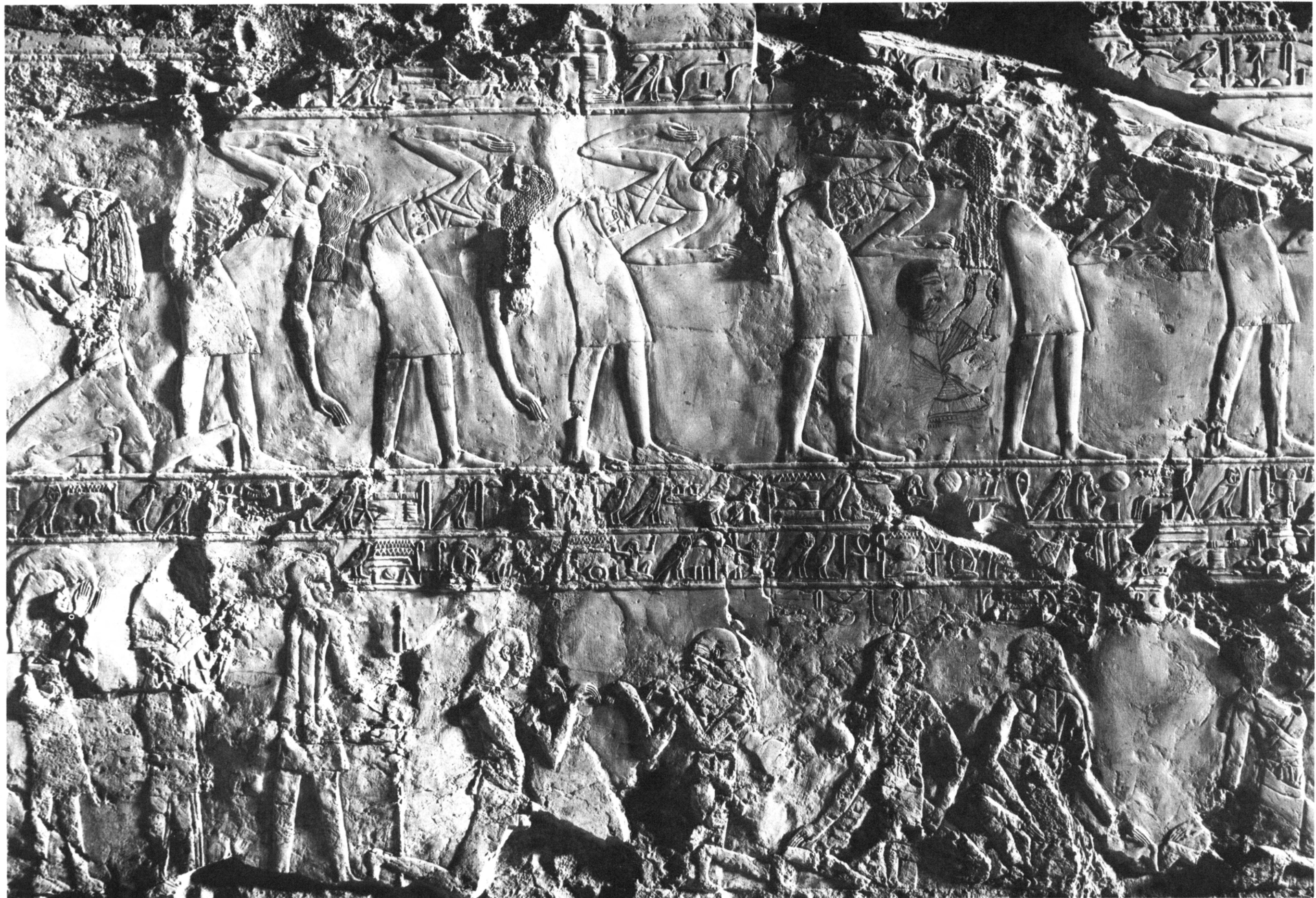
*Photograph by Nims*

DANCERS AND MUSICIANS PERFORMING JUBILEE CEREMONIES  
BEFORE THE ENTHRONED AMENHOTEP III

*(Compare plate 36)*

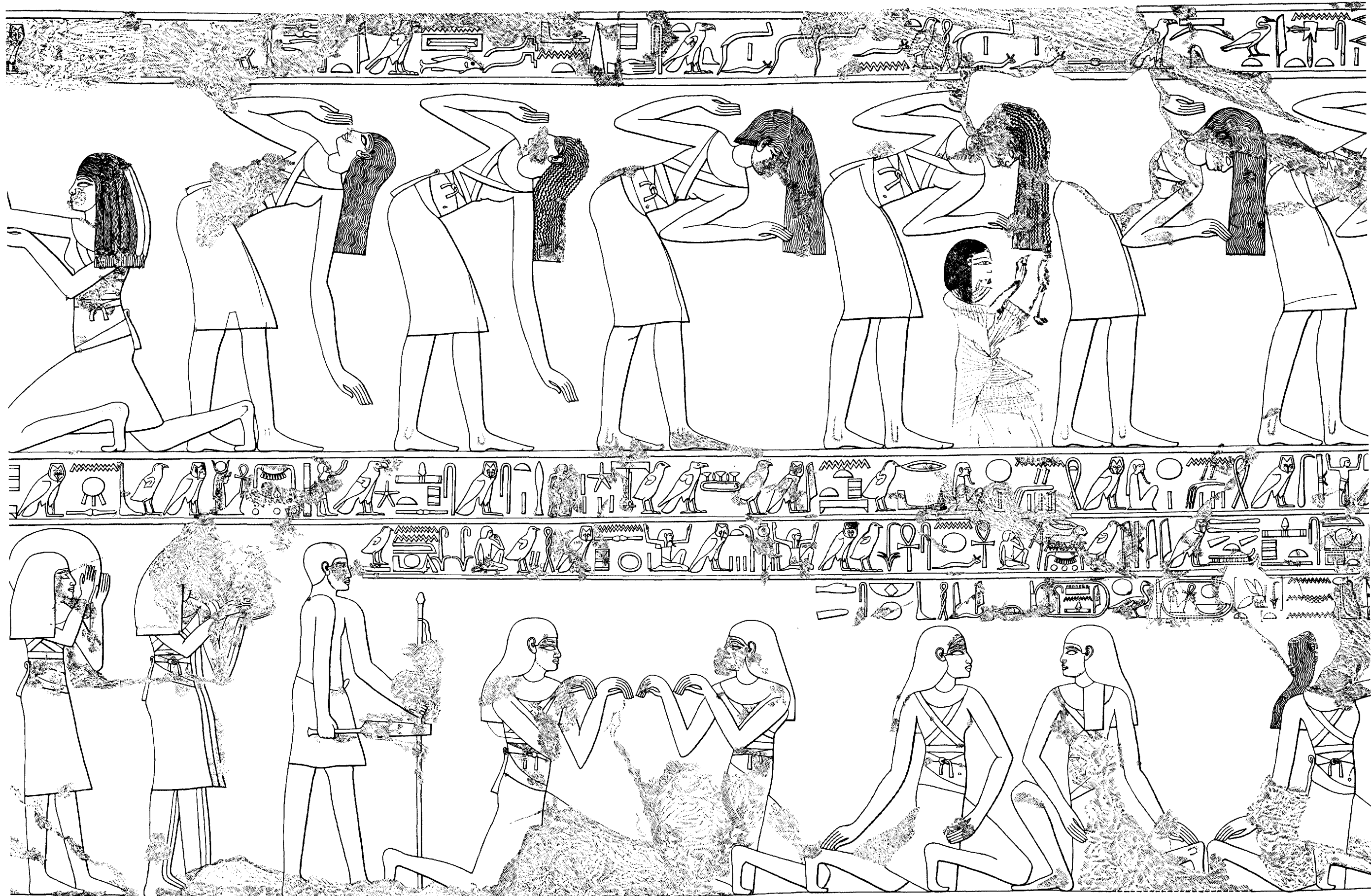


DANCERS AND MUSICIANS PERFORMING JUBILEE CEREMONIES BEFORE THE ENTHRONED AMENHOTEP III  
 WEST PORTICO, SOUTH OF DOORWAY, LOWER REGISTERS, LONG SCENE AT SOUTH  
 (Second of four overlapping sections; see plate 24)



*Photograph by Nims*

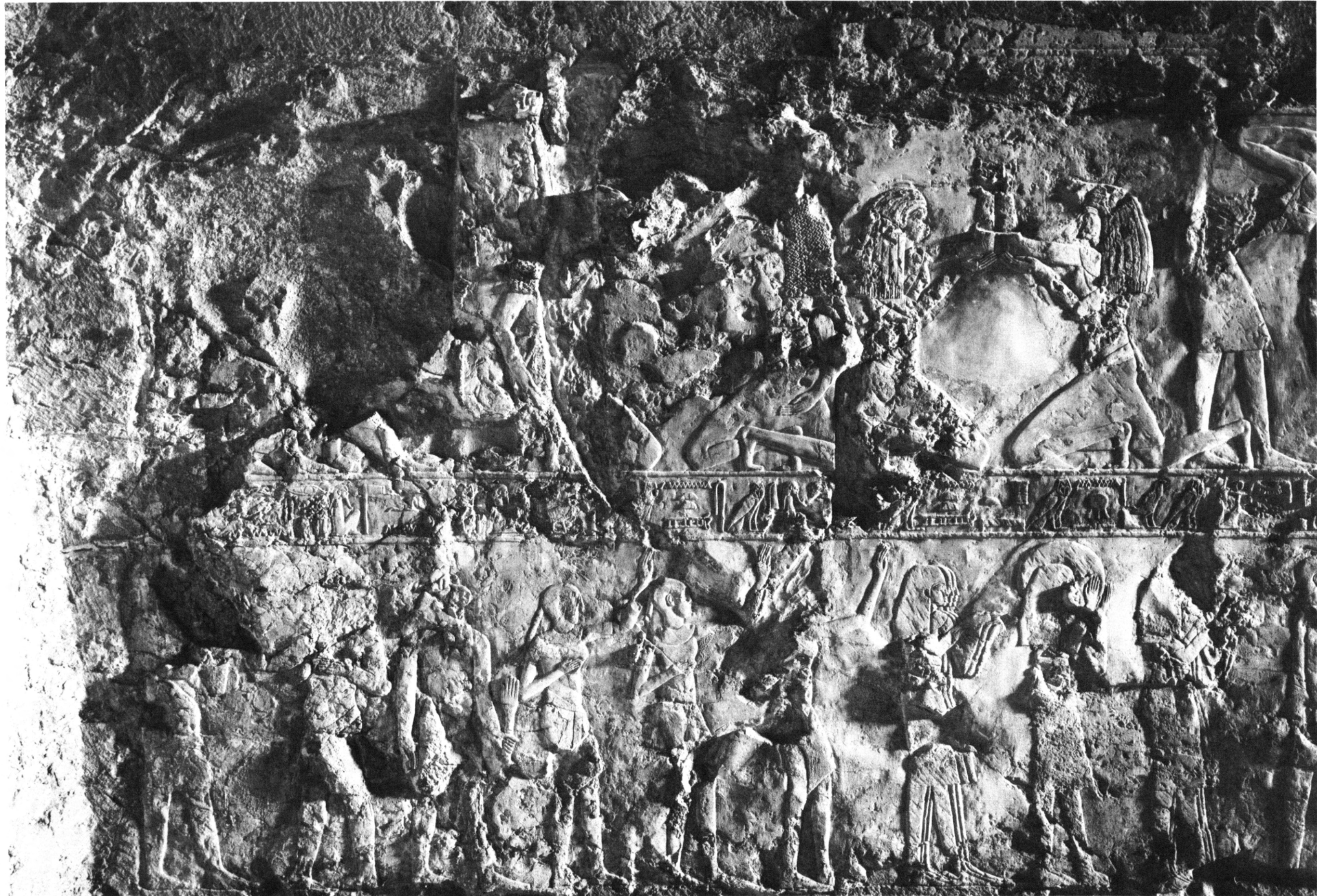
DANCERS AND MUSICIANS PERFORMING JUBILEE CEREMONIES  
BEFORE THE ENTHRONED AMENHOTEP III  
*(Compare plate 38)*



*Drawing by Coleman*

cm 0 50 100 cm

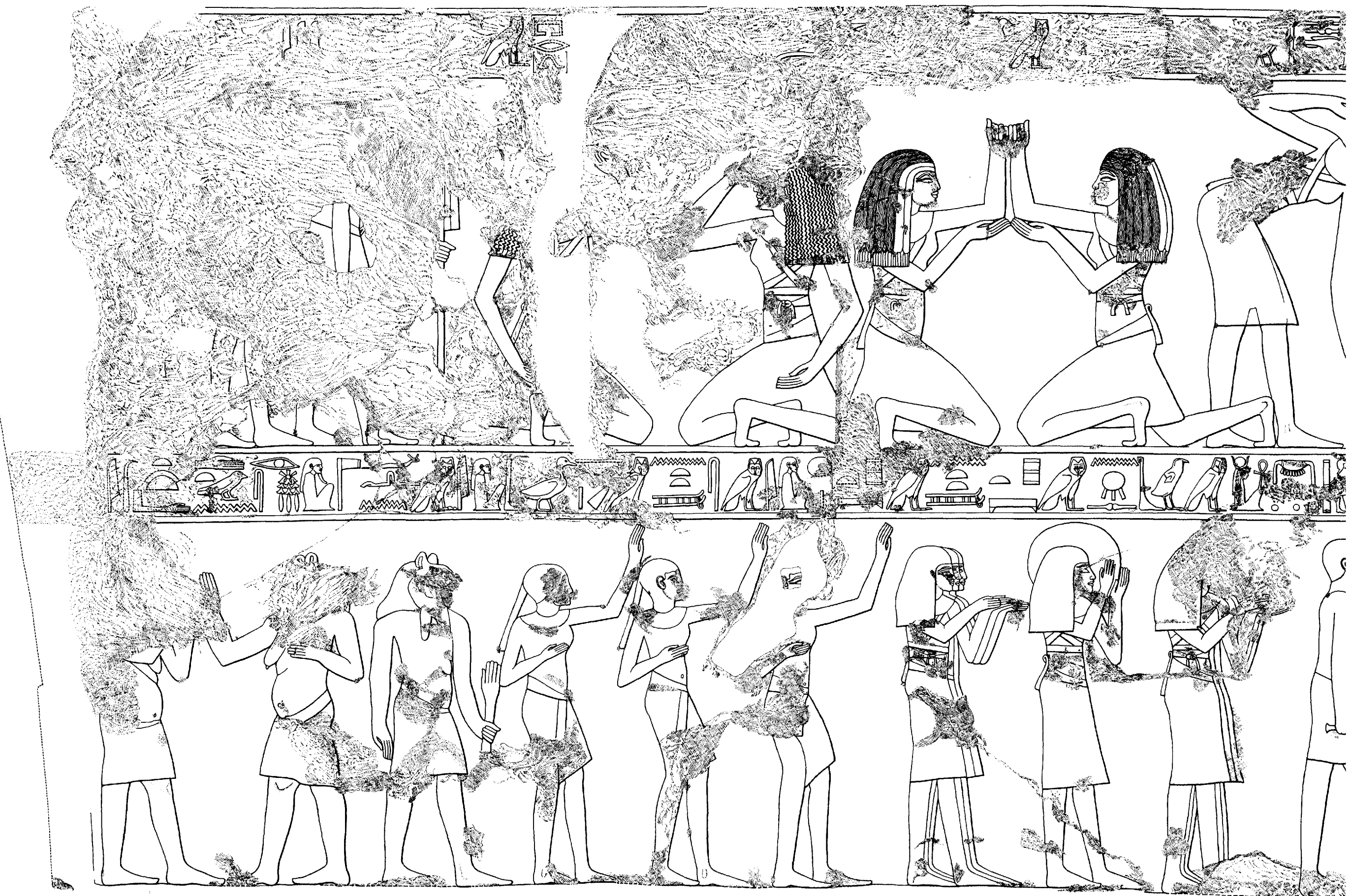
DANCERS AND MUSICIANS PERFORMING JUBILEE CEREMONIES BEFORE THE ENTHRONED AMENHOTEP III  
 WEST PORTICO, SOUTH OF DOORWAY, LOWER REGISTERS, LONG SCENE AT SOUTH  
 (Third of four overlapping sections; see plate 24)



*Photograph by Nims*

DANCERS AND MUSICIANS PERFORMING JUBILEE CEREMONIES  
BEFORE THE ENTHRONED AMENHOTEP III

*(Compare plate 40)*



*Drawing by Coleman*

cm 0 50 100 cm

DANCERS AND MUSICIANS PERFORMING JUBILEE CEREMONIES BEFORE THE ENTHRONED AMENHOTEP III  
 WEST PORTICO, SOUTH OF DOORWAY, LOWER REGISTERS, LONG SCENE AT SOUTH  
 (Fourth of four overlapping sections; see plate 24)

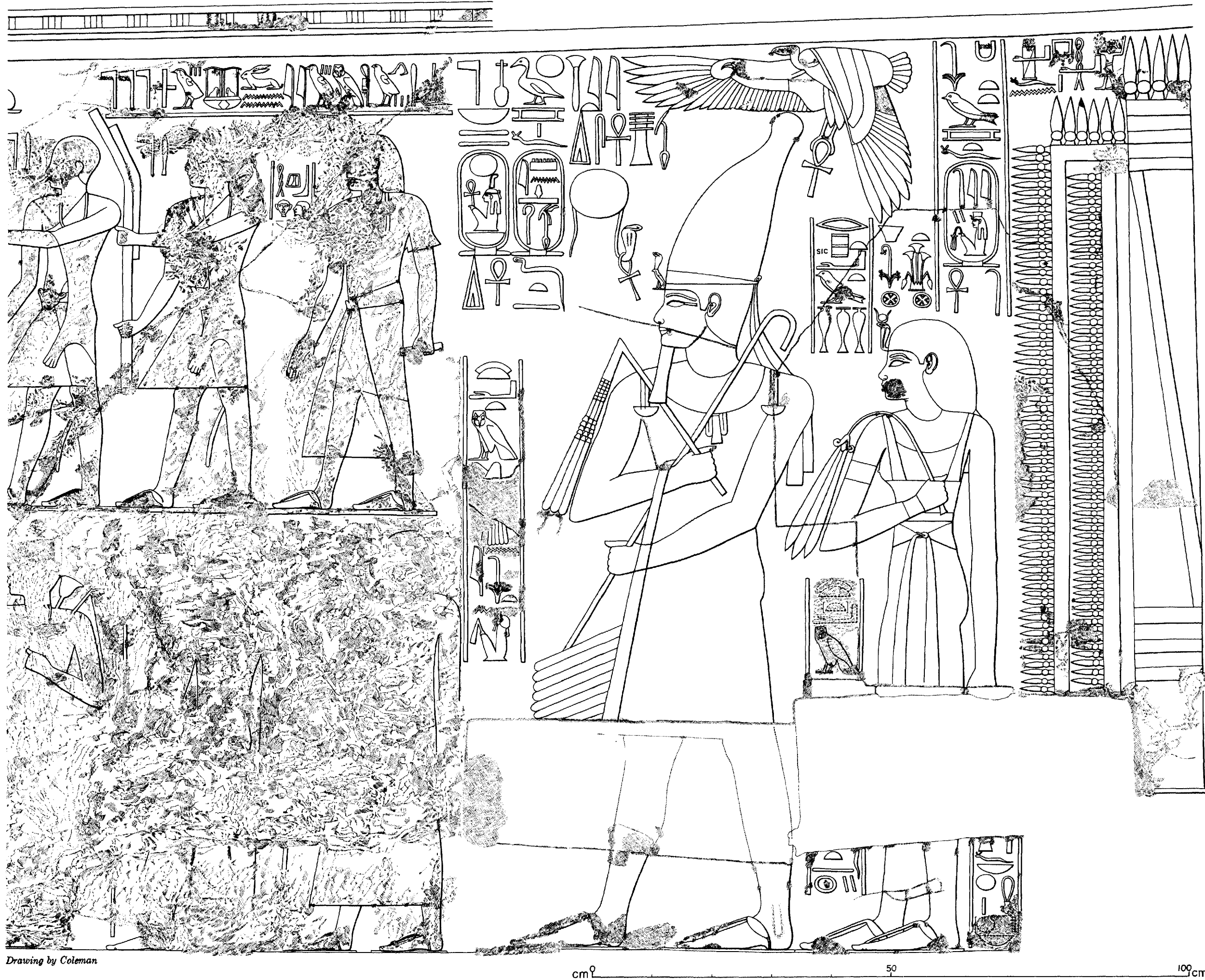




*Photograph by Nims*

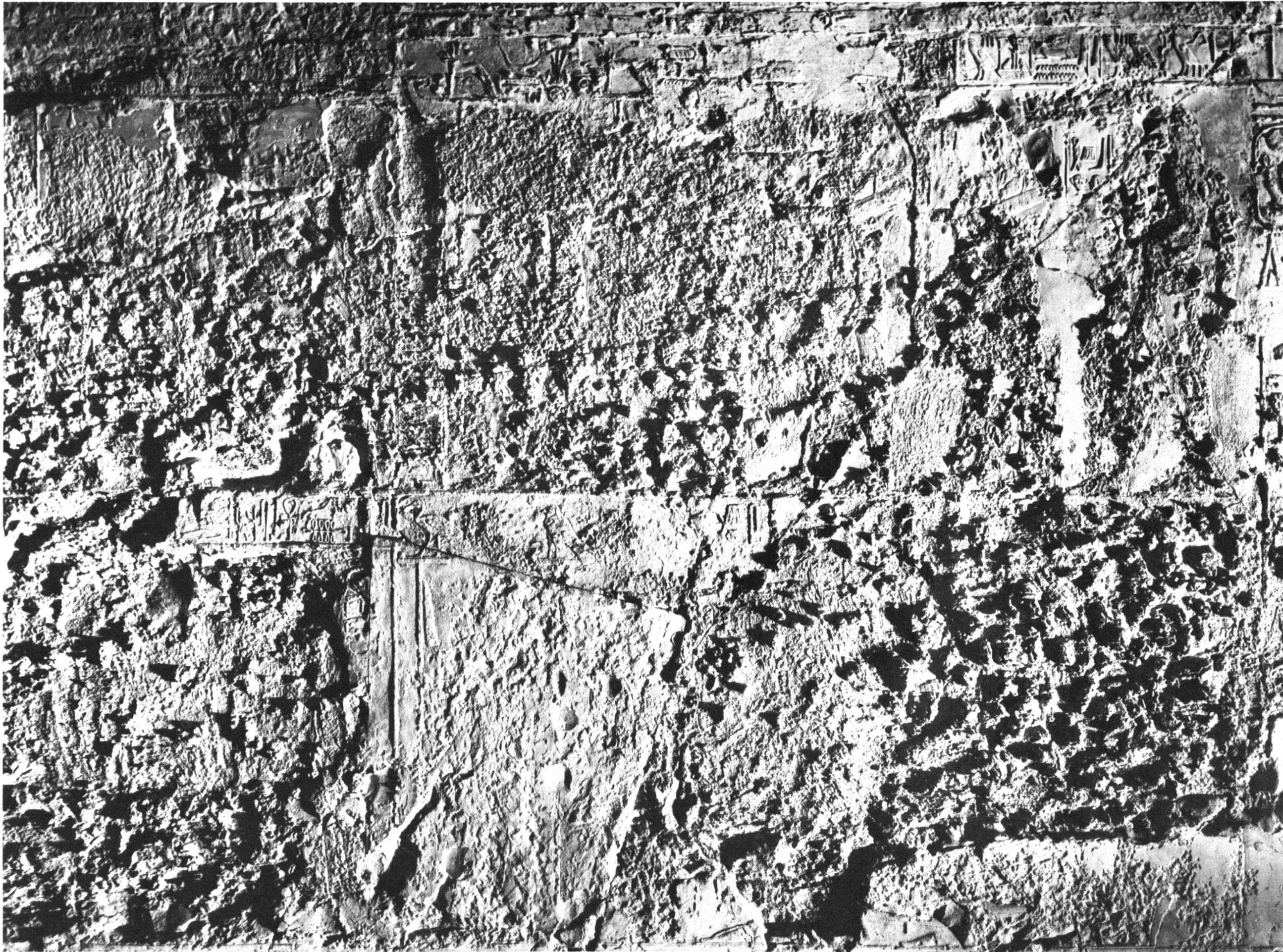
AMENHOTEP III, IN JUBILEE ATTIRE, AND QUEEN TIYE LEAVING  
THE PALACE, PRECEDED BY ATTENDANTS

*(Compare plate 42)*



*Drawing by Coleman*

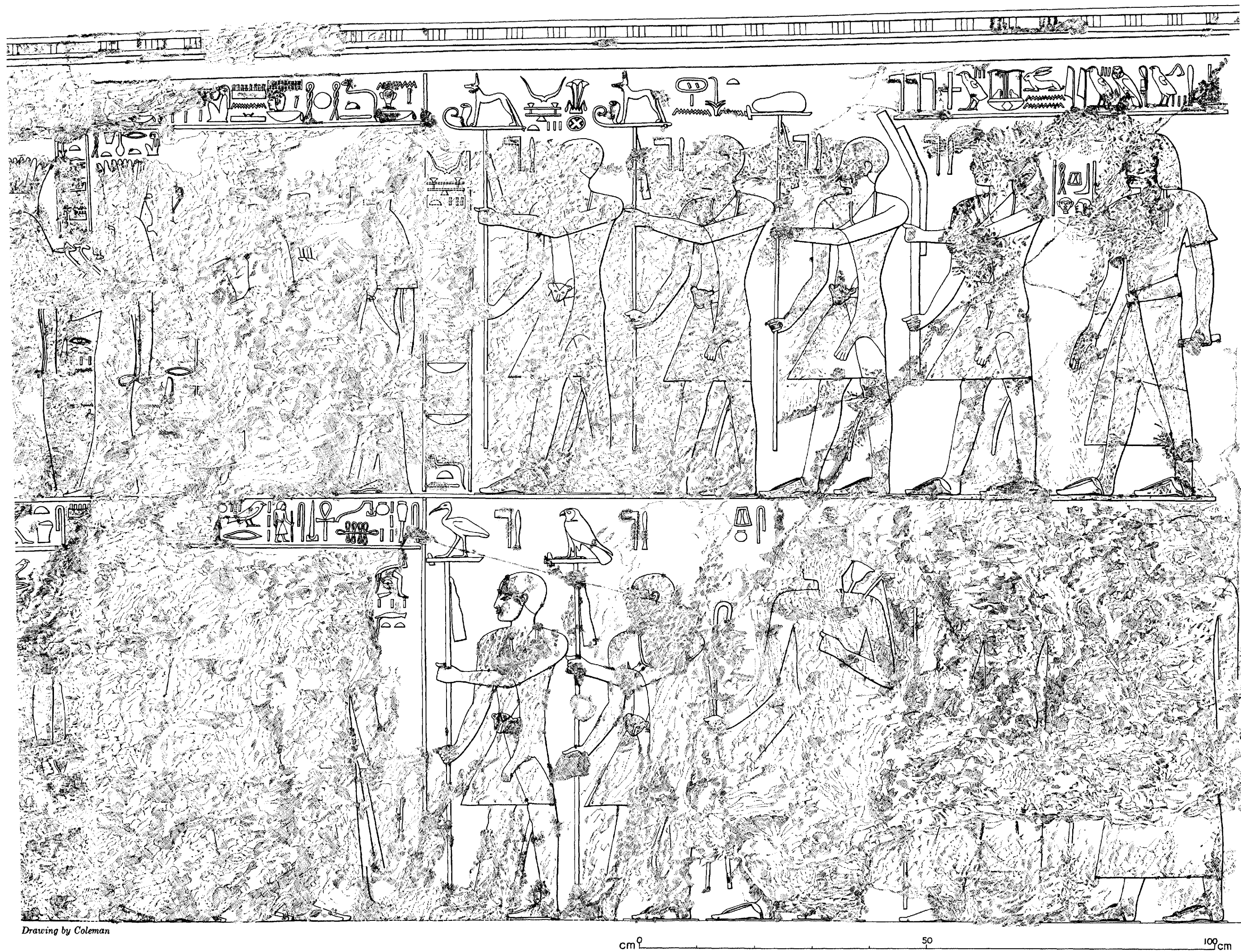
AMENHOTEP III, IN JUBILEE ATTIRE, AND QUEEN TIYE LEAVING THE PALACE, PRECEDED BY ATTENDANTS  
 WEST PORTICO, SOUTH OF DOORWAY, UPPER REGISTER, LONG SCENE AT SOUTH  
 (First of four sections, the first three overlapping; see plate 24)



*Photograph by Nims*

ATTENDANTS PRECEDING AMENHOTEP III AND QUEEN TIYE AS THEY LEAVE  
THE PALACE (RIGHT), AND CEREMONY OF TOWING THE NIGHT BARK (LEFT)

*(Compare plate 44)*



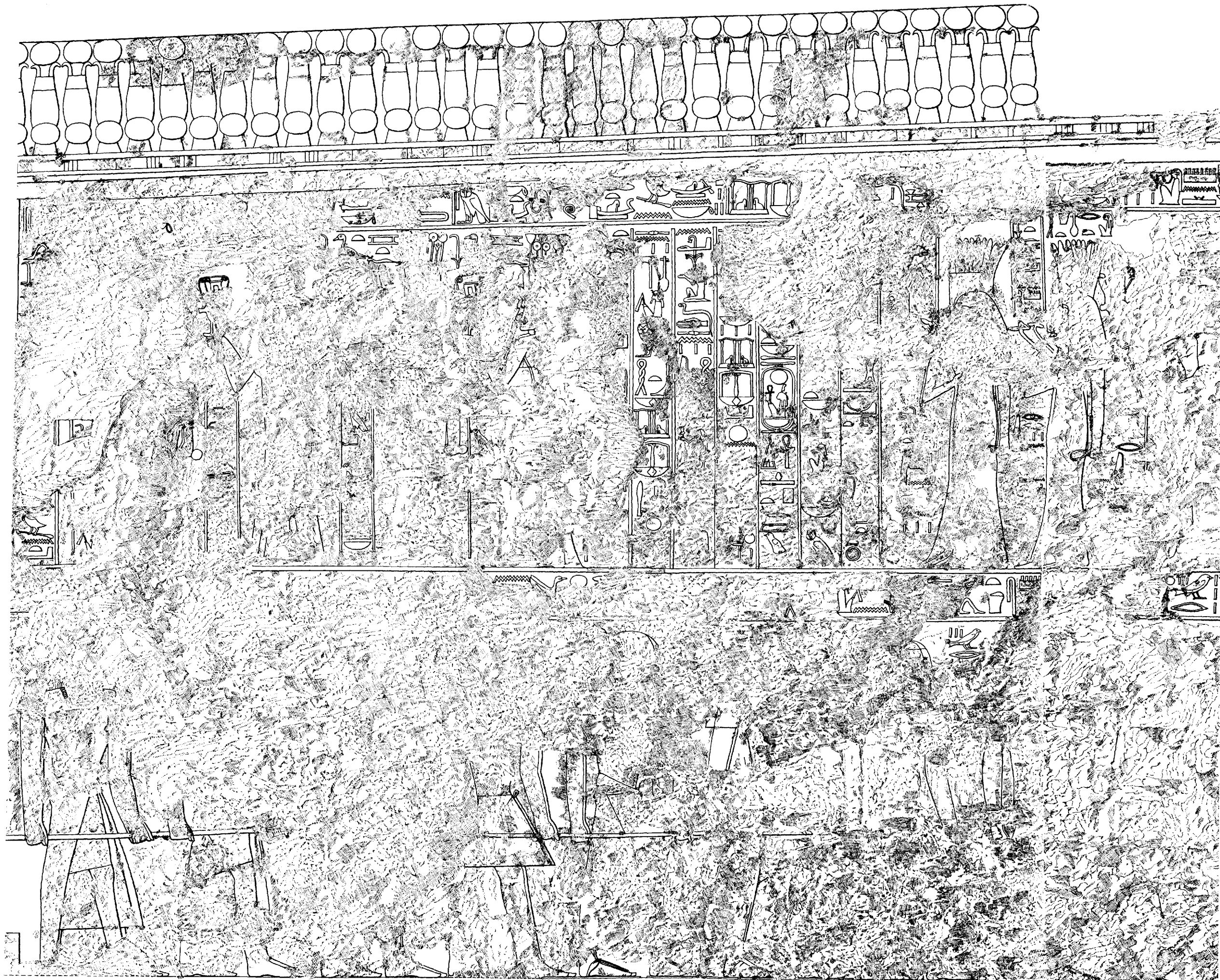
Drawing by Coleman

cm 50 100 cm

ATTENDANTS PRECEDING AMENHOTEP III AND QUEEN TIYE AS THEY LEAVE  
THE PALACE (RIGHT), AND CEREMONY OF TOWING THE NIGHT BARK (LEFT)

WEST PORTICO, SOUTH OF DOORWAY, UPPER REGISTERS, LONG SCENE AT SOUTH

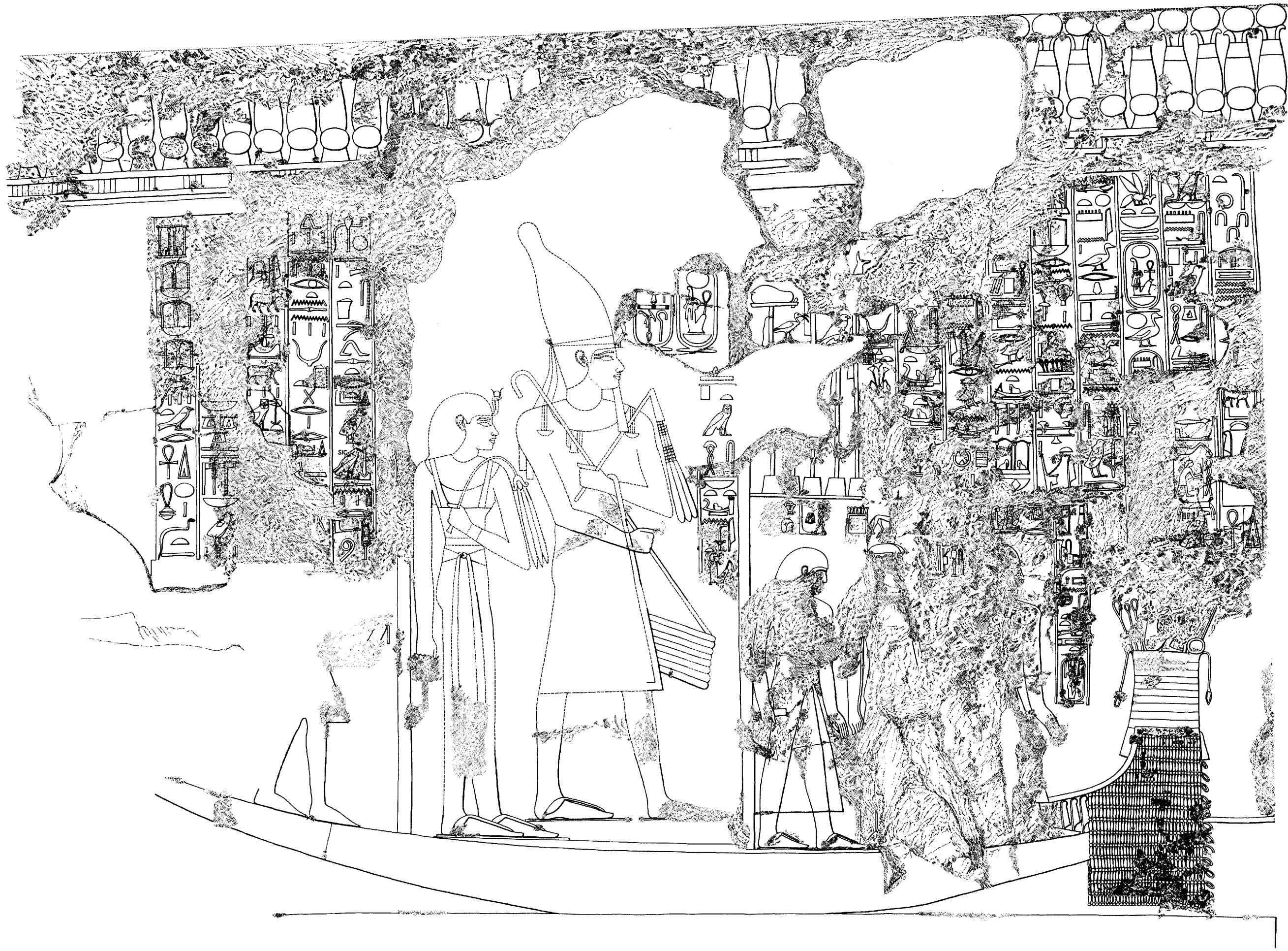
(Second of four sections, the first three overlapping; see plate 24)



Drawing by Coleman

cm 50 100 cm

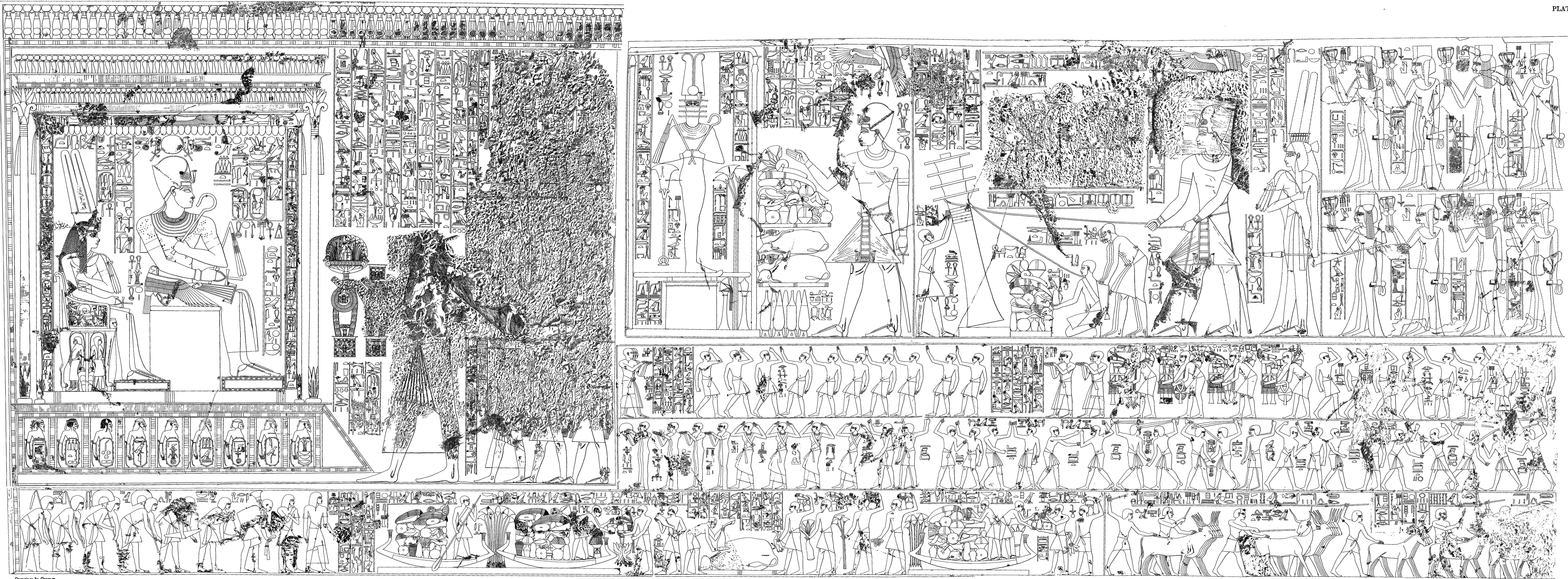
CEREMONY OF TOWING THE NIGHT BARK  
WEST PORTICO, SOUTH OF DOORWAY, UPPER REGISTERS, LONG SCENE AT SOUTH  
(Third of four sections, the first three overlapping; see plate 24)



*Drawing by Coleman*

0 50 100  
cm L cm

AMENHOTEP III, IN JUBILEE ATTIRE, AND QUEEN TIYE, WITH ATTENDANTS, IN THE NIGHT BARK  
WEST PORTICO, SOUTH OF DOORWAY, UPPER REGISTERS, LONG SCENE AT SOUTH  
(Fourth of four sections; see plate 24)



Drawings by Greener

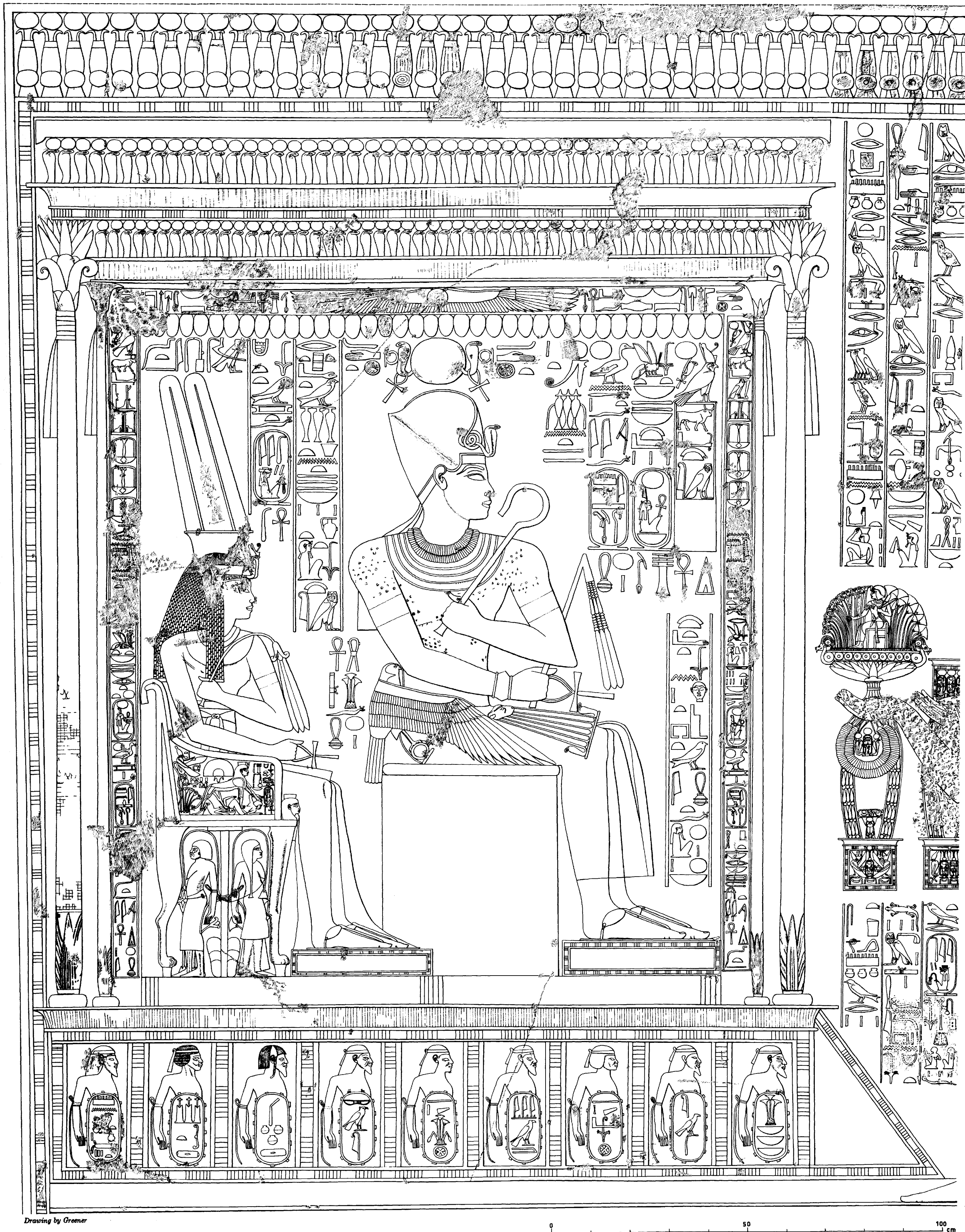
KEY TO RELIEFS DEPICTING EVENTS OF THE THIRD JUBILEE OF AMENHOTEP III  
 WEST PORTICO, NORTH OF DOORWAY  
 (See plates 48-63; in situ these reliefs are continuous)



Photograph by Nims

AMENHOTEP III, WITH QUEEN TIYE, RECEIVING GIFTS  
ON THE OCCASION OF HIS THIRD JUBILEE  
(Compare plate 49)



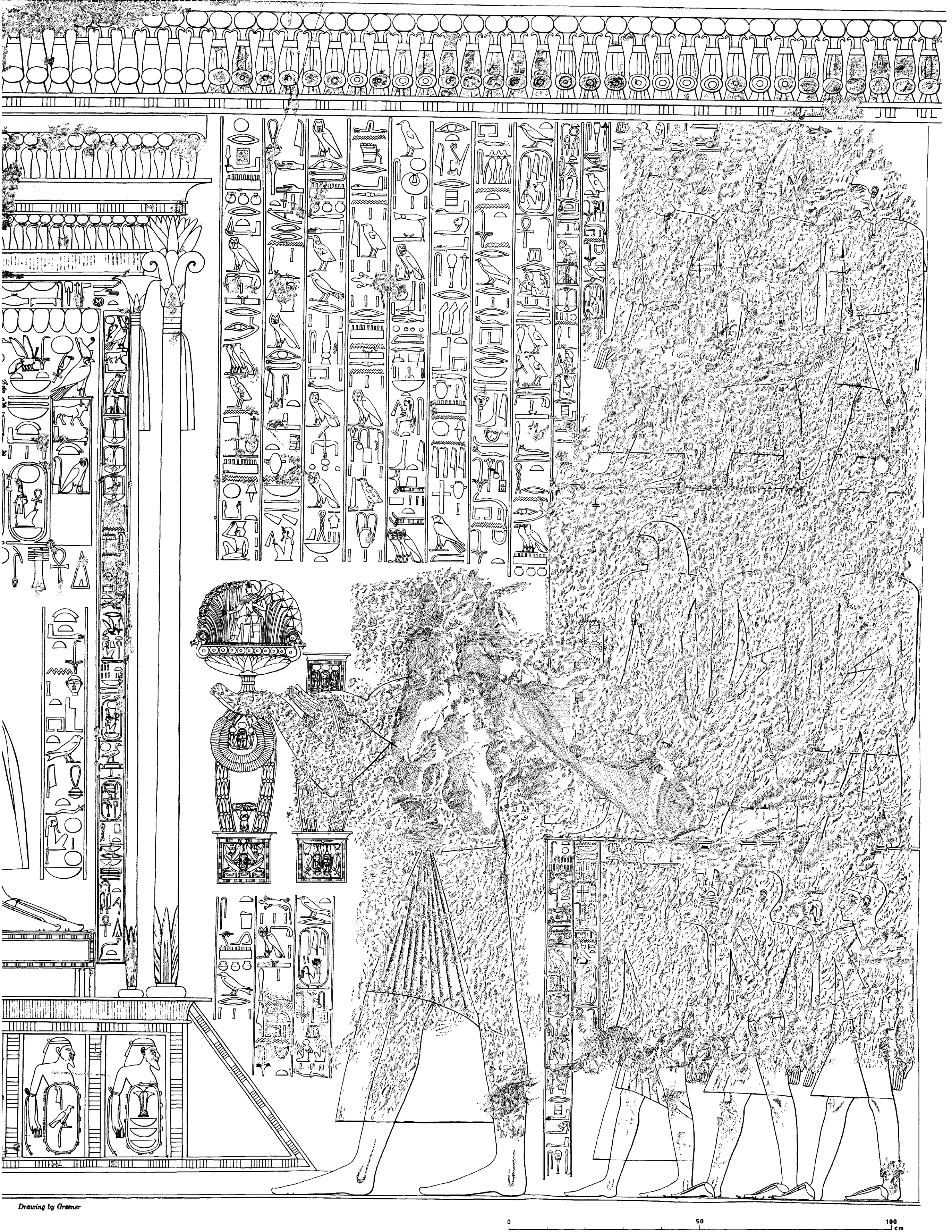


AMENHOTEP III, WITH QUEEN TIYE, RECEIVING GIFTS ON THE OCCASION OF HIS THIRD JUBILEE  
 WEST PORTICO, NORTH OF DOORWAY, SOUTHERNMOST SCENE  
 (First of two overlapping sections; see plate 47)



Photograph by Nims

AMENHOTEP III, WITH QUEEN TIYE, RECEIVING GIFTS  
ON THE OCCASION OF HIS THIRD JUBILEE  
(Compare plate 51)

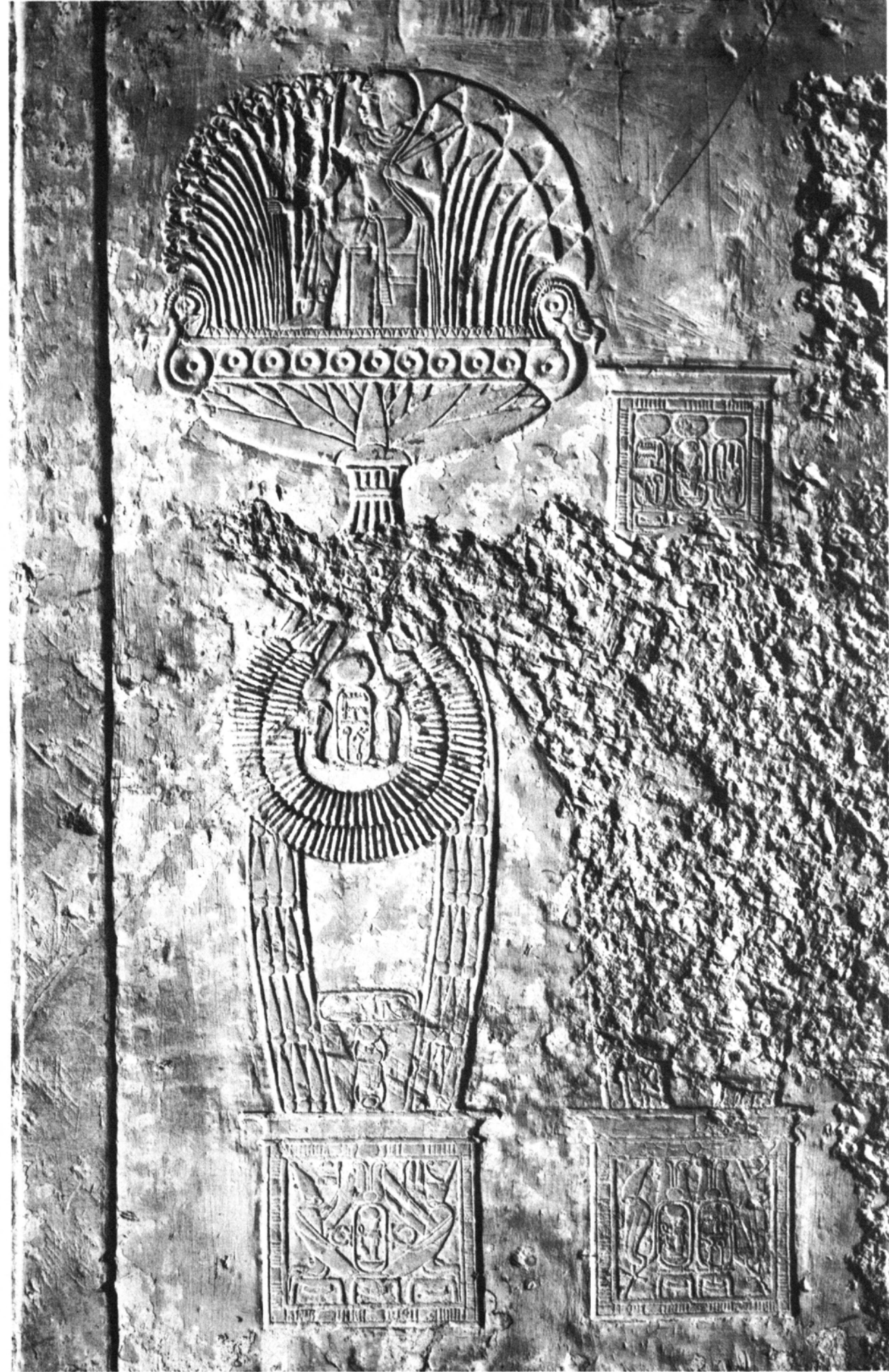


AMENHOTEP III, WITH QUEEN TIYE, RECEIVING GIFTS ON THE OCCASION OF HIS THIRD JUBILEE  
 WEST PORTICO, NORTH OF DOORWAY, SOUTHERNMOST SCENE  
 (Second of two overlapping sections; see plate 47)



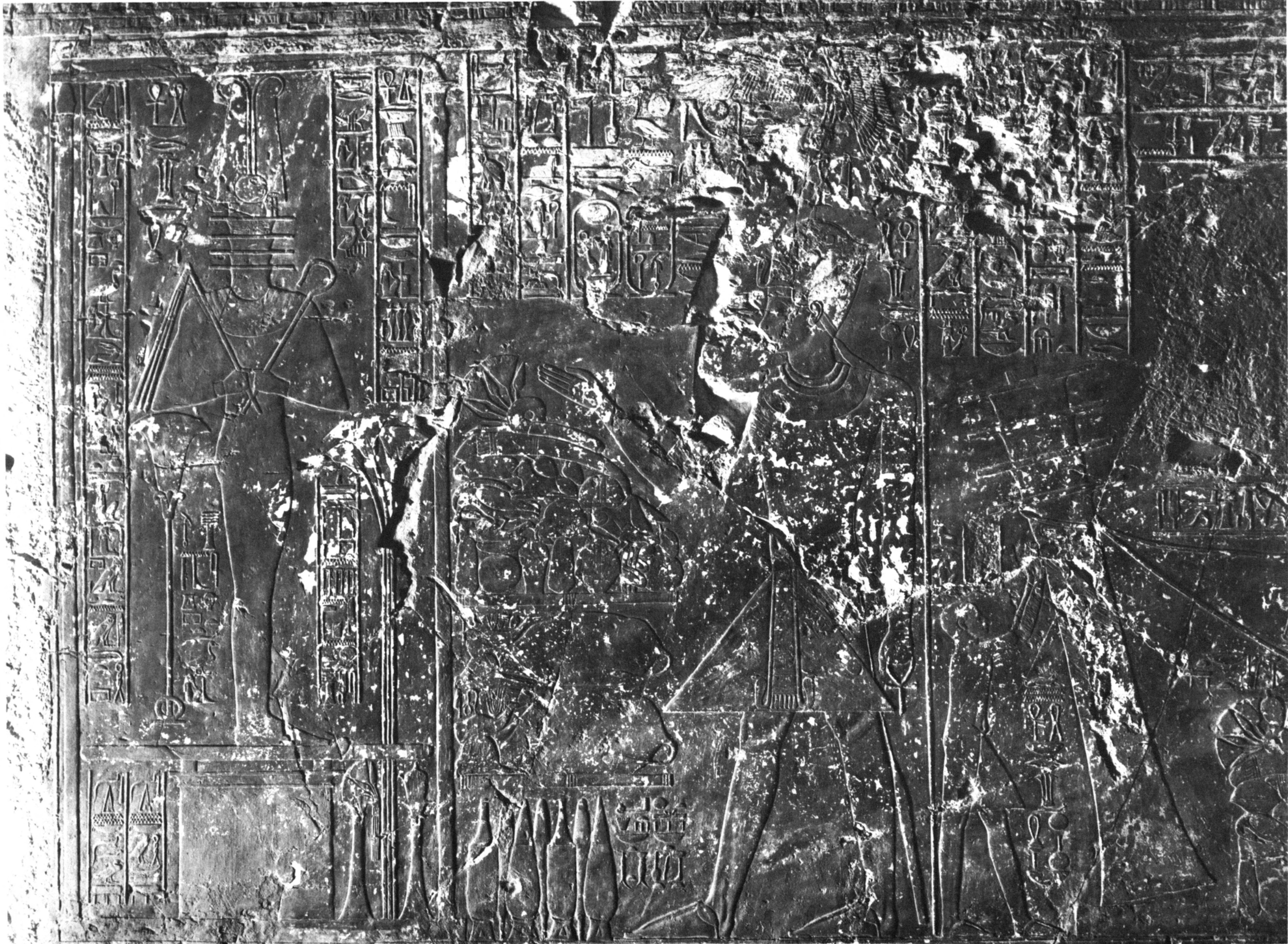
Photographs by Nims

A



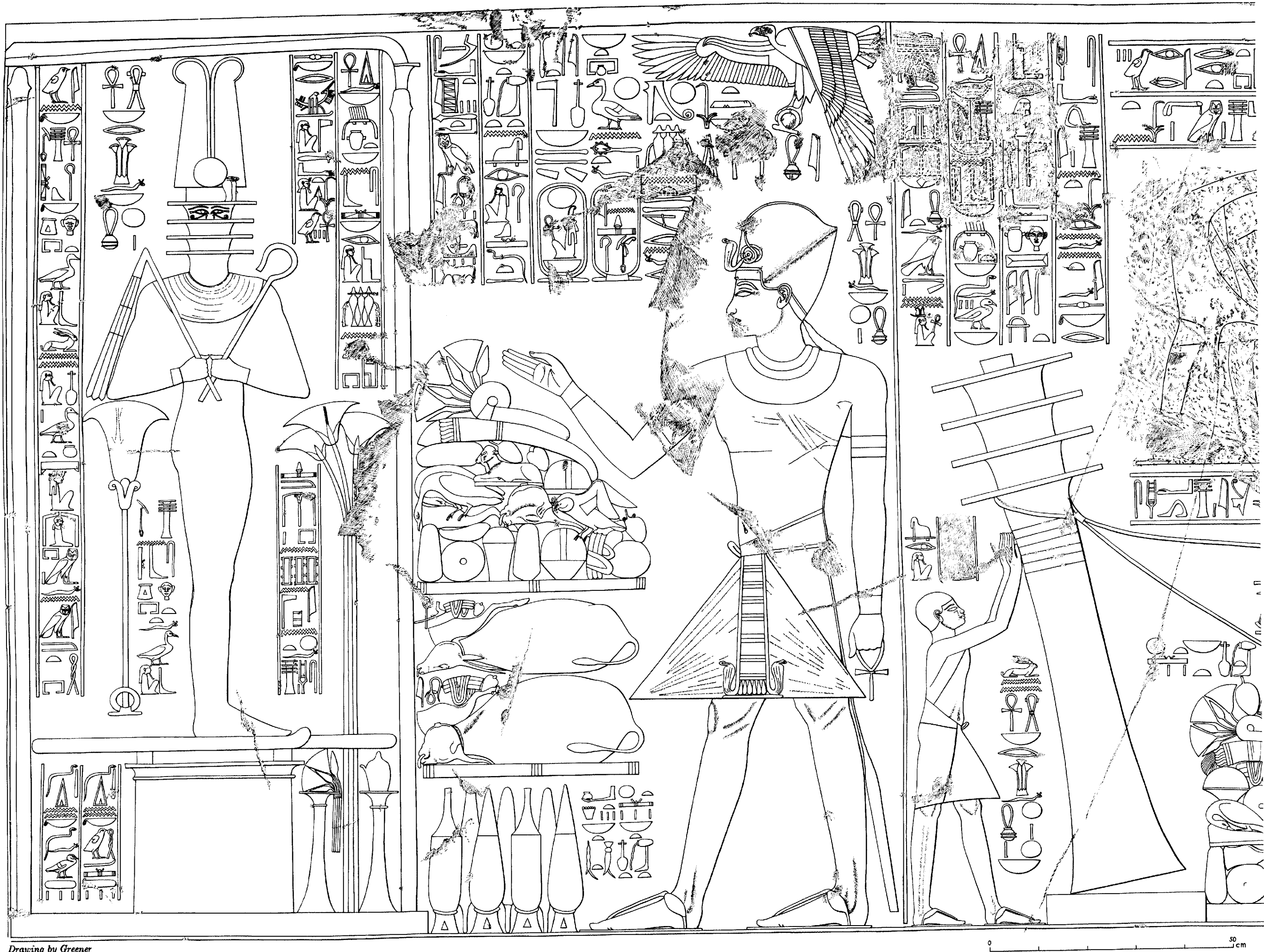
B

A. THRONE OF QUEEN TIYE  
(Detail of relief shown on plate 49)  
B. GIFTS PRESENTED TO AMENHOTEP III  
(Detail of relief shown on plate 51)



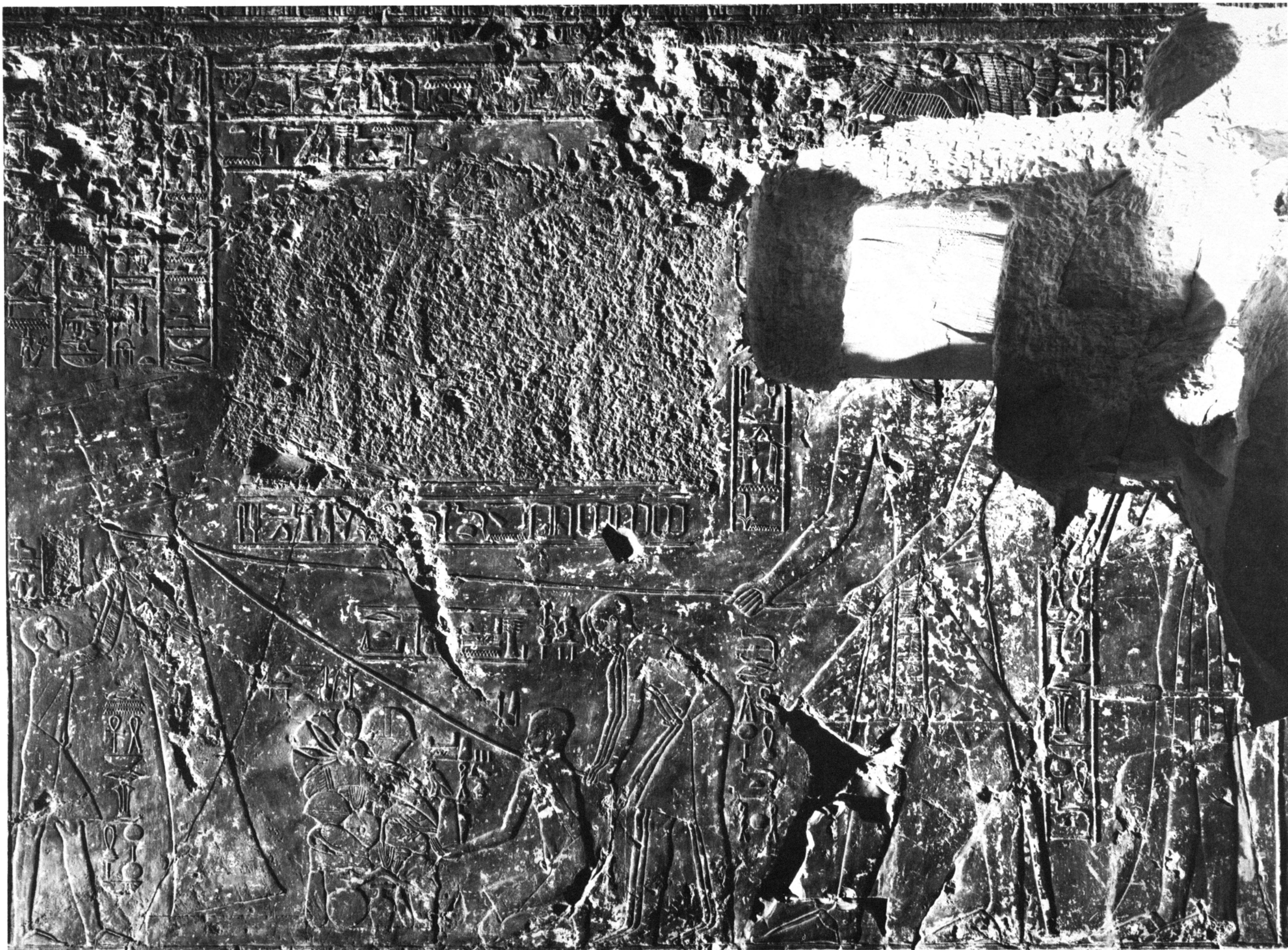
Photograph by Nims

AMENHOTEP III OFFERING TO THE PERSONIFIED *DJED*-PILLAR  
(Compare plate 54)



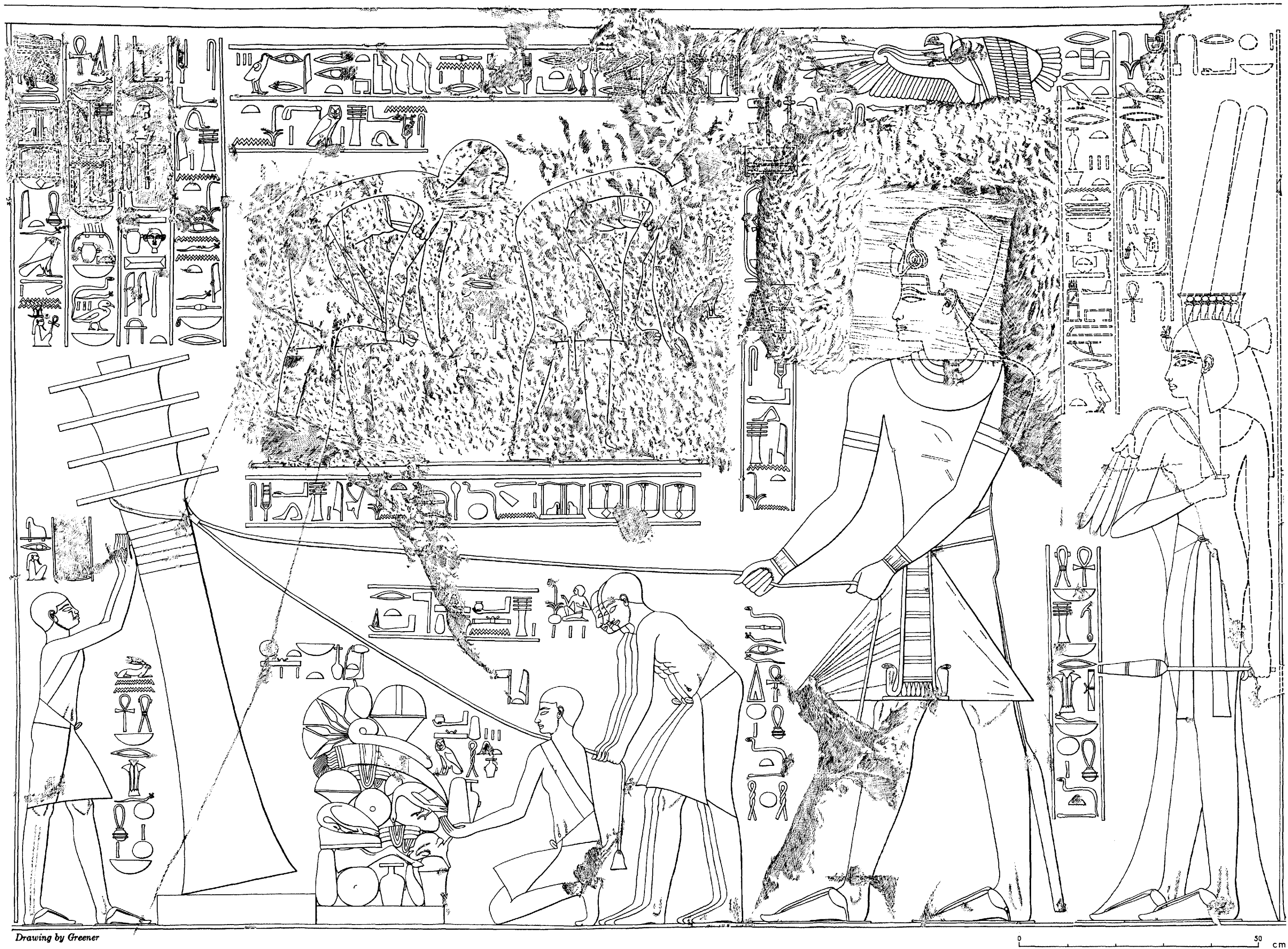
*Drawing by Greener*

AMENHOTEP III OFFERING TO THE PERSONIFIED *DJED*-PILLAR  
 WEST PORTICO, NORTH OF DOORWAY, UPPER REGISTER, NORTH OF THRONE SCENE  
*(First of three overlapping sections; see plate 47)*



Photograph by Nims

AMENHOTEP III ERECTING THE *DJED*-PILLAR, ACCOMPANIED BY  
QUEEN TIYE AND PRINCESSES  
(Compare plate 56)

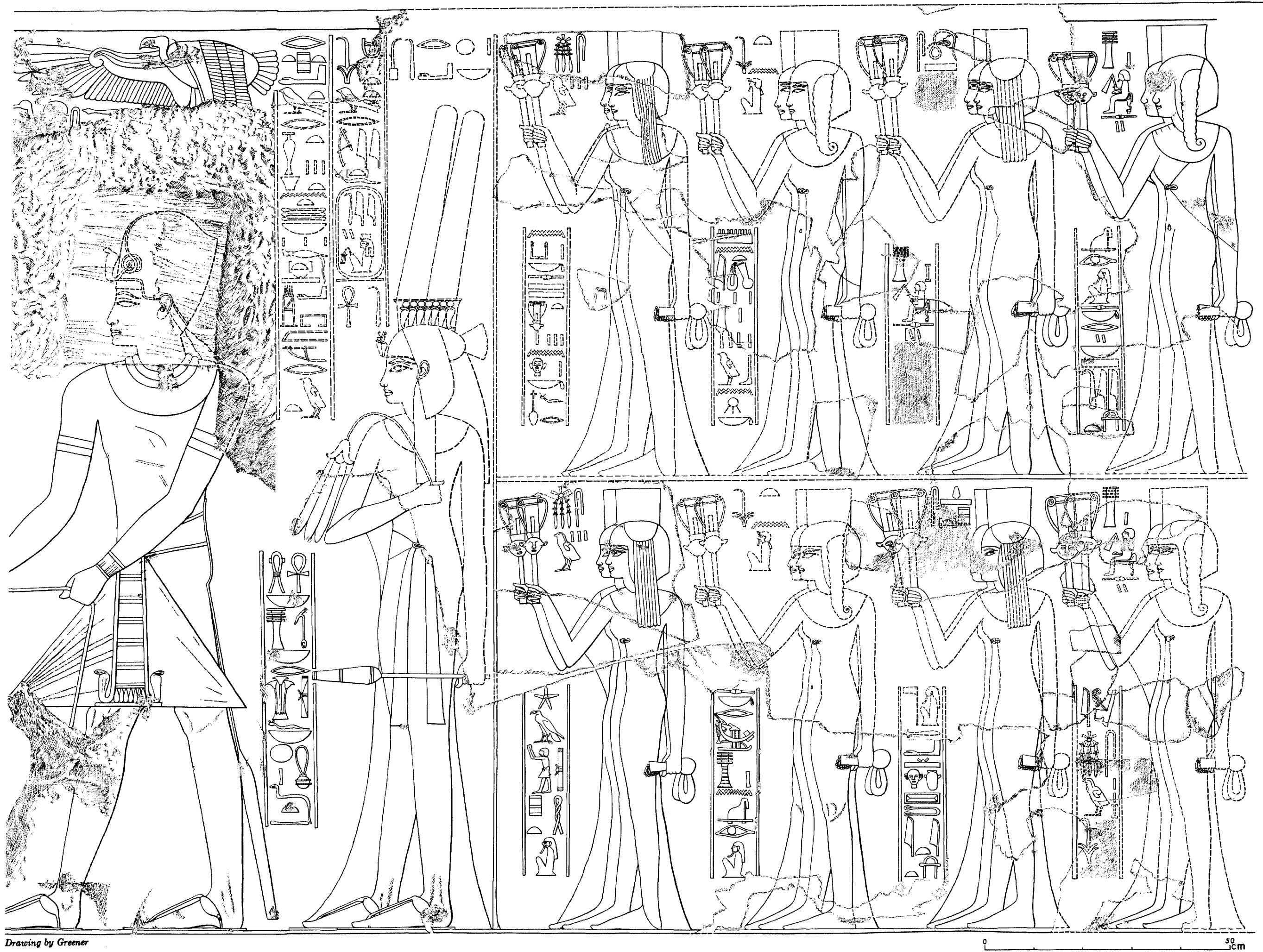


AMENHOTEP III ERECTING THE *DJED*-PILLAR, ACCOMPANIED BY QUEEN TIYE AND PRINCESSES

WEST PORTICO, NORTH OF DOORWAY, UPPER REGISTER, NORTHERNMOST SCENE

(Second of three overlapping sections; see plate 47)

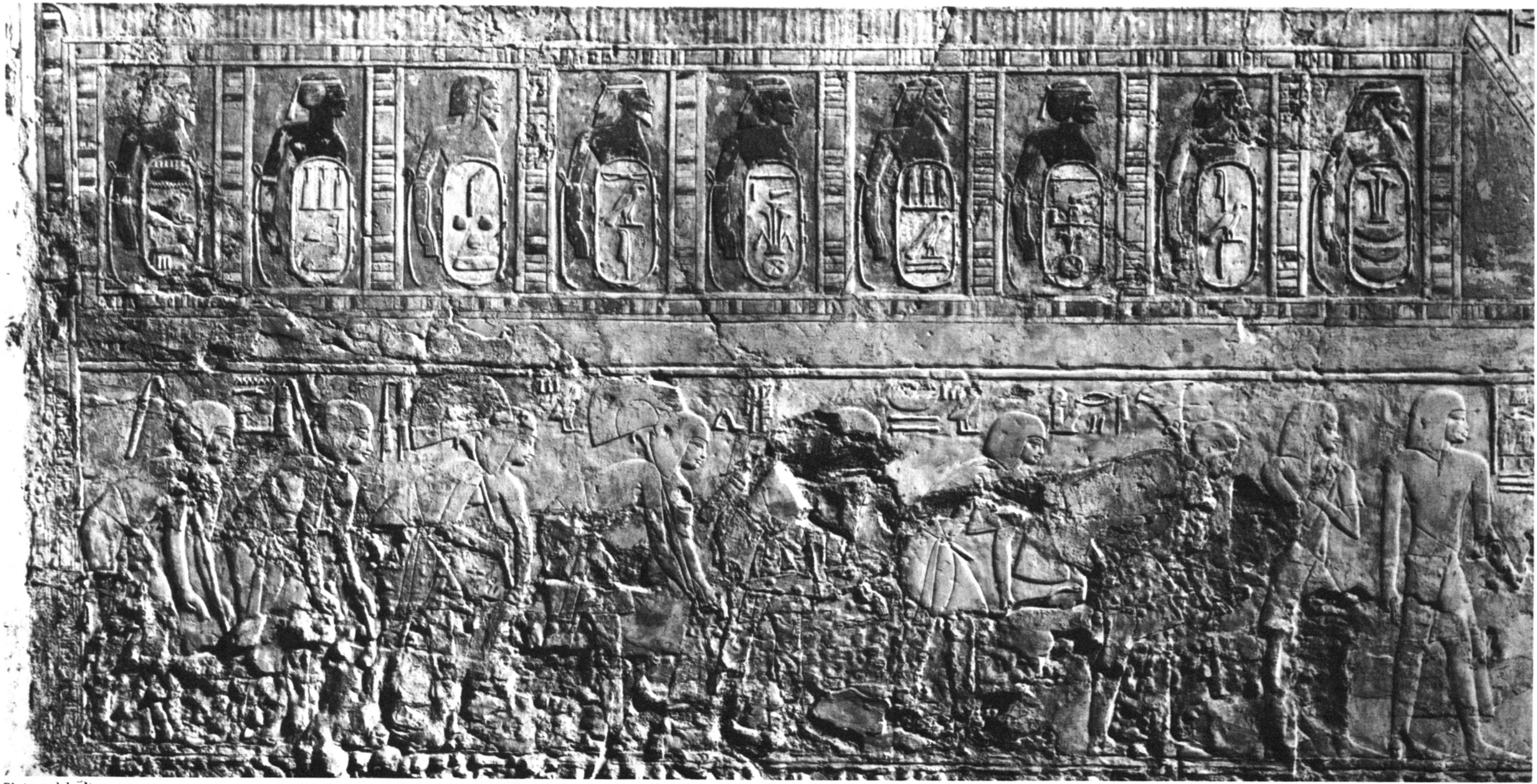




Drawing by Greener

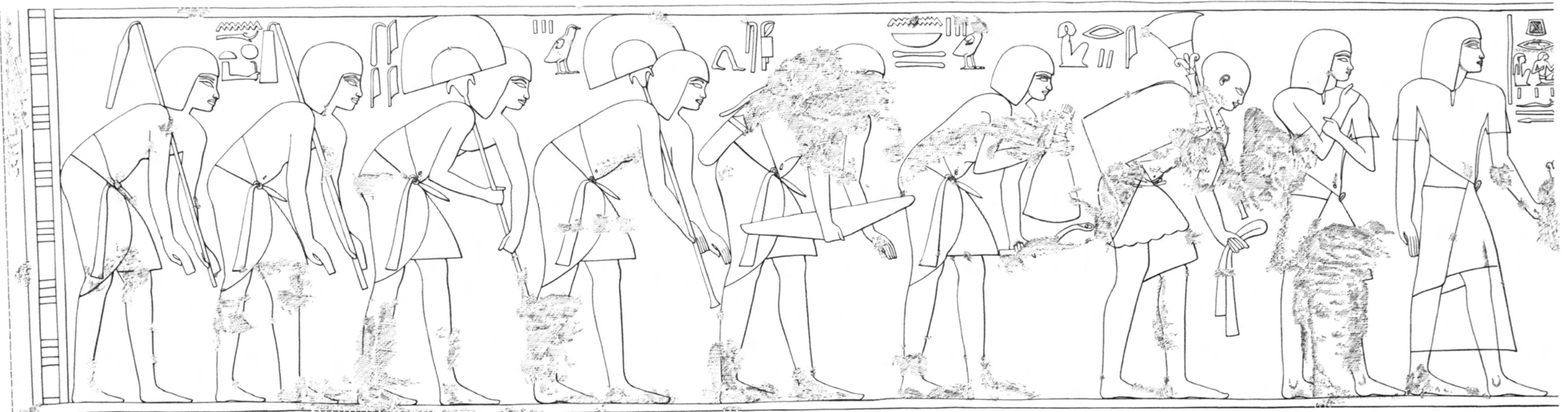
50 cm

AMENHOTEP III ERECTING THE *DJED*-PILLAR, ACCOMPANIED BY QUEEN TIYE AND PRINCESSES  
 WEST PORTICO, NORTH OF DOORWAY, UPPER REGISTER, NORTHERNMOST SCENE  
 (Third of three overlapping sections; see plate 47)



Photograph by Nims

A



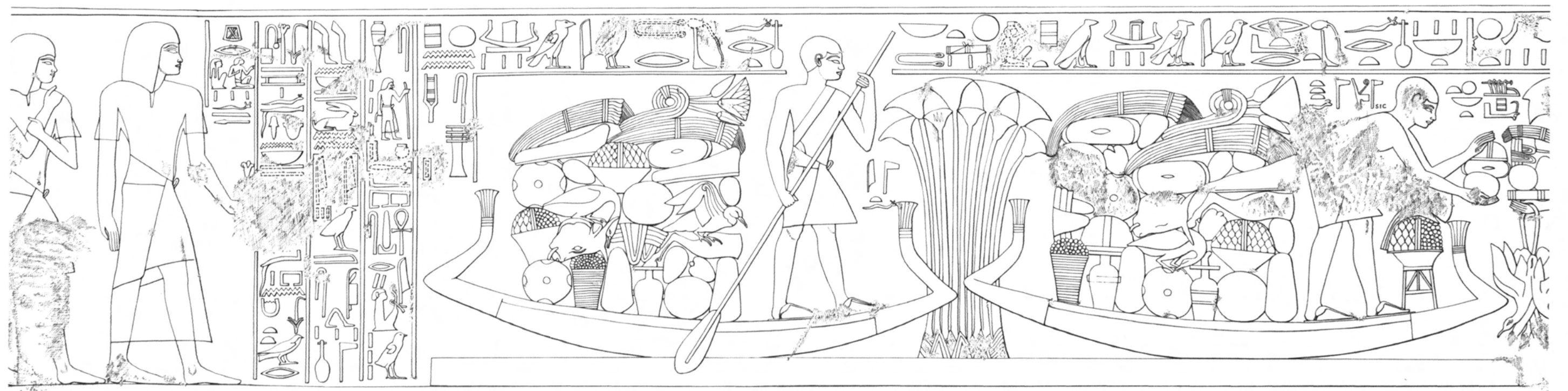
Drawing by Greener

B



Photograph by Nims

C



Drawing by Greener

D

KHERUEF FOLLOWED BY ROYAL ATTENDANTS (A, B); AND BOATS WITH OFFERINGS (C, D)  
 WEST PORTICO, NORTH OF DOORWAY, BELOW THRONE SCENE  
 (First two of five overlapping sections; see plate 47)



*Drawing by Greener*

0 50 cm

SINGERS AND DANCERS, BUTCHERS, AND OFFERING BEARERS

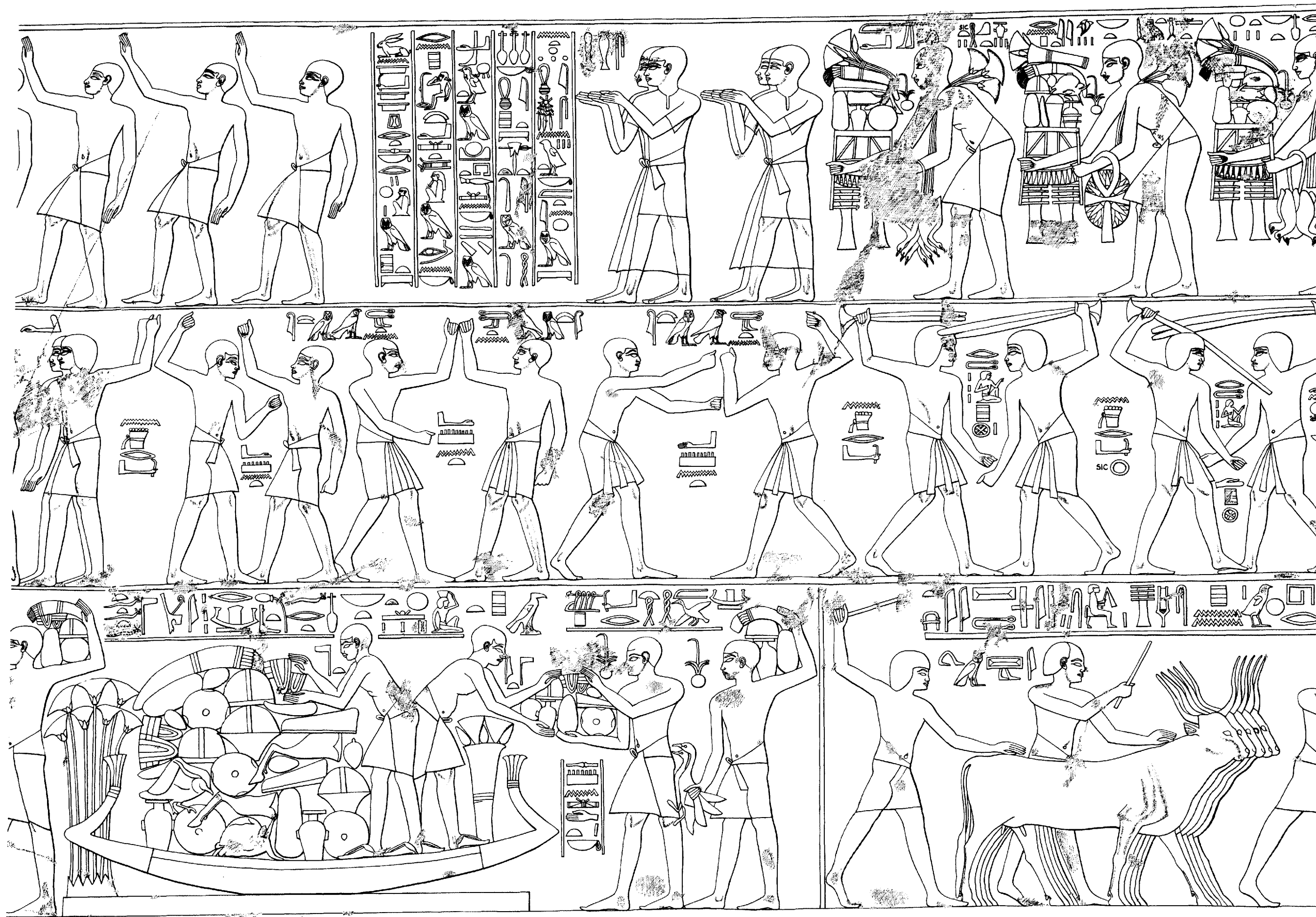
WEST PORTICO, NORTH OF DOORWAY, LOWER REGISTERS

*(Third of five overlapping sections; see plate 47)*



*Photograph by Nims*

DANCERS, SINGERS, AND OFFERING BEARERS; RITUAL COMBATANTS;  
BOAT WITH OFFERINGS; AND MEN DRIVING CATTLE AROUND WALLS  
*(Compare plate 61)*



*Drawing by Greener*

0 50 cm

DANCERS, SINGERS, AND OFFERING BEARERS; RITUAL COMBATANTS;  
BOAT WITH OFFERINGS; AND MEN DRIVING CATTLE AROUND WALLS

WEST PORTICO, LOWER REGISTERS, NORTH OF DOORWAY

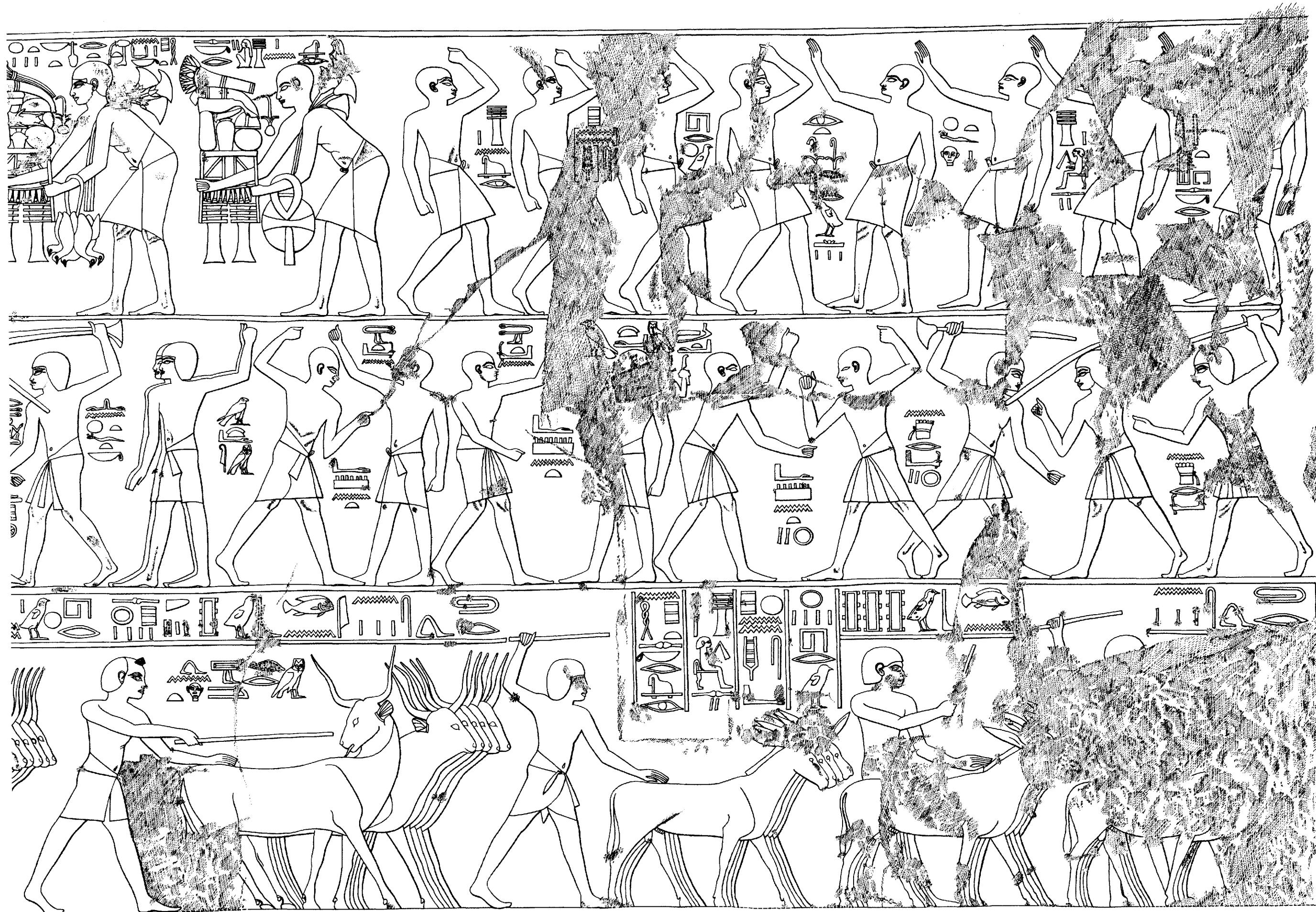
*(Fourth of five overlapping sections; see plate 47)*



*Photograph by Nims*

OFFERING BEARERS AND DANCERS; RITUAL COMBATANTS;  
AND MEN DRIVING CATTLE AROUND WALLS

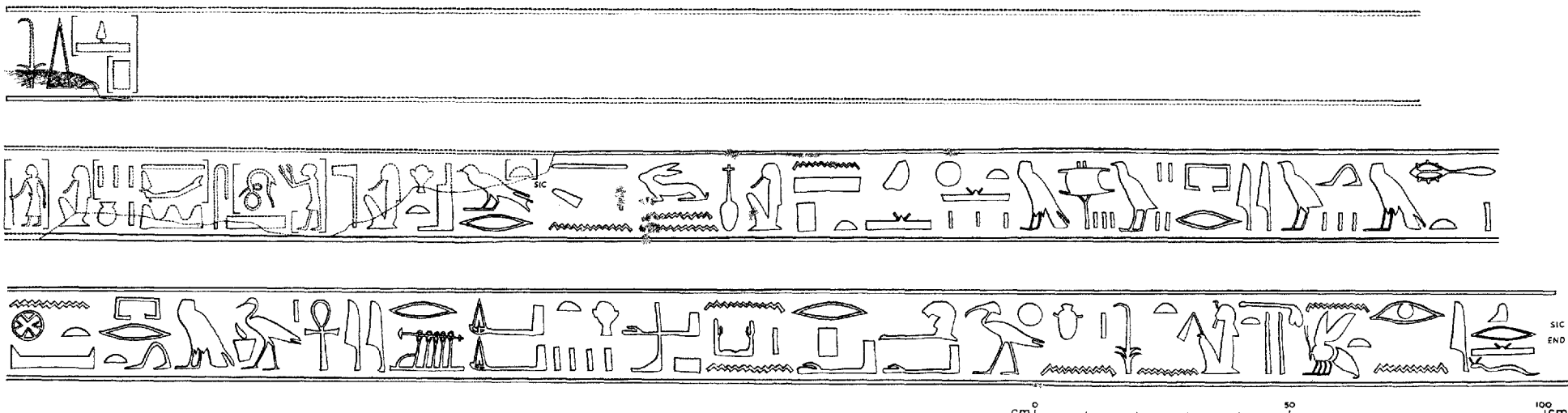
*(Compare plate 63)*



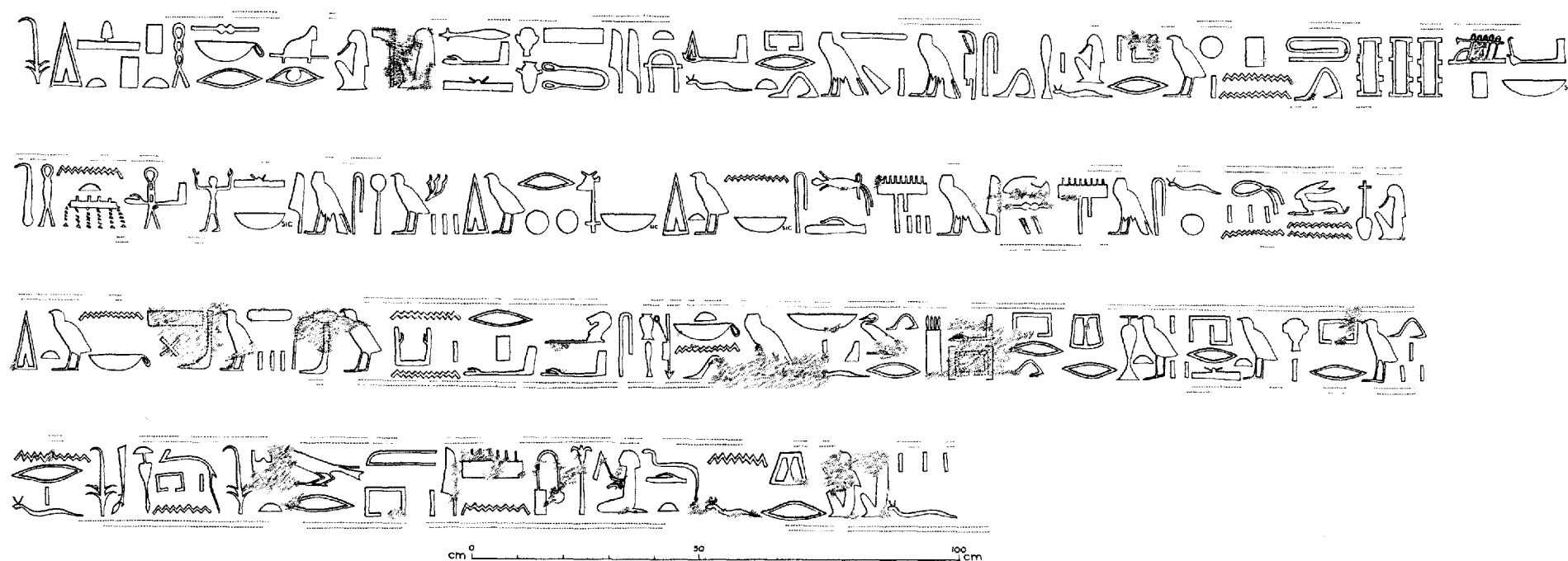
*Drawing by Greener*

0 50 cm

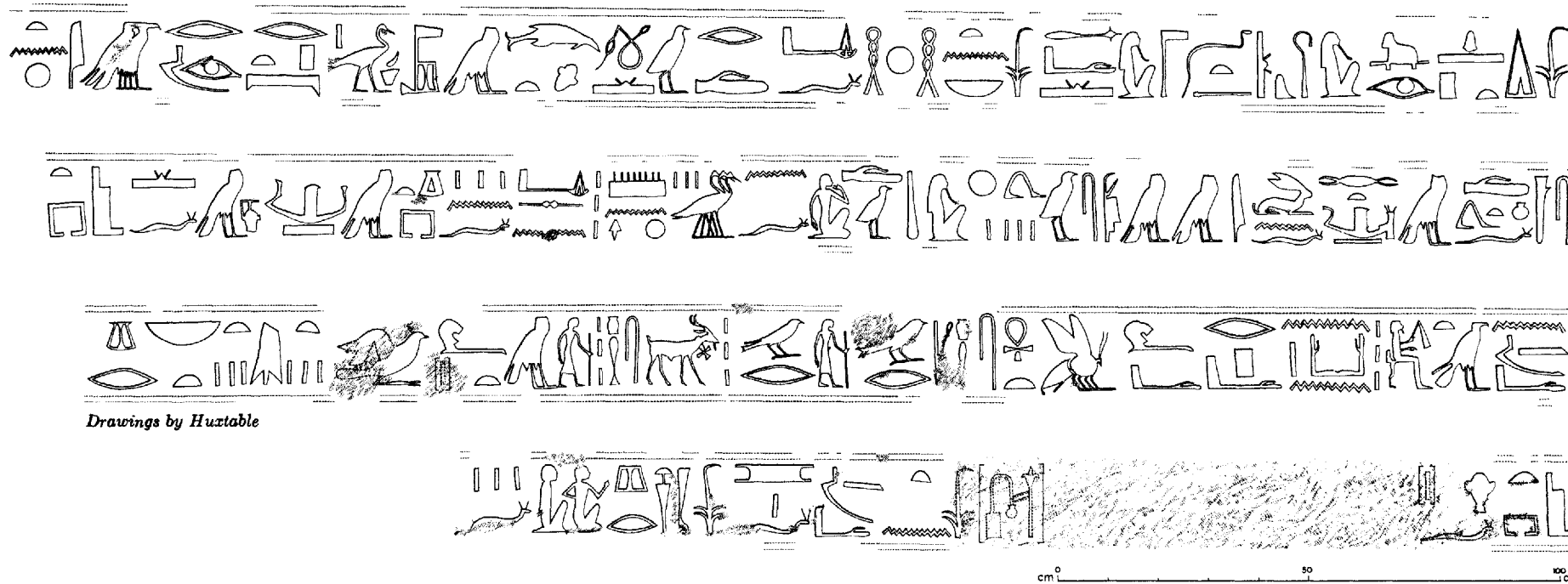
OFFERING BEARERS AND DANCERS; RITUAL COMBATANTS; AND MEN DRIVING CATTLE AROUND WALLS  
 WEST PORTICO, NORTH OF DOORWAY, LOWER REGISTERS  
 (Fifth of five overlapping sections; see plate 47)



A



B



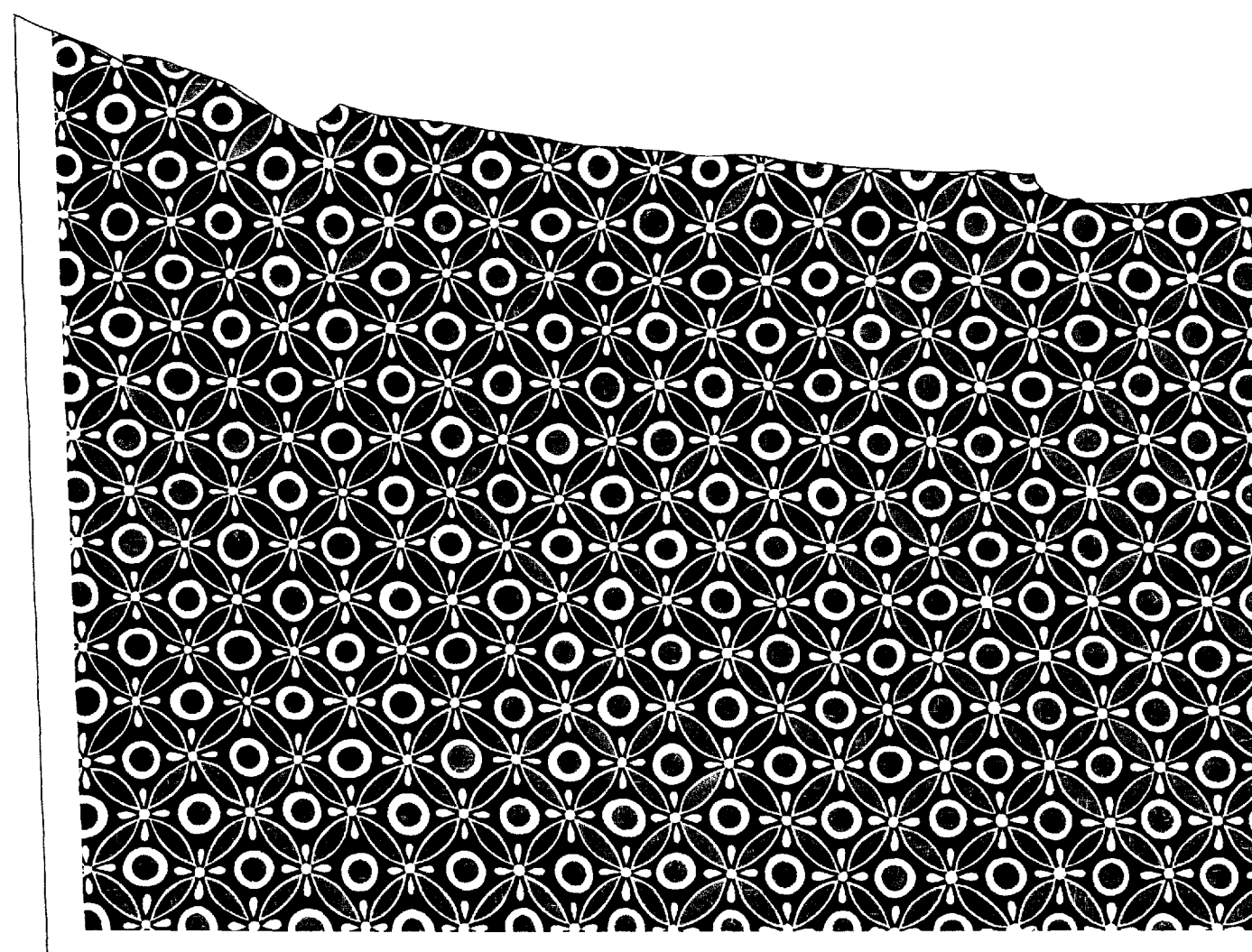
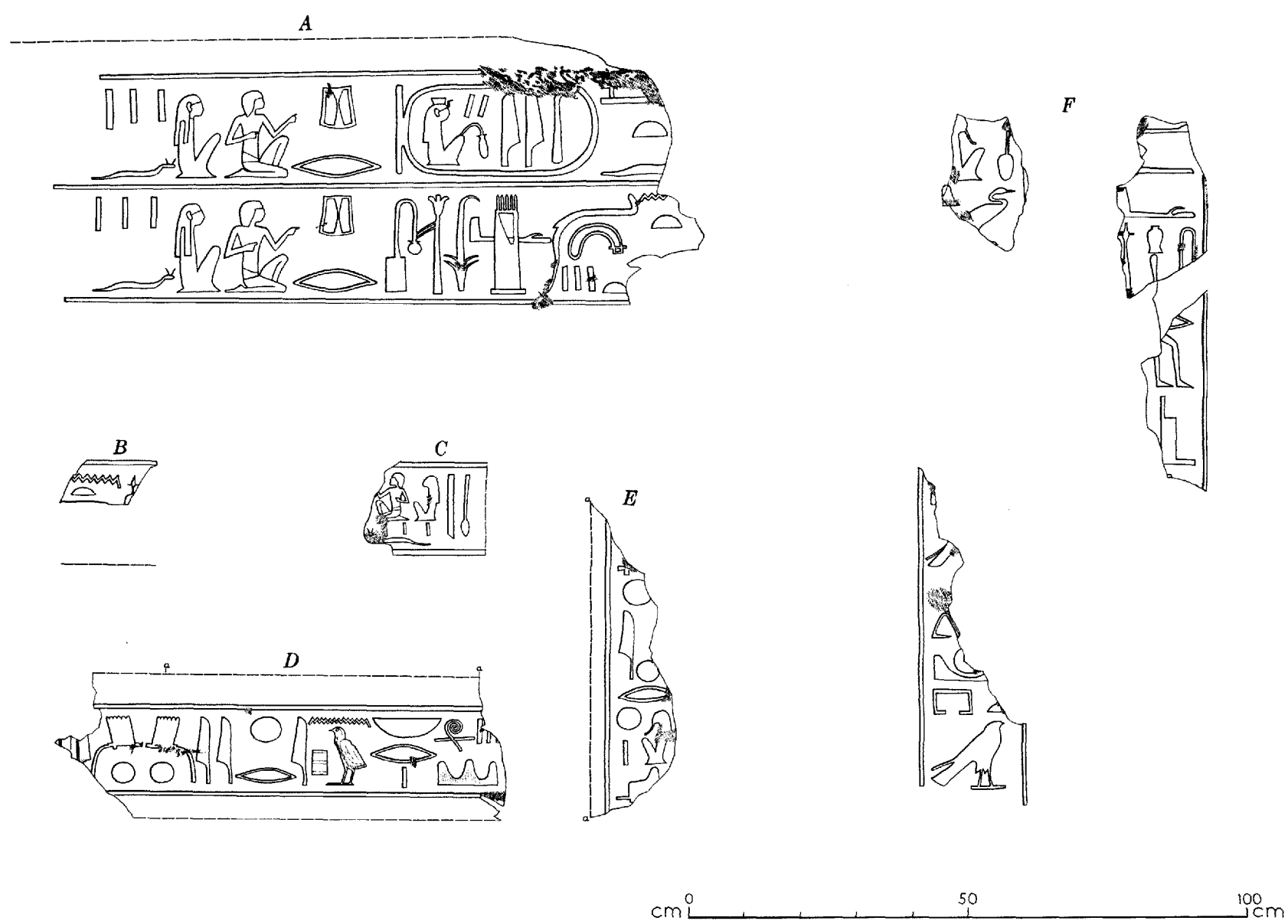
C

INSCRIPTIONS ON CEILING OF WEST PORTICO  
 NORTH OF DOORWAY, NEXT TO WEST WALL (A), SOUTH OF DOORWAY, NEXT  
 TO ARCHITRAVE ON EAST (B), AND SOUTH OF DOORWAY, NEXT TO WEST WALL (C)





INSCRIPTIONS ON CEILING OF WEST PORTICO  
SOUTH OF DOORWAY, NORTH END OF CEILING, WEST HALF (A), EAST  
HALF (B), AND SOUTH OF DOORWAY, CENTER OF CEILING (C)



Drawings by Huxtable

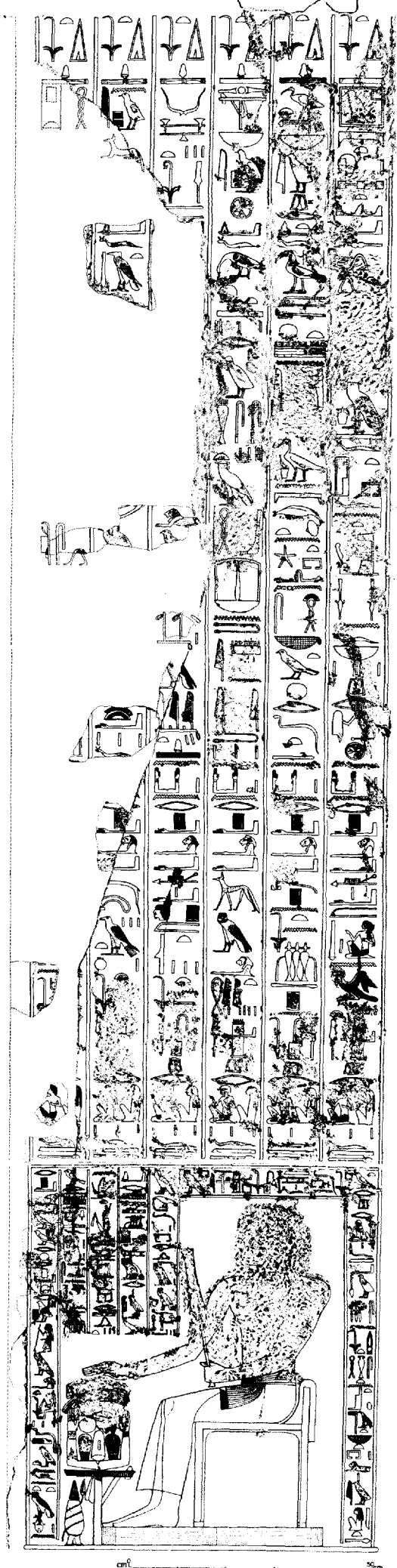
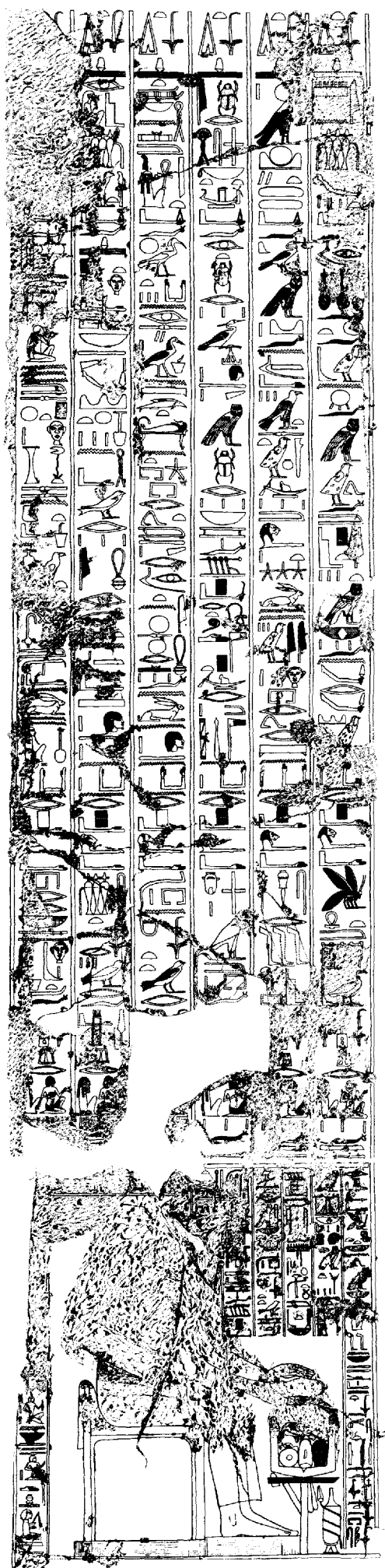
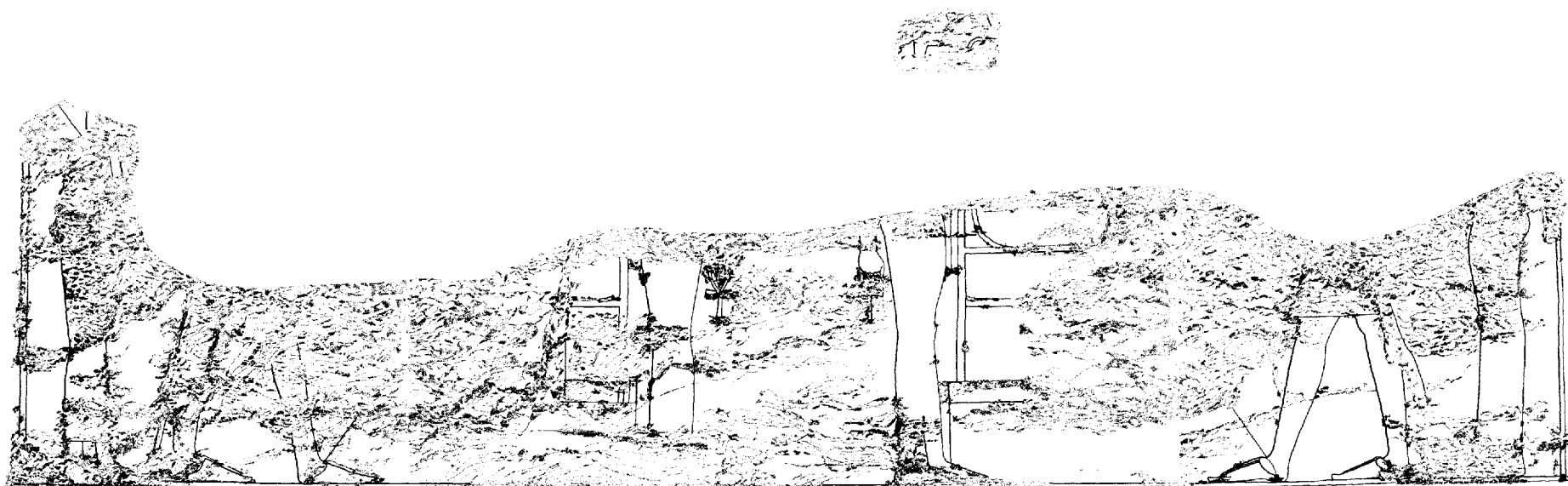
G

■ red  
■ light blue

0 25  
cm |-----| cm

A-F. FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTIONS FROM WEST PORTICO G. PAINTED  
PATTERN ON CEILING OF WEST PORTICO, SOUTH OF DOORWAY

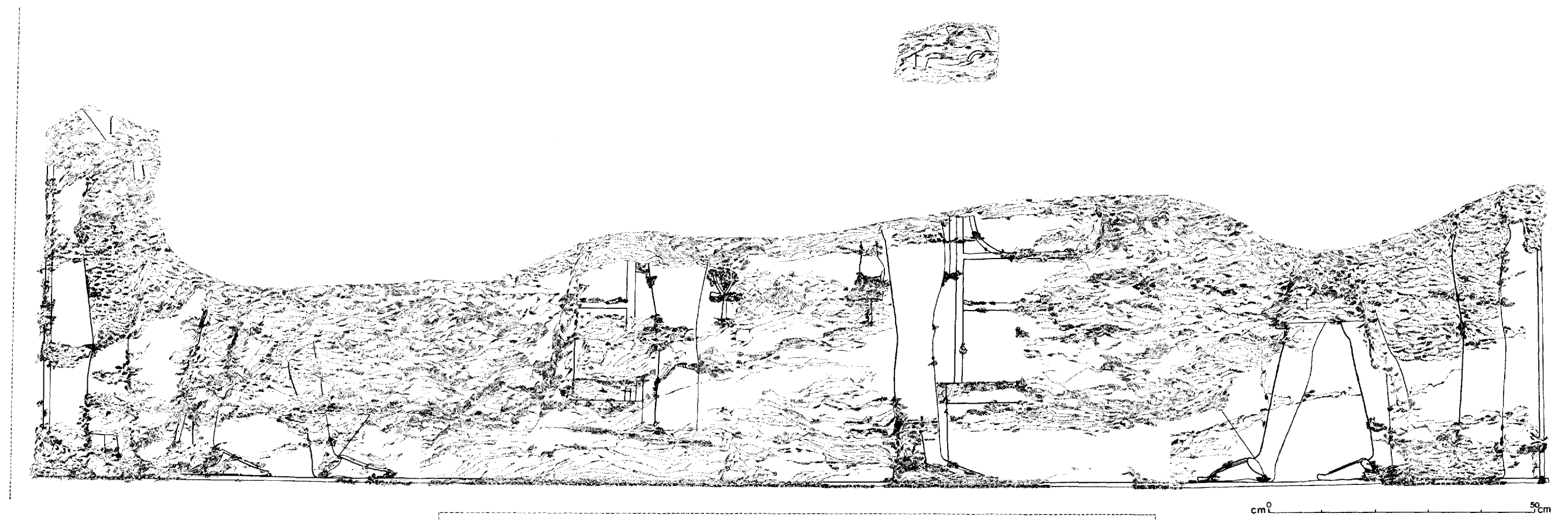
ARCHITRAVE EAST OF NORTH SECTION (A), AND CEILING ABOVE THIS  
ARCHITRAVE (B); TOP OF WALL AROUND CORNER FROM THRONE SCENE  
OF PORTICO NORTH OF DOORWAY (C); LARGE STONE FRAGMENT OF  
ARCHITRAVE, FALLEN FROM ROOF IN FRONT OF DOORWAY OF PASSAGE  
INTO FIRST COLUMNED HALL (D), AND CEILING ABOVE THIS ARCHITRAVE  
(E); CENTER OF CEILING OF PORTICO NORTH OF DOORWAY (F), WITH  
FRAGMENT SHOWN AT LOWER LEFT ONLY ONE IN SITU



Drawings by Coleman

KEY TO RELIEFS ON DOORWAY OF PASSAGE INTO FIRST COLUMNED HALL

(See plates 68-72; in situ these reliefs are continuous)

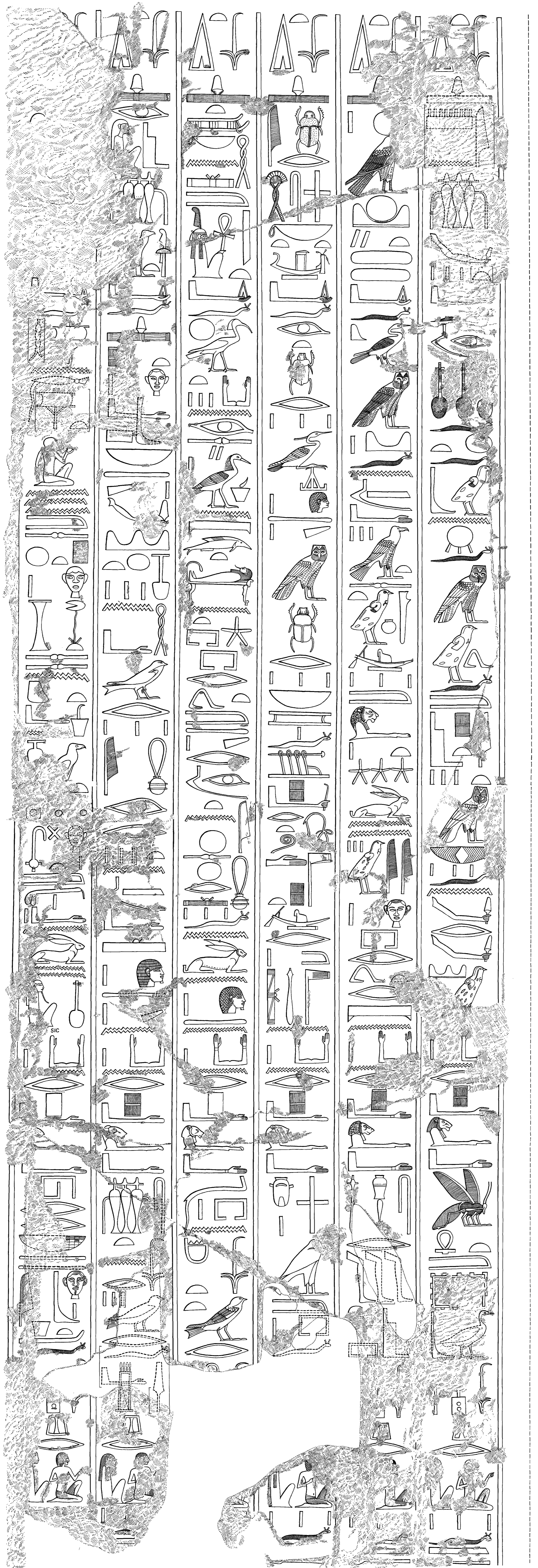


*Drawing by Coleman*

TWO SCENES, EACH WITH KING AND QUEEN BEFORE A GOD AND GODDESS, ALL UNIDENTIFIABLE

DOORWAY OF PASSAGE INTO FIRST COLUMNED HALL, LINTEL

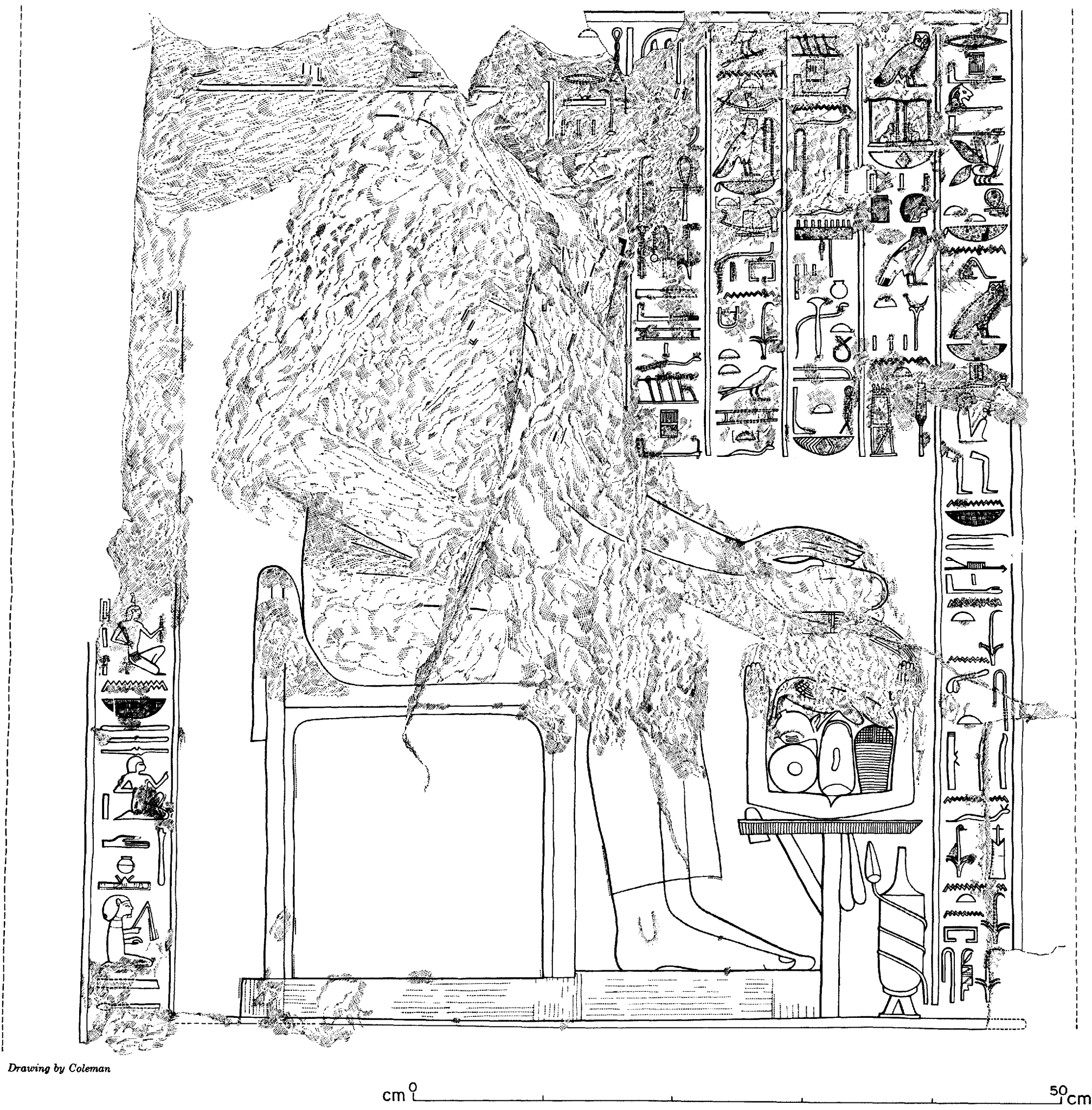
*(See plate 67)*



Drawing by Coleman

cm<sup>0</sup> 50cm

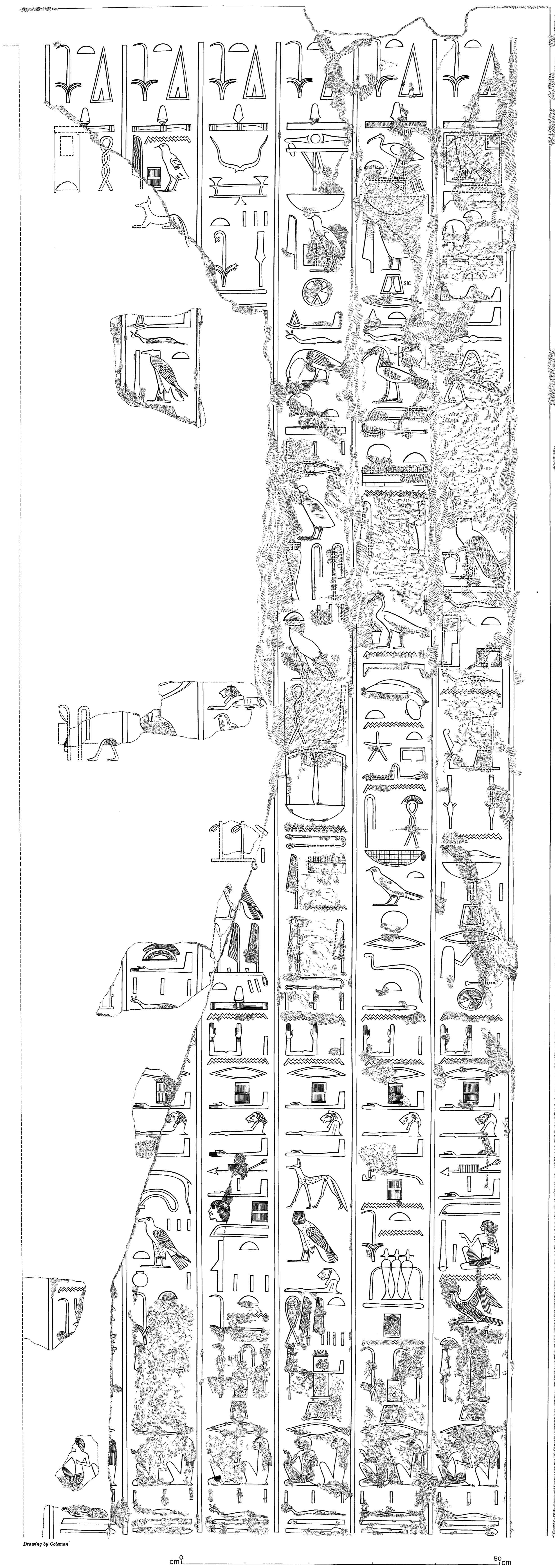
OFFERING TEXTS, WITH TITLES OF KHERUEF  
 DOORWAY OF PASSAGE INTO FIRST COLUMNED HALL, UPPER PART OF SOUTH JAMB  
 (See plate 67)



*Drawing by Coleman*

cm 0 50 cm

TITLES AND FIGURE OF KHERUEF (effaced)  
DOORWAY OF PASSAGE INTO FIRST COLUMNED HALL, LOWER PART OF SOUTH JAMB  
(See plate 67)



Drawing by Coleman

0  
cm

50  
cm

OFFERING TEXTS, WITH TITLES OF KHERUEF  
 DOORWAY OF PASSAGE INTO FIRST COLUMNED HALL, UPPER PART OF NORTH JAMB  
 (See plate 67)



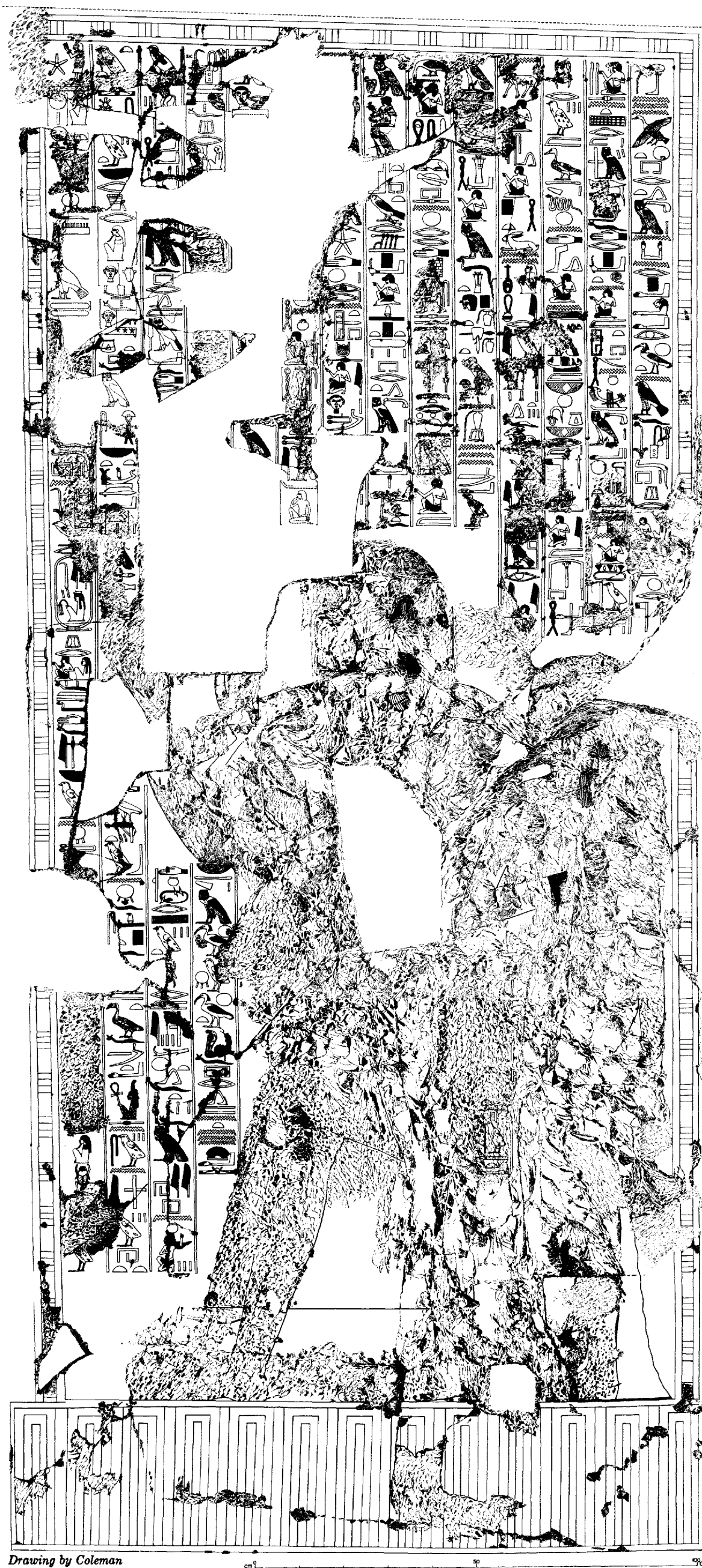
*Drawing by Coleman*

cm<sup>0</sup>

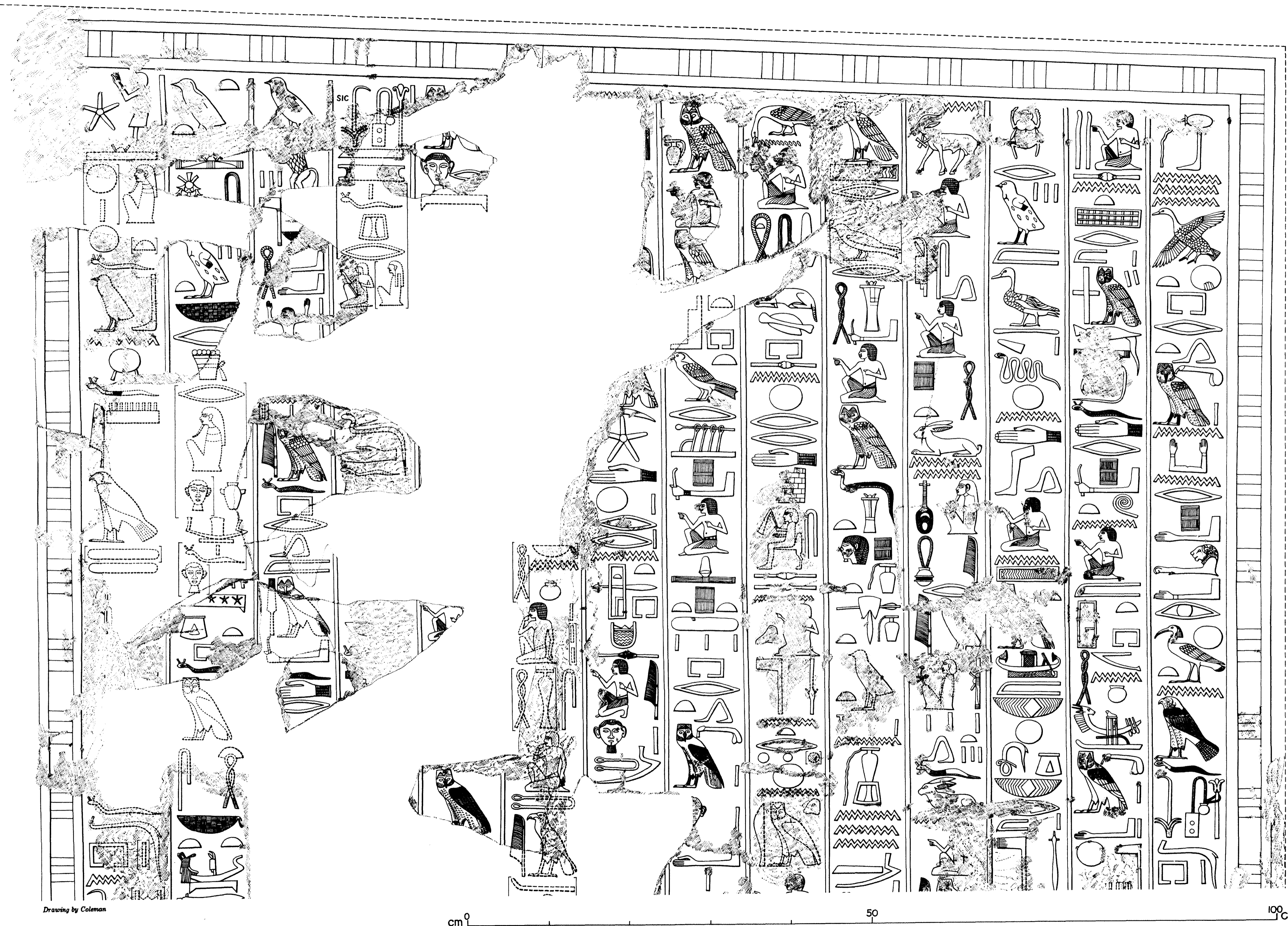
50  
cm

TITLES AND FIGURE OF KHERUEF (effaced)  
DOORWAY OF PASSAGE INTO FIRST COLUMNED HALL, LOWER PART OF NORTH JAMB  
(See plate 67)





HYMN TO THE RISING SUN, WITH FIGURES OF KHERUEF AND HIS MOTHER (effaced)  
PASSAGE INTO FIRST COLUMNED HALL, SOUTH WALL  
(See plates 74-76)



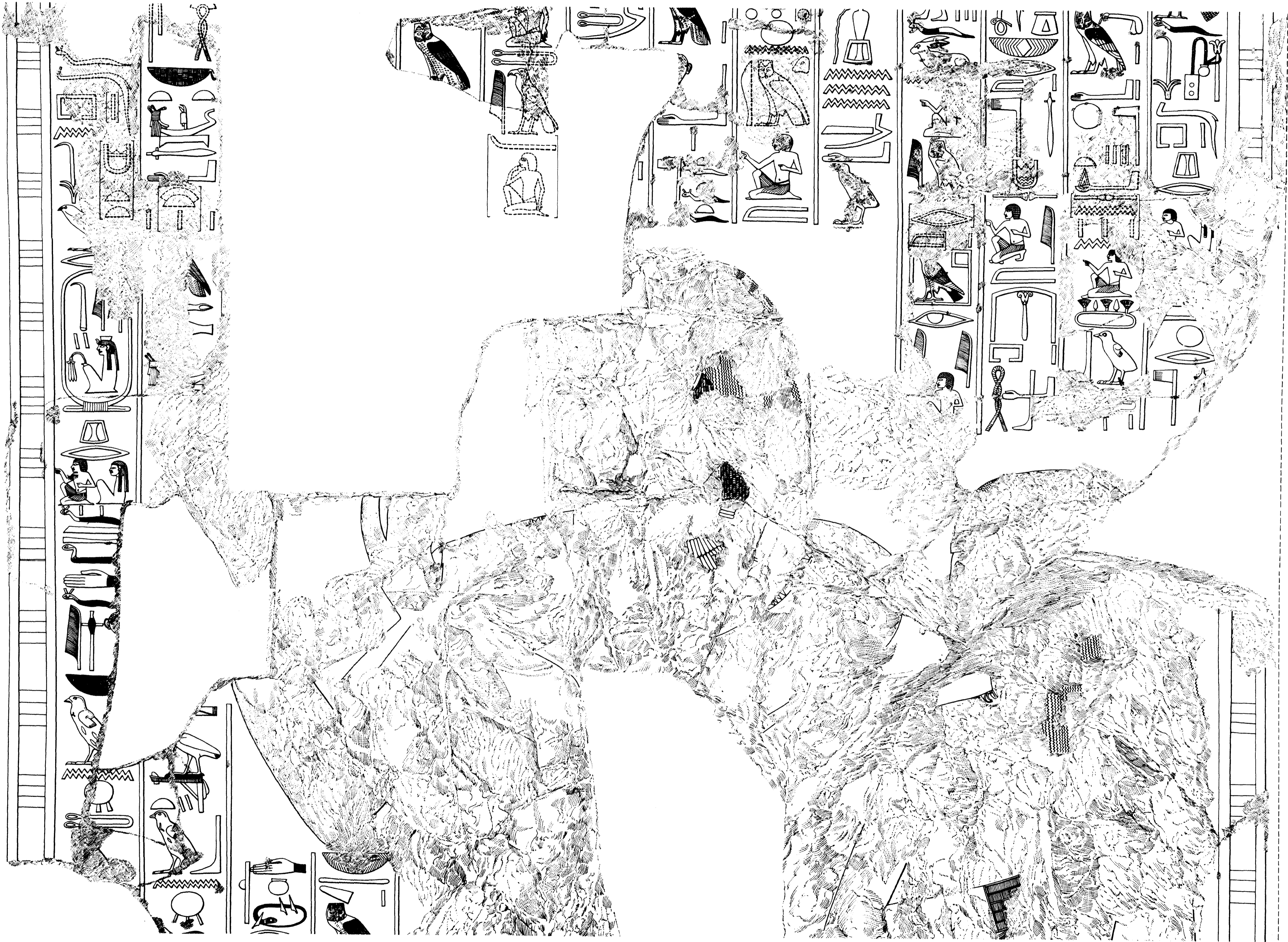
Drawing by Coleman

cm 0

50

100 cm

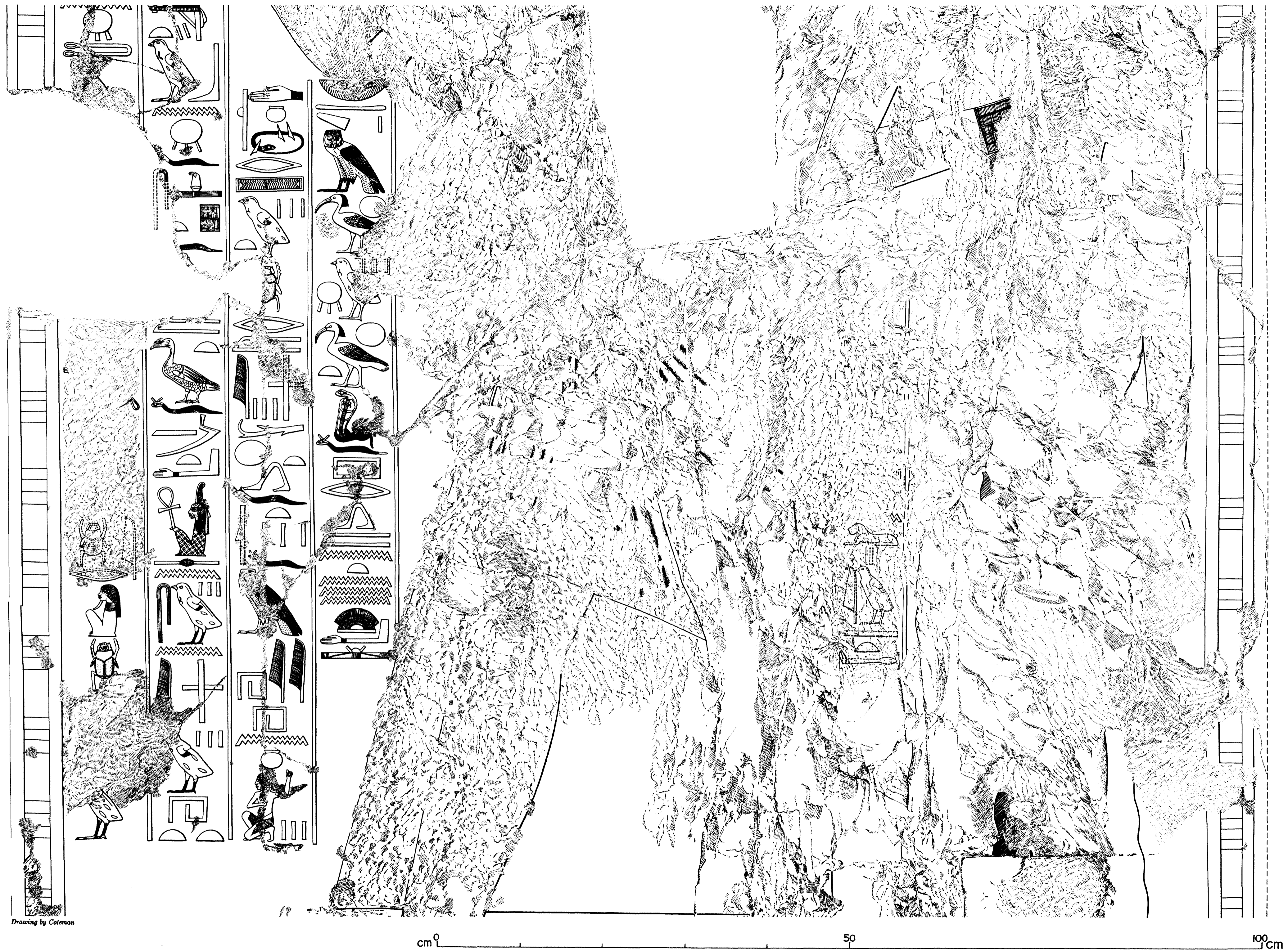
TOP SECTION OF INSCRIPTION SHOWN ON PLATE 73



Drawing by Coleman

0 50 100 cm

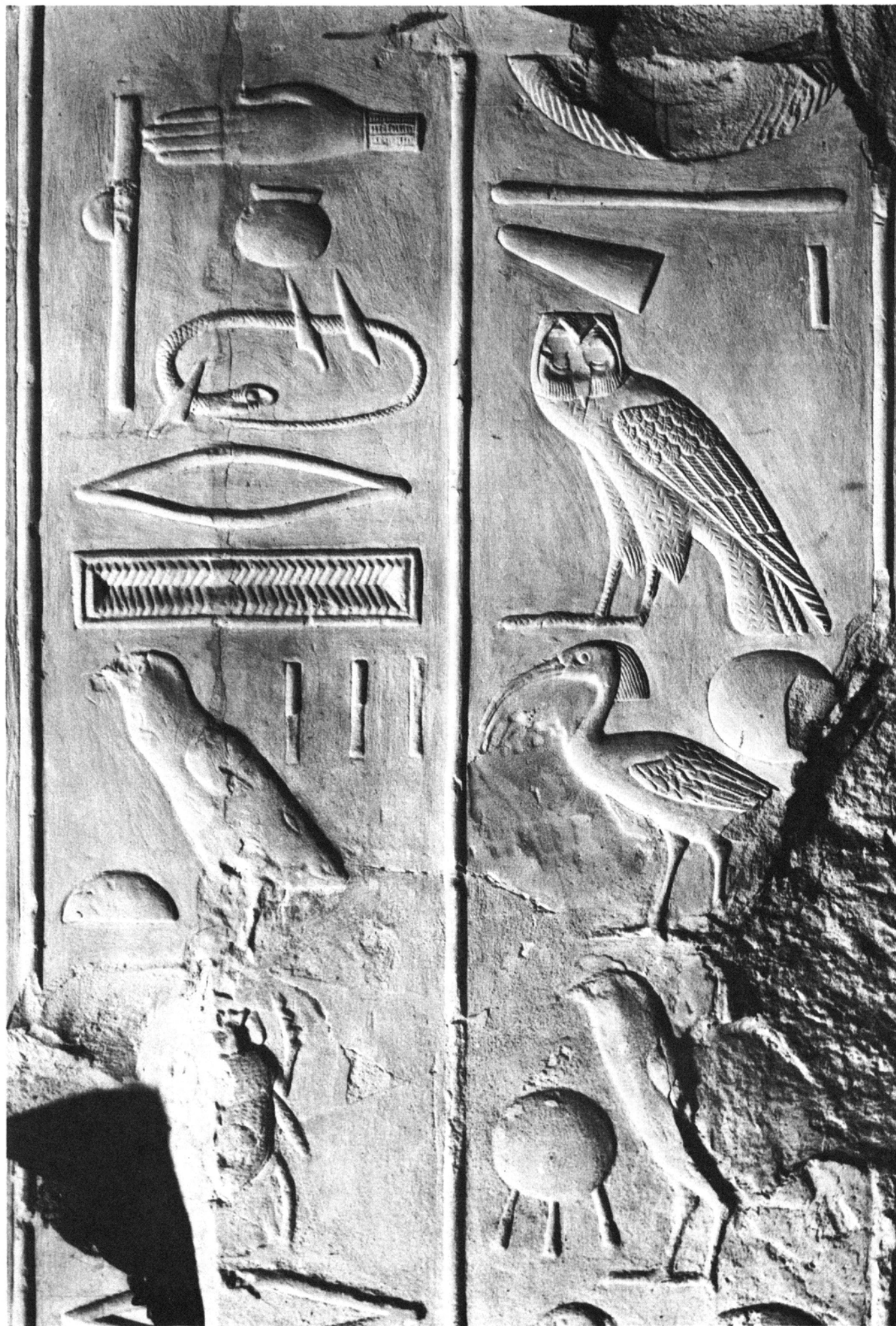
CENTER SECTION OF INSCRIPTION SHOWN ON PLATE 73



Drawing by Coleman

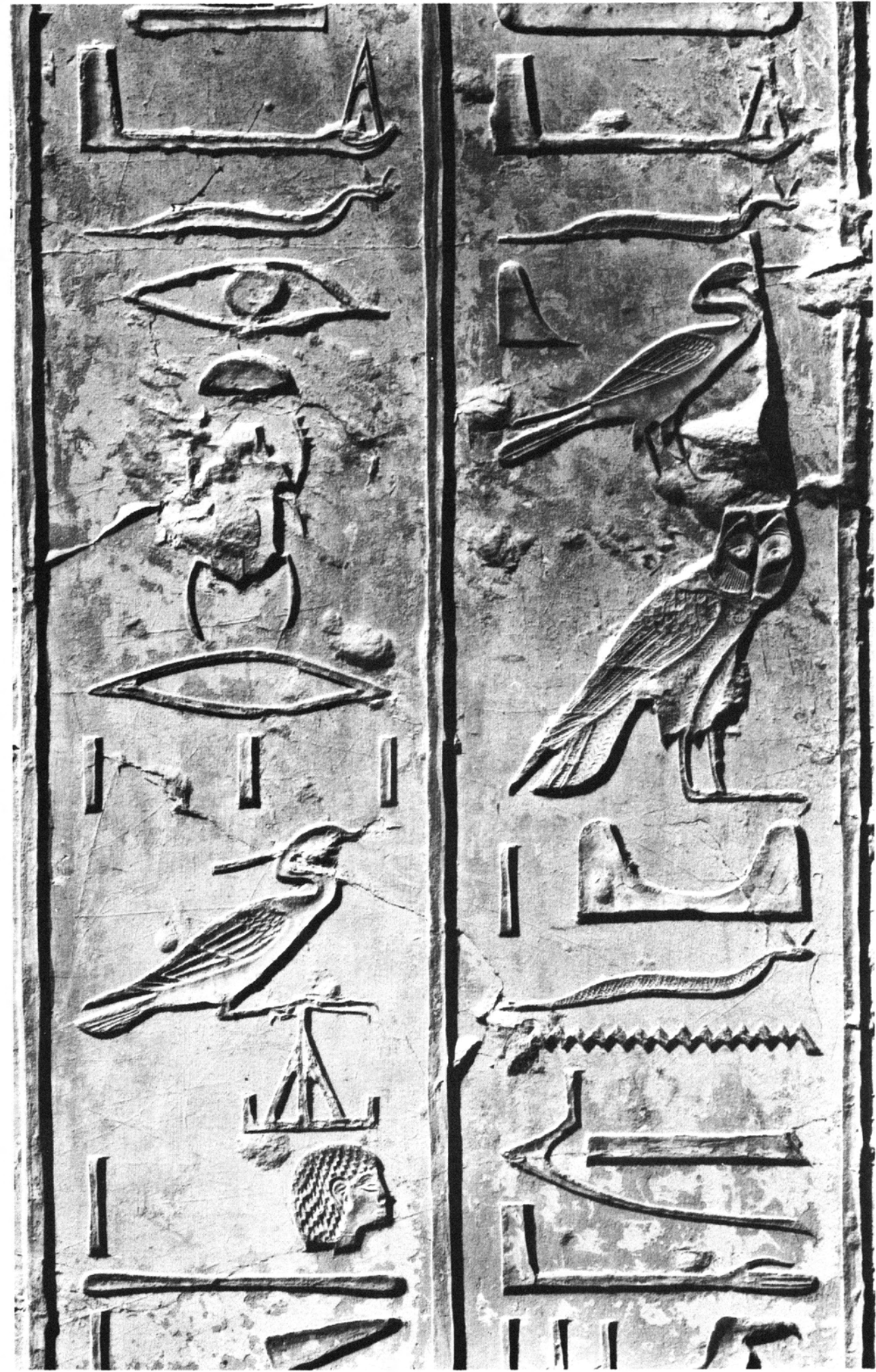
cm 0 50 100 cm

BOTTOM SECTION OF INSCRIPTION SHOWN ON PLATE 73



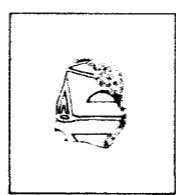
Photographs by Nims

A



B

A. HIEROGLYPHS IN INCISED RELIEF  
(Detail of inscription shown on plate 69)  
B. HIEROGLYPHS IN RAISED RELIEF  
(Detail of inscription shown on plate 76)



B



Drawings by Coleman

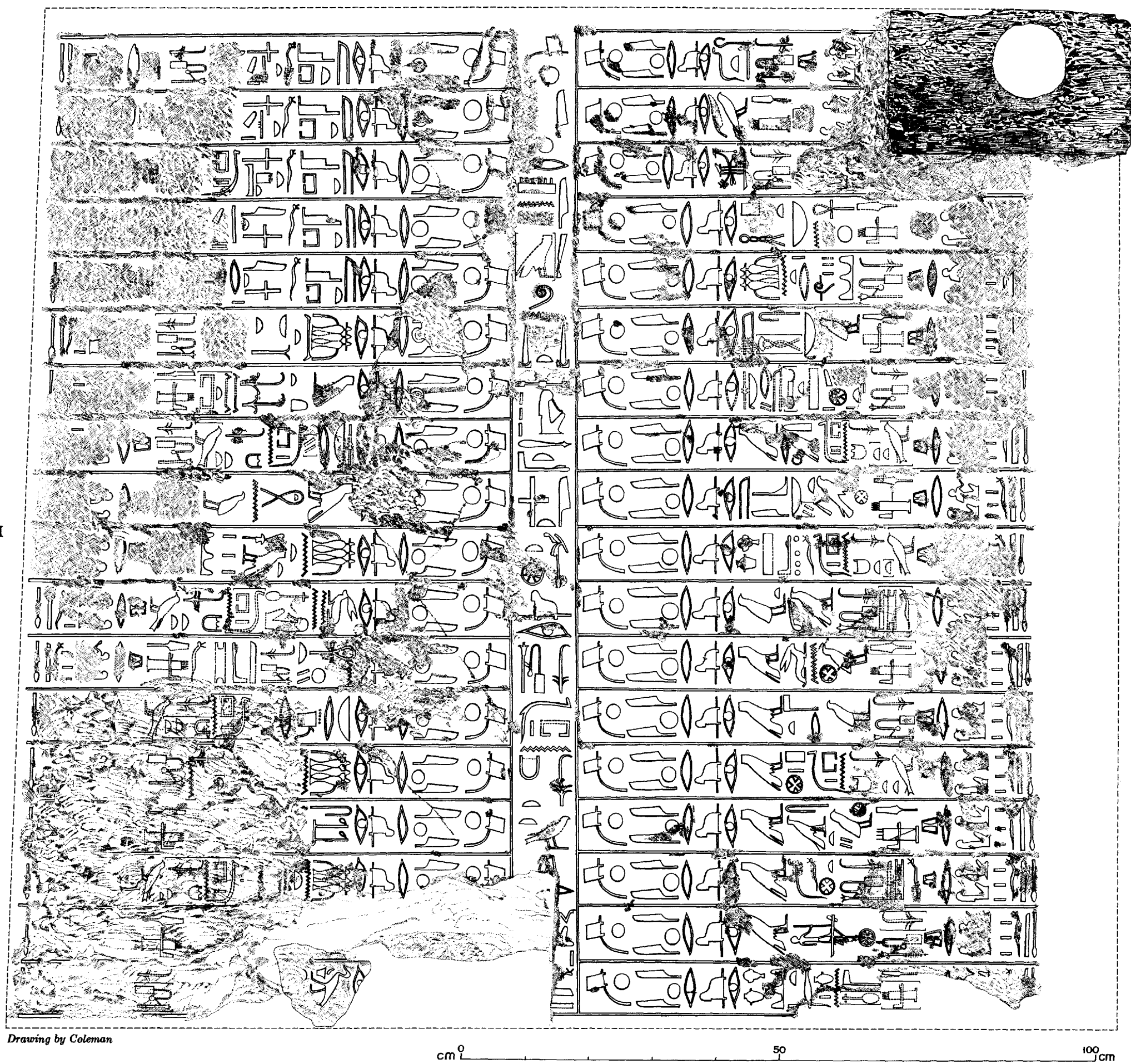
A

FUNERARY INSCRIPTION (A) AND UNPLACED FRAGMENT  
OF THIS INSCRIPTION (B)  
PASSAGE INTO FIRST COLUMNED HALL, NORTH WALL

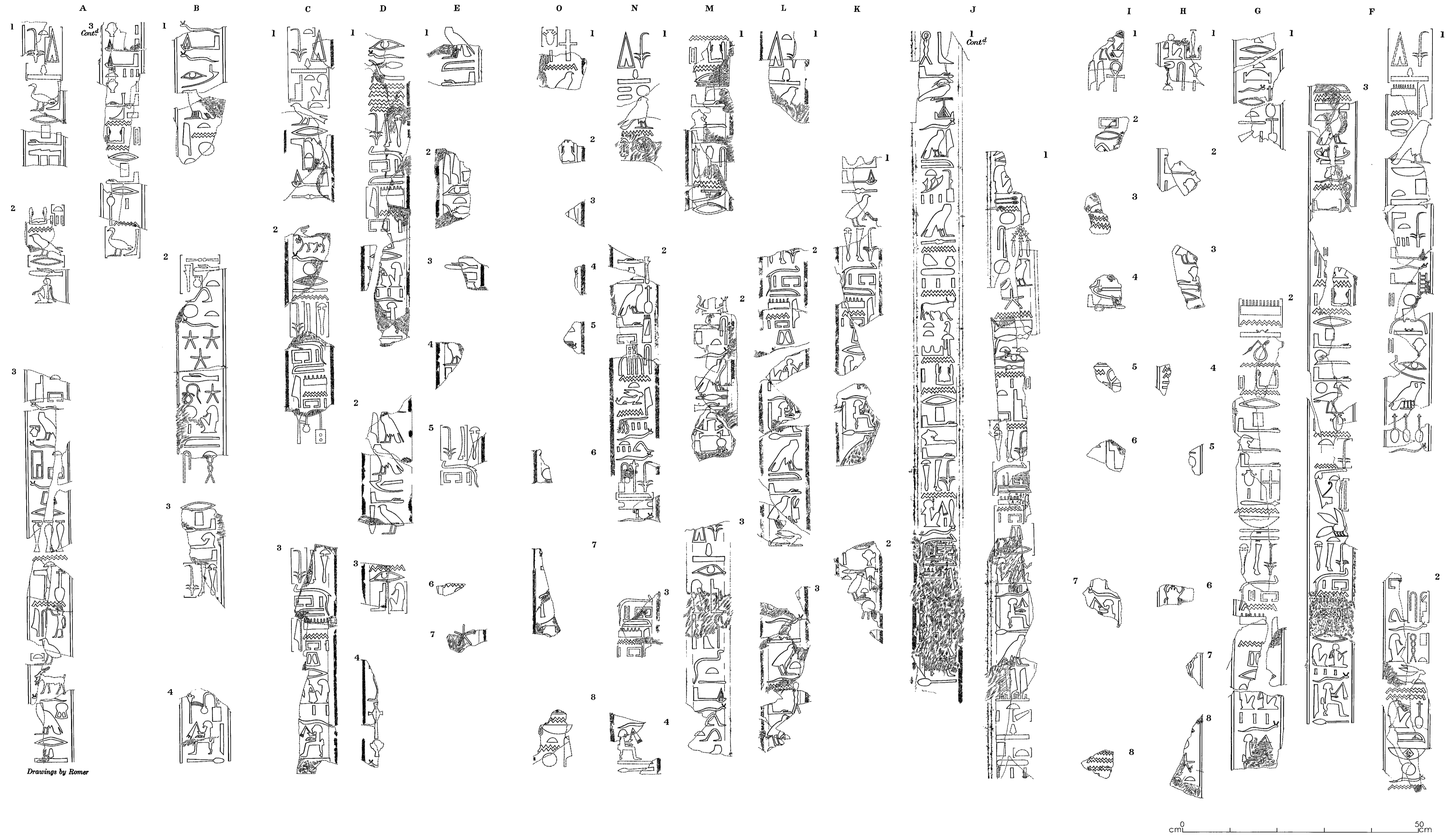
EAST

SOUTH

NORTH



INSCRIPTIONS ON CEILING OF PASSAGE TO FIRST COLUMNED HALL



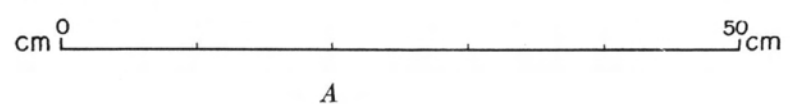
VERTICAL LINES OF INSCRIPTIONS FROM COLUMNS IN FIRST COLUMNED HALL

COLUMN NORTHWEST OF DOORWAY HAS BOTTOMS OF THREE LINES OF INSCRIPTIONS IN SITU: EAST (B), SOUTH (F), AND WEST (J)





Photograph reinforced by Coleman



A



Photograph reinforced by Coleman



B



Drawing by Coleman



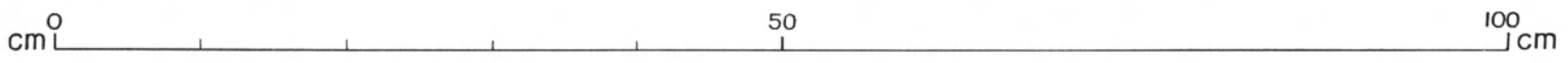
C

LATER GRAFFITI

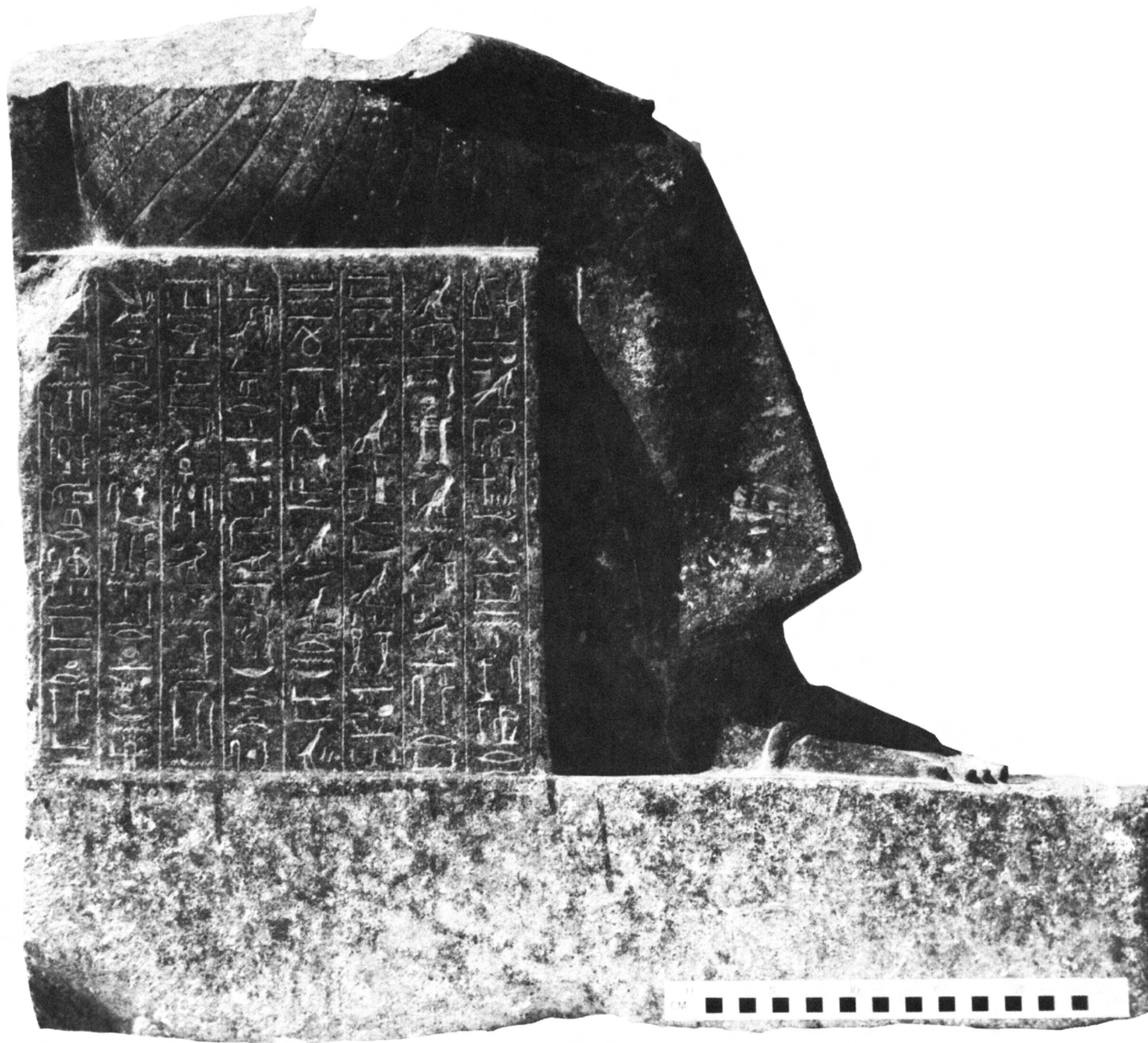
DOORWAY OF PASSAGE TO FIRST COLUMNED HALL, SOUTH REVEAL (A) AND NORTH (BROKEN) REVEAL (B); FIRST COLUMNED HALL, EAST WALL NORTH OF DOORWAY (C)



Photograph reinforced by Coleman



LATER GRAFFITI  
FIRST COLUMNED HALL, EAST WALL NORTH OF DOORWAY



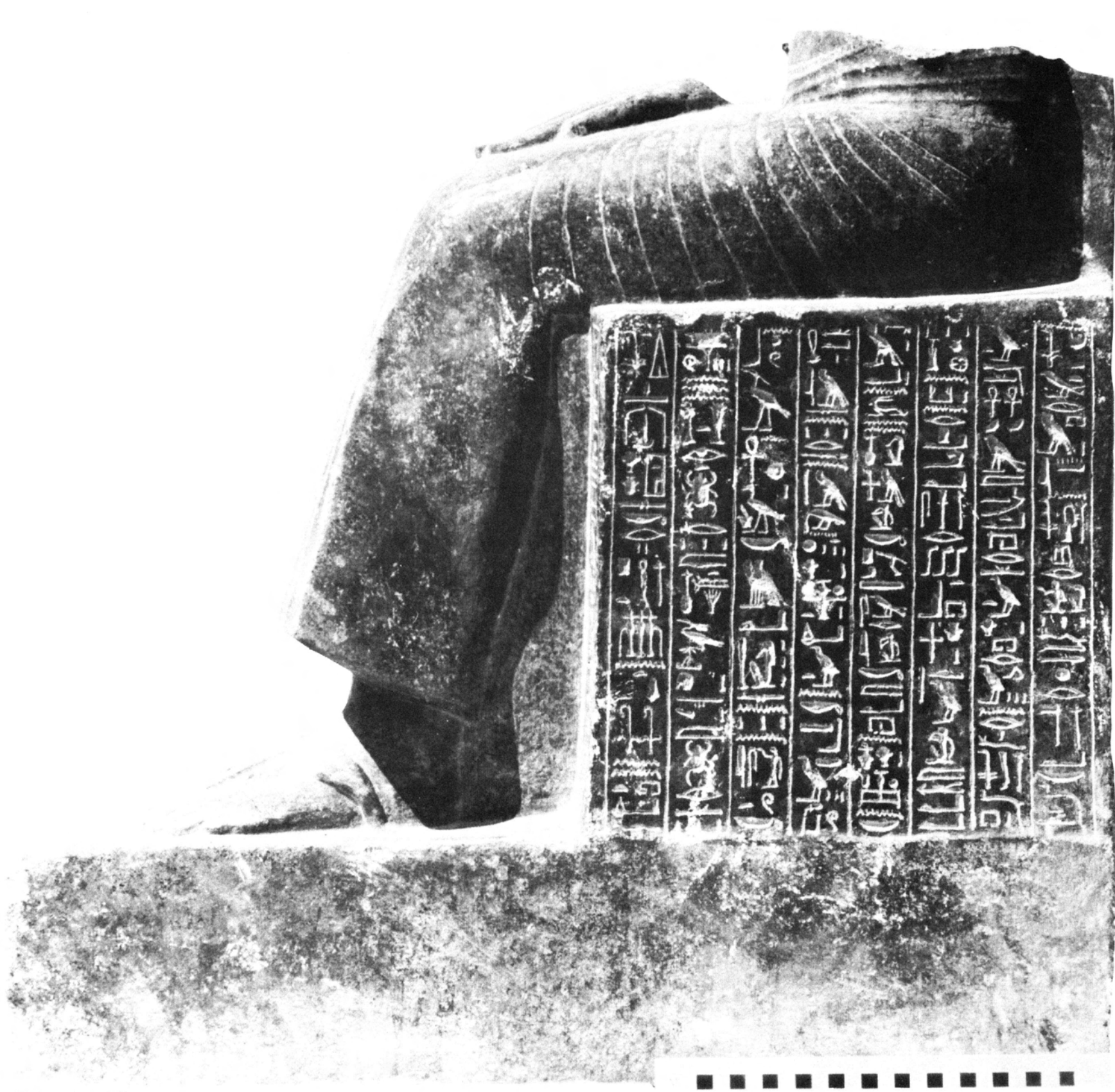
*Photographs by Nims*

A



B

BLACK STONE STATUE OF KHERUEF: RIGHT SIDE (A) AND FRONT (B)



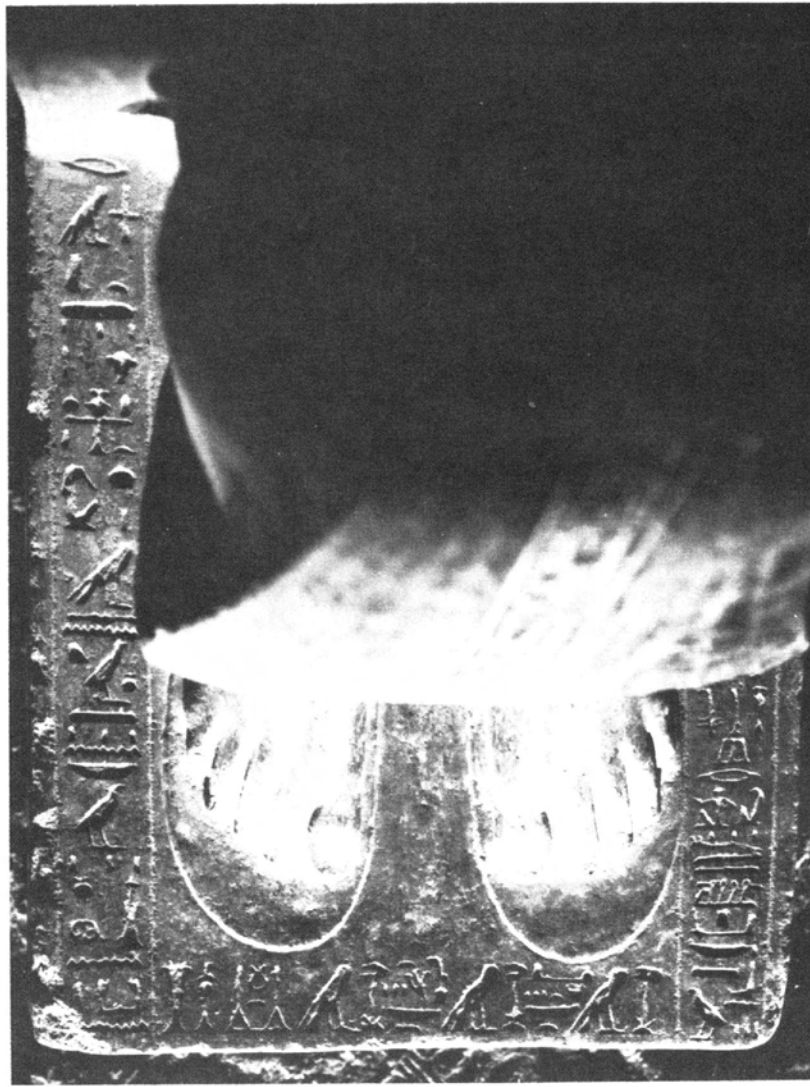
Photographs by Nims

A



B

BLACK STONE STATUE OF KHERUEF: LEFT SIDE (A) AND BACK (B)



A

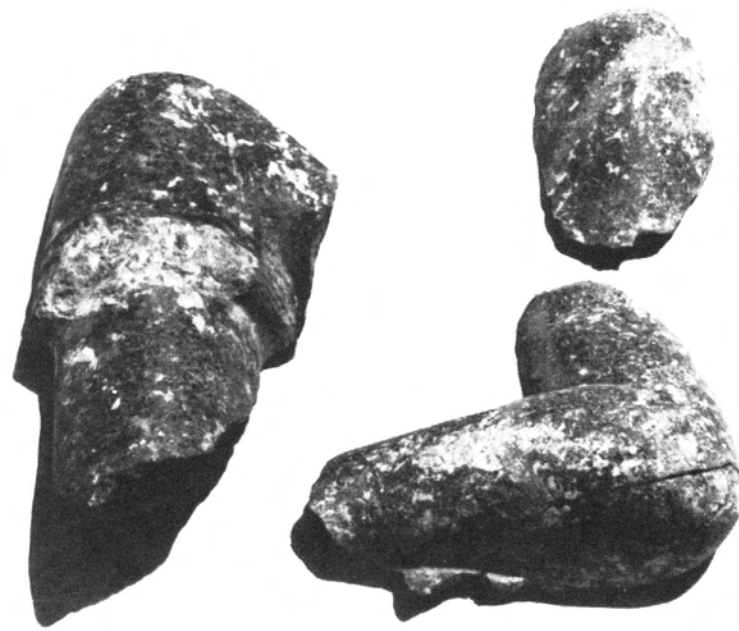


B



Photographs by Nims

C



D

BLACK STONE STATUE OF KHERUEF: FOOTBOARD (A, B),  
LAP (C), AND FRAGMENTS OF ARMS (D)



A



B



C



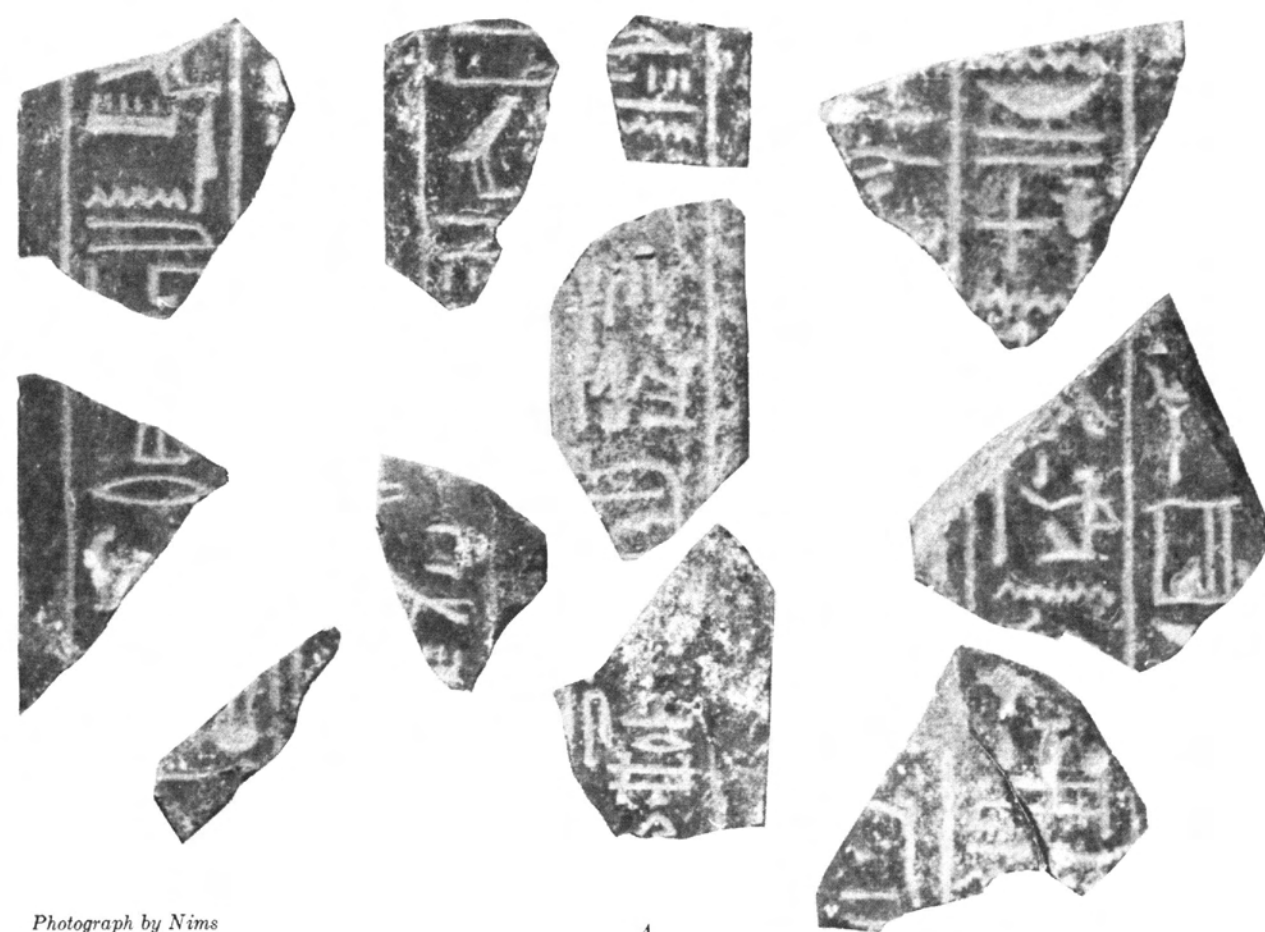
Photograph by Nims

D



E

HEAD OF RED QUARTZITE STATUE OF KHERUEF: FRONT (A), RIGHT SIDE (B),  
LEFT SIDE (C), TOP (D), AND BACK (E) (scales: A, 1:1; B-E, 2:3)



*Photograph by Nims*

A



*Photograph by Habachi*

B

A. INSCRIBED FRAGMENTS OF RED QUARTZITE STATUE OF KHERUEF  
B. ROCK INSCRIPTION AT ASSUAN OF KHERUEF, NEBMOSE, AND NEBSMUNU



*Photographs by Habachi*

*B*



*A*

ROCK INSCRIPTION AT ASSUAN OF KHERUEF (*A*) AND HIS  
ASSOCIATES MINERKHETEF AND HUY (*B*)