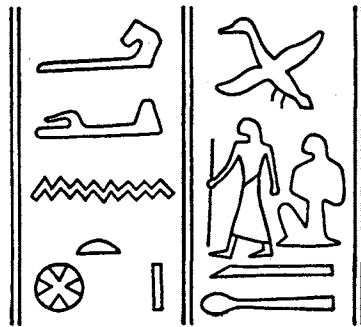


THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
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WALL SCENES
FROM THE MORTUARY CHAPEL
OF THE MAYOR PASER
AT MEDINET HABU



BY SIEGFRIED SCHOTT

TRANSLATED BY ELIZABETH B. HAUSER

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PREFACE

PROFESSOR Harold H. Nelson first assembled the blocks here published on the basis of photographs taken by Henry Leichter during the excavation of Medinet Habu. From the resulting groups of blocks Alfred Bollacher made drawings, which were the basis for the reconstructions presented in Plates 1-3. Unfortunately the drawings themselves were lost during World War II, but photographic copies were preserved. From these copies new drawings, compensating for differences in scale, were prepared by W. Wohlschlegel. Professor George R. Hughes collated both series of drawings with the original blocks (see p. 6, n. 31). The collations, however, indicated the advisability of revised drawings, for which Dr. Charles F. Nims provided enlargements, at a uniform scale, from the Leichter negatives. Mrs. E. Schott then prepared the final drawings, incorporating (in broken lines) the reconstructed areas of the walls. I wish here to express my gratitude to all collaborators, especially Mrs. Elizabeth B. Hauser, who by translation of the German manuscript and by critical observations contributed substantially to the present study.

GÖTTINGEN
OCTOBER 9, 1955

SIEGFRIED SCHOTT

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Excavation of Medinet Habu</i> III-IV	Hölscher, Uvo. The excavation of Medinet Habu. III-IV. The mortuary temple of Ramses III. Parts I-II (<i>OIP</i> LIV-LV [1941 and 1951]).
<i>JEA</i>	Journal of Egyptian archeology (London, 1914—).
<i>MDIAA</i>	Deutsches Institut für ägyptische Altertumskunde, <i>Cairo</i> . Mitteilungen (Berlin etc., 1930—).
<i>Medinet Habu</i> I	The Epigraphic Survey (Harold H. Nelson, Field Director). Medinet Habu. I. Earlier historical records of Ramses III (<i>OIP</i> VIII [1930]).
<i>Medinet Habu</i> II	<i>Idem.</i> Medinet Habu. II. Later historical records of Ramses III (<i>OIP</i> IX [1932]).
<i>Medinet Habu</i> III	<i>Idem.</i> Medinet Habu. III. The Calender, the "Slaughterhouse," and minor records of Ramses III (<i>OIP</i> XXIII [1934]).
<i>Medinet Habu</i> IV	<i>Idem.</i> Medinet Habu. IV. Festival scenes of Ramses III (<i>OIP</i> LI [1940]).
<i>Medinet Habu</i> V	The Epigraphic Survey (George R. Hughes, Field Director). Medinet Habu. V. The temple proper. Part I (<i>OIP</i> LXXXIII [1957]).
<i>OIP</i>	Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute. Oriental Institute publications (Chicago, 1924—).
<i>PMMAT</i>	New York. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Publications of the Egyptian Expedition. Robb de Peyster Memorial series (New York, 1917-27.)

INTRODUCTION

DURING the Oriental Institute's excavations at Medinet Habu, sandstone blocks carved with scenes for the mortuary cult of an official of the court of Ramses III were found in the Western Fortified Gate,¹ where they had been reused as floor slabs in tombs which were built after the destruction of the gate.² In the inscriptions on these blocks the official is called "mayor of the city," more exactly, "mayor of the Southern City," that is, Thebes, and he bears the name Paser, "the official," an old word designating a high office. These blocks were parts of built-up walls and thus cannot be assigned to any of the rock tombs of the Theban necropolis. In his excavation report Hölscher assumes that they came from the small mortuary chapels of the time of Ramses III which were located behind the temple precinct, opposite the Western Fortified Gate, and which apparently were destroyed at the same time as the gate toward the end of the 20th dynasty.³ Hölscher refers to similar buildings behind the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III which, like the royal mortuary temples, were separated from the tombs of their owners. Presumably because of special royal favor, indications of which are preserved in the reliefs of the mayor Paser, five officials were granted the right to build their mortuary temples near the temple precinct of Ramses III. The relief blocks found in the Western Fortified Gate include parts of at least three walls and of other architectural elements. Two of the partly preserved walls can be assigned to a chapel of the mayor Paser because his name occurs on them. Fragments of the frieze of a third wall of Paser belong possibly with the remains of a third group of scenes. All the registers of the partly preserved walls can be reconstructed sufficiently for an analysis of their themes. These remains are of special interest because they represent scenes which are rare in the Theban tombs and one scene which is unique (see p. 9). There are scenes from the life of Paser in his official capacity (Pl. 1); scenes from feasts of the Osiris cult (Pl. 2) which combine elements of the Feast of Sokar, just as we know it from the mortuary temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu, and a journey of the sacred *nšm.t*-bark from Abydos; and scenes from a feast of Amon (Pl. 3), here, in a mortuary chapel, probably the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, when Amon crosses over from Karnak in his bark and visits the temples on the west side of Thebes. In addition there is a symbolic representation of the rising sun (Fig. 5) as well as a figure presumably of Paser worshiping the sun-god (Fig. 4). The problem of determining the original locations of these blocks in the chapel of Paser is discussed in separate sections (pp. 16-21).

1. With one exception (see p. 6, n. 31).

2. See *Excavation of Medinet Habu* IV 23.

3. *Ibid.* pp. 22-23.

SCENES PORTRAYING THE MAYOR PASER IN HIS OFFICIAL CAPACITY

SOME of the blocks showing scenes from the life of the mayor Paser (Wall I) can be fitted together (see Pl. 1). An almost uninterrupted row of blocks from the top register is preserved, though we have only the upper part of the register, as on the wall of the feasts of Osiris (Pl. 2). These blocks include fragments of the frieze above the representations, which runs in the same direction as that above the scenes of the feasts of Osiris and can be reconstructed with Hathor and Anubis figures alternating with the usual *hkr* motifs. To the right and left of each group of three *hkr* motifs are vertical lines of inscription with signs facing outward (i.e., away from the *hkr* motifs), each of which names Paser with one of his titles: "Osiris, the mayor of the Southern City, Paser"; "Osiris, the feast-leader of Amon, Paser"; "Osiris, the mayor of the city, Paser"; "Osiris, the steward of the city, Paser"; "Osiris, the priest of Amon, Paser"; "Osiris, the pure-handed one of Amon, Paser." The phrase *ms'-hrw*, "deceased," is frequently omitted after the name. Some of the titles occur more than once. The friezes of the other two walls (see Pls. 2-3) yield no further information. Hathor appears in her "face" form as female head with feather crown (preserved in frieze of Wall III only) and cow ears.⁴ Her neck and curled locks rest on the "garden," the nome hieroglyph, a designation of the Theban necropolis.⁵ This ornament combines the name and an epithet of the goddess, probably to be read enigmatically as "Hathor, on top (*hri.t-tp*) of the nome" (see p. 14), that is, of the Theban necropolis. The jackal figure of Anubis on his shrine, with accompanying baton and flail and a sacred eye above, forms a similar monogram, "Anubis, the power over the mysteries" (*šhm hri-šst*). The Anubis figures here and above the scenes of the feasts of Osiris face left, but on the fragments which we have placed above the scenes of the Feast of the Valley they face right (see p. 13). The horizontal band of inscription at the bottom of another group of blocks assigned to Wall I indicates that they belong to the second register. Their position in that register of our reconstruction (Pl. 1) is arbitrary, however, since no point of contact with the top register is preserved. Adjoining this group at the bottom, as attested by bits of inscription, is part of a third register, which is about twice as high as each of the upper registers and shows Paser and his family at a banquet.

THE TOP REGISTER

An upraised arm on a block at the right end of this register must be that of a rejoicing figure of Paser. In the inscription between this figure and the king's pavilion the mayor pays homage to Ramses III: "[...] (1) thou art the great ruler of (2) all lands. (3) The Nine Bows are under thy feet. For the ka ...!" It seems very unlikely that the block shown in Figure 2 should be added farther to the right in this register, because it has traces of the head of a figure which would not coincide with that of the rejoicing Paser (see p. 19).

The rest of the top register comprises a long row of statues which Ramses III receives as he stands in his pavilion. The king wears a pleated headcloth with uraeus. He is called "Lord of the

4. The Hathor head without feather crown is known as early as the time of the Narmer palette, where it occurs at the upper border.

5. See Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* IV (Leipzig, 1930) 98-99, Nos. 22-23.

Two Lands, *Wsr-Mꜣ.t-Rꜥ-Mri-Imn*, Lord of Diadems, Ramses, [Ruler of Heliopolis].” Behind him is inscribed the formula “[all] protection of life, stability, and prosperity are behind [him].” The pavilion in which he stands to receive the statues is simpler than the usual window of royal appearances and resembles gods’ shrines as depicted in temple reliefs. Its roof, crowned by uraei with sun disks, is supported by posts and papyrus columns decorated with streamers; grapes hang from its ceiling. Our reconstruction of the royal figure bending toward the statues is based on the position of the head and shoulders. Possibly the lower part of the figure was concealed by the rail.⁶ Before each of the six partially preserved statues are offerings consisting of a shallow wide-mouthed bowl heaped with bread and roasted goose (the old burnt offering whose “flames” at this time were usually represented as green-painted leafy ornament) and two offering-stands bearing metal bowls. Above the latter are a pair of tongs⁷ and a scoop with a duck-head handle—tools for laying the charcoal fire for censuring.⁸ The bowl and the offering-stands may have stood at the same level in each case,⁹ but the bases of all the stands are lost along with the blocks which adjoined below. How the spaces were filled below the offerings and the statues, which did not extend to the bottom of the register, can only be surmised. In a similar representation in the tomb of the high priest of Amon Amenemopet¹⁰ and in the treasury of the mortuary temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu¹¹ the statues stand on tables. If our statues likewise stood on tables, the spaces under the offerings might have been occupied by additional offerings or by the persons who brought the statues.

The first statue can be reconstructed by comparison with numerous preserved scenes depicting statue processions of Amenhotep I¹² and a scene from the Feast of Min portraying Ramses III in his litter.¹³ In our partial reconstruction Ramses III is seated on a throne under a sunshade. The throne is flanked by sphinxes and stands on a portable base ornamented with lions. The visible sphinx wears the double crown. A goddess with the Upper Egyptian crown¹⁴ spreads her wings around the king. A similar statue is represented among gifts to the king in the tomb of Amene-mopet.¹⁵ Our second statue is a figure of the king wearing the blue crown and, if we judge by the position of the arms, offering incense and libation. The third statue is a figure of the king with one hand upraised in praise; his other hand holds a kerchief and presents a bag in the shape of a

6. So Ramses II and his wife in the window of royal appearances in the tomb of the high priest of Amon *Nb-wnn.f* (Theban Tomb 157, hall, east wall, north side); scene published in *Excavation of Medinet Habu* III, Fig. 22. But cf. *Medinet Habu* II, Pl. 75.

7. Cf. Walter Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte* I (Leipzig, 1923) Pl. 73c (Theban Tomb 178).

8. Ladles with duck-head handles were generally used for this purpose. Such a ladle occurs above a censer among the offerings of Thutmose III represented on the temple of Amon at Karnak (see Kurt Sethe, *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums* IV [Leipzig, 1906–9] 635:10.11; Siegfried Schott, *Das schöne Fest vom Wüstentale* [Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, “Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse,” 1952, Nr. 11] Fig. 5).

9. Beneath the bowls one might expect the type of tall stands on which bowls for burnt offerings were usually placed on such occasions. However, in the post-Amarnah period such bowls generally had offset rims and also usually many were placed side by side. Hence the bowls in our scene are reconstructed on the basis of Herbert E. Winlock, *Bas-Reliefs from the Temple of Rameses I at Abydos* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, “Papers” I 1 [New York, 1921]) Pls. I and III, where two such vessels occur on mats one above the other.

10. Theban Tomb 148 (unpublished).

11. See *Medinet Habu* V, Pl. 331.

12. See Jaroslav Černý, “Le culte d’Amenophis I^{er} chez les ouvriers de la nécropole thébaine,” *Bulletin de l’Institut français oriental du Caire* XXVII (1927) 159–203.

13. *Medinet Habu* IV, Pls. 197 and 199. For Akhnaton and Nefertiti carried in such a litter see Norman de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of el Amarna* III (London, 1905) Pl. XIII. Cf. also the litter of Harmhab in his rock temple at Gebel Silsilah and an earlier form of royal litter in Theban Tomb 131 (*The Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* XXI [1926] Dec. Part II, pp. 3–4 and Fig. 5).

14. Hence she is the Upper Egyptian goddess of el-Kab; in similar scenes the goddess of truth or a falcon appears.

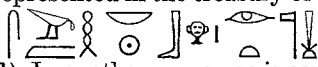
15. Theban Tomb 148 (unpublished), where behind Ramses III there are two goddesses with Hathor crowns, and the king is shown with blue crown and staff.

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gazelle skin, a hieroglyphic sign for "clothing." The rows of pellets beneath this symbol probably belong to an implement broken away in front of the king. In the fourth group an Upper Egyptian Nile god offers a tablet to the king, who wears the *stf*-crown. The king signs the tablet, beneath which is the symbol for the union of the Two Lands, and holds in his other hand a papyrus roll, perhaps the "will"¹⁶ that entitles him to the symbol. Beside the Nile god a snake-headed goddess crowned with feathers and sun disk, presumably *Rennenutet*, the goddess of grain, presents the "jubilee years" and "life" as symbols of good fortune. The fifth statue represents the king with the "august ram-standard of Amon," as it is called in the text of year 2 (lines 18–23; see below). And finally there is a statue of Ramses III as "feast-leader" (mentioned in line 45; see below), with the blue crown, a censer, and his baton raised to consecrate the offerings.¹⁷

Above these representations are inscriptions which refer to the delivery of the statues but do not correspond to them in sequence, though the expression "feast-leader" is directly above the statue to which it refers. In front of the pavilion of the king a eulogy of the mayor Paser reads with signs facing the statues and, if the reconstruction of line 4 is correct, is mentioned expressly as spoken by the king himself: "(4) [Words] spoken [by his majesty] (5) himself, namely¹⁸ *Wsr-Mꜣ.t-Rꜥ-Mri-Imn*, son of Re, Ramses, [Ruler of Heliopolis]: '[Verily may there favor thee Amon¹⁹] (6) and Atum. Verily may there favor thee (7) the gods of the heaven.²⁰ (8) Verily may there favor thee the gods (9) of the earth. Verily may (10) there favor thee the gods (11) of Pharaoh, may he live, prosper, and be healthy, (12) thy (13) good good (12) lord. (13) O beautiful instance of causing (14) a man to be one who is found²¹ to be excellent. (15) May there favor (16) thee Montu, since (17) thou hast made thy lord [. . .].'"²² The legends of two statues begin to the left of this speech, with signs facing the king: "(18) Year 2, month 4 of the inundation season, day 10. (19) Bringing (infinitive *ms*) a statue of (20) metal, the august standard (*mdw*)²³ of Amon (21) to the halls of the (22) royal court (*pr-nꜥ-šw.t*) of *Wsr-Mꜣ.t-Rꜥ-Mri-Imn*, (23) (by) the mayor Paser. (24) Year 18, month 1 of win(25)ter (*pr.t*), day 14. Bringing [. . .]." A second speech of the king begins on the next preserved block to the left: "(26) Words spoken by his majesty, namely *Wsr-Mꜣ.t-Rꜥ-Mri-Imn*, (27) son of Re, Ramses, Ruler of Heliopolis. So speaks Pharaoh, (28) may he live, prosper, and be healthy, thy good lord: 'May . . . favor [thee].'" At the left are more statue legends: "(29)

16. The *mkš* carried in the hebsed dance.

17. Such a statue is represented in the treasury of the mortuary temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu with the legend: Ramses III , "Ramses III, leading the feast and offering incense" (see *Medinet Habu* V, Pl. 331). In another scene one is carried at the head of a festal procession (*Medinet Habu* III, Pl. 168). Earlier examples occur at Deir el-Bahri (see Edouard Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari* V [London, 1906] Pl. CXXIII) and in the festival temple of Thutmose III at Karnak (unpublished).

18. The suffix pronoun *.f* is restored with *hm* to agree with line 26; but the insertion of *dš.f* in line 5 is even more peculiar.


19. So in accordance with the space which would be available above a table; there would not be room for the wording of lines 27f. even in a line extending to the bottom of the register.

20. [Or: "May the ka of the gods of the heaven favor thee." The *kꜣ* here and in lines 8 and 10, though written in the singular, seems to be used in the same way as *brw* in a passage in the burial chamber of *Hsw-wr* at Kom el-Hisn: *hs tw brw P dwꜣ tw brw Nꜥn*.—T. George Allen.]

21. The "heron" of the word "find" is occasionally shown "fishing" in the texts of Ramses III's temple at Medinet Habu also (*Medinet Habu* I, Pls. 19 [line 13] and 46 [line 15]).

22. The speech apparently continues on the missing blocks of the lower part of the register. Otherwise the legend of Ramses III in his pavilion would adjoin the eulogy of Paser, who would then have played a special role at Ramses' coronation as "Lord of the Two Lands" and "Lord of Diadems."

23. Various statues of kings and officials with the "august standard of Amon" have been found: Cairo 42149–50, of Ramses III (Georges Legrain, *Statues et statuettes des rois et de particuliers* II ["Catalogue général . . . du Musée du Caire" XLIX (Le Caire, 1909)] Pls. 12–13), and Cairo 42160, of *Bꜣk-n-Ḥnsw*, a high priest of Amon

during the time of Ramses III (*ibid.* Pl. 24). Special offerings to  of Ramses III are provided for in the Calendar of Medinet Habu (see *Medinet Habu* III, Pls. 150 [line 530] and 152 [line 591]). In the shrine of the bark of Amon the ram-headed standard of Amon usually stands at the head of other standards beside the pedestal of the bark (see Charles Boreux in *JEA* VII [1921] 115ff.).

Year 3, month 4 of the inundation season, day (30) 19. Bringing (31) a statue to the halls (32) of the king's court, (to) lead [the feast]." On the next preserved block: "[Bringing (33) a statue] to the halls (34) of the royal court of *Wsr-Ms't-R'-Mri'-Imn*, to (35) the house of Amon, king of the gods, (by) the may(36)or Paser." The inscriptions continue on the (possibly) left marginal block after the lost date: "(38) Bringing a statue [to] (39) the halls (40) of the king's court in order that Mut, (41) the great, mistress of Isheru, (40) should praise (43) the mayor (44) Paser, deceased, (42) every year to (43) *Wsr-Ms't-R'-Mri'-Imn*.²⁴ (44) Bring(45)ing a statue of the feast-leader, (46) who causes the ... of the god Khnum to appear."

THE SECOND REGISTER

Parts of two scenes are preserved. The first preserved figure at the left, a fanbearer in festival attire, extends above the lower of the two adjacent half-registers. He pays homage over an offering-stand on which a wreath, bread, and a jar are recognizable, though the jar is not very clear. The four persons who follow him (in the two half-registers) bring gifts on tables decorated with garlands: a bouquet (above right), two bowls with burning incense (below left), two collars (below right); only slight traces of the fourth table are preserved. Next comes a larger figure in festival raiment, presumably Paser followed by an attendant.²⁵ This figure holds aloft a bowl with burning incense and, according to the legend, announces the purpose of the festal procession of the scene, as does the king in the top register: "[...] (47) is this for (48) thy name, for the well-being of (49) the priest of Amon (50) Paser, deceased!" Above the gift-bearers is an exclamation: "(51) He does (52) good (53) for Pharaoh, (54) may he live, prosper, and be healthy, (55) Osiris, (56) the priest of Amon!"²⁶

In the scene which adjoins at the right, apparently Paser is being anointed. Two attendants serve him, their duties being indicated by the objects on stands before them. One places a collar on Paser, while the other anoints him from the usual type of ointment dish. At the extreme right, the vertical rows of sealed jars and tables bearing collars (representing oil and adornment) are signs of the favor of the king, who honored Paser with anointment.²⁷

The second register is separated from the third by a band of inscription, a prayer of the mayor: "(57) ... valley. May my name be called to receive an offering before the necropolis! May I have access to the Ennead! May I receive bread in the sacred land! May ... be assigned to [me] ...!"

THE BOTTOM REGISTER

Here we can combine with some certainty a few blocks from a scene in which Paser and his wife are seated (left) facing two of their children, a son and a daughter. Before the mayor and his wife is an offering-table attended by a priest or another son, behind whom is a singing harper. The beginnings of lines 71-73 of the inscriptions above the son and the daughter are on a block which extends from the second register into the third, thereby providing evidence for the joining of the blocks at this point. At the right end are scanty remains of wishes from offering prayers: "(58) ... Memphis (*inb [hd]*) (59) ... bark, without hindrance ... (60) my ... may [I] proceed ... (61) may

24. Dative and object transposed with honorific intent.

25. Beginning in the Old Kingdom important officials were represented with one attendant or with a retinue of attendants. For example, the high priest of Amon *Nb-wnm.f*, accompanied by his fanbearer, pays homage to Ramses II (Theban Tomb 157, east wall, north side).

26. Because of lack of space "Amon" was here written with the god sign plus the feather crown. For the same reason the name of Paser was omitted.

27. In the tomb of the high priest of Amon Amenemopet (Theban Tomb 148; unpublished) anointment is ordered in connection with "praise" for the presentation of statues: "One (i.e., Pharaoh) says: 'He shall be anointed with perfumed oil.'"

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I proceed to . . .” These wishes may have filled the right end of the register, which, if we judge by the horizontal band of inscription, extended to the right at least as far the beginning of the prayer ending with the word “valley” (see line 57); or they may have belonged with a representation adjoining at the right or they may have terminated offering prayers on a doorframe.

The son and daughter each have one hand raised in greeting to their parents, who are dressed in festival attire and seated on chairs with their feet on stools. In the other hand the son holds a baton and a kerchief, while the daughter has a lotus blossom with two buds. Under the daughter’s chair a small monkey nibbles dates. The arrangement of the legends of this pair is strange. That of the daughter reads in the usual direction, that is, with the signs facing in the same direction as the figure. The good wish “(62) may Osiris, lord of eternity, allow to enter and come forth²⁸ in the necropolis” is her prayer for her father or for both of her parents. The mother’s name precedes the daughter’s name (lost): “(63) [His (Paser’s) beloved sister], the wife and songstress of (64) [*Hri-š.f*]²⁹ *Ttiii*, (65) her daughter, the songstress of Amon [. . .].” Above the son are the title and part of the text of an offering prayer which includes his name and reads with signs facing toward him, in the same direction as the figure of Paser at the other end of the scene, whom it honors: “(66) Recitation of a very pure royal offering (i.e., speaking the offering prayer) by his son (67) [the priest] of Montu, the lord of Armant, Thut(68)[mose], deceased, (for) his father, the priest (69) [with pure] hands, the guardian of the mysteries of heaven, earth, and netherworld, the *šm*-priest (70) [of the lord of] eternity, the mayor Paser, de(71)ceased.” Only the beginning of the prayer itself is preserved: “(71 continued) He says: ‘The Nile has given (72) water and splendid plants (73) for . . .’”

Only scattered fragments of the rest of the scene are preserved. The mayor holds his staff and scepter; his wife, with a lotus blossom in her ointment cone, rests one hand on his shoulder. Very little of their legend remains: after the name “(79) Paser” come the title and name of his wife, “his beloved sister (80) [the wife] and songstress of *Hri-š.f* (see n. 29) (81) [*Ttiii*], deceased.” The offering-table in front of them is reconstructed as a “ka” on a stand, with the arms of the “ka” holding the offerings, as in similar scenes preserved elsewhere.³⁰ To the left of the offering-table is a sealed beer jug on a stand. The jug is ornamented with a lotus blossom. There was probably a second beer jug to the right of the offering-table. Between the table and the harper is a block³¹ with the head of a priest (or of another son) who performs rites at the banquet. His legend can be partially restored as follows: “(74) . . . for Osiris, the priest (75) [of Amon with pure hands], the mayor of the Southern City, the overseer of the treasury of the temple precinct (76) [of Amon . . .] Paser, deceased.” The next line includes the title and the beginning of the harper’s song and thus provides evidence for placing the block between the offering-table and the harper: “(77) [What the singer] with the harp [says in] the grave. He says: ‘Blessings on thee . . .’” A break at the right edge of this block could follow the outline of a “feather” on the head of the harp. It is curious that the space beside the beginning of the harper’s song is empty. Two blocks show remains of the figure of the harper and his harp. Behind him a boy, before whom are further remains of the harper’s song (line 78), holds the staff and sandals of the blind one.³² A scene in the tomb of the overseer of the altar Nakhtamon likewise combines food on a ka-table, a son presenting a drink, and music. The occasion is the morning of the Feast of *Nḥb-kꜣw* in the first month of winter (*pr.t*).³³ Such an interpretation of our

28. Written with the ingoing and the outgoing “official,” possibly with reference to Paser.

29. The ram-headed god of Ahnas, whence presumably Paser’s wife came.

30. In the tomb of Userhet (Theban Tomb 51); see Norman de Garis Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes* (PMMAT V [1927]) p. 12 and Pls. V and XII B. Also in the tomb of Nakhtamon (Theban Tomb 341), of the time of Ramses II; see Norman de Garis Davies and Alan H. Gardiner, *Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah* (London, 1948) pp. 38–39 and Pl. XXVIII.

31. Unfortunately this block, found in debris of the Great Girdle Wall (see *Excavation of Medinet Habu* IV 23, n. 4), could not be located when the earlier drawings were collated by Professor Hughes.

32. Cf. Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Two Sculptors at Thebes* (PMMAT IV [1925]) p. 31, n. 4.

33. See Davies and Gardiner, *Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah*, pp. 38–39 and Pl. XXVIII.

scene would link it with the presentation of statues, since gifts were presented at the royal court on the occasion of this feast.³⁴

The themes of two blocks suggest that they represent a banquet of relatives and visitors adjoining the main scene at the left. These show, behind traces of a figure which we interpret as the son standing behind Paser's wife, names of guests seated in the lower³⁵ part of a divided register: "(83) Her son, the master of the stable (84) of the residence, (85) Pa . . ." and "(86) . . . [he who is worthy] in the presence of Osiris, Minmes."³⁶ A third name, according to the direction of the signs, labels a man serving at the banquet: "(87) . . . [he who is worthy in the presence of] Osiris, *Šm-n-Pth*."

34. Frequently represented in 18th dynasty tombs at Thebes and el-Kab, where the New Year and the Feast of *Nḥb-kꜣw* were related. On the same occasion gifts were presented by relatives (in the tomb of Paheri, to the owner by his children and grandchildren).

35. The block containing lines 86–87 could just as well belong to the upper half-register.

36. Hölscher suggests that one of the chapels behind the temple precinct of Ramses III at Medinet Habu belongs to a Minmes, since three bricks stamped with this name were found in the vicinity (see *Excavation of Medinet Habu* IV 23). Here a Minmes appears as a relative of Paser or as his guest.

SCENES FROM THE FEAST OF SOKAR AND THE JOURNEY OF THE *NŠM.T*-BARK

REPRESENTATIONS of the Memphite gods and scenes of their feasts first appear in Theban tombs shortly before the 'Amarnah period. The earliest known example is in the tomb of Kheriuf,³⁷ who lived under Amenhotep III. There, in scenes of the jubilee feast of his lord, the erecting of the pillar of Memphis on the eve of the feast is depicted—a unique representation. In the tombs of the Ramessid period such scenes are limited to representations of the Sokar bark and the Nefertem symbol in their shrines³⁸—a new type at Thebes. The tomb of *Nb-wnn.f*, a high priest of Amon in the time of Ramses II, gives us, in a crowded scene, the only representation of the pillar of Osiris being erected by gods.³⁹ Of the gods of Abydos, Osiris and Anubis are represented as early as the 18th dynasty above stelae. The sacred *nšm.t*-bark appears, though not as an object of the cult of Abydos. The journey on the river to Abydos is, as a result of earlier pilgrimages, one of the favorite themes in ancient Egyptian tombs.⁴⁰ The barks used for such journeys, as well as river and portable barks which carried sarcophagi at funerals, were called *nšm.t*-barks⁴¹ and are shown with their characteristic prow and stern ornaments, which on river barks finally took the form of papyrus umbels. Apparently the necropolis possessed special river and portable barks, called *nšm.t*-barks, similar to the biers on which the faithful are carried to their tombs in Arabic cemeteries. It is possible that once, in a tomb at Deir el-Medinah,⁴² the sacred bark of the god Osiris, rather than a river bark, is represented beside a copy of the book for protecting the *nšm.t*-bark.

That the journey of the *nšm.t*-bark to a feast in Abydos was represented in the middle register of Wall II (Pl. 2) of the chapel of Paser seems obvious from various circumstances, principally that the festal procession is led by the standards of Abydos (see p. 10). The legend of this river bark, along with its prow, is lost. However, the legend (lines 2–3) of a portable bark which follows and is expressly designated as the bark of the goddess “Isis . . . in (*hr.t-ib*) Abydos” and an utterance to Paser (lines 4–6) which compares his journey with that of Osiris, the first of the Westerners (see p. 11), confirm the assumption that rites of Abydos are here involved. Difficulties arise in interpreting the top and bottom registers of Wall II. The only comparable material is in the mortuary temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu and consists of scenes of the Feast of Sokar which are paralleled by our scene of a procession with a peculiar portable bark in the top register (see p. 9)

37. Theban Tomb 192 (see Ahmed Fakhry, “A note on the tomb of Kheruef at Thebes,” *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* XLII [1943] 451–508).

38. E.g. the Sokar bark occurs in Theban Tombs 16 and 23, the bark and the Nefertem symbol in Nos. 45 and 68, the bark and the *qd*-pillar in No. 157, the bark and the Abydos symbol in No. 286, the bark and the staff of Amon in No. 44, the *qd*-pillar in Nos. 13 and 159.

39. Theban Tomb 157, hall, west wall, south side, beside doorway to passage, above a stela.

40. The form of the *nšm.t*-bark developed from coffin ships used in the processional at “Buto” (see Figs. 8 and 1ff. in Hermann Junker, “Der Tanz der *Muw* und das butische Begräbnis im Alten Reich,” *MDIAA* IX [1940] 1–39).

41. Theban Tomb 49; see Norman de Gatis Davies, *The Tomb of Nefer-hotep at Thebes I* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, “Publications of the Egyptian Expedition” IX [1933]) Pl. XXII. See also Erich Lüddeckens, “Untersuchungen über religiösen Gehalt, Sprache und Form der ägyptischen Totenklagen,” *MDIAA* XI (1943) 106–7.

42. Theban Tomb 5 (unpublished); a copy by Sethe is in the *Wörterbuch* files.

and a rope scene in the bottom register,⁴³ which might imply a ritual pulling of the bark. Hence, in addition to the journey of the *nšm.t*-bark, apparently the Feast of Sokar also is represented on this wall, as further suggested by a fragment with traces of the Sokar bark and the Nefertem symbol in a bark (see below). But the scenes from Paser's chapel show variations from those of Ramses III's temple. The figures carrying the rope are here characterized as gods. In a shrine in the bottom register are represented not the Memphite divinities of the Feast of Sokar but a god and a goddess, the scepter of the god suggesting Sokar rather than Osiris. Both registers are too damaged to allow a definite interpretation. Possibly their scenes together with the journey of the *nšm.t*-bark, which is nowhere else depicted, represent ceremonial customs transplanted to Thebes from Memphis and Abydos.

Two blocks from a scene of the Feast of Sokar include parts of the frieze and hence belong in the upper part of the top register, which is separated from the "sky" under the frieze by a line. Since such a line is lacking on the blocks showing the festal procession of river and portable barks, the latter does not belong in the top register. Below the procession is a horizontal band of inscription, beneath which another register adjoins. Therefore, if there were two registers above the band of inscription, as on Wall I, the procession must be assigned to the second register. The line below the "sky" is lacking likewise on the blocks showing the standards of Abydos, whose exact position in the register remains uncertain (see p. 10). Because of its height as indicated by remains of a half-register below it, the rope scene must be assigned to a third register, which, like the bottom register of Wall I, was taller than either of the other two. The blocks with traces of a lower border likewise belong to the bottom register. They prove that it was divided into two scenes, since behind the gods' shrine begins another scene which faces in the same direction as the processions in the upper registers and moves away from the shrine. The procession with the rope presumably is part of this scene, though its position in relation to the shrine is uncertain. This procession also may have moved toward a shrine. Two left marginal blocks with remains of a figure of Paser and with a lower border were inserted in the bottom register of Wall II because they can scarcely be used at the left end of Wall I or among the scenes of the Feast of the Valley (Wall III), where a lower border seems to be missing (see p. 13). For similar reasons two blocks with the feet of figures walking left were inserted in this bottom register of Wall II, though they cannot be exactly placed.

THE TOP REGISTER

Two blocks are preserved, between which, according to the pattern of the frieze on Wall I, there is a gap. Here, as in the lower registers,⁴⁴ the procession moves toward the Anubis figures of the frieze. Thus the right end of the scene is the destination of the procession, presumably the chapel of which traces appear at the right end on the right-hand block—the shrine of Sokar or of the Sokar bark. The position of the block shown below it, with traces of the Nefertem staff and the Sokar bark, is uncertain. Three clothing chests⁴⁵ ornamented with feathers stand on sledges before the shrine. The left-hand block shows a bark carried on poles by priests—a small part of a festal procession which is represented in Ramses III's temple at Medinet Habu.⁴⁶ As in the temple, the bark carries a stand for a throne or a chest, with bags of perfume at either side. A priest with the standard of the "Opener of the Way," who in the temple appears toward the end of the procession along with other standard-bearers, follows the bark. The gap between the two blocks might be filled with a fourth chest and a priest leading the procession. The falcon standard shown in the reconstruction is not certain.

43. Cf. *Medinet Habu* IV, Pls. 226 and 224 respectively; see also Pls. 218–23 and 225.

44. Except for the two blocks with legs walking left in the bottom register.

45. Called *mr.t* (*Wörterbuch* II 108, Nos. 4–5) or *šṭ.t* (*ibid.* Vol. IV 354, No. 7) as early as the Old Kingdom.

46. *Medinet Habu* IV, Pl. 226.

THE SECOND REGISTER

Larger fragments of this register can be put in place, though the position of the blocks showing the standards which in our reconstruction precede the festal procession headed by the *nšm.t*-bark has not been determined. It is likely, however, that the procession was led by standards which regularly "opened the way." Our fragments show the upper bodies of men carrying stands bearing standards known from the temple of Seti I at Abydos.⁴⁷ Preserved are the tail of the "Opener of the Way," the god Thoth in ibis form, and a figure of Onuris, the nome god of Abydos, with long garment, feather crown, and lance. A small figure of the king wearing uraeus, headcloth, and short skirt and with arms outstretched stands on a projection on the shaft of the Onuris standard.⁴⁸ There follows a priest carrying another standard (top lost), perhaps the Abydos symbol itself.⁴⁹

Of the *nšm.t*-bark, which floats on "water," part of the hull, the stern, which ends in a papyrus umbel ornamented with fluttering streamers, and part of the shrine which it carries are preserved. It can be reconstructed from numerous representations of the sacred bark of Abydos, which is known from hieroglyphic also.⁵⁰ The baldachin above the shrine is decorated with streamers. Behind it stands the "instrument of judgment," well known on sun barks.⁵¹ Anubis, painted black, steers the tiller, which is falcon-headed as in other divine barks, and his free arm with closed fist is raised in praise of the god of the bark, as so often are the arms of similar figures of the "rejoicing" souls of Hierakonpolis. A worshiping figure of the king, wearing headcloth and uraeus and with arms upraised, kneels under the papyrus of the stern.

A drummer precedes the first of the portable objects which follow the *nšm.t*-bark on "land," while a priest with two censers precedes the second. Before the priest is the legend: "(1) [Cens]ing before Isis, the great, the mother of the god, in Abydos." Only the second portable object can be identified; it is the bark of the goddess "(2) Isis, the great, the mother of the god, (3) in Abydos." The figures on its prow and stern represent the head of Isis ornamented with Hathor crown, collar, and necklace. Of the figures usually found on barks, a sphinx on a standard, a standing figure of the king offering libation, and part of a kneeling figure of the king supporting the baldachin are preserved. The winged sun disk of the god of Edfu appears above the baldachin. The bark is carried by six pairs of bearers. It is escorted by a priest censuring before it,⁵² a figure holding a bouquet, sunshade-bearers who protect the heads on the prow and stern, and a priest wearing a panther skin. The first portable object is lost, but there are traces of its bearers and escort. Behind the drummer are traces which are less distinct than those shown on Plate 2. The photograph suggests part of a ram's horn on an *stf*-crown, as on the head of the prow figure of the bark represented in the Osiris chapel of Seti I in his temple at Abydos.⁵³ Probably, therefore, it was the Abydos symbol on that bark toward which the priest below the drummer raised his censer. In our reconstruction this group is allowed the same space as that with the bark of Isis.

47. In the chapel of Osiris the standards of the two "Openers of the Way," Thoth, Horus who protects his father, and Onuris stand before the symbol of Abydos (see Amice M. Calverley and Alan H. Gardiner, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos I* [London and Chicago, 1933] Pls. 10–11). The standard of Thoth on a portable stand is depicted *ibid.* Vol. III (1938) Pl. 7.

48. Such royal figures are occasionally fixed on staffs, as on the august staffs of Amon, Mut, and Khonsu which Ramses III presents to those gods in the treasury of his temple at Medinet Habu (see *Medinet Habu V*, Pl. 330).

49. Cf. n. 47. This priest, however, could have held one of the numerous staffs which were carried by priests in the Feast of Sokar.

50. As early as the Middle Kingdom with the sternhead in the form of a papyrus, especially on the Berlin sarcophagi from Gebelein.

51. See Herman Kees, *Der Götterglaube im alten Aegypten* ("Mitteilungen der vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft" XLV [Leipzig, 1941] p. 105. As early as the time of the Pyramid Texts the hieroglyph used for "sun bark" included the "instrument of judgment."

52. His arms are lost, but the position of his head and the preserved bowl of the censer indicate a figure in an attitude similar to that of the priest below the drummer.

53. See Calverley and Gardiner, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos I*, Pl. 6.

The second river bark floats, as in the hieroglyph for "boat," on a "river," which is partially preserved. Instead of a shrine this bark carries a heavily laden altar standing between bouquets. The offerings include various kinds of cakes, bread, heads, legs, and other meat cuts. Above them are censers of the type which, beginning in the 'Amarnah period, symbolized the burning of offerings. Traces of the feet of two men approaching the altar from the right are preserved, but their activity⁵⁴ is uncertain; presumably one of them represents Paser (see below). A rope leads from one of the feet to a man or boy swimming in the "river." A man standing on the prow is rowing; another, behind the altar, steers in the usual bent position. A woman wearing a headband is seated on the prow, another on the stern;⁵⁵ they represent the "large" and the "small" mourning woman,⁵⁶ Isis and Nephthys. The only preserved legend is an utterance of the rower: "(4) He says: 'May there row thee (5) the ... of Abydos (6) like Osiris, the first of the Westerners.'" This utterance must be addressed to a figure of Paser, presumably one of the lost figures between the altar and the rower.⁵⁷

Beneath this procession is a band of inscription with signs facing in the same direction as the Anubis figures in the frieze, though the corresponding inscription on Wall I reads in the opposite direction: "(7) ... [when] Sothis renews (herself) [at] her time. May (I be able to) see the sun (*itn*) and praise [Har]akhte when his rays are upon (*hr-tp*) me. May I find space (in) the sun(?) bark without hindrance. May (I) turn (my) face toward that which [I] desire ... May I tread the hall of truth..."

THE BOTTOM REGISTER

Traces of the beginnings of vertical lines of inscription are preserved at the top of the register on blocks which include portions of the second register. These lines, however, read in the opposite direction from those above the rope scene (see below). Possibly the direction of the writing changes to accord with the representation of the gods' shrine, which can be inserted only to the right of these fragments of inscription. Hence the rope scene would come even farther to the right, at an indefinite distance behind the shrine. Beneath the rope-bearers traces of an adjoining scene, which terminates in a figure immediately behind the shrine, indicate that the rope scene belongs in the upper half of this register, which is divided at this point. Figures with divine beards hold the rope, one pair with hands touching. As suggested above (p. 9), this fragment probably represents a ceremony of the feast of Sokar which is portrayed in the temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu.⁵⁸ There two rows of "friends," princes, and priests carry the ends of a rope, while Ramses III holds the middle. In the chapel of Paser a figure with divine beard and wearing a bull tail, his hands raised in praise of the objective of the procession, accompanies the rope-carriers. In front of him is a jar-stand with libation vessel and lotus blossom. In the lower half-register are traces of another figure wearing a bull tail and with the preserved arm upraised—rejoicing or thrusting a spear—who strides to the right of the shrine and possibly terminates another row of gods or priests in divine garb. In the lines of inscription above the rope-carriers, remains of songs are recognizable: "... (8) ... O (9) ... lord of Busiris, (10) O (11) how beautiful is (12) ... [everything] which the lord (13) of eternity does, who abides (14) [forever] ..." These are reminiscent of the Sokar litany from

54. Suggested in Pl. 2 on the basis of a reconstructed scene in Theban Tomb 31 showing two tugboats towing the river bark of Montu (see Davies and Gardiner, *Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah*, pp. 13-14 and Pl. XI); between the figures of the mourning women one would expect a catafalque, but there seems to be no room for one between the two men and the altar.

55. Of the latter only a fragment of one arm and the ends of the streamers of the headband are preserved.

56. Found as early as the Old Kingdom on barks carrying sarcophagi or catafalques in the funerary journey (see Junker, *op. cit.* p. 10 and Figs. 3, 5, 7) and often designated as the small and the large "hawk" (*dr.t*); see Nina de Garies Davies and Alan H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhêt* ("The Theban Tomb Series" I [London, 1915]) p. 53 and Pl. XI.

57. If the utterance of the rower refers of the future, the addressee does not yet lie in the coffin.

58. *Medinet Habu* IV, Pl. 224.


12 *WALL SCENES FROM THE MORTUARY CHAPEL OF THE MAYOR PASER*

the Feast of Sokar as represented in Ramses III's temple⁵⁹ and from later papyri.⁶⁰ On the block showing the rope scene, the lower half-register, separated by a single line, has remains of more vertical lines of inscription, with signs facing in the same direction as those above and with the double crown of a crowned figure between lines 16 and 17, "... possessor of glory."

The scene to which the rope-carriers belong is separated from that which adjoins at the left by a vertical line of inscription which ends with the names of Paser and his wife (line 18).⁶¹ Only fragments of the lower part of the scene at the left are preserved. At the right end are remains of a shrine occupied by a god and a goddess. The god, who holds his scepter before him, sits on a throne painted in colors and placed on a platform. The goddess stands behind him holding a "jubilee" sign in her right hand. Animal offerings lie on mats before the shrine. The beginnings of vertical lines of inscription at the top of the space in front of the shrine read in the opposite direction from the legend of the rope procession. These may refer to a procession represented by two fragments with the feet of figures walking left, which can scarcely be placed elsewhere than on this wall (see p. 9). At the left end of the wall are two blocks with remains of a representation of Paser, who perhaps greets a festal procession approaching him. Behind him is written in small signs: "(19) Osiris, the mayor Paser, deceased." The bottom of a line of inscription which extends along the left margin is preserved: (20) ... [in] the sacred house of the ka of Amon, Osiris, the mayor Paser, deceased, possessor of worthiness."

59. *Ibid.*

60. E.g. Papyrus Bremner-Rhind (British Museum 10188); see Raymond O. Faulkner's hieroglyphic transcription in "Bibliotheca aegyptiaca" III (Bruxelles, 1933) 35ff. and his translation in *JEA* XXIII (1937) 12-14.

61. Here the name of the wife is written without .

SCENES FROM THE BEAUTIFUL FEAST OF THE VALLEY

THE remains of Wall III would at first glance seem to belong to a second structure, since on the basis of our reconstruction (Pl. 3) it appears to be higher than Walls I and II. At the bottom there is only a single line instead of a wide border. The surface above the horizontal band of inscription contains a single tall register, whereas the corresponding surface on each of the other two walls is divided into two registers. There is no positive evidence for joining the fragments of the upper register of Wall III with the blocks of the frieze. Two circumstances, however, suggest that this frieze should be combined with this wall: (1) It is the only wall which could have a frieze whose Anubis figures face right, that is, in the opposite direction from those of the other two walls. (2) It seems unlikely that these frieze blocks are the sole remnant of a fourth wall and that not a single fragment of the frieze above the scenes of the Feast of the Valley is preserved. Moreover, the element which is common to all three walls, the horizontal band of inscription near the center, is so striking that it seems desirable to consider the possibility that all three walls formed one unit and to seek grounds for differentiating them. The parts of the upper register of Wall III which are adjoined by the horizontal band of inscription show only that the representation is taller than the corresponding ones on the other two walls. Since there is no way of determining the upper limit of the upper register, its height is assumed to be about equal to that of the two upper registers of each of the other two walls. Then the horizontal band of inscription would be approximately in the center of the Wall III also. The height of its lower register can only be presumed on the basis of the representations, since there is no group of contiguous blocks extending from top to bottom. The reconstructed height slightly exceeds that of the bottom register of each of the other two walls, but the lack of a lower border in part offsets the difference. The border may have been omitted for the very reason that more space was needed for the scenes in this register.

THE UPPER REGISTER

Above the central band of inscription are preserved traces of a festal procession in which a shrine is being carried in a portable bark. We can identify one leg of an escorting priest, the feet and skirts of the rear group of carriers, the feet and skirt of a sunshade-bearer, and the figures of two escorts with papyrus plants, one of them perhaps Paser following his god. The bark itself is lost, but part of the roof of a shrine beneath a baldachin and part of a sunshade are preserved on one block. Presumably the sunshade protects the prowhead of the bark. At this point, in a register which is assumed to be about double the height of the top register of each of the other two walls, the bark can only be that of the god Amon, which perhaps is mentioned in a horizontal line of inscription with signs facing in the opposite direction from the procession. Only three hieroglyphs of this line are preserved: "(1) . . . [who lifts up] the beauty⁶² of A[mon] . . ." Beneath them parts of two vertical lines of inscription reading in the same direction are recognizable: "(2) . . . god[s] . . . (3) in addition to the offering at every season . . ."

62. *Wts-nfr.w* could be the designation of the bark itself (see *Wörterbuch* I 383, No. 11).

14 WALL SCENES FROM THE MORTUARY CHAPEL OF THE MAYOR PASER

The inscription which separates the two registers is addressed to the deceased in the second person. It begins on a block preserved at the left edge: "(4) May thy voice be true,⁶³ . . . and (mayest thou) enter the earth among the august spirits who are before Osiris. Mayest thou eat of the offerings and participate in the repast like the gods of the netherworld. Mayest thou be called into the presence of *Wnn-nfr* like those who follow Horus,⁶⁴ unhindered like one of them. Mayest thou abide with enduring name. The north wind which has come from Atum [. . .]."

THE LOWER REGISTER

Several blocks containing remains just beneath the horizontal band of inscription fit together, as do a few others at the right end of the reconstructed scene. In the center the river bark of the god Amon floats between a pylon with two flagstaffs and what seems to be another structure, perhaps an altar accessible by means of a stairway. This structure bears objects well known as offerings to Hathor.⁶⁵ The bark itself is lost, but an upper corner of the shrine which it carried is preserved and indicates its course as leaving the temple in the same direction as a small accompanying boat (see below). The left end of the scene is occupied by a garden of trees and an altar with a ramp. A special gate leads to the garden. Between two trees, near the altar, stands a jug which perhaps served in the consecration of animal offerings.⁶⁶ One corner of a multiple-storied building appears beneath the altar ramp. The position of the block with remains of figures of "[songstresses of] Armant(?),"⁶⁷ who face in the direction of the departing bark of Amon, is uncertain. Another block placed at the bottom of the register has two stands, and the block which adjoins it above shows the bowls and offerings on the stands as well as a bit of a tree-lined watercourse on which a boat is being rowed. At the left of the offering-stands are traces of a man who, according to the position of his back, may be making another offering. The watercourse may continue to the left and carry the river bark of Amon also. A fragment at the upper right in the middle group shows traces of a bowl and offerings on a stand, and farther to the right are parts of ceremonies toward which the bark is moving. At the top in a narrow sub-register are parts of one leg and the garment of a man, perhaps Paser, who is kneeling or stretched out (as in our reconstruction⁶⁸) kissing the ground. There is no preserved connection with the fragmentary offering-table at the left, which belongs in a similar sub-register. Under the man's leg parts of two vertical lines of inscription are preserved: "(5) May the king be gracious and give (to) him who is before his chapel, 'Imi-ut, the lord of the necropolis, the guardian of the mysteries of *Wnn-nfr* . . . (6) May the king be gracious and give (to) Hathor, in charge of the desert (see p. 2), mistress of the West, who conceals the multitude . . .". Mention of these divinities of Western Thebes and its valley in connection with the journey of the river bark might indicate that its destination is the chapels of Hathor and Anubis situated on the west side of Thebes,⁶⁹ which perhaps were still standing at Deir el-Bahri in the time of Ramses III. The only occasion known to us of such a visit is the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, and thus it

63. What follows before the break reads *sm sb nk*, which seems to address the deceased as *sm*, followed by an imperative with reflexive dative: "join (for thyself)." *Sm* may refer to the sacerdotal office of the mayor in the Feast of Amon (see p. 2).

64. The "royal retinue," known from prehistoric times (see Kees *op. cit.* pp. 207 and 285), here enjoys the privilege of unhindered access to Osiris.

65. See e.g. Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemré at Thebes II* (PMMA III [1923]) Pl. LV; Davies suggests (p. 19) that such objects represent cakes.

66. In the tomb of the land-registrar Menna such a jug (as occasionally elsewhere also) is brought along with parts of a slaughtered animal.

67. Only the word "Armant" or "Denderah" is preserved in the legend of these figures.

68. In the Feast of Sokar as represented in the temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu two such men appear side by side kissing the ground (see *Medinet Habu* IV, Pl. 226), but on our fragment there are traces of only one foot.

69. Cf. Schott, *Das schöne Fest vom Wüstentale*, pp. 769f. For such a bark visiting Western Thebes, see Norman de Garis Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes*, Pl. XXVIII and p. 54.

seems probable that this main feast of Western Thebes is depicted on Wall III. The beginning of a procession which is perhaps leaving these temples shows rows of priests behind a singer. At the head of the middle row is a priest who may well be offering incense before a god or gods in the procession. In the top row are standard-bearers (the standards themselves being lost). In the bottom row are two men of the escort, each with a papyrus,⁷⁰ and a priest wearing a panther skin. Presumably the visited gods mentioned in the offering prayers advance toward the river bark of the god Amon of Karnak, whose portable bark in the upper register moves in solemn procession through the necropolis. The wall is too badly damaged, however, to allow further conjecture concerning its unusual representations.

70. In the tomb of the second priest of Amon Amenhotep-Si-Se rows of men with papyri and branches(?) escort him to the temple (Theban Tomb 75; see Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tombs of Two Officials of Tuthmosis the Fourth* [London, 1923] Pls. XIII-XIV and pp. 8-10).

THE ORIGINAL LOCATION OF THE RELIEFS OF PASER

THE blocks have been divided, except for a few (see Figs. 2-9), into three large groups, each of which reveals distinct characteristics as to composition and theme. The homogeneity of the groups representing the two feasts (Pls. 2-3) is attested by their themes. In the third group (Pl. 1), obviously the anointment of Paser has some relationship to presentations at the royal court which include the statues in the top register. The representations of more intimate ceremonies with offering prayers and harper's song in the register beneath the horizontal band of inscription present first of all a good picture of public honoring in a happy family group (for eternity). In addition it is possible that the scenes of this group can be interpreted as representations of a special festal occasion. A scene similar to that in the bottom register occurs in the tomb of Nakht-amon (see p. 6) and is dated 2d(?) day of the 5th month (i.e., 1st month of *pr.t*), on the morning of the Feast of *Nḥb-kꜣw*. This high feast day at the royal court was celebrated as a kind of second New Year's feast at the beginning of winter (*pr.t*)—an occasion for gifts and honors—and, above all, it established the date of the jubilee feast. The deliveries of statues by the mayor to the royal court took place, as far as their dates are preserved, on the following days:

10th day of the 4th month of the 2d year (line 18)

14th day of the 5th month of the 18th year (lines 24-25)

19th day of the 4th month of the 3rd year (lines 29-30).

These days all fall within the span of about a month around the 1st day of the 5th month. The deliveries of the various years apparently all took place on the same festival occasion, and the Feast of *Nḥb-kꜣw* on the new-moon day of the 5th Egyptian month seems the most likely possibility.⁷¹ The representations of this group accordingly combine the gifts "brought" to the royal court by Paser for the Feast of *Nḥb-kꜣw*, the proof of royal favor resulting therefrom, and the celebration (for all eternity) in the bosom of his family.

Our grouping of the blocks yields a composition in three registers for the Feast of Sokar and the journey of the *nšm.t*-bark and for the scenes of Paser's official life. Although the bottom of the top register is lacking in each of these two groups, restoration of the figures preserved in the upper part of the register, especially the king in his pavilion, indicates that the height of this register is in each case about the same as that of the second register, which is known for each of the two groups. In each case the two upper registers are separated from the third by a band of inscription. Under this band are the beginnings of vertical lines of inscription, which in the scenes of official life provide evidence for the joining of the blocks of the third register (see p. 5). Its height, including the band of inscription but without the lower border (10 cm.), is about equal to that of the two upper registers combined. For the group representing the Feast of the Valley the horizontal band of inscription marks the approximate center of the composition. Here the upper part could not have been divided into two registers, for the restoration of the portable bark at the head of the festal procession extends the full height of the available space. The height of the lower register cannot be determined on the basis of the remains of the reliefs, since among the preserved blocks

71. Cf. Ludwig Borchardt, *Die Mittel zur zeitlichen Festlegung von Punkten der ägyptischen Geschichte und ihre Anwendung* ("Quellen und Forschungen zur Zeitbestimmung der ägyptischen Geschichte" II [Berlin, 1935]) pp. 19ff. and the monuments discussed *ibid.* pp. 47ff.

THE ORIGINAL LOCATION OF THE RELIEFS

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there is nowhere continuity from top to bottom. The dimensions of the reliefs on this wall as given in the following table are based on our reconstruction of the scenes (Pl. 3):

	Wall I (official life)	Wall II (Feast of Sokar etc.)	Wall III (Feast of the Valley)
Minimum length	6.00 m.	6.50 m.	5.50 m.
Total height	ca. 3.30 m.	3.30 m.	3.40 m.
Frieze	ca. 0.40 m.	0.40 m.	0.40 m.
Top register	ca. 0.70 m.	0.70 m.	1.30 m.
Second register	ca. 0.70 m.	0.70 m.	—
Bottom register, with band of inscription and lower border	ca. 1.50 m.	1.50 m.	1.70 m.

As suggested above, the difference in height between the reliefs on Wall III and those on the other two walls was apparently offset by omission of a lower border.

The horizontal bands of inscription and the friezes yield clues as to the original location of the reliefs in the chapel of Paser. In the friezes of Walls I and II the Anubis figures face in the same direction (toward the left). The bands of inscription in the center, however, read in opposite directions on the two walls, on Wall II from left to right and on Wall I from right to left. Since the figures of the gods of the western desert usually face toward the outside from the interiors of tombs, as do the Anubis figures in friezes,⁷² such figures face left in the southern part and right in the northern part of a structure with east-west axis. Thus it would seem that our two groups of blocks with Anubis facing left originated in the southern part of Paser's chapel, which was decorated like the tombs. The frieze blocks with Anubis facing right, which in our reconstructions are placed above the scenes of the Feast of the Valley, would then have originated in the northern part of the chapel. Another clue as to the original location is given by the central bands of inscription, which would read in the same direction on walls oriented in the same direction. Before the blocks were studied in detail, Hölscher had suggested that they originated in the cult chambers of Chapels I and V because of brick banquettes indicating that the side (i.e., north and south) walls of these chambers were faced with stone.⁷³ But our two "south" walls—the scenes of official life and those of the Feast of Sokar and the journey of the *nšm.t*-bark—came from the same structure and could not have originated in either cult chamber, since in neither could the south wall, with a length of 10.55 or 10.10 m.,⁷⁴ have carried both groups of scenes (at least 12.50 m. long).⁷⁵ It seems unlikely that one of these groups of blocks can be assigned to the south wall of the cult chamber and the other to the south wall of the anteroom in either chapel, because of the fact that their center bands of inscription read in opposite directions. We must therefore seek other possibilities. The forecourt (in either Chapel I or Chapel V⁷⁶) seems to offer a solution to the problem. The blocks from the southern part of the chapel could be assigned to the east and south walls—the scenes of the Feast of Sokar and the journey of the *nšm.t*-bark to the south half of the east wall and the scenes of official life to the south wall—according to the direction of their horizontal bands of inscription (Fig. 1). The scenes of the Feast of the Valley might, then, be assigned to the north wall of the forecourt. It might be possible, on the other hand, to assign just one of the groups of blocks to the cult chamber. Perhaps the lack of a lower border is an indication that the scenes of the Feast of the Valley did not originate in the same room as the other two groups of blocks and so might be assigned to the cult room. In such a case, however, the blocks would have been scattered originally, whereas

72. This rule holds in Theban Tombs 45, 255, and 341; in Tombs 31 and 51 (northern part), however, the friezes on the short walls do not follow it. Concerning various types of similar friezes with Anubis figures see E. Mackay, "Khoker friezes," *Ancient Egypt*, 1920, pp. 111–22.

73. See *Excavation of Medinet Habu* IV 22–23 and Pl. 42.

74. *Ibid.* p. 22.

75. The cult chambers of Chapels II–IV were even smaller (see *ibid.* Pl. 42).

76. The forecourts of Chapels II–IV are too small.

18 WALL SCENES FROM THE MORTUARY CHAPEL OF THE MAYOR PASER

it is to be assumed that they had all been removed from approximately the same place. Another possibility, which complies with this assumption, is that the scenes of the Feast of the Valley originated in the sanctuary of a chapel adjacent to and contemporary with Paser's chapel (i.e., Chapel IV or III⁷⁷). Then they would have been situated near the other representations, and thus

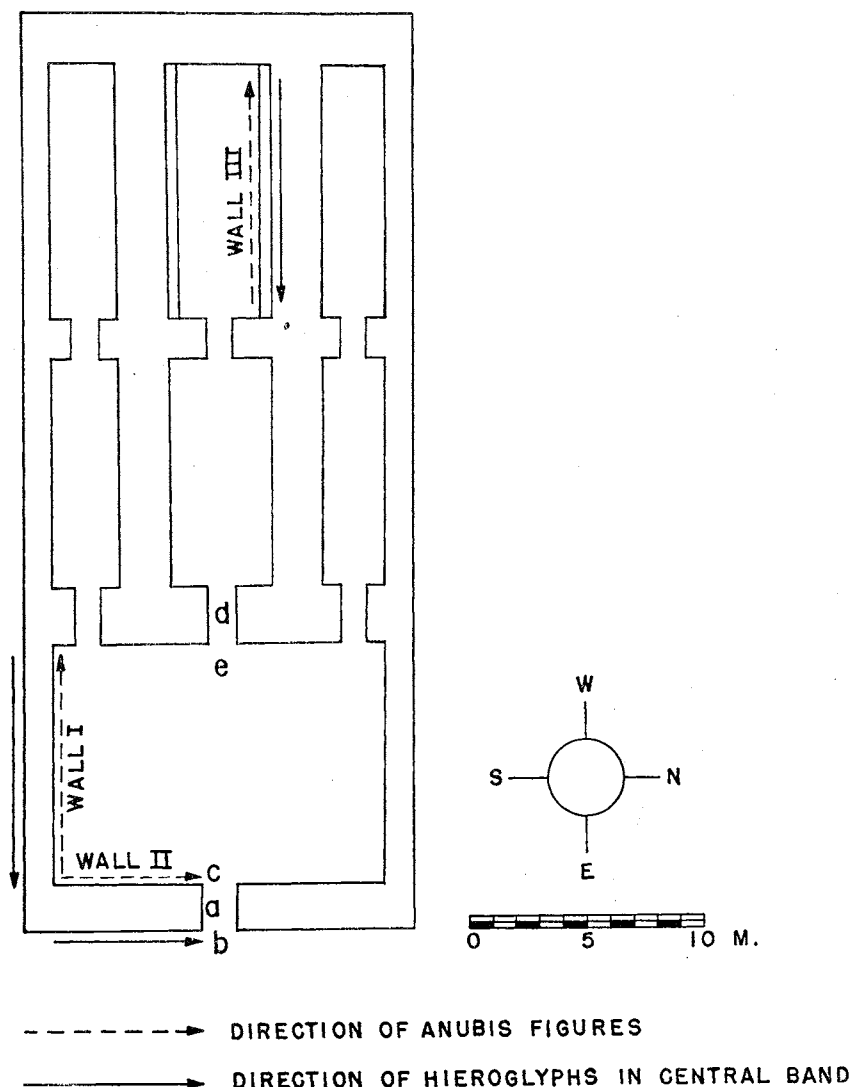


Fig. 1. Sketch Plan of Chapel I (or Chapel V) Showing Suggested Locations of Walls I-III and Fragments Shown in Figures 4 (at *a* or *d*), 5 (at *b* or *e*), and 6 (at *c*). For more detailed plans of Chapels I and V see *Excavation of Medinet Habu* IV, Plate 42

all blocks could have been removed during the same operation. The last suggestion, to be sure, raises a question as to the frieze which we have combined with the scenes of the Feast of the Valley. It then could not belong to this wall, since it names Paser. Another indication as to the owner of the chapel represented by Wall III is provided by the fact that he seems to be addressed as *šm*, a title which we tried to combine with Paser's sacerdotal office (see p. 14, n. 63).

77. See *Excavation of Medinet Habu* IV, Pl. 42.

MISCELLANEOUS FRAGMENTS

A FEW blocks have not been assigned to any of the three groups discussed above. One is a frieze fragment (Fig. 2) whose left-facing Anubis indicates that it came from a wall in the southern part of Paser's chapel. It could belong to Wall II, but it cannot be assigned to Wall I because of traces of a head which do not coincide with the remains of the rejoicing figure of Paser in the top register of Wall I (see p. 2). A second block shows remains of a shrine (Fig. 3)

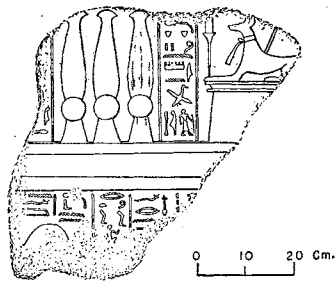


Fig. 2. Fragment of Frieze with Left-facing Anubis and Traces of Head of Paser(?) in Top Register, Perhaps from Wall II

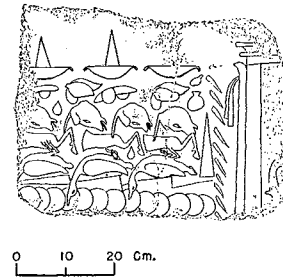


Fig. 3. Fragment with Remains of Shrine and Offerings, Perhaps from Wall II

before whose divinity stands a libation jar; in front of the shrine are three incense bowls above piles of offerings consisting of geese, legs, heads, and viscera. This fragment likewise could belong to Wall II, and, unless the top register of that wall was divided into several scenes, the shrine could be considered the destination of the procession of barks in the second register.

From another part of the chapel came a block with the upraised hand of the mayor and the legend: "... river(?) bark of Amon, the mayor [Paser . . .]." Together with a block which preserves in finely modeled relief parts of a panther skin, a girdle, and a festive garment it appears to belong to a figure of the mayor wearing priestly garb and worshiping the sun-god (Fig. 4). Such a representation could be assigned to the south reveal of the entrance to the chapel or of the doorway to the anteroom of the cult chamber (see Fig. 1 at *a* or *d*). Four blocks of a symbolic representation of the rising sun are preserved (Fig. 5). A winged scarab beetle holding a sun disk appears above a sacred pillar which is standing on a "mountain." This group is worshiped on either side by the goddesses Isis and Nephthys, by apes and creatures of the desert (gazelles and "dancing" ostriches), and by the souls of Hierakonpolis and Buto. This representation would be appropriate above the entrance to the chapel or above the doorway to the anteroom of the cult chamber (see Fig. 1 at *b*

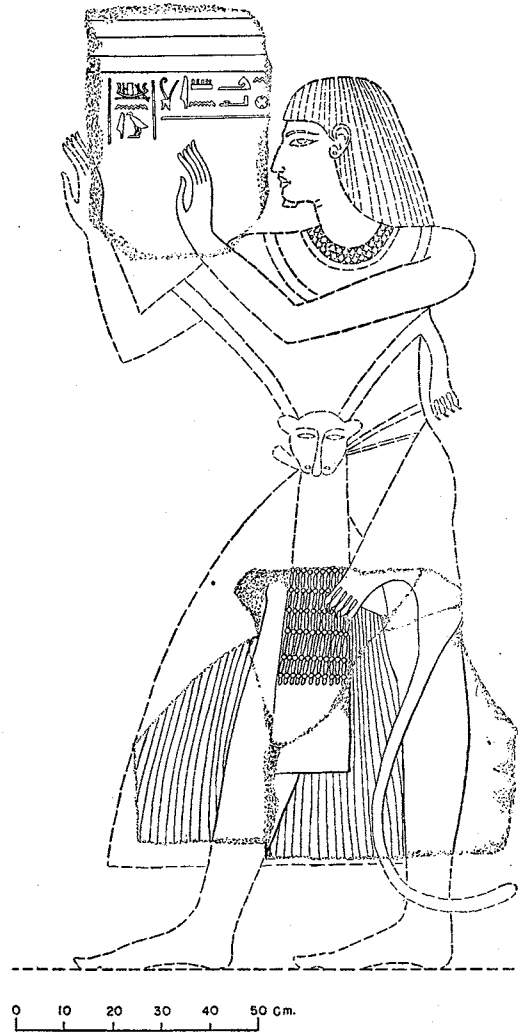


Fig. 4. Reconstructed Figure of Paser(?) Apparently Worshipping the Sun-God

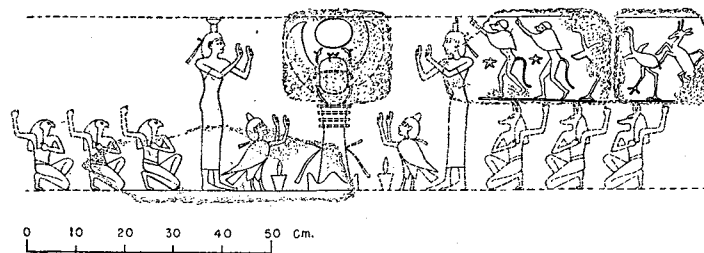


Fig. 5. Symbolic Representation of the Rising Sun, Reconstructed from Four Blocks

or *e*). Another block preserves the upper right-hand corner of a doorframe and a bit of an Anubis frieze (Fig. 6). It is from the southern part of the chapel, since the Anubis figure faces left. Probably the Anubis figures changed direction at the center of the doorway, so that this doorframe could have been in the east wall of the forecourt (see Fig. 1 at *c*) or perhaps even inside the cult chamber

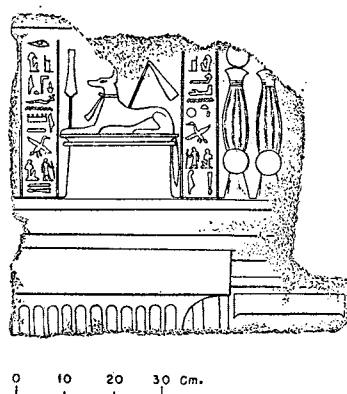


Fig. 6. Fragment of Frieze with Left-facing Anubis and Upper Corner of a Doorframe

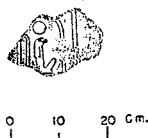


Fig. 7. Fragment of Cartouche of Ramses III,
Perhaps from Doorframe of Figure 6

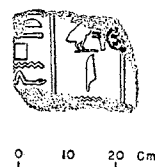


Fig. 8. Fragment of Inscription,
Perhaps from Doorframe of Figure 6

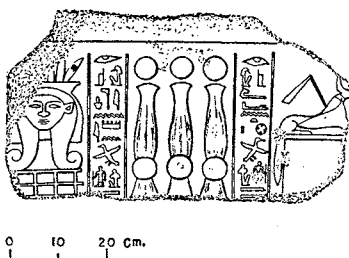
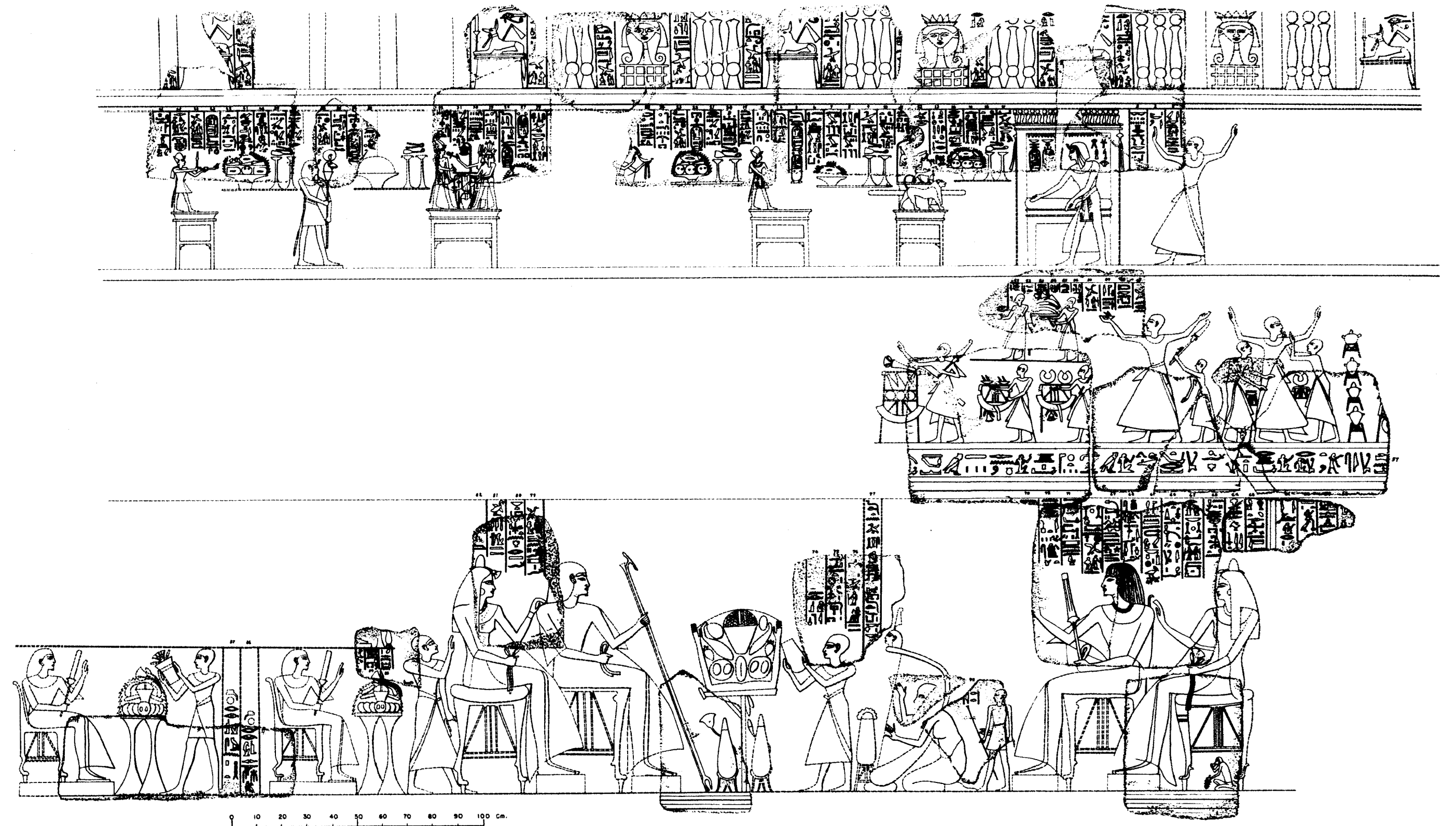


Fig. 9. Fragment of Frieze with Right-facing Anubis

or its anteroom. Beneath the "sky" hieroglyph beside the doorway was an inscription of which presumably the name of Ramses III on one block (Fig. 7) and several hieroglyphs on another (Fig. 8) are preserved. A third frieze fragment, with a right-facing Anubis (Fig. 9), came from a wall in the northern part of the chapel.



WALL I. SCENES FROM THE OFFICIAL LIFE OF THE MAYOR PASER



