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PEPY-ANKH-NES, WIFE OF ZAU  
(see Plate VI.).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF EGYPT

EDITED BY F. LL. GRIFFITH

TWELFTH MEMOIR

THE ROCK TOMBS  
OF  
DEIR EL GEBRÂWÎ

PART II.—TOMB OF ZAU AND TOMBS OF THE  
NORTHERN GROUP

BY

N. DE G. DAVIES

*With Appendices by*

W. E. CRUM AND G. A. BOULENGER

TWENTY-NINE PLATES AND FRONTISPIECE

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# THE ROCK TOMBS

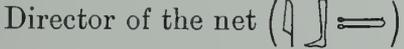
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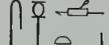
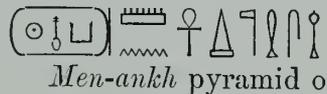
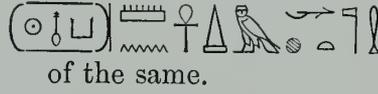
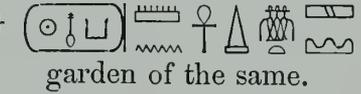
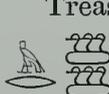
# DEIR EL GEBRÂWI.

### PART II.

## I.—TOMB OF ZAU, SURNAMED SHMAA.

Titles of Zau (commencing with those on Plates VI. and IX. in order):—

1.  Hereditary Prince.
2.  *Ha*-prince.
- 3.\*  Staff of Hapi.
- 4.\*  . . . . .
- 5.\*†  Director of the net ()<sup>1</sup>  
of Horus.
- 6.\*  He who belongs to Nekhen.
- 7.\*  Great Chief of Nekheb.
8.  Royal Chancellor.
9.  Great Chief of the Nome of This.
10.  He of the Great Residence.
11.  Superintendent of the South.
12.  Governor of the Residence.

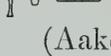
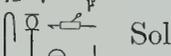
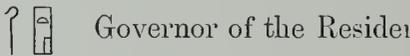
13.  Sole Companion.
14.  [Chief] Lector.
- 15.\*  Chief Priest of the  
*Men-ankh* pyramid of King Neferkara.<sup>2</sup>
16.  Second priest  
of the same.
- 17.\*†  Keeper of the  
garden of the same.
18.  Great Chief of the *Du-ef* Nome.
- 19.\*  Superintendent of the two  
Granaries.
- 20.\*  Superintendent of the two  
Treasuries.
21.  Superintendent of the two Fowl-  
ing Pools.

<sup>1</sup> DARESSY, *Le Mastaba de Mera*, pp. 550, 554.

\* Titles not assigned to his son.

† Titles not assigned to Aba.

<sup>2</sup> On Plates v. and xii. an honorific determinative is added to the name of the pyramid. This determinative symbolizes the offering of products at the royal tomb by the Nile god, or perhaps by the land of Egypt.—[ED.]

- 22.\*†  Wab-priest of .....<sup>1</sup>  
(Plate x.)
23.  Superintendent of the distribution of divine offerings from the two Houses. (Plate x.)
24.  Sem-priest. (Plate xii.)
25.  Master of every kind of tunic.  
(Plate xii.)
- 26.†  He who is over the secrets of sole audience.  
(Plate xxi.)
- 27.†  He who is at the gate of the southern pass. (Plate xxi.)
- Sons. (Plate IX.)  
(1) Zau. "Eldest."  
Titles (commencing with those on Plate XIII.):—
1.  Ha-prince.
  2.  Great Chief of the Nome of This.
  3.  Chief Lector.
  4.  Sem-priest.
  5.  Master of every kind of tunic.
  - 6.§  Director of the black vase  
(Aakemt?).
  7.  Great Chief of the *Du-ef* Nome.
  8.  Sole Companion.
  9.  Chief of the Pillared Hall.
  - 10.§  He who has power over gods(?).
  - 11.§  Director of the depôts of the Crown of Lower Egypt.
- 12.§  Gate of Khonsu (?).
- 13.§  *Khu-á* (?) .....
- 14.§  Ruler of .....
- 15.§  Scribe of the Roll of the God.
- 16.§  Director of every Divine Office.
- 17.§  Director of the two Thrones.
18.  Superintendent of the South.
19.  He of the Great Residence.
20.  Royal Chancellor.
21.  Governor of the Residence.
22.  He who is over the secrets of sole audience.<sup>4</sup>  
(Plate x.)
23.  He who is at the gate of the southern pass.<sup>5</sup> (Plate x.)

<sup>4</sup> This title is also found in MASPERO, *Trois Années de Fouilles*, pp. 196, 198, 202, but with a different grammatical construction ( "he who is over the secrets of that which one man hears"). A similar designation, with the substitution of "seeing" for "hearing" is found in both grammatical forms in DARESSY, *Le Mastaba de Mera*, p. 369, *El Bersheh*, i. p. 13. The title might be connected with religious mysteries or with special judicial functions, as in the case of Una under Pepy I. But passages like *El Bersheh*, ii. pp. 24, 41, suggest that it may also denote a privilege of admission to the private ear and apartments of the king. As an eastern monarch risks his confidences in public or private affairs as little as possible, his boon companion and his minister of state are often the same person.

<sup>5</sup> The connection of the titles 22 and 23 may only be that confidential relation to the king which both imply, and which is claimed with marked frequency by officials of the South, who had the responsibility of watching over the frontier most open, at this time, to danger of invasion. A designation similar to 23 is often found by itself, though never in this exact form, and suggests a military wardenship of the desert routes into Nubia. It is especially frequent at Aswân, as might be expected; elsewhere it is chiefly found on the east bank. The superintendency of the South seems to have included political, fiscal, and military

<sup>1</sup> The Rope God (?). Cf. DARESSY, *Le Mastaba de Mera*, p. 562. (Ed.)

<sup>2</sup> For titles 26 and 27 see the titulary of the son, Plate x.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *El Bersheh*, II. p. 33; *Beni Hasan*, I. vii.

§ Titles not assigned to his father.

His father  
does have this  
title

24.  Second priest of the *Men-ankh* pyramid of King Neferkara. (Plate v.)

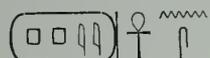
(2)  Aba. (Plate ix.)  
"Governor of the Residence."  
"Sole Companion."

(3)  Aba. (Plate ix.)  
"Governor of the Residence."

(4)  Beba.<sup>1</sup> (Plate ix.)  
"(Official) of the Great House, *Semsu hayt*" (?).

(5)  Ada. (Plate ix.)  
"Governor of the Residence."

(6) (Name lost.)

Wife.  Pepy-ankhnes. (Plates vi., ix.)  
"Sole Royal Ornament."

Daughter.  Pepy - ankhnes. (Plate ix.)  
"Royal Ornament."

Wife (of Zau, the son?).  Hentnes. (Plate xii.)  
"Sole Royal Ornament."

The tomb of Zau is situated in the southern group, a little distance to the west of that of his father Aba, in the same cliff (Part I., Plate i.). Its external aspect is of the simplest sort, the rock being merely trimmed to a smooth

and almost vertical face, which extends a little above the doorway, and for some nine feet on either side. There have been figures and inscriptions in the thickness of the wall on both sides of the entrance; but they are greatly mutilated. A standing figure of the deceased was cut on each side in sunk relief (*relief en creux*). He wears the short wig, collar, and pointed tunic. On the W. side he is figured with upraised arms: on the E. side he carries staff and *kherp*-sceptre. The inscriptions are roughly incised (Plate xxi.). From the first line on the W. side (probably

 as on Plate x.) we may gather that the figure below is that of the son. The interesting name of the seat of worship of Mati will be considered in connection with other examples (p. 43). The inscription on the E. side was certainly for the father, as the surname Shmaa shows; from the fragmentary signs in the second line we may gather that the combined titles , which are given to his son on Plate x., belonged to the father also. The doorway has a rebate within, which the paintings show to be original.

The interior of the tomb consists of a single chamber with a shrine-recess at the back. The rough-hewn walls have been covered with a coating of plaster, which concealed all irregularities, and offered a smooth surface for painting on. In construction the tomb differs from that of Aba in the absence of pillars, and in the provision made for burial; the chief burial-place here being set at the bottom of a deep shaft on the N. side of the chamber, instead of at the end of a sloping gallery. This shaft has been emptied within the last few years; presumably the chamber was then reached, but it is not now visible. The débris from this well is now piled in the middle of the tomb, so that no statement can be made as to the existence of other shafts there. Another place of burial is

activities; and if the two titles here are to be taken in conjunction, we must think of the head of the secret service or intelligence department of the district (DE MORGAN, *Cat. d. Monuments*, i. pp. 172, 198). Occurrences of the title or of similar expressions will be found in the work just quoted, p. 155; MASPERO, *Guide de Boulaq*, p. 34; BRUGSCH, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 1288, and L. D. ii. 114, 149e. Cf. also *El Bersheh*, i. 16; *Beni Hasan*, ii. 58.

<sup>1</sup> Beba stands amongst the sons, but is not so termed. See p. 10. For his title compare Part I., Plates iii., xi., xv., xviii.

provided near the W. wall : it is of some depth, and I did not consider it worth clearing again. A *mastaba* of rock has been left against the W. wall of the shrine, under the false door. As this would be the natural place of offering, such a ledge would be a very convenient substitute for the stone tables which are sometimes set in Old Kingdom *mastabas* for this purpose. Fragments of a plaster pavement, coloured red, are preserved here and there ; but they may belong to a later occupation of the tomb.

The paintings are probably by another hand than that which decorated the neighbouring tomb, though the latter has been taken as a general model. The drawing is larger and coarser, and the scenes are less full of incident and less amply annotated. Yet, in the midst of formal schemes, there are designs which are fresh in both subject and treatment, and the inscriptions, if scanty, bear all the marks of originality. The effect of the decoration is incomparably more pleasing in this tomb than in the other ; for the artist, escaping perhaps from traditional rules, chose a light buff as a ground-colour instead of the sombre indigo of his predecessor, and by so doing has rendered the copyist's task much more easy and sure.

A breach from the adjoining tomb in the S.E. corner, and the deliberate removal of a great slice of rock from the W. side of the N. wall, have caused some loss ; but it happens to be less regrettable than that due to a natural fault which runs diagonally across the chamber and has destroyed a large portion of the interesting representation of trades on the N. wall (Plate x.).

SOUTH WALL. WEST HALF. (Plates iii. and iv.)

Fowling in the marsh-lands is the main subject on this side of the doorway, but the scenes are not entirely confined to this. The right-hand side of the picture has suffered greatly owing to the natural fault just mentioned, but the scene which has been injured

is so familiar as to greatly discount the loss. Zau stands erect on the wooden deck of his papyrus-built canoe, holding in his left hand two birds which he has captured, and wielding in his right the throw-stick which he is about to fling into the cloud of birds that rise out of the field of papyrus before him. The latter is treated quite conventionally ; fertility of invention was not a mark of the Egyptian artist. A master-hand had set the style, it may have been centuries previously, and the painter of the day, never dreaming of altering or omitting the accessories of this scene, faithfully added the big nest balanced on the bending stem, the helpless nestling dragged from the rest of the brood by the racial foe, despite the brave defence made by the mother bird, and the butterflies flitting carelessly above. We will give the artist credit for feeling the incident afresh, at any rate. The titles of Zau are recorded overhead, and in front is the description of the scene :

“The prince Shmaa [surveying the labour of the] fields, traversing the backwaters, [bringing down the nestlings (?) and birds with the throw-stick].”<sup>1</sup>

“His eldest son, whom he loves and approves, the Governor of the Residence, Sole Companion and Lector, Zau,” stands in the bow of the boat in exactly the same attitude. Behind him is another son (?), now left without name, and overhead is seen the son Ada and a lector, both wearing the lector's sash and carrying birds in their hands. The water below is, as usual, crowded with fish, and with amphibians which are not much larger. The blue lotus and the thick water-weed, through which the canoe has to be forced, are also punctiliously represented.

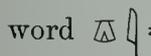
The marshes still furnish the subject of the upper part of the picture to the right, and also of a small compartment below, where the water is continued and a ferrying and fishing scene introduced, with some slight novelty of

<sup>1</sup> Part I. p. 14.

treatment. A fisherman in a small canoe is pulling in a line energetically: the occupants of another canoe passing ask him, "Are there fishes?" He cannot be congratulated on his capture, if the fish he has hooked be, as it seems, the strange *fuhâqa*, whose plump appearance is only due to its power of inflation. The pool below is certainly stocked with fish in a way that would cheer the heart of an angler. The hippopotamus appears to be devouring something; perhaps a crocodile, as in the tomb of Ti.<sup>1</sup> (For some details see Plate xv.) The upper part of the wall is reserved for the netting scene, which is here devoid of action and without much detail. A united effort is the last idea which the attitudes of the four fowlers convey, nor is the mechanism of the net in the least apparent. Three birds are conspicuous in front of the net; as two of them have their wings bound, they may be intended for decoys. The third evidently represents a water-hen, whose home is the pool. There is written above: "Netting birds in the beautiful pool, every kind that his *Ka* loveth, of the choicest of his Nome."

The horizontal line of hieroglyphs below announces the subject of the remaining representations:—

"The cooks (*depu*) and caterers providing for the *Ha*-prince . . . . Zau."

Zau is sitting here in special state in stiffened tunic and with upraised sceptre. Under the chair, which is grained in black and yellow, are the pets of their master. The preservation of the word  shows that a monkey was tied to the leg of the chair, and above this we have a charming side-incident, so unusual in character and so happily sketched in, as to redeem its creator from any suspicion of being only a follower of traditional designs. The

people which could introduce this hound, unconcernedly doing her duty by her pups under her master's chair, into scenes associated, even if indirectly, with death and future existence, must have possessed a sense of humour, and a free interest in the manifold forms of life, which could lift it far above any condition of dull servitude. Considering, too, the rough nature of fresco work in Old Kingdom days, the clumsy forms of puppyhood are really well rendered. (See the larger reproduction and restoration on Plate xv.) *Zetet*, the name of the mother, may signify "the fat one." In front of Zau are piles of provisions; on the one hand are onions, and three baskets containing joints and fruit; on the other is an array of jars, many of which are ranged upon a table. The ceremony "burning incense" is being performed by the "superintendent of bleached linen, Zau"; he is followed by a "caterer," who also wears the ceremonial sash and carries a joint of meat. Two scenes follow. An ox is being led forward by "the superintendent of the gang of the tomb-estate . . . ."; he and his assistant both wear the white sash. In the companion picture two men are "slaughtering" and cutting up an animal, while a third superintends the cooking of the joints. The object shown above is probably the fan or screen used by cooks.

#### SOUTH WALL. EAST SIDE. (Plate v.)

The gathering in of the products of the marsh-lands is still the subject of the scenes; the bountiful harvest of fish which it affords taking here the chief place. In the forefront, Zau, dressed in sporting attire, stands on his thick papyrus skiff, represented as without a boarded deck. Zau seems to be in the act of lifting out of the water the two fish, which, with the skill invariably shown by a prince, he has transfixed through the gills at one plunge of the barbed spear. His son Zau is on the prow of the same boat, his hands full of fish and fowl, which he

<sup>1</sup> BAEDER, *Egypt*, 1898 edition, p. 140.

holds up towards his father. The descriptive columns in front read:—

“How beautiful () is the coming of Sekhet (goddess of the marshes) mistress of sport, with fishes (?) and (?) birds for the *Ka* of the *Ha*-prince . . . . . Zau, whose good name is Shmaa!”

As usual, the artist is not content to show what happens above the surface of the pool, but breaks through all embarrassing congruities in order to display the crowded scene below, without which his subject would have been but incompletely set forth. These waters extend also to the left, where seven fishermen are to be seen hauling into their boat the drag-net with its catch of fish. As in the tomb of Aba, eight species of fish seem differentiated.<sup>1</sup> Hippopotami and crocodiles do not fail to appear, the scaly back of the latter represented by a serrated outline. Even the humble frog who sits among the water-weeds is remembered. The artist seems determined that the fording scene, which belonged to this portfolio, should also be inserted. A herd of cattle is therefore shown emerging from the water under the prow of the large canoe, and another, with still less reasonableness, is altogether submerged beneath the drag-net. In similar plight is a fisherman who is trying his fortune with a hand-net, which perhaps, but for lack of space, would have been of the usual form (Part I., Plate iv.). (The description “coming out from the water . . .” probably applies to the oxen above it.) It must be remembered that this is not meant to be strictly a section of the water. The idea of drawing a transparent pool, seen from above, was probably at least as much present to the artist’s mind; though, in order to keep each object distinct, he places what is on, or partly above the water, such as the lotus-flowers, fisherman, etc., below the water-line,

<sup>1</sup> But see Mr. Boulenger’s identifications of them, on p. 47.

and draws each in the plane which best suits its outline, regardless of its natural position. Another striking example of the incessant tendency to conventionalism is seen in the device, more ingenious than tasteful, which fills the space behind the figure. The Egyptian artist followed nature in abhorring vacancies; and our painter, wishing for something less closely filled than the usual background of reeds, has devised one in which the papyrus-heads are ranged with still more ostentatious symmetry, and the frightened birds are set in a neat framing in the centre. It evidently represents a square pool hedged on all sides by a thick belt of papyrus. The other half of the picture is turned towards figures standing on the extreme left. Part of the figure of Zau is preserved, and smaller figures may have followed. In front is a female figure which has no further identification than “the Sole Royal Ornament, the deserving Henut.” As the wife and daughters of Zau are differently named, this would seem to be the sister of Zau, whom we know from the tomb of Aba. The scenes which face towards these figures depict the return of the boats across the mere, laden with the day’s booty. Apparently two boats never met without a more or less playful combat with the long punting-poles, the object being to push the foremost defender of a rival boat from his insecure position on the prow. Such an incident has happened in the topmost scene, and his comrades are hastily pushing off that he may regain his place, and once more equalize the fray. The lowest scene shows us men wading in the shallows and picking lotus-flowers of both varieties; with these and with stems of papyrus they fill their bags.

#### WEST WALL (Plates vi. and vii.).

The scenes here are divided into two parts by the figures of father and son, which stand together in the centre. On the right hand are agricultural

scenes; on the left is the funeral procession. It is evident from these double figures which occur again on the E. and N. walls (Plates viii. and x.), from the reservation of the E. wall of the shrine for use by the son, and from the written record there besides, that the tomb was decorated, if not hewn out, by the son after the father's death, and with the intention that it should hold the bodies of both. The honour and affection in which the son professes to have held his father is pleasingly corroborated by the paintings and inscriptions; for in them the younger man plays a very inobtrusive part. On this wall the field-scenes face towards his father and mother alone. The two figures in the centre seem associated with the funeral scenes which follow, and in this connection the son, who also was buried here, naturally appears. The wife of Zau, whose name Pepy-ankhnes was a favourite one at court, carries a staff made to imitate a complete stem of papyrus; this was the traditional sign of feminine, as the *lherp*-sceptre was of masculine sway. (Reproduced in colour in the Frontispiece.)

#### AGRICULTURAL SCENES (Plate vi.).

"Seeing the ploughing, the gathering of flax, the reaping and carrying, and all the good festivals of the southern corn (?) for the *Ka* of the *erpa* prince . . . . Zau."

The upper part of the picture is covered with incrustation. In the first and second registers six yoke of oxen are seen ploughing, attended only by a ploughman, who holds the stilts. Though the simple plough is without cross-piece, it no doubt sufficed for the easy task of breaking up the soft Nile mud. A sower with his seed-bag follows behind the second and fourth ploughs, casting the grain in a straight line from his uplifted hand, and two ploughs which follow suffice to cover up the seed.<sup>1</sup> "Let the plough

<sup>1</sup> The markings of the oxen are often added by the artist, but are generally preserved only in part. They have been reproduced in one case here (red on yellow) to show the conventional treatment.

work the soil and thy hand be prosperous for the *Ka* of the *Ha*-prince Zau." "A great and good ploughing for the *Ka* of the Royal Chancellor . . . . deserving before the great God, Lord of Heaven, Shmaa (?)." In the third register men are tearing up the flax, beating out the seed from each handful as it is gathered. The stalks are then taken and bound into small bundles by others. The running inscription reads: "Gathering the flax in the farms of his tomb-estate 78915 (?) (bundles?) for the *Ka* of . . . Zau." In the lowest register the wheat harvest is seen. The grain is cut with the sickle, bound into sheaves, carried off the field in rope nets on the back of asses, and stacked in a pile ready for threshing. The easy discipline of the harvest-field is suggested by the two figures who have ceased working, the one to take a draught from the jar of beer, the other to rub out some ears between his hands. The tongues also seem loosed, for the idle chatter of the reapers takes the place of a formal description of the scene. Those who are working brag of their diligence: "I am the lad who will do it in proper time"; "I am one who never rests because he is hot (?)." The next two sentences may be addressed to the asses: ". . . . . darling brother"; "Descend to the pasture (?), O ass! It will be at a fortunate time (?)." The fifth may begin: "Forward to the threshing floor."

#### FUNERAL SCENES (Plate vii.).

The figure of the father, Zau-Shmaa, which precedes that of the son, Zau, is wrapped in the panther skin of the *sem*-priest, while his son wears the lector's sash. Over the head of the latter is the prayer to Anubis for burial offerings in his tomb of the necropolis, the provisions sought being set forth in thousands of each class. The rites connected therewith seem suggested by the vases of purification, etc., which are depicted near by. The short inscription under these vases appears to be the heading to the scene.

The whole picture is very closely analogous to that in the tomb of Aba (Part I., Plate x.). The dancers in the upper two registers here, however, face the same way as the procession below, and must therefore be taken as forming part of it. It was suggested in the case of the other tomb that the dancing was in honour of the living Aba, who is being borne in a palanquin behind, and the more extravagant nature of the dance in the tomb we are now considering may help to justify this difference of interpretation, on which, however, no stress is laid. As in the tomb of Aba, the female dancers are ranged in the upper row. Here only four of the dancing-girls perform in couples; three others, who have been trained to extraordinary movements, exhibit their gifts separately. Even the insufficient aprons which these performers wear in the other tomb are here abandoned. It may be judged from their forms that the dancers are young girls, and their nude condition would only be a reversion to the state which had been customary with them a little earlier in life.<sup>1</sup> It is possible also that the dances were strictly private, and, as they were performed by inmates of the harem, may have been exhibited within doors.<sup>2</sup> It is unusual, however, for the performers of such dances to be without clothing. Elsewhere in this volume (Plates xv., xvii., xx.), where the forms of the girls are more developed, they wear the professional apron or tunic. The male dancers, six in number, wear only a sash round the waist. Of these, two are performing together, and one seems to be dancing round the master of the ceremonies. A choir of five sets the

measure and sings the ceremonial chants. The other three dancers seem to await their turn, and meanwhile join in the song. The inscription which runs above describes the scene thus:—"Dancing by the harem and singing (*qmá?*) by the singers (?) unto him who said what was propitious and repeated what was beloved in inquiring of the god (?), the *Ha*-prince . . . . deserving before Mati, mistress of Aakemt, Zau."

Next is seen the dragging of the bier towards its final resting-place. The long rope is held by five servants and three official personages, the foremost of whom is "the embalmer," and the third a *smer* (companion). The superscription runs:—"The gangs of his tomb-estate and the Nome under his care following the bier (*mesthept?*). They say, 'It is a procession for a worthy man, this for the *Ha*-prince . . . . Zau.'" The coffin is placed in a canopied bier, mounted on runners, and a second and smaller sled, which perhaps contains in its shrine the embalmed viscera, is attached to the first by a rope.

The voyage by water is next shown. A small ship, in which a crew of three only is seen, tows three funeral barges. The first of these carries the sarcophagus under its canopy, attended by two mourning women, who sit at the head and feet in the likeness of the weeping goddesses Isis and Nephthys. (Reproduced in colour by Mr. Buckman in Plate xiv.) A lector stands on an elevated platform in the prow. He is giving directions to the steersman, who from his position cannot see ahead: "Starboard . . . ." The second barge contains the other ark, and an official (*am-ikhent*) stationed, as before, at the look-out. Sailing-ships which carry passengers, or escort them, are seen below, and afford good examples of the vessels of the period, built after one type, though differing considerably in the lines of the hulls. The mast is stepped well forward, being lashed to a short stem which is built into the boat. It sometimes consists of two or three spars, the feet of which are spread out

<sup>1</sup> A realistic use of black paint by the artist precludes the supposition that the performers had not reached the age of puberty, and were therefore naturally unclad. (Cf. C. H. STRATZ, *Ä.Z.* 1900, p. 148.)

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *El Bersheh*, ii. 41, "Seeing the dance in the private (places) . . . hearing the words in the solitary apartments."

and so obtain greater rigidity. In any case the top of the mast is fastened by stays to the deck fore and aft, a single stay sufficing in front, but a good number being made fast aft to meet the strain of a full sail. The square sail is preferred, contrary to modern custom, though Plate xix. shows that the triangular sail was used for smaller craft. The sail is turned in either direction by ropes passing from both ends of the yard to the hand of the captain, who sits at the stern on a high but light frame-work supported by stanchions. Sail was taken in or furled by causing the yards between which it was stretched to approach or meet one another (as in the second boat), the tackle by which this was effected being made fast to the deck at the prow and managed by the sailor stationed there. The ship is guided by one or two steering paddles, which are kept in position by a massive post; they seem only to turn on their axes, and are manipulated easily by a tiller,<sup>1</sup> the steersman sitting on the deck or on the roof of the cabin in larger ships. The first ship in this scene has reached its destination and the sail is about to be lowered, while the fourth hand pays out the anchor cable. The second boat has furled her sail a little too soon and must be poled to the anchorage. The third and fourth, which seem to convey the male and female passengers respectively (the latter in a closed cabin?), are still under way. In the last, no one but the steersman is visible.

On referring to Plate ii. it will be seen that the oblong burial shaft opens in the floor very near these funerary scenes.

#### MUSTERING OF THE CATTLE, ETC. (Plate ix.).

The parallelism between the tombs of Aba and Zau in point of treatment is still maintained,

<sup>1</sup> Exactly the same arrangement for steering may be seen in boats on the Italian lakes. The steering oar is there fixed outside the boat on one side; a method which also was in use among the Egyptians.

but the scene here is inferior in execution and poor in inscriptions, besides that half the scene has been lost by the only serious mutilation which these tombs have yet suffered.<sup>2</sup> The scene is surveyed by Zau, who leans upon his long staff, with both hands in an easy attitude, his *kherp*-sceptre in his left hand. At his feet are two sturdy hounds of the breed already seen on Plate iv., and a monkey, whose walking attitude has been well caught. The figure of the son is not shown, yet the second and superfluous list of titles overhead would almost seem to refer to him and amount to a presence in spirit. The vertical column, which describes the scene, runs: "Counting the cattle, twenty-four (?) thousand . . . for the *Ha*-prince . . . Zau." As usual, the animals of the desert are shown in the uppermost register, this time against a background of red desert-land; its scanty clumps of herbage being represented by spots of green. Of these there remain a number of gazelles, one of which is marked by a lion as his prey (continuation of the scene on Plate xv.), and two ibexes (?). The register below, in which two oryxes, which have been tamed, are being led forward by a herdsman, gives the connection between the fauna of the desert and the cattle of the stalls. In the additional fragment of the scene given on Plate xv., a third animal is seen either bounding through the tall grasses in all its native freedom or feeding on them. As in the tomb of Aba, a scribe sits in front, entering on a large tablet the numbers reported to be in the herds; but in this case the result of his calculation has been transferred to the descriptive column. Behind him are two goats. The combative bulls are met with here also.

The agricultural scenes having been trans-

<sup>2</sup> I speak of the state in which they were left two years ago, but cannot answer for the present, as the Department of Antiquities could not be induced to provide these unique tombs with the iron grating and masonry which were needed for their protection.

ferred to the W. wall, the other half of the picture was devoted to the banqueting scene, which could never be over-emphasized. The representation calls for no special comment. The ornamental vase was probably of the shape given to it in Vol. I., Plate vii. The family of Zau is shown above. As the title of Beba seems to be one which in the generation before was reserved for the brother or son of the Nomarch (Part I., p. 10), he can scarcely be other than a son. The names of the sixth son and of the two "companions" who follow are lost. We find again at least two sons of the same name occurring in the family. A figure offering wild fowl to the dead is named "the superintendent of the pool of sport, Pepy-na (?)." On the left side of the picture the border of entwined cords is added outside the border of rectangles shown in the plate.

#### ARTS AND CRAFTS (Plate x.).

Though this wall affords a counterpart to the rich and varied scenes from the workshops of Aba's palace (Vol. I., Plates xiii.—xvi.), yet it cannot be compared with it in value, partly owing to the destruction caused by a natural fault,<sup>1</sup> partly because a large part of the wall is occupied by what must be considered to be an overflow from the adjoining wall, the E. side of the shrine (Plate xiii.).

The story told there of the double burial of father and son in one tomb is naturally illustrated by the introduction of full-sized figures of both at the point nearest to the burial shaft, each with his honours recorded overhead.<sup>2</sup> Shmaa stands with his long staff in his hand, and facing him is his son Zau, equal in height,

<sup>1</sup> The gap, as is there noted, is not rendered to scale on the plate.

<sup>2</sup> The two names in front of the figures are to be separated. The name Zau is the conclusion of the four columns of titles on the left; the surname Shmaa completes the record of the five columns on the right.

but wearing a long wig, and standing, or approaching, without a staff in a somewhat deferential attitude. The son has also used the space afforded by the adjoining rebate to repeat his name, filiation, and titles upon it. Alongside the staff of Zau is a column of red hieroglyphs reading: "The draughtsman . . . . of the temple of Mati, Pepysenb, whose true name is Nesa (?)." No figure accompanies the name, and there can be no doubt that here we have the signature of the painter of the tomb, since it is evidently contemporary with the paintings themselves. It is very satisfactory to have the name of one of the fresco painters of the ancient kingdom, and interesting to learn that he practised his art in connection with the local temple.

At the other end of the wall Zau sits under a canopy, the pillar of which is of the type of the papyrus-stem with closed flower. He is "surveying all the labour . . . . of the residence of the tomb-estate." The varied activity of the artisans on his estate is spread before him. Almost the whole of the scenes in their present state are occupied with the work of the carpenters. The fragments of other scenes only include a table with collars displayed on it, a scribe keeping the records of the work given out, a stand of vases from the skilful hands of the stone-workers, the beating of electrum on the anvil with stones (?) as hammers, and the melting of metal on a furnace raised to the needed temperature by blowpipes. The loss of these pictures can, however, be made good from the tomb of Aba.

Though the representations of the handiwork of the carpenters are close imitations of the scenes in the earlier tombs, yet the original character of the descriptive notes gives them fresh interest and value. The painting of the statue is being done "by the painter Wazy." Over the scene in which a seated statue is being worked roughly with an adze by one sculptor, and more finely with chisel and mallet by

another, is written: "The sculptor carving a statue (?) (*tut?*)."<sup>1</sup> The female figure on the left must be the painted statue of a woman wearing a green dress, and carrying a papyrus sceptre: it represents, no doubt, P'epy-ankhnes, the wife of Zau. (See p. 7.) The shrine below is ". . . . . of cedar." The great chest which two workmen are busily polishing is here not termed a *hen*, but "a (*me*)*sethept* (?)<sup>1</sup> of the priest of the god." The sceptre which the box is made to hold, according to the tomb of Aba, is of electrum, we are told here. In connection with the two workmen below who are "polishing a couch," the addition is made that it is of *ses(n)ezen* wood.<sup>2</sup> The overseer, Senna, who stands beside them, is given the title "chief of the workshop" (*semsu ukhert*, the determinative of the latter word appearing here to be a cushioned seat). The carpenter below, on the right, who is working on a palanquin, is making it, we are here informed, of ebony. Another workman seems to be preparing planks for him; and the third, who is dressing down a *uas*-headed stick, is described, as in Part I., Plate xiv., as "a carpenter working on a staff (?)." Boat-building is represented in the final scene. The several operations are described as "striking," "working with the chisel," "shaping (?) a paddle," "boat-building (caulking?)," "workmen belonging to the tomb-estate." A man squatting in the boat is dressing down a *kherp*-shaped object, which, as appears from the legend, is destined to become the steering paddle of the boat.

#### EAST WALL (Plate viii.).

The representations on this wall seem meant to serve the same end as those on the E. wall of the tomb of Aba, namely, to exhibit the importance which rank and wealth had given to the

deceased, and to suggest that the same tribute which was paid to him in life should be given to him in the tomb by the provision of offerings suited to his rank. Although the picture in general is in honour of the father only, yet the son has given himself a place behind the standing figure of his father, as in Plate vii. (only the fingers now remain). The biographical inscription, which in the tomb of Aba filled the upper part of the wall, is here replaced by the customary prayers to Osiris and Anubis; but the claim to rank is effectively set forth here by the illustration which follows, where Zau is seen borne in state in a beautiful palanquin by his retainers. The chair, which is formed with sides of open panel-work, is cushioned behind, and covered with a canopy supported on light columns. The upper part of this is elaborately decorated with fret-work (?) of *dads* and *kheker* ornaments. The whole is borne on long poles by four bearers. Zau is seen seated within, bearing the scourge and baton of authority. Two of his retinue carry *flabella* of the Old Kingdom type in front of the chair, and two others follow, all industriously performing their office. The scene is given much additional value by the song of the sedan-bearers which is written below, apparently in a complete version:—

"Happy are they who bear the chair.  
Better is it when full  
Than when it is empty."<sup>3</sup>

To judge by their dress the bearers are chosen from the lowest ranks.<sup>4</sup>

The prayer to Osiris is of the usual form, and is on behalf of Zau-Shmaa, who is described as deserving before Mati and the great god (?); that to Anubis runs:—"May the king grant as

<sup>3</sup> See ERMAN, *Ä.Z.* 1900, p. 64.

<sup>4</sup> A Coptic graffito of some size has been written across the scene. I find I have taken no copy of it; presumably because it was illegible, but possibly by inadvertence. For notes on the short one given on the plate, see Appendix by Mr. Crum, p. 45.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Tomb of Ti, BAEDERER, *Egypt*, 1898 edition, p. 137.

a grace and Anubis, who is on his hill, he who is in the city of Ut . . . . in all his seats (grant) his fair burial . . . . . May the western desert give her two hands to him . . . . . the *Haa*-prince, etc. . . . deserving before Anubis, Zau, whose good name is (Shmaa)."

Both inscriptions were evidently terminated by sitting figures of Zau. Beneath is a procession of female figures representing the estates of the deceased. Twelve are extant, and as that is the number in the tomb of Aba, this is probably the complete list. Another figure of Zau may have faced them.

That part of the lower half of the picture which faces towards the two figures on the left is filled with oxen, sheep, goats, and asses, which are shown cropping the herbage as they advance. These animals are roughly sketched as if it were a representation in which the artist had taken no interest. On the right Zau sits before the banqueting table, behind which a pile of offerings is heaped under shelter. Vases, including a big bowl like that noticed before, are seen above. An ox is being brought forward as if for inspection, the cutting up of the carcase and the presentation of the choice parts being represented above.

#### SHRINE. WEST WALL. (Plate xi.)<sup>1</sup>

In the scenes of the shrine, artistic interests give way to definite religious motives, little or nothing being inserted beyond the representations and inscriptions which were directly concerned with securing for the dead what prayer and offerings could furnish. This wall is occupied, therefore, by the list of offerings, the banqueting scene (both of which have suffered considerably), and the painted false door, so-called. The latter is large and contains a long list of

titles, but otherwise is unimportant. The prayer to the king and Anubis is in the simplest form. The door proper here is represented as consisting of two wooden leaves, secured by two bolts, the framing round it being of red granite. The figures on the left—one offering incense, another leading a gazelle, and a third presenting a bird—have been broken away with the face of the N. wall at this corner.

#### NORTH WALL (Plate xii.).

The painted stela occupies the middle of the wall, differing very little from that just noticed, but including prayers on the jambs to Osiris Khentamentiu, and Anubis, Lord of Sepa. The wooden door is strengthened by cross-bars here, and both sill and framing are painted to represent granite. On the right are figures of Zau and "his beloved wife the Sole Royal Ornament Hentnes." The wife of Zau-Shmaa, as has been seen, is differently named, yet there is nothing in the rest of the scene to indicate that this wall is decorated in honour of Zau the son, nor should we expect it. It seems more likely, however, that it gives us the name of the son's wife than that it represents a second wife of the father; but its insertion here may be an error on the part of the designer, and does not oblige us to attribute all the inscriptions on the wall to the son. On the left are servants. Those in the upper row wear the lector's sash and present food-offerings. The foremost is User, Superintendent of the Audience-hall; the lectors Senna and Asuy follow. Below are a lector holding a bird, two servants who lead forward an ox, and three scribes named Mehu, H. . ., and Aba. These latter carry their palettes under the right arm and bow deferentially.

The horizontal line which records the honours of Zau is written on the rebate over the entrance to the shrine-recess, and reads from the centre in both directions. The Greek graffiti on it are to be noticed. Their position

<sup>1</sup> The usual border of coloured rectangles is to be supplied at the top and right-hand side of this plate.



## II.—THE TOMBS OF THE NORTHERN GROUP.

### 1.—THE SITE.

THE general position of this group of tombs has been described in Part I., p. 3, and the aspect it presents on ascending the ancient and still well-defined path to the terrace from which the excavated wall of rock rises, will be easily grasped from the representation on Plate i. In its present condition the cliff, far from lying at a slope, even overhangs its base, and, but for irregularities in the face and the breaches now made from one tomb to another inside, many of the chambers would be quite inaccessible. The west part of the necropolis, indeed, might be likened to a *columbarium*, and the Egyptian vulture so far appreciates the similitude as to nest in the upper loculi. A large number of the chambers can only be reached by agility and some risk, and one or two only by means of ladders. Under these circumstances it will not excite wonder that no complete plan is appended of this street of storied but stairless houses, excavated in the living rock as an abode for the dead, and now ruined beyond description. Existing monuments show that the cliff itself remains much the same as in the days of its excavators, but there has been sufficient degradation of its face and foot to leave many tombs hanging in mid-air, which once were just accessible by little footholds and rock slopes. The excavation of several of the chambers must have been attended with danger and great toil. On the terrace at the top of the path a part of the ground is laid out in regular paths, the purpose of which is not evident.

It is very difficult to find terms applicable to rock-architecture, since such excavations, how-

ever complicated, are neither built nor constructed, and, while entirely underground, are entered by doorways in the face. The excavations for burial in the walls of these chambers I call burial-recesses, when their length is open to the chamber, so that a coffin would lie with its side exposed; galleries, when the entrance is so small compared with the length that the coffin must have been pushed in endways. The tombs are always described as if the entrance faced the south, this being approximately the case in nearly all instances.

### 2.—LIST OF THE TOMBS.

To save repeated description of the style of façade, the following classification is used, as in Part I.:—

Type A. The rock face is here merely smoothed to a plane surface round the doorway.

Type B. A projecting lintel-band extends across the jambs immediately above the entrance.

Type C. The same with double jambs, the inner ones being slightly recessed.

The list begins at the east end of the series. Tombs 1 to 27 are excavated in a rough slope of rock without any great interval between them. The rest are, almost without exception, situated in the perpendicular cliff by which the hills are continued westward.

#### TYPE.

1. False door, 27 inches high, set at a slope. (Elevation on Plate i.)
2. Unfinished or minute tomb.

- | TYPE.   | TYPE.  |
|---|--|
| 3. A. (Plan on Plate xxii.) Tiny chamber with a gallery ("mummy-slide") at the back.  | 22. B. Small chamber with gallery at the back. About 3 feet high.  |
| 4. B. Regularly-hewn chamber, with recess on E., and two galleries running off to the N.  | 23. A. A mere niche within (unfinished?).  |
| 5. False door, 34 inches high. (Elevation on Plate i.)  | 24. Simple chamber. Roof and façade destroyed.   |
| 6. Tomb, of which the chamber is unroofed and partly destroyed. In the N. wall is a gallery and a niche with rebate round it, and in the E. and W. walls are recesses for burial.                           | 25. B. Small chamber with gallery running N. from the back. Façade set deeply back.  |
| 7. B. Gallery. Façade nearly upright.   | 26. Small chamber and gallery to N., the former almost destroyed.  |
| 8. B. Tiny, rough chamber, perhaps unfinished.  | 27. Only the plan of the back portion of the tomb remains. Perhaps there were two tombs, a small one with a niche at the back, and a gallery set at an angle to the first, and breaking into it.   |
| 9. Gallery. Façade gone. End blocked.   | 28. Oblong chamber with gallery at the back. The front is broken away. At the N. end of the W. wall is a small false door with lintel, tablet, double jambs, and drum.   |
| 10. B. Square chamber with rough-hewn walls.  | 29. Pit tomb. (Plans on Plate i.) Very shallow and with a very small chamber.  |
| 11, 12. Galleries. Façades gone.  | 30. B. (?) Front and W. wall gone. Chamber with rude niche at back.  |
| 13. Tomb, of which only traces of the back part remain. The chamber had perhaps a gallery to the N. and a recess on the E.  | 31. A pit-tomb (in front of Tomb 30), with a chamber on the N.   |
| 14. A mere niche in the rock face.  | 32 to 34. These tombs are now thrown into one, and perhaps confused also with others below and in front, so that the original construction of all is lost, or can only be conjectured. The front and partition walls of all are broken down. |
| 15, 16. Rough galleries.  | 35. B. This tomb also is much broken, and may represent two tiers of tombs. Several galleries run to the north, some being above the others. One has a triple lintel above the entrance (Plate i.).  |
| 17. A broken-down tomb. A gallery seems to run N. from the back of the chamber.   | 36. Small square chamber with galleries running N., one being under the  |
| 18. A tomb, of which only the (unfinished) back remains.  |  |
| 19. A tomb (quarried away?), of which only the back wall remains. In the N. wall is the entrance to a short gallery. Another (19a) in the N.E. corner is high up, and probably belonged to a tomb overhead. |  |
| 20. False door, 25 inches broad. (Elevation on Plate i.)  |  |
| 21. Façade destroyed and chamber blocked up.  |  |

- | TYPE.   | TYPE.  |
|---------|--|
|         | other and reached by a pit which occupies nearly all the floor. In the E. wall is a burial-recess. There are traces of a tomb below this.  |
| 37. A.  | (Higher up.) A mere niche within.  |
| 38.     | Tomb of NEB-AB. (See Plates xxi. and xxvii. and pp. 33-4.)   |
| 39.     | Tomb of KHETETA. (See Plates xxvii. and xxviii. and pp. 31-3.)   |
| 40.     | A shaft (pit-tomb?) above Tomb 39, which the fall of the face has left in section.   |
| 41. B.  | (Plan on Plate i.) Square chamber with pit (chamber to W.). On the W. wall is a rough false door with cornice, torus, lintel, tablet, second lintel, triple jambs, and drum. Two basins for offerings are before it. From the N. wall run three recesses or galleries. There is also a niche as if for a false door.   |
| 42, 43. | Remains of two small chambers, the façades of which are destroyed.   |
| 44. A.  | Irregular chamber. The tomb is now almost inaccessible.  |
| 45. B.  | A tiny, low chamber with gallery at the back. Beneath it is a niche with rough façade.   |
| 46. B.  | Tomb of ASA. Above Tomb 44. (See Plate xxi. and p. 33.)<br>Near it on the right is a niche like that just mentioned, and on the left is  |
| 47. B.  | A gallery with façade and two square lintels in the entrance (Plate i.).   |
| 48. A.  | Below Tomb 47 and above Tomb 49, with which it is now incorporated, owing to the fall of the floor. A gallery like the last.   |
| 49. B.  | Rough chamber with a pit.  |
| 50.     | A ruined tomb, broken into by the pit of the tomb above. There are   |
|         | thus four stories of tombs immediately above one another at this point.  |
| 51. B.  | The doorway to this tomb is in mid-air, but can just be reached by climbing up the cliff face. It lies so high up that it seems never to have been much more accessible than at present. It must have cost great labour to hew out the façade in such a situation, for it is carefully formed with broad jambs, deep lintel, and a rounded drum in the doorway. The chamber within is a fair size. On the W. is a gallery and a false door (cornice, roll framing at top only, lintel, tablet second lintel, double jambs, and drum). It is plastered, and the word <i>amakh</i> which remains shows that it was inscribed. On the N. are two short galleries (Plate i.). That on the left is peculiar. After running a short way in, it met a natural fissure in the rock which winds eastward and downward, and can be followed for several yards. Advantage was taken of it to make the short gallery turn back upon its direction and so secure a more secret place of burial. After a considerable space of blank cliff, a mound of rock covered with débris is ascended. At the S. edge of this slope there are traces of hewn surfaces, one of which contains a false door. Hence it appears that at some period this ledge of rock at the foot of the cliff was of greater height, and that tombs were cut in it which were later quarried or worn away. This slope may thus have afforded |

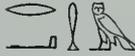
- | TYPE.  | TYPE.  |
|--------|--|
|        | an access to higher tombs which is now lacking.  |
| 52.    | 52. Façade gone. Within is a small square chamber, almost the whole of the floor of which is taken up by a pit with a burial-recess on the N.  |
| 53.    | 53. A false door roughly fashioned on the cliff under Tomb 52. It has a lintel, single jambs, and drum.  |
| 54.    | 54. A false door on a detached block in front of the above (lintel, tablet, second lintel, triple jambs, and drum).  |
| 55.    | 55. A false door on the E. side of the same block.   |
| 56. B. | 56. B. The upper part only of the façade remains. Within is a largish chamber, regular in shape, but much broken. The W. partition wall is gone, but there are traces of a plastered false door at the N. end, with oblong altar and a pit in front. The front and sides of the altar were divided into panels (see sketch on Plate i.). The N. wall contains the entrances to a short gallery, the framing of which is set deeply back, and to a burial-recess with a small square basin in the floor. Two more recesses for burial are hewn in the E. wall. Near the S. wall is a pit with small chamber to the W. |
| 57. B. | 57. B. Rough chamber. The E. and W. walls are broken away.   |
| 58. A. | 58. A. (Lintel over entrance.) The chamber is rough, and the lower part of the walls have been mud-plastered at a later time. On the W. there is a gallery, the end of which breaks into Tomb 60, and a false door on which green hieroglyphs have been painted. This has a painted cornice, roll and torus framing, lintel, tablet, double jambs, and drum. A pit gives access to two or three burial-places below, now much confused. In the N. wall a gallery and a large burial-recess have been hewn.   |
|        | 59. B. (With lintel in relief and a round drum in the entrance.) Sloping façade without interior. (Plans on Plate xvi.)  |
|        | 60. A. Gallery, 9 feet long. (Plans on Plate xvi.)   |
|        | 61. Tiny false door. (Plans on Plate xvi.)   |
|        | 62. B. Within is an oblong chamber with numerous places for burial. On the S. is a deep trench in the floor; on the W. is a false door (roll and torus moulding, two lintels, tablet, double jambs, and drum). The altar in front has two basins. A large pit in front gives access to two chambers beneath the N. wall. On the N. is a burial-recess, two arched niches, and a plain false door with cornice and framing. On the E. is a burial-recess and niche.   |
|        | 63. A. (With façade set back in the rock.)   |
|        | 64. A. Small irregular chamber with a pit which has a burial-place to the N.   |
|        | 65. Small false door at the turn of the cliff, 31 inches high (lintel, tablet, double jambs, and drum). Its niche is covered with Greek characters which seem illegible.   |
|        | 66. B. The interior is merely a recess 2 feet deep.  |
|        | 67. C. (With lintel in relief.) Tomb of HENQU. (See Plates xxii.—xxvi. and pp. 27-31.) There is a breach   |

- | TYPE.  | TYPE.  |
|--|--|
|  | from the cliff face into the recess in its E. wall (67 <i>a</i> ).   |
| 68. B. (Plan on Plate xxii.)                     | A small tomb now cut to pieces. On the W. is a gallery and a recess, which, judging from the altar in front, seems to have been designed for a false door. The altar has two basins. There are two pits with burial-chambers to W. and S. respectively.  |
| 69. B. (Upright. Two jambs on the W. No lintel.) | A small, rough room. There is a pit with a good-sized chamber to the W., and as this is now enclosed in the S. wall of the tomb of Asa, that tomb may be considered subsequent. Outside the tomb is a pit.   |
| 70. B.   | Small sloping façade. No interior.   |
| 71.  | Pit-tomb with chamber to the N. outside Tomb 72.   |
| 72. B. (With lintel in relief.)                  | Tomb of RAHENEM-ASA. (See Plates xvi.—xxi. and pp. 19-27.)   |
| 73.  | Pit-tomb with chamber to N., just outside Tomb 72.   |
| 74.  | Broken gallery or small tomb.  |
| 75.  | Broken gallery or pit-tomb.  |
| 76. A?   | Rough façade. Within is a large, low chamber extending W. from the doorway, and greatly cut into for places of burial. On the S. are two recesses for burial, two galleries, and a shallow upright recess. On the W. are a gallery and a deep upright recess. On the N. are two upright niches as if for false doors, a false door neatly fashioned in such a recess (with cornice, roll, and torus framing, tablet, double jambs, lintel, and drum), and two galleries, one of which is carried |
|  | through the false door. There are four burial shafts, one full, two with chambers visible, one empty for 7 feet.   |
| 77.  | Gallery running W. out of the bay of Tomb 76.  |
| 78. B.   | A small chamber within has a false door on the W. side and a rough recess opposite.  |
| 79.  | Gallery (breaking into Tomb 78).   |
| 80. A.   | This tomb is excavated, not in the cliff, but in the rock slope which leads up to it at this point. It contains a good-sized and carefully-formed oblong room, from the back of which a second irregularly-shaped chamber is entered. This room has a gallery running E.   |
| 81-84.   | Small galleries, facing S.W., where the cliffs fall back a little. The front is destroyed in all cases. The two first run into one another at the back, and No. 83 lies above them.  |
| 85. B.   | Small, low chamber. Four galleries run to the N.; two from floor level, two beneath them from a pit.   |
| 86.  | A broken gallery beneath the above.  |
| 87. B. (With upright façade.)                    | On the W. is a false door of unusual form (Plate i). On the E. is a ledge of rock containing a burial-recess. A gallery runs N. from a shallow pit.  |
| 88.  | Broken gallery below Tomb 87.  |
| 89.  | Façade gone. Small, low chamber, roughly square.   |
| 90. A.   | Gallery with upright façade. There are signs that previously similar galleries existed in front, the cliff having worn or been quarried back.  |
| 92. A.   | A few hieroglyphs, which seem to give the name Asa, are visible on   |

- TYPE.
- the left jamb (Plate xxi.). The tomb is almost inaccessible.
93. Gallery under Tomb 92.
94. A. Tiny chamber. Almost inaccessible.
95. C. (See Plates xxi. and xxvii. and p. 34.)
96. Gallery. Front broken away.
97. Small false door hewn in the cliff (three lintel-bands, double jambs, and drum).
98. B. (Two long lintels and a drum in the entrance.) The bottom of the façade has been broken away. A square ante-chamber is first entered, the walls of which have been plastered. There is an arched niche on the E. wall, and over the entrance to the inner chamber there are traces of an inscription in neat Greek characters (green) on grey plaster. The inner room is a large oblong room with its length E. and W. The ceiling is neatly plastered in grey and the walls plastered and whitewashed. The tomb thus appears to have been the habitation of Copts at some period. There is a small chamber on the N., a burial-recess on the E., and many small niches cut in the walls. The floor is deep in rubbish, but a shaft descends in the N.W. corner, which, four feet down, has a vault on the S.
99. A. A very small chamber, the N. wall of which has been plastered. A shaft gives access to a vault on the N.
100. A. A gallery with tiny ante-room.
101. A pit, with gallery to the N. under the last.
102. B. Small and rough rectangular chamber. A shaft (full) in N.W. corner.
103. A. Long entrance-passage ending in a

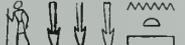
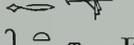
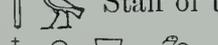
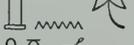
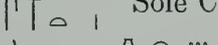
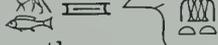
- TYPE.
- chamber only slightly larger. This has a gallery to the N. and a pit (full).
104. B. A façade only, the niche being only about a foot deep.

## 3.—TOMB 72.

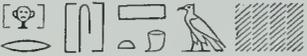
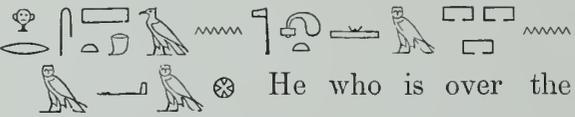
BELONGING TO  RAHENEM, SURNAMED  
 ASA.

(PLATES XVI.—XXI.)

Titles of Asa (in order as on Plates XVIII., XIX., and XXI.) :—

1.  Hereditary prince.
2.  *Ha*-prince.
3.  Chief Lector.
4.  Chief of the Pillared Hall.
5.  Gate of Khonsu (?).
6.  *Sem*-priest.
7.  Master of every kind of tunic.
8.  Great Chief of the *Du-ef* Nome.
9.  First after the King.
10.  Staff of the peoples.
11.  *An ka mut* (?).<sup>1</sup>
12.  Sole Companion.
13.  *Sabad mer* of the Southern throne.
14.  Superintendent of the Pyramid property. (Plate xix.)

<sup>1</sup> This well-known sacerdotal title is written three times in the tomb in this unusual form, once (Plate xvii.) otherwise. For variants see *Beni Hasan*, III., p. 27.

15.  Supreme Judge.
16.  Vizier.
17.  Superintendent of the  
Accounts of the King.
18.  Star of Horus, chief in  
heaven. (Plate xxi. False Door A.)
19.  Great One of the Southern Ten.  
(False Door C.)
20.  He who is over  
the secrets . . . of Aakemt (?). (False  
Door C.)
21.  He who is over the  
secrets of the treasury of the god in the  
temples of Mam (?).<sup>1</sup> (False Door B.)
22.  Superintendent of  
the priests of Mehti (?). (False Door  
B.)
23.  Superintendent of  
the priests of Mati (?). (W. Thickness.)

*Wife.*  Rahenem.  
 (*sic*). Royal acquaint-  
ance. (Plate xvii.)  
 Priestess of Hathor.  
(Plate xviii.)

*Sons.* (1)  Asa.  
Nobleman of the King (?). (Plates  
xviii., xxi.)  
Companion of the house. (Plate  
xxi.)  
Sole Companion. (Plate xxi.)  
Lector. (Plate xx.)  
Great Chief of the *Du-ef* Nome.  
(Plate xx.)

(2)  Qednes.

First after the King in the Great  
House. (Plates xix., xx., xxi.)  
Staff of the Peoples.

(3)?  Qehua (surname of  
the younger Asa?). (Plate  
xix.)

#### EXTERIOR (Plates xvi. and xxi.)

The entrance to the tomb of Rahenem-Asa is reached by ascending a steep slope of rock and rubbish which rests against the cliff at this point. It is distinguished as the only tomb in either group which has a sculptured façade, but this fine exterior is now greatly damaged as well as half buried in débris. The front consists, as in most of the superior tombs, of smoothed jambs of some breadth and a tablet representing the lintel which stands out an inch or two from the face. The east jamb is almost entirely destroyed. The figures on the jambs are in relief: the hieroglyphs on the lintel are incised and coloured blue. On the left jamb (B, Plate xvi.) is a standing figure of Asa in pointed tunic and full wig. His wife sits at his feet, holding a lotus in her hand. The titles and names are now almost illegible. The right side of the entrance is destroyed, but the left side (C, Plate xvi.) is decorated. Asa stands facing outward, wearing full wig and beard, collar and pointed tunic, and holding the long staff and *kherp*-sceptre. Some person in front is holding a vase of ointment to his face and presenting a brace of birds. A figure (his wife?) sits near his feet. Prayers to Anubis and Osiris are inscribed above.

#### INTERIOR.

The tomb consists of two rooms, a large outer chamber decorated with false doors and fresco paintings, and a small inner chamber

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Plate xxiv.

opening out of the back wall. Only the upper half of the doorway to the latter has been cut through, so that the entrance to it is as through a window in the wall. A deep groove in the uncut rock shows that a full doorway was designed, but never finished. The floor of the inner room is at a higher level.

The outer chamber presents a sorry spectacle. Heaps of rubbish cover the floor, two empty shafts yawning in their midst; the ceiling is broken in at one corner, the walls at another; rough recesses are hewn in the lower part of the walls; one-half of the inscriptions of the stela is destroyed, and only dull patches of painting here and there indicate, or indicated before the present work was undertaken, that it had been a fully-decorated tomb. So hopeless a picture did it present, that no one had hitherto expected that more than the name and a few titles of the owner could be gleaned from it. But the worker on ancient remains soon learns that the judgment "illegible" is never to be passed even on apparently hopeless subjects except after repeated trials under all possible conditions. Work on the fragmentary paintings soon proved that their condition was due much less to decay than to an overlay of plaster which they had received. After some tentative experiments, this was found to be easily dissolved by water without injuring the original picture. By this means the scenes on Plates xvii. to xx. were recovered, which, though executed in somewhat rough style, add some interesting material to the limited stock of Old Kingdom designs.

#### WEST WALL (Plates xvi. and xxi.).

This is almost entirely occupied by two false doors. That to the south is very rough, and may originally have been inscribed, as a coat of plaster seems to have fallen away from it. It is in general of the same form as the north door, having a similar framing, but instead of the two

lower lintel-bands has merely a round drum over the doorway. A small niche between the two doors may have had a similar motive, as there is an altar before it rising in two steps, which probably extends in front of the south door. The north false door is also undecorated except by a coat of red paint, but the broad jambs and the projecting lintel of the framing are inscribed in incised blue hieroglyphs (Plate xxi.). A large part of the lintel (A) is broken away, and much of the writing on the jambs also is illegible. The inscription on the lintel (compare that of the outer lintel) reads:—

"[May the King and Anubis who is on his hill, He who is in the city of Ut, grant as a grace, and may] Osiris, lord of Dadu, grant that he travel on the goodly ways on which the deserving travel [in peace, in peace, and his burial] in the western desert; and may the West give her two hands to him . . . . one who is deserving, who says what is good and [repeats] what is good, as one loved of his father (?) praised of his mother . . . . . [star of] Horus chief in heaven, the Sole Companion, Great Chief of the *Du-ef* Nome, Asa." On the right and left jambs (C and B) are prayers to Anubis and to Osiris respectively. The titles here given are included in the list on p. 19; the names of the seats of worship are discussed on pp. 43-4. The columns are closed by standing figures, but those in the middle columns are headed, "his beloved son." The name of the son is omitted or lost, and the inscription above does not refer to him.

The stela itself stands in a very deep recess, the sides of which have been decorated with figures. On the left is (1) a blank with a few hieratic characters; (2) two men carrying gifts; (3) a boy with birds, and another figure, whose title is half erased. On the right is (1) a man carrying a joint; (2) (destroyed); (3) a man with flowers, and a man hurrying with baskets hung from a yoke; (4) a hound eating a bird, and an attendant. Before this stela also there is a raised altar, the front of which has been



harpist supplies the music. The dancers are arrayed in short tunics, or perhaps merely a cloth cast round the loins, the free end of which is allowed to hang down in front. Their hair is adorned with lotus flowers, and they wear pendant as well as close-fitting necklaces, an amulet of familiar type being attached in one case. The space in which they perform is decorated with the leaves, buds, and flowers of both species of lotus. The word "dancing" is repeated before each figure.

4. LEADING A HYENA. The scene is almost destroyed. The inscription "a fine hyena" shows that the animal is a female.

5. GATHERING FRUIT (over the entrance to the inner room). Five men are gathering bunches of grapes into small round baskets from vines which are trained over the forked heads of upright poles. Two others, standing on opposite sides of a tree (completion on Plate xviii.), are plucking figs (?) into baskets of a much larger size.

NORTH WALL. EAST OF DOORWAY. (Plates xviii. and xix.)

One-third of the space here is taken up by a figure of Asa surrounded by his family and body-servants. The figure itself is defaced by a rough groove which has been cut in the wall. Asa wears the *sem*-priest's skin over a tunic which, as before, is ornamented in front with bead-work. The skin is bound round the body, not only by a parti-coloured sash which passes under one arm and is tied in a knot on the opposite shoulder, but also, as it seems, by the waist-belt. His wife kneels at his feet, and his son (?) follows him, himself perhaps leading a son by the hand. An official behind him carries a *flabellum* of the form noticed in the tombs of Zau and Aba; two body-servants are also in attendance (Plate xix.). The titles of Asa are written in an irregular and slovenly way, like many other inscriptions in the tomb;

the columns face, now this way, now that. In front of Asa are three officials. A scribe, whose paraphernalia are seen above him, presents a tablet to his master; another plump official of high rank, "the royal nobleman, Companion of the house, Thes-senes," has a roll of papyrus to lay before him; a third pushes forward a nude underling for approval or correction.

The rest of the wall is again a medley of scenes, the painter appearing bent on introducing a certain number of selected designs where they might best be fitted in. In the upper part of the picture the action is directed towards a light kiosque, supported on slender lotus-flower columns, all the woodwork being brightly painted with bands of alternate colours. Here Asa sits in an arm-chair to receive the reports of the scribes; he holds the scourge as symbol of lordship. The blue patch which is added to the overlap of Asa's tunic seems another proof of the love of dress which prevails in the tomb. Asa's wife kneels by her husband's feet in the pavilion, and "Great," a slim bitch greyhound, bedecked with ribbons, stands by his chair. Two of Rahenem's handmaidens are in attendance outside. One carries sandals and what is either the papyrus sceptre surmounted by a disc or a long-handled mirror; the other, a bag and hand-mirror. What other details there were here have been lost owing to the cutting of a deep niche near the ceiling, and the consequent injury to the wall below. The person presenting the tablet to Asa is identified by his name and titles as his second son, Qednes. Two scribes sit behind, writing on tablets the report of two heads of departments who stand near. Each is provided with rolls of papyrus, palette, inkpot, spare pens, and writing-case. This incident of official supervision of affairs may be connected with the following scene, in which the prince is making a journey by water. Two ships are again shown and two princes, to which, it seems, the two names of Asa are attached, as if they represented two sides of his personality which

only in conjunction made up the complete whole. The ships sail on a piece of water, the inhabitants and vegetation of which are of the invariable type. The first vessel is represented as built of papyrus, yet it carries a substantial mast forward, solidly stepped and braced with shrouds fore and aft. This is of the double type, with connections at intervals, and carries a yard at the masthead, on which a triangular sail is bent. A sailor is seen climbing the mast, but a blue monkey runs up the shrouds with greater agility, as if in emulation. The captain sits in an elevated position, and divides his attention between the managing of the sail and the control of a monkey. The boat is guided by two free oars at the stern, each being in the hands of a steersman. The Great Chief of the *Du-ef* Nome sits on a chair in the cabin here, but in the smaller craft which follows he stands on deck, leaning on his staff. This vessel is of the same rig, but constructed of wood and with the lines of a ship built in that material. Only fragments of the legends above remain.

In the lower division of the picture the various occupations on a large estate are depicted, agricultural and mechanical pursuits being combined into a crowded scene. On the right Asa surveys the scene, leaning on his staff, and accompanied by his son (?) Qehua. His designation is here, as elsewhere, written without regard to sequence. The line overhead seems to be a careless writing of ". . . deserving before the god (*sic*), Rahenem, whose good name is Asa." The articles of the toilette, on which Asa seems to have laid so much value, are ranged behind, and include a gala tunic, resplendent in colour and adorned with two *uraei*. Three servants attend with articles of personal use, the sandals, the bag of linen (?), a case of walking staffs (?), another staff, and *kherp* (?) sceptre.

The scenes which he surveys include

(1) METAL-WORKERS. Four men, seated round a furnace, from the top of which flames are seen

issuing, raise its heat by means of blowpipes. Above is an inscription, "Crush the abomination of the Ka (?)." Next to these two smiths are seen hammering out a knife (?) or ingot with round stones on an anvil in the presence of a taskmaster. The superscription does not yield any obvious sense. The balance for weighing out the metal, which is next represented, does not promise to give very exact results. A man whose office may be that of "Superintendent of the chamber of the smiths" seems to have laid out various copper or bronze vessels, the product of their industry, before a "Scribe of the steward of the tomb-estate," in order that he may register them. Next in order are two groups which show the makers or keepers of jewellery busied with their task. The first pair are sitting by a large bowl, and are holding over it a collar, which seems made of coloured ribands fastened at each end into gold terminals, and fringed on the lower edge with red and green (or red and blue) drops. A blue liquid is dripping from the beads, so that it would seem that some process of dyeing or cleaning is going on. The legend, perhaps, is "furbishing a very beautiful collar" (*mnh wsh-w r nfr wr* (?)). The next pair may be stretching the collar to free it from creases, or applying some glaze or overlay to it; for the exact significance of the word *ssr* here is not clear.

(2) We now pass to OUTDOOR SCENES, and are shown "the delivery (of a calf ) by the herdsman Ka-user" (?). His comrade Perneb (?) keeps the mother quiet by allowing her to lick his hand. The "Superintendent of the gang . . . ." watches the operation. (The two figures beyond are to be taken with the scene in Plate xviii.: they are personal attendants of Asa who carry the articles of his toilette). The subject is continued below, where a herdsman tries to induce a young animal to drink from a large vessel, "Causing the calf to drink."

It is evidently considered a valuable beast, for a fringed cloth has been laid over its back. Behind this group is shown "the milking of a cow for the *Ka* of Asa."<sup>1</sup> By this superscription we are clearly reminded what we, and perhaps contemporary spectators, may easily have lost sight of in presence of these scenes from daily life, that it is not as such they are presented here, but as assertions of the claim of the dead to a definite share in all the products of his former lands. The subject of the last group is the transport of a heavy baulk of timber. For easier removal it is suspended by a rope from a lighter pole, which four men have raised upon their shoulders. The careless designer has made his figures face opposite directions. ". . . . . wood" is the legend attached.

#### EAST WALL (Plate XX.).

A deep niche two feet wide<sup>2</sup> has been cut from top to bottom of the wall through the paintings, which have also been injured by two other mutilations and numerous surface fractures. The subjects of the paintings here seem, like those already noticed, to have been chosen without unity of idea; yet it is possible that all are connected with the funeral ceremonies and the provision of the funeral feast. All the scenes tend towards a seated figure of Asa on the right hand. He is gaily dressed in yet another costume, his pleated tunic stiffened uncomfortably, and an elaborately-coloured ribbon, to which, perhaps, an amulet is suspended, hung round his neck. He is accompanied by his wife and hound, and by a son (Asa?) who brings a gift of birds and flowers. His titles seem written in disorderly columns, as before,

The signs  $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$  must belong to the lost name of the herdsman. Surely they cannot form an attribute of Asa.

<sup>2</sup> Not represented to scale in the plate.

but little save the repetition of the name, Rahenem, is preserved.

In front, in the top register, two sons present offerings of birds and cruses of ointment. They are the "Sole Companion, Lector, and Great Chief of the *Du-ef* Nome . . . ." (Asa or Qehua?) and Qednes. Behind them is a barque, which contains a chest inscribed for "The Sole Companion, Chief Lector, *Sem*-priest, and Great Chief of the *Du-ef* Nome, Rahenem." This coffin or ark is set on a bier under a light baldachin, and the two sacred eyes are represented above it. A man in attitude of adoration, and carrying the *kherp*-sceptre, stands in the prow. This boat is followed by a ship under sail, which contains, besides the crew, the figure of Asa (?) seated in a chair. From the attitude of the female figure before him, whether she be his wife or a professional mourner, it would seem that the deceased prince is here represented. Two sacrificial oxen led by herdsmen follow this scene, one of which wears the gay collar which was put on valuable animals when presented for inspection.

The dancing scene in the second register may be loosely connected with the funeral procession. Most of the dancers are dressed in the garb already familiar from previous examples, but one, who may be a singer, is in ordinary woman's dress, and another is clad in a gay tunic of green and blue stripes with a broader stripe in front bespangled with red.<sup>3</sup> Two wear chains round the neck, to which, no doubt, amulets were appended. Four of the number dance together, two by two; the two remaining girls perform separately, with appropriate gesture. The scene which follows is one of the daily incidents of life in the marshes, when the cattle are forced to swim the waters to reach their feeding grounds. It may here

<sup>3</sup> Cf. WILKINSON, *Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. I., pp. 505, 506.

represent the transport of the sacrificial animals with the funeral convoy. The herd, and especially its young, are protected from the attacks of amphibians by boats before and behind. The hippopotamus rises as soon as the boats are passed, but is attacked by the occupants of a third canoe.<sup>1</sup>

The next register shows the preparation of the meat offerings. An ox is being driven forward; birds are being put into cages or taken from them, and selected parts are being removed from two slaughtered oxen. "Cutting up," or, literally, "selecting," is the title given to this operation.<sup>2</sup> Flowers, a table of bread, and ribs of beef (?) are being presented to Asa by a servant in front.

The lowest register, which runs from end to end of the wall, shows the preparation of two other necessities of the table, bread and beer, which may be destined here for the consumption either of the living or of the dead. The interesting account given by Dr. Borchardt<sup>3</sup> of the process of brewing in Egypt gives an additional reason for the close association of these household duties, by showing that the slight baking of barley bread was a preliminary step in brewing also.<sup>4</sup> The first step is the grinding of the barley, and, to judge from the attitude, this work is being performed by the fourth figure from the right (a man?). The coarse meal is then made into dough; this

may be the work of the man and woman next on the right, who are busy with large pans before them. The dough which has been prepared for bread is next seen ready baked, and spread out by a woman on tables in cakes of various forms.

On the other hand, the dough that has been prepared for the making of beer is piled up in numerous earthenware vessels, a quantity of which are taken by a man and stacked for baking. Fuel must have been set amongst the vessels, for another man is applying a light to the whole and shading his face from the heat.<sup>5</sup> It is evident that from such a firing no complete baking would result; but this is not desired. The bread is taken when half baked, broken into pieces, and soaked in water for several days. It is evidently this mixing that is being performed here in the three great bowls, set on stands, into which women are plunging their hands. It is apparently at the end of this period that the mass is trodden over in a vat by the feet, the process which was taken by the Egyptian as characteristic of brewing, and depicted in the word-sign for the act or actor.<sup>6</sup> We see this performed here by a man who stands up to his knees in a vessel; nor is this all, for by a label on the exterior of the red vessel which shows yellow grains in a white mass, the artist has, in a thoroughly Egyptian way, exhibited to us also the hidden contents.<sup>7</sup> On either side of this figure the final operation is shown, when the semi-liquid mass is placed in woven baskets over large bowls, and, being continually stirred and pressed, the liquid filters through into the receptacle below, and is ready for use.

<sup>1</sup> The painter makes a convenient hillock of water to accommodate the animal, nor does he hesitate to represent the butterfly, which flits above, as of equal size with the hippopotamus, that both may be equally clear to the spectator.

<sup>2</sup> The blue blade of the *setep* adze is visible in one instance. At this point and across the legs of the dancers above there is a hieratic graffito of more than ordinary clearness and length.

<sup>3</sup> *Ä.Z.* 1897, p. 128.

<sup>4</sup> Bread-making and brewing are associated also in the scene, No. 91, at Cairo, given by Dr. Borchardt in the above article.

<sup>5</sup> For this pile see the scene already alluded to, and PETRIE, *Deshashek*, Plate xxvii.

<sup>6</sup> BORCHARDT and SCHÄFER, *Ä.Z.* 1899, pp. 83, 84.

<sup>7</sup> The hands of those who stir the mass within the bowls are also punctiliously shown outside.

## SOUTH WALL.

East of the doorway the wall has received paintings, but only a few fragments admit of being copied. The lower part of the wall at its east end is broken down, the pit of Tomb 69 having left but a thin partition. The subject of the fresco was that of fowling in the marshes. Asa stands in a boat on the right facing the doorway, his foot poised and his hand raised to hurl the throw-stick. Behind him are two smaller figures of sons. Asa is in a similar attitude to his father, but touching him with his left hand; Qednes is also armed with a throw-stick. Of the scenes which followed, there are still visible three figures of birds carefully painted and nearly life-size, a crane (Plate xv.), a  goose (brownish), and a  duck (blue). The crane is a specimen of the flock, the number of which is modestly estimated at 21,342 (!) Between the figure of Asa and the doorway is another large figure leaning on a staff, executed in red, not in the customary flesh colour. This and its cramped position suggest that it may be a later addition. The sketch of a ship near this figure seems to be a graffito (Plate xv.).

The short wall to the west of the doorway seems to have received no paintings. A great part of the surface is taken up with a burial-recess with arched roof.

PROVISION FOR BURIALS. There are at least two shafts in the floor of the outer chamber. The larger of these descends in the N.W. corner opposite the large false door, and is at present open for 15 ft. The smaller shaft is close by it, and at 11 ft. below the floor gives entrance to a chamber on the N. about 8 ft. square, the floor of which is deep in rubbish. The walls of the chamber also are greatly cut into for burial-recesses and galleries; these, in the absence of proof to the contrary, must be taken to be burial-places of members of the family of the same generation, or at least of that following. There is one such on the north, two on

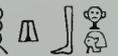
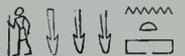
the east, and two again on the south. On the north there is also a gallery and a small false door. The level of this and of the adjoining recess on the E. is below the general level of the floor: there must therefore be a pit or lowering of the floor in this corner.

## 4 -TOMB 67.

BELONGING TO    HENQU, SURNAMED  
  I . . . . F.

(PLATES XXII.—XXVI.)

Titles (following the order in Plate XXIII.):—

1.  Hereditary Prince.
  2.  *Ha*-Prince.
  3.  Superintendent of the pyramid property.
  4.  [  ? ] Supreme Judge.
  5.  Vizier.
  6.   (*sic*). Superintendent of the scribes of the accounts of the King.
  7.  Sole Companion.
  8.  Chief Lector.
  9.  Chief of the Pillared Hall.
  10.  *Sem*-priest. (Plates xxv., xxvi.)
  11.  Master of every kind of tunic.  
(Plate xxvi.)
  12.  Great Chief of the *Du-ef* Nome.  
(Plate xxv.)
- Sons.* (1)  Asa. "Eldest."  
"Sole Companion." (Plate xxiii.)
- (2)  (?) Themy(?). "Eldest."  
(Plate xxvi.)

Wife.  Khentet-ka, whose surname  
is  Au.

“Royal Acquaintance.” (Plate  
xxvi.)

Relations (?). (Plate xxvi.)

(1)  Nebt.

“Sole Royal Ornament.”

(2)  Mertates, surnamed  
 Teta (her daughter?).

(3)  Behesta (?).

“Governor of the Residence.”

“Sole Companion.”

#### EXTERIOR (Plate xxii.).

This tomb is hewn in the cliff at a level considerably above those which lie further to the east; for a mound of débris with a substratum of natural rock rests against the cliff here, and increases the height at which tombs could be constructed. A fine façade has been given to the tomb by cutting back the rock so as to leave the front in a protecting recess. A deep lintel tablet, cut in relief, overhangs the entrance, and well-smoothed jambs flank it on either side. The whole is set at a strong slope.

#### INTERIOR.

The tomb consists of two chambers, the inner room being small and roughly hewn, and raised a step above the level of the room outside. The outer chamber is now in a deplorable state, the partition wall on the W. being entirely broken down and the floor heaped with the débris. Nor do the wall-paintings make amends for this disorder, for they are coarsely executed in a kind of tempera and much faded. Up to the time of the present expedition also the greater part of these were more than half covered with a thick yellow wash. So much was this the case that the long bio-

graphical inscription on the E. wall had not been seen, or had been considered past all hope. But as soon as it was discovered that a large part of this interesting document was still uninjured, and could be relieved of the overlay which had so long concealed it, the tomb assumed a new importance. The practice in the tombs of this group of cutting into the walls below the picture line in order to provide additional places of burial makes them very unsightly, and Henqu seems to have had a number of relations or dependants who sought, like Zau, “to be with him in one place every day.” Along the N. wall these burial-places are, in order from W. to E. (Plate xxvi.): (1) A narrow gallery running deep into the cliff; (2) a small false door; (3) a burial-recess; (4) two broader galleries; (5) a niche, as if for a false door; (6) the commencement of a great excavation, as if for a new chamber. On the E. under the great inscription is a false door and a burial-recess, the end of which is broken open to the cliff face (67*a* on Plate i.). On the S. are two burial-recesses, from one of which a gallery runs E. in the thickness of the cliff wall. Inscriptions over these recesses indicate that the latter are contemporary with the original burial. West of the doorway is a false door. The few inches which are left of the height of the W. wall show that there was here a large stela with triple jambs, deeply sunk in the wall as in the tomb of Asa. The painted subjects are:—

#### NORTH WALL (Plate xxvi.).

The space W. of the doorway, since it adjoins the stela, is reserved for the prescribed scene of banqueting. Henqu and his wife Khentetka are seated on a couch before the table (red). Above it is a list of offerings with ninety-nine entries, and between the two the prayer for thousands of oxen, cloth, and *perkheru* gifts is written. Beyond is a pile of offerings and two rows of servants, five in all, who present animals and

viands of various kinds. Each column of the titles of Henqu is terminated by his name, but in the fourth a different name is substituted, with which the scribe does not seem to have been familiar. The only emendation I can suggest for this surname (?) is  (DARESSY, *Le Mastaba de Mera*, p. 543), or, if the inked sign is correct, .

East of the doorway the design is mainly concerned with scenes on the water, but other subjects intrude without apparent connection. The left-hand portion has been facsimiled in Plate xxiii.; the rest was too faint to copy, even the subject being often in doubt. In the scene preserved, Henqu is seen standing on the wooden deck of a papyrus canoe and plunging his bident spear into the water, which, following the convenient practice of the Egyptian artist, is piled up to accommodate the fine fish which he wishes to represent as a worthy capture for a prince. His eldest son, Asa, stands behind him, spear in hand, a figure of almost equal size. The tiny figure of a child in front, holding a bird and lotus bloom, has no name attached. A boatman (?) is in the stern. Asa's canoe is followed by a smaller one in which Khentetka sits, herself also, as it seems, wielding a weapon in her right hand, though in her left she holds only a stem of lotus. The arrangement of the provisions, etc., behind her is difficult to comprehend. The inscription above, giving the titles of Henqu, is very incoherently arranged. He is described as deserving before "the great god," "Osiris, lord of . . . and of Abydos," and before "his lord" (the king); the description of the picture is, "The deserving Henqu (?), Sole Companion and Lector, being conveyed over the backwaters to spear fish."

A curious scene occupies the top corner. A couch is set within a pavilion, whose walls are formed by light wooden columns, connected at the top and apparently supporting a roof. When matwork or other material was stretched

over this framework it would form a portable pavilion, in which a couch might be set for the princely pair to take their rest in when tired of sport. Three servants are spreading the bed. One smoothes the mattress, another hands the headrest, a third brings a coverlet (?). A parallel to the scene is shown in the tomb of Mera at Saqqâreh, where Mera and his wife are seen retiring to their couch to enjoy a pleasant siesta there.<sup>1</sup> In the space below this scene of sport men are cutting up slaughtered animals, but the inscription is too incomplete to show its purport.

The aquatic scenes are continued to the right, but the subjects chosen for the upper registers have no connection at all with them, so far as can be seen. The pool of water stocked with fish is continued, and on it is a boat containing five figures who face towards Asa. Further on ten fishermen are pulling their drag-net out of the water. In the upper part of the wall are offerings, and, further to the right, figures of squatting scribes (?) facing to the E., and two groups of seated dwarfs occupied with jewellery. Perhaps a figure of Henqu originally closed the scene here.

#### EAST WALL (Plates xxiv.—xxvi.).

The centre of the wall is occupied by the great biographical inscription in three horizontal and twenty-eight vertical columns, the text of which will be found on Plates xxiv. and xxv.<sup>2</sup> Facing this on the right is a standing figure of

<sup>1</sup> DARESSY, *Le Mastaba de Mera*, p. 542. Cf. also L. D. ii. 14 (corrected in *A.Z.* 1897, p. 168).

<sup>2</sup> The inscription seems to have been in black hieroglyphs which had been previously sketched out less carefully in red. The copy has had to be made from the remnants of both, so that sometimes the solid sign has been copied, sometimes the outline sketch; at other times parts of both appear. The ripples of the *u* sign were not marked in the first draft, but left to be inserted over the rough outline; this will explain the varying forms of the letter.

Henqu, receiving the attentions of his "eldest and beloved son Themy (?), deserving before (his lord) every day." Themy is holding a jar of "festal scent" to the face of his father; "the judicial scribe . . .," who seems to be a son or grandson, accompanies him. The long inscription is closed in a similar way by a standing figure, in front of which is an ox. Only the word  in enormous letters is visible. The space above the inscription is filled by five oxen with as many drivers, facing towards a figure who stands on the right. Beneath the inscription is a corresponding picture, representing the ploughing and sowing of the fields. It thus seems to have been a custom to devote the east wall to an exhibition, whether in writing or picture, of the eminence of the deceased, and his wealth in lands, crops, or cattle. (Cf. Plate viii. and Vol. I., Plate vii.)

The inscription is translated as follows by Mr. Griffith:—

(1) "O all ye men of the Nome of the Cerastes' Rock, O ye who are upon . . . of other nomes, who shall pass by [this] tomb, of me Henqu:—speak good and sweet words (?), (2) pour out a libation, [offer] bread and beer unto him who was devoted to Matyt lady of Aakemt, and to the hawk-god, lord (?) of the temples of Mam, unto the *erpa*-prince, the *sem*-priest, confidential Friend, lector, great chief of the Nome of the Cerastes' Rock, (devoted) to his lord, Henqu.

(3) "I was one devoted, (4) beloved of his fathers, (5) praised of his mothers, (6) the burier of his aged ones. (7) Ye fishers<sup>1</sup> with the harpoon, (8) ye angled upon the bank of the stream, behold ye have grown old in the council of the nobles. (9) Never was enslaved the daughter of one of you . . . (10) her hands; fetters (?) or "I10 . . ." were not put upon one man . . . (11) in this place in which I am; I gave bread to every hungry man of the Nome of the Cerastes' Rock, (12) clothing to the naked therein.<sup>2</sup> Moreover I filled its dunes (?) (13) with cattle, its valleys (?) with goats. (14) Moreover I sated the jackals of the desert, the vultures of heaven with the offal (?) (15) of the goats.

"O lover of all that is therein (?), (16) I acted as chief, and superintendent of southern corn, in this nome; never

<sup>1</sup>  seems to have been wrongly inserted in smaller characters as an afterthought.

<sup>2</sup> Note the feminine gender for the name of this nome.

. . . . . to draw water from the well (?) for his beggar (?) daughter in the offices (?) (*pry-t*). (17) Verily he who shall be too young among you for this pleasant speech, behold thy father he shall tell it to thee. (18) I stocked villages that were enfeebled in this nome with men of other nomes; (19) they who had been as serfs therein, I made their rank as nobles. (20) Never did I deprive him who was on his father's seat, that he should curse (?) me to my city-god for it. I spake and reported good. (21) Never did I yield (?) a man to him who was stronger than he, that he should curse (?) me to God for it."

"Then I turned (22) to be ruler in the Nome of the Cerastes' Rock, with my brother, the devoted, the confidential friend, the lector, Rahenem; (23) I was beneficial to it with hobbles (?) of cattle, snares offowers.<sup>3</sup> I stocked all its dwelling-places<sup>4</sup> (24) with people and cattle, down to flocks, in truth: I have not spoken falsehood herein. (25) Moreover I (26) was one beloved of his father, (27) praised of his mother, loving his brethren. (26 *bis*) Yea, I was one that was priest to the god of his city, putting fear [in the hearts of the profane?]."

In the much-broken lines at the end one recognizes the sentence: (32) "I was moreover a perfect soul . . ."

#### SOUTH WALL.

The whole of the south wall is undecorated except within a small space marked off by a border of rectangles above the eastern burial-recess, and a corresponding record over its neighbour (Plate xxvi.). These representations amount to no more than simple burial tablets, and as the names are of the period, and persons occur who are evidently retainers of the house of Henqu, it is plain that those who are commemorated here were relatives of his. The record on the left is on behalf of a woman, Nebt, who may have been a sister or daughter of Henqu. The short inscription shows her to have been a lady of rank and a worshipper of

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps Henqu was the inventor of new snares and hobbles.

<sup>4</sup> "The devoted Henqu" is here written in a small compartment. The division of the inscription in lines and compartments according to the meaning is very unusual and curious, but it is far from neat. There are obscure passages in this very remarkable text that must be left for future researches to interpret.

the local goddess Mati. She sits before the banquet table, round which offerings are piled. A female figure, presumably her daughter, who is shown approaching with a bird, bears the names Mertates-Teta.<sup>1</sup> Then follow lectors carrying joints, etc., and two women bearing flowers. Two of the lectors are named Henqu and Asa respectively, after their master and his son. Outside this framed record is another on behalf of a Governor of the Residence, Behesta (?).

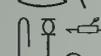
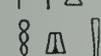
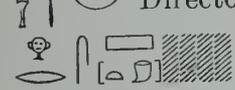
Besides a short inscription the tablet only contains a standing figure of the deceased, before whom a lector of the same name offers incense.

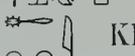
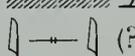
5.—TOMB 39.

BELONGING TO  HENQU, SURNAMED  
KHETETA.

(PLATES XXVII. AND XXVIII.)

Titles:—

1.  *Ha*-prince.
2.  Superintendent of the South.
3.  Sole Companion.
4.  Chief Lector.
5.  Great Chief of the *Du-ef* Nome.
6.  Chief of the Pillared Hall.
7.  *Sem*-priest.
8.  Master of every kind of tunic.
9.  Scribe of the Roll of the God.
10.  Director of all Offices.
11.  He who is over the secrets of . . . . .

- Wife.  (?) Benzet (?).
- Sons. (1)  (?) Rahenem (?).
- (2)  Ampy.
- (3)  Kheteta.
- (4)  . . . . . fu (?).
- (5)  . . . . . u.
- (6)  (?) Asa (?).

The whole of the front wall of this tomb has fallen away, so that all trace of the façade is lost. When the tomb was excavated there was already a gallery running into the rock on the W., and in attempting to make the utmost of the space left to them, the clumsy quarrymen broke into this tomb. The part of the W. wall spoiled by this breach below has been left undecorated.

The floor of the tomb is deeply covered in débris, so that its level is quite uncertain. There are indications, however, of a pit in front of the great stela, and there must be a pit in the opposite recess in order to give entrance to the burial-place below. A second chamber of small size, and elevated considerably above the floor level, opens out of the back wall. It is, as usual, uninscribed. The recesses for burial are numerous. Two such are hewn in the lower part of the W. wall, another on the N., and three at least on the E., that under the stela being at so low a level as to necessitate entrance by a pit; the third runs out of the S. side of the E. recess; a short gallery has also been excavated higher up in the back wall of this recess, to the injury of the stela there. The roof of the chamber is very irregularly hewn.

The paintings are in so deplorable a condition that it has not been considered worth while to reproduce in facsimile anything but a slight fragment, there being no representation the form of which was at once clear and of importance. In technique the pictures closely resemble those of the tomb of Henqu, seeming

<sup>1</sup> Cf. L. D. ii. 110, Tomb 10; *Sheikh Saïd*, p. 27.

more akin to true fresco than painting on a prepared surface. They have also been covered at some later date with a tenacious covering of mud-plaster and whitewash, which still adheres in parts and could only be successfully removed at some pains.

WEST WALL (Plate xxviii., G to Z).

Towards the N. end there is a false door sunk in a recess, which occupies the whole height of the wall save for a cornice above it. The door is framed within a roll-moulding, and all its parts save the drum have received inscriptions of the usual type, now so faded as to be scarcely legible. On the upper lintel (T) is a prayer to the king and Anubis on behalf of Kheteta. On the tablet (U) where Kheteta is seated at table in front of piled-up offerings he is called by his name, Henqu. The rest of the inscriptions only give his titles, which have been already noted. The deities to whom devotion is expressed are Mati and Ptah (?). In front of the stela is a raised altar. To the right of the recess are four vases of sacred oils with their names, and three rows of caskets. What the latter contain is not clear; possibly mirrors.

To the immediate left of the stela in the banqueting scene which so naturally accompanies it, Kheteta and his wife Benzet sit on a couch before the table; overhead are their names and titles and a comprehensive prayer for offerings on Kheteta's behalf (O, P, Q). Behind the table offerings are ranged, and two figures wearing the sash of the lector present joints of meat. They appear from the inscriptions to be sons of the deceased and are named Henqu (?) and Kheteta. The scene at the S. end of the wall represents Kheteta standing, his titles being enumerated above him and in three columns in front of him (G and H). Behind him is shown "the bringing of provisions (?) by his brother (brethren ?)" (G); they occupy three registers and comprise four men and two

women, each of whom brings a gift of food or flowers. The women are named Benzet and Heneina; none of the names of the men is certain.

NORTH WALL (Plate xxviii., A to H).

To the left of the doorway is a fishing scene. Though it is much damaged, Kheteta can still be seen standing in the boat with levelled spear. There are with him three male figures. The largest of these, who is in front and must represent a son, seems named Rahenem. By his side is a smaller figure in whom we recognize his son Ampy, and behind him a third son, a lector, whose name is half erased.

Over the doorway is a calving scene, "Seeing that to which the cow gives birth (?)." The space to the right of the doorway is occupied by a scene in which oxen and antelopes are led towards Kheteta by their keepers. "Bringing wild animals to the *Ha*-prince,<sup>1</sup> Superintendent of the South district,<sup>2</sup> and Sole Companion, Henqu." The prince sits in a chair, holding a staff in his left hand and the scourge in his right.

EAST WALL. (See sketch on Plate xxviii.)

Opposite the recessed stela on the W. wall is a similar but deeper recess on this side of the room, also containing a stela, but much rougher and smaller, and uninscribed. To the left of this recess is a scene in which Kheteta stands with the *sem*-priest's skin fastened round his body by the waist-band and sash, and with a fillet binding his hair. He is watching the movements of some professional dancing-girls whose performance is exhibited here in three registers (Plate xv.). In the upper and lower rows were four (?) girls who dance in pairs; in the middle row were women beat-

<sup>1</sup> This word has been omitted by mistake in the copy (Plate xxviii., H.).

<sup>2</sup> The occurrence of this word is somewhat doubtful. But cf. *Sheikh Said*, p. 11.

ing time, of whom two are preserved. They are dressed in the garb made familiar to us by other examples (Plates xvii. and xx. and Vol. I., Plate x.). The dress of Kheteta would suggest that the dances were of a sacred character. The description above reads, "The Sole Companion and Great Chief of the *Du-ef* Nome seeing . . . . the dance (?)." On the other side of the recess Kheteta stands, leaning on his staff, to receive the gifts which are brought forward by nine (?) persons, three in each of as many registers. The first in the upper row (D) is "his beloved son, the Companion Ampy"<sup>1</sup>; the third (E) is named Kheteta. The first in the second row appears to be named Asa; he is "First after the King," a title not infrequently bestowed on eldest sons. The greater part of the description of the scene has been destroyed by the cutting of a large arched niche in the wall.

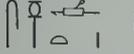
A third stela was sculptured in the wall behind this scene, but a breach of the partition wall between this tomb and the next has destroyed nearly the whole of it. Above it offerings were ranged, and to the right of it may have been a fowling scene, to judge from a slight fragment which is visible.

## 6.—TOMB 46.

BELONGING TO  ASA, SURNAMED   
RAHENEM (?).

(PLATE XXI.)

Titles:—

1.  (?). Royal Chancellor.
2.  Sole Companion.
3.  Great Chief of the *Du-ef* Nome.
4.  Chief (?) Lector.

<sup>1</sup> For the name see DARESSY, *Le Mastaba de Mera*, p. 567 (erroneously copied), and *Recueil*, xiii. 72.

5.  One who is over the secrets of the treasurer of the god, in Aakemt.

Wife.  Hefta.  
"Sole Royal Ornament."

Sons. (1)  Kheteta.  
(2)  Kheteta.

This little tomb is situated high up in the cliff, and was originally, perhaps, accessible only from above. A sloping façade with broad jambs and deep lintel has been hewn out; for the tomb, though small, was the burial-place of a Nomarch. Within is a tiny chamber affording little more room than sufficed for a pit and hidden place of burial to the north.<sup>2</sup> Over the entrance to this there is on the N. wall a little recess, in which a false door has been painted, and inscriptions written in green hieroglyphs. These give us the name and titles of the owner of the tomb as those of a local Nomarch, Asa by name (Rahenem, in a doubtful passage). The elusive name of the seat of worship of Mati is here plainly spelt out, to all appearance. (See p. 44.) Asa's two sons are named alike, a habit which has been met with elsewhere in the necropolis.

## 7.—TOMB 38.

BELONGING TO  NEBAB.<sup>3</sup>

(PLATES XXI.—XXVIII.)

This tomb is next on the E. to the tomb of Kheteta, and half the partition wall between the two is broken down. Its façade, like that of

<sup>2</sup> In the belief that this tomb had been included in those of which plans had been drawn in 1893 by Mr. J. Newberry, no measurements of the tomb were taken. It offers, however, no noteworthy features.

<sup>3</sup> Or  Nebqeb?

its neighbour, is entirely gone. The small low room within has a very irregular floor, giving it varying heights. A pit in the N.E. corner admits to a chamber under the N. wall.

There are representations on three walls. On the E. side of the S. wall is a standing male figure in deep relief: a small basin cut in the floor in front of it may or may not be accidental. On the W. wall also is a rough but bold relief, 3 feet by 4, representing Nebab and his wife seated on a couch before the banqueting table. Nebab, who wears the stiffened tunic, is smelling a cruse of ointment; his wife has her right arm round her husband's shoulder and raises the left hand as if in worship. There is a casket beneath the chair and viands are piled below the table.

The representation on the N. wall is not sculptured, but executed in paint on a plastered space 4 feet by 5 (Plate xxi.). The pair are seated in almost exactly the same attitude as before. The dress also is the same; but Nebab has the decorated belt and neck ribbon, and his wife the ornamented shoulder-straps, which we see also in the tomb of Asa (Plates xvii. and xx.). On the other side of the table (blue) are the figures of two sons, the former and elder of whom presents a vase of ointment to his father, the other a joint of meat. Their names and that of their mother are too much injured to be read with certainty. Two lines of blue hieroglyphs above the scene give the following dedication:—

“One deserving before Mati, mistress of Aakemt. He who is over the secrets of the treasurer of the god (?) [in Aakemt], Superintendent of . . . . . of the treasurer of the god, Nebab. He says, ‘I came from my city, I descended from my Nome, I did what was commended as one deserving before his lord every day.’”

## 8.—TOMB 95.

(PLATES XXI. AND XXVII.)

It may be supposed that originally some bank of rock enabled the visitor to clamber into this tomb. The sill is now some ten feet from the ground in a smooth and overhanging wall of rock. The façade is more extensive than usual, the inner jambs being exceedingly broad; a lintel-band extends from side to side above the entrance. The chamber within is regular in shape, but the floor and lower part of the walls have been much cut into to provide burial-places.

### WEST WALL.

At the N. end of the W. wall is a false door in a recess: it does not seem to have been inscribed (Plate xxvii.). There is an altar before it with two rectangular basins to hold offerings. In front of this is a pit in the floor, from the N. side of which a gallery runs to the N. There is a second pit in the S.W. corner of the room. On the N. there is a burial-recess and a gallery below floor level, to which a pit must give entrance. On the E. a gallery runs off at floor level. At the bottom of the S. wall, N. of the entrance, a burial-recess is cut. Nearly half of the upper part of the wall has fallen away, but the rest shows a plastered surface on which traces of painting remain. In the middle of the wall a large standing figure leans upon his staff, to whom bearers of offerings approach (Plate xxi.). Among them are a lector named Asa (a son?), a son named Kheteta, another who may be “Kheteta's eldest son Kheteta,” and several whose names, like that of the owner himself, cannot be deciphered.

## III.—FACT AND CONJECTURE.

## 1. ZAU, FATHER AND SON.

IF we are often disappointed at the meagre revelation of personal history and character contained in an Egyptian tomb, this is still more likely to be the case in the tomb in question, which is occupied by two princes, without any very clear distinction of their respective shares. Indeed, nearly all the little that is to be said or suggested is due to the inscription on the E. wall of the shrine. For a moment it lifts the mask from the mummied form, and allows us to see features which are a little more human, though still unnaturally stiff, and overlaid with alien modes of speech and life.

From the fact, recorded in writing and evident in the painted scenes, that the tomb was destined to be the burial-place of both father and son, and decorated in their honour, it may be gathered that the main work in it, at least, was executed immediately after the death of the elder man. Zau-Shmaa, whether through inability to furnish means on a par with his ambition, or through early demise, had to leave it to his son to provide him with burial suited to his birth and position. The trust was not betrayed. The younger Zau, who was already grown up and married (?), but as yet, apparently, without issue, came to the decision, not only to set about the task at once, but to make the tomb of his father his own burial-place too. He gives as his reason (p. 13) that he desired to be with "the said Zau" in one place and see him every day, and strongly denies that his motive had been one of thrift. It is, perhaps, not too cynical, nor need it impugn the sincerity of Zau's protestations of love, to suspect that the

very denial suggests some truth in the charge. He had, it is plain, the means to construct two tombs, but it may be doubted if he could have compassed two of such magnificence, so that good sense as well as affection may have led him to the decision. The neglect or inability of his father to provide his own tomb threw a double charge on the young prince's resources, which, to judge from the speedy disappearance of the family from history, were probably already in decline. If this inscription was written soon after his father's death, when his own burial there was only a distant project, there is no assurance that his affectionate hope was fulfilled, nor any clue to his later fortunes. The words certainly read as if inspired by recent events. His filial piety is borne out, as has been already noted (p. 7), by the scenes on the walls, in which his own figure takes so modest a place as to leave the tomb, to all intents, the burial-place of the elder Zau. This is the more striking when we remember the strong impulse of the old-time Egyptian to dwell on the future rather than on the past, omitting in the burial record all mention of his forefathers.

In the painted scenes Zau shows little initiative. He followed very closely the pattern set by his grandfather; for many even of his deviations from it are due only to the different dimensions of the wall surface. We may, however, suspect that in the curtailment of the workshop scenes, and the attention bestowed on agricultural pictures rather than on those of administration, there is an indication that the energy shown by Aba had not been sustained, though its influence might still be felt.

The differences of titulary of the three princes

in the imperfect lists preserved to us are not such as imply any serious alteration in the position of the ruler of the Nome. No important office seems to have been withdrawn or added; for a series of religious dignities, which is not noted in the case of the father, is credited to the son, and *vice versa*. The differences can easily be learnt from a perusal of the lists (on pp. 1-3 and Part I., p. 8<sup>1</sup>), but, until we have more insight into the significance of these honours, they remain as barren of historic material as in the case of Aba. So much, however, may be said, that if the wardenship of the southern passes was not a sinecure, the Nomarch who was charged with this duty must have been in close touch with the outside world, and much absent, one would think, from his home in the *Du-ef* Nome.

If the person and life of Zau-Shmaa, and the history of the Nome under his rule, is thus left wholly indeterminate, it is scarcely less so with his son, though the little speech of the latter, which breaks the silence and still reads as an outburst of genuine feeling (not unmingled with lively self-congratulation on that which his fidelity had achieved), gives him a convincing reality which is as welcome as it is rare. This address to posterity, translated by Mr. Griffith on p. 13, contains:—

(1) The claim that Zau-Shmaa had been given by his son a burial fully worthy of his rank.

(2) The statement that this had been secured by the importunity of the son, who begged from King Neferkara coffin, cerements, and oils.

(3) A description of these grants from the treasury.

(4) The son's reasons for burial in one tomb with his father.

(5) An invitation to posterity to prayer on the son's behalf.

(6) The announcement that the king had

granted "to the said Zau" the rank of a *Ha*-prince, "as the king's burial-grace."

The twice-repeated assertion that Zau was buried with full honours gives rise to the suspicion that there had been some danger lest this should not be done. Was this due to lack of means, or to some disfavour or cabal which threatened to deprive the dead prince of wonted favours? In face of the stress laid on Zau's personal appeal to the king, not only for burial equipment, but for recognition of princely rank, we may suspect that it was for more than a concession or increase of customary burial gifts that he made petition. While dismissing the claim that Zau-Shmaa received higher honours than any of his peers, past or present, as common Egyptian hyperbole, the richness of Zau's chapel decorations make the belief easy that all was done as he claims. We can only regret that fortune has not enabled us to compare the actual burial equipment of Zau with its description by his son.<sup>2</sup>

The petition of Zau to the king seems then to have been unusual, either in itself or in its extent, or owing to circumstances which threatened a breach of time-honoured custom. That the common burial prayer to the king was often honoured by actual gifts is plain from many sources, but it is not clear whether this was invariable in some form or granted only by special favour or request. The fine chamber of Zau forbids us to think that he sued *in forma pauperis*, as the words might suggest. Moreover, the gifts of cloth and unguents seem to have been a regular contribution from the royal treasury towards the burial equipment of

<sup>2</sup> It is disquieting to feel that, had time and chance left the sepulchral chamber inviolate till within this decade or even to this day, we should probably have had no profit from the boon. Nor, indeed, is it certain that it was not so preserved; for, so far as I know, there is no record of the circumstances under which the burial-shaft of the tomb was lately emptied.

<sup>1</sup> 12 \* should there be corrected to 12 †, and 14 † to 14 \*.

nobles.<sup>1</sup> Even if the request for a coffin were exceptional, it could scarcely need such emphasis, for much more lavish gifts to favourite officials are recorded. Aba received a still more munificent bequest from Neferkara, if, as seems to be implied, all the twelve estates figured in his tomb were given in *seten dy hetep*, well stocked with servants and animals, in order to provide for the tomb-service in perpetuity.<sup>2</sup> Unless, then, Zau foolishly boasts of his coffin, cloth, and ointments in imitation of the really noble gift recorded by Aba, and tries to magnify the boon by enlarging on the exertion needed to secure it, some special difficulty must be supposed.

Whether the request was ordinary or extraordinary, Zau obtained it "from the two treasuries of the palace." The statement here and elsewhere that the grant was from the personal residence of the king recalls, perhaps, the feudal nature of the gift. The primitive dependency of the noble on the royal house for food and maintenance, which was in abeyance under ordinary circumstances, was reasserted in this ceremony of the royal burial-grace; death bringing, not a severance, but rather a more complete establishment of the feudal relation.

The apology of Zau for arranging his burial in one tomb with his father shows the infrequency of the custom. The case of Akhet-hetep at Saqqâreh only proves the rule, for the two interments there were kept quite separate, each having a fully-decorated chapel and suite of rooms. The eldest son was probably expected to provide a roomy sepulchre, which might serve, not only for himself, but also for members of the family of his genera-

tion who were more or less dependent on his house. Perhaps Zau had reason to despair of issue, and, foreseeing the extinction or humiliation of the family, decided that its last members should be buried in state in a tomb that upheld its traditions. His affection for his father would gain a new motive in this.

A second time, at the end of the inscription, Zau proclaims his success in obtaining burial favours from the king. This must either be regarded as an irrelevant repetition of the previous statement, with emphasis on the fact that the equipment obtained had been that pertaining to the rank of a *Ha*-prince, or an explanation must be sought in the previous clause, which invites those who shall come after to perform pious rites for himself, the son of Zau. It would certainly be a natural sequence to this appeal if Zau asked that his father also should be honoured after the degree of a *Ha*-prince, since by his burial-grace the king had shown that Zau-Shmaa's privilege was to be no less than this. But the words seem plainly to denote an actual bestowal of the title and office itself. This might, perhaps, be explained if we supposed that Zau-Shmaa died before his father Aba, or was refused the succession, and so only became a *Ha*-prince in right of posthumous honours granted by the king, who also allowed his son to succeed with unimpaired title. But in that case the statement would have been expected earlier in the inscription, and in explicit form; and there is every reason to believe that Zau-Shmaa actually exercised the offices assigned to him.

The phrase, then, taken literally, seems to imply that the appointment to an office by the king ceased to be valid at the death of the official; and that it might form part of the king's burial-grace, in right of the undying nature which the king shared with the gods, to confer the honour anew, not for time and Egypt, but for the eternal kingdom of Osiris. On this view, Zau-Shmaa was to be for ever a

<sup>1</sup> So in DARESSY, *Le Mastaba de Mera*, pp. 542, 543, 545, where cloth, vases of unguents, and perhaps food offerings also, are brought to Mera as "a grant to him from the palace as *seten dy hetep*."

<sup>2</sup> Part I., p. 22.

*Ha-prince*, and have maintenance afforded him by the gifts and prayers of succeeding generations, according to that rank.

## 2. THE AGE OF THE NORTHERN NECROPOLIS.

Severe as is the ruin which has overtaken these tombs, it has, no doubt, fallen upon them impartially, so that their evidence is still valid, though less cogent than if it had been complete. An examination of the cemetery at once makes it apparent that here, as at Sheikh Saïd, only those of high rank attained to the luxury of a decorated sepulchre. There seem to have been only four tombs with frescoed illustrations, and these all belonged to "Great Chiefs." Of two possessors of tombs which retain most or all of their scantier decorations (39 and 46), one is again a "Great Chief," and the other, though not so termed, speaks as if he held the highest rank in the Nome. There is some reason, therefore, for supposing that the two remaining tombs which still bear traces of inscribed names, also belonged to men of this standing. Of the rest, which now are blank, though often in other respects much superior to some which are inscribed, it may be concluded that they originally possessed no record at all, or one so scanty and poor that it quickly perished. We are left, therefore, in most cases with the architecture of the tomb as our only historic material; and even this is depreciated in value by the dilapidated state of all the sepulchres, and by the lack of recorded data of the same kind, from a comparison with which some conclusion might be reached. It might have been expected that there would be a close parallel between this necropolis and that at Sheikh Saïd, to which there is a direct road through the mountains. But the differences are considerable; probably the connections of the *Du-ef* Nome were rather with the country to the south of it.

The all-important point to be established is, of course, the period to which the necropolis belongs: a question which, in this case, reduces itself to immediate priority or subsequence to the tombs of the Southern Group, that is to say, to the reign of Pepy II., roughly speaking. The dilemma is not easy to solve, for there is much to recommend either solution.

It will be well to consider, in the first place, the testimony of this necropolis itself, uninfluenced by the necessity of making it accord with the history of the nome revealed by the southern tombs.

The cliff in which the N. tombs are situated was probably the most suitable for the purpose in the immediate vicinity; but, as it may not have been nearest to the town site, much cannot be made of this suggestion of an early date. In the cliff the best situation would now be that occupied by the inscribed tombs of *Rahenem-Asa* and *Henqu* in the centre, and after it that of *Kheteta* on the right; for here there are lower ledges which permit access to the vertical face; and, though such approaches probably existed formerly in other parts also, it is likely that the relative superiority of these two positions has not much altered. One would expect, therefore, that the tombs of *Rahenem-Asa* and *Henqu* (72 and 67) preceded those of *Kheteta* and *Asa* (39 and 46); that the general movement, in short, was from the centre eastwards, and, to a less degree, westwards. There is ground for belief, however, that these are not the earliest tombs, but that some small burial-places, at any rate, preceded them in these favourable positions (pp. 18, 31). Yet these early excavations cannot have been large or numerous, else room could not have been found later for extensive chambers on the same site. The tomb of *Henqu* would appear to be later than that of *Rahenem-Asa*, for he got so little footing on the ledge that he was obliged to set the door almost at the end of the chamber. Similarly

Kheteta would seem prior to Asa (46), who is relegated to the second or third tier; but subsequent to Nebab, whose tomb left such small frontage that Kheteta had to give depth to his chamber in lieu of breadth. Tomb 76 would probably belong to a relation of Rahenem-Asa, perhaps his son and successor; No. 95 would seem, from its awkward situation, to be later, with those on the extreme east and west. So much for evidence of situation.

If, in the next place, the tombs are placed in order of importance, a similar sequence seems to result. Rahenem-Asa's tomb has been decorated the most lavishly, and shows considerable intelligence and technical skill, though far behind the attainments of the two southern tombs. Henqu and Kheteta show much less ambition, and the execution of the frescoes has no merit. Except for the mental activity which the biographical inscription of the former reveals, these two stand upon much the same level. The tomb (46) in which Asa is buried must mark a period when things were at low ebb with the chieftains of the Nome, for more straitened accommodation and a meaner memorial can scarcely be conceived. If now we ask whether these are to be set in order of advance or of decadence, the latter appears more in accord with the general course of history and with the particular instance. For it is more commonly found that a period of prosperity is abruptly announced by monuments of a new order and ambition, which, as the period draws to a close, fall away rapidly in merit, in spite of a parade of old magnificence. The paintings of Rahenem-Asa's chamber seem already but a halting imitation of the large schemes of Old Kingdom decoration, due perhaps to imported skill; for succeeding decorators were quite unequal to anything but the simplest subjects, and even this ability soon failed, or was no longer sought after. Still less could any be found capable of working a second sculptured façade; the doorway of Henqu could vie only

in size with that of his neighbour. On this count also, then, it is easier to give Rahenem priority than to adopt the reverse order.

No certain conclusion seems possible from the general character of the tombs. There seems to be no parallel to the larger tombs, with their exclusive use of painting in decoration, and their provision of burial-recesses in the lower part of the walls. The latter feature is unknown in the large chambers at Sheikh Saïd, and in the later tombs there (time of Pepy II.?) painting on plaster is still accompanied with the sculptured statues which are so marked a feature. The tombs of Nebab and Rahenem-Asa, where reliefs as well as painting are employed, may be compared to the tombs of Hepa and Uau there (time of Pepy I. and II.?). For the rest, the small tombs of this necropolis, set thickly one above the other in the wall of rock, and provided for the most part with galleries and recesses for burial, recall strongly the upper range of tombs at Sheikh Saïd (late VIth Dynasty and onward?). But not much can be built on this resemblance.

The remaining evidence is furnished by the inscriptions themselves; above all, by the names which occur in the tombs. Only a few of these are in common use, and several seem quite local. Of those which are known to occur elsewhere, such as Rahenem, Asa, Qednes, Kheteta, Ampy, Khentetka, Mertates - Teta, Nebt, Au, nearly all point to the last reign of the Vth Dynasty and the first two reigns of the VIth as their period of use. Some may be found earlier, but only the last two are common later. Only the first two are found in the Southern Group (tomb of Aba).

There is considerable change also from the titles borne by the princes of the southern tombs, the less wonted designations of Aba and Zau being omitted and replaced, especially in the case of Rahenem-Asa (Nos. 9 to 16, on p. 19), by titles familiar in the Vth Dynasty.

However closely in point of time the two parts of the necropolis may be united, it is plain that there was some cleft between them, marked, among other things, by the connection with Abydos, of which the northern tombs bear no trace. In themselves the special titles of Rahenem-Asa suggest an earlier period than the decline of the VIth Dynasty. But it may be that the ancient titles and the antique doorway only represent a belated affection for the old style on the part of Asa or of his architect, the latter of whom may have been of the Memphite school. A fragment in Tomb 51, containing the Middle Kingdom form, , is a proof that the tomb was used to a late time, but not that this was the original inscription.

The names in the tombs give no strong clue to the relationship existing between their owners. Henqu's tomb, however, contains that rare Old Kingdom treasure, an item of historical fact. In his self-written obituary sketch he says, "Now I became ruler in the *Du-ef* Nome together with my brother the trusty Sole Companion and Lector, Rahenem." The proximity of the tomb of Rahenem-Asa makes the identification fairly certain; and as Henqu would be little likely to record anything that did not tend to dignity, Rahenem was probably the elder brother, and, as his tomb suggests, a greater chieftain than his successor was likely to prove. Whether Henqu and Rahenem actually shared the office of Nomarch, or only the duties of government, is not made clear. At any rate, Henqu held that rank at some period, although Rahenem-Asa had sons, one of whom was destined to inherit the Nomarchy, and presumably in fact succeeded. Both brothers had sons named Asa, and if the Nomarch Asa of Tomb 46 be also named Rahenem, his identity with the son of Rahenem-Asa may be conjectured. Henqu-Kheteta might be the son of this Asa (Plate xxi.) or of the

owner of Tomb 95 (*ibid.*); the mention of "Kheteta's son Kheteta" in the latter tomb would coincide with the record on Plate xxviii. But as, in both cases, the son is simply named Kheteta, the identification is little more than a hazard.

In the absence of contrary evidence, we must take it that the necropolis contains the burials of a period represented by the lives of five or six chieftains at least, possibly seven or eight. As in the Southern Group there are just half as many tombs to three known princes (four in all? Part I., p. 29), this seems to be the legitimate proportion. At this rate only the family connections of the reigning prince, and perhaps his highest officials, can have hoped for the dignity of a rock-hewn burial chamber.

The northern necropolis, then, from its own hesitating testimony, would seem to have been the burial-ground of the foremost families of the *Du-ef* Nome for five or six generations at least, the age being one of marked decline. From the names in use, the period seems to have as its centre the change from the Vth to the VIth Dynasty, but no king's name occurs, even in the story of Henqu's life. The active interference of the king in the government of the Nome had therefore ceased, or had not yet been manifested. How does this result fit in with the more definite knowledge we have of the time and circumstances of the burials in the Gebel Marag to the south?

The sequence is, in truth, hard to determine; for, while the Nomarchs buried in the northern hills must either have preceded Aba or succeeded Zau, the former position seems too early for many features which the northern tombs present, the latter appears to be too late for the names in vogue.

The only fact which even hints at a connection between the two ruling families is the occurrence of the names Rahenem and Asa in the tomb of Aba. This, together with the older character

of the names in the Northern Group, was taken by me to involve the earlier date of those tombs, and the position of Rahenem-Asa as the last of its line of rulers (Part I., pp. 3 and 28-31). This, however, is too positive a decision, for it is more in accordance with rule, as well as with the slight evidences which can be gathered, to see in Rahenem the first as well as the greatest of the rulers buried near him. If, then, they still be regarded as the earlier Nomarchs, we must be prepared to sever Rahenem from all connection with Aba, and place him as far back, it may be, as the reign of Ne-user-ra. The strongest objection to this is that it carries the Great Chieftainship into a period in which hitherto it was unknown, and gives a much earlier date than we are accustomed to assign to fresco-painting and such biographical records as that of Henqu. If, however, this difficulty is over-rated, support may be found in the sudden appearance of the tombs of Serfka and Urarna at Sheikh Saïd in the reign mentioned, suggesting that that time was suitable for the rise of a new order of things, though not for its continued maintenance. Those two sculptured tombs at Sheikh Saïd, together with the range of uninscribed tombs above them, would then have to be regarded as contemporary with the northern tombs of Deir el Gebrâwi. That Aba's wife, like Asa's, bears the name Rahenem, might still suggest that Aba married into the local ruling family, where this name was in use.

But if, on the other hand, it seems more easy to disregard the signs of early affinities in the N. tombs than the impressions of a later origin, the rulers buried there must be regarded as the successors of Zau the younger. If this succession was immediate, or nearly so, some striking event must have occurred to account for the great change from the tomb of Zau to that of Rahenem-Asa. The authority of the family of Aba may have decayed along with that of the royal house which had set him in power, and a new line of Nomarchs begun with Rahenem.

Knowing as little as we do of the period which followed Pepy II., there is little to oppose us in setting the lesser rulers of the *Du-ef* Nome in that age. Dendereh alone furnishes reliable material for comparison. There we find rulers of wealth and influence who must belong to this period, and whose tombs show that, if it was a time of weakened royal power and decaying art, it was by no means a time of anarchy and misrule in some of the provinces. The personal names occurring there give us, indeed, little encouragement to choose this period for the Northern Group; but there are at least many parallels to the style of biographical writing which Henqu adopts, and there is as little mention at Dendereh as in the northern tombs of Deir el Gebrâwi of any indebtedness to the king of both Egypts, or any recognition of his suzerainty. On this hypothesis the tomb of Rahenem must be regarded as a feeble attempt to reach the level of the greater house which had preceded his, by means of a recurrence to past models of architecture, or, possibly, by invoking the aid of an artist outside the Nome; for, poor as the standard was, succeeding Nomarchs were not even able to approach it.<sup>1</sup>

It seems prudent, therefore, to leave the claim to priority unsettled, with the pleas and difficulties on both sides so set forth, that the effect of a different estimation of either, or the change made by the new testimony which the future will assuredly bring, can be easily perceived.

As for the personal character or achievements of these princes, no evidence can be gleaned except from the character-sketch of Henqu, which probably is, as it purports to be, from his own biassed hand. The tomb scenes reflect no personal trait or experience, being in most cases far too meagre, and in the tomb of

<sup>1</sup> This was the *prima facie* view taken by me (*Arch. Report*, 1899-1900, p. 7).

Asa forming a meaningless ollapodrida of which the only merit is the inclusion of almost every subject familiar to the mural painter of the time.

The inscription of Henqu, then, alone is left; and this is very incoherent, owing to the defacements it has suffered, and to its construction, which is unmethodical through a very zeal for superficial method. The grain of historical fact to be extracted from it lies in the apparent division of the author's official life into three parts, though it is hard to trace any progression in his career. In columns 9 to 15 he speaks of services done by him to the whole Nome, as if he were already a high official. He then declares his rank to have been that of "Chief and Superintendent of the Southern Corn," and again claims merit for performances very similar to those already detailed. Lastly, in the twenty-first column, he announces that he rose to be joint "ruler" with his brother Rahenem. In this position he pursues the same beneficial policy as before. Henqu's advance seems thus to have been in rank, rather than in influence or functions. The office of "Chief," which is only placed fourth in order among official titles in the inscription of the general Una, is probably quite different from the Great Chieftainship; but, though much lower in rank, it may not have been dissimilar in responsibility and sphere of duty. The vague term "ruler" is perhaps used instead of "Great Chief" because the office in this case was shared with another. But there is some evidence that the latter title also was used somewhat vaguely as a designation of the highest authority, and may not always have implied a definite grade in the official hierarchy; having, indeed, some resemblance to our modern term, "Prime Minister."

It is interesting to notice that one of the crying evils which Henqu tried to remedy was the scarcity of population and herds. The resources of the Nome evidently lay undeveloped, so that it only needed organization and good govern-

ment to immediately increase them. Henqu seems to have initiated a vigorous and statesmanlike policy. Not content with fostering a natural increase of the population, and perhaps despairing of the dull rustics who formed the bulk of it, he promoted immigration from other nomes, and settled the immigrants with herds of cattle and goats on lands that had hitherto been left ungrazed. Yet he did not allow the newcomers to oust or overbear the older population. He not only took care that the latter kept their ancient rights, but also endeavoured to raise their status so that they might meet the immigrant freemen on equal terms. The intermarriage which would result may have been a contributing cause to the joint-nomarchy with the VIIIth Nome, if that was still in the future. If, on the contrary, the close connection with Abydos belonged to past history, this immigration may well have been one of its results. In any case, this policy of Henqu is an interesting contribution to the social and economical history of Egypt. One wonders, however, that irrigation, on which everything depends in Egypt, is not more often mentioned amongst the benefits rendered by rulers like Henqu to the nomes under their charge.

For the rest, the biography abounds in the usual forms of self-approration and wholesome ideals of government, in which philanthropy and prosperity were indissolubly connected, and which demanded the perfect execution of the law no less than new achievement.

The later date for this tomb and document finds additional support in the advance which seems noticeable in the three biographical inscriptions: from the formal chronicle of Aba to the betrayal of sentiment in that of Zau, and so to the self-conscious and elaborate, if less natural, discussion of personal qualities and achievements by Henqu. The power and habit of rising mentally to a point from which self can be analyzed is a great psychological advance, and so far as it is shown in the habit of

biographical records, marks the passage from the Old Kingdom culture to that of the Middle Kingdom.

### 3. THE DIVINITIES OF THE NOME.

The northern tombs confirm the evidence derived from the tombs of Aba and Zau that the goddess Mati (or Matyt, as appears from Plate xxvi. and Part I., Plates viii. and xxiii.) was the tutelary goddess of the Nome, being even invoked in this character in the burial prayer along with Osiris and Anubis (Plate xviii.).

As there is, and is likely to be, but scanty material for the history of the Nome from first to last, outside that furnished by the tombs of Deir el Gebrâwi, it is not surprising that little is known of the origin and cult of this local divinity. The geographical lists of late temples, however, show that Mati not only retained her place to the end as goddess of the Nome, but had some reputation outside of it also at that period. At Denderah   was regarded as a form of the local goddess Hathor,<sup>1</sup> and of Isis "the joyful."<sup>2</sup> She was "resident" also in This in late times<sup>3</sup> (her connection with that locality perhaps dating from the political relations with the nome disclosed at Deir el Gebrâwi), and was connected, too, with the Vth (Panopolite) Nome.<sup>4</sup> The sculptures lately unearthed in the Sanctuary of Ra near Abusir (Vth Dynasty) show among the felidae a lioness called *netert*, "the goddess," so that this is likely to be the animal sacred to Mati. The lioness when used as determinative of the name of Mati is always represented in early times with the tail extended over the back, not curled

round the hind leg as in the phonogram  and figure of the male animal (both in Part I., Plate xiv.).

As has been suggested (Part I. p. 35), the later cult of the Golden Hawk in the district points to an early association of the two deities. This connection is not so anomalous as it appears; for the victorious god could be equally well imaged in the form of the king of birds or the king of beasts, and Horus of Mesen on the N.E. frontier was regularly represented as a lion.<sup>5</sup> In earlier times the hawk took the form of the god Mehti or a similar hawk-deity, for an office connected with his worship is twice referred to in the necropolis (Plates xxi. and xxiv.), as if it were the counterpart of the cult of Mati.<sup>6</sup>

His place of worship, described as "the temples of Mam," may possibly be identified with the similarly-named district of Northern Nubia, of which Horus of Edfu was regarded as lord in later times.

The god whose symbol seems to be a *sekhem*-sceptre on the sacred perch (Plate viii.) may be a local deity. If the form were less definite, one would think of the god whose symbol is a finger on the perch , and who was an object of worship in the neighbouring Xth (Aphroditopolite) Nome, and in a sanctuary in the Fayoum called the .<sup>1</sup>

There seems at present no clue to the locality named as the seat of the worship of Mati. It

<sup>5</sup> BRUGSCH, *Dict. Géog.* p. 300.

<sup>6</sup> This hawk-god may be the same as that which in the nomen of Merenra of the VIth Dynasty is represented as seated on a nest (?); for the locality was regarded as the birthplace of Horus. , as the god of the nome in later

times, may be a corruption of this . The name, written nearly as in Plate xxiv., is found once in *El Bersheh*, i., Plate xv.—[Ed.]

<sup>1</sup> DÜMICHEN, *Geog. Inschr.* i, 89, A, 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 81. Cf. also i. 51.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 57, 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* i. 89, A, 5b.

is unfortunate that in every case where the name is spelt out instead of being contained in its word-sign, it is so badly preserved as scarcely to be beyond all doubt. The form  or  (Plate xxi., Tomb 46, and Part I., Plate xxiii.) is shortened to  () in the tomb of Asa (Plates xviii. and xxi., False

Door, C), unless in each case the Old Kingdom form of  should be read for the  which it so closely resembles. In the tombs of Zau, Nebab, and Kheteta (Plates xxi. and xxviii.) the forms are very doubtful, and elsewhere (Plates vii., xxi., xxiv., xxviii. *g*, and Part I., Plate xxiii.) the spelling is merely , , or .

<sup>1</sup> BRUGSCH, *Dict. Géog.* p. 888.

<sup>2</sup> In all cases, whether the spelling is full or otherwise, the vase is written within an embattled oval.

## APPENDIX I.

## THE COPTIC TEXTS.

BY W. E. CRUM.

THE Coptic texts on Plate xxix. are reproduced from independent copies kindly given me by Messrs. P. E. Newberry, G. Fraser, and N. de G. Davies. The copies used in each case are indicated here by initials. Dots below letters show uncertainty of reading. Where the copies diverge, the more probable reading is adopted. The lacunae are of only approximate lengths. The texts are all painted, I understand, not cut, and are doubtless, like similar graffiti elsewhere, the work of monkish dwellers in the desert. Nos. 1, 3, 4 are from a cave described as situated "a short distance up the Wady Siât, which divides the Gebel Kurneh from the Gebel el Gebrâwi" (N. in *Archaeological Report*, 1892-3, p. 13), and as "about half an hour N.E. of El Gebrâwi" (F.); No. 5 (not in the plate) is from "a small cave about two miles back in the desert behind El Gebrâwi" (N.). It is not improbable, therefore, that all these are from one place. No. 2 is in the tomb of Zau (Plate viii). The absence of palaeographical facsimiles hinders any estimate of the age of the graffiti; internal evidence would merely place them after the 4th century; they might, on general considerations, be expected to belong to the 6th, 7th, or 8th. The dialect, except in No. 2, is a tolerably correct Sa'idic. El Gebrâwi lies in the midst of a district rich in Christian saints. Countless martyrdoms are ascribed to Antinoe on the north, to Lycopolis, Hermopolis, Ptolemais on the south. The hills, especially along the E. bank, are full of the caves of hermits; at several points are the remains of famous monas-

teries. Those identifiable among the persons and places in our texts point to a group of local saints whom we often meet with; the best known perhaps being Paul of Tammah (or Antinoe), the friend of Pshoi of Scete, and so contemporary of Macarius (c. 390), and Apollo, contemporary of Paul and founder of the great monastery at Bawît.

No. 1a (N.F). After the customary invocation of the Trinity, Mary and Gabriel, the writer transcribes (ll. 3—11) without introduction 1 Cor. iii. 5—9. Cf. *Miss. franç.* iv. 627 and 731, where parts of the passage are incidentally preserved. Ll. 12—14 are apparently a patristic quotation embodying Luke i. 5 (*v. Ä.Z.* 1886, 43). Ll. 15, 16 gave the scribe's name. Jkôou, whence he came, recurs in No. 5. Possibly this is for Tkôou (Antaeopolis); cf. Nos. 3, 8. Ll. 17—19 give Luke iii. 22 (*v. Rec.* v. 119).

No. 1b (N.F). Below the last. Consists of saints' names, the writer adding his own (?) and a prayer ("Pray for me"). Victor, presumably the famous son of Romanus, was patron of a church at El Gebrâwi, noted by Vansleb (*Relation*, 1677, 361). For Pshoi and Paul, *v.* below. Isaac may be the martyr of Tiphre or the disciple of Apollo (*Synax.*, 10th Bermudah). The rest unintelligible.

No. 2 (D.F). L. 1 has a Mid. Egyptian form of *holokottinos*, "solidus"; l. 2 is Mid. Eg. for *harou*, "for them." Apparently therefore part of a financial statement. The rest to me unintelligible.

No. 3 (N.F). Consists almost entirely of an invocation of the Trinity, the 7 archangels, "our holy Mother Mary" (ll. 1, 2), and of two

series of names, all of which being preceded by *Apa* might indicate merely contemporary celebrities, as *e.g.* in Lepsius, *Denkm.* vi. 102, 103, were it not for the well-known saints occurring among them: Victor, *v.* No. 1b.; Solomon; Onophrius (?), *v. Synax.*, 16th Baonah; Dorotheus; Pamoun of Po . . .; Hôr. Ll. 5, 6 have a prayer addressed by Paul, the writer, to "all who stay in this place." Ll. 7—22 are by another writer, who had effaced the end of Paul's inscription. He invokes "our blessed fathers" Stephen; Elias the Syrian; Andreas of Tkôou (Ἰάου); Lazarus; Hellên (*cf. Hist. Laus.* lix, perhaps = *Oueenin*, Leyden MSS. *coptes* 185, *Miss.* iv. 422, as Ἑλλήν might be held ill-omened); John of Pake (also in a graffito from Denderah); Psate and Kallinikos (martyred bishops of Ptolemais and Hermopolis respectively, *cf. Amélineau, Actes* 38, 53); Ammonius of Thône (or Tône = Gebel Tûnah, W. of Hermopolis, whence came the "7 saints," *v. Amélineau Géogr.* 525, *Synax.*, 29th Baonah. A. was a friend of Apollo, *v. Synax.*, 20th Bashans); Papnoute "the sick"; Moses and Elias (?); Pshempnoute (the name occurs stele Cairo 8497. *Cf.* forms like Pshentaêse, *Mus. Guim.* xvii. 30) and Elias his brother; Jeremias; Sansnau (Σανσνωσ, this saint perhaps in *Mitth. Rainer*, ii. 261); Moses of Eiom, also in a text from Bawît; Sourous; Peter; Mare (*cf.?* Syrian Maris) of Tmou-gerêge ("the Isle [of] . . ."); Phoeb-

ammon of Tmou-nakôn ("the Isle of . . ."); Pshoi of Jeremias (contemporary with the next saint, *v. Miss.* iv. 767. "Jeremias" possibly indicates his monastery; one so named S. of Antioe, *Corpus Rainer*, ii. lxxxvi); Paul of Tamma (*v. Zoega*, No. clxxii, *Miss.* iv. 759, *Synax.*, 7th Babah). Ll. 16—22: "All our holy Fathers, have mind of us in the heavenly kingdom. Have mind also of me, Ammon[ius], that have written all this, that God may forgive me my sins. Amen.—Have mind also of me . . . , that God may watch over me on all roads on which I go. Whose is the glory for ever and ever and all ages (?). Amen."

No. 4. Merely the names of Macarius (presumably M. the Great) and Apollo (*v.* No. 5).

No. 5 (not in plate). Invocation of the Trinity, Michael, Gabriel, Mary, the Apostles and Martyrs, and of some saints beginning with Apollo, Phib, and presumably Anoup (illegible). This is the trio so often named on one class of commemorative stelae (*e.g. Miss.* iii. 27, No. 7, *ib.* 30, No. 50; *Rec.* v. 63). They were probably specially venerated at Apollo's monastery at Bawît, which is referred to in the history of Shenoute (*Miss.* iv. 321; *cf. Chassinat in Archaeological Report*, 1901-02, and my note there). Sourous, Macarius and Ammonius are likewise mentioned and the writer gives his home as Jkôou (*cf.* No. 1a) and quotes two passages, the second being again Luke iii. 22.

## APPENDIX II.

## THE FISHES IN THE PAINTINGS OF DEIR EL GEBRÂWI.

Mr. G. A. Boulenger of the British Museum, who is working out the results of the recent survey of the fishes of the Nile undertaken by the Egyptian Government, has kindly identified for us, as far as possible, the species figured at Deir el Gebrâwi. He remarks that in some cases the artist has generalized, or combined in one figure characteristics of more than one species, to such an extent as to render identification impossible.—[ED.]

The list of species is as follows:—

Moon-fish.	Alestes (?)	Ar. rai	. I., Pl. v.
„	Citharinus	} kamr el baħr	. II., Pl. iv., v.
„	geoffroyi		
„	Labeo	lebîs	. I., Pl. iv.
Barbel	Barbus bynni	binni	. II., Pl. iv., v., xv.
Cat-fish	Eutropius	} shilbe zarķâ (?)	. I., Pl. vi.
„	niloticus		
„	Schilbe mystus	shilbe	. I., Pl. iv., v.; II., Pl. iv.
„	Synodontis schall	shâl	. I., Pl. iii., iv., v., vi.; II., Pl. iv., v.
„	Synodontis	} shâl batn soda	. I., Pl. iii.
„	membranaceus		
Grey mullet	Mugil	bûri	. I., Pl. iii., iv., v., xxi. (top); II., Pl. iv., v.
Nile perch	Lates niloticus	ķeshr	. I., Pl. iii., iv., v.; II., Pl. v.
Bolti	Tilapia nilotica	bolti	. I., Pl. iii., iv., v., vi.; II., Pl. iv., v.
„	Tilapia galilaea	„	. I., Pl. xxi. (third fish in net).
Ball-fish	Tetrodon fahaka	fahâqa	. I., Pl. iv., v.; II., Pl. iv., v., xv.

## Vol. I.

Pl. iii. In the water (in order from the right) are *Tilapia nilotica*, *Crocodile*, *Synodontis schall*, *Mugil*, *Synodontis membranaceus*, *Crocodile*, *Lates niloticus*, *Hippopotamus*.

## Vol. I.

Pl. iv. In the net, beginning from the right, . . . . ?, *Mugil*, *Lates niloticus*, *Tilapia nilotica*, *Tetrodon fahaka*, . . . . ?, *Synodontis schall*, *Tilapia nilotica*, *Labeo*; and in the water below, *Tetrodon fahaka*, *Schilbe mystus*, *Crocodile*, *Tilapia nilotica*, *Mugil*, *Hippopotamus*, *Lates niloticus*.

Pl. v. In the water, from the right, after two *Crocodiles*, *Tetrodon fahaka*, *Tilapia nilotica*, *Alestes* ?, *Hippopotami*, *Schilbe mystus*, *Crocodile* . . . . . ?, *Synodontis schall*, *Mugil*, *Tilapia nilotica*, *Lates niloticus*.

Pl. vi. *Eutropius niloticus*, *Synodontis schall*, and *Tilapia nilotica*.

Pl. xxi. At the top, *Mugil*, enlarged from Pl. iv. In the net, beginning from the top, *Mugil*, *Lates niloticus*, *Tilapia galilaea*, *Synodontis schall*, . . . . . ?, *Tetrodon fahaka*; the hieroglyphs determinative of "fishes," enlarged from Pl. iii., represent a *Mugil* between two *Tilapia nilotica*.

## Vol. II.

Pl. iv. Plates iv. and v. of this volume perhaps contain the best series. Here, below the two boats, are seen a toad (*Bufo regularis*), *Tilapia nilotica*, and below it, *Mugil*, *Citharinus geoffroyi*, and *Tetrodon fahaka*; in front of the hippopotamus, *Barbus bynni*; over it another *Tilapia nilotica*; and behind the animal, *Synodontis schall* with *Schilbe mystus* below.

Pl. v. In the water, beginning from the right, are, over the crocodile, *Synodontis schall*, *Barbus bynni*, and *Citharinus geoffroyi*; *Tilapia nilotica*, . . . . . ?, *Mugil*, *Tetrodon fahaka*, *Barbus bynni* facing the hippopotamus; . . . . . ?, *Synodontis schall*, with *Tilapia nilotica* below. In the net, *Barbus bynni*, *Mugil*, two *Tetrodon fahaka*, two *Tilapia nilotica*, . . . . . ?, . . . . . ?.

Pl. xv. Enlarged from Pl. iv. are, *Tetrodon fahaka*, *Barbus bynni*, *Bufo regularis*; and from Pl. v. the hieroglyphs representing *Mugil*, *Tilapia nilotica*, and . . . . . ?.



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## LIST OF COPTIC PROPER NAMES.

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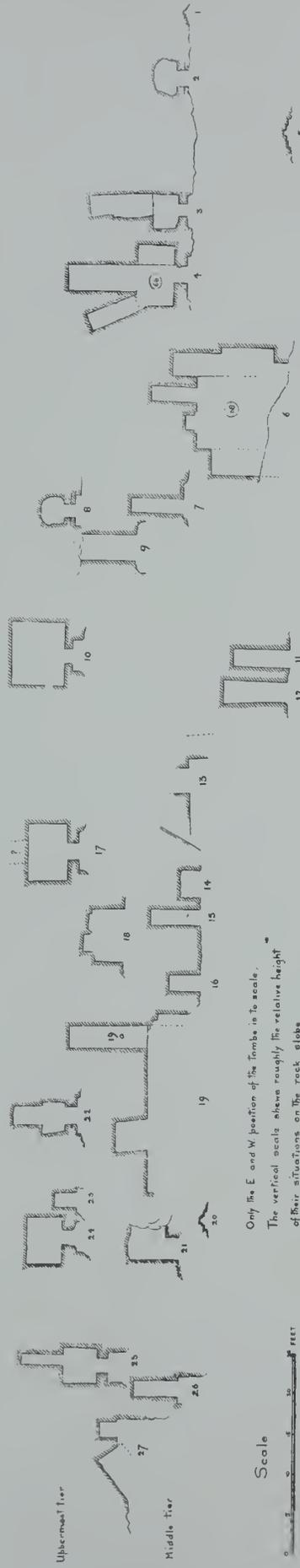
PERSONS :			PLACES :
Ammonius.	Jeremias.	Papnoute.	Victor.
Andreas of Tkôou.	John of Pake.	Paul of Tamma.	
Anoup (?).	Kalliukos.	Peter.	Eiom.
Apollo.	Lazarus.	Phib.	Jkôou.
Dorotheus.	Macarius.	Phoebammon of Tmounakôn.	Pake.
Elias.	Mare of Tmougerêge.	Psate.	Tamma.
Hellen.	Moses.	Pshempnoute.	Tmougerêge.
Hôr.	Onophrius.	Pshoi (of Jeremias)	Tmounakôn.
Isaac.	Pamou.	Sansnau.	Thône.
		Solomon.	Tkôou.
		Sourous.	
		Stephen.	





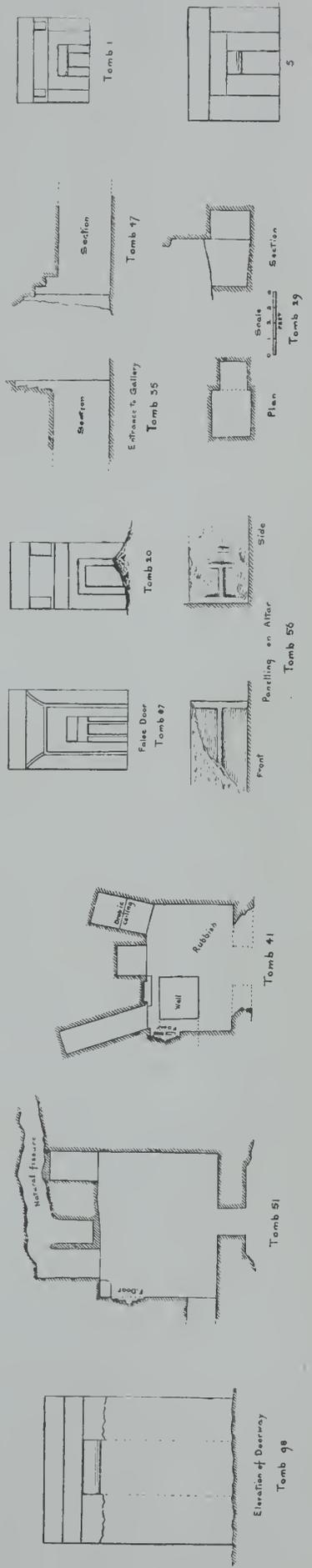
VIEW OF THE CLIFF CONTAINING TOMBS 28 TO 104.

(from photographs).



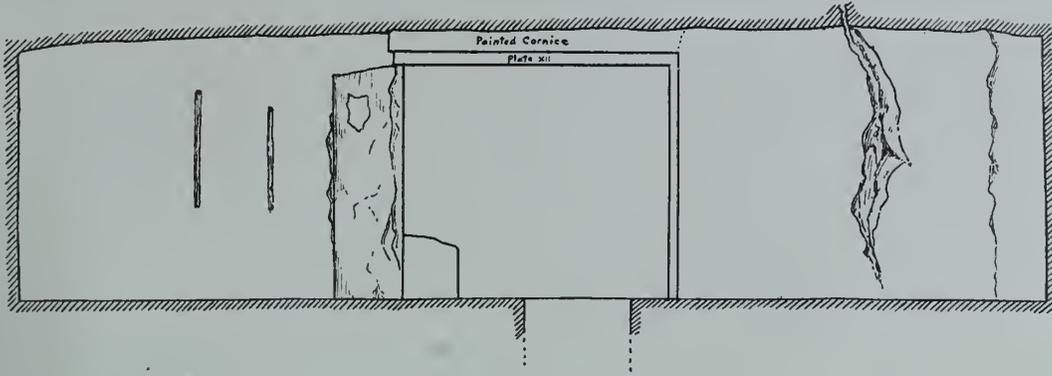
Only the E and W. position of the tombs is to scale.  
The vertical scales show roughly the relative height  
of their situations on the rock slope

TOMBS 1 TO 27.

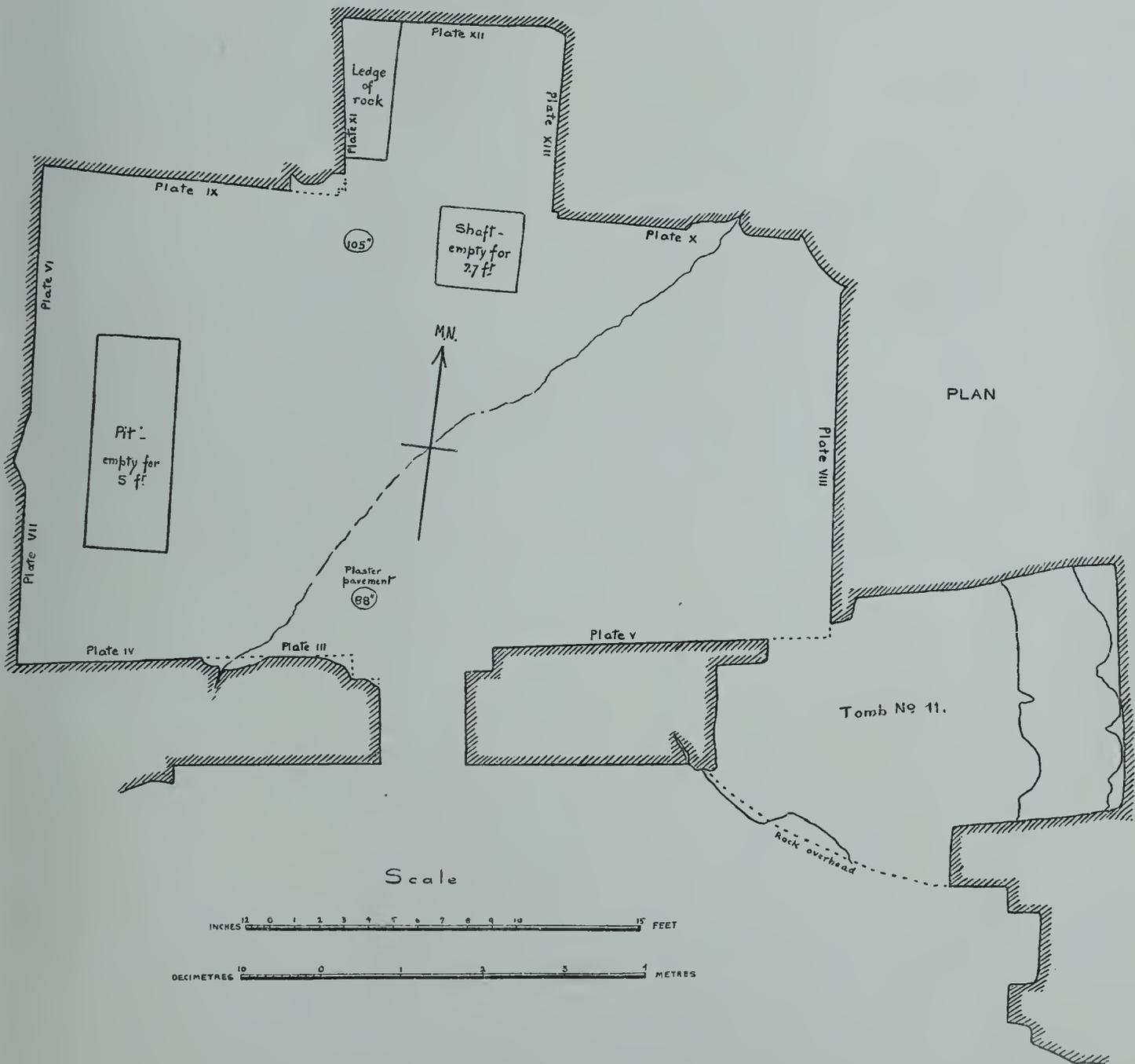


SKETCH PLANS AND ELEVATIONS.



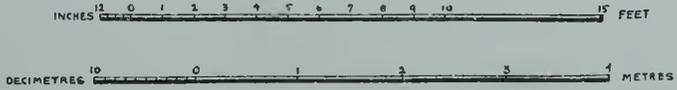


SECTION, LOOKING NORTH



PLAN

Scale





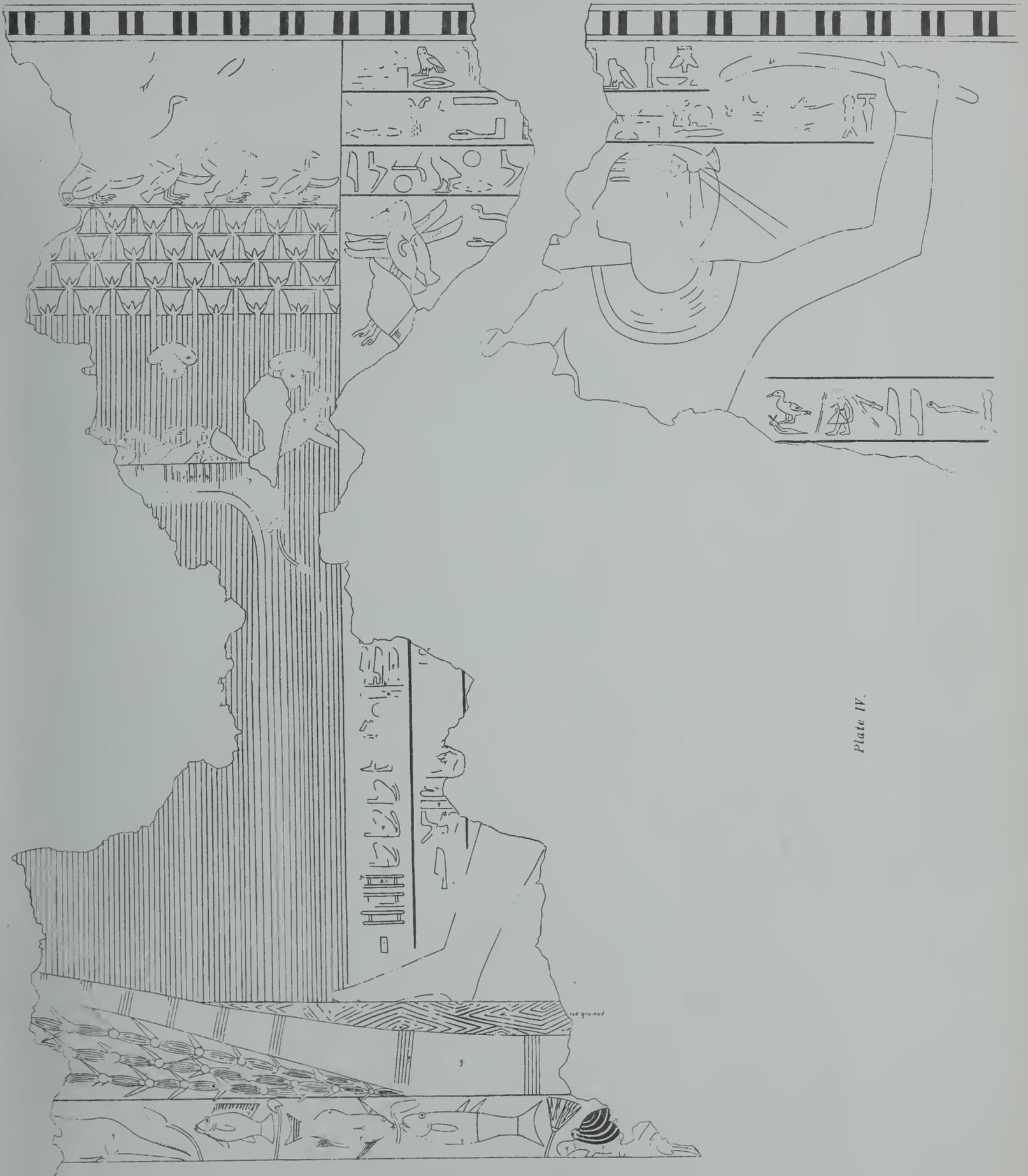


Plate IV.

SOUTH WALL, WEST SIDE.

Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$





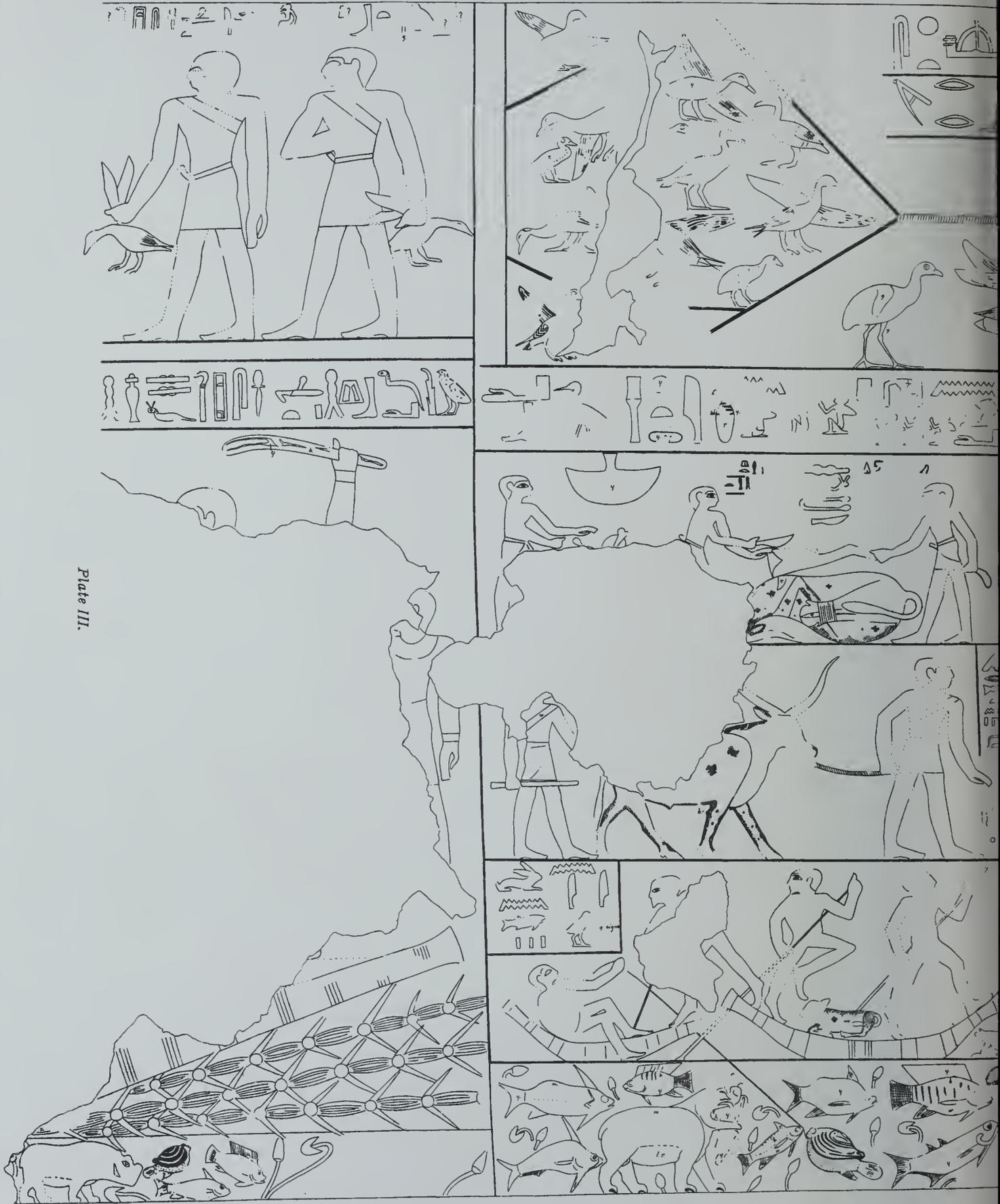
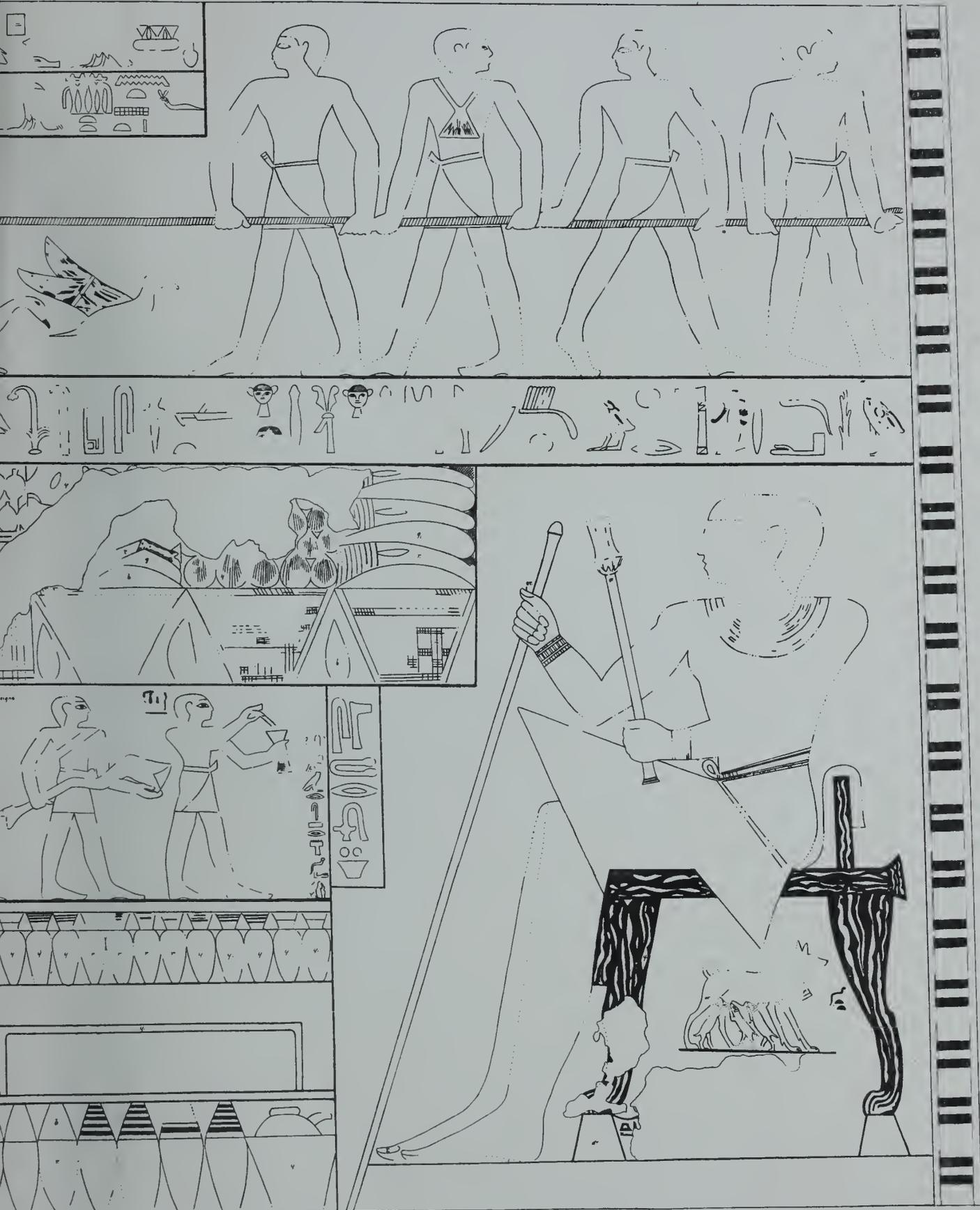


Plate III.

SOUTH WALL, WEST





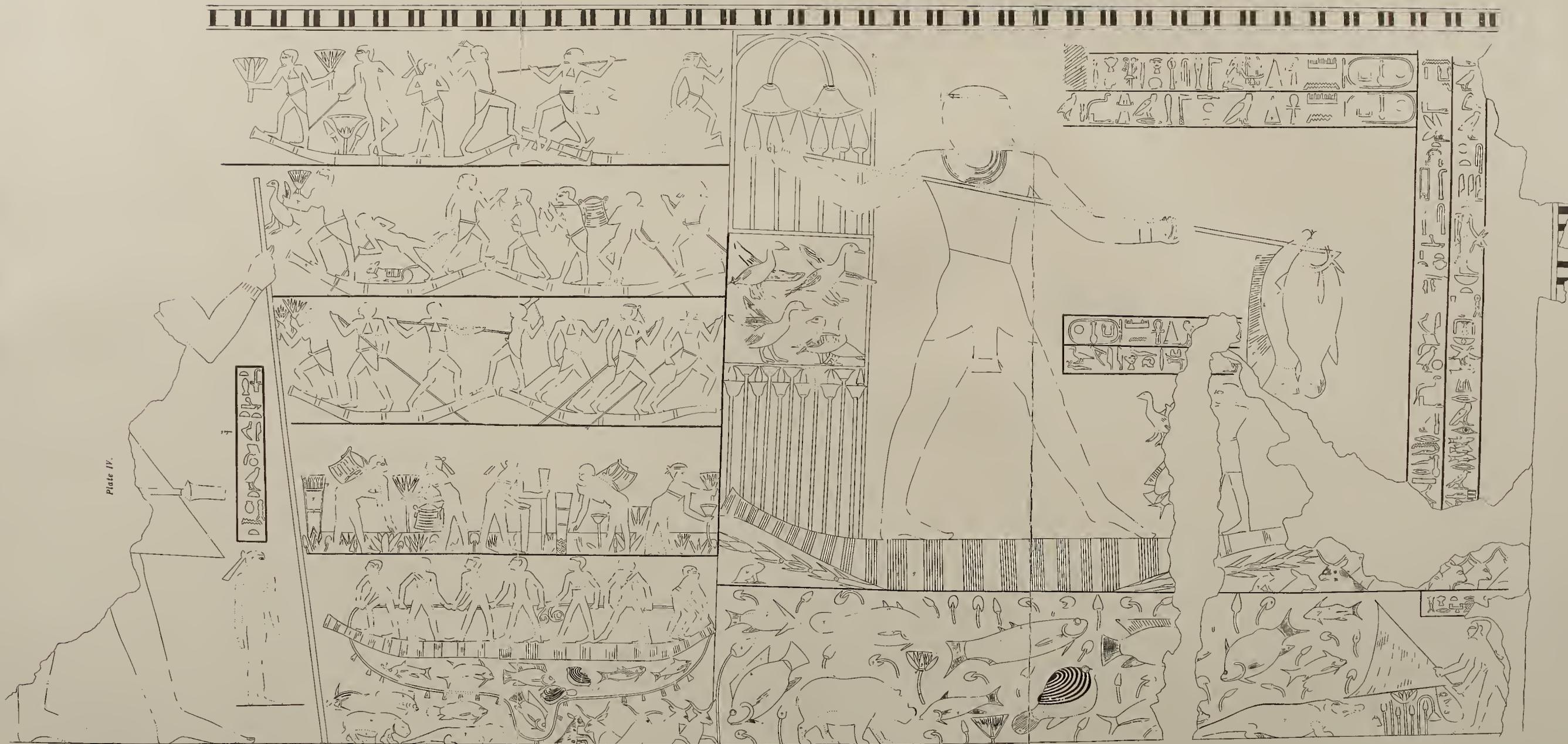
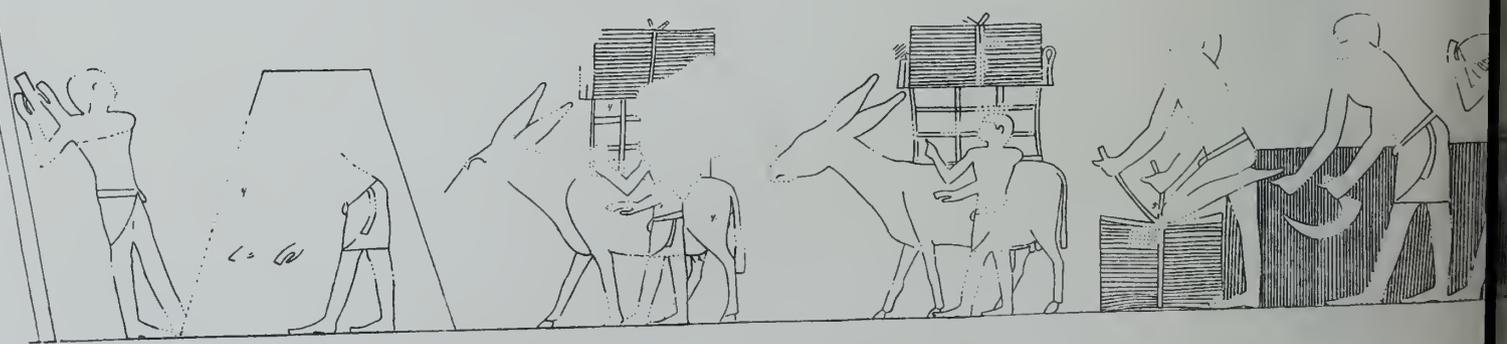
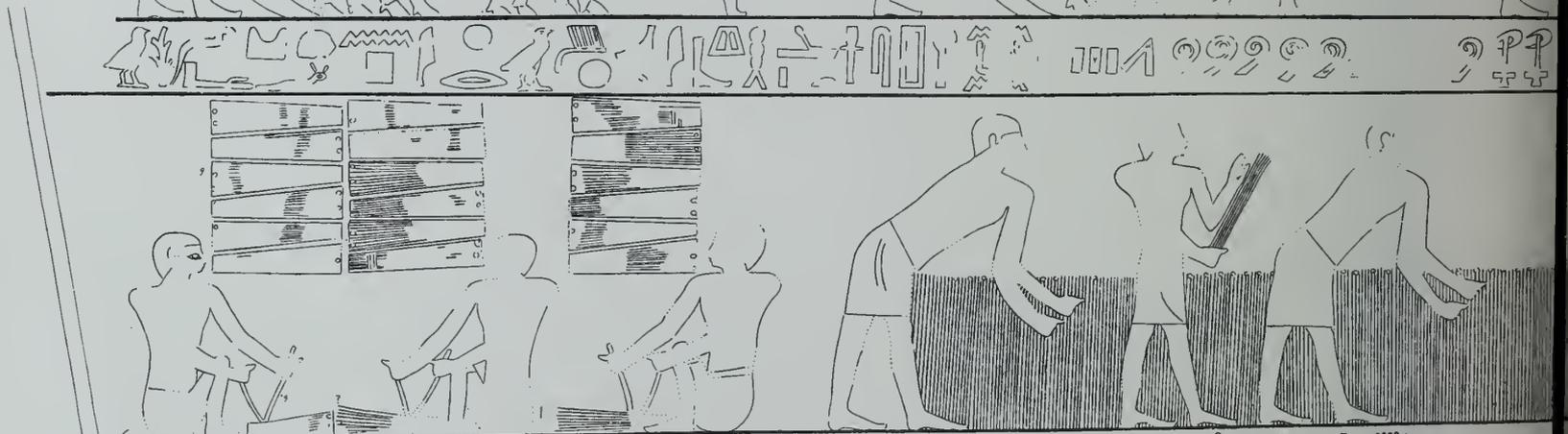
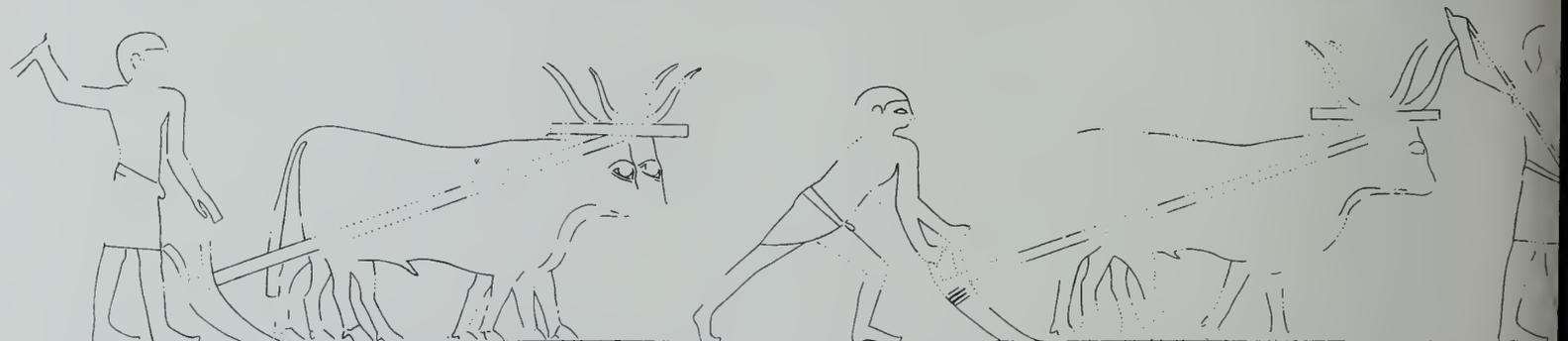
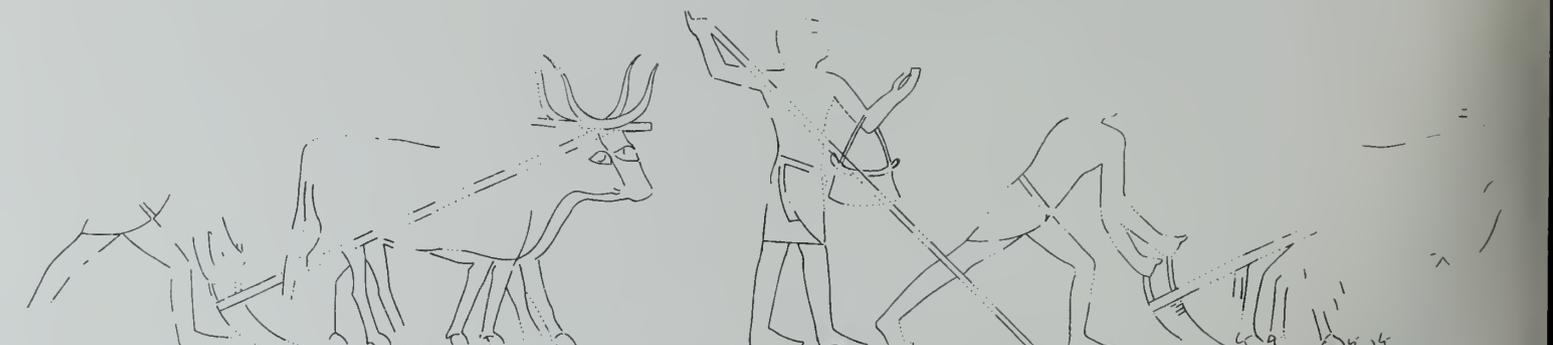


Plate IV.

SOUTH WALL, EAST SIDE.

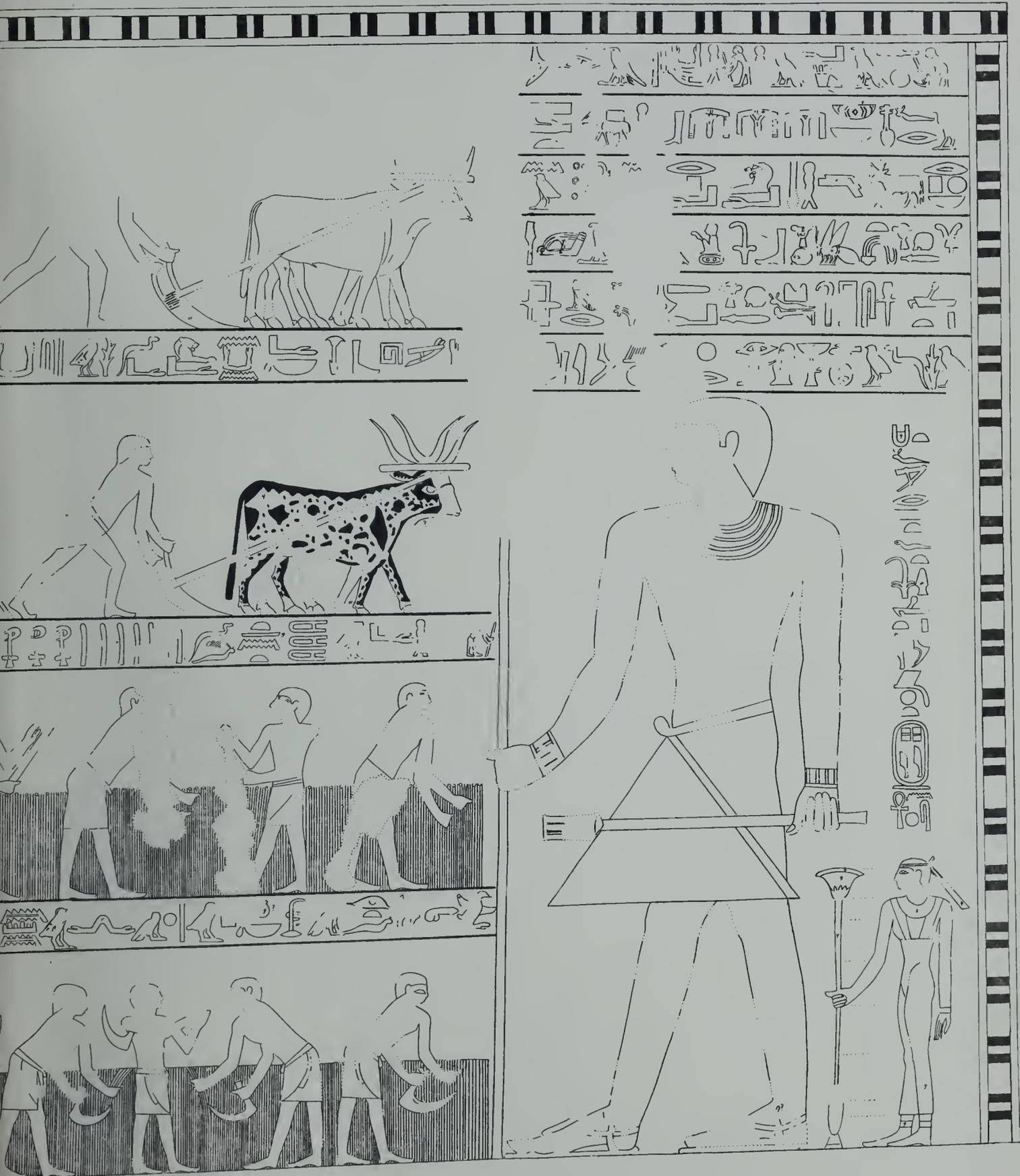






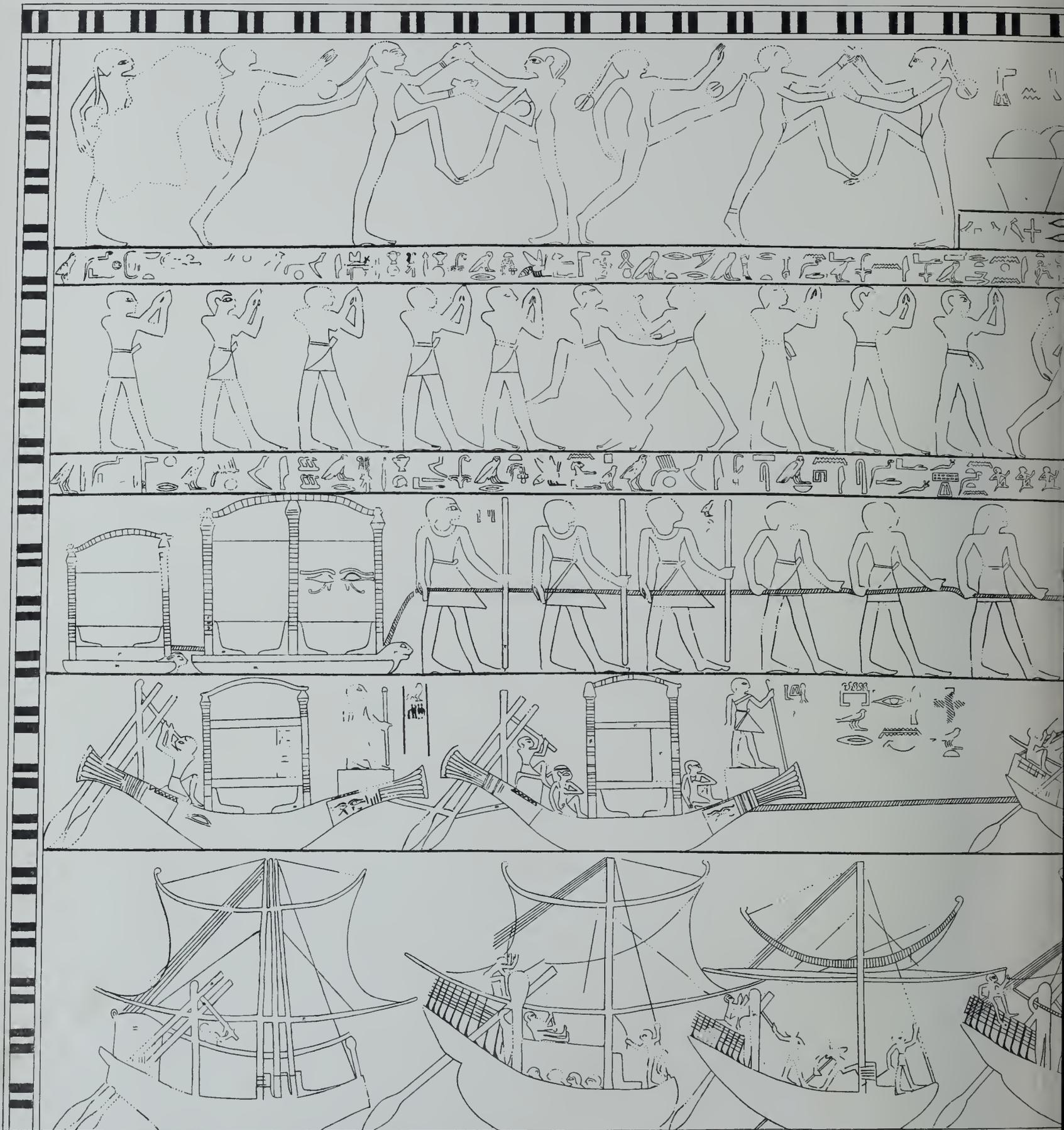
WEST W

Scale 1/7









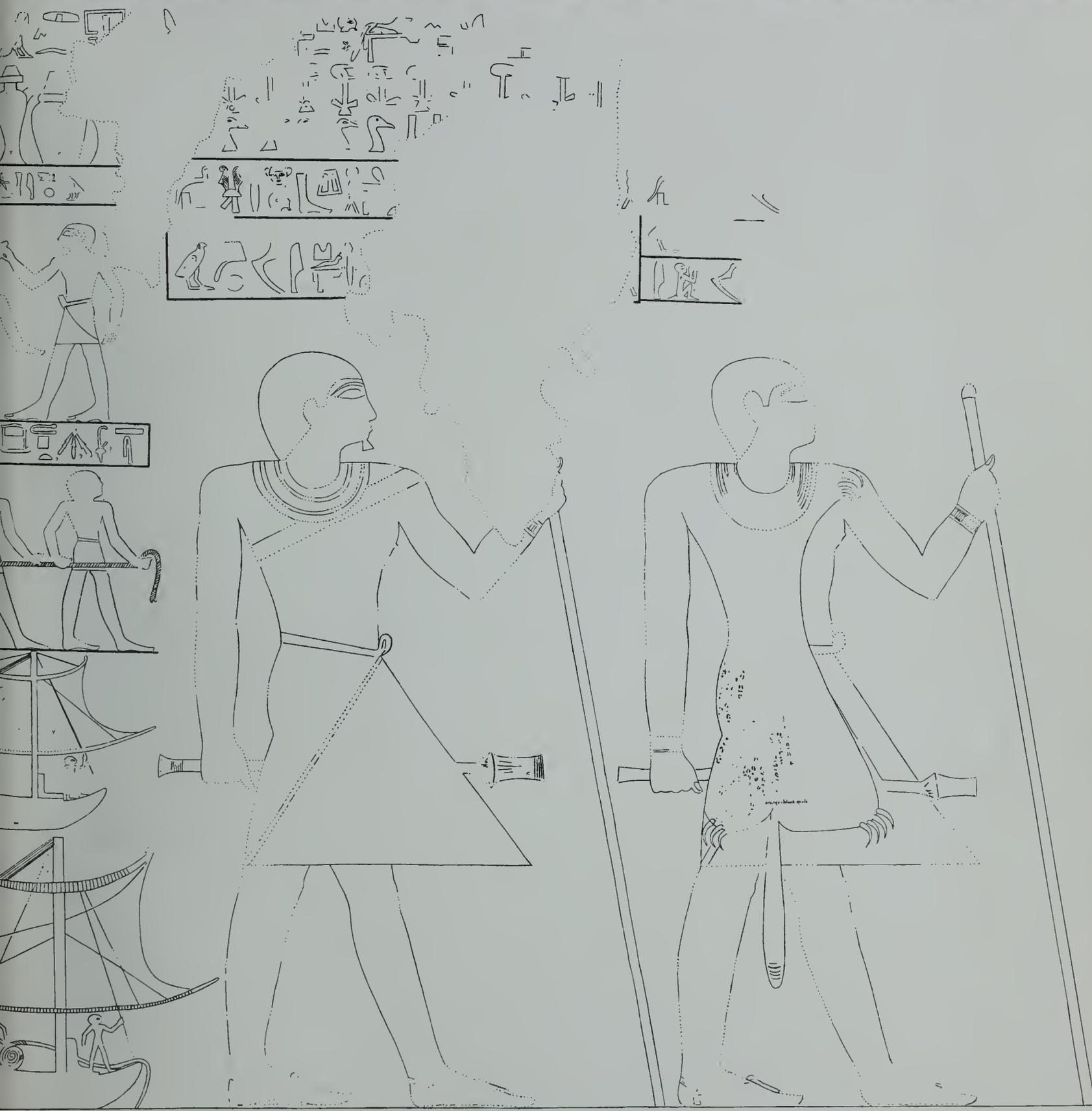
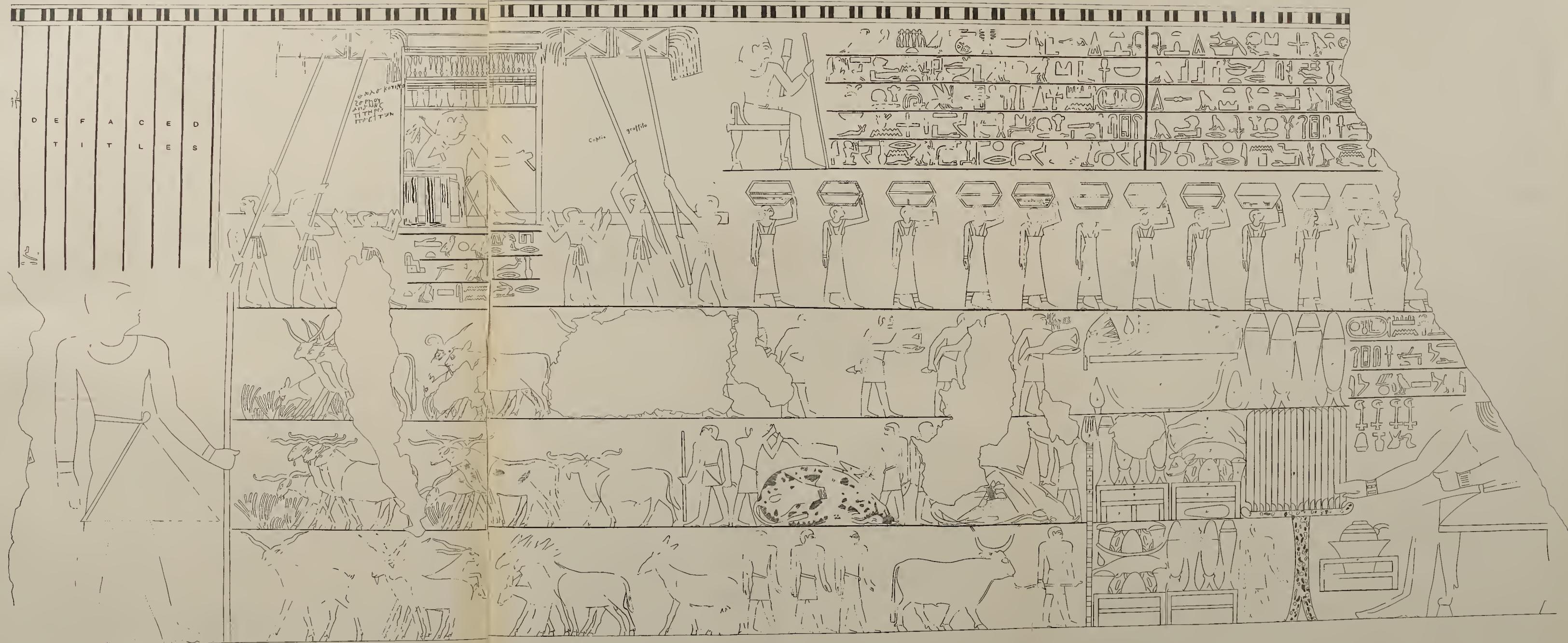


Plate VI.

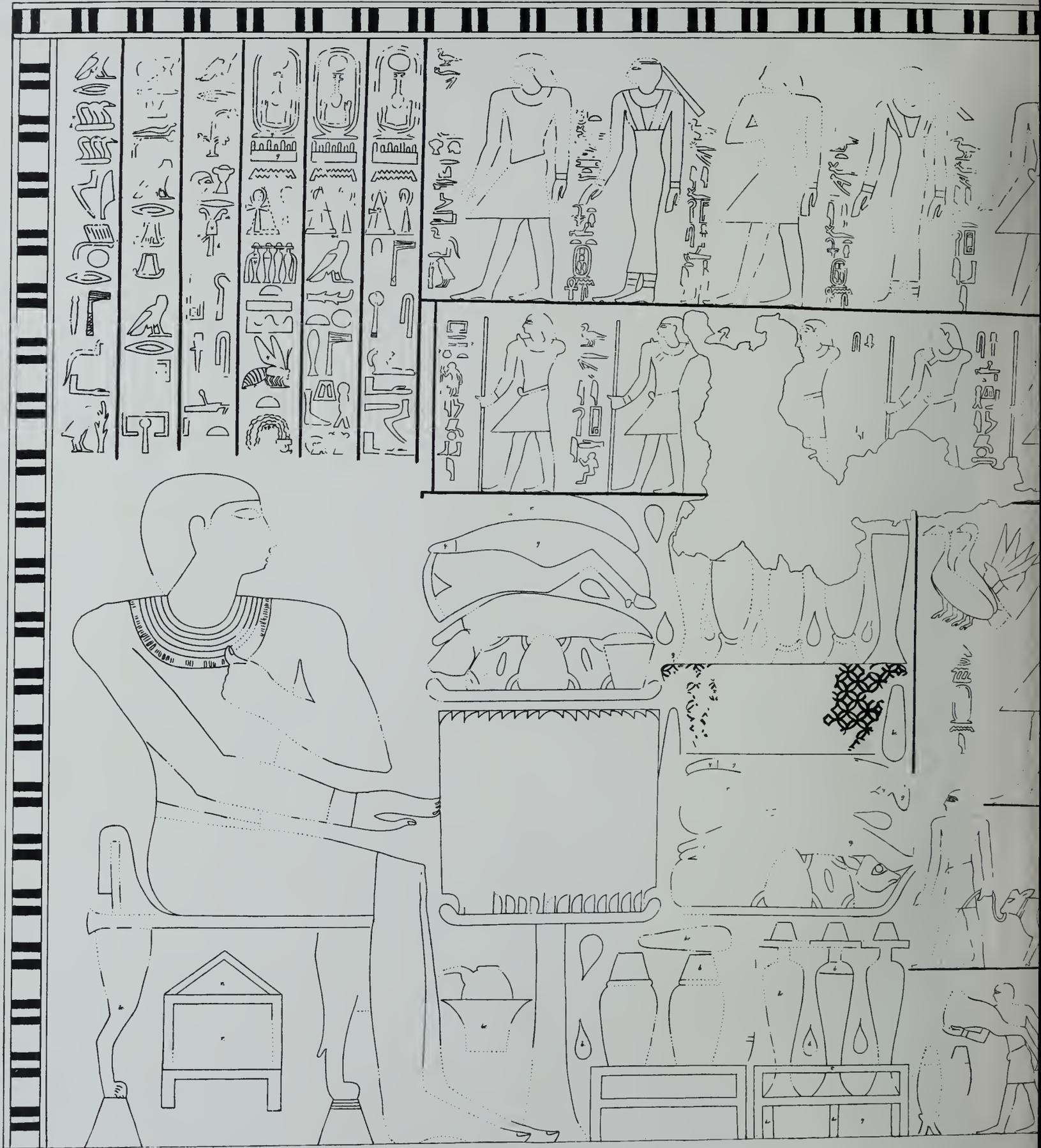


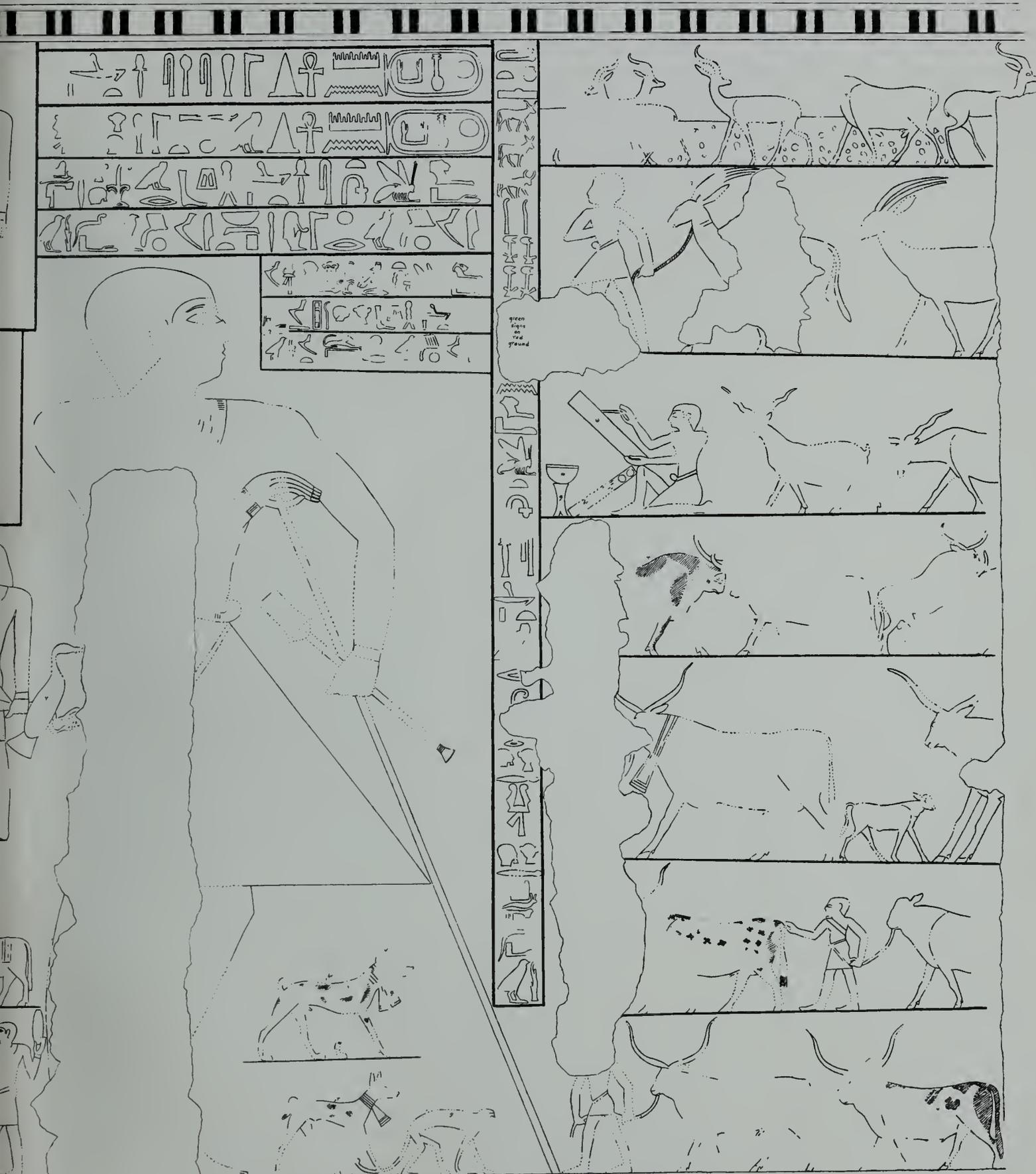


EAST WALL.



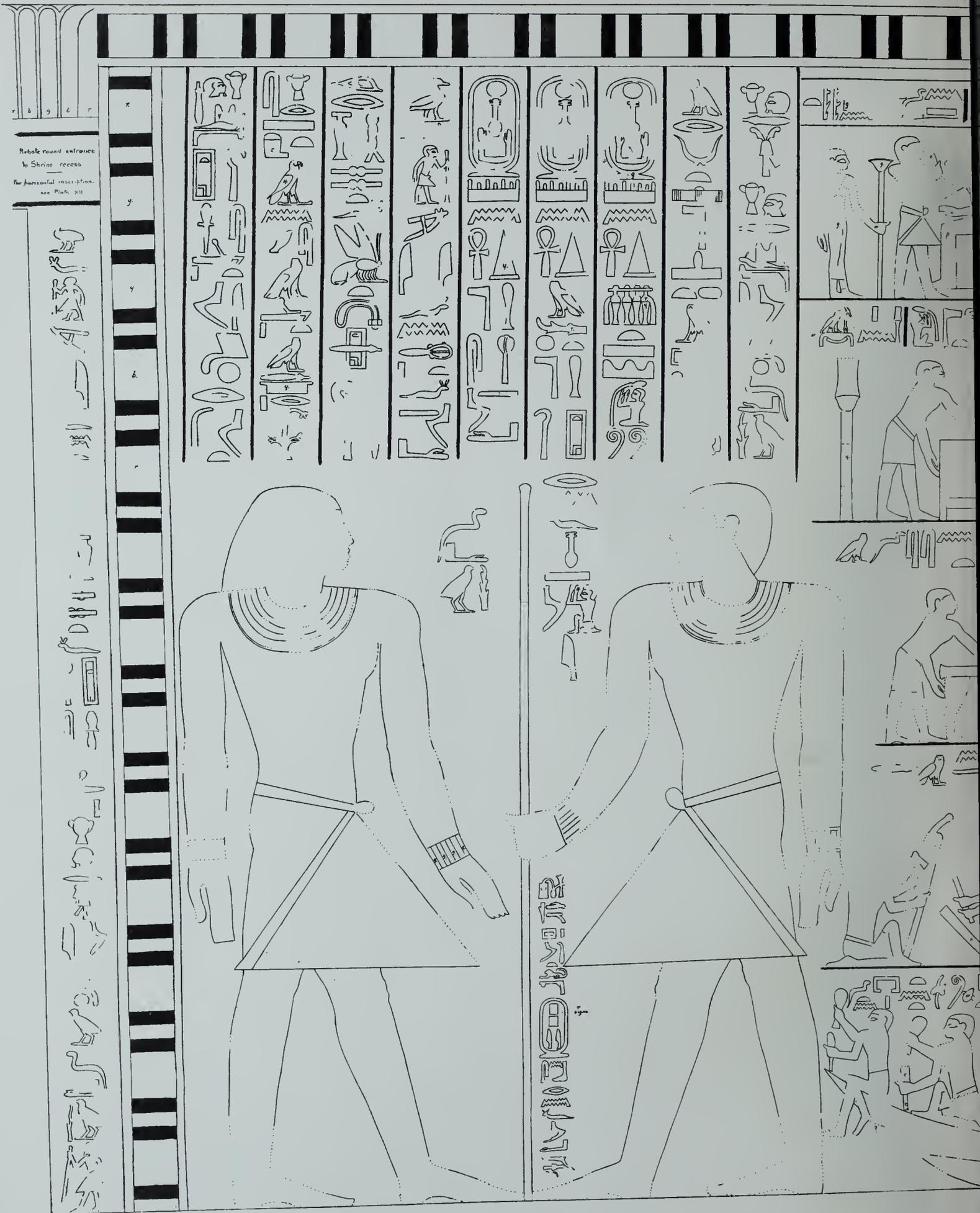


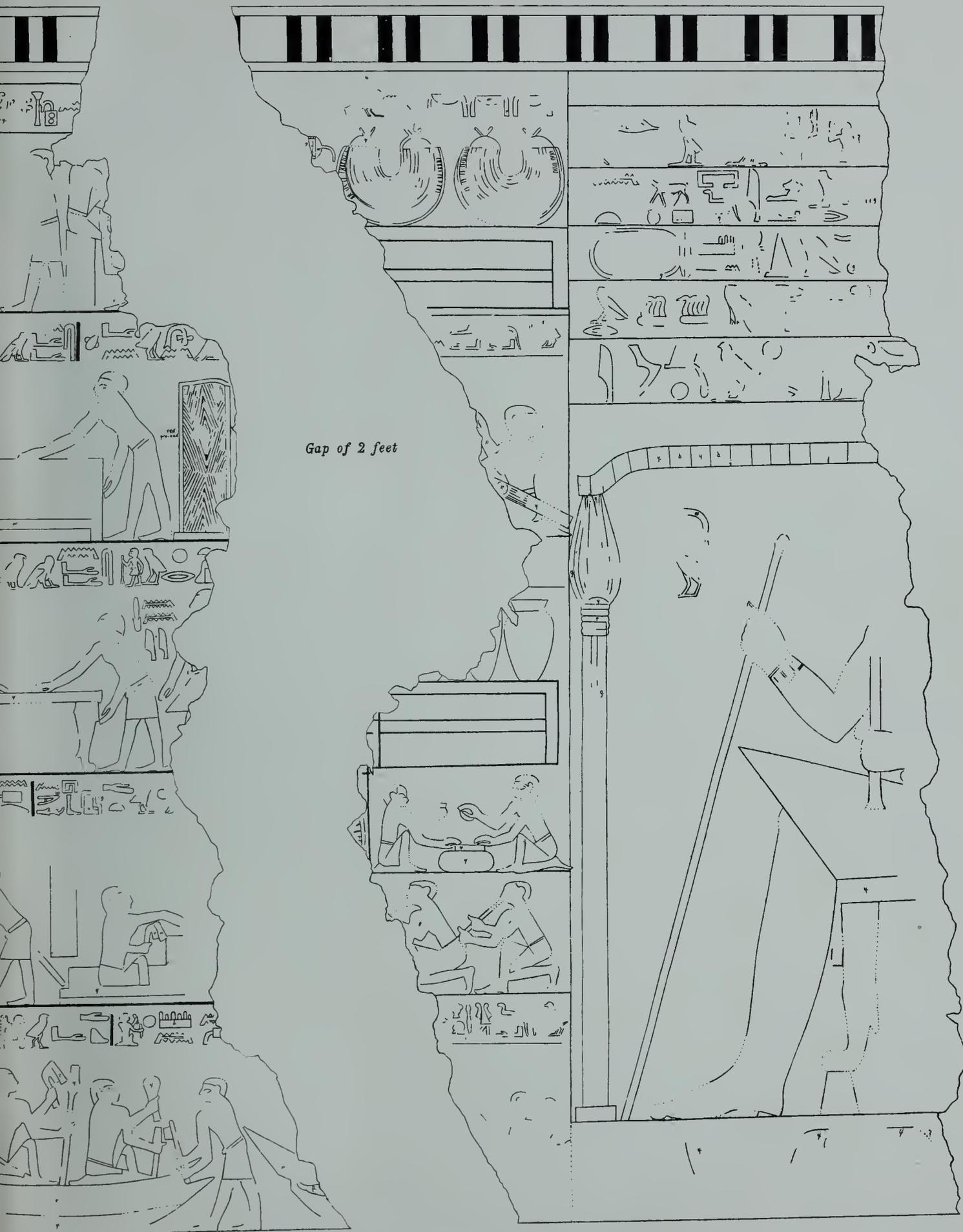






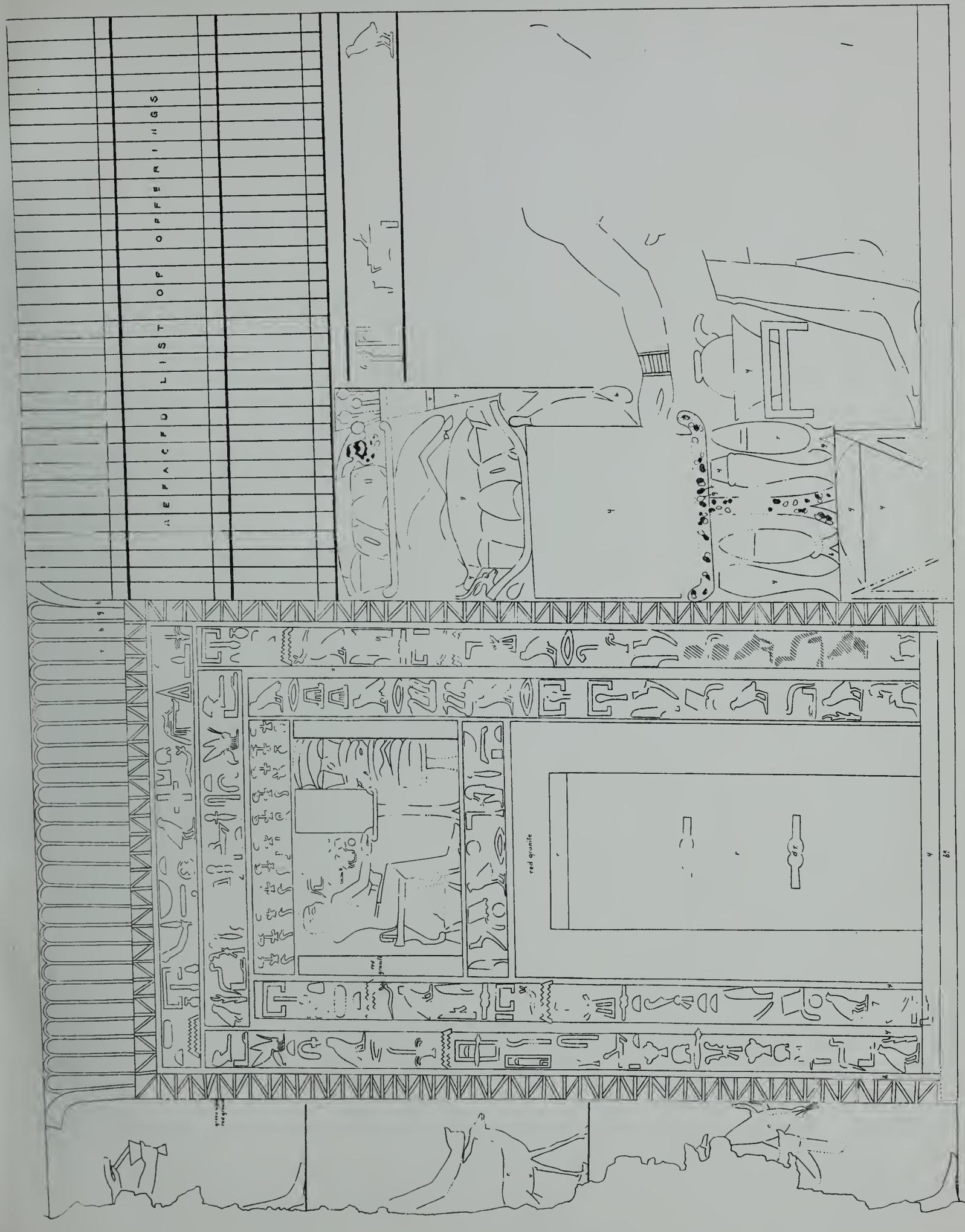






Gap of 2 feet





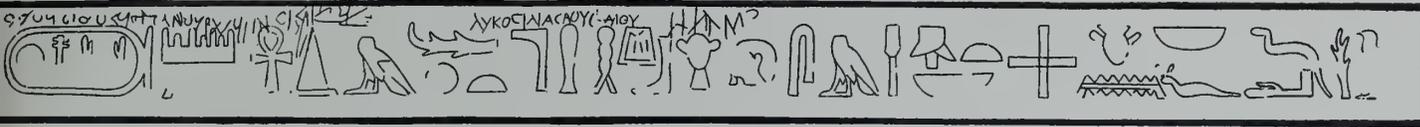
SHRINE, WEST WALL.



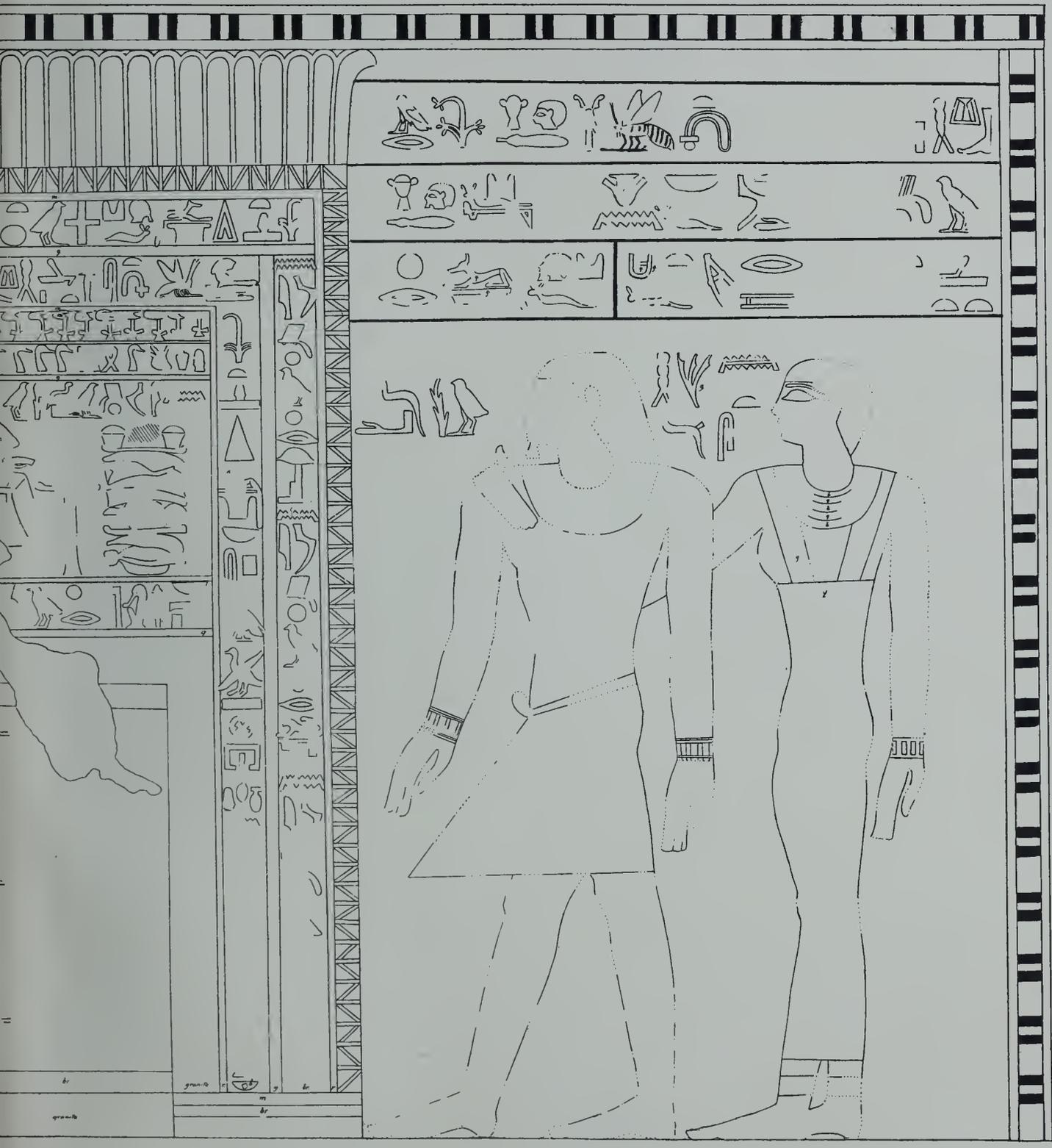




ice above



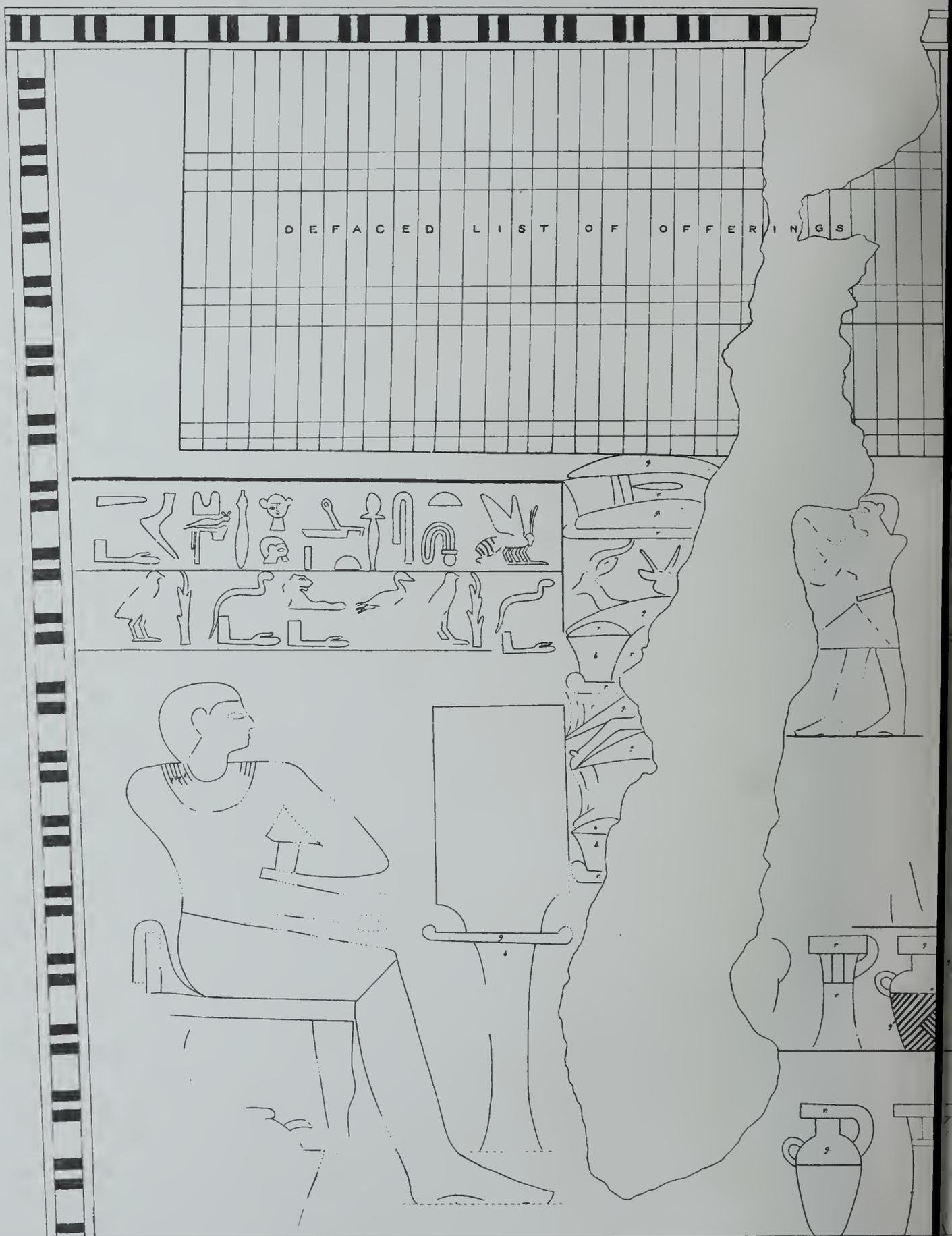
INTEL.



H WALL.







10

5

1



20

15





PERCY, BOCKMAN,  
1893

FUNERAL BARGE  
(see Plate VII.)





Plate IX.

Wall cut away



TOMB OF ZAU—N. WALL.



Scale 1/2

TOMB OF ASA—S. WALL.

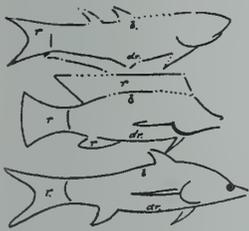


Plate V



Plate IV

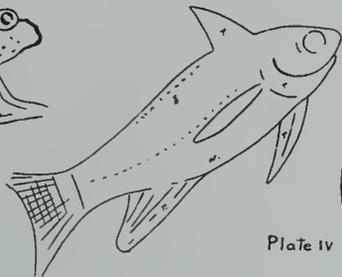


Plate IV

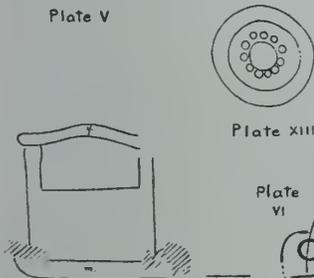
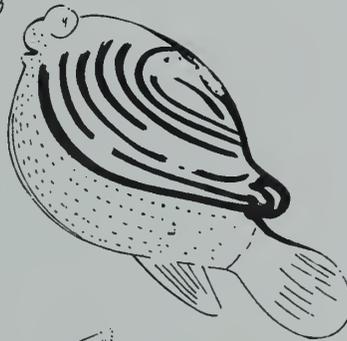


Plate XIII

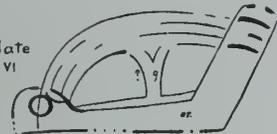


Plate VI



Plate VII



Plate VII

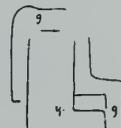


Plate X

Scale 1/2

TOMB OF KHETETA—E. WALL

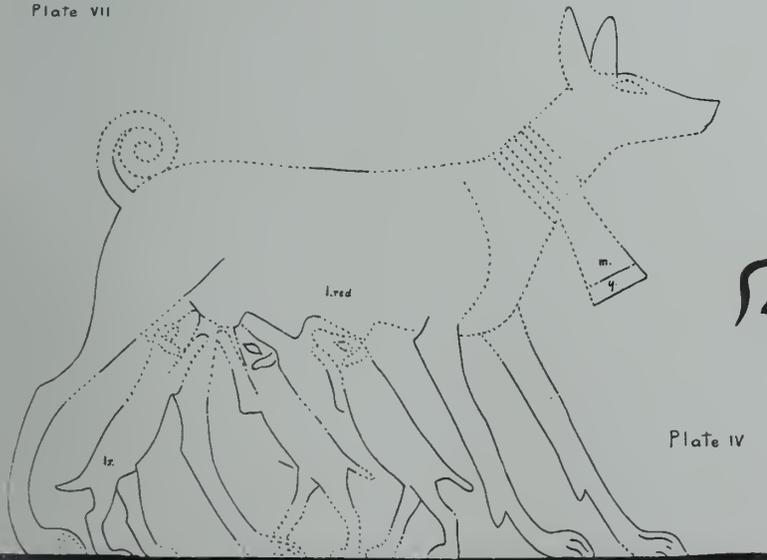


Plate IV

TOMB OF ZAU.

Scale 1/2

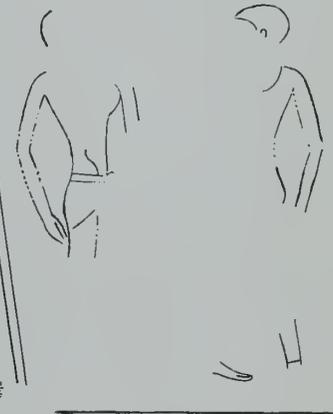
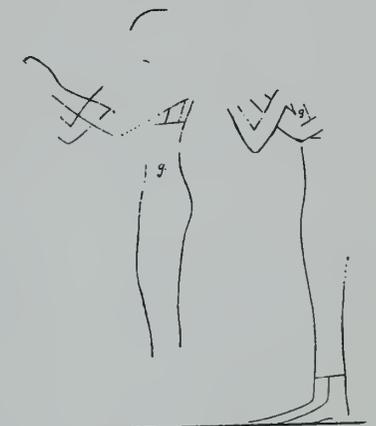
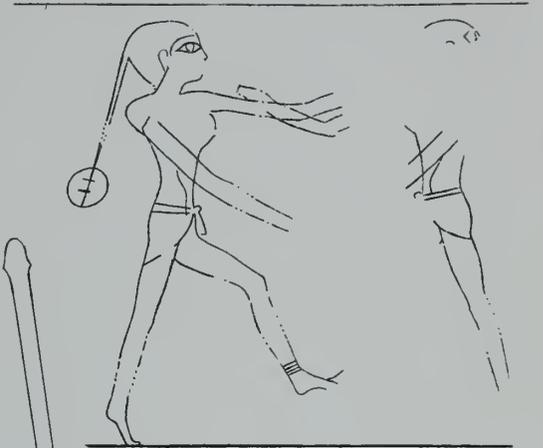
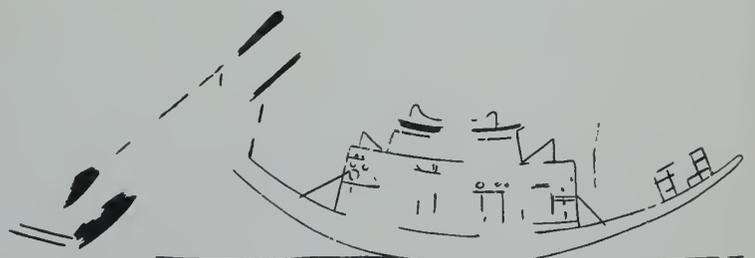
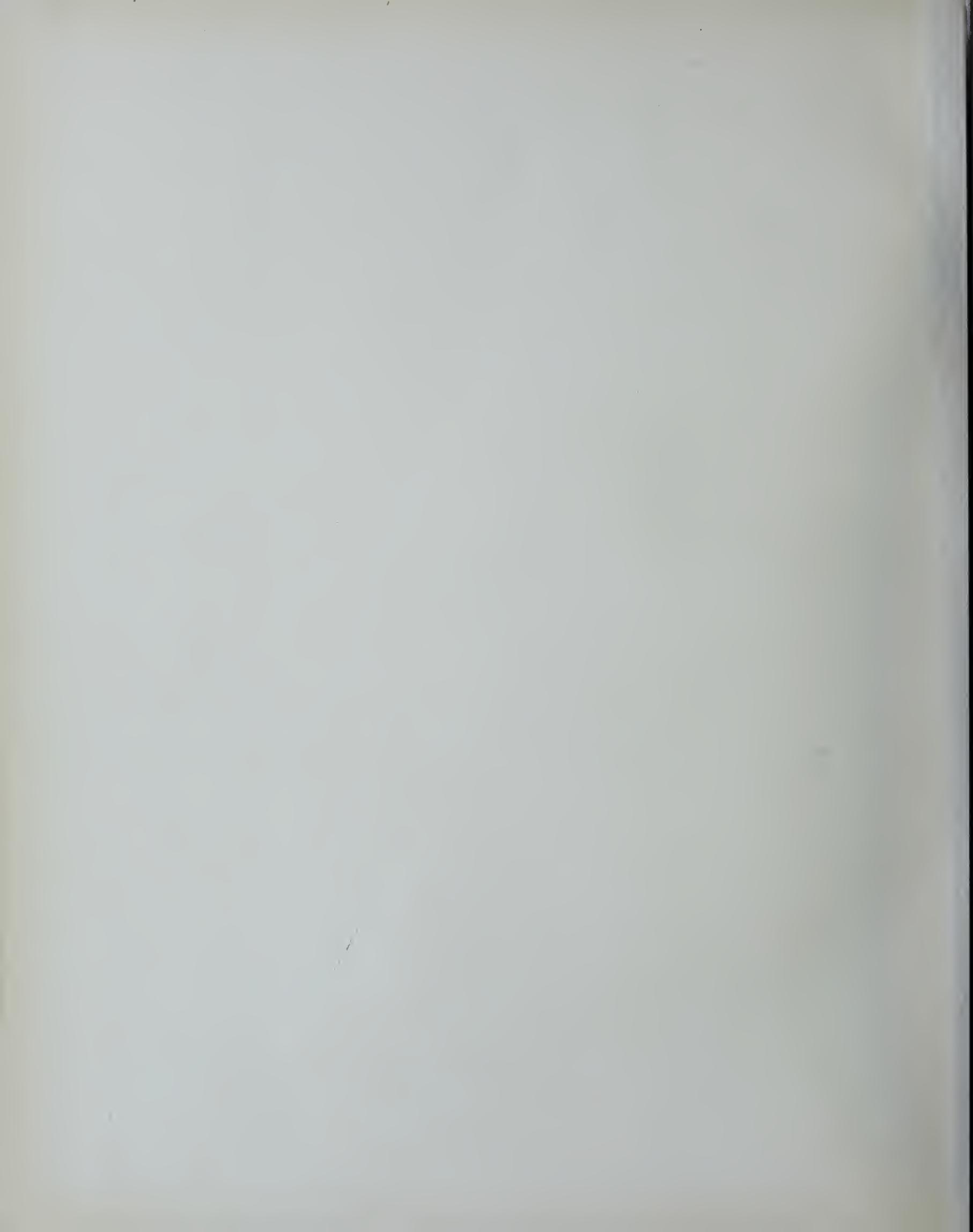
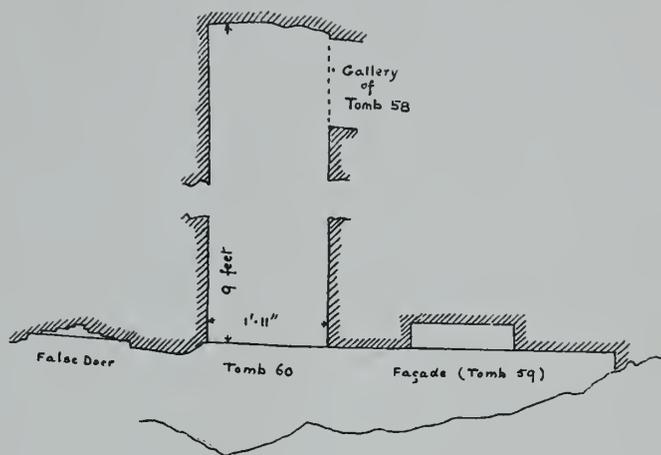
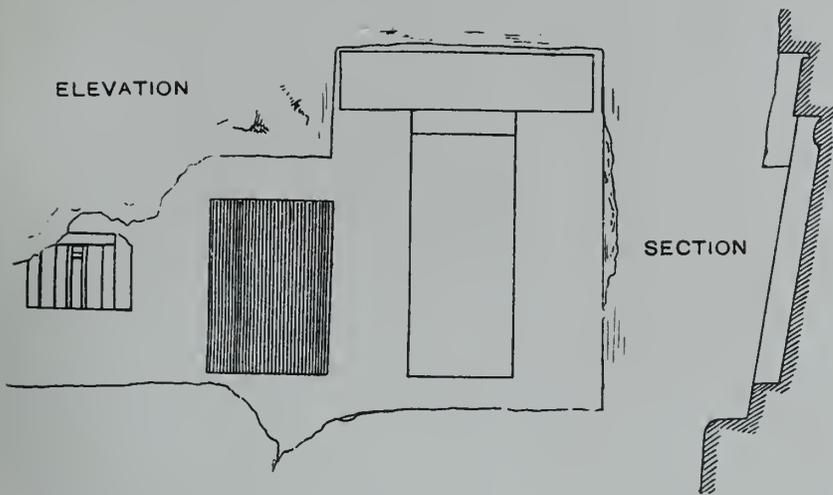


Plate VII



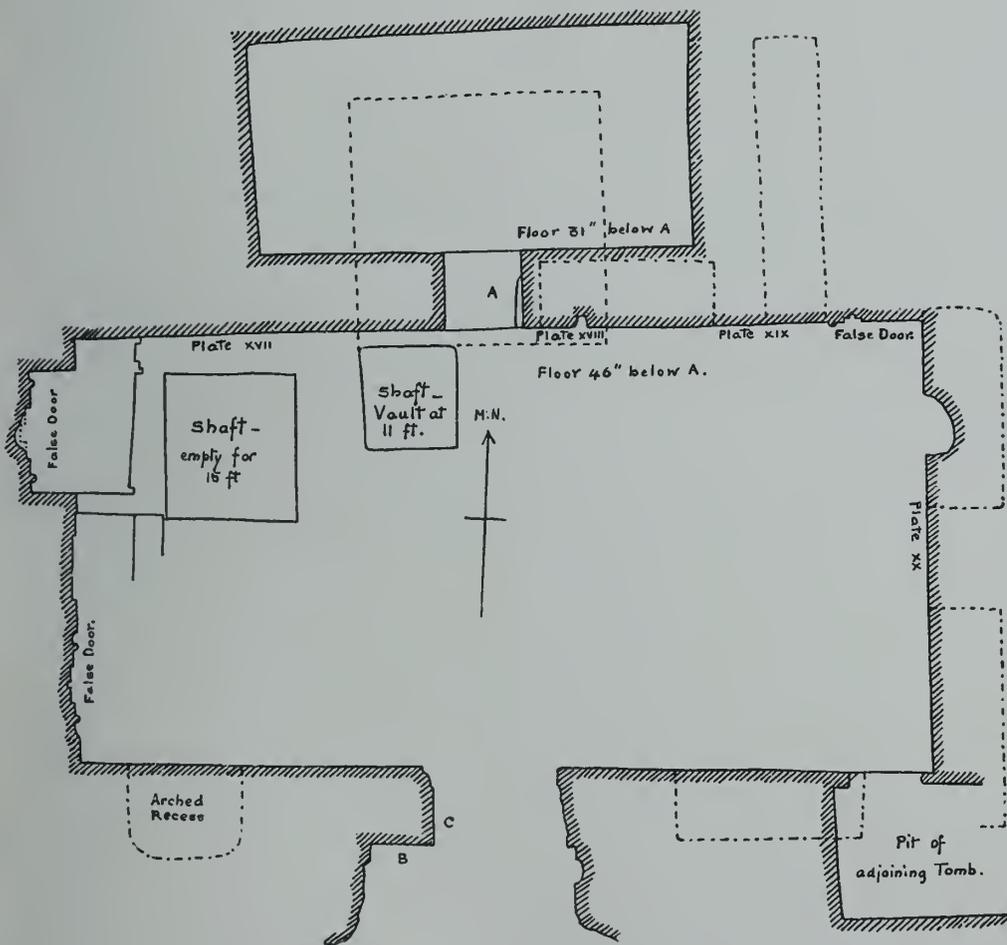
TOMB OF ASA—S. WALL.



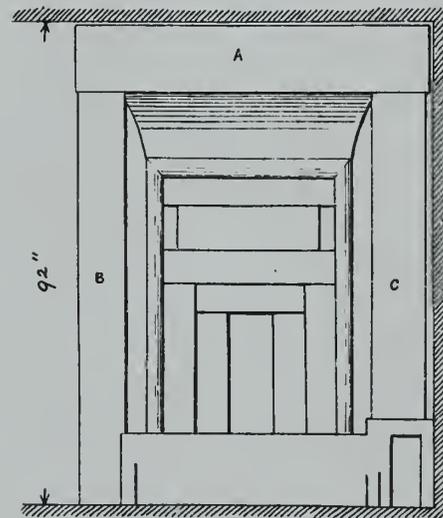
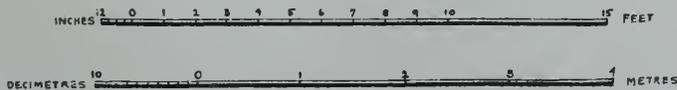


TOMBS 59 AND 60. Scale  $\frac{1}{36}$

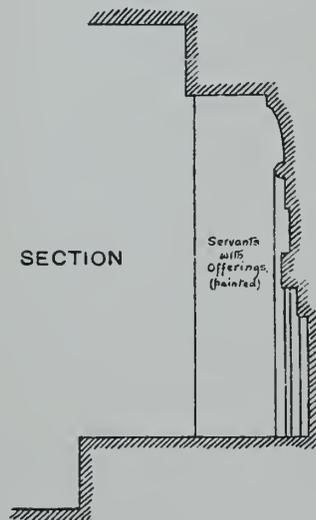
PLAN



Scale



ELEVATION

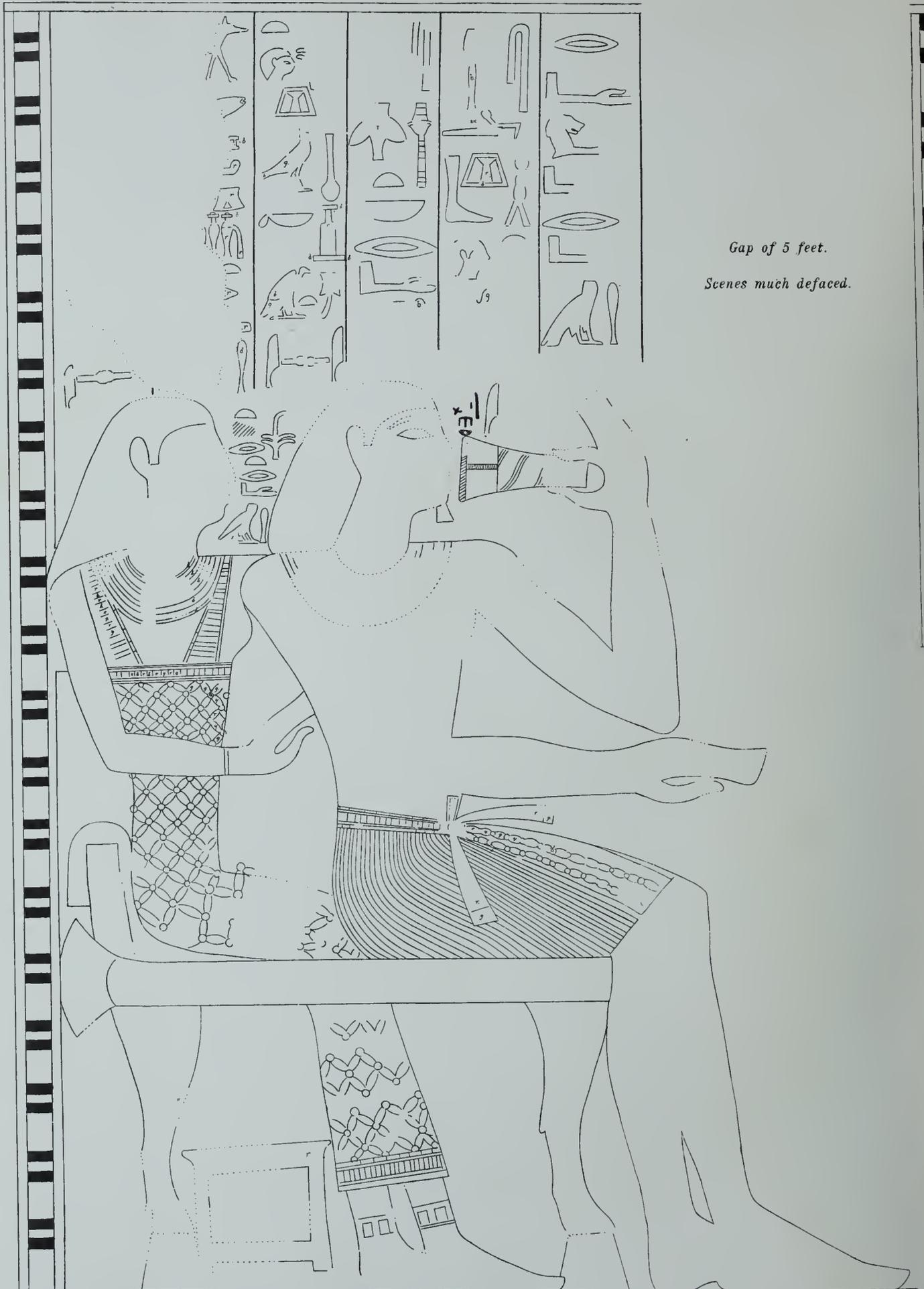


FALSE DOOR Scale  $\frac{1}{36}$

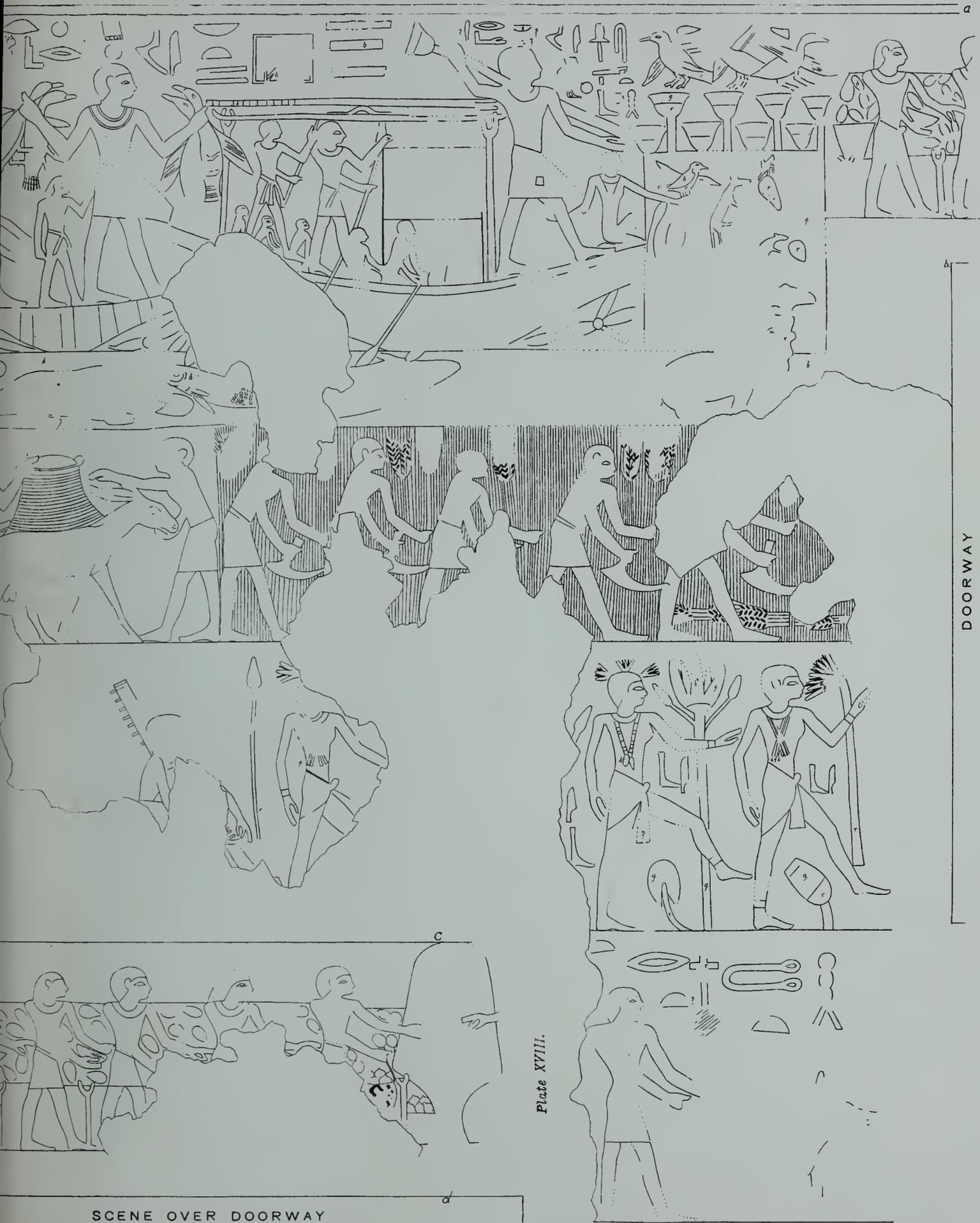
TOMB OF ASA—PLAN.







Gap of 5 feet.  
Scenes much defaced.



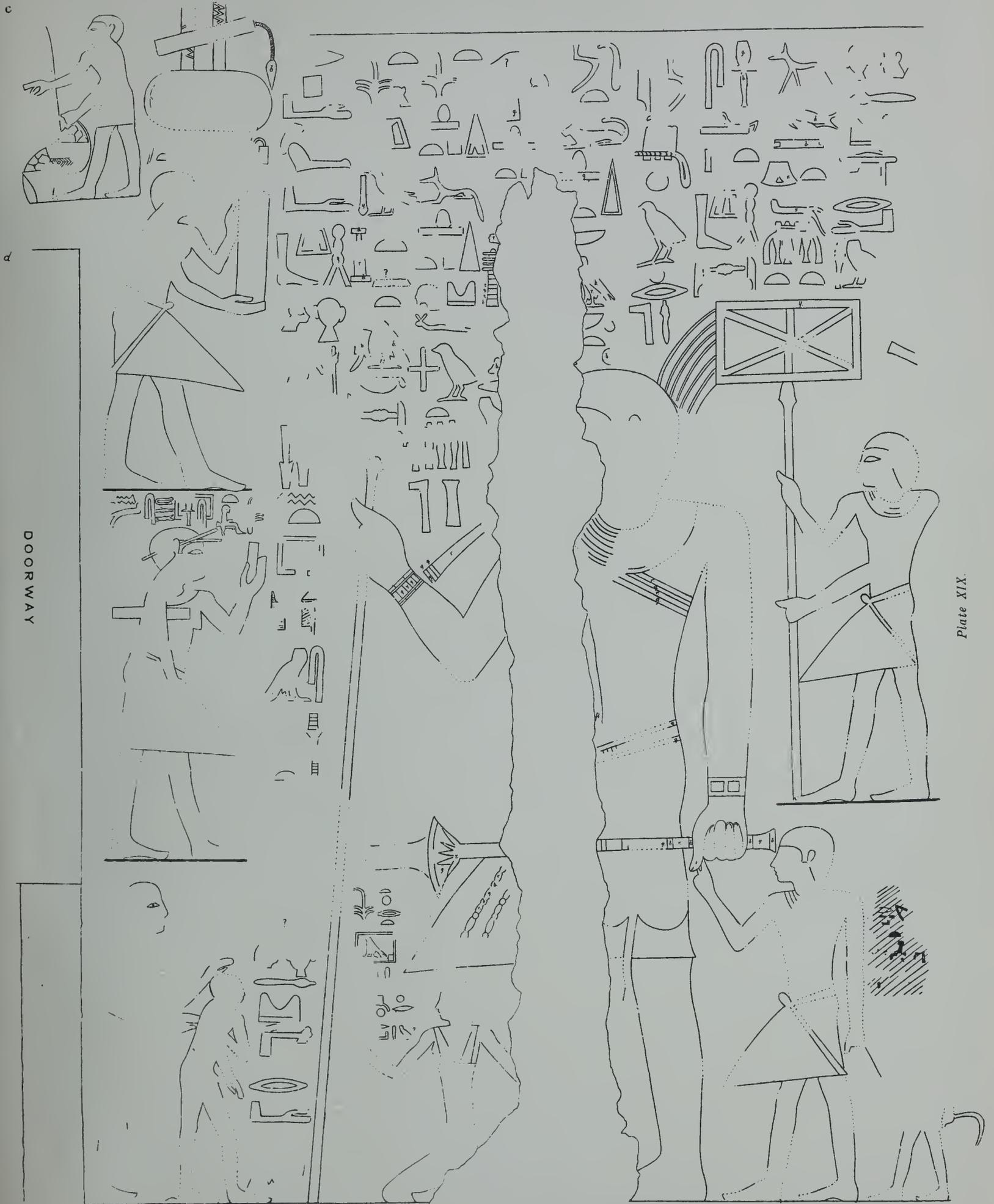
DOORWAY

Plate XVIII.

SCENE OVER DOORWAY

DOORWAY.





DOORWAY

Plate XIX.

NORTH WALL, E. OF DOORWAY.





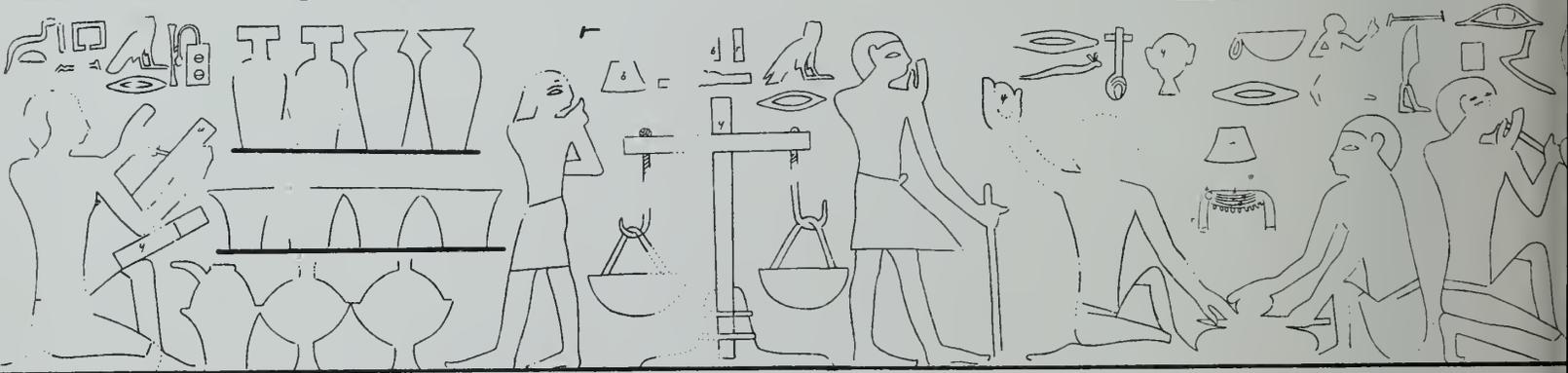
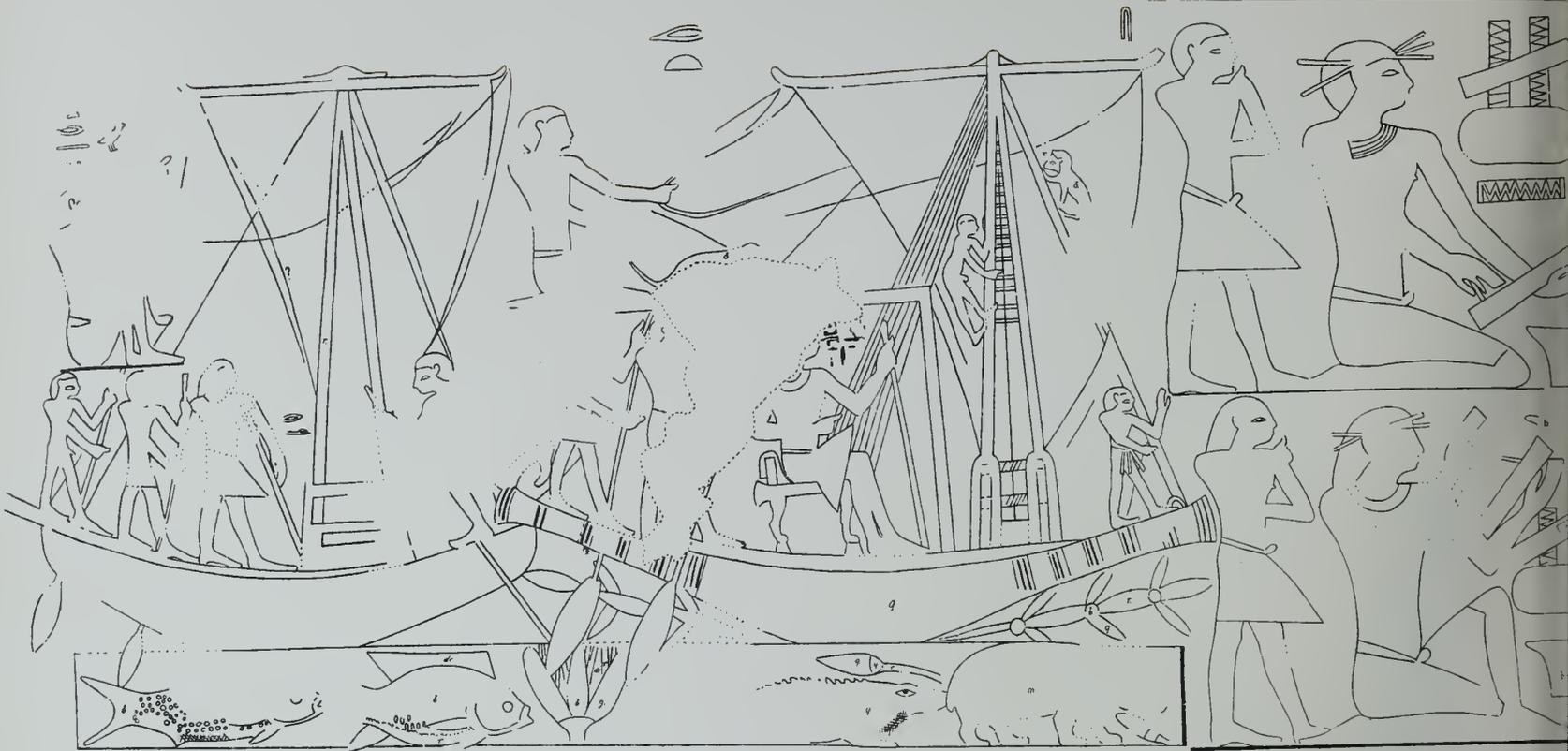
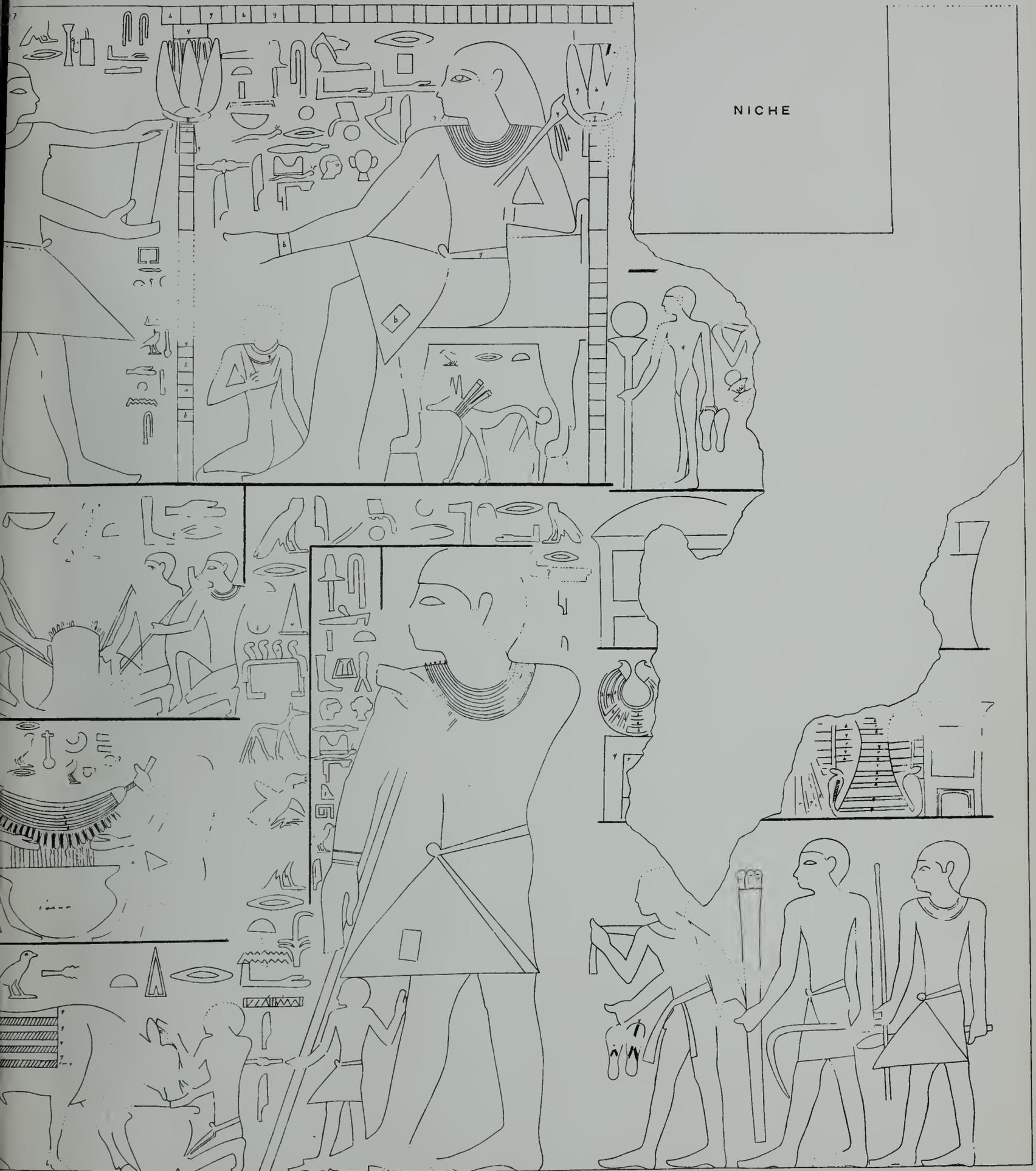


Plate XVIII.

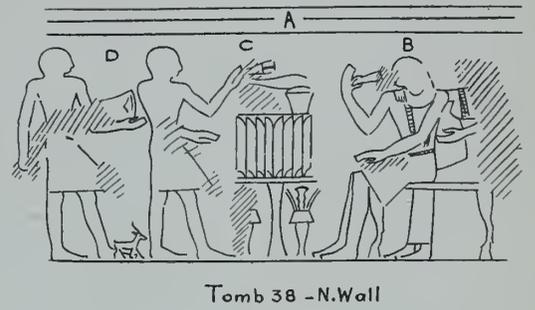
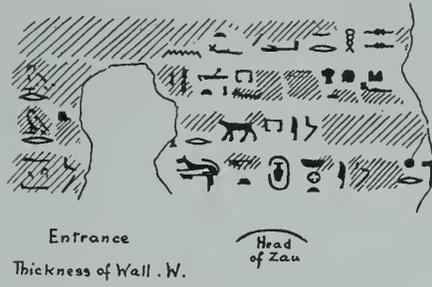
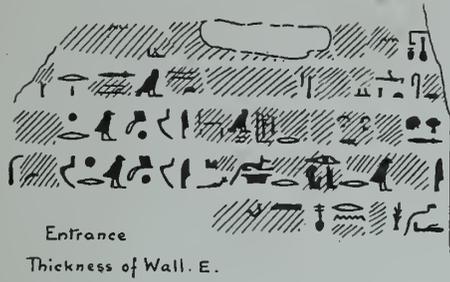


NICHE

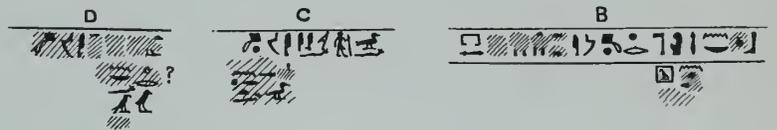
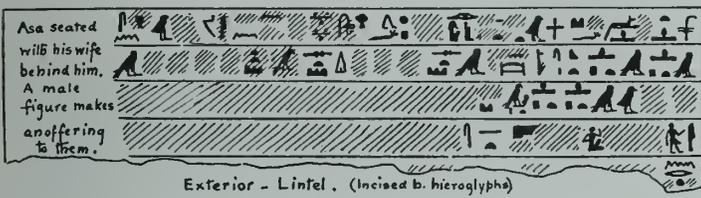








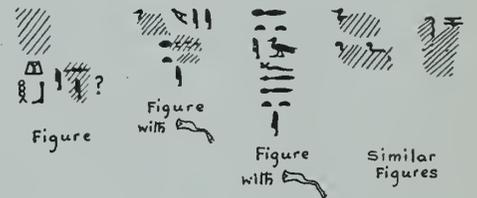
TOMB 12 (ZAU).



TOMB 38.



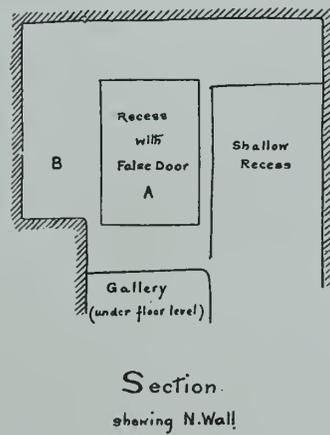
TOMB 92.



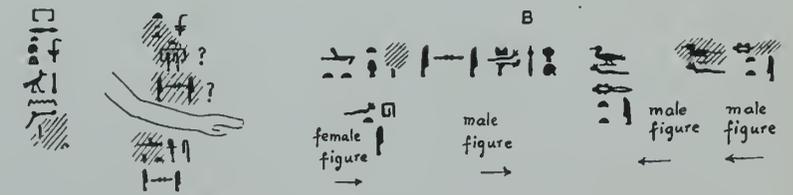
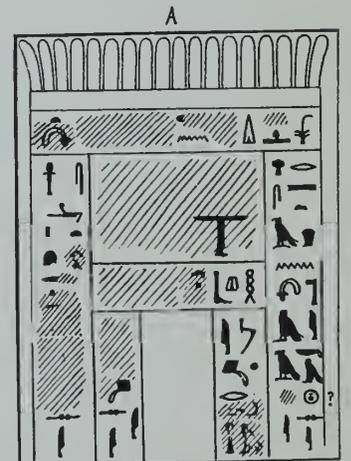
TOMB 95.



TOMB 72 (ASA).

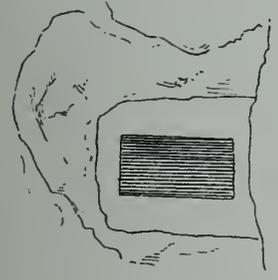


Tomb of Asa - S.Wall

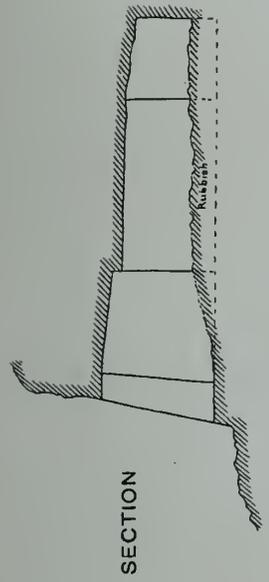


TOMB 46.

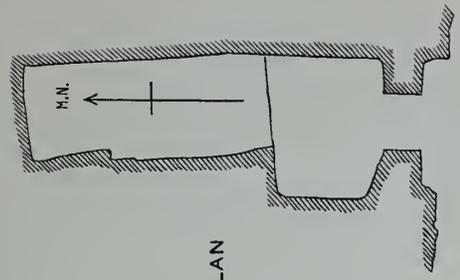




ELEVATION

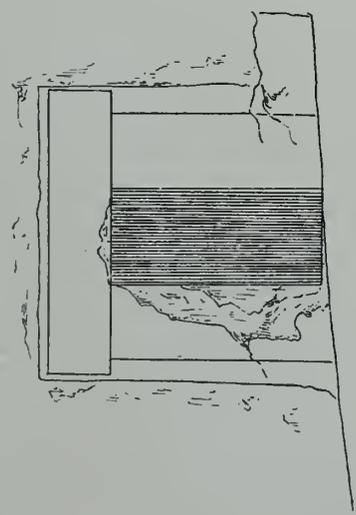


SECTION

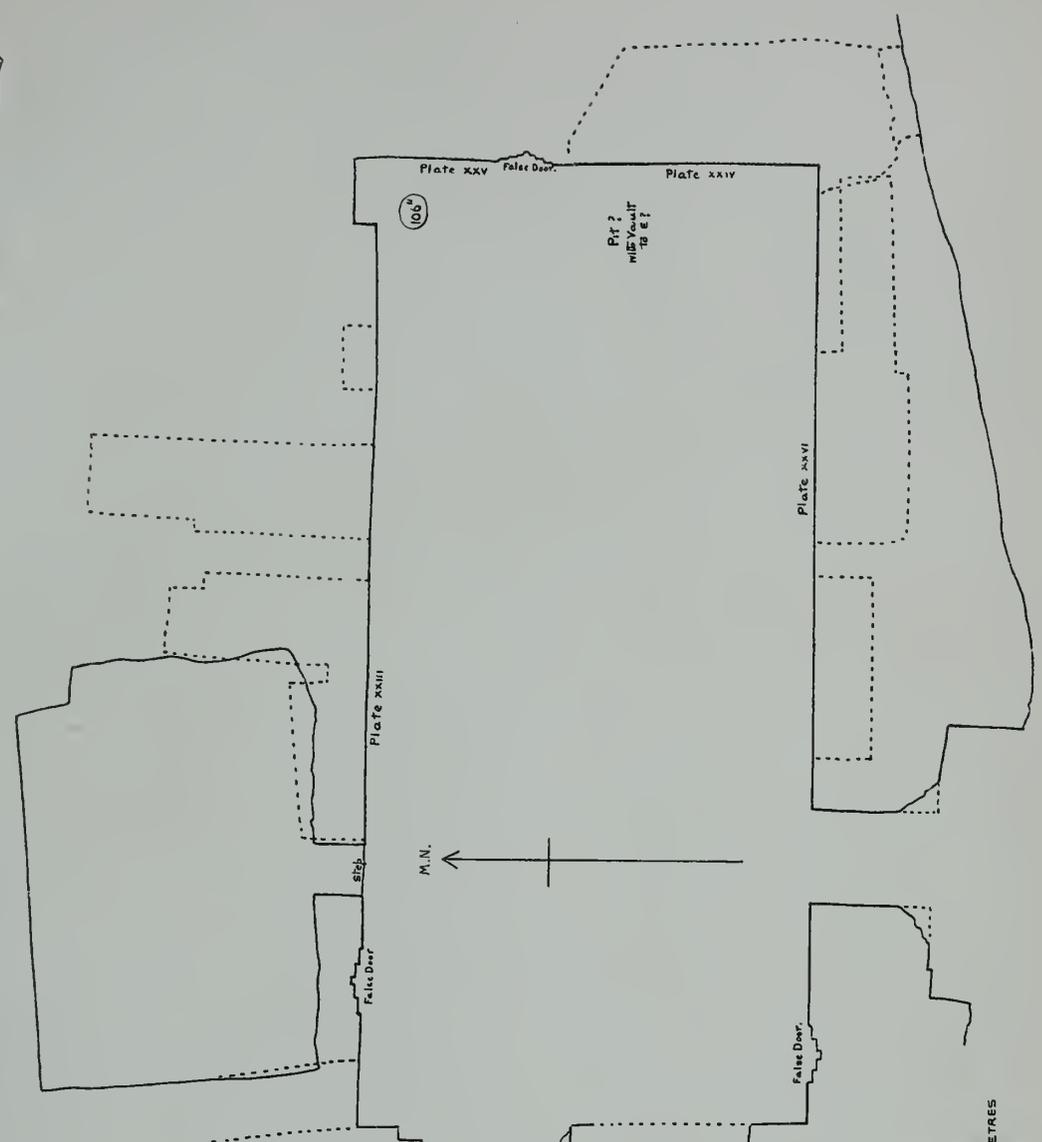


PLAN

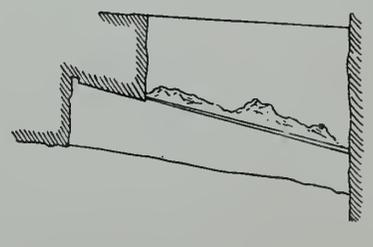
TOMB 3.



DOORWAY—ELEVATION.



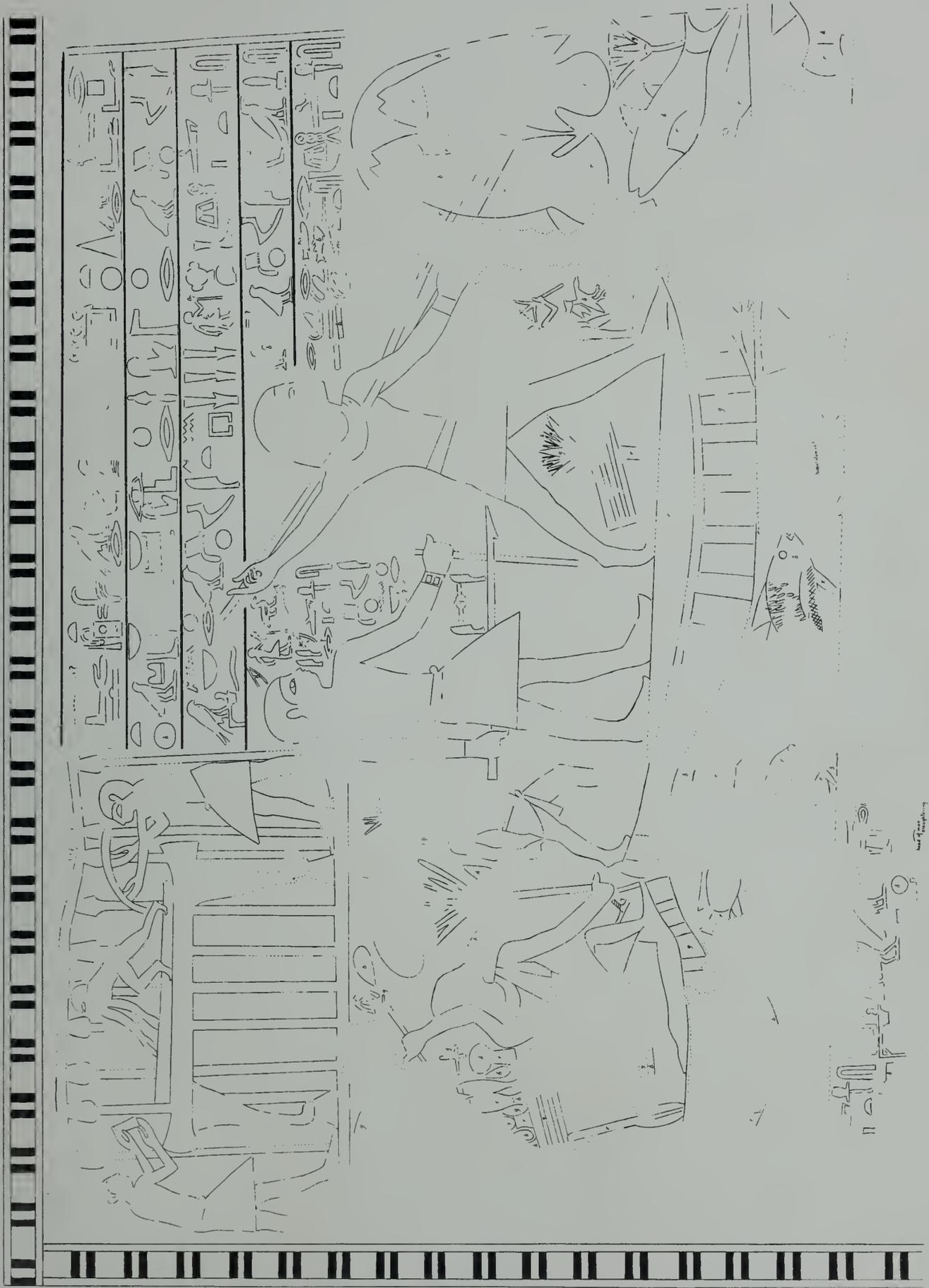
TOMB OF HENQU—PLAN.



DOORWAY—SECTION

Scale 1/4"





NORTH WALL.



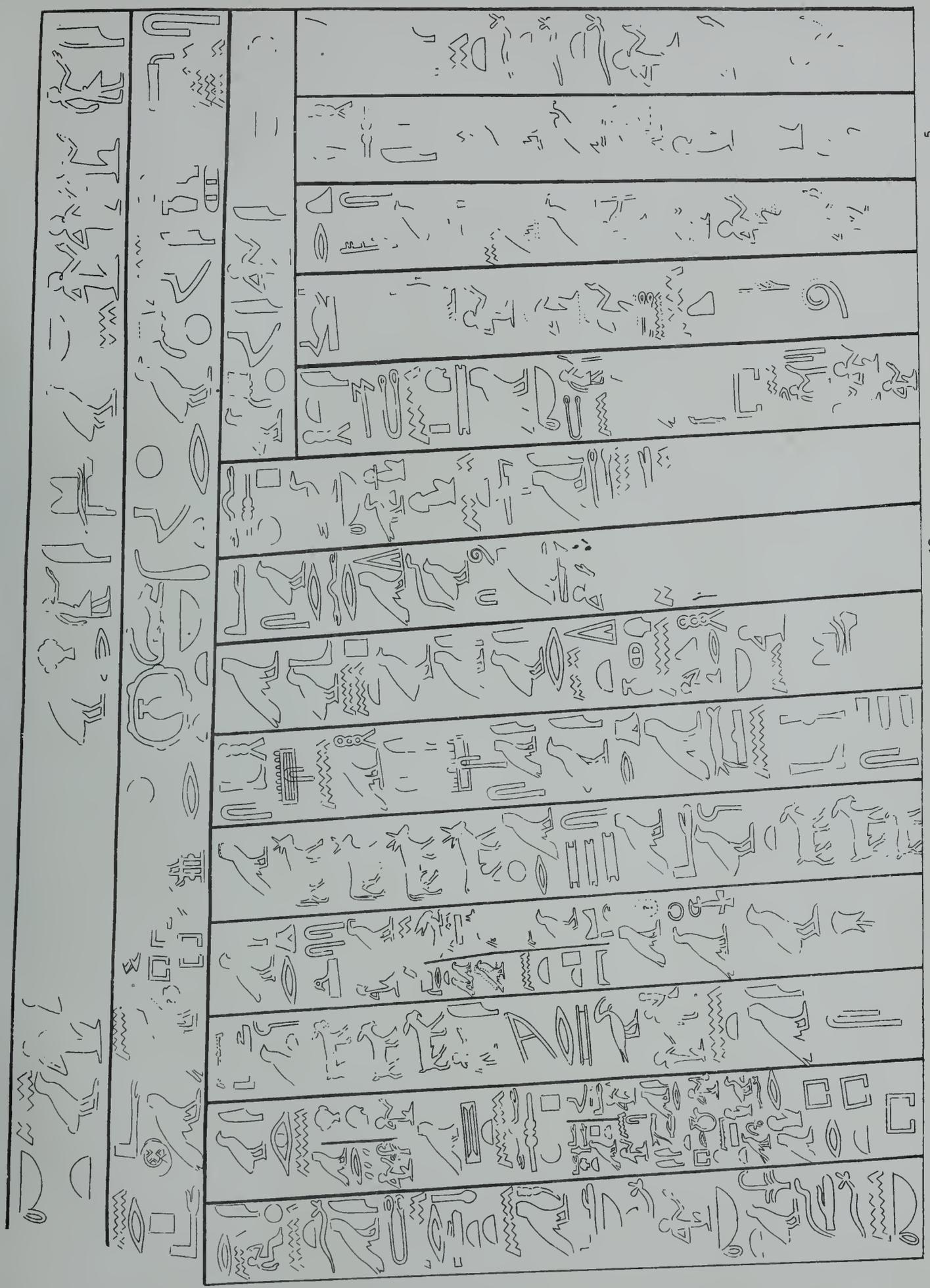
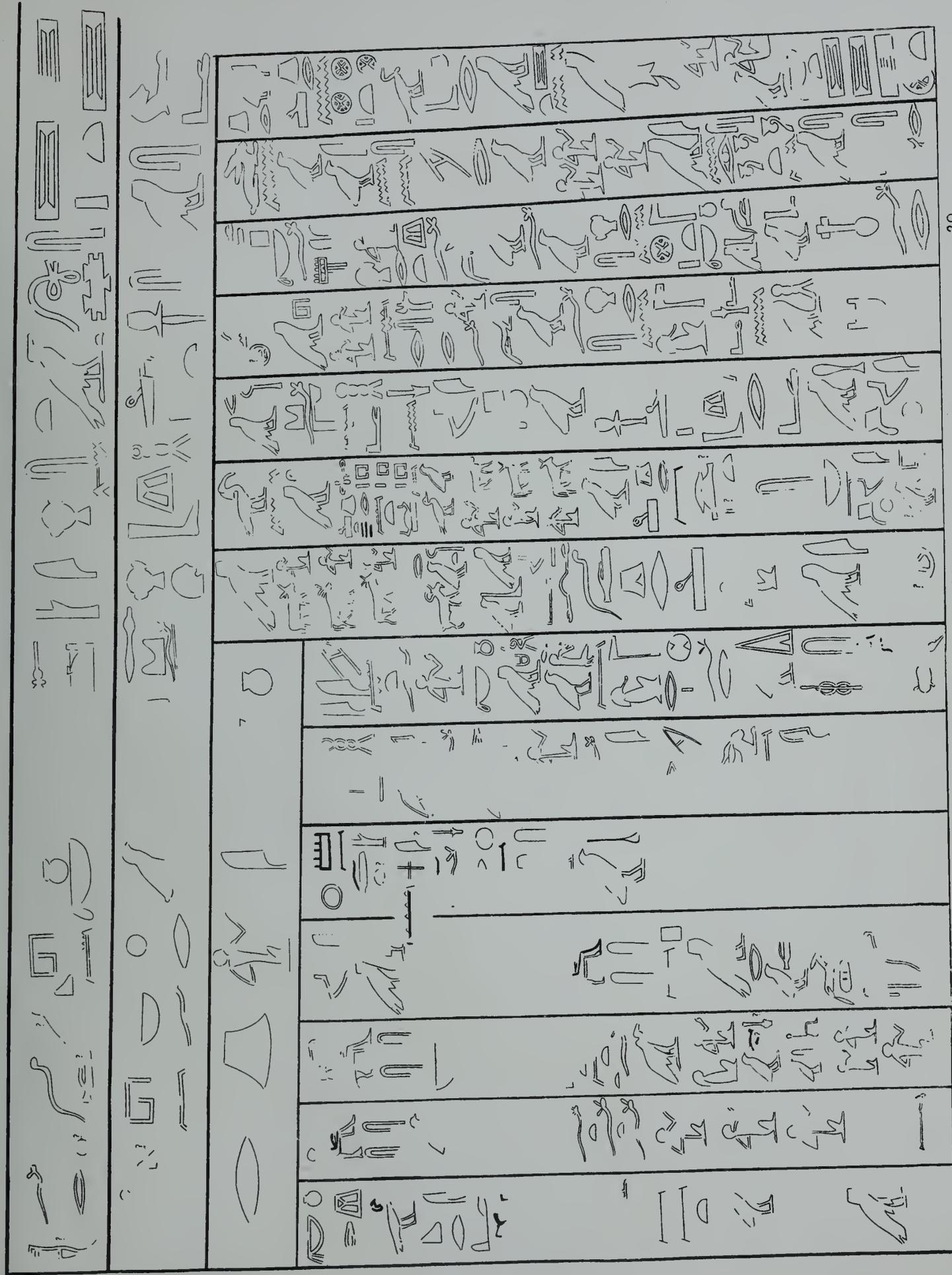


Plate XXV.

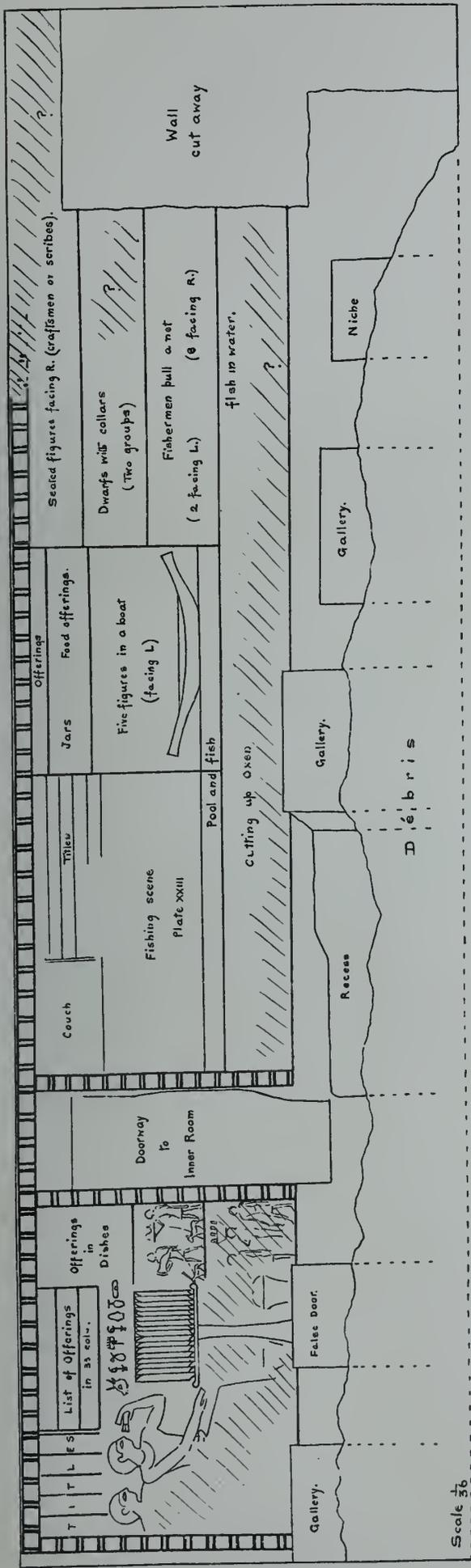
BIOGRAPHICAL INSCRIPTION, E. WALL.





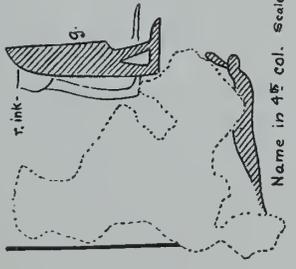
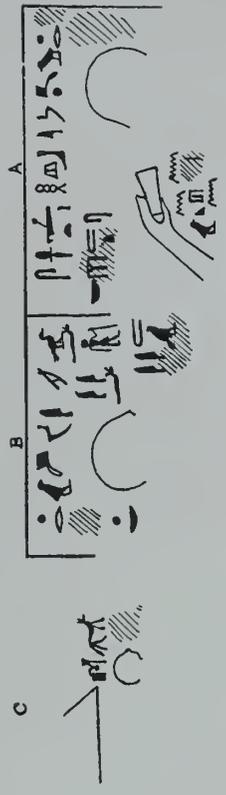
BIOGRAPHICAL INSCRIPTION (COMPLETION).



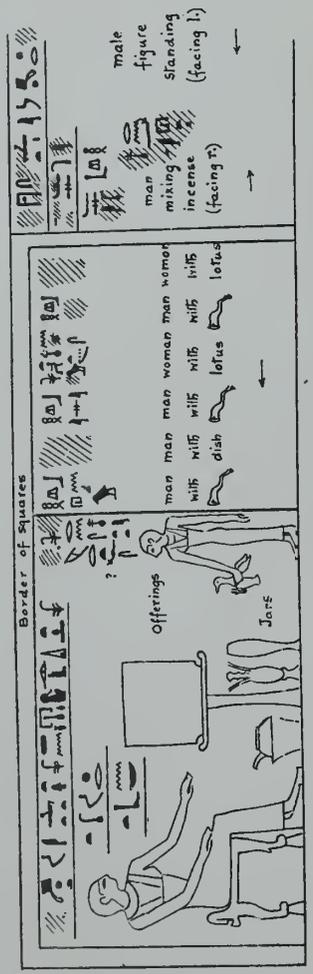
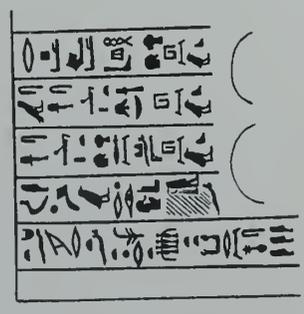


Scale 1/36

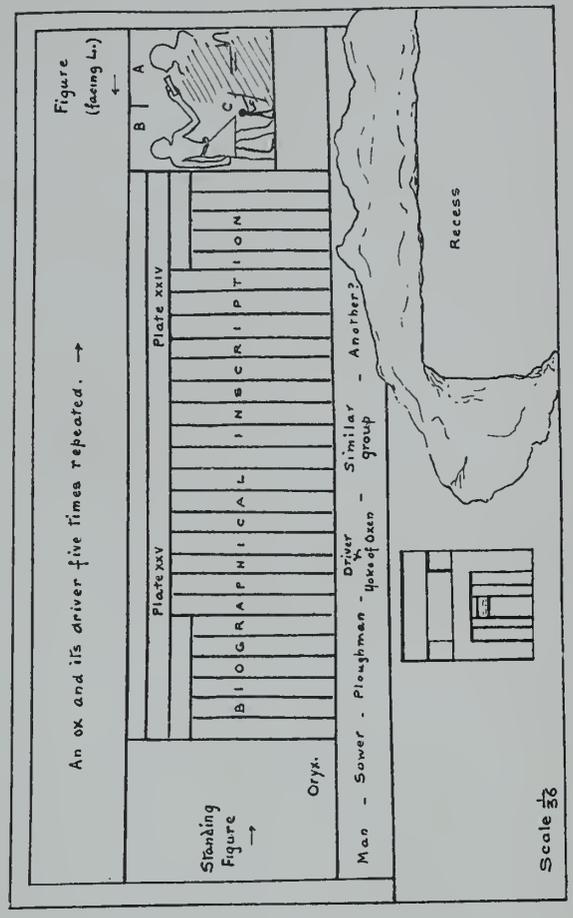
NORTH WALL.



TITLES.

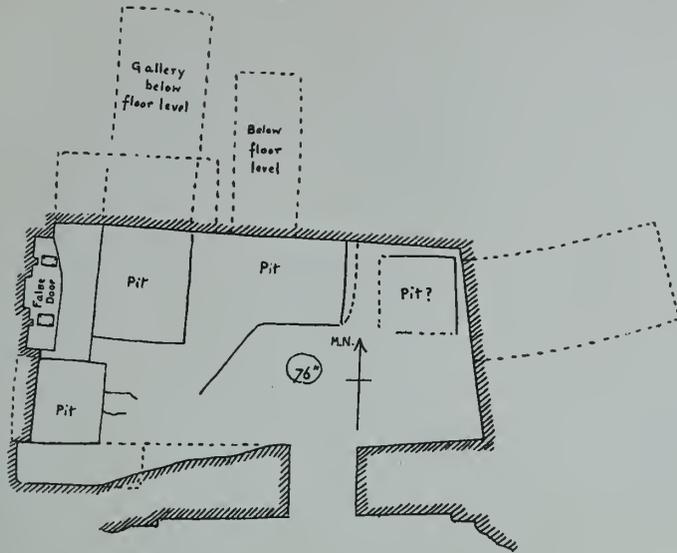


INSCRIPTION ON SOUTH WALL.

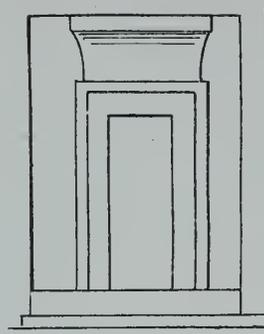


EAST WALL.

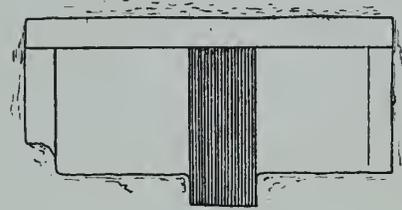




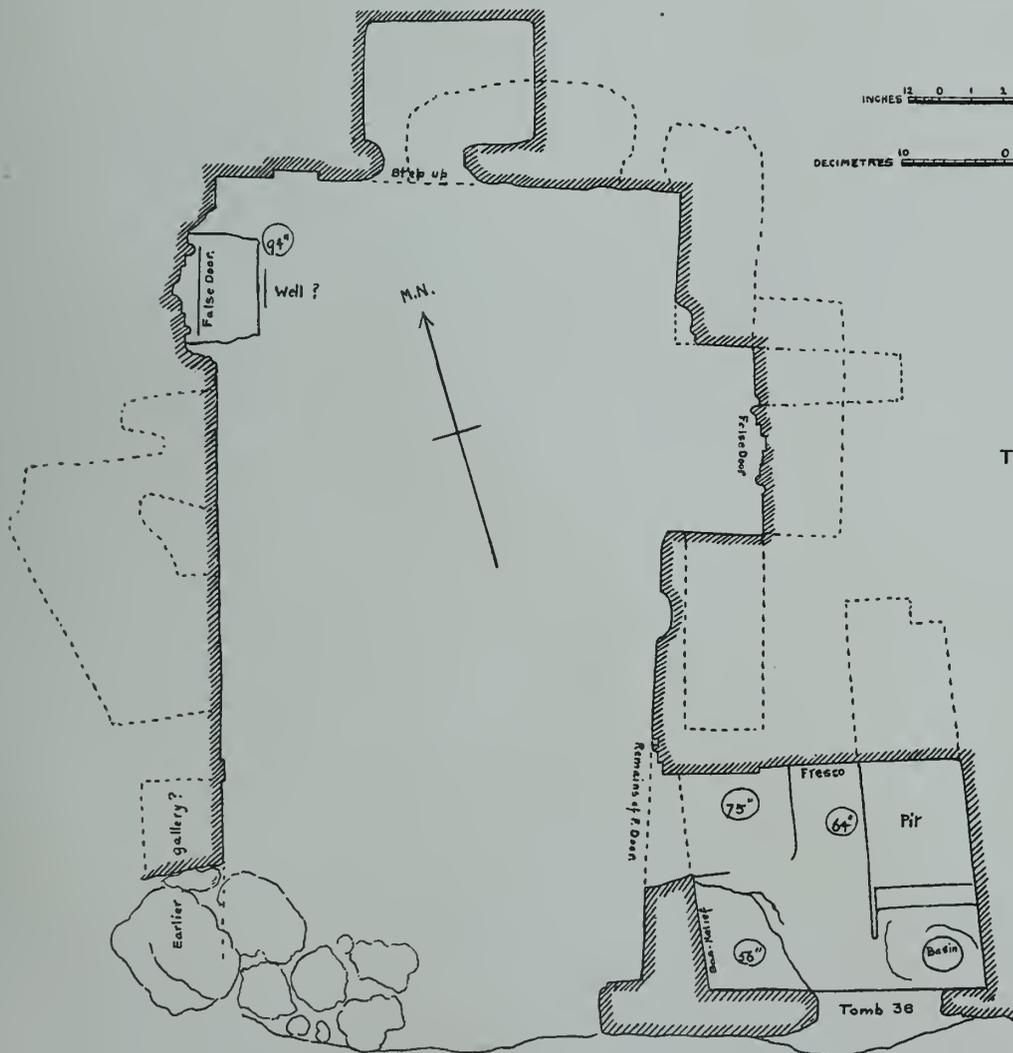
TOMB 95—PLAN



FALSE DOOR Scale  $\frac{1}{36}$



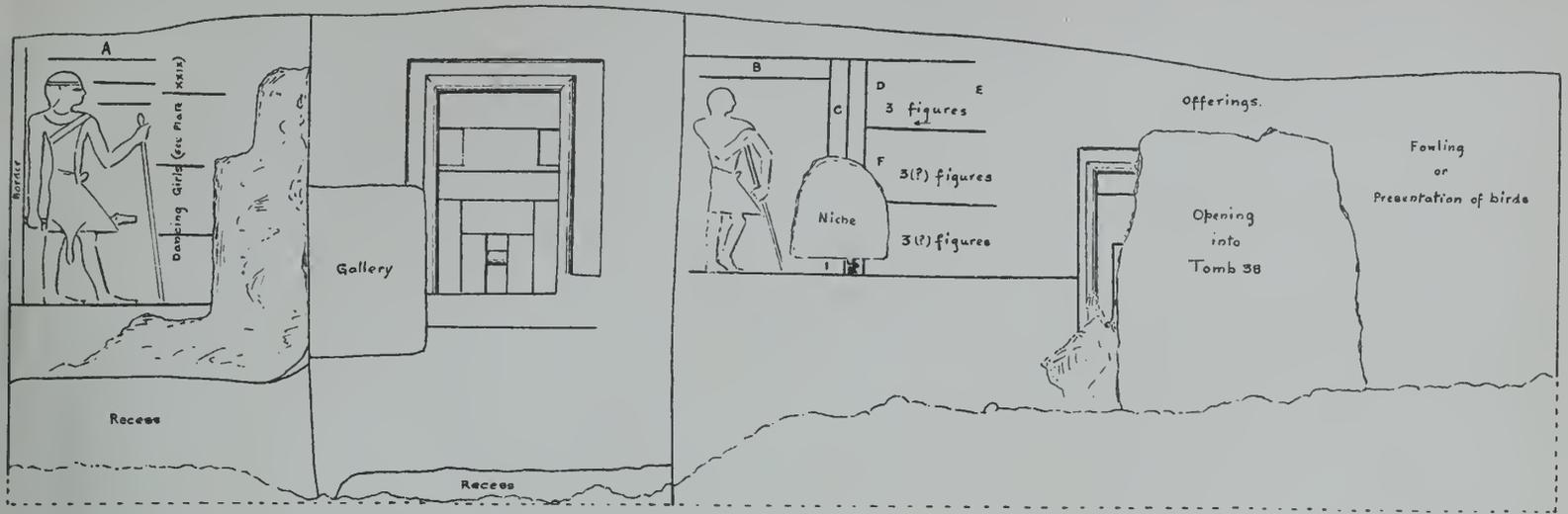
ELEVATION OF DOORWAY



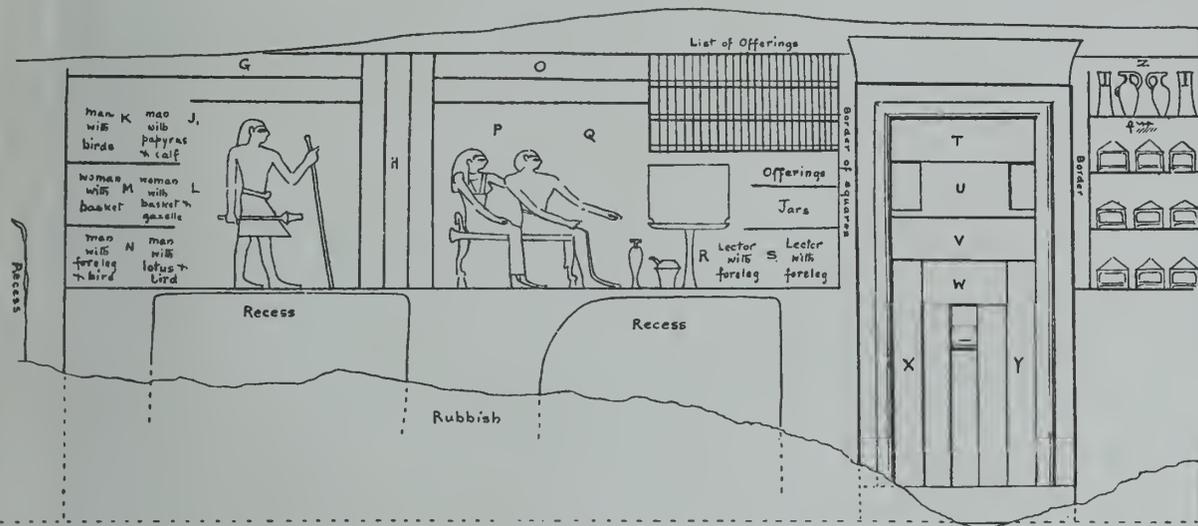
TOMB OF KHETETA PLAN



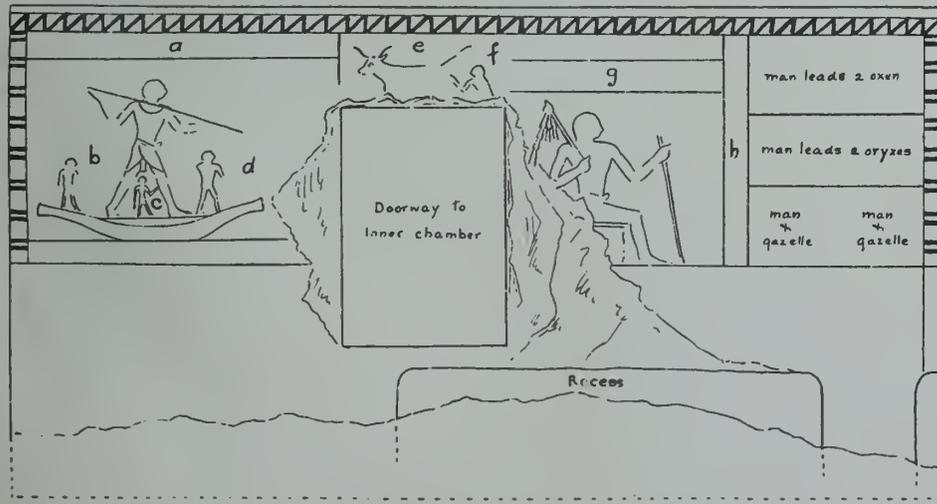
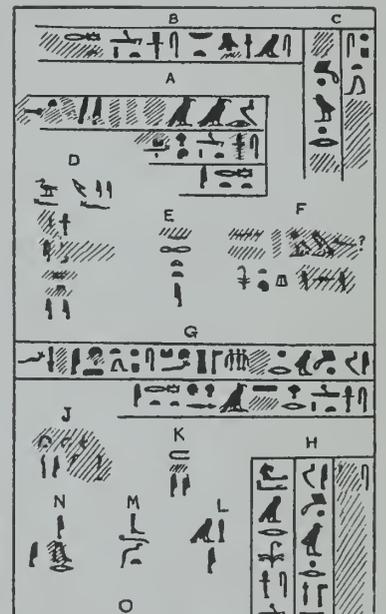




EAST WALL



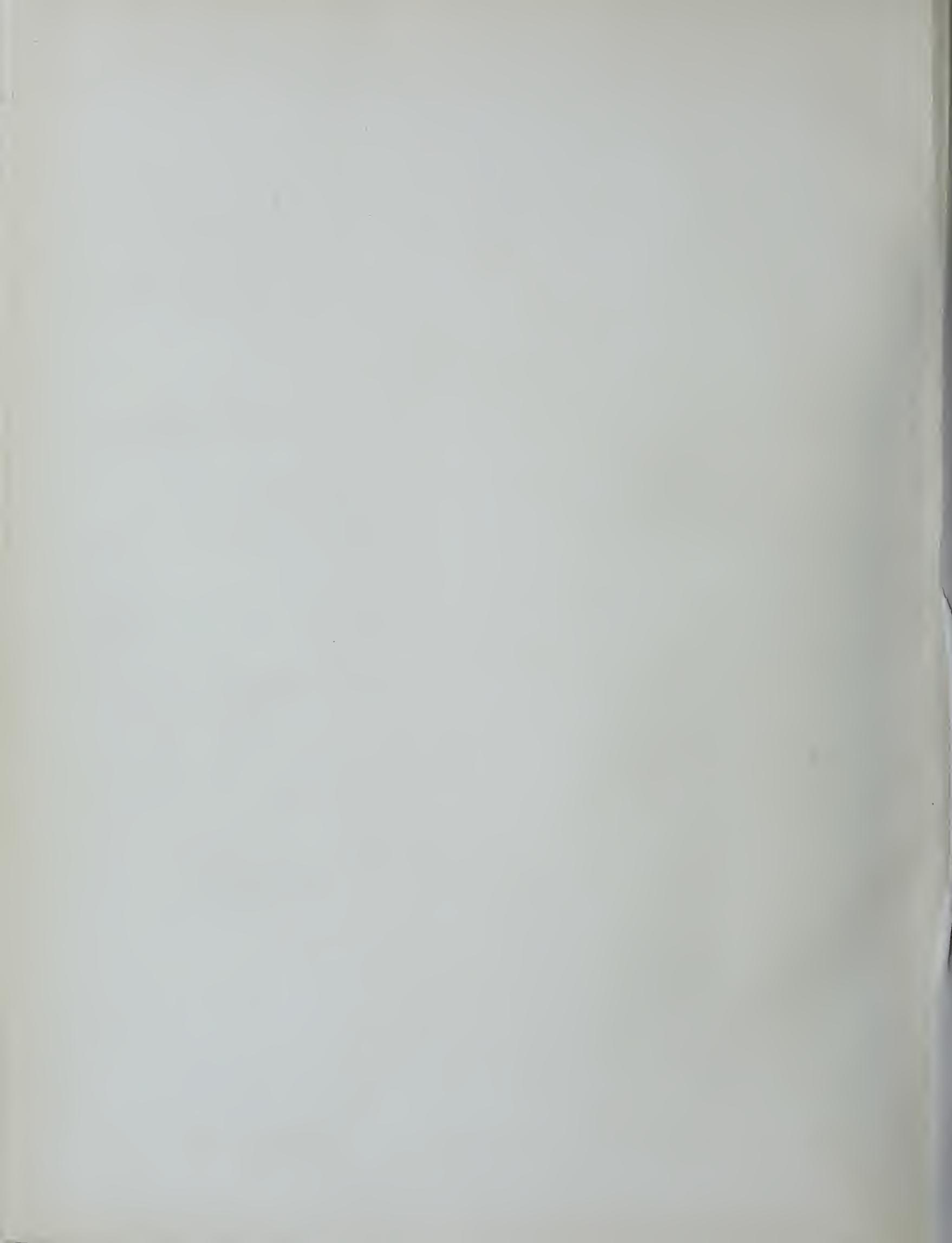
WEST WALL



NORTH WALL



INSCRIPTIONS



I<sup>a</sup>. ΠΙΩΤ ΠΩΗ[ρε ΠΕΠΝ]Α ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ  
 Ἰϸ ΠΕΧϸ ΤΕ[ΝΜΑ]Υ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΜΝ  
 ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΔΥΩ [ΠΟΥΑ] ΠΟΥΑ ἸΘΕ Ε[ΤΑ]  
 ΠΧΟΕΙΕϸ † ΝΑϸ [ΑΝΟΚ] ΑΪΤΩΒΕ ΑΠΟ[ΛΛΩ]  
 5. ΠΕΝΤΑϸΤϸΟ ΔΑΛΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΝΤΑϸΑΥ[ΣΑΝΕ]  
 ϷΩϸΤΕ ϸΕ ΜΠΑΠΕΤΤΩΒΕ ΑΝΠ[Ε ΟΥΔΕ]  
 ΜΠΑΠΕΤϸΟ ΑΝΠΕ ΔΑΛΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕΠΕ ΕΤ]ΑΥ  
 [Σ]ΑΝΕ ΠΕΤΤΩΒΕ ΔΕ ΜΝΠΤϸΟ ΟΥ[Α] ΠΟΥΑ ΔΕ  
 ΠΟΥΝ<sup>sic</sup>ΑΑΧΙ ΜΠΕϸΒΕΚΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΒ. . ΑΝΟ  
 10. Ν ϷΕΝΩΒΡΡϷΩΒ ΓΑΡ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ἸΥ<sup>sic</sup>Θ  
 ΟΙΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ [Ν]ΤΕ ΤΝΟΥΚΩΤ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ

I<sup>b</sup>. ΑΠΑ ΒΙΚΤΩΡ  
 ΑΠΑ ΠΩΟΪ ΑΠΑ Π  
 ΔΥΛΕ ΑΠΠΙϸΑΚ  
 ΜΡϷΑϸΡ ΑΠΑΜΟΝ  
 ΠΑΠΑ  
 Π//////Ε ΦΛΗΛ ΕΧΩ[Ι]

ΧΕΚΑϸ ΕΚΕΒΙΜΕ ΕΠΩΡΧ ΝΝΩΑΧΕ ΕΝΤΑΥΚΑΘΗ  
 ΚΕΙ ΜΩΚ ΝϷΗΤΟΥ ΔϸΩΠΠΕ ϷἸΝΝΕϷΟΥϸ ἸϷΗΡΩΔΗϸ  
 ΠΡΡΟ ἸΨΟΥΔΑΙΑ ἸΟΪ ΟΥΗΗΒ ΕΠΕϸΡΑΝΠΕ ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑϸ

15. (washed out) ΜΕ ΠΡΜΧΚΩΟΥ ΪΩΝΝΗϸ  
 ( " ) ΦΛΗΛ ΕΧΩΪ Π////  
 ΑΥΩ ΔΥϸΜΗ ϷΩΠΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ϷἸΤΠΕ ΧΕἸΤΟΚ  
 ΠΕ ΠΑΩΗΡΕ  
 (fissure in rock)

2. ΘΑΛΛΑΚΟΤΙΝΟ  
 ϷΑΡΗΟΥ  
 ΑΠΑΛΙΝΕ  
 ΠΤΗΡΟΝ  
 ΠΑϸ†ΤΩΝ

3. † ΠΕΙΩΤ Π[ΩΗΡΕ ΠΕΠΝ]Α ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΜΙΧ]ΑΗΛ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΣΟΥΡΙΗΛ  
 ϷΡΑΦΑΗΛ//////ΟΥΗΛ ΣΑΡΑΦΟΥΗΛ ΤΕΝΜΑΔΥ ΜΑ  
 ΡΙΑ ΕΤΟΥΔ[ΑΒ ΠΕΝΕΙΩ]Τ ΑΠΑ ΒΙΚΤΩΡ ΑΠΑ ΣΟΛΟΜΩ[Ν]  
 ΑΠΑ ΟΥΔ[ΝΑϸΡ ΑΠΑ Δ]ΩΡΟΘΕ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΜΟΥΝ ΠΑΜΠΟ//  
 5. ΑΠΑ ϷΩΡ Π[//////] Δ]ΝΟΚ ΠΑΥΛΕ ΔΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΕΪϸϷΑΪ  
 ΑΥΩ †ϷΩ ΝΕΤΟ////ϸ ΝΟΥ[Ο]Ν ΝΙΜ ΕΤΝΑϸΩ ϷἸΠΠΕΙΜΑ  
 (4 lines washed out)  
 ΝΕΝΕΙΟΤΕ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΕ ΑΠΑ ϷΗΛΙΑϸ  
 ΠϸΥΡΟϸ ΑΠΑ ΑΝΔΡΕΑϸ ΠΡΜΤΚΩΟΥ· ΑΠΑ ΛΑΖΑΡΟϸ  
 ΑΠΑ ϷΕἸΛἸΗΝ ΑΠΑ ΪΩϷΑΝΝΗϸ ΠΡΜΠΑΚΕ· ΑΠΑ  
 10. ΨΑΤΕ ΜΝΚΑΛΕΝΙΚΟϸ ΑΠΑ ΑΜΜΩΝΕ ἸΘΩΝΕ  
 (sic) ΑΠΑ ΠΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΡϸΩΩΝΕ ΜΟΥϸΗϸ Ϸ ΔΙΑϸ  
 ΑΠΑ ΠΩΜΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΝΑΠΑ ϷΗΛΙΑϸ ΠΕϸϸΟΝ· ΑΠΑ  
 ΪΕΡΗΜΙΑϸ ΑΠΑ ΣΑΝϸΝΑΥ ΑΠΑ ΜΩΨϸΗϸ ΠΡΜΕΙΟΜ ΑΠΑ  
 ΣΟΥΡΟΥϸ ΑΠΑ ΠΕΤΡΕ ΑΠΑ ΜΑΡΕ ΝΤΜΟΥϸΕΡΗϸΕ ΑΠΑ ΦΟΙΒΑ  
 15. ΜΩΝ ΝΤΜΟΥΝΑΚΩΝ· ΑΠΑ ΠΩΟΪ ἸΪΕΡΗΜΙΑϸ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΥ[Ν]Ε  
 ΠΡΜΤΑΜΜΑ ΝΕΝΕΙΟΤΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΔΡΙ ΠΕΝΜΕ  
 ΕΥΕ ϷἸΝΤΜἸΝΤΕΡΟ ΝΜΠΗΥΕ ΔΡΙ ΠΑΜΕΕΥΕ ϷΩ ΑΝΟΚ ΑΜΜΩ  
 [ΝΕ] ΠΕΝΤΑϸϸΕϷ ΝΑΪ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΤΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΚΩ ΝΑΪ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΝΝΑΝΟΒΕ ϷΑΜΗΝ: ΔΡΙ ΠΑΜΕΕΥΕ ϷΩ ΑΝΟΚ (erased)  
 20. Χ//////Ν]ΤΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΡΟΕΙϸ ΕΡΟΪ ϷἸΝϷΗ ΝΙΜ Ε†ΝΑΒΩΚ  
 ϷΡΑΪ ΝϷΗΤΟΥ ΠΑΪ ΕΤΕΠΩϸΠΠΕ ΠΕΟΟΥ ΦΛΕΝΕϷ ΝΕΝΕϷ  
 [ΜΝΝΑΙΩΝ] ΤΗΡΟΥ ϷΑΜΗΝ: †

4. ΑΠΑ ΜΑΚΑΡΕ  
 ΑΠΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝ

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E326 Egypt  
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