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THE TOMB OF NAKHT, THE GARDENER, AT THEBES (NO. 161) AS COPIED BY ROBERT HAY¹

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This article publishes, with translation, the drawings and copies of texts made by Robert Hay in the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Nakht at Thebes, which are of prime interest since much of the decoration has deteriorated since.

FROM the point of view of publication, the tomb of Nakht has been subject to a strange fate. Soon after its discovery² it was recorded by Robert Hay, then travelling in Egypt. Good drawings by *camera lucida* were made in pencil, and all scenes were rendered in water-colour at a small scale;³ tracings were made directly from the walls,⁴ and the texts were meticulously copied by a draughtsman who could have had little or no knowledge of the language.⁵ These precious documents were neglected for almost a century until in 1924–8 M. Baud was commissioned to use them as a basis for a model of the tomb for the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire in Brussels, where it is still exhibited.⁶ A booklet on the model was also published.⁷ Another little book, reproducing some of Hay's original drawings and water-colours along with photographs taken in the tomb in its present state has been prepared by me.⁸ Various parts of the text and pictures have been published by a number of scholars whose contributions are all listed in the *Topographical Bibliography* of Porter and Moss,⁹ but a complete publication is lacking.

While working on the Hay manuscripts I had the opportunity of studying his

¹ I am indebted to the British Library for allowing me to consult the Hay manuscripts, and to the Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Cambridge, for entrusting me with the microfilms of the manuscripts originally intended for the Revd Selwyn Tillet for his study of Hay, *Egypt Itself* (London, 1984). I also owe a debt of gratitude to the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, in particular Chief Inspector Mr Mohammed es-Sughayir and Mr Mohammed Nasr, Inspector of Gurna, for allowing me access to the tomb of Nakht in Jan. 1984. To Mr J. D. Ray I owe a number of comments on the texts.

² MS 29848, 63: 'Tomb opened by me twice—1826. 1832—Previously by Piccinini.' MS 29824, 45: '... opened a second time by Mr. Hay.' Piccinini was an art merchant and archaeologist who was active at Thebes in the 1820s. His house was next door to the tomb of Nakht.

³ Hay MS 29822, 92–105.

⁴ Hay MSS 29851, 1–88; 29853, 140–1, 143–4, 149–51, 156–7, 175–9, 200–1, 204–5. Some of these tracings are duplicates. In MS 29824, 51 and verso there is a key plan of the walls indicating which parts were traced.

⁵ Hay MSS 29822, 106–12; 29848, 44, 63.

⁶ Cf. *CdE* 3 (1927), 6; *CdE* 4 (1928), 10–11 and 36–8.

⁷ M. Werbrouck and B. van de Walle, *La Tombe de Nakht. Notice sommaire* (Brussels, 1929).

⁸ In preparation.

⁹ To PM (3) may now be added M. Abdul-Qader Muhammed, *The Development of the Funerary Beliefs and Practices Displayed in the Private Tombs of the New Kingdom at Thebes* (Cairo, 1966), pl. 29 (part of I and II), and L. Manniche, *Ancient Egyptian Musical Instruments* (MÄS 34) (Munich, 1976), fig. 14.

copies of the inscriptions from this tomb. Although these latter are by no means unique, the original copies deserve to be made available to those who may not have access to the manuscripts, now kept in the British Library in London. Many of the texts have now vanished from the walls of the tomb, either through wear and tear, or because portions of the walls have been forcibly removed.¹⁰ Most of the texts were also copied by Lepsius but never published. The Lepsius manuscript, on temporary loan to the Griffith Institute, Oxford, has been consulted for the present purpose.¹¹

Hay's tracings of the walls are quite outstanding for their time. As they are unfortunately incomplete and cannot form the basis for a full publication of the tomb, it was thought appropriate to include them here for reference purposes, and to present a little-known aspect of Hay's painstaking work in the necropolis.¹² The hieratic graffiti in the tomb, also copied by Hay, have been studied by Mr Stephen Quirke (see below, pp. 79–90).

The Texts

Above a representation of Nakht and his wife, on the right side of the entrance door. PM (4), fig. 1. 1.

1. *Entering, after going out, [to] dwell in his tomb on coming back from following Amūn in his beautiful feast during his appearance on the great barge on his voyage of the New Year, by the gardener of the divine offerings of Amūn, Nakht, justified, (and) his beloved wife, the mistress of the house, (T)ahemt.*

In Hay MS 29822, 92 (water-colour) all the columns of the text are level at the bottom, except for the last one, which is longer. In actual fact, neither this arrangement nor the one in the hand-copy is absolutely correct. The exact disposition can be seen in the tracings, Hay MS 29851, 50 and 52–4, cf. fig. 8. Some of the missing signs are supplied by a similar text in TT 64, elsewhere taken to refer to the Feast of the Valley.¹³ The *t* in the name of the wife appears to have been left out by the ancient scribe, as Lepsius quotes the *aleph* alone, adding *sic*.

A few comments on the Feast of the New Year in the Theban tombs are appropriate here, as this aspect does not appear to have been thoroughly studied. The feast is referred to in a number of tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and in isolated cases before and after. The tomb scenes naturally reflect only those aspects relevant to the dead. In the temples a special statue of the chief divinity was exposed to the rays of the sun to be rejuvenated¹⁴—after all, it was the birthday of Rē-Harakhte.¹⁵ As far as the blessed dead were concerned, it was a day when, after similar rites on the preceding five epagomenal days, torches were lit in the

¹⁰ Three fragments are now in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen, having been acquired on the art market in Cairo in 1910. A fourth fragment is in the Musée Rodin, Paris. Reference to them will be made ad loc.

¹¹ I am grateful to the Griffith Institute for making this manuscript available to me.

¹² Although a number of artists worked with Hay during his stays in Egypt, there is no direct evidence of anyone else being responsible for the work carried out in the tomb of Nakht. According to MS 31054, 134, Hay was occupied in the tomb on 21 and 22 June 1826. Bonomi is known to have been with him during that season, and he was probably responsible for one of the hand-copies of the texts. The existence of duplicate tracings also suggests that Hay was not working alone. Hay returned to the tomb in 1832.

¹³ MMA Photos T 2826–7, cf. S. Schott, *Das schöne Fest vom Wüstentale* (Wiesbaden, 1953), 109 (Inscr. 70).

¹⁴ On the temple festivities, cf. Daumas in *LÄ* IV, 466–72.

¹⁵ As stated by the 'Diary of the Theban Necropolis'; cf. Gardiner in *ZÄS* 43 (1906), 139.

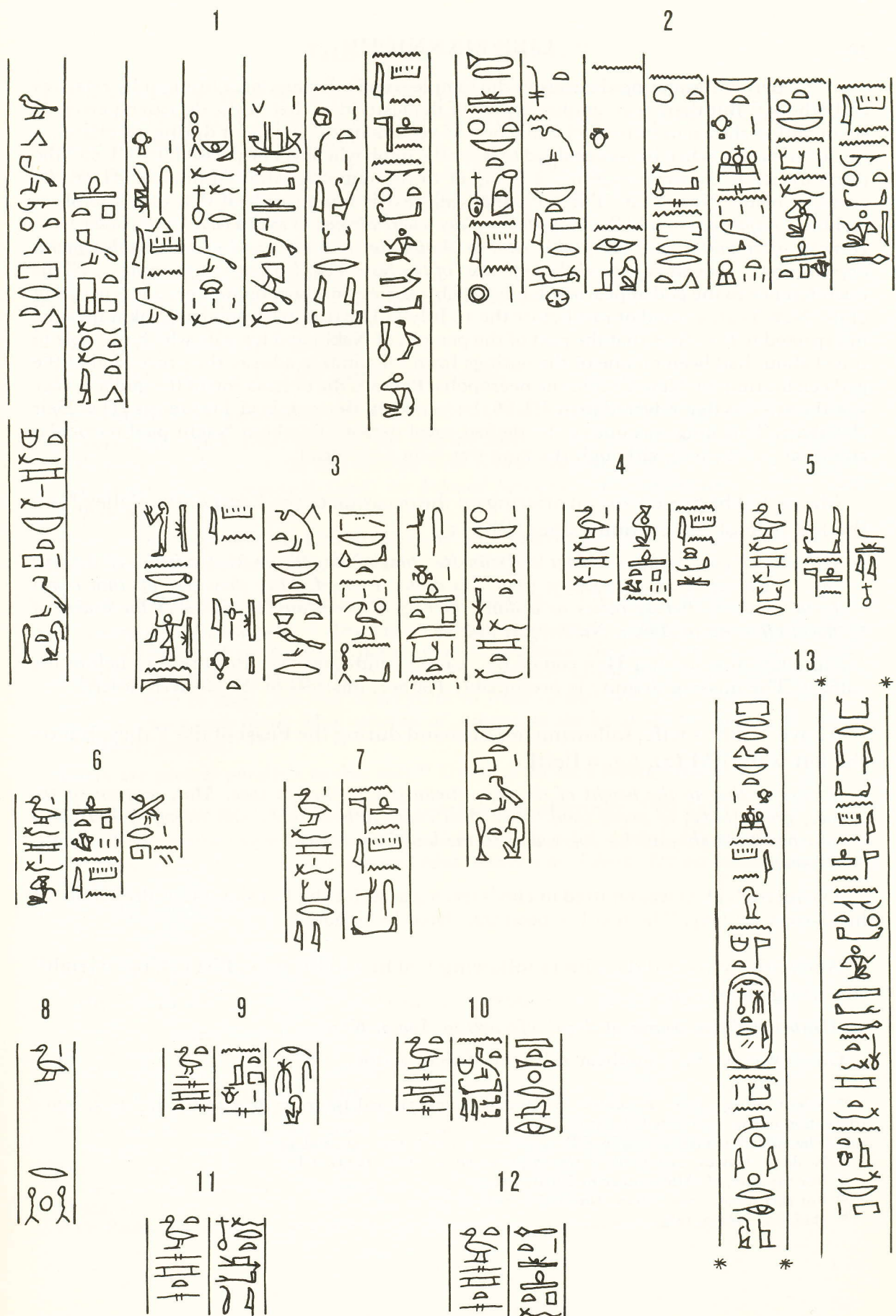


FIG. 1

5. *His beloved son, gardener of the divine offerings of [Amūn], Huynufer.*

The name of Amūn was either omitted or, more likely, erased, as there is room for it and the genitival particle was written.

6. *His beloved son, bearer of floral offerings to Amūn, Parehny.*²²
 7. *His beloved son, gardener of the divine offerings of Amūn, User.*
 8. *His [beloved] son, [Amun]erneheh.*²³

The name is complete in inscription 29.

9. *Her beloved favourite daughter, 'Aḥmosi.*
 10. *Her beloved daughter, Neḥemtyar, justified for Osiris.*²⁴
 11. *Her beloved daughter, Nofretwari.*²⁵
 12. *Her beloved daughter, 'Athotpef.*

In inscriptions 24 and 33 the name is 'Athotpes.²⁶

Column of text separating the Feast of the Valley from the funerary banquet.

13. *Everything which comes forth on the offering table of Amūn and the god's wife Aḥmosi Nofretere to the ka of the one revered with Osiris, the gardener of the divine offerings of Amūn, Nakht, justified, (and) his beloved favourite wife, the mistress of the house (Taḥemt).*

There is no representation to accompany this inscription, but Aḥmosi Nofretere is depicted on the opposite wall, cf. below.²⁷

Above Nakht and his wife being offered flowers.²⁸ PM (3) 1, right.

14. *Coming with the bouquets of Amūn when he rests in his temple. May he praise you and love you. To the ka of the bearer of floral offerings to Amūn, the guardian of Amūn, Nakht, justified for Osiris, begotten by the lord, the gardener of the divine offerings of Amūn, Gurer, born to Kay. All that comes forth in front of the lord of . . . the primeval god of the Two Lands (and) Mut, mistress of Asheru, to the ka of the mistress of the house, Taḥemt, justified.*

There are several parallels to this text.²⁹ Gurer must be a foreign name.³⁰

Above the sons and a daughter presenting the offerings. PM (3) 1, left.

15. *By his beloved son, the gardener of the divine offerings [of Amūn], Huynufer.*
 16. *To your ka the bouquets of Amūn and Mut, mistress of Asheru. By his beloved daughter, 'Aḥmosi.*
 17. *His daughter, Neḥemtyar.*
 18. *His beloved son, Kha.*
 19. *[His beloved] son, [Huynufer].*
 20. *His beloved son, Parehny.*
 21. *His beloved son, the gardener of the divine offerings of Amūn, User.*

²² The name is absent from H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* (Glückstadt, 1935-53), but the name Rehny is found once in the New Kingdom, *PN* 1, 225, 15.

²³ *PN* 11, 264, 1, with reference to this tomb only.

²⁴ *PN* 11, 300, 12, with reference to this tomb only. Cf. a similar man's name, *PN* 1, 424, 18.

²⁵ *PN* 11, 299, 10, with reference to this tomb only.

²⁶ Not in Ranke, but cf. the male version of the name, *PN* 1, 57, 29.

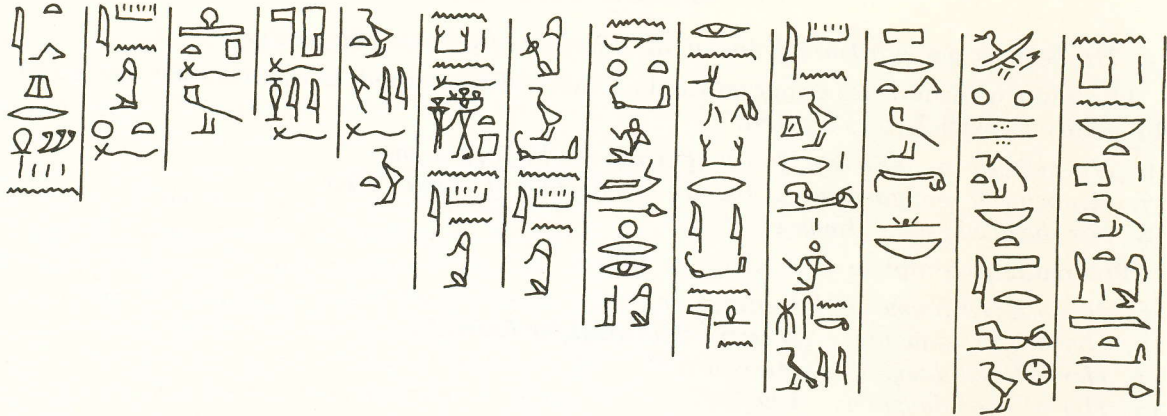
²⁷ This text was partly translated in W. Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschafts geschichte des Neuen Reiches* (Wiesbaden, 1960), 87.

²⁸ For this subject, see Schott, *Das schöne Fest*, 48 ff.

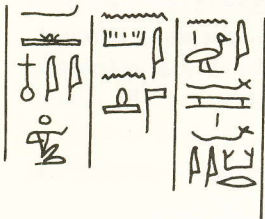
²⁹ *Ibid.* 117 (Inscr. 95).

³⁰ Cf. Ranke, *PN* 11, 323, 16, with reference to this tomb only. Perhaps Semitic Gurel is meant?

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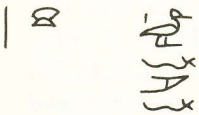
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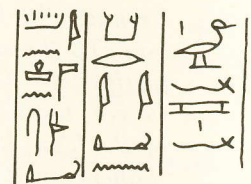
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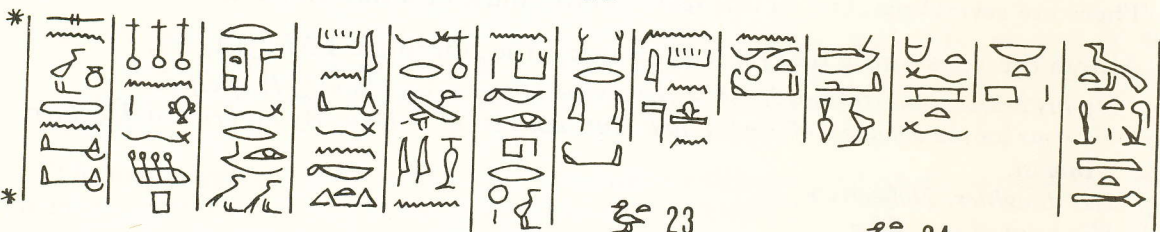
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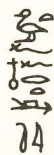
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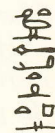
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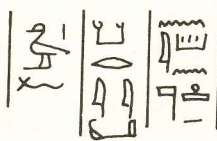
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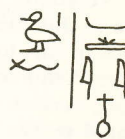
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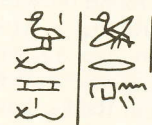
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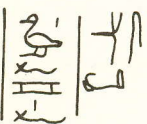
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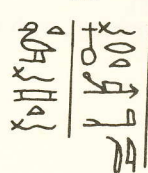
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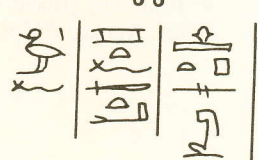


FIG. 2

Above the couple being offered to by their daughter at the festival banquet.³¹ PM (3) II [right], fig. 10.

22. *The gardener of the divine offerings of Amūn, Nakht, justified; his beloved wife, the mistress of the house, Tahemt, justified. 'To your ka! Spend a happy day, you praised by Amūn. May he cause you to come and go to his temple to behold the beauty of his face, and to receive cakes from what his ka gives on the occasion of every feast in heaven and on earth.'* (Said) by his beloved daughter, 'Aḥmosi.

Next to children by chairs.

23. *His daughter, Nofretwari.*
24. *Her daughter, 'Athotpes.*

The daughters are here shown as children, whereas in the previous scene (inscriptions 11-12) they were adult women.

Above the sons and daughters in the lower register of the banquet.

25. *His son, the gardener of the divine offerings of Amūn, Kha.*
26. *His son Huynufer.*
27. *His beloved son, Parehny.*
28. *His beloved son, User.*
29. *His beloved son, Amūnerneheh.*
30. *His beloved daughter, 'Aḥmosi.*
31. *His beloved daughter, Neḥemtyar, justified.*
32. *His beloved daughter, Nofretwari.*
33. *His beloved daughter, 'Athotpes.*

Inscriptions in the gardening scene, reading from left to right. PM (3) III [lower left].

34. *The gardener [of] the divine [offerings of] A[mūn], Nakht.*
35. As 34, but complete.
36. As 35.
37. *Strolling . . . Amūn, Nakht.*

Above the Nine Friends on the right wall. PM (5) IV [right].

38. *The funeral procession, the trustworthy dignitaries (and) all the people he loves in Thebes.*

At the Opening of the Mouth. PM (5) IV [left].

39. *Opening the mouth and the eyes of Osiris Nakht.*
40. *Recitation by the lector priest. The sem priest. Taking the instrument.*³²

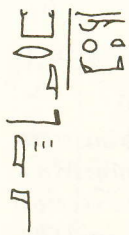
Above the sem priest presenting an offering list to the couple. PM (5) [right], fig. 11 [upper].

41. *Making an offering which the king gives twice pure to Osiris and to his divine Ennead that they may give an invocation offering of bread, beer, cattle, fowl, linen, incense, unguent and all good and pure things to the ka of Nakht, justified (and) the mistress of the house, Tahemt.*

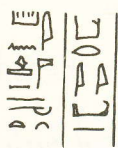
³¹ Cf. Schott, *Das schöne Fest*, 64 ff., and for a translation of the text, p. 123 (Inscr. 119).

³² Cf. E. Otto, *Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual* (Wiesbaden, 1960), 80 ff. (scene 26).

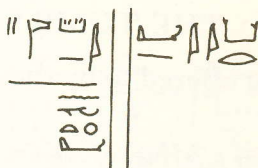
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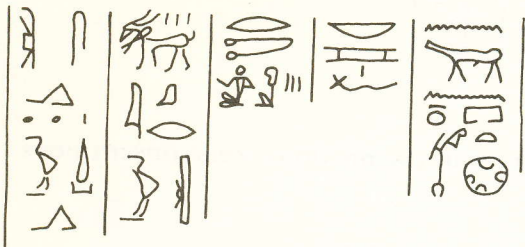
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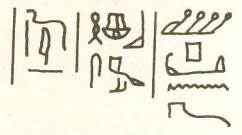
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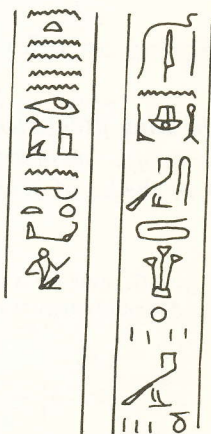
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[illegible]

44



43



42



FIG. 3

The tracing (fig. 11 [upper]) has 𓆎 for 𓆏. The hand-copy has ① for ②. The offering list includes the following items:

Water, ḥꜥ-bread, psn-bread, dpti-bread, meat, roast, wine, beer, špnty-bowl of water, jug of honey, bowl of water, northern wine, roast, meat, meat, cake, 'halved' cake, bowl of water, libation and censuring.

𓆎 𓆏 in the top right corner of the list is an instruction to the person reciting.³³

The couple is identified as *the gardener of the divine offerings of Amūn, Nakht. The mistress of the house, Taḥemt.*

Above the rites performed in front of the mummy and the statue, reading from left to right. PM (5), fig. 11 [middle].

42. *Recitation by the lector priest. The sem-priest. Bringing to enter the haunch set aside in front of Osiris, the bearer of floral offerings to Amūn, Nakht, justified.*³⁴
43. *Recitation by the lector priest, The sem-priest. Walking round behind four times with the four nmst-jars of water for Osiris Nakht.*

Although the hand-copy gives *three jars* the tracing correctly has 'four jars'.³⁵

44. *Recitation by the lector priest. The sem-priest. Taking the instrument of Anubis. Opening the mouth and eyes of Osiris Nakht, justified.*³⁶
45. *Recitation by the lector priest. The sem-priest. Walking round behind four times with the four dšrt-jars of water (for) Osiris Nakht.*³⁷
46. *Recitation by the lector priest. The sem-priest. Taking the 'great magic'. Opening the mouth and eyes of Osiris Nakht.*³⁸

Inscriptions accompanying the voyage to Abydos, reading from left to right. PM (5) 11, fig. 11 [lower]-12 [upper].

47. *Sailing in peace for Abydos to follow Wennufer in W-Pkr among the dignitaries . . .*

Part of the inscriptions in this register, and an entire boat, were destroyed when Hay visited the tomb (cf. MS 29822, 94). The missing portions were restored by Baud for the model in Brussels. The remaining boat was reversed to fill the gap, and the end of this text was completed as '*to the ka of the bearer of floral offerings to Amūn, Nakht*', also including the name of the wife.

48. *Coming home in peace from Abydos . . .*

Above one of the boats, next to the shrine of Anubis. PM (5) 11 [right].

49. *Coming home in peace to Anubis to see his beautiful chapel on the occasion of his feast of the Wag Feast. May he cause us to be among the praised ones with the followers of Wennufer as a daily thing every day to the ka of the bearer of offerings to Amūn, Nakht, justified, (and) the mistress of the house, Taḥemt.*

The Wag Feast took place on the seventeenth and eighteenth days of the first month of the inundation season³⁹ and celebrated the voyage to Abydos.⁴⁰

³³ Cf. W. Barta, *Die altägyptische Opferliste* (Berlin, 1963), 111, where this term is mentioned.

³⁴ For a slightly different text to the same scene cf. J. Settgast, *Untersuchungen zu altägyptischen Bestattungsdarstellungen* (Glückstadt-Hamburg-New York, 1963), 103-4.

³⁵ Cf. Otto, op. cit. 37 ff. (scene 2).

³⁶ Ibid. 80 ff. (scene 26).

³⁷ Ibid. 42 ff. (scene 3).

³⁸ Ibid. 84 ff. (scene 27), and 179 (50) with a reference to this tomb.

³⁹ Schott, *Festdaten*, 20, 44-5, 81-2.

⁴⁰ Ibid. 68. For an additional reference cf. my forthcoming article in *Melanges Dr Gamal Moukhtar*, 'The beginning of the festival calendar in the tomb of Neferhotep (No. 50) at Thebes'.

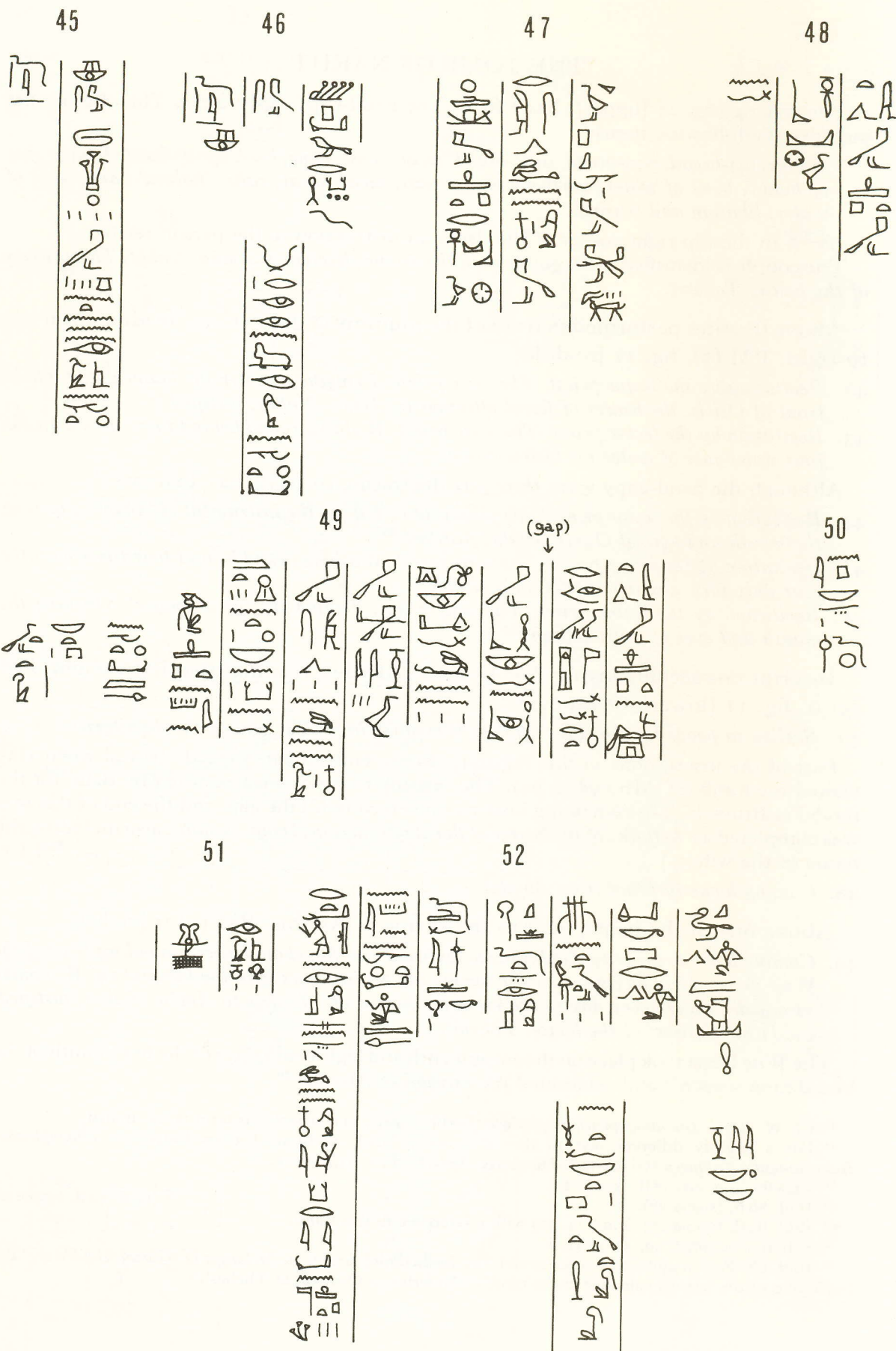
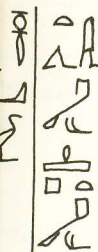


FIG. 4



THE TOMB OF NAKHT

65

In front of Anubis.

50. *Anubis, lord of the bright land.*

Above Osiris. PM (5) 1 [left].

51. *Osiris, who is in Abydos.*

Above Nakht and his wife adoring Osiris.

52. *Giving praise to Osiris. Kissing the ground for Wennufer by the gardener of the divine offerings of Amūn, Nakht, justified. He says, 'Hail to thee, ruler of eternity, Osiris, the first of the Westerners. May you cause me to come and go in the necropolis like all your praised ones.' His wife, the mistress of the house, Tahemt.*

The upper part of the figure of Nakht with the surrounding texts is now in Copenhagen.⁴¹

Above Anubis. PM (5) 11, left.

53. *Anubis, lord of the sacred land.*

Above the couple offering to Anubis (spreading over one of the boats in the Abydos scene) fig. 11 [lower].

54. *Bringing all good and pure herbs to your ka, Anubis, in your house, by the bearer of floral offerings to [Amūn], Nakht, justified. He says, 'I have come unto thee, lord of the sacred land, Anubis, who is in front of his chapel. May thou cause to come and go in the necropolis at the sound of offerings being established, and my corpse to be firm without stumbling⁴² and my ba to be happy in its place every day, and (cause to be) an akh in the sky with Rē, and strong on earth with Geb, and justified with Osiris—to the ka of the bearer of floral offerings to [Amūn], Nakht, justified, (and) his beloved wife, the mistress of the house, Tahemt.'*

In the word *sound*, Hay copied \dagger for \dagger (also in the tracing). Lepsius omitted the sign. The name of Amūn appears to have been erased twice.

Above the Western goddess. PM (5) 111 [left], fig. 12 [middle].

55. *The beautiful West.*

Above the couple adoring the goddess. Ibid.

56. *Bringing all good and pure herbs to your ka, beautiful West, by the gardener [Nakht, justified], (and) his wife, the mistress of the house, Tahemt, [justified].*

The words in square brackets were omitted by Hay in the hand-copy, but they are extant in the tracing.

Inscriptions pertaining to the priest presenting an offering list. PM (6) 11.

57. *Making an offering which the king gives twice pure to Osiris (and) to his divine Ennead, that they may give [an invocation offering consisting of bread, beer, cattle, fowl] and all good and pure herbs as a daily offering every day to the ka of the bearer of floral offerings to Amūn, Nakht (and) the mistress of the house, Tahemt. (By) his beloved son, Huy[nufer].*

In the name of the son Hay copied $\equiv \text{lll}$ for $\equiv \text{lll} \dagger$.

⁴¹ Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek ÆIN 1074: O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des bas-reliefs et peintures égyptiens* (Copenhagen, 1956), no. 67, cf. van de Walle, *CdE* 40 (1965), 40 and fig. 6.

⁴² For this word cf. *Wb.* 111, 32, and for the very same expression in a text from TT 110, cf. *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (London, 1932), pl. 40, l. 8.



The offering list is identical to that of inscription no. 41, except that in the lower row *ibd* and *mw dšrt* have been entered in reverse order, and that in the upper row the amounts of *ht* and *mw* have not been added. The list concludes: *The total of all good and pure things.*

Above the couple.

The gar[dener of the divine offerings of Amūn, bearer of offerings to Amūn], N[akht, justified with the great god.] His beloved favourite wife, praised by Hathor, mistress of the house, Tahemt, justified.

The missing signs, here in square brackets, were restored by Baud, probably correctly. It is the only place where both titles occur together. Tahemt may have been a 'Hathor musician', instead of just being 'praised' by the goddess. But the title occurs nowhere else in the tomb.

Above a couple behind the priest.

58. *His father, the gardener of the divine offerings of [Amūn], Gurer, justified. His beloved favourite wife, mistress of the house, Kay, justified.*

Above a couple below.⁴³

59. *Her father, the gardener of the divine offerings of Amūn, Ro[y, justified. His wife] Bak . . .*

Baud restored the name of the wife as Baky and added 'justified'. The name may, however, have been Bakt. (The third 'column' in the hand-copy is the space where the person's head protrudes.) It is often difficult to ascertain to which person in a scene the suffix pertains, whether it is the largest person in the scene, or the nearest. Roy and Baky may be either the parents of Tahemt, or, just conceivably, the parents of Kay. In any case, the gardening occupation ran in the family.

Above two of the divinities adored by the couple.⁴⁴ PM (6) 1, fig. 13.

60. *Osiris, the foremost of the Westerners, great god who resides in Abydos. The god's wife, Aḥmosi Nofretere.*

Lepsius copied the *r* in the name of the queen.⁴⁵

Above the couple.⁴⁶ Ibid.

61. *Bringing all good and pure herbs to your ka, ruler of eternity, by the bearer of floral offerings to Amūn, Nakht, justified. He says, 'May thou cause me to come and go in the necropolis like all of your praised ones.' His beloved wife, mistress of the house, Tahemt.*

Lepsius added the missing *t* in *nbt* and *wrbt*. In column 2 Hay copied \cup for \cup .

⁴³ Porter and Moss take this couple to be Nakht's parents.

⁴⁴ The tracings by Hay suggest the name of Hathor for the third divinity, cf. fig. 13.

⁴⁵ For the subject of 'Aḥmosi Nofretere as represented in the Theban tombs cf. Manniche in *Acta Orientalia* 40 (1979), 11-19. The bibliographical reference to TT 161 was mistakenly omitted in footnote 4. For the complexion of the queen in this tomb cf. Davies, *The Tomb of Two Sculptors at Thebes* (New York, 1925), 33 n. 1.

⁴⁶ The head of the wife with the surrounding text is now in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, ÆIN 1076, cf. Koefoed-Petersen, op. cit., no. 68; van de Walle, op. cit. 37-40, fig. 4.

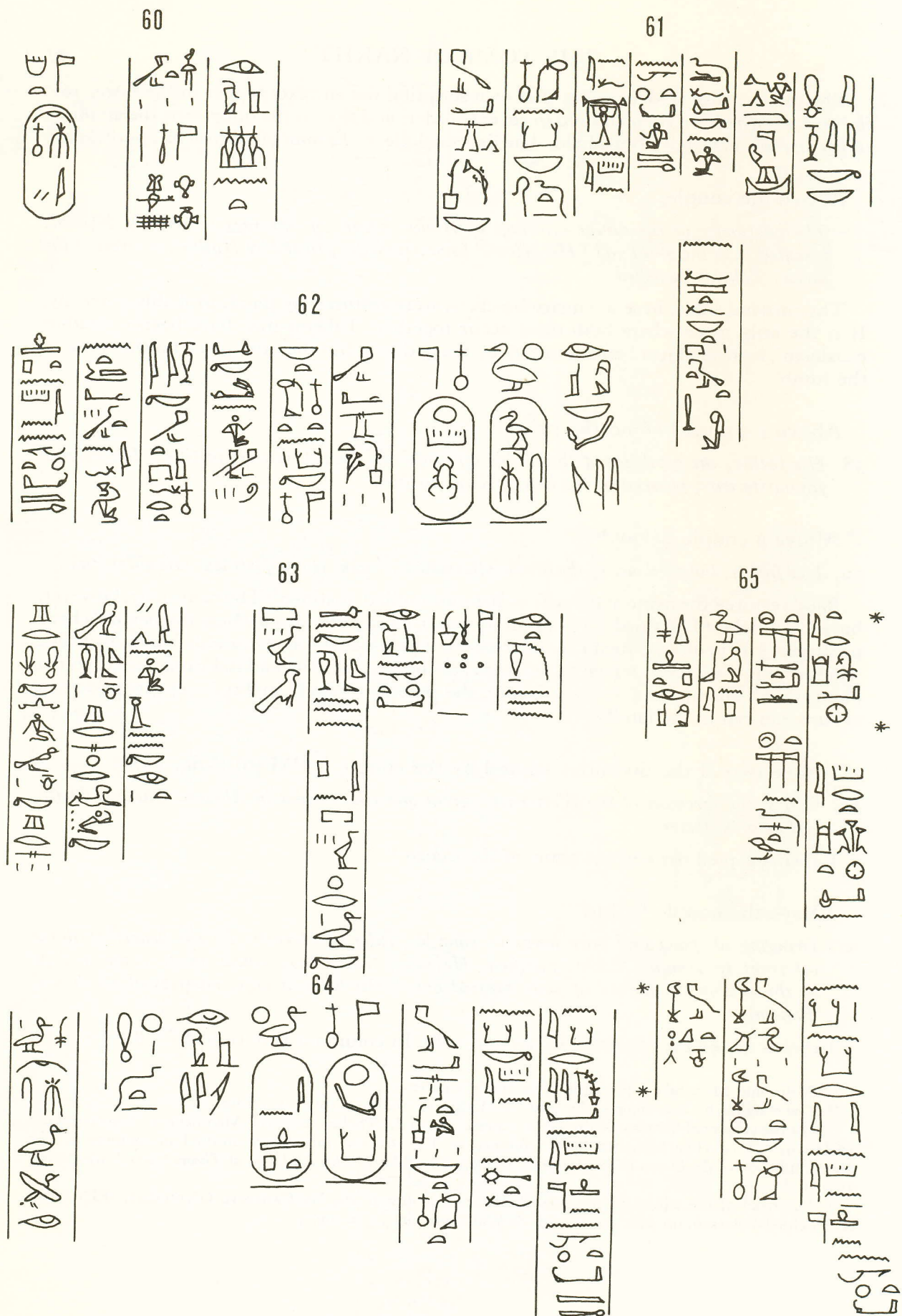


FIG. 6

Above Nakht offering to Tuthmosis III.⁴⁷ PM (7), left [upper].

62. *Bringing all good and pure herbs to your ka, good god. May you cause me to be with them,⁴⁸ those whom you praise in the beautiful place of the righteous. (Said) by the bearer of offerings to Amūn, Nakht, justified.*

Above the king.

The good god, Menkheperre, son of Re, Tuthmosis, beloved of Osiris, the sacred lord.

Above a priest offering. PM (7) [left, lower].

63. *Making libation and censuring . . . to Osiris Nakht. Take for thyself this libation which comes forth from thy son, Horus, which came forth from Horus. I have come to bring to thee the eye of Horus that thy heart may be purified with it. May thy foes be under thy sandals. Mayst thou never be weary of them.*

Above Nakht offering to Amenophis I and Sapair.⁴⁹ PM (7) [right, upper], fig. 8 [right].

64. *Bringing all good and pure herbs to your ka, son of Amūn of his body. (Said) by the gardener of the divine offerings of Amūn, Nakht, justified. The good god, Djeserkare, son of Re, Amenhotep, beloved by Osiris like Re for ever. The king's son, Ahmose Sapair.*

In the name of the prince Lepsius added a stroke after s. Hay traced a t, but then apparently erased it.

Above a priest offering. PM (7) [right, lower].

65. *An offering which the king gives (to) Osiris, Geb, Anubis, the great Ennead and the little Ennead, the Enclave of the south and the Enclave of the north that they may give 1000 mugs of beer, 1000 oxen and birds, 1000 of all good and pure things to the ka of the gardener of the divine offerings of Amūn, Nakht.*

Texts on the false door. PM (7) [right, middle].

66. *An offering which the king gives (to) Osiris who resides in Abydos that he may give [an invocation offering consisting of bread, beer, oxen fowl,] incense, all kinds of offerings, libations, wine, milk, and all good and pure things to the ka of the bearer of offerings to Amūn, Nakht.*

An [offering] which the king [gives] (to) Wennufer, lord of the sacred land, that he may cause to be a spirit in the sky, strong on earth, justified in the necropolis to the ka of the bearer of offerings to Amūn, Nakht, (and) the mistress of the house, Tahemt.

An [offering] which the king gives (to) Anubis, lord of Rosetau, that he may cause to come and go in the necropolis at the sound of offerings being established as a daily offering every day to the ka of the gardener of the divine offerings of Amūn, Nakht, justified.

[An offering which the king gives (to) Anubis] who is in the embalming chamber that he may give a firm corpse which does not stumble, a ba which is happy in all its places to the ka of Nakht, justified.

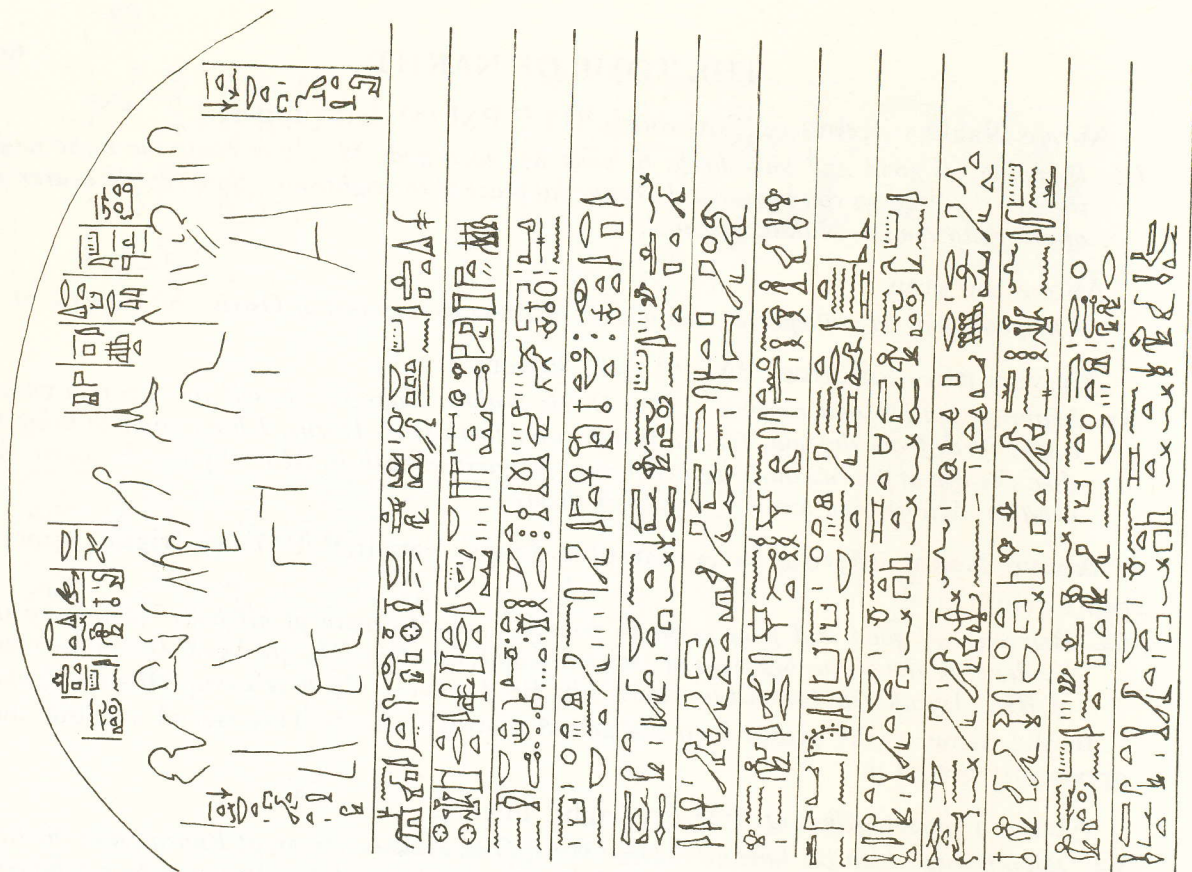
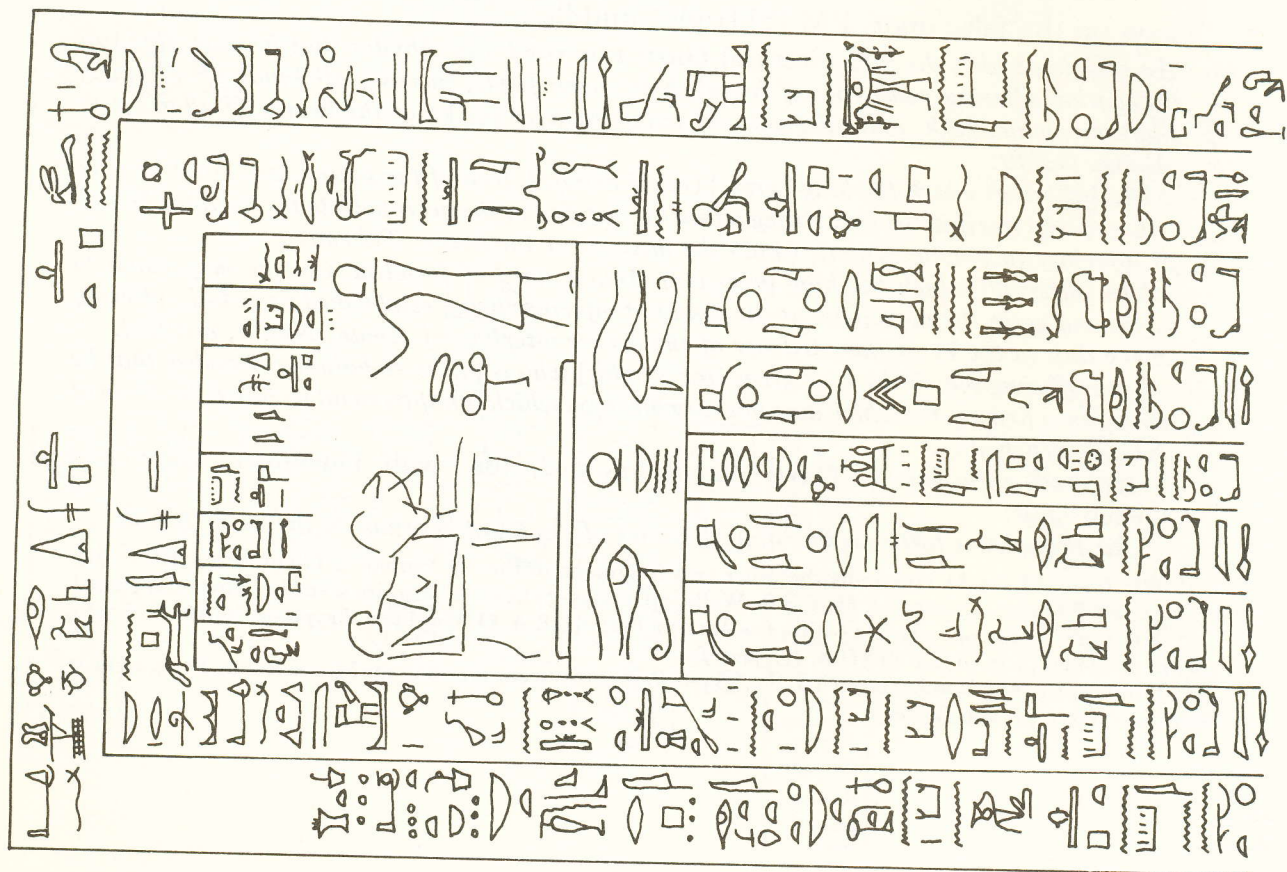
Revered with Imseti, Osiris Nakht, justified; (do. with Duamutef, Hapy and Qebehsenuf).

All that comes forth on the offering tables of Amūn of Karnak to the ka of Nakht.

⁴⁷ The figure of Nakht now joins the other two fragments in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, ÄIN 1075, cf. Koefoed-Petersen, op. cit., no. 66; van de Walle, op. cit. 35-7, fig. 2. The entire scene has now disappeared.

⁴⁸ Although the use of -w is rare before the Armana Period (cf. A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*³, § 34) it occurs elsewhere, e.g. in TT 81 (*Urk.* iv, 54, 10).

⁴⁹ For this prince cf. Vandersleyen in *LÄ* v, 385-6. Part of this scene is now in the Musée Rodin, Paris, cf. id. in *SAK* 10 (1983), pl. xvii [lower].



Above the representation of the couple.

[*Making*] an offering which the king gives . . .

The signs before the name of the son Kha^c are obscure.

The gardener of the divine offerings of Amūn, Nakht, justified. His wife, mistress of the house Tahemt.

Texts on the stela.⁵⁰ PM (7) [*left, middle*].

Accompanying the representation of the couple adoring Osiris.

67. *Wennufer, lord of the sacred*⁵¹ *land. Giving (praise by) the bearer of floral offerings to Amūn, Nakht (and) his wife, mistress of the house, Tahemt.*

Above the couple adoring Anubis.

Anubis who is in front of (his) chapel. Giving (praise by) the gardener of the divine offerings of Amūn, Nakht (and) his wife, mistress of the house, Tahemt.

Main text of the stela.

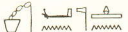
An offering which the king gives (to) Amūn, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands; Rē-Harakhty; Atum, lord of the Two Lands (in) Heliopolis; Osiris, ruler of eternity; Anubis who is in front of his chapel; Hathor who resides in the desert; all the gods of the sacred land; the Southern Enclave; the Northern Enclave; that they may give an invocation offering consisting of bread, beer, oxen, fowl,⁵² alabaster, linen, incense, unguent, all offerings and herbs, a libation of wine and milk and all good and pure things on which a god lives as a daily offering every day to the ka of the bearer of offerings to Amūn, Nakht, justified (and) his wife, mistress of the house, Tahemt. Being a spirit in the sky, strong on earth, being justified in the necropolis, going out as a living ba at the sound⁵³ of offerings being established, smelling the sweet breeze from the north, drinking water from the eddy(?) of the river as a daily offering every day to the ka of the gardener of the divine offerings⁵⁴ of Amūn, Nakht, justified (and) his beloved favourite wife, mistress of the house, Tahemt, justified. Coming and going in Rosetau in order to receive what is given on earth, the ba not being prevented in what it wants, a firm corpse which does not stumble, a ba which is happy in its place every day, (and) a good memory among people as a daily offering every day to the ka of the bearer of floral offerings of Amūn, Nakht, justified (and) his beloved favourite wife, mistress of the house, Tahemt, justified.

These collected inscriptions from the tomb of Nakht may not throw new light on the funerary beliefs of the Egyptians of the New Kingdom. They do emphasize beyond doubt the various guises life in the Hereafter had to offer and the need to attract the attention of the divinities instrumental in the transformations of the dead.

⁵⁰ This text, with present lacunae restored from the publication by Duemichen, was published by A. Hermann, *Die Stelen der thebanischen Felsgräber der 18. Dynastie* (Glückstadt-Hamburg-New York, 1940), 37. In the Hay manuscripts there are two hand-copies of the stela, one by Hay reproduced here (MS 29822, 107), and another (MS 29824, 45, with a sketch of the whole wall on 46) in a different hand, presumably that of Bonomi (in the same manuscript (p. 11) there is a reference to copies by Bonomi being included). Apart from the fact that the latter copy reversed two lines of text there is little difference in the readings of the individual signs. The copies in the Hay manuscripts are preferable to any subsequent ones.

⁵² *spdw* was omitted in Hermann's publication.

⁵³ *ḥ* instead of Hermann's *ḥ*.

⁵⁴  instead of Hermann's suggestion.

Note to the Illustrations

Hay's drawings and tracings are in pencil and not suitable for reproduction as they are. His original hand-copies of the texts have been traced off from prints of the microfilms of the manuscripts. The same technique was employed to produce the plates of line-drawings. Hay used the method of outlining thick lines, resulting in thin double lines where these occur. The space between them has been filled in by me and, adapting the drawing technique of N. de G. Davies, eyebrows and cosmetic lines have also been marked in black. This also applies to certain details in patterns, etc.

The sources for the individual illustrations are as follows:

- Fig. 8 [left] Hay MSS 29851, 45-54.
- Fig. 8 [right] Hay MSS 29853, 175-9.
- Fig. 9 [left] Hay MSS 29851, 75-80.
- Fig. 9 [right] Hay MSS 29851, 35-44.
- Fig. 10 Hay MSS 29851, 55-66.
- Fig. 11 [upper] Hay MSS 29851, 86-8.
- Fig. 11 [middle, left] Hay MSS 29853, 200.
- Fig. 11 [middle, right] Hay MSS 29853, 204-5.
- Fig. 11 [lower] Hay MSS 29851, 27-9.
- Fig. 12 [upper] Hay MSS 29851, 81-5.
- Fig. 12 [middle] Hay MSS 29851, 30-4.
- Fig. 12 [lower] Hay MSS 29851, 67-9.
- Fig. 13 Hay MSS 29851, 6-26.

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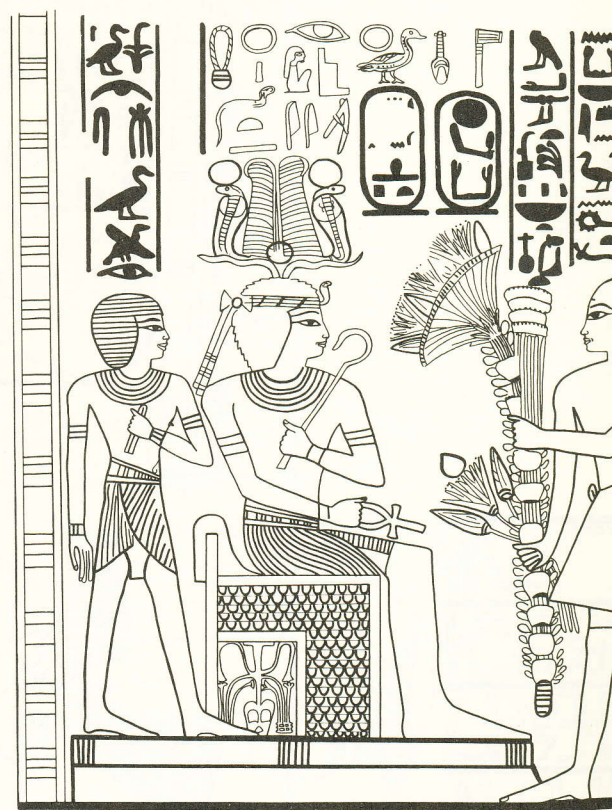
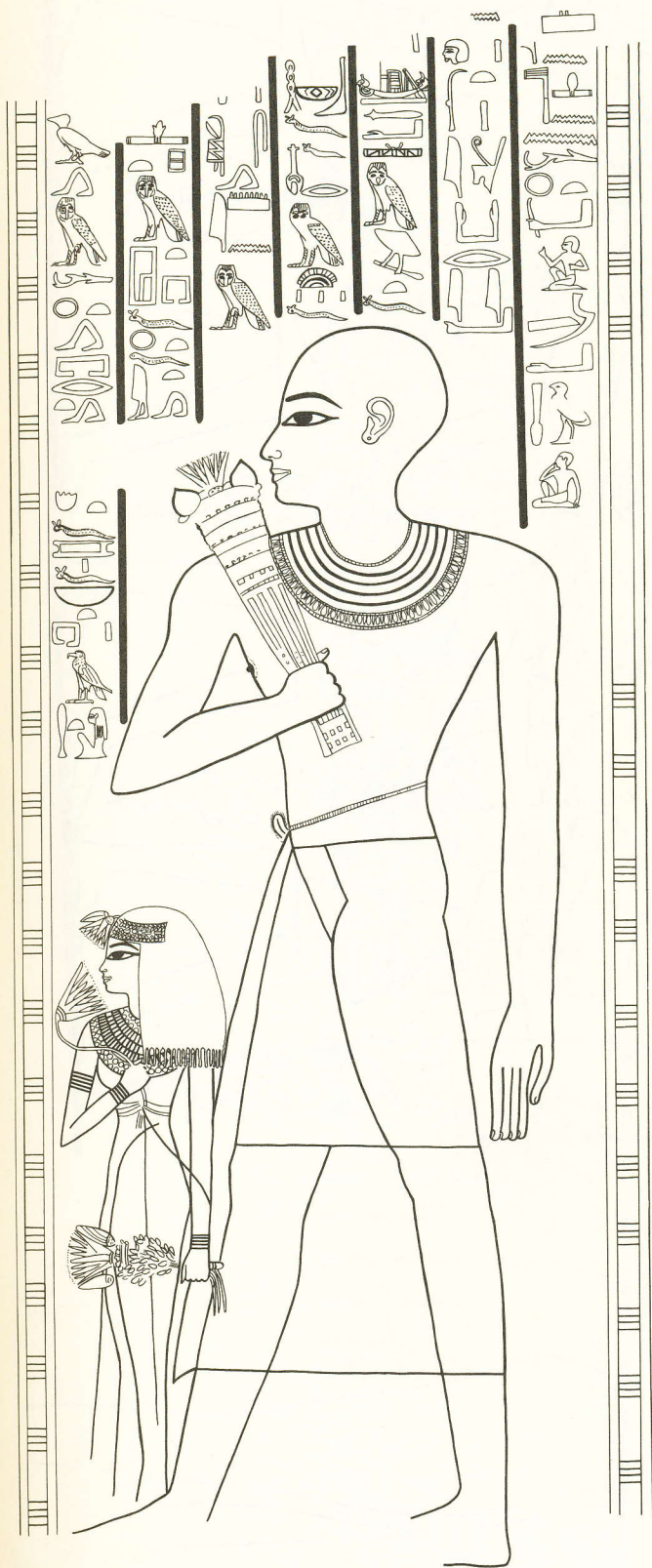


FIG. 8

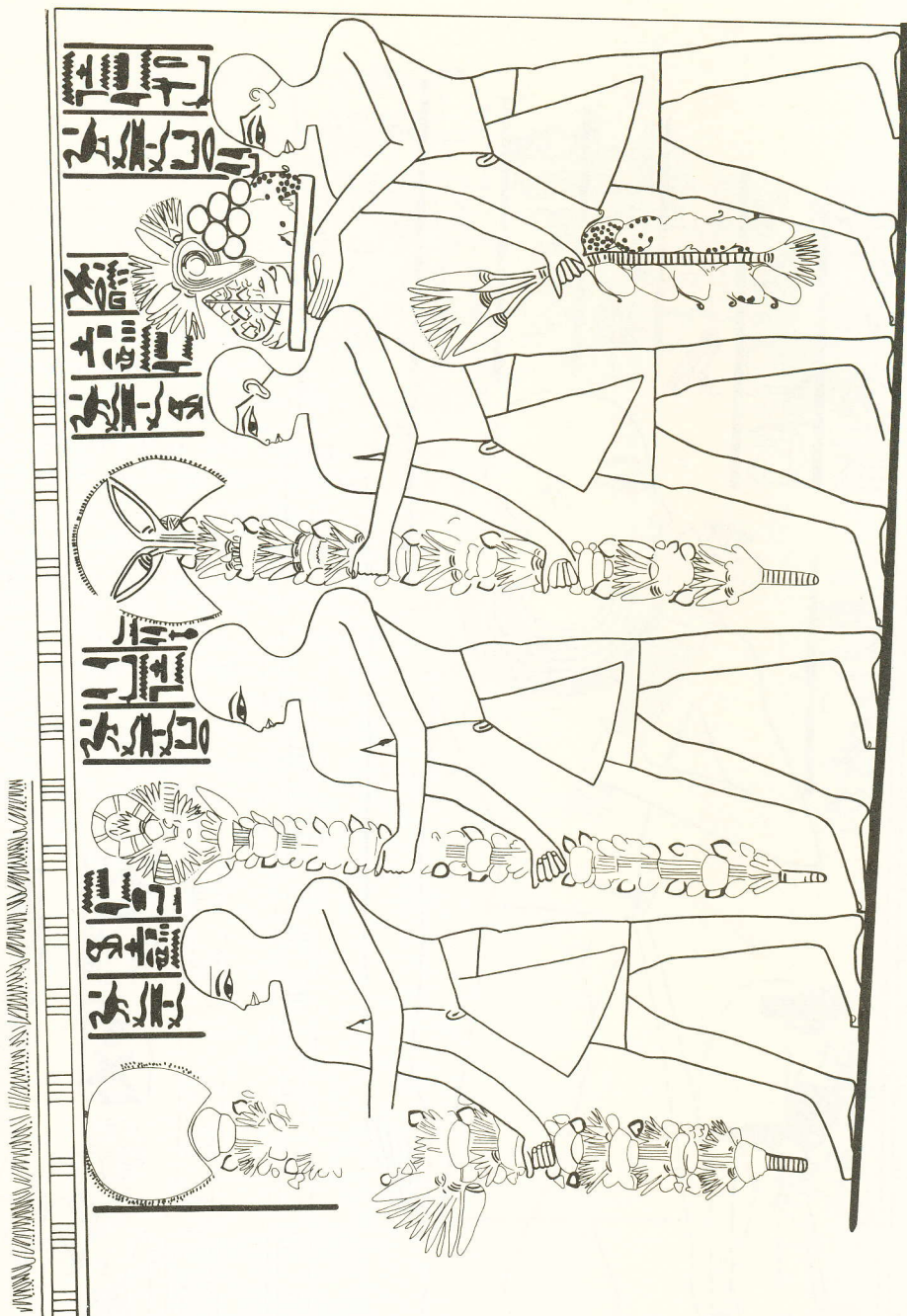
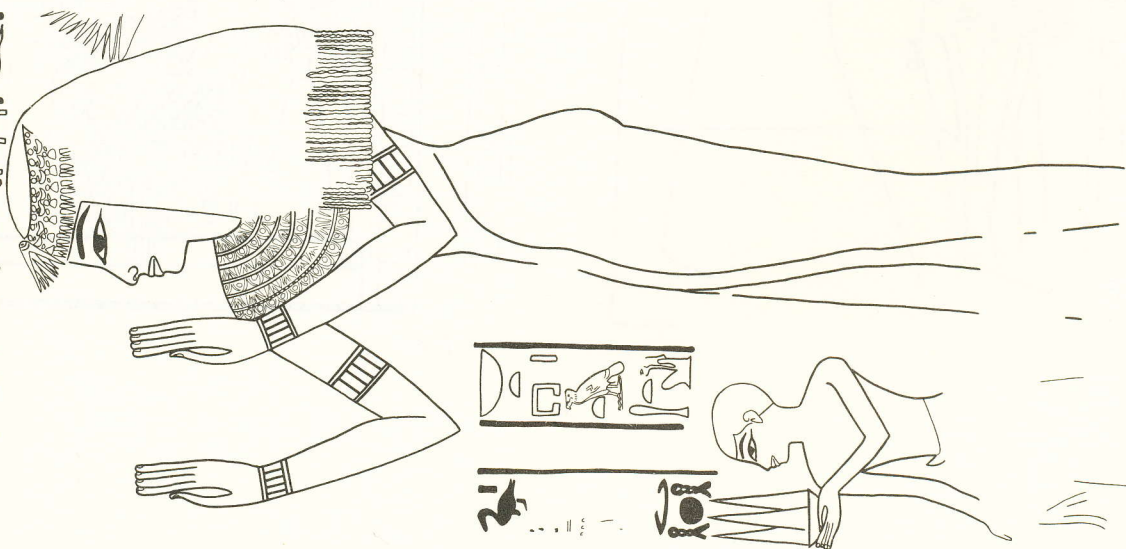
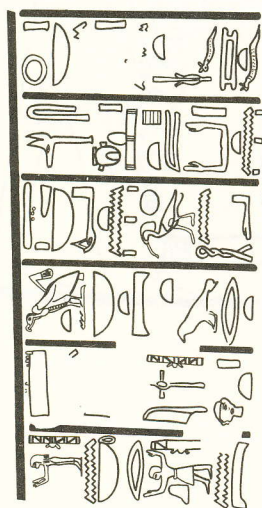


FIG. 9



FIG. 9



FIG. 10

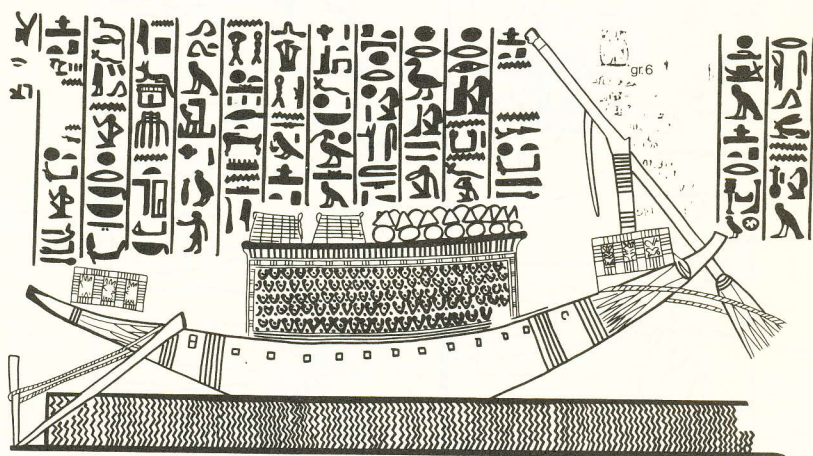
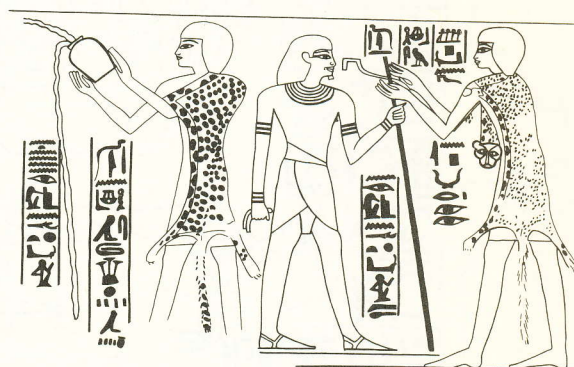
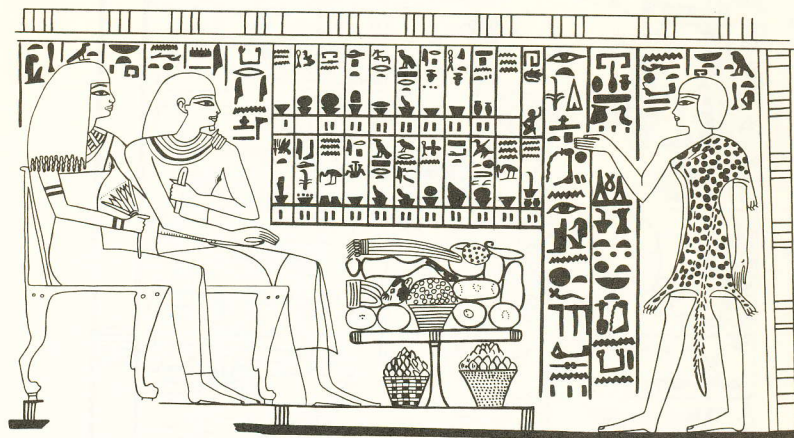


FIG. 11

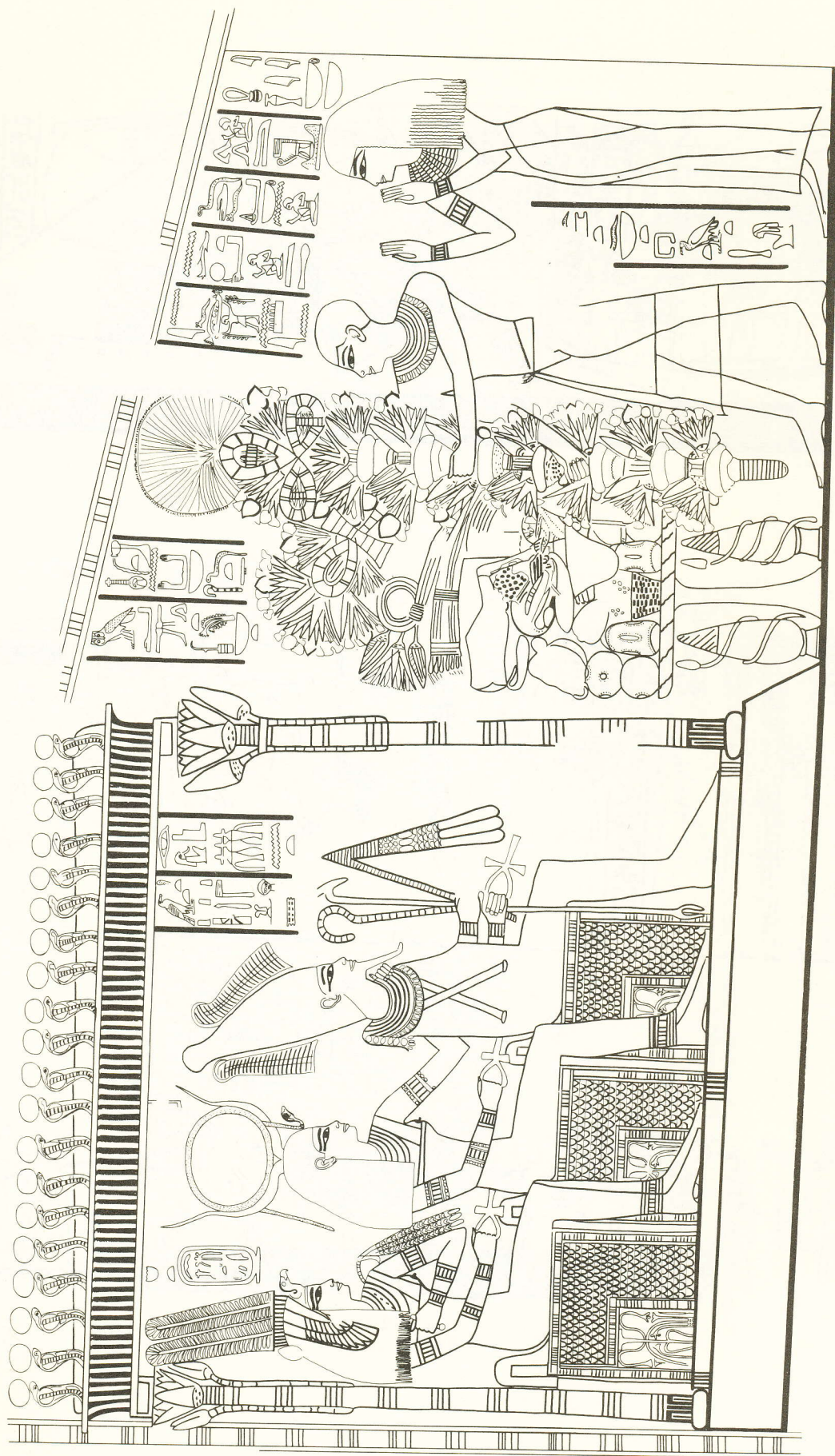


FIG. 13