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THE LIFE

OF

REKHMARA
THE LIFE
OF
REKHMAR

VEZÎR OF UPPER EGYPT UNDER THOTHMES III
AND AMENHETEP II (circa B.C. 1471-1448)
WITH TWENTY-TWO PLATES

By PERCY E. NEWBERRY

Author of
Beni Hasan, El Bersheh, The Amherst Papyri, etc

WESTMINSTER
ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO LTD
2 WHITEHALL GARDENS
1900
TO
MY WIFE
HELENE NEWBERRY,
WHO FOR THREE YEARS WAS MY COMPANION
AT THEBES, THIS VOLUME
IS AFFECTIONATELY
INSCRIBED.


## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Preface</strong></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>I. Introduction—</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Situation of the Tomb</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Previous Work at the Tomb</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The Life and Family History of Rekhmara</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>II. Detailed Description of the Tomb and Explanation of the Scenes and Inscriptions</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Architectural Features and System of Decoration</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. The Scenes and Inscriptions</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. The Vezir's Office and the Inscription detailing his Duties</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Inspection of the Apu or Taxes of Upper Egypt</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Inscription Recounting the Honours of Rekhmara</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Inscription Recording the Installation of Rekhmara into the Vezirate</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Rekhmara and the Members of his Family</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Rekhmara Receives Grain, etc., in the Temple of Amen</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Rekhmara Receives the Petitions of the Poor</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Rekhmara Inspects the Artificers of the Temple</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Rekhmara Inspects the Brickmakers, Sculptors, etc., of the Temple</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Rekhmara Inspects the Provisions of the Divine Offerings</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>List of Plates</strong></td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PREFACE

In publishing a memoir on the great tomb of Rekhmara my object is to give to students and others interested in Egyptian Archaeology and History a faithful record of one of the most important private monuments in Egypt.

All the plates are reductions to a convenient size of tracings in outline of the scenes and inscriptions found in the tomb. They are printed in red in preference to black, not only because that colour was used for outline work by every Egyptian artist, but also because it appears softer, and, to my mind, more pleasing to the eye.

In the letterpress I have confined myself to giving a brief notice of what is known of the life of Rekhmara, together with summaries of the contents of the inscriptions and short explanatory descriptions of the scenes occurring in his tomb. Full translations of the hieroglyphic texts are not given, for such, at present, must of necessity be tentative, and, to be useful, would entail printing very long commentaries.

Those students who possess M. Virey’s Le tombeau de Rekhmara, published in the Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française, may perhaps ask why it is necessary to duplicate copies of an already published tomb. I would in reply pray them to compare the French publication with my own.

The present volume represents about one-third of the paintings and inscriptions in Rekhmara’s tomb, and gives nearly all those dealing with the great vezir’s official career. The scenes relating to Rekhmara’s funeral, and the ceremonies connected therewith, as well as the scenes showing foreigners bringing tribute to the Theban vezir, will be published in facsimile in future volumes.

My friend Professor Spiegelberg gave me much preliminary help in the preparation of the Summary of the inscription detailing the duties of the vezir, and kindly checked my copy with the original at Thebes in 1896; to him, therefore, I wish to express my sincerest thanks.

PERCY E. NEWBERRY

39 PALACE MANSIONS,
KENSINGTON.
THE TOMB OF REKHMARA

I. INTRODUCTION

I. SITUATION OF THE TOMB.

Opposite to the modern town of Luxor, and on the edge of the western desert, there still stands, though in ruinous condition, the temple which Rameses II. built in honour of the Theban god Amen. A short distance behind this temple there rises a limestone hill, called by the Arabs El Gebel Sheikh Abd el Kurneh—the hill of the Sheikh named Abd el Kurneh, a holy man whose ruined brick-constructed tomb is built upon its summit. On the western side many rock-cut tombs have been excavated, but these are for the most part uninscribed, and consequently of little interest. The south-western face, however, is thickly honeycombed with richly painted and inscribed tombs; of these the greater number belong to officials of the famous rulers Hathepсут and Thothmes III. Several of the Vizirs and Chancellors of these monarchs were buried here. Here, too, are still to be seen the last resting-places of many officers of lower rank, including Generals and Governors of Towns and Districts, Superintendents of the Royal Granaries and Storehouses, Overseers of Canals and Fields, as well as of Architects, Scribes, and Priests. Among this wealth of private monuments, one stands out prominently before all the rest. This is the tomb of the famous Rekhmara, the Governor of Thebes and Prime Minister of his illustrious sovereign Thothmes III.

Situated about half way up the hill, this tomb is easily reached from the temple of Rameses II.—generally known as the Ramesseum—by a well-beaten path which threads its way to the north-east, among the many mummy pits sunk in the ground along the desert edge. The entrance is nearly in a line with the axis of the temple, but it is hidden from the view of any one approaching from the plain by the crude brick walls of the house of the Todrus family, which is built immediately in front of it. The visitor, however, can have no difficulty in finding the tomb, even though he be unaccompanied by a dragoman, for all the inhabitants of the Kurneh village know its precise position. It is generally called among the Arabs "el bab khamsā we telātān" (Tomb No. 35), thirty-five being the number given to it by Wilkinson as far back as 1825. At present it is in charge of a guard appointed by the authorities of the Gizeh Museum, and can only be seen on the production of a Government "tourist's ticket."

II. PREVIOUS WORK AT THE TOMB.

Unknown to the members of the great French expedition under Napoleon, the tomb of Rekhmara appears to have been first visited by the explorer Caillioud, who travelled in Egypt and Nubia during the years 1819 to 1822. He has unfortunately left us no description of this historic monument, but from the fact that he copied several of the scenes illustrative of the arts and manners of the ancient Egyptians, it is clear that he recognised the importance of the paintings which have since
made the tomb one of the most famous in the Nile Valley. These copies of Cailliaud were executed in colour and published by him in his Recherches\(^1\) in the year 1831.

In 1825, during a residence of some months at Thebes, Sir Gardner Wilkinson spent much time in copying the mural paintings of the private tombs of the Kurneh necropolis. In a letter of this date which is still extant the tomb of Rekhmara is described by this English Egyptologist as “the most curious of all” that he had seen in Egypt, “more light being thrown by the paintings in it on the ancient civilization of the Nile Valley than any hitherto discovered.” Wilkinson made copies of many of the scenes which he found here, and some of these he used for illustrating his great work on The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians.\(^2\)

Champollion, and his companion Rosellini, both stopped some weeks at Thebes on their way up the Nile in the winter of 1828. They carefully explored the Kurneh necropolis, but only copied a few of the scenes in the private tombs, including some of those in the tomb of Rekhmara.\(^3\) In Champollion’s Notices,\(^4\) the vestibule of this tomb is described, and it seems to have been in much the same condition in 1828 as we find it now, except that the scene of foreigners was in a much better state of preservation. He writes that “les parois C.D.F.” (corresponding to the walls A.C.D. and B.L.M. of my Sketch Plan, p. 22) “n’offrent plus que des débris, en E. était une longue stèle peinte en hiéroglyphes aujourd’hui presque invisible.” Of wall A.B. he says that it is “extrêmement endommagée, on y voit des scènes pastorales ou agricoles, des hommes conduisant bœufs.”

In the summer of 1832, Bonomi, who was then a member of Robert Hay’s staff of artists, made coloured drawings to a small scale of about half the mural paintings in the tomb, and Hay himself executed many outline tracings of the most interesting scenes and groups of figures. The leader of the expedition also made numerous copies of the inscriptions, which permit us to restore much that has since been destroyed. All these drawings, together with a plan of the tomb, are now preserved among the Hay manuscripts in the British Museum.\(^5\)

In the winter of the same year, G.A. Hoskins, an English traveller, made scale drawings\(^6\) of the scene of foreigners in the vestibule, and “a complete section in sixteen large drawings of the long inner chamber.” A part of the scene of foreign tribute, which he describes as “one of the most gorgeous and magnificent paintings that adorn the walls of Thebes,” was published in colour in 1835; but the other drawings, which took him “two months, working several hours a day,” were never reproduced, and I have not been able to trace in whose possession they now are. The state of the paintings was, according to Hoskins, “almost quite fresh,” but the hieroglyphic inscriptions were “very much defaced.” On his second visit to Egypt in 1863,\(^7\) the

\(^1\) The full title of this work is: Recherches sur les Arts et Métiers, les usages de la Vie Civile et Domestique des Anciens Peuples de l’Egypt, de la Nubie et de l’Ethiopie, par F. Cailliaud, recueillis sur les lieux par l’Auteur dans les années 1819 à 1822; Paris, 1831-1837.


\(^3\) J. F. Champollion, Monuments de l’Egypte et de la Nubie; Paris, 1835-45; pls. clxi., clxiv., etc. I. Rosellini, I Monumenti dell’Egitto e della Nubia; Fisa, 1832-44. M.C., pls. iii.-ixiv., etc.

\(^4\) Notices descriptive; Paris, 1844-79; vol. i., pp. 505-510.

\(^5\) Bonomi's drawings are bound up in the Add. MS. 29817. Hay’s tracings may be found in the Add. MSS. 29823 A and 29852 A, and his copies of the inscriptions in Add. MSS. 29822, ff. 68-80, and 29827, ff. 69-76.

\(^6\) Travels in Ethiopia; London, 1885; p. 328.

\(^7\) A Winter in Upper and Lower Egypt; London, 1863.
THE LIFE AND FAMILY HISTORY OF REKhMARA

was received with favour in some quarters, the necessity for another publication of this historic tomb was at once obvious to all serious Egyptologists. It will be enough to mention in passing that M. Virey made no attempt to copy some of the most important scenes, and that his copy of the long inscription detailing the duties of the Vizir was so inaccurate that he actually translated it from the wrong end without detecting his error. From Virey's copy, M. E. Revillout attempted a study of this important text, but the material at his disposal hardly allowed of any very satisfactory result.

III. THE LIFE AND FAMILY HISTORY OF REKhMARA.

Rekhmara, "Knowing as Ra," was the scion of an ancient family of nobles, several members of which had occupied the most important administrative positions in Upper Egypt. His paternal great-grandfather, Aahmeb, and his paternal grandfather, Aa-ma-thu, had both held the vizeirate of Upper Egypt and the governorship of Thebes under Thothmes I. (7), Thothmes II., and Hatchepsut. His paternal uncle User filled the same high office from the twenty-first to the twenty-eighth year of the

Fasc. Le Tombeau de Rekhmara, par Ph. Virey; Paris, 1889. (Ministère de l'instruction publique et des Beaux-arts.)

The authorities for the connecting links and the following statements are given in the notes to the Genealogical Table, p. 16.

(7) Under Thothmes II., we have recorded a vizir of Upper Egypt named Hapuashy, who was not a member of Rekhmara's family, but, as I have shown elsewhere (Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., vol. xxii., p. 31), there is reason to believe that he only held this exalted office for a very short time, perhaps only for a few weeks or days.

(8) An inscription of this date names User as vizir at that time, but this does not, of course, prove that he had not been the chief minister for some months or years previously. The same remark applies to Rekhmara, for the

explorer found the paintings so defaced that he determined to publish his drawings; but, unfortunately, "the only artist who was able to draw them on stone was too much occupied in other ways to undertake the work." It is interesting to note that Hoskins mentions that in 1863 the vestibule of the tomb was occupied by an Arab family, and that in the inner passage cows and other live stock were stabilized.

Ten years after Hoskins' visit to Thebes came the members of the great Prussian expedition, under Dr. Richard Lepsius. Comparatively speaking, they did very little work among the private tombs. In that of Rekhmara the scenes of the brickmakers and sculptors alone were copied, and in the drawing of the well or pond from which two labourers are represented fetching water for the brickmakers there is a curious inaccuracy. Around the margin of the pond, in the great Prussian publication, are drawn a number of conventional plants, which only existed in the modern draughtsman's imagination.

From the time of Lepsius very little serious work has been done in the tomb. Prieur d'Avennes made a few copies of the best preserved scenes, and Piehl and Schiaparelli, some years later, copied numbers of the inscriptions. Then came M. Virey, who, in 1888, was commissioned by the Mission Française au Caire to facsimile the tomb in its entirety. His copies were published in 1889, in the fifth volume of the Memoirs of the French Archeological Mission at Cairo, and although the work

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1 Published in Lepsius' Denkmäler, Abh. III. bls. 40, 41.
2 Histoire de l'art Égyptien, 1883. The plates of this work are not numbered.
3 Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques recueillies en Europe et en Égypte; Stockholm, 1886; pls. cxiii., cxiv.; text Ph. 92-93.
4 These copies have been made use of by Virey in his publication of Le Tombeau de Rekhmara, p. 106, and cf. p. 131.
5 Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission Archéologique Française au Caire; tome cinquième, 1
reign of Thothmes III, and Rekhmara himself bore these proud titles from the thirty-second year of that great sovereign till his death early in the reign of Amenhetep II. His administration, therefore, covered the period of Egypt's greatest prosperity.

But little is known of Rekhmara's paternal great-grandfather. His name, Aahmes, "Child of Aah" (the Moon god), was a common one at the beginning of the eighteenth dynasty, but there are only two monuments at present known which bear his name. One of these is his tomb at Thebes; the other is the tomb of his grand-nephew User in the Sheikh Abd el Kurneh. His mother, Aah-hetep, "Aah is contented," was probably the wife of some distinguished noble, whose name is unfortunately lost. No royal cartouche is to be found in the tomb-chapel of Aahmes, but it is certain that he must belong to the early part of the reign of Hatshepsut, or to the period immediately preceding her. Among his titles we may note that of hen neter Ma'at, "Priest of Ma'at" (the goddess of Truth), which seems to have been a sacerdotal title closely connected with the vizirate.

Aa-ma-thu, son of Aahmes, succeeded his father in the offices of vizir and governor of Thebes. He appears to have been a famous administrator, and Rekhmara usually prefers to call himself son of Aa-ma-thu, although in reality he was his grandson. In the tomb of Aahmes he is represented offering to his father, and is there named a mer per hes neb, "superintendent of the house of silver," mer sekhur ne Ammen, "librarian of Ammen," and hen neter Ma'at, "priest of Ma'at." Aa-ma-thu's portrait is given in several of his descendants' tomb-chapels at Thebes, and it is found in the cenotaph of User at Gebel Silsileh, where also may be seen the portraits of his wife, Ta-aa-ma-thu, and their children, ten in number. Amenhetep, the second son, a "superintendent of the storehouse of Ammen," was buried near his grandfather at Thebes. Nefer-unen, the third son, attained the position of Uab-priest of Ammen, and Nekht, the fourth son, attained the like rank in the service of the goddess Mut at Karnak. The names of his younger sons and daughters are given in the genealogical table.

User, the eldest child, was elected vizir and governor of Thebes sometime before the end of the twenty-first year of Thothmes III. Of his boyhood we know nothing, but he married at an early age the lady Thua, by whom he had issue thirteen children, six sons and seven daughters. The eldest son, Mery, was evidently trained to succeed his father in the vizirate, for as a child he entered the service of the goddess Ma'at. He probably pre-deceased his father, but before his death had reached the rank of a hen neter Ma'at, "priest of Ma'at." The second son, Sa-menkh, attained to no higher dignity than scribe of Ammen. The third son served Ammen in the temple of Zer-zerui (Dér-el-Bahari). The fourth, named Amenemhat, was an Uab-priest of Ammen; and one of the daughters, Bak by name, entered the service of the Theban god as a musician. At Thebes

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1 See page 30.
2 She was inhabited for some years by Wilkinson, who built a high crude brick wall round its outer court. He also lived in it for several months. It is still known amongst the Karnawi Arabs by the name of Kasr or Begt Wilkinson, "the castle or house of Wilkinson."
3 See page 15.
4 See pl. xvi., etc.

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5 Tombs of Amenhetep, User, and Rekhmara (see pl. xi.).
6 Cenotaph of User at Gebel Silsileh and tomb of Rekhmara (see pl. iv.).
7 Vide supra (p. 13, note 9).
8 It seems that the vestries were always chosen from members of the cult of Ma'at.
there are two tomb-chapels of this User. One, unfinished, has a magnificent façade, and served till lately as the abode of the Arab family of Mustapha Ahmed. It contains some beautiful sculpture, and among other scenes is a representation of Thothmes III., seated in a palanquin and borne in a triumphal procession by his courtiers. It contains also fragments of texts parallel to those published in plates ii., iii., ix. and x. of the present volume. The second tomb-chapel of User\(^1\) at Thebes is situated some fifty feet above the one already mentioned: it was once elaborately painted, though time and the Arabs have destroyed nearly all the walls. User's name occurs as the owner of the tomb, in some fragmentary scenes in the shrine, where also can be deciphered the names of his wife and four of their children. Portraits of User and various members of his family are also found in his cenotaph at Gebel Silsileh, as well as in the tomb of his nephew Rekhmara,\(^2\) and in that of his steward, Amenemhat, at Kurneh. In the tomb-chapel of the latter personage is a stela dated in the twenty-eighth year of Thothmes III., probably the date at which User died. In the Egyptian Museum of the Louvre is a portrait statue of him,\(^3\) while at Thebes and Gebel Silsileh some of his officials are named. His steward, Amenemhat, who has already been mentioned, was a "scribe of the accounts of corn" and an "overseer of the canal-workers." The names of his ancestors and family are given in his tomb, the father, Tahuti, bearing the somewhat rare title of \(\text{mer khesbu,}\) "superintendent of ploughed land." At Gebel Silsileh there is a stela cut in the rock naming Amenemhat and his children; he is also mentioned in the cenotaph of User. On the latter monument we read of two "registrars of the vezir," and the name is given of User's librarian, Neb-dedu.

Rekhmara, the nephew of User, was the eldest child of Aa-ma-thu's third son Neferuben, by a \(\text{nebt per,}\) "lady of the house," named Betau. The father, as we have seen above, held no very exalted position; he was simply an \(\text{Aab-priest of Amen.}\) The parentage of his mother is not recorded, but as she received the title of \(\text{seten kheker,}\) "royal ornament," we may perhaps conclude that she was of aristocratic birth. Of Rekhmara's early years we unfortunately know nothing, but it is evident that he must have received a most careful training, and doubtless, like his uncle and grandfather, he was educated by the priest of the cult of Ma'at. When his name first appears in history (in some accounts of the thirty-second year of Thothmes III.), he had reached the highest position that it was possible for an Egyptian noble to fill: he was already Governor of Thebes and Vizir of Upper Egypt. It is probable that he followed the usual custom of the ancient Egyptians and married while he was yet a young man. The name of his wife, Meryt, occurs in several scenes in his tomb, but no clue is given as to her parents, unless, as may possibly be the case, the Bak and A-tau mentioned in an inscription in the vestibule\(^4\) records the names of her father and mother. The children that she bore her husband were apparently all males, for there are no daughters named in any of the scenes. \(\text{Re-men-kheper-senb, the eldest of their six sons, was a "Scribe of the Divine Offerings of Amen." Amenhetep, the second, was a "divine sahu" and scribe. Amenemhat, the third, filled the important and lucrative office of "Superintendent of the Storehouse of Amen." Of the three youngest sons only the name of one—Usertsen—is preserved. The genealogical table on the next page gives complete references to all the inscriptions mentioning the members of this distinguished family of nobles.}

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\(^1\) He is named here Amen-user, but an inscription in the tomb of his steward, Amenemhat, leaves no doubt as to his identification with the vezir User.

\(^2\) See plate xi.


\(^4\) See p. 34.
# Genealogical Table of the Family of Rekhmara

The numbers refer to the authorities given at the foot of the page; the asterisk (*) before a name denotes a female.

### Contemporary Reigns and Dates

- **Thothmes I. or Thothmes II.**
- **Hatshepsut**

### Thothmes III.

- **21st year**
- **28th year**
- **32nd year**

Also called *Amen-User*.

Vezir and Governor of Thebes.

### Under Thothmes III.

The Vezirs of Lower Egypt were Ptahefs and Thothmes, son of Ptahefs.

### Amenhetep II.

### Amenhetep III.

### Amenhetep IV.

### Rekhmara

Vezir and Governor of Thebes

- **Mery**
- **Amenhetep**
- **Neb-ant**
- **Aahmes**

Four other children

(Names destroyed)

### Ra-men-kheper-Senb

Scribe of the divine offerings of Amen

### Amenhetep

### Amenemhat

Superintendent of the storehouse of Amen

### Usersen

Scribe of the divine offerings of Amen

(Names destroyed)

Rekhmara’s successor in the vizirate was Amenemhat.
In the inscription of the stela which gives Rekhmara's address to posterity he calls himself "a noble second only to the king," and his numerous titles prove that this was not an empty boast of the autobiographer. Of the many important civil offices which he held, one stands out prominently before all the rest—he was the sat or Prime Minister of the king. This title I have throughout the present volume translated by the Eastern word Vezir, which means "the chief Minister of State under a prince." The history of the Egyptian title is interesting. The word itself is derived from sau, "a man," and seems originally to have meant "the man par excellence," in contradistinction to the sovereign, who was the neter or god. From the earliest period of Egyptian history the office of Vezir was the most popular and perhaps the most coveted position that a commoner could hold. In the Fourth Dynasty relationship with the king generally led to the choice, just as in Old Japan the Emperor's son was usually chosen Prime Minister. In somewhat later times the sat was selected from the rekhet, "king's friends," and in times of great national emergency any man celebrated for wisdom and discretion, no matter to what rank he belonged, was generally appointed. Several instances are recorded of Egyptian sovereigns marrying their Vezirs' sisters or daughters, and there is reason to believe that on more than one occasion the found-

ers of dynasties were Vezirs who had succeeded in usurping the throne of their lawful ruler.

Up to the time of Thothmes III. there appears to have been but one Vezir appointed to look after the administration of the whole country from the cataract of Assuan to the Mediterranean. Early in that reign, however, the government was decentralized,

1 Vide pl. vi., i. 8.

2 I have not been able to find any evidence of two Vezirs holding office at the same time prior to this reign, and a comparison of the titles of officers under the earlier Kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty with those of officers of the latter half of the reign of Thothmes III. has led me to the above conclusion. At the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty there are several references to the two Vezirs. (Cf. Tomb of Neferhetep at Thebes, also A.Z., xxxiii., 24, and for a later period Tisch Hieroglyphic Papyri, xiii., fragment 45.)
two Vezirs were appointed, the seats of their respective governments being Thebes in the south and Memphis in the north. The boundary between these two political divisions was a short distance to the north of Siut, for that place seems to have been included within the administration of the vezirate of Upper Egypt. In the important scene of taxation (pls. v. and vi.) the names of the towns of the southern division are given, and these permit us to restore a map of the country between Assuan and Siut at the time of Rekhmara (see the map on previous page). Some of the place-names mentioned in this scene, however, are not found in any other inscriptions, and it is impossible for us as yet to fix with any certainty their exact position. For the efficient administration of this populous tract of fertile country Rekhmara was directly responsible to his sovereign.

_Ex officio_, in virtue of his position of Vezir, Rekhmara was _mer net_, "Governor of the Royal Town" (Thebes), and _ta_, "Chief Justice." The latter title is found in Egyptian inscriptions of all periods, but it has only lately been explained. The hieroglyph, it should be noted, is a word sign for _ta_, and signifies primarily "a gate," or perhaps more correctly "the gate of justice," for the sign is generally surmounted by a cornice of uraei. Erman long ago remarked that the Egyptians of all ages preferred to speak of the government buildings rather than of the ruler. "The Palace," "the King's House," "the Great Double Hall," and above all "the Great House" (_per á a, "pharaoh"_), are the usual appellatives for king. So it seems that the Chief Justice (who no doubt in the most primitive times was also the king) was called "the gate of justice." The reason of this is not far to seek. Amongst Eastern peoples generally the gate of a town is the place of concourse, of business, and especially of justice. In Patriarchal times the chief "went out to the gate of the city, and there, after preparing his seat in the street," discharged his duties amid the respectful salutations of the princes, nobles, and elders.¹ So it was that Boaz went up to "the gate of the city and sat him down there"; he then took ten men of the "elders of the city," bade them sit down by him and there discuss the case of Naomi.² In Deuteronomy xvi. 18 we read:— "Judges and officers shalt thou make thee in all thy gates which the Lord thy God giveth thee throughout thy tribes." In the _Iliad_ also it is stated that the Trojan elders assembled in the gates of their towns to determine causes, and Vergil represents Dido as dispensing justice at the gates of a temple. In somewhat later times it is from the door of the King's or Judge's house that judgments were delivered. "Grudge not one against another, lest ye be condemned: behold, the judge standeth before the door."³ The custom of giving judgments from the gate of a city or from the door of the ruler's house prevails in many Eastern countries to the present day. In the Kingdom of Morocco the courts of justice are held in the gates of the capital, while in the Kingdom of the Wanyoro of Central Africa it is the custom for petitioners to kneel down before the king's door "at a distance of ten paces to set forth their requests and receive the king's decisions."

If we may believe the statements concerning the virtues of Rekhmara, he possessed all the good qualities of an upright and honest judge. He tells us that he did not "lean to one side more than to the other side," nor "weigh the truth for exchange";⁴ and further, that he never accepted "a bribe."⁵ He was patient with witnesses, "keen in deliberating," and "not passionate."⁶ He was learned in the law—"carried the law of the king in his hand"⁷—

¹ _Job_ xxix. 7-10. ² _Ruth_ iv. 2. ³ _James_ v. 9.
⁴ _Pl._ viii., l. 37. ⁵ _Pl._ viii., l. 25. ⁶ _Pl._ viii., l. 36.
⁷ _Pl._ viii., l. 37.
⁸ _Pl._ viii., l. 34: the original will permit of the restoration [hepu] _ne seten em fet-á_.

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18

THE TOMB OF REKHMARA
and always discerned clearly what was the right thing to be done. He merely remonstrated with those who opposed against the law through ignorance, but wilful wrongdoers he imprisoned. He tells us that he kept a careful eye upon the dictates of his conscience, and set up truth as his guiding star. Educated in the service of the goddess Ma’at, it was his aim “to raise up truth to the heights of heaven, and to circulate her beauties over the breadth of the earth.” In order that the poor and oppressed might have free access to him, it was his custom to walk abroad in the early morning, accompanied only by a few servants and scribes, so that he might listen to their grievances: no one who so approached him was repulsed, and there were no tearful eyes among his petitioners. “I judged the weak,” he says, “with the strong, I protected those who were weak, and I punished the evildoers and violent persons, . . . . I encouraged the tearful and helpless, I supported the widow without a husband, and established the son in the inheritance of his father.”

Besides his duties as Vezir of Upper Egypt, Governor of Thebes, and Chief Justice, Rekhmara had much other onerous work to attend to. As mer per ne Amen, “Steward of the Temple of Amen,” he had to supervise and manage the vast estates and numerous buildings belonging to the great Theban god. It is curious that he does not appear to have held any position connected with the priesthood of the temple; he was only concerned with the civil administration of its huge estates. First, as kherp kat nebt ne Amen em Ayet,

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1 Pl. vii., l. 2. 2 Pl. viii., l. 33. 3 Pl. viii., l. 33. 4 Pl. vii., l. 10. 5 Pl. vii., l. 19. 6 Pl. xv. 7 Pl. iv., l. 5, 6. 8 Pl. vii., l. 29, 21. 9 Pl. vii., l. 3. 10 Vezirs of Upper Egypt were also often High Priests of Amen, but curiously enough the only religious titles borne by Rekhmara are connected with the cults of Ma’at and Ptah. This is the more remarkable when we read that he made regulations for the priests and guided the Unb-priests in their affaires.” (Pl. xvi., l. 6, 6.)

“Regulator of all the work of Amen in Karnak,” he had to inspect the buildings and the work of the sculptors, stone-masons, and brickmakers. He had also to supervise the work of the numerous artificers, such as that of the metal workers, carpenters and wood carvers, and even of the leather workers and beadmakers. Not only had he to inspect all this; he had also to give to each man his instructions and to guide the unskilful. As her sesketa, “Chief of the Secrets,” it was his duty to receive the grain, honey, wine, and other stores for the Treasury of the temple, and to see that the provisions, etc., for the priests and officials were properly kept under seal.

Another important duty that Rekhmara had to perform was connected with the Stewardship of Amen. During the foreign expeditions of Thothmes III. many thousands of prisoners were captured by the Egyptian commanders and sent as slaves to work for the god at Thebes. Here they were lodged in the State prison, and a mutilated scene shows Rekhmara inspecting them and giving instructions concerning their proper maintenance. The commoner prisoners were forced to labour in the fields, others were trained to attend to their Egyptian masters’ personal wants, while the women-folk and children of the vassal princes were kept in the ara’ attached to the temple, to serve as hostages for the good behaviour of their fathers or relatives. Occasionally the vassal princes themselves paid a visit to the capital, in order that they might present gifts to their powerful conqueror, but they do not seem to have been received by him in person. The Vezir was deputed to receive them, and one of the most
interesting scenes in Rekhmara's tomb shows him accompanied by courtiers receiving the foreigners in audience.

Notwithstanding the multitudinous duties which must have devolved on the shoulders of the Vezir, Rekhmara found time to personally superintend his own private estates, and several scenes show him inspecting the work of his fields, examining his herds of cattle, as well as supervising the vintage in his vineyard and the culture of plants in his garden. When the cares of the State and his own personal affairs permitted, he would go out into the desert and, accompanied by his huntmen and hounds, divert his mind by the pleasures of the chase, or, accompanied by his wife and children, go out in his canoe to the swamps and amuse himself by harpooning great fish and hippopotami.

On the death of the sovereign whom he had served so well the Vezir embarked on one of the vessels of the royal fleet, and, with the other officers of State, sailed down the river to Hat-sekhem (Hu), where the heir of the throne (Amenhetep II.) was at the time residing. A very interesting scene shows the veteran statesman going to pay his homage to the young king, in order to present him with the royal insignia. Very shortly after this event Rekhmara seems either to have died or been dismissed from his exalted office, and the royal favours which had been so lavishly bestowed upon his ancestors and himself were transferred to a member of another family. Conscious of having acted honourably during his long life, he is proud to record that "he left no bad deeds behind him";1 and that accordingly, when his acts should be weighed in the balance by the Almighty Judge, he would be found "triumphant before the gods."  

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1 Pl. vii., l. 18.  2 Pl. vii., l. 23.
II. DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF THE TOMB

AND

EXPLANATION OF THE SCENES AND INSCRIPTIONS

A. ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES AND SYSTEM OF DECORATION.

(PLATE I.)

The tomb is excavated in a good stratum of the limestone rock of the Gebel Shekh Abd el Kurneh, and consists of six distinct parts. The slope of the hill has been cut back several yards so as to form an imposing

(1) Façade with a level platform or court in front. Where the rock was uneven above the doorway, a wall of stones has been raised, partly to protect the entrance to the tomb from débris falling from above, and partly to give the façade a more finished appearance. The wall was probably originally covered with a coating of plaster and painted,¹ but in its present state it is entirely devoid of any architectural or other ornamentation. In the centre of the façade a plain doorway 9 feet 6 inches high by 4 feet 6½ inches broad (the thickness of the wall being 8 feet) has been cut, which gives entrance to

(2) The vestibule. This is a rectangular chamber, measuring 67 feet 10 inches long by 7 feet 8 inches wide. The ceiling here is flat, and the height of the chamber about 11 feet. In the centre opposite to the entrance to the tomb an opening has been cut which forms a
doorsway, emphasized by jambs and lintel (raised about 1½ inches from the surface of the wall). This opening leads to

(3) The long narrow passage with curiously sloping ceiling. It measures 88 feet 5 inches long by 6 feet 10 inches broad, and the ceiling, which at the doorway is 9 feet 6 inches high, slopes upwards to the inner end, where it is exactly 25 feet high. At the end of this passage is

(4) A small shrine cut in the rock, 18 feet 5 inches above the level of the passage floor; it is consequently inaccessible to the visitor. It probably contained a statue of Rekhmara, and was closed by a granite false-door, which was removed from the tomb by Champollion, and is now preserved in the Museum of the Louvre. This little shrine measures 4 feet 6 inches deep by 3 feet broad, and it is 5 feet 2 inches in height. In the floor of the long narrow passage have been cut

(5) Two vertical shafts, which lead to

(6) The sarcophagi chambers. These were both opened by the officials of the Gizeh Museum in 1894, and I am told that they were each about 16 feet in depth. No remains of any kind were found in them.

With the exception of some incised hieroglyphs upon the lintel and jambs of the doorway to the long narrow passage, and upon the false-door at the inner end of the tomb, there is no sculptured ornamentation. The decoration consists entirely of painting applied to the limestone, which had been prepared for its reception by a thin layer of stucco.

¹ I have found evidence of several façades of tombs at Thebes being coated with stucco and painted: the façade of the tomb of Sen-mut (temp. Hatshepsut) was certainly painted, and that of the Vestir User (temp. Thothmes III.) was richly sculptured.
The ceilings of the vestibule and passage were both richly painted, but unfortunately they have suffered much from the effects of smoke, bats and other causes. Longitudinally down the centre of both ceilings is depicted a yellow band (representing a wooden beam) upon which in blue hieroglyphs were various prayers for the benefit of Rekhmara's Ka. On either side of this yellow band the ceilings were decorated with a rosette pattern. The frieze in both vestibule and passage consisted of the Kheker ornament painted red, blue and green. Beneath this, and at the sides of the walls, is the common border of coloured rectangles (red, green, blue and yellow), separated by black lines enclosing a white line. Next the angles is the peculiar diamond pattern found in most Egyptian tombs. The dado, which runs round both chambers, was black (now in places faded to yellow) and is bordered above by bands of red and yellow.

The jambs and lintel of the doorway to the long narrow passage, and the false-door at the inner end of the tomb, are painted pink and red, in order to resemble rose granite; the hieroglyphs upon them are picked out in green. The style of painting is uniform throughout the tomb, and the closest examination of the paintings leads one to believe that but one master artist was employed in their execution. The human figure is always carefully drawn, and the paintings of Rekhmara, Meryt, Betau, and others, are undoubtedly portrait studies. The distinctive types of the foreigners depicted on the left-hand wall of the vestibule are admirably drawn, especially the negroes and the people of Semitic origin from Asia Minor. The quadrupeds, including the giraffe, bear, and hunting hounds, are also delineated with much skill. The hieroglyphs are in most cases given with considerable minuteness; even such small details as the feathering of the birds, the hair of the animals, and the eyelashes of men's faces being rendered with great care.

B. THE SCENES AND INSCRIPTIONS.

1. The Vizir's Office, and the Inscription

Detailing his Duties.

This important scene and the inscription accompanying it are painted upon the outer wall of the vestibule on the left-hand side of the entrance doorway (see Sketch Plan C, p. 22). Both have been traced with great care, and my final copy of the long inscription was checked in the tomb by Dr. Spiegelberg. The hieroglyphs in the original are beautifully painted, and show a considerable amount of detail, but in the plates they are reproduced in outline only. Unhappily both scene and inscription have been much mutilated; the figure of
Rekhmara at the inner end has been entirely erased, and the lower halves of lines 29–36 have been cut away. A flake of stone from the centre of the wall has also fallen and carried with it part of lines 9–15. Fortunately the destroyed part of the scene can be restored from the description of the vezir’s court given in the first two lines of the long inscription, and many of the lacunae in the inscription itself can be filled, in from two parallel texts which I discovered in the tombs of the Vezirs User (who immediately preceded Rekhmara) and Amenemapt (Rekhmara’s successor under Amenhetep II.). The inscription above the erased figure of Rekhmara on plate iv. records that the scene represented “the sitting of the vezir in his divan or audience-hall to hear petitions” presented by the people of Upper Egypt. The audience-hall, called $kha$, is longitudinally in two rows, each column having a palm-leafed capital and a circular, perhaps stone, base. Each column bears the cartouche of the reigning monarch and the name of the vezir. At the inner end of the hall was represented a slightly-raised dais bearing a throne of the ordinary $j$-shape, upon which was seated Rekhmara. He was shown clad in a shenep-garment (the long raiment peculiar to the vezirial office), and immediately before him was spread upon the ground a $hun$-mat. Furs or skins were placed at his back and beneath his feet, and in the right hand he held a $b$-baton. On the vezir’s right stood the mer $akhenut$, “superintendent of the interior” (of the hall), and upon his left the $w$ $h$ $k$ $l$ $t$ $d$ $k$, an officer whose duty it was to attend to “things entering.” In front of the vezir (vide

![Plan of the Vezir's Audience-Hall](image)

here shown to be a rectangular chamber bounded at the back and sides by walls; at the front it is open to the air. The roof is supported by six slender columns arranged

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2 See the plan constructed from the scene on plate iv., with details added from the information given in the hieroglyphic inscription, plate ii.

plate iv.) are spread, upon four mats with fringed edges, the forty parchment rolls (containing the Books of the Law?), and in the aisles on either side are arranged the twenty $uru$ res met, “elders of the Southern Tens,” who may be seen in the second and fourth rows of plate iv. Behind these officials stood the vezir’s scribes, ten a-side and facing one another (rows 1 and 5). The petitioners are depicted
in the third row; they are brought by officers of the court armed with short staves, down the central passage or nave. The space outside the hall is filled by the vizir’s messengers and other officers, and four of the petitioners kiss the ground before an usher.

SUMMARY OF THE VIZIR’S INSCRIPTION (PLATES II., III.).

In the first half of line 1 is given the heading or title of the inscription:—"Instructions concerning the sitting of the Governor of the (royal) city, the Vizir of Thebes, and of the palace in the audience-hall of the vizir, as to everything that the lord (i.e., the vizir) does." Then follow (ll. 1 and 2) instructions for the constitution and arrangement of the vizir’s court, and the text proceeds (ll. 3, 4) to give an account of that officer’s daily duties. He first receives reports from his yput, "messengers," concerning:—(a) the khetem, "sealed store-rooms"; (b) the affairs of the memmen, "garrisons" of the north and south; (c) the per seten, "royal domain"; and (d) the affairs of the mer shent, "superintendent of the courtiers," t’1 the shent, "courtiere," and the mer kherp, "superintendent of the levies" (?). When the above-mentioned reports have been received, the vizir is instructed (l. 5) to enter the palace precincts with his colleague the mer khetem, "Chancellor of the Exchequer" (lit. "Superintendent of the Seal"), in order that they may "pay their respects to" the King. On their return (to the kha, or office?), the mer khetem, "Chancellor of the Exchequer," is ordered (l. 6) to report to the vizir that, "according to the reports of the ārī sekhem, "officers on duty" (?) everywhere in the royal domain is in order. The vizir likewise has to communicate (l. 7) to the mer khetem, "Chancellor of the Exchequer," the reports that he himself has received. Then, after each of the nobles has reported, the vizir shall order all the doors of the royal domain to be opened "so that business may be transacted. In the next eight lines (ll. 9–16) are given rules as to the procedure to be followed (a) in the ārīt or judicial court, and (b) in the court of appeal. Then follow (l. 17) instructions as to petitions concerning agricultural land, and the permitted extent of delays connected with their settlement (l. 18), two months being the limit of time for such as concern Upper and Lower Egypt, although for Thebes and its environs but three days are allowed "according to that which is in the law." The detailed duties of the vizir now begin (l. 19), and each new paragraph is preceded by the emphatic third person singular entef, "it is he who," etc.

1 Concerning the khetetiu ne w, "surveyors of the districts," who are appointed by the vizir, and whose duty it is "to report the affairs of the districts to him." They have also to bring all the aint-per, "census-lists," to be sealed by the vizir (l. 19).

(2) Concerning allotments of irrigated land and disputes relating to boundary stones; all petitions connected therewith are ordered to be "put in writing" (ll. 20, 21).

(3) Concerning every message of the house of the king sent to the mayors and other officials (l. 21).

(4) Concerning the royal "wanderings" (royal progresses?) and military expeditions (ll. 21, 22).

(5) Relating to the appointment of the entef em sertu in Upper and Lower Egypt, in the Tep-res (i.e., Elephantine to Siut) and in Nef-ur (Abydos). These officers are ordered to report to the vizir "everything that happens with them on the first day of every four months"; they must also bring to the vizir "the writings relating to their affairs, together with their auditors" (?) (l. 22).

(6) Concerning "the marshalling of soldiers who attend the king in his journeys up or down river" (l. 23).

(7) Concerning the arrears of taxes in the net-res (Thebes) and in the palace.

(8) . . . .

(9) Concerning the cutting down of trees (l. 24).

(10) Concerning the canals which are under the supervision of the "surveyors of districts."

(11) Concerning the orders to the mayors and other officers regarding "the ploughing of fields in summer time."

(12) Concerning the appointment of the superintendent of the Shentu in the office of the royal domain.

(13) Concerning the grievances of mayors and other officials.

(14) Concerning robberies in the provinces.

(15) Concerning the orders given to soldiers and to the scribes of the temnam.

(16) Concerning the boundaries of the nomes.

(17) Concerning proclamations (?).

(18) Concerning quarrels "when a man comes to words with his brother" (l. 27).

(19) Concerning promotions to the drīt (l. 27).

(20) Concerning the shortcomings of offerings (l. 28).

(21) Concerning the division of tribute among the temples (l. 29).

(22) Concerning "the opening of the house of gold with the superintendent of the seal and the inspection of the tribute" (ll. 30, 31), and other matters connected therewith (l. 32).

(23) Concerning the khetenti kofa āb and the annual inundation (l. 33).

(24) Concerning cargo boats (l. 34).

(25) Concerning the ordering of all the messengers of the royal domain (l. 34).

(26) Relating to the pilots and steersmen of vessels (l. 35).

(27) Concerning the appointment of (?) the door-keepers of the drīt (l. 36).
NOTES ON THE HIEROGLYPHIC TEXT OF PLATES II. AND III.

Some of the hieroglyphic signs being new to science, I give notes upon their colouring and other details. I also add below the important variants which occur in the two parallel texts discovered by me at Gurneh, as well as all possible restorations from those texts. Unfortunately both the texts are much mutilated, but they often serve as a help in deciphering the inscription. B = the text in the tomb of Amenemph (under Amenhetep II); C = that in the tomb of User (first quarter of reign of Thothmes III).

Line.
1. The determinative of the word ēn is evidently some kind of mat. It is coloured pink, with red horizontal lines. The sign before ēr of at the end of the line is coloured white, with red lines.
2. B inserts the preposition thus: kherp cr ēr-cf shesem XL. sesh em baḥ-cf uru res em baḥ-cf mer ḏḥenuti, etc.
3. B reads nēn erdt sedem sic. Restore after the three strokes of the plural.
5. B gives the determinative of sēba not ; cēt urti is also determined by " " .
8. B gives the plural ān and lower down reads erdt sēhum serr neb cm kha, etc.
9. B enables us to restore the whole lacuna: cm de cf su, etc.
(C gives .)
10. B and C both give cm erdt seta cf etc. The restoration was suggested to me by Professor Spiegelberg.
12. C reads etc., and lower down shenyt set ēr es cm, etc.
13. The new sign is coloured blue, with a red dash at the top. B partly restores the lacuna: zat ēr sedem cm kha su, etc. In C the word deba is written .
14. B and C both give upl-cf cm .
16. B gives the plural sign after sedem, so read khētem ne .
16. Restore maq-cf su shemt-cf. At the end of the line C gives for sēhu.
19. The second in entet is restored from B. In C khert is correctly determined with .
20. B reads kher maq entet set, etc. Lower down read ār gert .
21. B perhaps reads better cr sā ār-cf cm and lower down mesebēn upl neb ne per seten . The last sign pēkhēr corresponds to in C, but Rekhmarā's text gives the best reading.
22. Restore ent seta res hā, etc.
23. The certain restoration kḥet was first suggested by Prof. Steindorf. B gives kḥetep Kha cf: kḥetep is curious but correct.
25. B gives entef ār cm kha, etc.
26. B gives the variants for f and for sēkh at the end of the line.
THE LIFE OF REKHMARAA

27. C allows us to restore aekhet ḫ i , (or ]-' i )  n eb, etc., and B preserves the whole sentence lower down, nelef selem andu  e n ef, etc.

28. B gives for the lower part of this line ḫ i , khetem.

29. B gives six signs at the end of the line i (l. 30) ḥ ecyt, etc.

31. B gives en kau neb ár ḫ i .

32. B reads ḫ i in place of ḫ i and follows on semá nef sen ḫ i which I cannot connect with Rekhmara's text.

33. B gives ḫ i which I connect with Rekhmara's text.

34. B gives ḫ i which I connect with Rekhmara's text.

35. At the bottom of the line B enables us to add: ḫ i (l. 36) ḥ ecyt, etc.

2. Inspection of the "Apu" or Taxes of Upper Egypt.

On the inner surface of the walls on either side of the entrance doorway (see Sketch Plan A, B) are two scenes1 showing Rekhmara (whose figure is in each case destroyed) inspecting the taxes which were paid into the office of the Vizir of Thebes by the officials of the administration of the Tep-res or Upper Egypt. Both scenes originally consisted of five rows each, but the lower one on the south side has been entirely destroyed, and only a fragment remains of that on the north side. The fourth row is in both cases also considerably damaged. The inscriptions above the erased figures of Rekhmara explain the import of the scenes. That

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1 Neither Champollion nor Virey noticed the existence of the scene upon the left wall (plate v.). Of that upon the right wall (plate vi.), Virey simply quotes Champollion's words: "Dans la dernière scène, on voit au registre supérieur des hommes qui portent des amanx de métal dans des corbeilles. Le reste n'est guère visible" (Notices, p. 509).
they represented, and then according to their respective rank: the procession, it should be observed, approaches the minister not in single file, but five abreast. Each row was headed by an officer of the vezir, wearing a pointed kilt and holding in his right hand a small staff or rod.

The information given in these two scenes is the first that has been found concerning the taxation of the ancient Egyptians. I therefore give below, in a tabulated form, a complete list of the towns and localities mentioned, as well as the officials concerned in their administration and the taxes which they paid, of course in kind. It is most unfortunate that some of the place-names and titles, especially in the lower rows, should have been destroyed; but a comparison of the titles and names still preserved with those of local officers recorded on other Egyptian monuments permits us to restore at least some of them with a certain degree of probability. In the following list all such conjectural restorations are inserted within square brackets, and in each instance a reference is given to the monument on which such place-name or title occurs.

**SOUTH OF THEBES. (PLATE V.)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town or Locality</th>
<th>Officials</th>
<th>Manufactures, Products, etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Sca-met, Bigesh (garrison)</td>
<td>thesu, “commandant”</td>
<td>neb teben XX, “gold twenty teben.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Row 1, figure 1)</td>
<td>[des] əba nefer, “good leather bands” (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kaf, “apes” (Coropithecus griseo-viridis, Desm.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nesu pat nebes, “skins (?) containing cakes of nebak fruit (?)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nebes khefak X, “ten balls of nebak fruit.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pestr X, “ten bowls.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ḫaddu (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mishesh (?)[dash][dash] XX, “twenty large staves of ocacia-wood.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(town)</td>
<td>(Row 2, figure 1)</td>
<td>Also strings of gold beads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[də]-ašu nefer, “good leather bands” (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[nesu] pat nebes, “skins containing cakes of nebak fruit.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[nebes] khefak, “balls of nebak fruit.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>umet ḫet, “a chest of umet-cloth.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>neb teben VI. [em met] ånu, “gold six teben in tribute blocks (?)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Also silver in rings and strings of gold beads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hebestu pet, “garments.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>semat dat, “a long cloth (?)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>neb teben II, “gold two teben.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hebestu pet, “garments.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>semat dat I, “one long cloth (?)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>umet ḫet, “a chest of umet-cloth.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>neb teben......., “gold.....teben and a string of gold beads.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town or Locality</td>
<td>Officials</td>
<td>Manufactures, Products, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
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<td>------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3. Nubt, Ombos</strong></td>
<td>$u\text{hem}, &quot;registrar&quot;$ (Row 4, figure 1)</td>
<td><em>neb teben II,</em> &quot;gold two teben.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$sek ne $u\text{hem}, &quot;scribe of the registrar&quot;$ (Row 4, figure 2)</td>
<td><em>neb teben...em met ānu,</em> &quot;gold...teben in tribute blocks.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\text{hebett}, &quot;surveyor&quot;$ (Row 3, figure 4)</td>
<td><em>semat ăat,</em> &quot;a long cloth (?).&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>hez-neb teben...[em] met ānu,</em> &quot;silver...teben [in] tribute blocks.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>negu III,</em> &quot;two mature oxen.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>umet âft,</em> &quot;a chest of umet-cloth.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a second $\text{hebett}?$ (Row 3, figure 5)</td>
<td><em>neb teben IV. [em] met ānu,</em> &quot;gold four teben in tribute blocks.&quot;</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4. Tebu, Edfu</strong></td>
<td>$\text{hē}, &quot;mayor&quot;$ (Row 2, figure 2)</td>
<td>gold rings, a string of gold and carnelian beads, and one mature ox.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gold rings and one mature ox.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$sek-hef, &quot;his scribe&quot;$ (Row 2, figure 3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\text{u\text{hem}, &quot;registrar&quot;}$ (Row 1, figure 2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>5. Nekhen, Hieraconpolis</strong></td>
<td>$\text{hē}, &quot;mayor&quot;$ (Row 8, figure 6)</td>
<td><em>neb teben IV,</em> &quot;gold four teben.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Kom el Ahmār)</td>
<td><em>hez-neb teben III,</em> &quot;silver three teben.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>semat ăat III,</em> &quot;three long pieces of cloth (?).&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>negu,</em> &quot;a mature ox.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>heś-su,</em> &quot;a two-year-old ox.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*[blocks].&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>neb teben III. em met ānu,</em> &quot;gold three teben in tribute shāsha [y\text{t} her neb], &quot;strings of beads in gold.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>zu,</em> &quot;zu-cloth.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>umet âft,</em> &quot;a chest of umet-cloth.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>negu III,</em> &quot;two mature oxen.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>6. Nekheb, El Kab</strong></td>
<td>$\text{hē}, &quot;mayor.&quot; Undoubtedly one of the missing figures in row 1, 4, or 5. For the title, cf. Tomb of Paheri at El Kab]</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>7. Per-meriu, Kôm Merch</strong></td>
<td>$\text{hek hek, &quot;sheikh&quot;}$ (Row 2, figure 4)</td>
<td><em>neb teben I,</em> &quot;gold one teben.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>8. Anqet, Esehe (town)</strong></td>
<td>$\text{hek hek, &quot;sheikh&quot;}$ (Row 1, figure 5)</td>
<td>*hez-neb [teben...], &quot;silver...teben.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(islands)</td>
<td><em>neb [teben] VIII,</em> &quot;gold eight teben.&quot;</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town or Locality</td>
<td>Officials.</td>
<td>Manufactures, Products, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Ḡa-mā-āteru, Gebech-Sheikh Musa (cf. Recueil de Trav., x., 153)</td>
<td>uḥem, &quot;registrar&quot; (Row 3, figure 7)</td>
<td>neb teben..., &quot;gold......teben.&quot; héz neb [teben] ½, &quot;silver half a teben.&quot; Also a string of carnelian beads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Ḡau ennt em Tep-ress, the islands of the Tep-ress (i.e., Upper Egypt)</td>
<td>sesh, &quot;scribe&quot; (Row 2, figure 7)</td>
<td>neb teben II, &quot;gold two teben,&quot; and a string of carnelian beads. dū [hek]..., &quot;barley......hekt.&quot; negu II, &quot;two mature oxen.&quot; šet V., &quot;five yearlings.&quot; ḏnḫ thm, &quot;bundles of ḏnḫ-reeds.&quot; mnnu XXX, &quot;thirty pigeons.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Ḡau Khetry (?), the cultivated islands of Khetry (?)</td>
<td>sesh, &quot;scribe&quot; (Row 1, figure 6)</td>
<td>gold, strings of gold beads, a chest of cloth, two two-year-olds, and two yearlings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(district)</td>
<td>sesh ne uḥem, &quot;scribe of the registrar&quot; (Row 1, figure 8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Per-ḥaṭer, Western Thebes (?)</td>
<td>uḥem, &quot;registrar&quot; (Row 4, last figure)</td>
<td>The figure, etc., entirely destroyed.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Read "i" instead of "u" in the plate.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town or Locality</th>
<th>Officials</th>
<th>Manufactures, Products, etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. **Ut her Ab ne net (?) Ut,** within the town *(i.e., Thebes?)* | One officer *(title destroyed)*  
*(Row 1, figure 1)* | *(hez-)* †eben I, "silver one teben."  
†eben III, "gold three teben."  
a string of carnelian beads.  
†umet dft, "a chest of †umet-cloth."  
her sa II, "two two-year-old oxen."  
fet III, "three yearlings." |
| 2. **Re-nef, Kamu-la (?) (district)** | sesh ne u, "scribe of the district"  
*(Row 1, figure 2)* | gold and silver rings, and a string of gold beads.  
†umet dft, "a chest of †umet-cloth."  
bâti, an amphora of "honey."  
ât hekt III, "three hekt of barley."  
[negu II], "two mature oxen."  
her sa III, "three two-year-old oxen."  
fet IV, "four yearlings." |
| 3. **Kesk, Kus** | The title of the first officer is destroyed  
*(Row 4, first of the figures preserved)* | †eben......., "gold......teben."  
hez-neb †eben....... "silver......teben."  
also cattle and honey.  
†eben III, "three teben of gold."  
šaššat her neb, "a string of beads in gold."  
also cloth. |
| 4. **Kebet, Kuit** *(garrison)* *(town)* | *[thesu, "commandant"]*  
âdâ, "mayor." The two titles occur on a stela dated in the reign of Antef V., Petrie, Koptos, pl. viii. In the tomb of Ramenkhapersenb *(temp. Thothmes III.)* at Thebes, two more officials connected with the administration of Kebti are named. These are:—  
herâ mazu ne Kebet, "chief of the police of Kuft," and  
mer Khaset nebâ ne Kebet, "governor of the gold-bearing regions of Kuft"  
kenbeti ne u, "surveyor of the district."  
*(Row 2, figure 1)* | hez-neb †eben....... "silver......teben."  
†eben ½, "gold half a teben."  
âdâ hekt X, "ten hekt of durrrah grain."  
bâti heben, "one heben of honey."  
[âb V], "five calves." |
| 5. **Ant, Dendera** *(town)* | It is curious that the title of no official of the town of Dendera has been preserved  
*(district)* | †eben......., "gold......teben."  
hez-neb †eben......., "silver......teben."  
a string of gold beads.  
âdâ hekt......., "......hekt of durrrah grain."  
ât hekt X, "ten hekt of barley."  
bâti heben, "one heben of honey."  
[negu], "one mature ox."  
[her-ar], "one two-year-old ox."  
âb V, "five calves." |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town or Locality</th>
<th>Officials</th>
<th>Manufactures, Products, etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| | (Row 1, figure 3) | hez-neb ṭeben I. em met āunu, “silver one teben in tribute blocks.”
| | | ku CC, “two hundred cakes of dām-nut bread.”
| | | ta sekhet M., “one thousand loaves of sekhet-bread.”
| | | ūdēn (?) en......
| | | uḥd, “durrah.”
| | | ātā, “barley.”
| | | [ḥatt], five amphora of “honey.”
| | | ten sacks of (?)
| | | [ṭḥemat III, “three bundles of ḏānū-reeds.”
| | | negu, “two mature oxen.”
| | | ḥer-ṣa, “three two-year-old oxen.”
| | | ṣet III, “three yearlings.”
| | | ḏō V., “five calves.”
| | | mennuṭ CCCCC, “five hundred pigeons.”
| | (Row 2, figure 3) | umett ḥṣ, “a chest of umet-cloth.”
| | | bāṭī ṭeben[t], “a hebet of honey.”
| | | ḥer-ṣa I., “one two-year-old ox.”
| | | ṣu I., “one piece (?) of ṣu-cloth.”
| | | and one two-year-old ox (?)
| | (Row 4, second figure preserved) | teb ḫṣt, “one hekt of teb-grain.”
| | | shāṭ ḫṣt, “one hekt of shāṭ-grain.”
| | | uḥḏ ḫṣt, “one hekt of ūdh-grain.”
| | | šuṭ ḫṣt, “one hekt of šuṭ-grain.”
| | | rest ḫṣt III, “three hekats of southern grain.”
| | | also crates of pigeons, and bundles of ḏānū-reeds.
| | | neb ṭeben III, “three teben of gold,” also some silver.
| | uḥem, “registrar” | umet, “umet-cloth.”
| | (Row 2, figure 5) | zu, “zu-cloth.”
| | | bāṭī ṭeben[t], “a hebet of honey.”
| | | ḥer-ṣa I., “one two-year-old ox.”
| | | neb ṭeben I., “one teben of gold.”
| | | ḥer-ṣa III, “three two-year-old oxen.”
| | (district) | rest ḫṣt II, “two hekats of southern grain.”
| | | neb ṭeben I., “one teben of gold.”
| | | šuṣuḫt hèr ṭeben I., “one string of beads in gold.”
| | | [negu II, “two mature oxen.”
| | | āt ḫṣt I, “one hekt of barley.”
| | | neb ṭeben I., “one teben of gold.”
| | | shūṣuḫt ḥer ṭeben I., “one string of beads in gold.”
| | | [negu II, “two mature oxen.”
| | | āt ḫṣt I, “one hekt of barley.”
| | | neb ṭeben I., “one teben of gold.”
| | | shuṣuḫt ḥer ṭeben I., “one string of beads in gold.”
| | | [negu II, “two mature oxen.”
| | | āt ḫṣt I, “one hekt of barley.”
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town or Locality</th>
<th>Officials</th>
<th>Manufactures, Products, etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10. Thinis, Thinis</td>
<td>ḫā, &quot;mayor&quot;</td>
<td>neb leben VI, &quot;six teben of gold.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Row 1, figure 4)</td>
<td>bez-neb leben ½, &quot;a half teben of silver.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>negu, &quot;two mature oxen.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>her-sa III, &quot;three two-year-old oxen.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>jett VI, &quot;six yearlings.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ḏb V, &quot;five calves.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ʿāt hekt II + X, &quot;two + ten hekt of barley.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ṣẖḥ hekt I, &quot;fifty hekt of durrah.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ta ne uḥḥ (?) ku XX, &quot;twenty leaves of durrah and dūm-nuts.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ku, &quot;dishes of dūm-nut bread.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bāti hebent, &quot;one heapent of honey.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ḫnḥ themat X, &quot;ten bundles of ḫnḥ-reeds.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>also ten makkattif (baskets).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Min, Ekhmim</td>
<td>sesh-ne u, &quot;scribe of the district&quot;</td>
<td>neb leben II, &quot;two teben of gold.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(town)</td>
<td>(Row 3, second figure from end)</td>
<td>bez-neb [teben] I, &quot;one teben of silver.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(district)</td>
<td></td>
<td>ṣẖḥsh [her] [neb] II, &quot;two strings of beads in gold.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>negu, &quot;three mature oxen.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[teti], &quot;three (?) yearlings.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ḏb [III], &quot;three calves.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[āt] hekt II, &quot;barley two hekt.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>and two hundred coils of ltf (?) rope.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Row 1, figures 5 and 6)</td>
<td>resī hekt III, &quot;three hekt of resī-grain.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ʿāt, &quot;barley.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bāti, an amphora of &quot;honey.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Per-Heru.</td>
<td>ḫā, &quot;mayor&quot;</td>
<td>shu, &quot;papyrus rolls.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Row 1, last figure)</td>
<td>unfu I, &quot;one cow.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>her-ṣa I, &quot;one two-year-old ox.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>resī hekt I, &quot;one hekt of southern grain.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sūt hekt X, &quot;ten hekt of sūt-grain.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>also two dishes of dūm-bread, rope, and bundles of ḫnḥ-reeds.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 14. Ta-Kaft, Antaopolis| In a papyrus concerning the taxation of dates (temp. Thothmes III) this town seems to have been then in a flourishing condition. [Pap. Louvre, 8320] | ¹ Insert the hieroglyph ḧnḥ in the plate. ³
### Town or Locality | Officials | Manufactures, Products, etc.
---|---|---
15. Sut, Siut | hâ, “mayor”  
(Row 2, figure 7; the name of Siut can be traced in the original) | [səʔ], “papyrus rolls.”  
nequ I, “one mature ox.”  
jet I, “one yearling.”  
(əb nəwškt M, “one thousand loaves of sêhk-it-bread.”  
sut ḫkt III, “three hekt of sut-grain.”  
rees ḫkt II, “two hekt of southern grain.”  
bəti ḫebnt, “one hebent of honey.”  
šū X, “ten dishes of dâm-nut bread.”  
a bundle of ʔına-reeds.  
[neqmb, “registrar.” See below, seeh  
neqmb II, “two scribes of the  
registrar”  
šenbetê | unfu I, “one cow.”  
dt, “barley.”  
bəti, one amphora of “honey.”  
[səʔ], “papyrus rolls.”  
and some grain.

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3. Inscription Recounting the Honours of Rekhmara.

This inscription, consisting of forty-five horizontal lines of hieroglyphs, is painted upon the S.W. wall of the vestibule (see Sketch Plan D, p. 22). The hieroglyphs and dividing lines are coloured in green of the same tint as given in the plates. Unfortunately, several flaws in the rock have caused pieces of the wall to fall, and much of the surface plaster has flaked away from the lower half of the inscription. No early copy of the text exists, and as far back as 1828 it seems to have been in the same ruinous condition: Champollion, writing in that year, states that it was “presque invisible.” Virey made no attempt to copy it, and contented himself by remarking it “est trop effacée pour être étudiée utilement.”

In the first three lines are given the name and several of the titles of Rekhmara. The vezir, speaking in the first person singular, then recounts some of the honours which the monarch conferred upon him. In ll. 8–10, the wisdom of Thothmes III. is extolled, and the inscription then reverts back to Rekhmara, who in the next 30 lines goes on to review his own virtues. The last four lines contain Rekhmara’s address to visitors, inviting them to recite the Te ḫetp seten formula to the gods for the benefit of his Ka, and promising that if they obey him their names shall live.¹

4. Inscription Recording the Installation of Rekhmara into the Vestivale.

On the left-hand side of the doorway leading to the long inner passage (Sketch Plan D, p. 22) is a much mutilated scene showing Thothmes III. seated in a beautifully decorated naos. Facing the king outside the naos was painted a standing figure of Rekhmara, but this has been carefully erased; the name of Rekhmara above the figure has also been cut away. To the left of this scene is an inscription (plate x.) in twenty vertical lines, reaching from the frieze to the dado, with a title or heading in four short lines (plate ix.). No early copy of this inscription has been

¹ Translations of parts of this text will be found in the Introduction, § III., pp. 18, 19.
made (except a few hieroglyphs from the upper parts of the lines given in the publication of Virey), but fragments of two parallel texts have enabled me to check my copy in some places. These parallel texts I discovered at Kurneh in 1895; the first in the tomb of User, Rekhmara's predecessor in the vezirial office; the second in the tomb of Hapu, the Vezir of Upper Egypt under Thothmes IV. It is much to be regretted that this inscription is not in such a fragmentary state, for it appears to record the instructions given by Egyptian kings to their vezirs on the appointment of those officers to the vezirate. From the title (l. 1–4) it would seem that these instructions were given in the form of a speech delivered in the monarch's audience-hall (uakh) before all the assembled government officials (kenn-betiu).

The King first speaks of the audience-hall (kha) of the vezir, recommending "watchfulness over all that is done in it, for behold it makes firm the whole land" (l. 5). He goes on to exhort his ministers not to be "mild, but severe in his orders"; not to be partial to the cause of the rich, or to make the slightest distinction between the wealthy and the poor, "for every man is as every man" (l. 6). With regard to all petitioners, he instructs him to act strictly according to the law (l. 8). In l. 13 is mentioned a vezir named Khety, who seems to have been long remembered for his severity, and is perhaps (though this is not quite clear) quoted as an example not to be followed. Judicial matters are then discussed, and the vezir is again exhorted not to be partial to one side more than to the other, for "leaning to one side is an abomination of the gods" (l. 15). The chief minister of state is instructed also to beware of malice and bad temper, for if a man "gives fear millions of times, there are things of evil in it," and "people will not say of him, 'he is a man!'" (l. 19). In l. 21 the chief scribe of the vezir is apparently addressed and exhorted to "write true" (?). The King then goes on to speak of the vezir's audience-hall, and gives some general instructions concerning the methods of procedure to be observed in it; but the last three lines of the inscription are unfortunately very obscure.

5. Rekhmara and the Members of His Family.

(Plate XI.)

The mutilated scene upon the north-east wall of the vestibule (see Sketch Plan K, p. 22) represented Rekhmara, accompanied by "his sister [i.e. wife] Meryt," seated before a table of offerings, while in front of them their son, "the scribe of the divine offerings [of Amen, Ramenkepersenb]," recites the Te hetep seten formula for funeral offerings. The figures of Rekhmara and Meryt, as well as the table of offerings and the figure of Ramenkepersenb, are entirely destroyed. On the right side of the wall are depicted the relatives and friends of the great vezir. The uppermost group shows the vezir Aa-ma-thu, the paternal grandfather of Rekhmara, accompanied by his wife Tamathu and their children; six sons in the upper row, three daughters in the lower. The second group represents the vezir User, paternal uncle of Rekhmara, with his wife Thau and children; three sons in the upper row and five daughters in the lower. The two principal figures of the third group are entirely destroyed, but the hieroglyphs above them record the names of Neferuben and Betau, Rekhmara's parents. Behind them are their six children; three sons and three daughters. Of the fourth group, only two inscriptions remain: the first records the name and titles of "a follower of the king in all countries, in the favour of the good god [i.e. the king], the overseer of the cattle of Amen, Bak, justified"; the second gives the name of "his wife, the lady A-tau." The relationship
of these individuals to Rekhmara is not clear; perhaps we have here the names of Betan’s or Meryt’s parents, but I have not been able to find any corroborative evidence of this.


(Plates XII., XIII., XIV.)

Rekhmara, seated on a chair and clad in the long robe of a vizir, with a staff in his right hand and a Kherp-baton in his left, Sher wih bit em per hez ne het neter khetem shebges neb em [per Amen] em aat-of her seeshet, “receives uah-grain and honey in the treasury of the temple, and seals every precious thing in [the house of Amen], in his office (or rank) of Overseer of the Secrets.” He is attended by twelve officials, including several scribes. In the uppermost row is represented the shep em uah em [per Amen], “receipt of the uah-grain in [the house of Amen].” The scene shows an overseer, accompanied by a scribe and three servants, measuring the grain (coloured a dark red) which has been brought in baskets by six husbandmen and piled up in a great heap before the vizir. In the middle row we see an overseer watching two men hiuset uah em per hez ne [per Amen] er ârOt âtot, “pounding the uah-grain in the treasury of [the house of Amen] in order to make loaves”; other servants, hen ne ât benert, “slaves of the Department of Dates,” are separating the finely-pounded flour from the coarser grain. To the left, bakers are shown making the flour, mixed with honey, into pyramidal and other shaped loaves, and placing the same in small brick-made ovens. A four-handled amphora of bit, “honey,” as well as several smaller pots of the same, are also figured in this row.

The third row shows the receipt of the “tribute of all countries”—the “precious things” mentioned in the inscription above the figure of Rekhmara, which it is stated were stored in the storehouses of the temple and required to be sealed by the vizir.

Twelve meru usekhet, “captains of the boats,” just arrived at Thebes, bow down to Rekhmara, and report to him that the per hez her ne gege, “treasury will overflow,” with the ânu net set nebt, “tribute from all countries” (including Punt, the southern oases and the lands of the north) which they have brought. Behind the captain we see the her usekhet [ne Amen] neter helotepu, “chief of the transports of the divine offerings of Amen,” superintending the removal of the tribute by porters from the boats to the storehouses of the temple. The tribute, after being examined by the esek per hez, “scribe of the treasury,” is registered in the official books by an assistant scribe; it is then sorted and stored in the different departments of the per hez, “treasury.” In the first room, the inscription over the door of which has been erased, are baskets (similar to those made at Esneh at the present day), sandals, mats, and amphoræ. In the second room, the per hez neb ne het neter, “treasury of the temple,” are bows, âkm “shields,” logs of ebony, abu “ivory,” ostrich feathers, bundles of nefu “cyperus rhizomes” 1 . . . . . gold and silver in dust or nuggets, bars, and rings, and a cage in which monkeys are dispersing themselves.


7. Rekhmara Receives the Petitions of the Poor.

(Plate XV.)

This scene is painted on the right-hand wall of the long passage leading to the shrine (Sketch Plan W, see p. 22). It originally

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showed Rekhmara, accompanied by several of his attendants, giving audience to and receiving petitions from the poor. The figure of the Vezir has been destroyed. The inscription describing the scene, however, is but little mutilated; it records:—pert tep ta top sebaqi/er ärt heseet em khert wā ra er sefen metu rekhyt sptures ha nén goven er kets ur, “the going out upon the land in the early morning to make the daily favours, and to listen to the words of the people and to the petitions of the south and north, without making (any) distinction between the little and the great.”

The erased figure of Rekhmara may be restored from the scenes upon the opposite wall (vide pls. xvi. and xix.) ; he was shown standing with a staff in his left hand and the baton in his right hand. The people seeking audience were arranged in four rows; the lower two are entirely destroyed, the upper two considerably damaged. In the uppermost row we see an officer, accompanied by attendants and a scribe, with pencase and writing materials in a leathern bag. Beyond are three women (one holding up a necklace as if in the act of offering it as a present), who appear to be dictating their grievances to a scribe, who is writing on a sheet of papyrus (only the two hands, the pencase, and the sheet of papyrus of the scribe are preserved). In the second row are shown several men approaching the Vezir: two are bending low before an officer, two are kneeling, and another raises his arms as if to attract attention.

8. Rekhmara Inspects the Artificers of the Temple.

With the exception of a few erased hieroglyphs above the figure of Rekhmara, this scene is in perfect preservation. It is painted on the upper half of the south-west wall of the passage leading to the shrine (Sketch Plan P, p. 22), and represents the Vezir, accompanied by forty attendants, ma‘at neb [ärt em per hes ne het neter ne per Amen], ešef rekh se neb ärt of em at ne kent neb, “inspecting all the handicrafts [made in the temple of the house of Amen] and teaching each man his duties concerning the handicraft of all occupations.”

The trades inspected are the bead-makers, furriers and leather-makers, sandal-makers, carpenters and wood-carvers, rope-makers, gold and silver smiths and metal workers and metal casters.

In the uppermost row are depicted bead-makers and alabaster workers; a man with a bow-drill drills holes and prepares beads for threading by his three companions, who are seated behind him. The beads are coloured blue and red (blue glaze or lapis lazuli and carnelian), and were threaded on fine twine without the aid of a needle. To the left, a man with a nearly bald head is shown working at an alabaster vase. To the right, two superintendents present strings of beads and alabaster vases to Rekhmara. In the second row we see the furriers at work preparing parchment and hides for shields and for the sandal-makers. At the right end of the row two men present sandals and a number of shields and rolls of parchment to Rekhmara. In the same row, to the left, is represented a man cutting thin strips from a hide, which two others are twisting into a length of rope; at the side of the seated man, two coils of rope, which have just been made, lie upon the ground.

In the third row are shown the carpenters, wood-carvers, cabinet-makers, and painters. The carpenters saw rough wood up into planks

1 The series of tools represented in this scene are of great interest: they have all been drawn in colour, and will be reproduced in facsimile in a future volume.
and prepare it for the cabinet-makers, who are represented making chairs, boxes, a slender wooden column with lotus-bud capital, and an elaborate shrine inlaid with ivory and precious woods. The inscription at the side of this shrine reads:—ārt āpītu ābu ḫehebī ṣesēnēsēm meru ʿm āḥ ma ne tep ḫuʾ an ser pen ʿtef tep reṯ ʔesem ef āmī ḫeḥemī ʿef, “making shrines in ivory, ebony, ṣesēnēsēm wood, meru wood, in new cedar wood (?) of the hills, by this noble who gives the rule and guides the hands of his craftsmen.”

To the right of this shrine, beyond the men making a chair or couch, are two men working with glue, which is being heated in a pot over a charcoal fire; also an artist engaged in painting a finished cabinet, whilst his assistant is sharpening his reed-pen (?) with a bronze knife. In front of Rekhmara, the master-sculptor presents a beautiful finished statue of Thothmes III. (coloured black, and therefore probably of ebony); above him two superintendents humbly kiss the ground and offer two boxes, upon one of which is a wooden head-rest and a handle for an ostrich feather-fan.

The bottom row of the scene shows the gold and silver smiths at work, and a very interesting scene depicting the making of two bronze or copper doors for the temple of Amen at Karnak. Three labourers, behind whom is an overseer with a rod in his right hand, carry ingots of metal to the four groups of smelters who are seen at the left-hand end of the row. The metal is melted in crucibles over charcoal fires (which are blown by curious bellows worked by the feet), and then brought up to and poured into the mould. To the right of the mould a labourer empties a basket of charcoal, and above we see the two metal doors and three metal workers carrying tongs and blow-pipes. Over the heads of the three men carrying the metal is an inscription reading:—

Meseb hent satet ān ne ḫen ef em nekht ĥer set

Rethenu ʾr ushek ne ḫet neter ne ḫem āṯen ām āḏer sat-ef ʿeru em nebu em ʾsent er aḵhu net ʿat in mer net sat [Rekhmara].

“Bringing the ingots of copper which were brought by his victorious Majesty from the land of Syria for (making) the two doors of the temple of Amen in Karnak; its threshold is inlaid in gold in . . . . . . . to the horizon of heaven by the Governor of Thebes, the Vezir [Rekhmara].”

To the right are depicted the gold and silver smiths making and polishing vases:—ārt ḫerḥet nebt ne neter ḫaʾu se asẖan uṣu ʿem neb ḫer ḫez neb em kat nebt ʿamī ṭeḥek, “making all the vases for the divine limbs and . . . . . . uz-vases in gold and silver in all the works of eternity.”

At the end of the row a servant weighs metal rings in a balance, while a scribe registers the numbers on a sheet of papyrus. The inscription over the balance reads:—ḥent neby . . . . . or ār ḫent nebt ne kheḥ mā ā āṣu net ra neb ḫen-su ʿem ḫek ḫeḥen em bah mer net sat . . . . . Rekhmara. “Weighing the gold [of the temple of Amen?] to make all the vessels of the interior as . . . . their arms every day, while they count in millions and hundreds of thousands before the Governor of Thebes, the Vezir Rekhmara.”

9. Rekhmara Inspects the Brickmakers, Sculptors, etc., of the Temple.

(Plates XIX.–XXI.)

Beneath the scene showing Rekhmara inspecting the artificers of the temple is a painting representing the Vezir (whose figure is, as usual, erased) inspecting the Brickmakers, Sculptors, and Masons employed in the construction and decoration of certain temple buildings at Karnak (Sketch Plan K, see p. 22). With the exception of a small piece of painting (pl. xx.) immediately before the erased figure of
Rekhmara, and another little piece at the left-hand end, the two lower rows of this scene have been destroyed, and the whole of the painted plaster of the middle of the second row has fallen away. The Vezir, accompanied by attendants, ma'a kat nebst netr-ḥetep ne āmen em ḫpt ḫpt rekh se neb uat-ef em āat-ef net mer kat ḥn . . . . [mer net snt Rekhmara], "inspects all the works of the divine offerings of Amen of Karnak, and causes each man to know his road, in his office of superintendent of the works, by the . . . . [Governor of the City and Vezir Rekhmara]."

In the uppermost row we see a number of men, many of whom are certainly foreigners, engaged in making bricks. To the left (pl. xxi.) two men are shown filling water-jars with water from a well or small pond surrounded by trees; to the right of this well, several men are employed in digging up earth with hoes, mixing it with water, and pressing out bricks with wooden moulds from the fresh-made mud. This little group of brickmakers is watched over by a reisi, or overseer, who, with stick in hand, is seated on a brick close by. The inscription records that the men are making bricks for building a new ḥrā or "storehouse" at Karnak. The horizontal lines of hieroglyphs over the next group to the right inform us that the workers are "captives brought by his Majesty (i.e. Thothmes III.) for the works of the temple of Amen." These men carry off the sun-dried bricks to the bricklayers; an officer, or "watchman," says to them, "The stick is in my hand, be not idle!" The sloping mass of brickwork in front of the wall is perhaps the brick scaffolding which was used for hoisting the successive blocks of stone of which the wall was built. The long inscription above explains that the scene shows the men "laying bricks brought from the fields by slaves (?) in very great numbers; they build with dexterous fingers; their overseers show themselves and keep a careful watch, listening to the speech of this wise noble [i.e. Rekhmara], who directs (?) the works, and gives instructions to their superintendents. [They are given?] bread and beer and all good dishes. He commands them with a heart full of love for the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ramenkheper (Thothmes III.), to build a shrine (sekhem): they give to him the reward through millions of years."

The second row shows, to the left of the break, a reisi, or ganger, directing his men, who are perhaps dragging blocks of squared stone to the temple buildings. To the right of the break we see sculptors engaged on wooden scaffolding in sculpturing colossal red granite statues of the king. The inscription referring to this scene gives instructions (tep fet) concerning the sculptors' work, but it is too mutilated to permit of being translated.

In the third row we see to the left the masts, sails, and rigging of some large boats, probably those employed for bringing from the quarries of Assuan the enormous blocks of red granite out of which the sculptors hewed their colossal statues of the king. On the right of the break is an interesting group of stonemasons squaring blocks of limestone. Beneath this, in the fourth row, are three scribes busily engaged in writing.


(Plate XXII.)

In the vestibule to the left of the scene representing the paying of the taxes (at M on the

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1 The remains of a somewhat similar scaffolding may still be seen against the south-eastern face of the First Main Pylon (of Ptolemaic date) of the Great Temple of Amen at Karnak.

2 This expression, meaning "rule of the hand," is in-
Sketch Plan, p. 22) is a painting showing Rekhmara (whose figure is destroyed) inspecting the provisions of the divine offerings. The inscription reads: 

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maa shubu ne neter hetepu
ne ra neb maa . . . . ef menna neferu kherp
nef ne ithy neter nefer neb taui Ramenkheper
TE ankh zetr er het-neter ne Amen reu peru netiu
. . . . ef an . . . . mer net zat [Rekhmara],
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"inspecting the provisions of the divine offerings daily, and inspecting his . . . . and the beautiful monuments which he had made for the sovereign, the good god, Lord of the two worlds, Ramenkheper (Thothmes III.), giving life eternally, for the temple of Amen and the temples which are in his [city?] by . . . . the Governor of the City, the Vezier [Rekhmara]."

In the two upper rows we see several statues of ebony and different kinds of stone; these represent the king in various positions—seated, standing, kneeling, and in the attitude of running. The double statue in the second row shows the monarch seated by the side of his queen (Meryt-ra Hatshepsut?). To the right are figured numerous shields, bundles of spears and axes, helmets, necklaces and strings of beads, as well as alabaster vases, censers and castanets. In the two lower rows are seen bakers making various kinds of bread, and a procession of attendants of the superintendent of the storehouse bearing offerings and headed by a priest burning incense in a censer. The officer at the left end of the fourth row is Rekhmara’s son, “the scribe of the divine offerings, Ramenkhepersenb.”

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1 This “Superintendent of the Storehouse of Amen” is probably Rekhmara’s son, Amenemhat (see p. 15).
LIST OF PLATES

i. Plan and Sections of the Tomb.

ii., iii. The Vezir's Inscription.

iv. The Vezir's Office.

v., vi. Rekhmara Inspects the Apu or Taxes of Upper Egypt.

vii., viii. Inscription on the South-West Wall of the Vestibule (The Stela).

ix., x. Scene and Inscription on the North Wall of the Vestibule.

xi. Rekhmara and the Members of his Family.

xii.–xiv. Rekhmara Receives Grain, etc., in the Temple of Amen.

xv. Rekhmara Receives the Petitions of the Poor.

xvi.–xviii. Rekhmara Inspects the Artificers of the Temple of Amen.

xix.–xxi. Rekhmara Inspects the Brickmakers, Sculptors, etc., of the Temple of Amen.

THE VEZIR INSCRIPTION (II. 1-17).
THE VEZİR INSCRIPTION (ll. 18–35).
Figure of Bebkamara

Destroyed
REKH-MA-RA.

SETHE: URWÜNDE IX.-XIII. DYNASTIE 16/1290-1129

INSPECTION OF THE ÁPU, OR TAXES, OF UPPER EGYPT.
REKH-MA-RA.

SETHE: UHRUNDEN 4TH DYNASTIE 1130-1129.

Destroyed

INSPECTION OF THE ÁPU OR TAXES OF UPPER EGYPT.
INSCRIPTION ON S.W. WALL OF VESTIBULE.

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Figure of Rekhmara
Destroyed
REKH-MA-RA.

SETHE: UNKNOWN LXXITH DYNASTIE OF 120-129

INSPECTION OF THE ÁPU, OR TAXES, OF UPPER EGYPT.
REKH-MA-RA.

SETHI: UNKUNDEN OR XXVII DYNASTY 1130-1139.

Destroyed

NEWSPECTION OF THE APU OR TAXES OF UPPER EGYPT.
Thebes.

Seine: Urnenden-Kom-Dynastie p. 118, u-29

Figure of Rekhmara

Destroyed

1/4th Scale
INSCRIPTION ON S.W. WALL OF VESTIBULE.

INSCRIPTION ON S.W. WALL OF VESTIBULE.

H. and P.E.N.
ii. 24—end.
SCENE AND INSCRIPTION ON N. WALL OF VESTIBULE.

(N.B. The upper part of the Naos has been partially restored).
SCENE AND INSCRIPTION ON N. WALL OF VESTIBULE.

(N.B. The upper part of the Naos has been partially restored).
Figures of Rekhmara and his wife erased.

Altar with offerings upon it almost entirely erased.
THEBES.

RECEPTION OF GRAIN, &c., BY REKHMAR.

Scale 16" to 1 foot.
SCENE CONTINUED FROM PLATE XII.
Scene continued from Plate XIII.
REKHMARA RECEIVES THE PETITIONS OF THE POOR.

Scale 3rd.
SCENE CONTINU
ED FROM PLATE XVII.
REKHMARA INSPECTS THE BRICKMAKERS, SCULPTORS, &c., OF THE TEMPLE.
Figure of Rekham, erased

Scale 1/10