



A PRELIMINARY LOOK AT THEBAN TOMB 119 AND ITS SCENE OF “FOREIGN TRIBUTE”¹

Andrew Hunt Gordon

ABSTRACT

Although Theban Tomb 119 is very much destroyed, it has the remains of an important scene of Aegeans and Syrians bringing valuable metal ingots, wine, animals, and perhaps perfumes and olive oil. Evidence found in the tomb suggest that the tomb owner was a mid-level member of the Amun bureaucracy, perhaps with duties over the treasury of Amun, and responsible for animals and food stuffs entering the Amun warehouses. He was probably part of extended family of the vizier Aametu, and Ineni.

Although not large, Theban Tomb 119 sits in the Upper Enclosure of Sheikh Abd Gurna in the Theban necropolis near the tomb of the vizier Aametu. It is almost completely destroyed save for a few isolated hieroglyphs and the remains of what once was an impressive scene of Asiatics bringing objects and animals. Somewhat similar in style to scenes in the tombs of the chief steward Senmut (TT71) and the second prophet of Amun Puyemre (TT39), the tomb is dated to the reigns of Hatshepsut to Thutmose III.²

During a stay in Luxor in 1978, I was able to take pictures of parts of the tributary scene that do not appear in the standard photographs of Wreszinski and Meyer. Issues addressed in this paper include the identity of the bearers and their objects, which include metal ingots and animals on leashes, how these indicate what the scene represented, and why the tomb owner portrayed this in his tomb. Also, do the remains represent a large scene, or two, as Porter and Moss stated? The few remaining hieroglyphs may point to the name of the tomb owner or his wife.

THE SCENE

When Meyer³ and Wreszinski⁴ photographed the tomb in the early twentieth century, there were the remains of nine figures facing left in the upper register,⁵ although two disappeared before 1938.⁶ Meyer and Wreszinski did not see fit to photograph the remaining upper bodies of three figures, and a torso that is all that remains from a second register.⁷ Two of those remaining figures in the first register carry a blue cylindrical object on their shoulders. I suspect that they are tin ingots.

The background color of the remaining scene is blue.⁸ That many of the bearers are half-naked may indicate that the presentation, if historically accurate,⁹ took place during the warmer months. As the Nile Delta was not always navigable before the annual inundation,¹⁰ the most likely times for such a

presentation in Thebes would be spring or fall. The lack of thick coats on the animals also indicates a warm weather presentation.

Using Meyer's and Wreszinski's photographs, as well as my own photographs taken in 1978, we can see that at least seven figures correspond somewhat to Pritchard's A type and two partially to his B type.¹¹ Of the six figures where the head is at least partially preserved, excluding the two B types, all may have the Aegean-styled ringlets more reminiscent of Pritchard's Type C but with the short kilts of Type A and the frontal hair curl or bob of Type D. It is clear that Aegeans are depicted, however hybridized. The foreigners predominantly bring precious metals, vases and animals.

The first two figures are only preserved in the photographs of Meyer and Wreszinski taken in the early twentieth century (Figure 1).¹² The half-naked first foreigner, preserved from the chest up, appears from the black-and-white photos and the color of similar following figures photographed by me in 1978 to have a dark reddish-brown skin. He has a dark head curl at the front found on Aegean types, but he wears a white fillet that hangs down the back and has a pointed beard typical of Syrians. It is not clear to me whether or not he has ringlets, which may be associated with Aegeans. His left hand is raised, probably cradling a now destroyed vase¹³ or less likely raised in a greeting ritual for which the right hand is usually used. Perhaps, the hand cradling or raised in greeting may be better determined by which way the register faces. If the individual faces right, the right hand may have artistic preference; if left, the left hand may have preference. Our figure is facing left.

The second now-destroyed figure is similar but not identical to the first. The half-naked figure would have had dark reddish-brown skin, a dark head curl with a white fillet, and possibly the wisps of a beard. It is also not clear whether he originally had ringlets. He wears a short white kilt that ends above the knee. In his left hand, extending from his waist, he appears to hold a single-

handled stoppered jar held in place by string,¹⁴ indicating that the contents of the container was more important than the container itself, and in his right a wickerwork basket (Gardiner V30) with four oblong objects, possibly of gold, turquoise or lapis lazuli.¹⁵ It is not clear whether the four represent what was in the basket or on top of it. In any case the objects do not appear to be drawn with much finesse, almost as if the artist was not that familiar with them.

The third figure is a typical north Syrian with tan, goldish skin with skullcap and beard fully dressed in a calf-length, sleeved white garment with blue, red and white trim (Figures 2 and 3). He apparently carries a small vase held at knee level in his left hand and a large, gold-colored vase with two lugs on his right shoulder. Nothing appears above the vase. The fourth figure is similar to the first two with a beard, but has two ringlets hanging down, and is half naked with a short kilt with blue, red and white trim. He is leading on a tether a white Arabian oryx (*Oryx gazella leucoryx*)¹⁶ and a splotchy red and tan Asian humped bull (*Bos indicus*; Figure 4).¹⁷ The animals are exquisitely drawn, unlike the metals, indicating that the artist had a greater familiarity with the former. Each of the animals is depicted on its own ground line.

Following the animals is the fifth figure, a half-naked Syrian with tan, goldish skin, wearing a skullcap and a white kilt with blue

and red/brown fringes (Figure 5). Apparently with his left hand he holds an Asiatic elephant's tusk on his right shoulder. In his extended apparent right hand, he holds a small vase (now destroyed). Behind him, the sixth figure is another half-naked Aegean type holding a possible staff of ebony and a smallish ingot of copper on his right shoulder. Although the copper ingot fits easily within Buchholz's classification as Type 1b, there is a certain inelegance in the representation also seen with other objects in metal, as if the local artist was not familiar with this class of object.¹⁸

Behind this figure are the remains of two or more animals (Figure 6). At top is the head and neck of a blue donkey. Whether or not the donkey once carried something on its back is now moot. Below is the foot and head (the latter now destroyed) of another one, or less likely pair of, Asian (humped) bull(s).

After a space of several feet are the remains of two more figures (Figure 7). The former (the seventh) apparently shows only the right arm to around the elbow holding up the top part of a wine jar that possibly rested on the figure's right shoulder. As the figure's coloring is brown, it is tempting to suggest he is an Aegean. For the latter (the eighth), only his right tan hand remains holding out a blue cylindrical object with a tan inclusion and outlined in brown.



Figure 1: The first four foreigners as they appeared in the 1920s (adapted from Wrcszinski Atlas).



Figure 2: Foreigners 3 to 6 (Author)

At the end of the row of foreigners is the remains of a ninth bearer who also holds a similar blue cylindrical object on his right shoulder (Figure 9). This blue object has no inclusion, but the presence of grid lines in this area indicates that the object was not finished. What remains of the bearer is a partial head and hair indicating that the bearer was Aegean. He is apparently half naked with a hair curl in front, a fillet, and at least three ringlets hanging down in back.

Each of the eighth and ninth bearers, the former a Syrian and the latter an Aegean, although they are separated by a number of feet of destroyed scene, carries a large blue oval object on their shoulders. The former of the two, which was finished, contains a copper-colored inclusion. At first glance, the object looks like it could be a leather shield with somewhat of a piebald pattern, but shields are not usually brought as precious goods, and what value would a foreign shield have for the Egyptians who had their own? What is rather more likely is that we have an ingot here, especially since a similar ingot, although colored white instead of blue, appears with copper ingots in Theban Tomb 131, that of the vizier Useramun.¹⁹ Looking closely at the ingot carried by the Syrian, one can see that the back curve of the oval is obscured by the Syrian's right hand. As the blue ingot of the Aegean is curved at the back, it is tempting to assume that the former one is curved as well. However, in Theban Tomb 276 there do exist two bluish ingots with red inclusions that are curved at front but straight at the back (Figure 8). Because of their presence with red copper ingots, it

appears that the blue ones in TT 276 are probably tin. The two blue ingots do have an undercolor of red. I am suggesting that what we have here is DHty, what is usually translated as lead but is more likely tin.²⁰ Bass indicates that there are several blue lead or tin oxide ingots depicted in the tomb of Puimre.²¹ It is clear that ingots of metals, such as copper, tin, and lead, could be prepared in more than one shape.²²

It also seems clear that, beside copper, bronze could be made from more than tin. Beside copper and tin, a number of New Kingdom Egyptian bronzes have up to 2.3% lead and up to 1% arsenic in them.²³ It is also true that tin and lead may look alike and were confused in antiquity, especially in Egypt and the ancient Near East.²⁴ Also, it is possible that bronze could be made from an alloy of tin and lead or tin and arsenic. Bass recently found an alloy of lead and tin from the Cape Gelidonya shipwreck.²⁵

In a groundbreaking study, Pritchard divided Syrians (and Aegeans) portrayed in 18th Dynasty Theban Tombs into four different types based on dress, hair and beard.²⁶ While this classification has generally held for the last 60 years, our tomb presents a difficulty, as figures 1, 2, 6 and 9 are half-naked with loincloths typical to category A, but have the frontal hair-bob and fillet of category D, and at least two, 4 and 9, have the ringlets of Category C. While Wachsmann would consider the TT 119 figures as examples of hybridism,²⁷ it is also possible that they represent actual bearers from trading colonies.²⁸ Older and more recent studies have given some evidence for massive maritime



Figure 3: Foreigners 3 to 4 (Author)

trading traffic in Near Eastern raw materials,²⁹ and the presence of trading posts or colonies, either in cities, such as Ugarit, on the Syro-Palestinian coast,³⁰ and/or self-generated outposts on virgin soil along that same coast. It seems to me that especially coastal trading colonies in places like Ugarit or Byblos might yield a blending of styles for those who worked there, much as Parisian fashion influenced American and British styles during the twentieth century. Another possibility and coordinating with this idea is that hybrids might represent non-elite individuals who dealt with non-elite items.³¹

To the left of the foreign bearers and separated by several feet are partially preserved piles of precious goods, including a number brought by the bearers, including wine and other jars possibly containing perfumes and olive oils, and metals in clumps and ingots (Figure 10). What is most interesting is a pile of red ingots with inclusions. Two of the three ingots piled on the left are the typical oxhide ingots of copper. The top two oxhide ingots are more elongated than the one carried by bearer no. 6, so perhaps this part of the scene was painted by a different artist. The bottom copper ingot is different, as it has only two handles and a straight back. At first glance this appears to be an artist's mistake, but similar two-handled copper ingots were found on the Uluburun shipwreck, which is dated to the late 18th Dynasty.³² The right

pile, however shows red ingots with one side convex so as to fit with the oxhide ingots' concavities. Except in color, the ingots are reminiscent of the blue ingots from TT 276 (Figure 8) and partially similar to the blue ingots of bearers 8 (Figure 7) and 9 (Figure 9). In the tomb of the vizier Rekhmire, Theban Tomb 100, are piles of ingots, including copper, and, not far away, ingots that are convex on at least one side (the other side is no longer preserved) that are called *dhw*, which is usually translated as "lead" or "tin."³³ This would be an ideal way to ship ingots so as to take up the least amount of space. Apart from what has already been mentioned above, it is beyond the scope of this paper to fully discuss the types of bronze available in 18th Dynasty Egypt except to note that Egyptian bronze could be made with some lead and arsenic as well as tin and that this complicates what ingots associated with copper could be. It is also important to note that the copper ingots themselves could have traces of other metals.

Porter and Moss list the piles of precious goods as a separate scene, but it seems to me that the bearers and the piles of goods are part of one large scene that took up most if not all of the north wall.³⁴ Most foreign "tribute" scenes have many similar motifs. A typical such scene might show foreigners bearing goods, piles of goods in front of them, lesser officials receiving the goods either in front or behind the piles, and an inscription either over the bearers or behind the piles. If the latter, the inscription would refer to the tomb owner or the king who is shown receiving the goods. If so, this begs the question as to whether or not the south wall was to be illustrated with southern foreigners. If so, no traces remain.

Adjoining the piles of goods are the remnants of a vertical inscription that would have been very illuminating had it been preserved, but only the top or top few hieroglyphs remain at the uppermost part of each column (Figure 11). The top of the first column (the inscription apparently reads from right to left) has the sickle sign (Gardiner U 1). While this maybe translated as *m3(3)* "to see" or to "look upon," when referring to goods, usually means "to inspect." In this scene where the word evidently refers to the goods brought by the bearers, the translation would be "inspecting." In such a "tribute" scene, one might reasonably expect the next word to be *inw*, "tribute," considering how the ancient Egyptians saw themselves as the masters and center of their world.³⁵ *Inw* frequently appears in Theban tomb scenes depicting Aegeans and Syrians.³⁶ In researching for my dissertation, I examined what words appeared with *inw*.³⁷ The result is that *inw* following *m33* most often appears in reference to goods from Egypt, especially Lower Egypt,³⁸ but it also refers to goods from Nubia,³⁹ as well as the oases.⁴⁰ With regard to the last, the goods were to go to the Temple of Amun. There is one instance in which *inw* from the treasury is inspected,⁴¹ and one in which captive Nubians for the Temple of Amun are inspected together the *inw* of all the foreign lands that is then transferred to the Temple of Amun.⁴² The result is that it is quite possible for *inw* to have once appeared in this text, and that inspected *inw* was to be transferred to the Temple of Amun.

At the top of the second column of text is the remains of what appears to be either the upper part of a swab made from a hank of



Figure 4: The animals led by foreigner 4 (Author)

fiber (Gardiner V 29) or a stoneworker's drill (Gardiner U24)⁴³ followed by two reed leaves (Gardiner M 17). While it is extremely difficult to reconstruct, if the former reading is correct, perhaps the word is *w3hy(wt)*, meaning "what is offered," "offerings" or "oblations."⁴⁴ If the sign is the drill, then perhaps the word is *wb3y(w)*, "which are revealed" or "which are opened up/explored." Which might be appropriate when talking about foreign valuable goods or the regions from which they come.⁴⁵

The fragmentary sign at the top of the third column is definitely an owl (Gardiner G 17), meaning "from" or "in." The top of the fourth column has most of a reed leaf (Gardiner M 17) followed by most of a draught board (Gardiner Y 5). Underneath is a partial sign that may resemble a seated king (Gardiner A 41) or god (Gardiner A40).⁴⁶ If so we might have the name of the god Amun. If one looks closely to the left of the draught board, however, there appears to be the remains of a sign that resembles a bricklayer's instrument (Gardiner Aa 28) or a standing loaf on a reed mat (Gardiner R 4). If a bricklayer's instrument, the word might refer to the New Kingdom masculine name Amunqed,⁴⁷ but then the presence of the seated king or god does not fit as a determinative. However, the sign could represent a seated noble (Gardiner A 52). On the other hand, if the sign to the left of the draught board is a standing loaf on a reed mat, then the signs would fit the androgynous New Kingdom name Amenhotep.⁴⁸ If the name refers to a female rather than a male, then the fragmentary seated figure may be a female determinative (Gardiner B1). Thus

we may have a noble with the name of Amenqed or Amenhotep, or a wife with the name Amenhotep.⁴⁹

In an extraordinary feat of reconstruction from the little bits of paint remaining, J. J. Shirley has been able to reconstruct evidence for a seated male with a standing woman behind him.⁵⁰ Assuming that the fragments do not represent the king with Hathor or the Goddess of the West behind him, then Shirley's reconstruction probably represents the tomb owner and his wife. In most cases involving foreign goods, the noble appears by himself and is standing. Only in the earlier part of the 18th Dynasty do the husband and wife appear together. In the early 18th Dynasty tomb of Ineni, dated from Amenhotep I to Thutmose III, the deceased and his wife are seated before five rows of foreigners bringing precious goods.⁵¹ The text above the deceased indicates that the goods were given by the king to go to the Temple of Amun as a tax or allotment.⁵² This text also starts with the word "inspect,"⁵³ as does TT 119." In our tomb TT 119, there is also an indication that the goods were to go to the temple of Amun, as will be demonstrated.

The other thing to consider is that, because of the small size of the tomb or its relatively early 18th Dynasty date, it is possible that scenes could have been conflated. For example, perhaps lower registers were to have shown personal offerings to the noble and his wife, much like in Theban Tomb of Ineni.

In terms of the tomb owner's titles, it is necessary to be careful because titles do not always correspond directly to the scene. For



Figure 5: Foreigners 5 to 6 (Author)



Figure 6: Remains of animals behind foreigner 6 (Author)

example, in a discussion of the Theban Tomb 155 of Antef, dated to Hatshepsut–Thutmose III, Säve-Söderbergh indicates the problem of matching exact titles to a scene.⁵⁴ While he notes that the tomb owner’s title of “Chief of the Great Oases” directly corresponds to inhabitants from there bringing goods, the registers of Syrians do not correspond directly.⁵⁵ One would like a title, such as “Overseer of the Northern Foreign Lands,” but no such title, if it ever existed, now remains. The presence of specially made reliquary vases indicate that these may have been made for presentation to the king, so perhaps his titles of “Wearer of the Royal Seal” or “Great Herald of the King” more directly apply.

In the Theban Tomb 17 of the physician of the king Nebamun, dated to Thutmose III–Amenhotep II, there is a depiction of a seated man with his wife standing behind him in a scene of foreigners bringing gifts,⁵⁶ but there the couple is Syrian with the man giving gifts to the tomb owner, presumably in exchange for medical services.

CLUES TO THE IDENTITY OF THE TOMB OWNER

With the tomb so thoroughly destroyed, it is difficult to get hints of the tomb owner’s identity. One clue, however, is the background color in the foreign “tribute” scene. In her study of 18th Dynasty Theban tombs, Hartwig “found that tombs with a

predominately bluish/white background were characteristic of temple-trained artists, or the Temple Style.⁵⁷ Hartwig noticed that scenes drawn by temple artists had static compositions, and that forms were evenly spaced horizontally along the wall and forms were groups by twos or threes.⁵⁸ Figures are rendered symmetrically with relatively precise outlines, and overall the result is formal, fine and graceful with a linear feel.⁵⁹ Theban tomb 119 follows this description with a graceful linear decoration. In the largest preserved area, the scene shows the remains of four figures followed by two animals followed by two figures followed by another two (or three) animals. Only the metal ingots are drawn imprecisely, as if the artist was not sure how to depict them. The artist who drew the ingots in piles seemed to have a better knowledge of what he was depicting.

Hartwig states that the similarity of the temple reliefs to the tomb paintings of officials who served the Temple of Amun implies that artists from the temple workshops painted these tombs.⁶⁰ Also, the color blue was associated with Amun’s skin color, which symbolized him as a creator god.⁶¹

If the name of Amenhotep is present in the text before the piles of goods, and if that name belongs to a man, then that may help to determine his position in the Theban hierarchy. Looking at funerary cones originally found at Thebes, one finds approximately 50 men with the name of Amenhotep.⁶² Of these,



Figure 7: Foreigners 7 to 8 (Author)



Figure 8: TT 276: Syrians with partially blue ingots (Author)



Figure 9: Foreigner 9 (Author)



Figure 10: Piles of valuable goods (Author)



Figure 11: Remains of inscription to the left of the piles of valuable goods (Author)

over 40% have on their cones a title that mentions the god Amun.⁶³ One of the three without a title indicates that the owner is giving praise to Amun-Re, thus implying that he may be an Amun functionary. Based on this list, there is almost a one-in-two chance that a man whose name is Amenhotep may have worked for the Amun bureaucracy.

In order to understand from what family the tomb owner came, it is important to look at the tomb's location in the upper Sheikh Abd el-Qurna. Shirley has indicated that for the Theban necropoleis, noble families tended to be buried in the same area.⁶⁴ One such family resulted from the union of the vizier Aametu with the sister of Ineni, a powerful figure in the Amun hierarchy early in the 18th Dynasty, which led to a number of their descendents having roles in the Amun bureaucracy.⁶⁵ TT 119 is located near the tomb of Aametu (TT 83) and not far from the tombs of his sons Useramun (TT 61- the later tomb) and Neferhotep (TT 122). It is not a stretch to suggest that the owner of TT 119 was a relative of both the father and the sons, to the latter possibly a cousin or even closer relations.

The three now destroyed ceiling texts near the entrance to the tomb would have once had a wealth of information on the tomb owner's titles. I believe I can reconstruct one title or epithet, (*smr*) *w^c(ty) n hm.f*, "unique friend of his majesty."⁶⁶ However, this title or epithet and its variations are so common as to make them useless in determining the owner's name.

Based on what the foreign bearers are bringing, the owner might be an overseer of the treasury of Amun (i.e. chief treasurer), an overseer of horn and hoof of Amun and/or an overseer of the storehouse of Amun. The word for "storehouse" is *šn^c, šn^ct* or even *šnwt*, the last of which is most times translated as "granary;" however, contextually "storehouse" or "warehouse" sometimes fits better. For example, on a small box of Tutankhamun, one line reads, "The storehouses (*šnwt*) are filled with the gold and silver from the tribute (*inw*) of every foreign land."⁶⁷ Manniche mentions a Paimose, owner of Theban Tomb A13 who was a "sealer of the storehouse (*šnwt*) of *inw*."⁶⁸

If the tomb owner's name is not Amenhotep, then one must look elsewhere. Betsy Bryan has suggested it may belong to the overseer of the treasury (*mr htmw*) Min, an important official under the reign of Thutmose III, and possibly Amenhotep II, for whom funerary cones were found at Thebes.⁶⁹ While there is no direct evidence for Min during the reign of Amenhotep II, the fact that his son succeeded him in the same position during the reign of Thutmose IV does at least imply that the son may have directly succeeded the father, as was often the case in powerfully connected families. Peter Der Manuelian suggests that Min presided as chief treasurer during the latter part of the reign of Thutmose III and was possibly the owner of Theban Tomb 143.⁷⁰ However, Theban Tomb 119 seems to be comfortably dated to the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III artistically and stylistically, so that

Min seems to belong to a slightly later time. Also, the size of the tomb, at least as it is currently constituted, is rather small to belong to a major official such as the chief treasurer Min. In addition, the absence of reliquary vases and gold or silver may indicate this official was not of the highest tier. As well, the blue background color of the tomb, its location, and the possibility that the tomb owner's name contained "Amun" in it suggest someone in the family of Ineni or the vizier Aametu.

CONCLUSION

Based on the limited evidence available, the owner of TT 119 was an official of the Amun bureaucracy at Thebes, who was charged with the recording and storage of valuable, but not the most valuable, foreign items coming into the storehouses of Amun. One might reasonably suspect that the tomb owner was

familiar with and had possibly traveled beyond Egypt. Our tomb owner was probably a mid-level official who worked for the Amun temple bureaucracy. He oversaw the importation of metals, animals and valuable wines, and possibly (scented olive oils) and perfumes. He lived during the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. The presence of his wife with him in a "tribute" scene is only elsewhere found in Theban Tomb 81, which is dated from Amenhotep I to Thutmose III, and whose owner might have been a relative of the tomb owner of TT 119. The objects presented here are not objects of the highest caliber, such as reliquary vases or gold and silver, but animals and objects that would actually have been used in the running of the temple complex. As this scene likely occupied the entire north wall of the interior chamber, it is tempting to speculate whether the tomb artists intended a similar scene of southern bearers with valuable goods on the southern wall.

NOTES

- ¹ I would like to thank a number of people who have helped make this a better study. First and foremost is J. J. Shirley whose interest, observations and research have helped to make this preliminary paper richer and more nuanced. Hopefully, this preliminary attempt will soon be followed by a more in-depth joint publication. I would also like to thank Edmund Meltzer for looking at what remains of the now pitiable fragments of text and making helpful suggestions. I would also like to acknowledge Gay Robins for examining my photographs and listening to my rantings and Melissa Hartwig for collecting for me her remarks concerning background color and other art historical indications of the tomb owner. Finally, I would like to thank my wife, Nancy Gordon, for editing this paper.
- ² Frederike Kampp, *Die thebanische Nekropole zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie, Teil 1* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1996), 406; Bertha Porter and Rosalind Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings I: The Theban Necropolis, Part I. Private Tombs, 2nd Edition* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1970), 234. Kampp believes the tomb was originally constructed in the Middle Kingdom and reused. Eberhard Dziobek, Thomas Schneyer, and Norbert Semmelbauer, *Eine ikonographische Datierungsmethode für thebanische Wandmalereien der 18. Dynastie* (Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1992) do not specifically address this tomb.
- ³ Eduard Meyer, "Bericht über eine Expedition nach Ägypten zur Erforschung der Darstellungen der Fremdvölker," *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich-Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 1913 (1913): 796, where the photographs are described. A microfiche edition of the photographs was published by Harrassowitz. See Eduard Meyer, *Fremdvölkerdarstellungen altägyptischer Denkmäler.*

Sammlung photographischer Aufnahmen aus den Jahren 1912-1913 (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1973); photos 592–593, 619.

- ⁴ Walter Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte, Teil 1* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1923), plate 340.
- ⁵ Photos 592–593 & 619, the last from the so-called second scene in Porter and Moss, 234. See Meyer 1913, 769–801.
- ⁶ Anonymous, "Notes and News," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 24 (1938): 132.
- ⁷ J. J. Shirley has a photograph of it, but it cannot be identified with any specific ethnic group.
- ⁸ I will discuss the importance of this below under the "Clues to the Identity of the Tomb Owner" section of this paper.
- ⁹ While there is no consensus, a number of researchers believe that many of the depictions of foreigners are at least somewhat historically accurate. See, for example, Alaa El-Din Shaheen, *Historical Significance of Selected Scenes Involving Western Asiatics and Nubians in the Private Theban Tombs of the XVIIIth Dynasty* (PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1988) and Diamantis Panagiotopoulos, "Keftiu in Context: Theban Tomb-Paintings as a Historical Source," *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 20 (2001): 263–283, although I must disagree with him in his discussion of inw (270–271), as he, in this particular case, makes the common fallacy of failing to differentiate what was actually happening in a scene of foreign "tribute," i.e., actual tribute, trade or diplomatic gifts from how the Egyptians perceived the transaction, i.e., usually tribute. This attitude is not unusual. The Chinese also made a habit of recording foreign diplomatic gifts as "tribute." See below under the discussion of the fragmentary text associated with the "tribute" scene.

- ¹⁰ Manfred Bietak, "Egypt and the Levant," in Toby Wilkinson (ed.), *The Egyptian World* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 432.
- ¹¹ As the B type has long sleeves, one can determine whether or not a figure belongs to A or B even if the head is not preserved. James Pritchard, "Syrians as Pictured in the Paintings of the Theban Tombs," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 122 (1951): 36–41. See the figure on page 39 for the four different types.
- ¹² Wreszinski photograph no. 340 and Mayer photograph 592.
- ¹³ See for example the second figure, an Aegean (now destroyed), in the Hay drawing of 1837 from the Tomb of Senenmut (TT 71) as depicted in Shelley Wachsmann, *Aegeans in the Theban Tombs* (Leuven: Peters, 1987), plate XXXVII B, the third remaining figure of the second register in the tomb of Intef (TT 155; plate XXV), or the first two porters (plate XXVII B) and porter 13, (although here it is the right hand raised) in the Aegean register from the tomb of the vizier Useramun (TT 131, plate XXVI, plate XXVII B), or figure no. 3 in register 2 from the tomb of Menkheperreseneb (TT86, plate XXXVII B). It does appear most of the time that when the register faces left, it is the left hand that is raised as long as it is facing forward and when it faces right the right hand is raised when facing forward.
- ¹⁴ Because of the amount of destruction in the scene, it is possible that the vase might have been two handled.
- ¹⁵ For the latter interpretation see Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re' at Thebes* (New York: The Plantin Press, 1943; reprint: New York: Arno Press, 1973), plate XXI, where the names for turquoise and lapis lazuli are written over the objects. Because a number of similar looking objects may appear in such baskets, it is difficult to say with precision what the objects represent.
- ¹⁶ Patrick F. Houlihan, *The Animal World of the Pharaohs* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996), 57, 204. Oryx are found in Theban Tombs 57 (24), 100 (10), 119 (1), 276 (11), 342 (4), and 201 (2). See Porter and Moss, 468.
- ¹⁷ Houlihan, 11; Wachsmann, 61. Similar foreign bulls are found mostly in "tribute" scenes from Theban Tombs 17 (7), 42 (4), 78 (12), 86 (4), 125 (7), 162 (1), 343 (8), and 367 (5). See Porter and Moss, 468.
- ¹⁸ I discussed my thoughts about their inelegance, especially what I regarded as possible tin ingots, with Gay Robins at the 2013 ARCE Meeting. Shirley has noticed a lack of detail in the Theban Tomb 17 of the physician Nebamun. See J. J. Shirley, "The Life and Career of Nebamun, the Physician of the King in Thebes," in Zahi Hawass and Janet Richards (eds.), *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt: Essays in Honor of David B. O'Connor II* (Le Caire: Conseil suprême des antiquités de l'Égypte, 2007), 394–395, note 8. It does appear that some Egyptian artists may have had an unfamiliarity with ingot shapes and details.
- ¹⁹ Eberhard Dziobek, *Die Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun: Theben Nr. 61 und 131* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1994), plate 20, in the middle of the middle register; George Bass, *Cape Gelidonya: A Bronze Age Shipwreck* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1967), 63 and fig. 65; Jean Vercoutter, *L'Égypte et le monde égéen préhellénique* (Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1965), plate LXV, no. 501.
- ²⁰ Malcolm Wiener, "Contacts: Crete, Egypt, and the Near East circa 2000 B.C.," in Joan Aruz, Sarah Graff and Yelena Rakic (eds.), *Cultures in Contact: From Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C.* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013), 41 notes that the Minoans imported tin and exported bronze weapons to the Near East and Egypt.
- ²¹ Bass 1967, 63 and fig. 63. I have not been able to verify his assertion as to the blue color of some of the ingots.
- ²² For a discussion of ingot shapes, see Bass 1967, 52-67; George Bass, "Cape Gelidonya Redux," in Joan Aruz, Sarah Graff and Yelena Rakic (eds.), *Cultures in Contact: From Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C.* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013), 68, where Bass describes two-handed copper ingots.
- ²³ Alfred Lucas and J.R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 4 ed. (London: Edward Arnold, 1962), 487, "Table of Ancient Egyptian Bronze Objects." According to Jack Ogden, "Metals," in Paul Nicholson and Ian Shaw (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 153, arsenic levels could be higher up to the time of Hatshepsut.
- ²⁴ These observations are based upon my as yet unpublished research on *dhty* and lead and tin in Egypt, and on a 1983 lecture at Berkeley and a 1988 Lecture at ARCE. Suffice it to say that tin and lead were confused in the ancient world. This is not surprising, as the two metals have a number of similarities: both are heavy, malleable, grayish metals that can lower the melting point of copper when mixed with them to form a bronze; both are found in the same vertical column of the periodic table of the chemical elements.
- ²⁵ Bass 2013, 62.
- ²⁶ Pritchard, 36–41. For the representations of the four types, see page 39.
- ²⁷ Wachsmann, 4–11 and plate 3.
- ²⁸ See, for example, A. Bauer's comment in the Discussion section at the end of the article by Paul Rehak, "Aegean Natives in the Theban Tomb Paintings: The Keftiu revisited," in Eric Cline and Diane Harris-Cline (eds.), *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium* (Liège and Austin: Université de Liège and University of Texas, 1998), 51.
- ²⁹ Bass 2013, 67; Bass, 1967, 165–167.
- ³⁰ See, for example, Wiener, 41, where he mentions the title "Translator (and) overseer of the merchants from Crete in Ugarit," which implies a significant trade in tin

- in this instance. He notes that it is not clear whether such trading colonies were permanent or seasonal.
- ³¹ Shirley 2007, 394–395, note 8.
- ³² Bass 2013, 68. He suggests that the so-called oxhide ingots were not made to resemble oxhides unless they were based on two-legged oxen.
- ³³ Davies, 28 and plate XXI.
- ³⁴ Porter and Moss, 234 where it is listed as scene 2. Silke Hallmann, *Die Tributszenen des Neuen Reiches* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), 129, also considers that the foreigners, plus the piles of goods, belong to one scene.
- ³⁵ In my dissertation, I discussed all the examples of *inw* in so called “tribute” scenes. I indicated that the Egyptian perception of the transaction was many times “tribute” even though the actuality could be other than that. The question is how did the ancient Egyptians understand these transactions, not how do we understand them today. See Andrew Gordon, *The Context and Meaning of the Ancient Egyptian Word inw from the Proto-Dynastic Period through the End of the New Kingdom* (PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1983), 15–18; 29–31; 332–337; 382–384.
- ³⁶ Gordon, 148–198, 332–340.
- ³⁷ This part of my research was not included in my dissertation, although one could reconstruct it by going through every example of *inw*. I found eight usages of *m33* with *inw*.
- ³⁸ There are three examples: Kurt Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Abteilung IV, Band I, Heft 1–4: Historisch-biographische Urkunden* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1906), 153, 16; Kurt Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Abteilung IV, Band I, Heft 13–16: Historisch-biographische Urkunden* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1909), 953, 13; and Wolfgang Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Abteilung IV, Band IV, Heft 18: Biographische Inschriften von Zeitgenossen Thutmosis' III. und Amenophis' II.* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1956), 1606, 8. Sethe 1909, 1115, 4 refers to all of Egypt.
- ³⁹ Lise Manniche, *Lost Tombs: A Study of Certain Eighteenth Dynasty Monuments in the Theban Necropolis* (London and New York: KPI, 1988, 98); Cyril Aldred, “Two Theban Notables during the Later Reign of Amenophis III,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 18 (1959), 114–115 & fig. 1.
- ⁴⁰ Manniche, 98; Aldred, 114–115 and fig. 1.
- ⁴¹ Helck 1956, 1468, 17.
- ⁴² Sethe 1906, 70, 4.
- ⁴³ This reading was suggested to me by Edmund Meltzer (personal communication).
- ⁴⁴ See Raymond Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1972), 54, with Middle Kingdom references. In the Old Kingdom economic archives of King Neferirkare Kakai, the phrase *km n inw*, “the total of the *inw* is in adjoining columns with *km n wh3t*, “the total of the offerings.” See Gordon, 76, note b and 365.
- ⁴⁵ Personal communication from Edmund Meltzer.
- ⁴⁶ These reading were suggested to be by Edmund Meltzer (personal communication).
- ⁴⁷ The reading of the sign and man’s name was suggested by Edmund Meltzer (personal communication). See Hermann Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen I* (Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1935), 31
- ⁴⁸ Ranke, 30.
- ⁴⁹ The sign to the left of the draught board might also be a bundle of reeds (Gardiner M40), but I could not reconstruct a name with Amun and *is*.
- ⁵⁰ Personal communication from J. J. Shirley.
- ⁵¹ Porter and Moss, 161, Scene 5.
- ⁵² Sethe 1906, 70, lines 1–8.
- ⁵³ Sethe 1906, 70, line 1.
- ⁵⁴ Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1957), 15.
- ⁵⁵ Säve-Söderbergh, 15.
- ⁵⁶ Säve-Söderbergh, 25 and plate XXIII, register 2.
- ⁵⁷ Melinda Hartwig, personal communication.
- ⁵⁸ Melinda Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes, 1419-1372 BCE* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2004), 31.
- ⁵⁹ Hartwig 2004, 31.
- ⁶⁰ Hartwig 2004, 34.
- ⁶¹ Melinda Hartwig, “Style and Visual Rhetoric in Theban Tomb Painting,” in Zahi Hawass and Lyla Brock (eds.), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists II* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press), 304. See Christian Loeben, “Thebanische Tempelmalerei-Spuren Religiöser Ikonographie,” in Roland Tefnin (ed.), *La peinture Égyptienne ancienne: Un monde de signes à préserver* (Brussels: Monumenta Aegyptiaca, 1997), 118–119, notes 24 and 30, for a study a look at the use of the color blue in temples. The previous citation is courtesy of Melinda Hartwig.
- ⁶² M. F. Laming Macadam, *A Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones by the Late N. de Garis Davies I: Plates* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1957), Index A (unpaginated).
- ⁶³ As Macadam only lists the last in a series of titles, the figure is actually higher. See, for example cone no. 166.
- ⁶⁴ J. J. Shirley, “Viceroy, Viziers & the Amun Precinct: The Power of Heredity and Strategic Marriage in the Early 18th Dynasty,” *Journal of Egyptian History* 3 (2010): 73–113.
- ⁶⁵ Shirley 2010, 95.
- ⁶⁶ The reading of the Hm sign (Gardiner U 36) was suggested to me by Edmund Meltzer.
- ⁶⁷ Wolfgang Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Abteilung IV, Heft 22: Inschriften der Könige von Amenophis III. bis Haremhab und ihrer Zeitgenossen* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1958), 2057, 10. See Gordon 1983, no. 138, 146–147 and note a.
- ⁶⁸ Manniche, 91–92. She translates *inw* as “goods,” but at the very least it refers to valuable goods and probably to tribute, at least from the perspective of the ancient Egyptians. See Gordon 1983, *passim*.

⁶⁹ Betsy Bryan, "Exkurse," in Eberhard Dziobek and Mahmud Abdel Raziq (eds.), *Das Grab des Sobekhotep Theban Nr. 63* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1989), 82 and note 14. See also Betsy Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 245.

⁷⁰ Peter Der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II* (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1987), 126, going along with the suggestion of Helck, who also implied that Min's position may have lasted into the reign of Amenhotep II. See Wolfgang Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs* (Leiden-Köln: E. J. Brill, 1958), 352, 468–469.
