SCENES OF TOMB OWNER’S OFFERINGS TO ANCESTORS IN THE NEW KINGDOM PRIVATE THEBAN TOMBS

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ABSTRACT

The New Kingdom private tombs in Thebes contain some scenes that represent the tomb owner presenting offerings to parents, brothers, grandparents, viziers, workers, and other relatives. This research studies the tomb owner offering scenes to his ancestors, as it is known that the tomb owner, as deceased on his tomb, is supposed to be the receiver of offerings from others and not the opposite. This study deals with six scenes in New Kingdom Theban private tombs. Most of these offering scenes were presented by the tomb owner to his grandparents. These scenes will be described and studied with the associated texts. Most of the scenes have been studied in the light of the piety of person towards his dead ancestors. The tomb owner represents himself in the world of the living offers to his relatives in the world of the dead. Thus, this offering was a part of mortuary cult of the dead. Inheritance is a reword for the performance of mortuary cult for the parents. These offerings were a way of communication between the living and the dead. In some cases, the tomb owner performed the so-called cult of "Excellent or spirits of Re"; persons who have supernatural existence and could affect the realm of the Dead.

KEYWORDS: Offering, Tomb owner, ancestors, grandparents, relatives.

INTRODUCTION

The tomb owner offers to his ancestors in the scenes of some tombs in Thebes. These scenes have been interpreted as kind of several monuments associated with ancestor cult. The scenes of ancestor cult occurred in TT. 82 of Amenemhet (Fig.1), TT.112 of Menkheperrasonb (Fig.2), TT 295 of Dhutmosi (Fig.3), TT335 of Nekhetamun (Fig. 4, 5), TT. 330 of Karo, TT
148 of Amenemopet (Fig.6). Ancient Egypt performed rituals after the death of a person for some reasons, the most important of which is as a kind of condolence to the people associated with this deceased, and to repair the social gap in the personal network of intertwined obligations and patterns of mutual activity. These rituals in various forms have been inherited through history into our modern era. However, the condolence was not the only motive on the case of ancestor cult, it seems that there are other aims of that cult can be listed under four headings: 1- Serving the tomb owner (dedicator), 2-Serving the ancestors themselves 3- Serving the living society 4- Serving of the other dead in netherworld.

**Previous Studies**

Several studies dealt with the cult of ancestors but discussed the topic only through monuments that were preserved in homes and chapels such as busts and stone stelae. None of these studies studied the scenes of the ancestor cult depicted on the walls of the tombs. The study of these wall scenes as cult of ancestor was included within the publishing of the tombs as the publication of TT 82, TT 148, or as separated scenes such as the study of Demarée for the cases of the scenes from TT 335. The most important studies that dealt with the ancestor cult are as follows:

- In 2001 Clare Plater discusses the letters to the dead, reserve heads.
- In 2005 Jan Assmann has covered the topic of death and the afterlife but here study is mostly text-based on religious texts not the private scenes.
- In 2004 Rawya Ismail studied the household cults in New Kingdom.
- The most extensive study of ancestor busts is made by Jean L. Keith.
- Robert Demarée studied ancestor cults, based around the analysis of akh iqer stelae.
- Robert Ritner also studied the household religion.

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1 Harrington, *Living with the Dead*, 28.
5 Plater, “Aspects of the Interaction between the Living and the Dead in Ancient Egypt.”
6 Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*.
7 Ismail, “Aspects of Household Cults in New Kingdom Sites in Ancient Egypt Compared with Such Practices in Modern Western Thebes.”
8 Keith, Donnat, and Donnat, *Anthropoid Busts of Deir El Medineh and Other Sites and Collections*.
9 Demarée, “The 3ḫ Îkr n Re-Stelae on Ancestor Worship in Ancient Egypt.”
John Baines and Peter Lacovara have analyzed the ambivalent attitudes of the Egyptians towards their dead.\textsuperscript{11}  
Emily Teeter studied the cult of the dead inside the religion and ritual of ancient Egypt.\textsuperscript{12}

CORPUS OF STUDIED SCENES  
SCENE 1: THE DECEASED AMENEMHET OFFERS TO HIS ANCESTORS, TT.82.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date:</th>
<th>Location:</th>
<th>PM: I</th>
<th>Place of the scene</th>
<th>Fig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tuthmosis III</td>
<td>Shekh Abd el-Qurna</td>
<td>No. (4) p.164</td>
<td>Hall, left wall</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure (1): Amenemhet Offers to his Ancestors. After: Davies N. G. and Gardiner A. H. "The tomb of Amenemhet (No. 82), The Theban Tomb series, Tome 1, London, 1915, PL VII.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SCENE

Amenemhet is standing and raising his right hand referring to offerings in the customary pose as he performs the rites\textsuperscript{13}. He is barefoot and wears a double kilt, with a wig and necklace around his neck. Amenemhet’s

\textsuperscript{10} Ritner, “Household Religion in Ancient Egypt.”  
\textsuperscript{11} Baines and Lacovara, “Burial and the Dead in Ancient Egyptian Society.”  
\textsuperscript{12} Teeter, \textit{Religion and Ritual in Ancient Egypt}.  
\textsuperscript{13} Davies and Gardiner, \textit{The Tomb of Amenemhēt (No. 82)}, 1:35.
ancestors are sitting every couple on one couch, front of them are three tables of offerings. They all are barefoot and wear necklaces and wigs. The tray is loaded with half loaves set vertically, or perhaps a new stylization of the reed mat. The ancestors, except the first person in each row, hold the napkin in their left hands and the lotus flower, symbol of renewal, in right hands. On the upper register sits Ahmes-Humichau, steward of the vizier, and his wife Ahmose. Ahmes-Humichau is the brother-in-law of Amenemhet and at the same time his father-in-law. The second couple is Dhutimose, called Aa and his wife Thuiunofret, they are the paternal grandparents of Amenemhet's wife. The third couple is man, and his wife held the same name Dhutimose, they the uncle and the aunt of Amenemhet's wife. On the lower register the first couple is Amenemhet's parents Dhutimose and Antef. The second couple is Kay and Antef, the paternal grandparents of the deceased. The third couple is Antef and Ahotep, the maternal grandparents of the deceased.

The Text of Amenemhat Reads:

\[ s\hat{s} \, hsb \, ipt \, m \, \$nwt \, htpw \, ntr \, n \, imn \, smsw- \, pd \, imy-r \, pr \, n \, t\text{3}ty \, hry \, mrw \, n \, imn \, imn-m-h^5t \, m^\text{3}c-\text{hrw} \]

" The scribe who reckons the grain in the granary of [divine offerings of Amun], the master of ceremonies,' the overseer of ploughed fields steward of the Vizier, chief of the weavers of [the house of (?) Amun], Amenemhat, the justified,"

Text of Offerings Reads:

\[ Irt \, htp \, di \, nsw \, in \, itw. \, f \, im3lw \, imy \, hrt \, ntr \, snmt \, m \, htp \, ntr \, prt \, m \, b\text{3}h \, n \, r^5 \, nb \]

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15 The napkin is hieroglyphic sign of health: Davies and Gardiner, 1915, p. 35.
17 Davies and Gardiner, The Tomb of Amenemhēt (No. 82), 1:36.
18 Sethe and Helck, Urkunden der 18. Dynastie, 1050 (c).
19 (Snwt) granary: Wb 2, 318.11.
20 This line of hieroglyphs from Sethe, Urkunden IV, 1054, but without the end (n ra b), this was added in Davies and Gardiner, The Tomb of Amenemhēt (No. 82), 1:35 note (3).
"Making offerings—which-the-King-gives to his fathers the revered ones who are in the Necropolis, feasting (fooding) [them] with the ritual divine offerings every day\textsuperscript{21}.

**SCENE 2: THE DECEASED MENKHEPERRASONB OFFERS TO HIS ANCESTORS: TT.112.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>PM: I</th>
<th>Place of the scene</th>
<th>Fig.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tuthmosis III.</td>
<td>Shekh Abd el-Qurna.</td>
<td>No. (5)</td>
<td>Hall, west wall, left part.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>P.230.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure (2): Menkheperrasonb offers to his maternal grandparents. After: Davies N.G., *The Theban Tombs Series V, The Tombs of Menkheperrasonb, Amenmose, and another*, London "1933, PL XXIII.

**DESCRIPTION OF THE SCENE**

Menkheperrasonb as a *sem* priest offers various types of food to his maternal grandparents. Menkheperrasonb is wearing the leopard skin and raises his right hand and refers to the offerings and the written text to confirm the consecration of the offerings. The maternal grandparents of the deceased Hepu and Nebta \textsuperscript{22} sit on one couch. Hepu wears a double kilt. He holds the lotus flower in the right hand which reaches the nose, in the left hand he holds a linen hand napkin. Hepu is represented barefoot and

\textsuperscript{21} Davies and Gardiner, 1:35.

\textsuperscript{22} Davies and Davies, “The Tombs of Menkheperrasonb,” 15.
wearing a wig with cone of ointment on the top. Nebta wears a tight tunic and puts her right hand around her husband's shoulder. She holds the lotus flower with the left hand. She puts a necklace Usekh around the neck and a wig with cone of ointment on the top.

Text of grandparents 23:

![Image]

\textit{It.f snny n.hmt f \(\text{hbw}\), mwt.f mryt.f nbt \(t3\) m3\(t\) \(\text{hrw}\).}

His father, the warrior of (his) Majesty, Hepu, his mother, his beloved Nbta.

Text of Deceased

![Image]

\(\text{hm ntr tpy n imn Mn-\(\text{hbr-r}\)-snb? dd.f htp di nsw wsir nfr w}\text{\(\text{f}\) t}\(24\) n \text{\(k3t\) tn iw w}\text{\(b\).}

The first prophet of Amun, Menkheperrasoneb, he says all good and pure offerings for your spirits (pure?).

**Scene 3:** The Deceased Djhutymes (called Paroy) offers to his grandparents: TT 295.

![Image]


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23 Davies and Davies, 21, 22.

24 \text{w}\text{\(\text{f}\)}t \quad \text{pure Wb I, 282.6-7}
DESCRIPTION OF THE SCENE

The figure of the Dhutimes who offers to his grandparents is erased\(^\text{25}\). Unfortunately, the name is destroyed but a part of his title survived. He was presented as (\(s3.f\))\(^\text{26}\). A small male figure stands under the offering table facing Sennetjer and Senemiah, presenting a bowl, he was probably a servant. On the left side of the scene, Sennetjer and Senemiah, are seated on one couch. Sennetjer wears a kilt and is represented with a wig on the head and Usekh necklace around his neck. The left hand is placed on the heart and holds a lotus flower which curls up to reach the nose. Senemiah sits beside her husband, she puts her left hand around his shoulder. She is wearing a tight tunic, a wig with headband, a necklace around her neck with a part of the wig is hanging over. A young boy stands beside the woman, with lotus flowers in his upraised right hand. He was probably a young son or grandson of the couple.\(^\text{27}\) In front of the seated couple is an offering table beneath which is a stand with wine-jars\(^\text{28}\). Under the offering table are two jars wrapped mostly with lotus flowers. There is no cone of ointment above the head of the grandparents which is normal on the similar scenes\(^\text{29}\). The feet of the grandparent are placed on the level of the floor and not on the normal footstool for the honored persons\(^\text{30}\). The grandfather is represented with a short beard which confirms his role as an official\(^\text{31}\).

Texts of the Deceased Djhutymes and the offerings reads\(^\text{32}\):

\[^{25}\] The study of Whale concluded that this couple is the deceased’s grandparents, while the couple who appeared in another next document on the current study (doc.) from the same tomb TT 295 are the parents of the deceased.


\[^{27}\] Whale, 222.

\[^{28}\] Tosi and Hegazy, A Theban Private Tomb.

\[^{29}\] According to Padgham, The cone has important role and extensive significance for the afterlife of the deceased; Padgham, A New Interpretation of the Cone on the Head in New Kingdom Egyptian Tomb Scenes, 1.

\[^{30}\] In most similar scenes, the feet of the father or the ancestors are placed on a higher footstool, which is not the same case here, it seems that the artist replaced it by placing the chair itself on a base higher than the ground level.

\[^{31}\] The short beard was a sign of the high rank between officials; Bruhn and Tilke, A Pictorial History of Costume from Ancient Times to the Nineteenth Century, 7–11.

\[^{32}\] Tosi and Hegazy, A Theban Private Tomb.
[?] sn[..] n k3 tn[..] In s3.f[..] [sm m] pr nfr hry tp m hn [inpw].
To you spirits [?] by his son [the sem-priest in the] Place of Embalmment, the chief of?

Texts of grandfather reads:

sd3wty bity smr wcr nsw….pr-nsw
swr hbn Wsir sS-nsw hry-hb hr tp sm m pr-nfr hry-tp m pr-md3t n mry.f ntr nfr m3c-hrwr
snt.f nbt.pr mr[y]t.f n st.f ib.f Sn-m-i5 h m3c-t-hrwr

[The chieftain, the count] and seal-bearer, the sole friend… of the King… the friends, the chief of entering the Royal House, the leader of the festival of Osiris, the royal scribe, the chief lector priest, the sem-priest in the Place of Embalmment, the chief in the book-house, the true royal scribe whom he loves, Sennetjër, justified. His sister (wife), the lady of the house, his favorite, one whom he loves, Senemiah, justified”.

**Scene 4: The Deceased Nekhetamun offers to couple of long past ancestors, TT. 335.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>PM: I</th>
<th>Place of the scene</th>
<th>Fig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ramesses II.</td>
<td>Deir el-Medina</td>
<td>No (17- I), p.402.</td>
<td>Room B, south wall.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Fig. 4: The Deceased Nekhetamun offers to couple of ancestors. After: Bruyère, B. IFAO, (1926), Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1924–1925), fig. 90, p. 133.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SCENE

The deceased Nekhetamun is standing offers to his ancestors in front of him Nakhtamun is wearing a leopard skin, thus he is dressed as a sem-priest 34. He is holding an ewer and the paw of panther skin which he wears. His right hand is stretching towards the seated couple and holds a small bowl of water. Nakhtamun wears the Usekh necklace and dress make up the costume of this priest 35. The ancestors sit on one couch, their foreheads surrounded by a headband, the Usekh necklace adorns their breasts. The husband smells a blooming lotus. The couple put their feet on a common stool which is higher than the Nekhetamun’s feet which is usual for the head of family 36. The woman is wearing a striped robe and puts her left hand around her husband's shoulder. She wears a necklace with a part of the wig is hanging over. The space between the tomb owner and his ancestors, including the offering table, has a place for another person. It seems that the robbers opened the partition and destroyed part of the seated figures and approximately six columns out of thirteen from the

34 Demarée, “The 3ḫ Êkr n Re-Stelae on Ancestor Worship in Ancient Egypt,” 155 note (1).
35 Bruyère, Rapport Sur Les Fouilles de Deir El Médineh, 1926, 133 Fig. 90.
36 Säve-Söderbergh, Davies, and Davies, “Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs,” 22.
accompanying text. The man and the woman only indicated by the titles 'the master of the house' and 'mistress of the house, without specific names

The offering text reads:

$h\text{tp-d}i-n\text{sw w}^c\text{b sp} 2 m t h\text{nkh k}^3\text{w }3\text{pdw k}^b\text{hw} l\text{rp} \ldots sn\text{tr mr}\text{h}t n\text{ft} n\text{k}^3 n\text{t} n N n\text{b} \ldots p3 n\text{b-pr m} d\text{rt} n s3.\text{tn iw}^c\text{tn tp t}^c w^c\text{b n nb} t3\text{wy nsw-bity (d}sr-k3-R^c) m3^c-hrw s3-R^c (\text{Imn-h}\text{tp p3 d}m1 t3\text{ty m st-m3}^c h\text{r imn}tt w3st Nh\text{h-min m3}^c-h\text{rw} dd.f 7 \ldots ntrw nb[w] .. ii.\text{tn n.i m hr}t-ntr

An offering which the king gives: pure, pure, of breads, beer, heads of livestock, birds, libations, wine, incense, ointments, and all good and pure things, for your ka. For the master [of the house/ family], by the hand of your son, your heir on land, the wab-priest of the Lord of the Two Lands, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Djoser-kare, justified, the son of Re, Amenhotep (Lord of) the Village. The servant on the Place of Truth on the west of Thebes, Nakhtamon, justified. He says: Oh, you gods, the Lords [of the west are gracious?] to me in the Necropolis”.

Scene 5: The Deceased Nekhtamun and family offer Neferhotep: TT 335.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>PM: I</th>
<th>Place of the scene</th>
<th>Figure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19th Dynasty,Ramesses II</td>
<td>Deir el-Medina</td>
<td>No (16), .402</td>
<td>Room B, south all.</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

37 Demarée, “The 3ḫ İkr n Re-Stelae on Ancestor Worship in Ancient Egypt,” 155.
38 Bruyère, Rapport Sur Les Fouilles de Deir El Médineh, 1926, 133 Fig. 90.
Fig. 5: The Deceased Nekhtamun and family offer to brother. After: Bruyere, (1926), Fig.89.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SCENE
The scene represents Nakhtamun, his wife Nubemshaset, six men and three women are standing and offering to Neferhotep. Nakhetamun wears a wide skirt. He is bare footed with Usekh necklace and a wig on the head. He carries the libation vessel (Kbḥ) on his right hand and pours water on the offering table. He brandishes a censer in which burns incense. Nebuemsheset is standing behind her husband. She holds in her right hand a stoppered vase whilst with the left one she holds a vase containing the stems in the course of germination. The six men and three women are the sons, son in laws, daughters, and stepdaughters of Nekhtamun. They carry different kind of offering in their hands. Neferhotep, the honored person is seated on a chair; he is holding a lotus-flower and a napkin. It is known that he was a revered person and was worshiped in Deir el-Medina. Demarée, “The 3ḫ ḫr n Rc-Stelae on Ancestor Worship in Ancient Egypt,” 155.

For a specific reason, the tomb painter used an unusually yellow color for the men, instead of reddish brown, this gives a feeling as if the men wear a piece of clothing in the upper part of the body.

This offering represents a wish for rebirth (a reference to the vegetating Osiris).

He is the same Neferhotep the one who was worshiped as Ah ḫqr n Ra in the same way on the tomb of Ramose TT250: Norman de Garis Davies, The Tomb of Nefer-Hotep at Thebes, vol. 9 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1933), 31–34.

A summary of the Maspero and Dimare studies on the cult of Neferhotep and its relationship to the offerings of the deceased (subject of study) will be presented in a later chapter.
represented in a small figure\textsuperscript{44} wearing a long skirt, a side lock and a cone of ointment on the head. In the text he is presented as “\textit{3h \textit{ikr n r}َ}}” excellent spirit of Ra\textsuperscript{45}.

Text of Nakhetamon\textsuperscript{46}:

\begin{center}
\textit{rdit htp di nsw w\textsuperscript{c} sp 2 n n k3.k m drt sn.k mry.k t\textsuperscript{3}ty N\textit{nh}-min sn.t fnb pr nbw-m-\textsuperscript{s}ist m\textsuperscript{3}t[l]-hrw}
\end{center}

An offering that the king gives, pure, pure, for your spirit, by the hand of your beloved 'brother, the sculptor Nakhtamon, justified (and) his wife, the lady of the house, Nebuemsheset, justified

The Text of the honored Neferhotep reads\textsuperscript{47}:

\begin{center}
\textit{3h \textit{ikr n r}َ nfr htp m\textsuperscript{3}t hrw}
\end{center}

The excellent spirit of Ra Neferhotep, justified.

**Scene 6: The Deceased Karo Offers to his Parents, Brothers and Wife:**

**TT 330.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>PM: I</th>
<th>Place of the scene</th>
<th>Figure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19th Dynasty, Ramses II.</td>
<td>Deir el-Medina.</td>
<td>No (2), p.398.</td>
<td>Chapel, north wall, eastern half.</td>
<td>No figure available</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**DESCRIPTION OF THE SCENE**

Bruyère explained the scene and the hieroglyphic text in his publication but without the figure of the scene. According Bruyère, the deceased Karo is standing and offerings to eight people seated one behind the other. Karo

\textsuperscript{44} The small size of the character is noticeable, usually the recipient of the offering is at least the height of the officiating priest.

\textsuperscript{45} Bernard Bruyère, \textit{Rapport Sur Les Fouilles de Deir El Médineh: 1924-1925}, 1926, 128, Fig. 89.

\textsuperscript{46} Bruyère, 128; Demarée, “The \textit{3h Êkr n Rc-Stelae on Ancestor Worship in Ancient Egypt},” 155.

is making the libations using the $Kbh$ vase. The guests turn to the north and all breathe the lotus flowers. Each of them always encroaching on the previous one to indicate the side by side and not the success. The men were depicted without the cone of ointment while all the women have the perfume cone on their heads. This is the same description of the middle register on the stela of Karo in Turin Mus., No.50012, cat.1636.

Hieroglyphic text reads:

$$\text{Wsir it.f s3mwt, m3t hwr. sbt.f nbt pr p3sd?? m3t hwr.snt.f mwt wrt ?? iri ?}$$

$$\text{In s3.sn s3hn sn.sn sdm$t s m st m3$t K3r.}$$

Osiris, his father Simut, justified, his wife(sister) the lady of the house Pashed???, justified, his sister Tawrt?, iry ???. By your son who makes your name (a live), the servant in the place of truth, karō.

Scene 7: The Deceased Amenemopet offers to his ancestors: TT. 148.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>PM: I</th>
<th>Place of the scene</th>
<th>Figure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20th Dynasty,</td>
<td>Dra Abu el-</td>
<td>No. (2-II)</td>
<td>Transverse chamber, east wall.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramesses III to V.</td>
<td>Naga.</td>
<td>P.259.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


51 Because of the poor state of the text, Bruyère (1925), p. 94, replaced the $\text{N}$ on name of $\text{(t3wrt)}$ with $\text{N}$, but this can be understood easily in the stela 50012 in the Turin Museum where the sister’s name appears in good condition.

52 In spite of the presence of the brothers, the deceased used the word of (your son) towards all the guest, perhaps because the priority in presenting the offering to the parents.
**DESCRIPTION OF THE SCENE**

Amenemope is offering to his grandparents Amenhotep and Henutmeter \(^{53}\). He is cited as a sem-priest wearing leopard skin upon white tunic and his head is shaven. He wears sandals. Amenemope is making a libation, the water is falling onto green lotus stems fastened by a red ribbon \(^{54}\). The upper part of the offering table is now totally lost \(^{55}\). Amenhotep is seated on a chair with a high backrest, colored black \(^{56}\). The man is clothed in an ample white tunic with wide sleeves. Around his neck is a multicolored Usekh necklace and two gold chains, the magical armor that given the same protection status of the eye of Horus \(^{57}\). He has a short beard characteristic of officials. In his left hand he is holding a green sekhem scepter of power \(^{58}\). Henutmeter is represented behind her husband in separated chair. She is wearing a long black wig with colored headband.

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\(^{54}\) The form of the fastened stem is perfectly recalling the hieroglyph Gardiner M37

\(^{55}\) Ockinga, *The Tomb of Amenemope at Thebes (TT 148)*, 46.

\(^{56}\) The black color of the chair is possibly to indicate a high-quality wood such as ebony (or because it is indeed made of ebony).

\(^{57}\) Antelme and Rossini, *Becoming Osiris*, 19.

\(^{58}\) The Sekhem scepter was a symbol of power and authority. As such the hieroglyph was often used as a determinative in words associated with positions of authority; Lurker and Clayton, *An Illustrated Dictionary of the Gods and Symbols of Ancient Egypt*, 105.
and stem of a lotus plant on the forehead. Her right arm is stretched out and touched the chair of her husband, while in the left she holds the stem of a papyrus which umbel is open.

The text of the grandparents reads:

Wsir ḥm ntr n.y Imn.w (2) Imn.w-ḥtp(w) m3ḥ hrw, snw.f wrt ḥmr.t n(t)

Imn.w116 (3) Ḥnw.t-ml(r)

The Osiris, the priest of Amon, Amenhotep", his sister (wife), the chief of the musical troupe of Amon, Henutmeter.

DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

To reach understandable and correct conclusions on the topic of the scenes in which the tomb owner offered to his ancestors of grandparents, the scenes will be analyzed through the following points.

APPEARANCE OF DEDICATOR AND RECEIVER

Generally, the grandparents of the tomb owner did not appear much in the tombs of their grandchildren. They were depicted in few scenes when they have a strong role and influence that resulted in the succession of their grandson to important offices seem to justify their inclusion in the tomb.

The scenes of offering to the ancestors of grandparent’s kinship were represented on the walls of the tomb and not on the usual stelae of ancestors. In three scenes out of this study the tomb owner offered to his ancestors on stelae that were found in the tombs (TT.330, TT. 290, TT. 335). These stelae are some of many found inside homes which were made to facilitate ancestor’s cult. These scenes of offerings that were presented by the tomb owner to his grandparents on the walls of the tombs were distinguished by the presence of more than one receiver of offerings (Fig. 59).

59 The symbolism of lotus presented to the dead for resurrection was derived from the connection of lotus to the sun-god which established in the Old Kingdom and it can be seen to be the same until the end of the Late Period. He was the child who rose from the Lotus: Lurker and Clayton, An Illustrated Dictionary of the Gods and Symbols of Ancient Egypt, 118...

60 Ockinga, The Tomb of Amenemope at Thebes (TT 148), 46.

61 Ockinga, 48.

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6). The grandparents when they received the offerings from their grandson, were mostly represented alone in form of couple (Fig. 2, 3, 4, 6), and rarely with other couples of relatives (Fig. 1). In one only scene the grandparents appeared with other ancestors in the tomb of Amenemhet. Amenemhet's grandparents and his wife's grandparents appeared together with other ancestors, the reason for this is the blood relationship between the Amenemhet's parents and his wife's parents, and thus the blood relationship between Amenemhat himself and his wife. So, all of these ancestors belong to the same lineage, they are big and extended family. In all his offering scenes to his grandparents, the tomb owner offered alone without his wife or other relatives (Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6). The classic sitting of couple on separated chares or one couch and the arm of the wife around her husband repeated in most of the scenes especially those of the 18th and 19th Dynasties (Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4). The step under the feet of the grandparents, which expresses that they are the head of the family, and the standing position of the tomb owner in front of his grandparents, appeared in all the six scenes and expressed respect for the ancestors. In three scenes, the doner appeared as a sim-priest (Fig. 2, 4, 6). Few changes occurred on the arrangement on the later scene of the 20th dynasty (Fig. 6), the couple kept a larger distance than usual which made the grandmother seems sitting behind her husband and instead of putting her arm around to her husband, as is usual, extended her hand and touched the back of the chair he is sitting on.

**Relation between Offerings to Ancestors and Inheritance**

As was the motivation of funerary rituals for ancestors, Amenemopet offers to his grandparents Amenhotep and Henutmete (scene 7, Fig. 6). Amenemopet was the eldest son of his father this means that he is supposed to inherit a great part of his father’s wealth and thus the wealth of ancestors. In a similar scene on the tomb, Amenemopet is standing and making offerings of a libation and of incense to his parents, Thonufer.

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63 Whale, 269.

64 Säve-Söderbergh, Davies, and Davies, “Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs,” 22.

65 Ockinga, *The Tomb of Amenemope at Thebes (TT 148)*, 47.

66 In Muhammed, “The Development of the Funerary Beliefs and Practices Displayed in the Private Tombs of the New Kingdom at Thebes,” 117., Abdel-Qader considered that the offerings of Amenemopet is presented to one of his colleague.
and Nefertary. Amenemopet wants to mark his ancestors as distinct from society\textsuperscript{67}. The scene can be also explained as attempt to legitimate his right to the wealth or the title of his ancestors. Amenemopet wants to show his responsibility for the funerary cult of his parents and grandparents by presenting offerings for their \textit{K3} after death.

Amenehet the owner of TT 82 offered to his ancestors in scene 1 (Fig.1) he was also the eldest son of his parents\textsuperscript{68} and was responsible for the funerary cult of his parents and ancestors. Friedman argued that these types of offering cult was performed to legitimate some rights and social identity by association with the past, and the protection of the living by the dead ancestors\textsuperscript{69}. Establishing funerary rituals and continuity of offering to ancestors and parents after death had relation with inheritance, totally, partially, or only the right of administration, it still a subject of search and discussion. Although it was morally inappropriate to clarify that he performs the cult of his ancestors in exchange for inheritance, however, there are non-explicit references to that on some texts such as allusion in the text of scene 4, when Nekhetamun says "By the hand of your son, your heir on earth,". Nekhetamun wants to legitimize himself as heir for the ancestors, so he performed the rite and offers to prove his piety towards his ancestors.

\textbf{OFFERING TO ANCESTORS FOR PRIDE OF LINEAGE AND GATHERING THE FAMILY}

On scene 1 (Fig.1) from TT.82, Amenemhet offered to twelve of his ancestors\textsuperscript{70} who are his father Djhutmes, mother Tawret, Parental grandparents, Maternal grandparents, parents-in-law, wife's uncle, aunt, and grandparents\textsuperscript{71}. In ancient Egyptian society, there was great pride in one's family, and lineage was tracked through both the mother's and father's lines. The respect of the parents and grandparents was a foundation of morality. The family was the core of Egyptian society and even the gods were arranged into such families\textsuperscript{72}. Amenemhet tried to gather many

\textsuperscript{67} Ockinga, \textit{The Tomb of Amemomope at Thebes (TT 148)}, 47.
\textsuperscript{68} Davies and Gardiner, \textit{The Tomb of Amenemhēt (No. 82)}, 1:40.
\textsuperscript{70} Davies and Gardiner, \textit{The Tomb of Amenemhēt (No. 82)}, 1:35.
\textsuperscript{71} Whale, “The Family in the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt,” 60.
\textsuperscript{72} Brewer, Brewer, and Teeter, \textit{Egypt and the Egyptians}, chap. 7.
ancestors reached to twelve persons to confirm his pride in the lineage of his family. The text reads "Making offerings—which-the-King-gives to his fathers the revered ones who are in the Necropolis, feasting (feeding) [them] with the ritual divine offerings every day". The parents of the Amenemhet are the first couple of a list of ancestors.

List of names for blood relatives and kinship that explained in Amenemhet’s tomb show a strong genealogical unity even though he himself was not of high standard in society. Many of countless genealogical lists indicate how important family ties were. Egyptian relationship terms do not have specific words to identify all relatives of blood outside the nuclear family. For example, the term "sister" was often used for "wife" perhaps an indication of the strength of the bond between spouses. The word used to define "father" was the same as "grandfather" and the word "mother" was also used for "grandmother". Equally, the terms for "son," "grandson," and "nephew" (or "daughter," "granddaughter," and "niece") were the same. Also, "brother" "Uncle" (or "sister" and "aunt") were referred to by the same word. Thus, Amenemhet repeated some of terminology words of nuclear family to define and distinguish his grandparents and those of his wife. This is clear when the text reads: “it.f f t.f im3 hy smsw hyt imy-r hbsw k3y(qr kmy), mw t it.f nbt pr intf m35 t lrw”, “it mw t.f intf m35 lrw., “mw t mw t.f nbt pr 3h-htp m35 t lrw”.

By depicting this number of ancestors on one scene Amenemhet aimed uniting his family not only on the world of living but also in netherworld. The ancient Egyptian concern for the unity of relatives can be understood through some popular texts such as in the Harper’s Song from the tomb of Neferhotep which reads ‘This land that has not its enemy, all our kin rest in it since the time of first antiquity’.

OFFERINGS TO ANCESTORS AS WAY OF COMMUNICATION WITH THE DEAD

The "ancestors" are presented sitting at the back end of the tomb, while Amenemhat turns his back to the entrance of the tomb. Symbolically, this

74 Davies and Gardiner, The Tomb of Amenemhēt (No. 82), 1:35.
75 Brewer, Brewer, and Teeter, Egypt and the Egyptians, chap. 7.
76 Sethe and Helck, Urkunden der 18. Dynastie, 1055.
means that the "ancestors" belong to the afterworld and Amenemhat to that of the living. Although the scene and the text confirm that the owner of the tomb in the world of living and the ancestors in the world of the dead, but the text also confirms that the living owner can celebrate with the dead at the feast. They were entities with the ability to communicate with the living and intervene in their life. Other texts confirmed the possibility of contacting with the dead relatives, for example on the text of scene 4 is a dialogue between the living tomb owner and his ancestors saying, "for your ka". These texts are considered an expression of the belief that it is possible to communicate with the dead and share the celebrations with them.

The ancient Egyptian did not consider the death of a person as permanent absence. If the appropriate funeral rites were performed and offerings were made, the ka of the dead can return and enjoy with the living. Not only were the scenes of the offerings that expressed this communication, but there were messages from the living to the dead and appeals from the dead to the living.

**OFFERING TO ANCESTORS OF VENERATED TITLES**

On scene No. 2 (Fig.2) from TT.112, Menkheperrasonb offered to his grandfather Hepu and his grandmother Nebta. Nebta held the title “snt mn n nb tawy” Foster Sister of the Lord of the Two Lands. The pride of Menkheperresonb is the high and venerated status of his grandmother, appears in the affiliation with her. For example, in TT 86, the only family member mentioned in the tomb is Nebta. At the end of dedicating offerings to the gods Amun-Re, Osiris, and Hathor, Menkheperresonb is described as "born of the foster sister of the lord of the two lands Nebetta, Justified". Nebetta is the grandmother of Menkheperresorib, although, he

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78 Davies and Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhêt (No. 82)*, 1:35.
79 Harrington, *Living with the Dead*, 8.
80 The text reads "Sitting in the hall of pleasure and spending a good day together with his "brother" "cousin" ", whom he loves, " see Doc. 17.
81 Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*, 90, 101.
83 This tomb also for Menkheperrasonb, Davies thought that TT.86 was built after TT 112 because of the more funerary nature of the texts. See (Davies, 1933, tomb no 86).
84 Roehrig, “The Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse (Mn’t Nswt), Royal Tutor (Mn’nswt), and Foster Brother/Sister of the Lord of the Two Lands (Sn/Snt Mn’n Nb T3wy),” 20.
crossed his parents to affiliate himself to her. She is represented three times in TT 112 what is believed to be Menkheperresonb's earlier tomb. This number exceeds the representation of other family members even his parents. The parents of Menkheperresonb were represented in TT 112 only in two scenes. The distinguished character of Nebtta and her titles which usually linked her with the royal family or the god were a subject of assistance to her relatives for obtaining prestigious positions. As blessed ancestor she can serve all the dead relatives and deliver offerings to them. The pride in the affiliation with Nebtta can be understood from other sources as well. Tadidites, the wife of Hekanefer, was described as "Daughter of the Foster Sister of the Lord of the Two Lands Nebtta" (s3t sn n mn5t n nb t3wy Nbt-tB, m35t-hrw). Tadidites, however, may be a grandchild of Nebtta since the word son is often used instead of grandson. Tadidites and Hekanefer must have lived during the reign of Amunhotep II as Hekanefer was W3b-priest of the royal k3 of Tuthmosis III in Henket-ankh (the king's mortuary temple).

DECEASED OFFERINGS TO ANCESTORS WITHIN THE LIVING MEMORY

The scenes of offerings to the ancestors on the walls of the tombs were represented to celebrate the memory of the ancestors and revive their cult. Ancestor cult was mostly intended to commemorate those within the living memory, not members of long past generations. The ancestors shown in scenes 1, 2, 3, and 6, are contemporary generations of the tomb owner. They are the grandparents of the tomb owner (father’s parents and mother’s parents) or their generation. It seems a reasonable possibility that

87 Roehrig, “The Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse (Mn’t Nswt), Royal Tutor (Mn’nswt), and Foster Brother/Sister of the Lord of the Two Lands (Sn/Snt Mn’n Nb T3wy),” 21.
88 From this inscription Davies assumed that Hekanefer and his wife lived during the reign of Amunhotep II, but (Roehrig, 1991) commented that probably they lived during the reign of Tuthmosis III, because sometimes the wab-priest for the royal ka started work in the mortuary temples as soon as this structure was built.
89 Yehia, “Contributions of the Royal Foster Mother in the Eighteenth Dynasty,” 131 and not 70.
91 Demarée, “The 3ḥ Ḥr n Rc-Stelae on Ancestor Worship in Ancient Egypt,” 282.
the tomb owner has seen the honored relatives or lived during their life. The recently deceased and the distant dead were viewed differently. Both could behave malevolently, but only the recently deceased seemed to be in direct communication with the living and to be responsive to requests for help. Their names, characters and relationships with the living were common knowledge, whereas the distant ancestors (whether $n\text{hw}$ or $\text{mwt}$) whose names were forgotten, represented the unknown and might therefore be expected to behave in a manner that was inherently more chaotic and disruptive.

**DECEASED’S OFFERINGS TO LONG PAST ANCESTORS**

There is an exception for the couple of ancestors shown in scene No. 4 (Fig.4) from TT 335. In this scene, the tomb owner offered to couple of his ancestors without specific names. It seems that the ancestors shown in this scene, are not within those who still in the living memory. According Bruyère, mostly, they are Ancestors of long past. In the text of this document there is unclear feature, the man is intitled $\text{sdm-}\$ m st m$\text{t}$ (the servant of the place of truth) which specifies his identity, but he also held unusual qualifier $\text{p3 nb-pr}$ (the master of the house/ the head of the family). The name is not written, and the place of this name, voluntarily reserved, has remained empty. The same thing for the wife, she is also qualified $\text{hnwt p3 pr}$ (the one who rules the house/ the head of the family) and her name is left blank. Bruyere commented on the omissions of the ancestor’s names and replacing them by these unusual titles, that the scribe may have intended to present the ancestors with their titles and not their names. He claims that the titles (the head of the family) is reserved for the blessed ancestors who were regarded as the mediator agents of mercy or pain between the deceased and the gods. If it is suggested that the scribe left the place of the name blank due to his lack of knowledge, or until the name of this ancestor was reached, this may suggest that the temporal distance

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92 Harrington, *Living with the Dead*, 146.
between the generation of the tomb owner and the honorable ancestor so far that the name is unknown to the scribe.

OFFERING TO ANCESTORS AND DEIR EL-MEDINA

Many offering scenes to ancestors on walls or stelae were found in the tombs and houses at Deir el-Medina. The cult of ancestors appeared more often in such small societies because they are the source of traditions within the group. The man who received the offering on scene No.1 is described by his title of (s̱dm ᵃš) only to indicate that he is from Deir el Medinah and that there is no risk, by leaving him vague and undetermined, of canceling the benefits of offering. This means that the vague person in is perhaps known to the natives of the village because the veneration of ancestors and the rituals associated with it is assisted in the social cohesion of the society95. It is suggested that sound offerings from the houses were sufficient to reach the nearby tombs on Deir el-Medina. The ka of the dead can come to the home or receive the offering inside the tomb. Petrie suggests the stelae and scenes of someone confirms the ownership of the building to him.

DUTY OF TOMB OWNER TOWARDS GRANDPARENTS AS HIS DUTY TOWARDS PARENTS

The offering scenes of the tomb owner to his grandparents are closer in its motives and purpose to the offering scenes presented by the tomb owner to his parents. Because he himself is extended heir of those ancestors, the tomb owner usually crosses the generations to express his strong connection to his grandparents. When he identifies himself on the text of the presented scenes, usually he uses the words "your son", and when he presents his grandparents, he uses the word "my fathers / father". This also occurred when he presents his grandparents of long past on scene 4 from the Tomb of Nekhetamun96. The tomb owner as descended grandson was responsible to maintain the continuity of the funerary cult of his grandparents after the death of his father and to do what is necessary for

96 Bruyère, 136.
that or even hire some priests to do his part\textsuperscript{97}. In these scenes, the tomb owner also plays the role of Horus\textsuperscript{98}, and try to revive the names of his ancestors by the presenting real offerings in feasts and occasions, or by depicting offering scenes which can become real offerings by recitation by the tomb owner himself, his sons, relatives or even any visitor passing through the tomb. The offering from the tomb owner as a grandson of his ancestors explains the idea of reviving their names. It seems logical that when the tomb owner starts to prepare his tomb, the ancestors may have died a long time ago and already were considered blessed ancestors after at least two generations. During the generation of the tomb owner, people may have forgotten those grandparents, or they may be about to forget their names. The role of their heir, in this case the tomb owner, must renew the memory of his ancestors through the scenes and the texts. He tries to present them to visitors and children again so that their memories could be continued from generation to generation. And their names still in the mouse of people. Stop mentioning the name means forgetting and forgetting in the ancient Egyptian threatens the continuation of eternal life after death. Based on that, we can understand his sentences "your son who revive your name". when he writes the name of ancestors on their monuments so everyone who passes through the cemetery can read. Although reviving the memory of the ancestors needed many actions from the responsible son, according to Assman, but this memorial was easier for other regular visitors. They only need to read the offering text to revive the name of the dead. The role of the responsible or the eldest son was to set up the monuments on which the memory was written so that others could read it. The problem remains that many people cannot read outside the class of nobility. A practical solution to this problem for the eldest son to pay the priests to perform the rites and read the texts. Many of these rites remained and inherited in Egyptian society. Despite the difference of religions, the ritual of pouring water for the dead ancestors and paying those who can read for them, still performed. The habit of paying to reading professionals remained constant, what has changed is the context of reading. Perhaps the reason for this stability is the existence of small class people depend on that recitation as an economic source.

\textsuperscript{97} Nelson-Hurst, “Who Causes His Name to Live’the Vivification Formula through the Second Intermediate Period,” 18.

\textsuperscript{98} The role of Hours towards his dead parent was discussed in the previous chapter.
TOMB OWNER OFFERS TO HIS ANCESTORS AS "$\text{\textit{\textit{3h ikr n r}}}^c$"

The tomb owner performed the so-called cult of "Excellent or able spirits of Re" on the scene No.5, from the tomb of Nekhetamun TT 335. This type of wall scenes appeared only on TT 250 and TT 335, but it was repeated often on the stone stelae. Maspero studied this type of cult on a group of small stelae in Turin Museum, later, Demaree studied the same topic in a broader study. The two scenes on TT 335 and TT 250 represent the cult of some individuals who received the title ($\text{\textit{\textit{3h ikr n R}}}$) which translated as excellent, able, or powerful spirits of Re. The representation of these cult with its scenes, is very unusual on a tomb wall, as this kind of scenes is usually found on stelae were put in homes or chapels. The tomb owner Nakhtamun and members of his family presented the offerings to Neferhotep. Nekhetamun presented himself to Neferhotep in the text as "your brother" (sn.k), According to Demarée, there is no kinship relation between them, they were not real brothers and "sn" 'Brother' on the text means 'colleague', as often in texts from Deir el-Medina. The dedicator and all the persons behind him are standing with the left hand raised in great respect for the sitting Neferhotep who is designated as "The excellent spirit of Ra, Neferhotep, justified", without any other information. Bruyère suggested that it is a kind of the cult were presented to some distinguished individuals at Deir el Medineh not only in the familial sphere but in all the village. Neferhotep, this great master of the community of the place of truth, was venerated in all the families of Deir el Medineh, which they are rightly proud of. According to Englund the "$\text{\textit{\textit{3h}}}$" is not one of the component parts of the human being as "$k3$ or $b3$, he argued that the "$\text{\textit{\textit{3h}}}$" represents an independent entity, a state or a mode of existence. Englund states that the word "$\text{\textit{\textit{3h}}}$" has different meanings not only refer to a kind of beings but is also used to denote their spiritual power. According to Teeter, the "$\text{\textit{\textit{3h}}}$" ("spirit") is the new form of the person, an aspect of a person’s energy and personality that was manifested after death. Akh

100 Demarée, “The $\text{\textit{\textit{3h ikr n Re}}}$-Stelae on Ancestor Worship in Ancient Egypt.”
102 Demarée, “The $\text{\textit{\textit{3h ikr n Re}}}$-Stelae on Ancestor Worship in Ancient Egypt,” 156 No (9).
Spirits lived in the world of the gods and the dead, but it was able to communicate with, help, or hinder the living. The *akh* was thought to have a special relationship with Osiris, Amun, and especially Re. In the Book of the Dead, *akh* can travel with the Re in the sun braque, where they sit as judges of the recently deceased who hope to join the gods. Demaree suggested that the state of Akh, requiring several essentials, could only be reached after death. If certain conditions helped the deceased to be an Akh, he was allowed to lead a supernatural existence as a companion of Re or lead the Realm of the Dead as a follower of Osiris. These texts, in some cases, refer to the ability of the Akh to create obstacles. The same ability was given to the individual Akh who from an early stage claimed to be able to take action even between humans. The group the *ḥḥw*, as blessed dead, are already found in early texts, associated with a similar category the *ntrw*. The persons who held the title of "Excellent or able spirits of Re" had social position in society because of their pity during their life. This position helped him to reach sacred level after death to the extent that he became able to participate judgment of the others dead with the gods. This thought around pious people seems close to modern idea of venerating persons after death. The idea of the mausoleum that is widespread in Upper Egypt until modern era, and its venerated owners is a good example of what the study wanted to include in this comparison. In both cases, sanctification takes place after death, with the belief in the ability to help or harm the living.

**CONCLUSION**

The study deals with 7 offering scenes represented the tomb owner offers to his relatives as part of the ancestor’s cult. The sitting appearance of the receivers and the standing offeror were the constant rules that followed almost on all the scenes. It was proved that the tomb owner represents himself in the world of the living and his relatives in the world of the dead. This result was reached through titles associated with the dead and were given to the relatives not to the tomb owner. On the studded scenes, the tomb owner gives his back to entrance, this means that he is a visitor of the

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tomb and not a resident. The offering of the tomb owner to his ancestors is a duty in case of parents, grandparents, or brothers. This role connected with the role of Horus who was responsible to revive his father in the afterworld. These scenes expressed the desire of the tomb owner to meet his ancestors in the other world. The son's attempt to revive his ancestors in the other world was expressed in the sentence “who revives your names”. Inheritance is a reward for the eldest son if he performed the mortuary cult of the parents. The tomb owner’s offerings to his ancestors were a way of communication between the living and the dead. When he offered to his ancestors reached to 12 persons, he wants to confirm his pride of the lineage of his family. These scenes of offerings to the ancestors were made to commemorate mostly those within the living memory. Once, the tomb owner offered to his long past ancestors when they held the title (head of the family). In some scenes the tomb owner offered to the relatives as cult of "Excellent or able spirits of Re”.

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