

THEBAN TOMB 118: ITS FOREIGN ‘TRIBUTE’ SCENE AND ITS OWNER AMENMOSE

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Theban Tomb 118 sits high in the Upper Enclosure of Sheikh Abd Gurna in the Theban necropolis. Once one of the most imposing tombs there, rivalling the neighbouring tomb of Horemhab (TT 78) in location, size and layout and perhaps in decoration, its scenes and texts are now almost totally obliterated. TT 118 was briefly listed by Porter and Moss and Kampp¹ but otherwise has received little attention. I endeavour to rectify this here.

An examination of the surrounding tombs built during the reigns of Tuthmosis IV and Amenhotep III reveals that only the north-western scarp of the upper enclosure of Sheikh Abd Gurna had enough room to accommodate a number of tombs.² Despite the stone being more friable than lower down, the tombs had a better view of the Nile, the Karnak-Luxor temple complex, and the mortuary temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty kings. As a result, by the middle of Dynasty 18, building sites were few and topographical features like walkways determined where tombs could be built. Other than royal or vizierial favour, tomb locations may have been determined by wealth, power, family and friendships (if family were not a great factor, then friendship or

* In 1978, I was examining scenes of foreign ‘tribute’ in the Theban tombs after getting permission from the Egyptian Antiquities Organization to form a one-man expedition. I took notes and photographs of TT 118 at least four times during the Spring of 1978. Part of my trip was paid for by the University of California at Berkeley. On my last entrance into the tomb, I was accompanied by another UCB graduate student, John Wyatt, who asked me to include his name in any eventual publication. After more than four decades, I am doing so. In 2009, I gave a lecture on this tomb at the annual meeting of ARCE in Dallas. I am indebted to Melinda Hartwig and Gay Robins for their help in understanding the intricacies of this tomb. Because of Covid-19, I was unable to see a number of references or to recheck others.

1 Porter and Moss 1970: I:1, 233–34 & Map V; Kampp 1996: I, 405–6.

2 See Porter and Moss 1970: I:1, 476–77 & Map V.

just working together might replace family as a consideration) as well as the availability of locations. One's standing within the Theban religious, military or civil hierarchy may have played a role in where one's tomb was built. Family members likely would want to be buried near each other (because most family members could not afford their own tombs or were not high enough in the hierarchy to construct them, most large tombs were probably family tombs).³ Thus, even though a tomb might be decorated for one person, it served as the burial place and cultic centre of others. Likewise, friends or colleagues might choose to be buried near each other – especially junior colleagues near senior ones.

J. J. Shirley notes family precincts or complexes connected by natural pathways, and tombs strategically placed for stops during festivals or visits.⁴ She writes that grouped family tombs occupy key vantage points and would be used for commemorative purposes.⁵ These tombs or complexes would also be a testimony to the power of elite families.⁶ Although true for the first part of the Eighteenth Dynasty, she believes that by the time of Amenhotep II, the king would have tried to curb the power of the elite families as they would be a potential threat.⁷ However, it seems to me that other powerful families over time would simply replace those the king had weakened.

THE TEXTS AND SCENES OF TT 118

Since almost all the texts and scenes in TT 118 have been destroyed, whether by Atenists, someone with a grudge against the tomb owner, or simply by weathering or natural deterioration, there is little left to observe. All that remains is from the transverse hall: two fragments of ceiling texts and some ceiling decorations as well as fragments of text and decorations on the double outer lintel above the door of the transverse chamber leading to the passage way. On the rear right of the transverse chamber, a sketch of four foreigners bringing 'tribute' with artist's dots and guidelines can be found. The sketch, which is drawn in red and without a background colour, is the exception amongst the tomb's fragmentary texts and scenes, which all have a yellow background colour similar to that in the tomb of Tuthmosis IV.⁸ The background of this scene and the other fragments appears to indicate an owner from the civil rather than religious administration.⁹ Furthermore, as tombs were decorated from top to bottom so that ceilings and lintels would have been done first,¹⁰ what remains informs us that the tomb is clearly unfinished.

3 Dorman 2003: 31, 40–41.

4 Shirley 2010: 99, 105.

5 Shirley 2010: 105.

6 Shirley 2010: 108.

7 Shirley 2010: 109.

8 https://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/pharaons/thoutmosis4/e_thoutmosis4_01.htm

9 Hartwig 2004: 31–34.

10 Personal communication with Dieter Eigner, 1978.

The first ceiling text fragment is a *hṯp-di-nsw* formula with the name of the god plastered over (fig. 1). This may imply that the god mentioned was Amen Re and that his name was effaced by the Atenists. The second fragment, which is above the left lintel, only contains the partial name of the tomb owner,



FIG. 1: Ceiling text fragment with a *hṯp-di-nsw* formula in TT 118.



FIG. 2: Ceiling text fragment with the name of Amenmose in TT 118.

i(m)n-ms, A(m)enmose with the fragmentary inscription ‘...of Horus(?)’,¹¹ the Osiris, A(m)enmose’ (fig. 2). The presence of ‘Osiris’ may imply that the tomb owner died while the tomb was being decorated.¹² The epithet ‘Osiris’ is also found on a statue base of the owner.¹³

The left back wall of the transverse chamber features a red-coloured male foot facing right; to its right is a slightly smaller, yellow-coloured female foot. This may show Amenmose and his wife offering to Osiris or the king, or before a table of offerings.



FIG. 3: Left side of the left lintel over the entrance to the passageway in TT 118.

The double lintel provides a little more information. The outer left lintel (fig 3) depicts the deceased (now destroyed) in front of a table of offerings before Osiris and Amentet, the Goddess of the West¹⁴. Above the deceased (now destroyed) are the remains of columns of an inscription with only the top hieroglyph or two surviving. It reads, ‘Overseer (*mr*), Great one (ꜥ)...’, ‘Overseer (*mr*)...’, and ‘Firm one (*mn?*)...’. Before Osiris, the tip of whose white crown and the bottom of part of his white garment both remain, is

11 The remains of the bottom of the bird hieroglyph indicate either a hawk (Gardiner G5) or a vulture (Gardiner G1). While I would like the hieroglyph to be a hawk, as the epithet might be something like ‘he who is in the heart of Horus (i.e. the king),’ the rounded remains of the bottom of the bird’s tail might imply a vulture with a transliteration of tyw. The epithet, ‘He who is in the heart of Horus’ appears in a palette of Amenmose to be discussed below.

12 Preceding the tomb owner’s name is usually *n k3 n* ‘for the ka of’ plus his titles. The presence of *wsir*, ‘Osiris’, I believe, is significant. If the tomb owner died as the tomb was being built and the work was halted, then the artisans may have felt that the tomb owner had become an Osiris, and it should be inscribed before they left. It is clear that even the transverse hall was unfinished before work was stopped on the tomb decoration.

13 The text on the right side of the statue base reads *n k3 n wsir*, ‘for the ka of the Osiris,’ followed by a now destroyed series of titles and his name. Usually, the word ‘Osiris’ is not used, thereby implying that the owner may have just died. For the text, see Bruyère 1948: 106–7 and Plate XIX. Also see Russo 2012: 37–38. The attribution of the statue base to this Amenmose will be discussed under the section, ‘The owner of TT 118.’

14 For a discussion of the Goddess of the West, see Refai 1996 and Refai 2006: 345–60.

‘Foremost of the Westerners (*(h)nty imntyw*¹⁵... who dwells in (*hry-(ib)*)...’. Before Amentet, above whose head only the top of the hawk remains, is the partial inscription ‘of (*nt*) the Western desert (or necropolis), (*smty imnt*) ... ‘Mistress (of the Gods),’ *hn(wt ntrw)* (figs 4–5).



FIG. 4: Right side of the left lintel over the entrance to the passageway in TT 118.



FIG. 5: Close up view of the right side of the left lintel in TT 118.

¹⁵ The emblem of the West with the feather on top (Gardiner R14) and the plant referring to the king (Gardiner M23) are not in honorific transposition as sometimes occurs. For a similar occurrence without honorific transposition, see Brack and Brack 1980: Text 33, 49.

The outer right lintel shows the only image of Amenmose, which is almost entirely destroyed (fig. 6). He is shown facing left, with upraised arms, presumably before a god or table of offerings. The text, surviving in nine short columns, appears to read, 'Osiris(?) ..., giving adoration (to) ... of the lord of eternity by the hereditary prince (and count), (the Fanbearer upon) the right of the king,¹⁶ (Amenmose, justified).'



FIG. 6: View of the right lintel in TT 118.

The sketch of four foreigners (fig. 7) was once part of a larger scene, which based on the space to the left might have comprised up to six to eight Syrian and/or Levantine gift bearers. If Amenmose and/or the king had been depicted receiving them to the left, this would have taken up space and reduced the number of bearers. The remaining four bearers, which I number one to four from left to right, have long tunics, at least shoulder-length hair (with the possible exception of the third man) and wear headbands. Below the left shoulder of the first bearer can be seen the bottom of his long hair (or, less likely, a tie of some sort). Two ribbons hang down below the left shoulder of the third bearer. The third bearer's hair may be shorter, but like many of the other important details, the man's face is obscured by the remains of wasp nests. With this sketch we are fortunate to see not only two sets of artist's dots, indicating where horizontal guidelines might otherwise have gone, but also several major horizontal guidelines, the latter of which were common during the second part of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The guidelines were probably

¹⁶ Because of Davies/Macadam funerary cone no. 325, which lists an Amenmose who was a standard bearer, Hallman, following Kampp, sees the Amenmose of TT 118 as holding this title as well, even though he apparently doesn't. See Hallmann 2006: 132–33, and Kampp 1996: 405–6 & Tables 50, 67.



FIG. 7: Sketch of foreign 'tribute' in TT 118.

flicked onto the wall by dabbing a string with red paint.¹⁷ Perhaps, because this was to be a major scene, the artist felt it was necessary to have both. The remains of an earlier red guideline is apparent just above the top guideline; the guidelines divide the scene into four parts. Two round objects appear to be visible above the bowl of the second bearer, possibly violating the top guideline, but these partial circles are in fact probably the remains of wasp nests. The pattern of the guidelines is similar to that in TT 108, dated to the time of Tuthmosis IV, except that the latter does not show the guideline at the top of the figures' heads.¹⁸ The presence of 19, or more likely 20, dots and guidelines together with the lower parts of the bodies of the foreigners lengthened, indicate that the sketch dates to the second half of the Eighteenth Dynasty.¹⁹ Including the dots with the guidelines, there are three from the top of the head to the bottom of the neck, six from the shoulders to below the waist, four from the thighs to the upper knees, and seven (or less likely six) from the knees to the bottoms of the feet. The dots are found on the outside of the fourth figure, except for those from the knees down, where they are inside the last figure. The sketch of the bear (to be discussed later) is not within the appropriate guideline; its back extends one dot above.

The sketch appears to have been freely drawn, in that the arms of the second and third bearers seem too skinny. The second figure also appears to

¹⁷ Newberry 1904: xxxi; Robins 1994: 26.

¹⁸ Baud 1935: 154–56 & fig. 68.

¹⁹ Robins 1994: 108, 254.

have had the back of his tunic redrawn. While the draughtsman may have had some problems with the proportion of human arms and clothing, the sketch of the bear is a master work.²⁰ Below the ground line near the bear's paws is the remains of some plaster that indicates a potential second register, but no drawing remains.

The first figure extends his hands, holding at least one article, most likely a vessel. The curving lines to the left of figure one are presumably the remains of whatever he was carrying, but are not well enough preserved to allow it to be identified. The second figure is more interesting. The man holds a two-handled carinated bowl on his right shoulder and in his left hand a figure of Maat (fig. 8). This is unusual as a foreigner is presenting an apparently Egyptian item. This may be due to transference of an object that originally appeared in another scene,²¹ or it may represent an Egyptian item copied by foreigners and then exported back to Egypt. It is not clear whether Egyptian artists worked from copy books, and/or from visiting other tombs, or from actual objects.

According to Emily Teeter's work, *The Presentation of Maat*, the Maat figure may occasionally be in the form of an unguent vessel, so perhaps the figure held a rare ointment.²²



FIG. 8: Close up of the figure carrying the Maat figure in the foreign 'tribute' scene of TT 118.

Another possibility is that the figure of Maat is an Egyptian healing statue that may have been sent to Syro-Palestine or Mitanni and was now being returned,²³ just as Tushratta, the king of Mitanni, had sent a healing statue of Ishtar to Amenhotep III late in his reign.²⁴ Why would a statue of Maat be used for a medical/magical/religious purpose? Maat represented truth, justice and harmony. If that harmony went out of balance, bad things could happen, politically, socially, environmentally, cosmologically

²⁰ It is possible that the drawing of the bear was done by a master draftsman or artist, as that representation was rare in Theban tombs, discussed further below.

²¹ Wachsmann 1987: 11–13.

²² Teeter 1997: Plate XV. For a general discussion of Maat, see pages 1–3.

²³ The standing of the Egyptian healer is shown in the Theban tomb of Nebamun, possibly from the time of Amenhotep II, where a Syrian noble is apparently paying handsomely for the services of an Egyptian doctor. See Porter and Moss 1970: 1:1, TT 17(7) II, 31, Säve-Söderbergh 1957: 25–27 & Plate XXIII, Gaballa 1976: 66–67 & fig. 5b, Booth 2005: 35–36, and Shirley 2007: 391.

²⁴ Perhaps Tushratta was simply returning the favour, or the return of the Maat statue may have been from a ruler of Syro-Palestine. In any case, it is clear that healing statues were being sent between sovereigns in the late Bronze Age. Dated to year 36 of Amenhotep III's reign, see Kahn 2011: 139 and n. 21.

and medically. Maat affected nature, and humans were part of that. If a king maintained Maat, then the Nile rose regularly, the crops were bountiful, and all was right between the king and his subjects. Thus, interactions between the environmental determinants, including climatic changes, and the pastoral ecosystem were part of the balance maintained by Maat.²⁵ According to Zucconi: ‘Just as the religious principle of Maat explained the political order, it also guided their [the Egyptians’] explanation as to how the body functioned, why a person became ill, and what constituted effective healing strategies.’²⁶ Illness was a signal that Maat was disrupted.²⁷

If a ruler fell out of balance with Maat, then what better remedy than that a statue of Maat be sent to him? If the object was a healing statue, then why was it not a figure of Sekhmet, a goddess of healing? Is it possible that the goddess Maat was associated with specific parts of the body? According to Zucconi, ‘The system of *mtw*-vessels most readily exhibited the role of Maat in human physiology.’²⁸ These *mtw*-vessels were connected to the heart as an organ and as the seat of thought and wisdom. In the illustration to Book of the Dead Spell 125, the feather of Maat is weighed against the heart. This is partially because of the heart’s association with the intellect and morality of the deceased, but is it also possible that ancient Egyptian healers felt that Maat and its connection with harmony for the physical world could affect the heart?²⁹ The ancient Egyptians were aware of the pulse, and the *mtw* or ‘vessels,’ which included the blood vessels. In the Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus (whose date of composition is from the end of the Old Kingdom to the middle of the Middle Kingdom),³⁰ Case 1, concerning a scalp wound, states that the blood flow proceeds from the heart. It translates in part, ‘(As for) the heart, there are vessels from it to every limb...’³¹ ‘It is a fact that/the case that his vessels of the back of the head and nape are out of the seat of the heart.’³² Thus Maat was associated with the heart and blood vessels, and sending a statue of Maat for healing purposes, which would include heart attacks, rapid or slow pulse, etc., would be necessary, as the heart was considered the physical and metaphysical centre of human beings. Therefore, if the heart or its vessels were out of balance, disease would occur, and Maat would need to be restored if the body were to be in balance with the rest of the natural and physical world.

25 Gordon and Schwabe 2004: 27, 30, 198, 201–2; Frankfort 1962: 57–58.

26 Zucconi 2007: 27.

27 Zucconi 2007: 29.

28 Zucconi 2007: 27. *Mtw*-vessels carried blood, air, mucus, water, and disease-causing *wekhedu* (Ritner 2006: 100).

29 Zucconi 2007: 28.

30 Meltzer proposes a date of original composition between 2200–2000 BC, while Allen suggests 1950–1750 BC. See Sanchez and Meltzer 2012: 12, and Allen 2005: 70.

31 Allen 2005: 72.

32 Sanchez and Meltzer 2012: 33.

Returning to TT 118, the Maat figure is a unique portrayal in the scenes showing foreigners presenting 'tribute.' While the religious context of tomb scenes is important,³³ this figural *hapax* indicates it is not something drawn from copy books, but is a unique and, therefore, possibly historical portrayal of an actual healing statue.

Should the two circles above the bowl that I identify as wasp nests actually be drawn circles, then the possibility emerges that the bowl (similar in shape to the *nb*-basket), the possible circles above it, and the Maat figure may be a rebus or partial rebus for Neb-Maat-Re, the prenomen of Amenhotep III.³⁴ If so, it could help date the scene and the tomb.

The third figure in the scene has a destroyed face, and may have worn a skull cap. He holds an elephant's tusk over his left shoulder with his left hand. His right elbow is used to balance the tusk, and his right hand may hold a sword.

The fourth man holds a collared bear on a leash with both hands. Three other Eighteenth Dynasty Theban tombs show earlier portrayals of bears brought by foreigners. The oldest, TT 81 of Ineni, dated to the reign of Amenhotep I to early in the co-regency of Hatshepsut/Tuthmosis III, depicts a bear, on a leash at or near the start of a register.³⁵ The bear and his attendant are partially destroyed. The second, TT 84 of Amunedjeh, dates to the reign of Tuthmosis III, possibly extending into the reign of Amenhotep II. It shows a foreigner holding a collared bear on a leash with both hands, much like our tomb, although in this tomb, his left arm is raised to chest level.³⁶ The third, TT 100 of Rekhmire dates to the reigns of Tuthmosis III and Amenhotep II.³⁷ Although facing right rather than left, as in our tomb, the second to last foreigner in the register in TT 100 also carries an elephant's tusk with his left hand over his left shoulder and holds a collared bear on a leash in his right hand, which is raised to chest level, thus combining elements of our third and fourth foreigners. Rekhmire's bear appears to have a metal plate connecting the collar to the leash. The composition of Amunedjeh's bear and Rekhmire's bear and ivory tusk are similar to our tomb, and our bear was possibly partially copied from these two tombs. The depictions are on the rear left-hand side of the transverse chamber in Ineni and Rekhmire, while Amenmose and Amunedjeh's are on the rear right-side.

In discussing the tomb of the vizier Rekhmire, Güell suggests that the

33 Anthony 2017: 65–84.

34 For the rebus writing of the prenomen of Amenhotep III in the context of the deification of Amenhotep III later in his reign, see Johnson 1998: 88, footnotes 143–44 and figs 3:34–35; Johnson 1996: 67; and Hayes 1951: 169–76. While these examples come from later in Amenhotep III's reign, the idea of the rebus is probably much earlier. Thanks to Ray Johnson for giving me the references, and thanks to Emily Teeter for pointing me in this direction: I hope she enjoys this article.

35 Porter and Moss 1970: I:1, TT 81 (5) IV; Kampp 1996: 323–24.

36 Porter and Moss 1970: I:1, TT 84 (9) I–II; Kampp 1996: 332–36; Davies and Davies 1941.

37 Porter and Moss 1970: I:1, TT 100 (4) IV; Kampp 1996: 370–73.

artist depicted the bear and elephant much smaller than in reality, because the depiction was more important than showing the actual size of the animals, and their actual sizes would be too big for the scene.³⁸ Anthony suggests that bears and other wild animals are drawn on a small scale and leashed, thus indicating that these ‘agents of chaos’ are controlled.³⁹ However, the artist is capable of showing the preceding horses closer to their true size. Also, he neglects to consider the possibility that the bear and elephant are babies. It would have been far easier to bring a baby bear or elephant to Egypt than a full-grown one. Also, a full-grown bear would have been more rotund, as, for example, as depicted in the temple reliefs of Sahure.⁴⁰

Are the foreigners and animals in this tomb scene real or symbolic? Bears appear in four known tomb scenes, and they appear to be realistic. In the tribute scenes, some of the figures are called princes of certain areas, while others are more generic. It is not always clear why certain foreigners have the clothing and hairstyles that they do. Hybridization has been suggested, while it is always possible that two or more different clothing and hairstyles might exist within one large city or a country. If we consider these figures only real representations or mainly symbolic representations, we do so at our peril.

In addition, if the Maat figure is a healing statue that was sent to a Levantine ruler, then perhaps the other items are gifts thanking the owner for its use, much as Tushratta later lent a statue of Ishtar to Amenhotep III and presumably received the statue back with gifts?

DATE OF TT 118

Assigning a date to so damaged a tomb as TT 118 requires comparisons along many criteria. The northwestern area of the Upper Enclosure of Sheikh Abd Gurna, where TT 118 was constructed, contains tombs of many high southern officials of Tuthmosis IV, and a few of Amenhotep III. TT 118 is very similar in plan to TT 78, which belongs to the Royal Scribe and Scribe of Recruits, Horemhab. This dates from the reign of Amenhotep II to the early years of Amenhotep III, and most probably was constructed late in the reign of Tuthmosis IV or early in the reign of Amenhotep III.⁴¹ The three other surviving portrayals of bears are from Amenhotep I to Amenhotep II. Guidelines for drawings start in the second half of the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁴² The first frequent mentions of the title, ‘Fanbearer upon the right of the King,’ date to the time of Amenhotep II.⁴³ The possible rebus may date the tomb sketch to Amenhotep III, while the style of the sketch cannot be later

38 Güell 2018: 151.

39 Anthony 2017: 70, 79 & fig. 28.

40 Houlihan 1996: 195–96 & fig. 133.

41 Porter and Moss 1970: 476–77 & Map V.

42 Robins 1994: 108, 254.

43 Pomorska 1987: 28.

than the early years of Amenhotep III. Thus, the tomb probably dates to late in the reign of Tuthmosis IV, or possibly into the earliest part of the reign of Amenhotep III, about 1395–1385 BC.

THE OWNER OF TT 118

From his tomb, we know that the reconstructed name of our tomb owner is Amenmose and his one surviving reconstructed title is 'Fanbearer on the Right of the King'. Both name and title survive only once in the tomb. According to Helck⁴⁴ and Manniche,⁴⁵ the title 'Fanbearer on the Right of the King' is an honorific, non-military title bestowed presumably by the king on nobles who had to be promoted, especially and initially those who worked within the palace, and later expanded to viceroys of Kush and priests. By the title's placement in this tomb, however, clearly it is either the only title mentioned or the last of several titles. Also, its positioning just before the name of Amenmose implies that it is a real rather than honorific title. In either case, the implication is that 'Fanbearer on the Right of the King' was Amenmose's most important title.

A search for other attestations of our man Amenmose, Fanbearer on the Right of the King, reveals a Fanbearer Amenmose adoring the cartouches of Amenhotep III at Abu Kua in the Wadi Hammamat.⁴⁶ A New Kingdom stela of a Fanbearer Amenmose is in the Cairo Museum,⁴⁷ although I have yet to see it. However, neither can be definitively connected to the Amenmose of TT 118, as their title is Fanbearer, not Fanbearer on the Right of the King.

The importance of the title Fanbearer on the Right of the King can be seen in a statue base of Maya, who was the Overseer of the Treasury and Overseer of Works in Thebes for Tutankhamun, Ay, and Horemhab.⁴⁸ The statue base does not start out with a *htp-di-nsw* formula, but rather with the title Fanbearer on the Right of the King, followed by epithets and ending with 'True Scribe of the King, whom he loves,' and Overseer of the Treasury.⁴⁹ It is clear that Maya is indicating how important the title Fanbearer on the Right of the King was to him.

To find out what other titles our Amenmose might have had, Irena Pomorska's book on the Fanbearers on the Right of the King offers comparative material.⁵⁰ Most of the attestations of this title, which has a number of variant writings, start in the reign of Amenhotep II, although there is one reference during the reign of Hatshepsut.⁵¹ Variant 2, where there

44 Helck 1958: 282–84.

45 Manniche 1988: 11.

46 Porter and Moss 1952: 328.

47 Porter and Moss 1973: 801, Cairo Museum JE 28952.

48 Van Dijk 1993: 71–74.

49 Van Dijk 1993: 72–73.

50 Pomorska 1987.

51 Pomorska 1987: 29.

is no honorific transposition, is found frequently until the end of the reign of Ramesses II.⁵² Other frequent epithets and titles are Follower of the King in Northern and Southern Countries, Overseer of Works, and Overseer of the Double Treasury of Gold and Silver.⁵³ Less frequent are Overseer of the Audience Chamber and Scribe of Conscripts.⁵⁴

Found by Bruyère⁵⁵ reused in Graeco-Roman construction at Deir el-Medina is a statue base inscribed for an Overseer of the Double Treasury and Fanbearer on the Right of the King Amenmose.⁵⁶ Where only one title appears, it is always that of Fanbearer on the Right of the King. Although Porter and Moss assign this to the Ramesside Period, the name of Amun has been scratched out and then replaced, indicating that the statue was created before the time of Akhenaten. On all three inscribed sides of the base, the last title or epithet is Fanbearer on the Right of the King. When the title Overseer of the Double Treasury of Gold appears on the right side and back of the seat, it is always before Fanbearer on the Right of the King. This implies that the latter was very important and a real title for Amenmose, not an epithet. Furthermore, in TT 118, the one place Amenmose's name appears is on the ceiling of the transverse wall, where it is preceded by 'Osiris.' This may imply that Amenmose died while his tomb was being constructed, as most tomb inscriptions state simply 'for the ka of the deceased' rather than 'for the Osiris of' or 'for the ka of the Osiris.' Interestingly, the right side of the statue base alone also states 'for the ka of the Osiris.' As most statues do not use the epithet 'Osiris,' this might imply that the owner was not alive when it was carved.

Finally in the Theban tomb of the Overseer of Works Kha (TT 8), dated from Amenhotep II to the early part of Amenhotep III, is a wooden scribal palette featuring the cartouches of Tuthmosis IV.⁵⁷ On the other side, a short inscription names the Fanbearer on the Right of the King, Overseer of Works, Overseer of the Audience Chamber, Overseer of the House(s) of Gold and Silver, Amenmose. Where the Fanbearer on the Right of the King title is listed before the other actual titles, it is either the most important of the epithets or the first of the important titles. In the tomb of Amenmose, the only place the Fanbearer on the Right of the King title appears is on the right lintel (fig. 6), where there is apparently only space for Amenmose's name. I suggest that these last two objects can be definitely linked to the Amenmose of TT 118.

52 Pomorska 1987: 33.

53 Pomorska 1987: 36–37.

54 Pomorska 1987: 38.

55 Bruyère 1948: 106–7 & Plate XIX.

56 Since I gave this paper as an ARCE talk in 2009, Barbara Russo in 2012 came to similar conclusions regarding the Deir el-Medina statue base and the scribal palette in the tomb of Kha (TT 8), and its relationship to Amenmose of TT 118. See Russo 2012: 32–40.

57 Schiaparelli 1927: 174–75, 180, fig. 48 (rt); Russo 2012: 32–33 and Plate V.

CONCLUSION

In considering whether Amenmose received the 'tribute' either in his treasury or audience chamber role, the importance of his title or epithet Fanbearer on the Right of the King cannot be overstressed. His relationship to the king seems to be the most important way he wanted to be remembered. In addition, the possible depiction of the return of a potential healing statue, which presumably would have been stored in the palace rather than the treasury, indicates the importance to Amenmose of his relationship to the king rather than to just the civil administration. The presence of a bear might also suggest a royal recipient rather than an administrative one.

Amenmose was a very powerful figure in the southern court, at least during the reign of Tuthmosis IV, but possibly longer, probably extending into the reign of the earliest years of Amenhotep III. As interior minister (or Overseer of the Audience Chamber), he was in charge of foreign goods coming to Thebes, probably for the court's use. In addition, his titles include Overseer of the Double Treasury of Gold and Overseer of the Double Treasury of Silver, but the items being brought seem more appropriate for the king's use rather than the treasury. Amenmose was also responsible for the architecture in Deir el-Medina, and the running of the king's southern court.

His titles from his tomb, the statue base from Deir el-Medina, and the scribal palette found in the tomb of Kha (TT 8) imply a most powerful civil official who ran the treasury, was an Overseer of Works with responsibilities at Deir el-Medina and, perhaps, the king's tomb.⁵⁸ The presence of the Goddess of the West on the lintel of Amenmose's tomb also links him with the Theban necropolis. He was also responsible for running the king's palace, at least at Thebes.

Regarding his family, a seated statue pair of an Amenmose and his wife Takha is in Turin.⁵⁹ However, with a lack of titles, it is impossible to link the pair statue with Amenmose and TT 118. In addition, the Amenmose of TT 118 is possibly related to Horemhab (TT78), as their tombs are near each other and are almost identical. In fact, in the tomb of Horemhab is a scene where his three brothers are shown and named,⁶⁰ the younger two of which are Amenemhat and Amenhotep. The oldest brother's picture and name are obliterated. If the two other brothers have 'Amen' in their name, could the oldest have been 'Amenmose'? Horemhab performed many of the functions that Amenmose did not. It is possible that he died while his tomb was being constructed, as he was referred to as the Osiris Amenmose on the ceiling of the transverse chamber and on the left side of one of his statues.

⁵⁸ Russo 2012: 44.

⁵⁹ Russo 2012: 16, 40.

⁶⁰ Published online: https://www.osirisnet.net/popupImage.php?img=/tombes/nobles/horemheb78/photo/horemheb78_mr_26_01.jpg&lang=en&sw=1440&sh=900.

During the reigns of Tuthmosis IV and Amenhotep III, the best place to excavate a tomb in the prestigious Sheikh Abd Gurna area was the north-western side of the Upper Enclosure. Amenmose and Horemhab took advantage of the location and built very similar large, imposing tombs near each other that indicated their importance. Their relationship to each other was possibly familial. Between the two, they occupied many of the important positions at Thebes; dominating joint roles they endeavoured to maintain into the afterlife. 🏛️

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