

Occasional Proceedings of the Theban Workshop

Mural Decoration in the Theban Necropolis

Edited by Betsy M. Bryan and Peter F. Dorman



INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF ANCIENT CULTURES
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Parents of the royal butler Suemniwet, Iamnefer and Meryt (Theban Tomb 92, ca. 1425 BC).
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PREFACE

THEBAN PRIVATE TOMBS HAVE PROVED to constitute a durable and perennial topic of interest due to a quickly expanding corpus of field materials and a series of conferences devoted to this area of research. The early work of Norman and Nina de Garis Davies for the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Egypt Exploration Society, as well as the Theban Tomb Series, initially set high recording standards for their day, particularly in the reproduction of painted wall scenes prior to the use of color photography. These standards have been surpassed by a series of long-term projects in the Theban necropolis sponsored by the Institut français d'archéologie orientale, the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Kairo, and various individual institutions, resulting in multiple publications of tombs beginning in the 1970s that include full archaeological reports in addition to architecture and wall decoration. The University of Heidelberg's subsequent Theben series encompasses tombs, coffins, texts, and notably Friederike Kampp's encyclopedic compilation of known and "lost" tombs, including undecorated and unfinished structures that have long been absent from previous registries. On the basis of this recent research, Theban private tombs have been central to a number of international conferences on western Thebes, including Heidelberg's conference on the private necropoleis, two at the British Museum on the Theban cemeteries and on technical aspects of painting, and a Copenhagen symposium dedicated to New Kingdom tomb construction.¹ In addition to the monographs emanating from these conferences, the present publication presents the results of the most recent Theban Workshop held at The Johns Hopkins University campus in Baltimore on April 22–24, 2016, and illuminates to what extent new sources are still coming to light and how older materials are being reassessed to explore new questions. The contributors to this monograph have considered the various ways in which tomb owners have chosen to represent themselves in their memorial chapels, occasionally in very deliberate and idiosyncratic ways; how earlier tomb and temple motifs were researched and reorganized for reuse in the Theban necropolis; the challenges faced by stonemasons and painters in decorating monuments within the difficult geomorphology of the western hills; how artistic "hands" can be assessed in positing the source and nature of the workforce in Theban tombs; the thematic connections between tomb chapels or burial chambers and the objects intended to be placed within those spaces; and the intentional choice of tomb themes to engage visitors of later generations both in responding to decorative motifs and in the posthumous honoring of the deceased and devotion to the gods of the necropolis.

Gerry Scott's chapter signals the discovery of two new tombs belonging to Amenhotep Rebiu and Samut along the lower slopes of el-Khokha, thanks to recent clearance by the American Research Center in Egypt in the vicinity of TT 110, a reminder that there are assuredly a number of such decorated chapels that have so far eluded the light of modern scholarship. Even on initial examination, the brilliant colors and apparently well-preserved painted scenes promise to supply further parallels for the expected range of motifs represented in Theban tombs, to judge from Scott's detailed description of the painted decoration within them, in anticipation of their final publication at a later date.

José Galán explores the immediate physical setting and long history of the rock-cut tomb of Hery (TT 12), the granary overseer of Queen Ahhotep, who is also titled King's Mother. The tomb, at Dra' Abu el-Naga, is exceptional among early Eighteenth Dynasty chapels for having its decoration completed entirely in carved relief, demonstrating Hery's influence in being able to claim this location, close to other monuments of the late Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasties. Hery's tomb chapel was later expanded by the addition of interior rooms, reused again in the Twenty-First and Twenty-Second Dynasties, and

¹ Assmann et al. 1995; W. V. Davies 2001a; Strudwick and Taylor 2003. The Copenhagen publication is in preparation.

finally converted into an ibis and falcon catacomb by the second century BC, when Demotic graffiti attest to its culminating employment, after some fourteen centuries, as a ritual space for the living community of western Thebes.

Catharine Roehrig's reassessment of Herbert Winlock's well-known reconstruction of Meketra's "sporting" boat reminds the reader what a rich source of data museum collections and archives still offer to researchers and illustrates the importance of challenging assumptions that, with time, have acquired the illusion of authoritative utterance. Already damaged at the time of discovery, the boat model was originally put back together on the assumption that it represented essentially a model of the particular "daily life" activity of fishing and fowling. Roehrig's examination has resulted in a convincing argument that there were two quite different iterations of the model, which had originally been completed in antiquity as a fishing skiff. The second deliberately altered version included an overlarge figure of a female, probably the goddess Sekhet, "lady of the catch," accompanied perhaps by her son Hab, transfiguring a plain fishing boat into a fishing-and-fowling scenario with divine connotations. Significantly for the present volume, the parallels for the new reconstruction are not derived from similar three-dimensional models but rather from painted wall scenes and textual references in other Middle Kingdom tombs from Beni Hasan and Asyut, a demonstration that the decoration of tomb chapels and the objects placed within them cannot be viewed as thematically or objectively independent of each other.

In a similar vein, Anastasiia Stupko-Lubczynska takes as her subject a detailed analysis of the offering chapel of Hatshepsut on the uppermost terrace of her mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahari, ostensibly a topic not immediately related to tomb decoration. Her analysis shows that the offerings depicted in Hatshepsut's chapel exhibit a remarkable persistence of tradition in which specific containers and objects are copied verbatim from Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom sources. Yet beginning with the early Eighteenth Dynasty, new elements were introduced, including contemporary vessel shapes of the early New Kingdom and sumptuous tribute vessels depicted in private tombs. The interplay between the motifs used in royal temples and private tomb chapels moves in both directions; that is, the specifics of decorative themes are not necessarily to be viewed as separate or mutually exclusive in terms of their physical or ritual context.

Yet a third chapter, by Kathlyn Cooney, explores for much of the New Kingdom the boundaries and intersections of burial chambers and the primary movable objects intended to be placed within them: coffins. Both types of monument may be seen as contexts for the display of social prestige and influence, but burial chambers are by nature hidden and restricted in access and were not routinely decorated; coffins allowed for a more public viewing, especially in procession toward the tomb itself. Nonetheless, there is an ongoing interrelationship between the two. Decorative innovation can in fact be noticed first in contexts that were less accessible to inspection, notably the innermost covers of coffin sets of the Ramesside era and Third Intermediate Period, at which time coffins themselves, as the primary bearers of burial decoration, began to evince ever more innovative elements.

Dimitri Laboury promotes a compelling argument for the relatively late development of Deir el-Medina, one that postdates the Amarna period, as a state-sponsored village for skilled labor dedicated to the decoration of royal tombs at Thebes. He points out that the artistic and literate talents evident in the handful of private tombs at Deir el-Medina dating to the early Eighteenth Dynasty are surprisingly mediocre and are reflected in occasionally awkward treatments in contemporary royal tombs, while a higher level of training and education among the work crew at Deir el-Medina can be demonstrated only after the Amarna period. The superb quality often noticeable in the drafting, execution, and coloring found in private tomb decoration of the early Eighteenth Dynasty must therefore be set down to artisans trained somewhere other than the workmen's village, mostly likely temple establishments in the Theban area, whose officials are especially prominent in the necropolis.

Deanna Kiser-Go examines the tombs (TT 6 and TT 216) of three generations of the family of Neferhotep I, all of them identically named foremen of Deir el-Medina during the early Ramesside period from Horemheb to Seti II, and she identifies their notable unity of decoration. Based on new imaging of these tombs that improves on Henri Wild's original recording, these traits include the striking and consistent use of a palette of pink and red, sometimes used as background colors for scenes or for text bands but

otherwise prominent throughout, while a green-blue palette is employed only where specific details require it. The Neferhotep family also displayed in their tombs a special reverence for Anuket, whose main cult was at Elephantine but who was especially favored at Deir el-Medina, as well as for Hathor, goddess of the Theban west. As both deities were associated with desert landscapes, the unusual pink-red color preference seems especially appropriate to the family's personal devotion to the goddesses.

Using visitors' graffiti in Theban tombs, Chloé Ragazzoli touches on the questions of ritual visitation, social responses to mural decoration, the self-presentation of both tomb owner and visitor, and the social connectivity between the two. Largely written in hieratic, visitors' inscriptions can be extremely short, consisting of only a title and name that might be tied in with an existing portion of the decorative scheme; or they may be rather lengthy and erudite, comprising an homage to the tomb owner that had been composed in advance and carefully inscribed in a literary hand within a framed space befitting the text. Such graffiti tend to cluster in prominent tombs and vividly illustrate a continuing performative dialogue between the living and the dead, one of the essential desiderata of tomb decoration. Other graffiti are written in liminal tomb spaces that define a particular threshold between the worldly and the divine, permitting a venue for direct petitioning and interaction with the gods.

After years of painstaking reconstruction of the myriad wall fragments, Francesco Tiradritti reinterprets the decorative program of the vast Late Period tomb of Harwa. Essentially, the successive spaces and decor work together to reference the stages of life and death of the tomb owner, with portals representing the thresholds of mortal existence. An idealistic biography is found at the first entrance, and the hall beyond is adorned with the rituals of the Hours of the Day and Hours of the Night on opposite walls; the second entrance shows Harwa as an aged man led by Anubis into the next hall, inscribed with the Opening of the Mouth ritual terminating over the burial passage; and the last doorway depicts Harwa as a rejuvenated youth as he enters the presence of Osiris, indicating eternal resurrection. Long known as representative of the "Memphite renaissance" of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty embracing older standards of artistic achievement, Harwa's tomb clearly displays the knowledge and generous use of much older and "arcane" sources that clearly were not inaccessible to Late Period tomb builders.

In examining both the juxtaposition of scenes and epigraphic traces, JJ Shirley considers the question of how the selection and placement of scenes within a tomb helps elucidate the personal choices made by the tomb owner. In the tomb of the physician Nebamun (TT 17), prominent focal walls are dedicated to unusual scenes depicting his professional responsibilities, overseeing the manufacture of medicine within his own medical workshop, and receiving delegations of foreigners shown in Levantine or Syro-Aegean costume and hair styles, demonstrating both his idiosyncratic preferences and inferentially a close collaboration with the artistic crew. The tomb of the royal butler and herald Djehuty (TT 110) displays clues to his tenure of office during the later coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, as well as the adjustments to royal scenes and cartouches that were felt necessary at Thutmose's reassumption of single rule—choices that again must have been determined on personal grounds.

On the basis of X-ray fluorescence technology, Melinda Hartwig reviews the technical aspects of work organization and coloring in the small tomb chapel of Neferrenpet (TT 43), where the incomplete state of mural decoration offers an excellent opportunity to examine the decorative process. The finishing of walls using ever-finer layers of plaster provided the basis for the application of guidelines and background pigmentation, sketched outlines for major figures, and then skin tones and brilliant white for larger blocks of color, tasks probably shared in this instance by a single literate scribe and a less experienced painter; only in some locations were details added. The prominence of a scribe named Senenu, depicted in a banquet scene along with the tomb owner's sons, leads to the supposition that he may be the chief draftsman of the tomb, who inserted himself into the scene, and perhaps one of the sons of Neferrenpet.

Tamás Bács revisits the supposed "decline" in the skill of mural decoration between the time of the high priest of Amun Ramessesnakht and his son, the high priest of Amun Amenhotep, toward the very end of the Ramesside period, a phenomenon presumably evident in queens' tombs. But careful analysis of the tombs in question reveals that the presumed decline is partly the result of the hasty completion of certain scenes, perhaps due to an unexpected and sudden need for the tomb, while the fine hand of the talented

chief draftsman Amenhotep is still discernible where the details are accomplished. And there is no doubt that significant resources were spent on the initial stages of design and layout.

Betsy Bryan observes that architectural structures appear in Theban tomb decoration of the pre-Amarna Eighteenth Dynasty in a wide variety of scenes. She discusses some of the possible functions of depictions of buildings and concentrates on the ways in which tomb-owner identity was embedded in the images and evoked memories in viewers. A variety of approaches are combined in these examinations, including materiality, synesthesia, identity, iconology, and literature, to which can be added considerations of transparency and opacity in both form and location. The results underline the connections between identity and memory communicated by the Egyptian artistic vocabulary.

Two articles in this volume do not ostensibly address mural decoration *per se*. But Kathlyn Cooney's contribution underlines the essential interrelationship and interaction of tomb and coffin, with each playing its public or private part in the self-representation of the tomb owner while being subject to independent thematic variation and innovation. In a similar vein, Catharine Roehrig's reimagination of Meketre's fishing and fowling boat demonstrates the mutability of funerary themes recognizable equally on tomb walls and on burial objects deemed essential to the perpetuation of the memory and power of the deceased.

The discussions by participants following these presentations during the workshop nonetheless highlighted a number of recurring questions that cannot yet be answered: In what manner or by whose authority were tomb sites allotted in the Theban necropolis? How large were the work crews, and how were they organized? Regarding private persons in particular, how was work contracted, and who deserved to have access to the best artisans? How were textual and figural sources for tomb decoration accessed and employed? How fast could work be accomplished?² It was, further, clear that studies on private tombs at Thebes are overly dominated by monuments of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and a much better historical perspective can be achieved by research directed toward monuments of the Ramesside era, the Third Intermediate Period, the Late Period, and the Ptolemaic period. One final nagging query remains: Where are all the tombs? Even with Kampp's exhaustive compendium, private tombs in western Thebes number fewer than a thousand, far fewer than what would reasonably be expected for one of Egypt's great ancient cities intensively inhabited for millennia.

Betsy M. Bryan and Peter F. Dorman

² These questions were of utmost importance to the conference at Copenhagen, from which further clarifications will certainly come.

ABBREVIATIONS

GENERAL

ARCE	American Research Center in Egypt
BD	Book of the Dead
BHFL	broad hall far left
BHFR	broad hall far right
BHNR	broad hall near right
BHSR	broad hall small right
BL	British Library
BM	British Museum
BMA	Brooklyn Museum
Boston	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
ca.	<i>circa</i> , approximately
cf.	<i>confer/conferatur</i> , compare
CG	Catalogue Général
cm	centimeter(s)
col(s).	column(s)
CT	Coffin Texts
DM	Deir el-Medina
DT	Texts for Going Forth by Day
e.g.	<i>exempli gratia</i> , for example
esp.	especially
et al.	<i>et alii</i> , and others
fig(s).	figure(s)
HRW	Harwa
i.e.	<i>id est</i> , that is
IFAO	Institut français d'archéologie orientale
JE	Journal d'Entrée
km	kilometer(s)
KV	Kings' Valley (Valley of the Kings)
m	meter(s)
MAH	Musée d'Art et d'Histoire
MAIL	Italian Archaeological Mission to Luxor
MANT	Mission archéologique dans la Nécropole Thébaine
mm	millimeter(s)
MM	Medelhavsmuseet
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art
MoA	Ministry of Antiquities
MRAH	Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
n.	note
n.d.	no date
NN	<i>nomen nescio</i> , personal/divine name
no(s).	number(s)
O.	Ostrakon
OMR	Opening of the Mouth ritual
P.	Papyrus
pl(s).	plate(s)

XX ABBREVIATIONS

p(p).	page(s)
PT	Pyramid Texts
QV	Queens' Valley (Valley of the Queens)
RTI	reflectance transformation imaging
TT	Theban tomb
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
UV	ultraviolet
vol(s).	volume(s)
WV	Western Valley
XRD	X-ray diffraction
XRF	X-ray fluorescence

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<i>EA</i>	<i>Egyptian Archaeology</i>
FIFAO	Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale
HL4	Rainer Hannig. <i>Ägyptisches Wörterbuch</i> . Vol. 1, <i>Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit</i> . Hannig-Lexica 4. Mainz: von Zabern, 2003
<i>KRI</i>	Kenneth A. Kitchen. <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> . 8 vols. Oxford: Blackwell, 1975–90
<i>KRITA</i>	Kenneth A. Kitchen. <i>Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated</i> . 9 vols. Oxford: Blackwell, 1993–2018
<i>LD 2</i>	Karl R. Lepsius. <i>Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien nach den Zeichnungen der von seiner Majestaet dem Koenige von Preussen Friedrich Wilhelm IV nach diesen Laendern gesendeten und in den Jahren 1842–1845 ausgefuehrten wissenschaftlichen Expedition</i> . Vol. 2, <i>Denkmaeler des Alten Reichs</i> . Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung, 1849
PM 1 ¹	Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. Moss. <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings</i> . Vol. 1, <i>The Theban Necropolis</i> . Part 1, <i>Private Tombs</i> . 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1960
PM 1 ²	Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. Moss. <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings</i> . Vol. 1, <i>The Theban Necropolis</i> . Part 2, <i>Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries</i> . 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1964
PM 5	Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. Moss. <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings</i> . Vol. 5, <i>Upper Egypt: Sites</i> . Oxford: Clarendon, 1937
<i>Urk. 4</i>	Kurt Sethe. <i>Urkunden der 18. Dynastie</i> . <i>Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums</i> 4. Fasc. 1–16. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1906–9. 2nd ed., 1927–30. Continued by Wolfgang Helck. Fasc. 17–20. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1955–58
<i>Wb.</i>	Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow. <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> . 7 vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926–62

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1 TOMB PAINTING IN AN AGE OF DECLINE: LATE RAMESSIDE THEBAN TOMBS

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INTRODUCTION

In Ramesses IX's seventeenth regnal year, the so-called "work journal" of the crew of Deir el-Medina registered the following for day 21 of the third month of Peret:

Year 17, 3rd Peret, 21: the Tomb-workforce was idle.

There went up to the Queen's Valley, the Royal Butler,^[1] the City-governor and Vizier Khaemwaset, the Tomb-workforce, and their captains, to inspect the King's Mother and King's Wife, Isis, l.p.h.

They opened up her tomb. They found the stone of red granite, the 8 thieves having broken it up, by the doorway(?)/plinth(?),^[2] they having wrought havoc on everything there. They had broken through the door (at) the right(?), and they [had] made [.] [the rest of line and of col. 8 are lost]

See, the Royal Butler and Chief Treasurer of Pharaoh stood (there). The Royal Butler caused the chief workman Nekhemmut to be brought, and said to him, "Tell (us), now, the state of presence(?) at the Tomb!"

He said to him:

"Not present at all, is the Chief Draughtsman,^[3] (as) he is at(?) the Tomb. And not present either ("at all") are the 2 registers(?-*dynyt*-baskets), (as) they are in his possession" [trans. *KRITA* 6:427].^[4]

A year earlier the same queenly tomb had already cropped up in the inquiry documented in P. Abbott (P. BM 10221):

1 The unnamed royal butler is no doubt Nesamun, known from other documents of Ramesses IX's reign. He was entrusted with governing the estates of the divine adoratrix of Amun, as his string of titles includes, besides "scribe of Pharaoh," the title "steward of the estate of the divine adoratrix." See, e.g., P. Abbott rt. 2:5 (*KRI* 6:469.15–470.1); see also Graefe 1981, no. 30, and 105–6. That his activities and office tied him to Thebes is also confirmed by his appearance earlier in the documents of the necropolis, thus in year 7 (4 Akhet 24) or year 8 (4 Akhet 3, 5); see P. Turin 1881 rt. (*KRI* 6:611.10, 614.9–12). Underscoring the high position he occupied is also the fact that he participated in the year 10 ceremonial of the high priest Amenhotep. See Lefèbvre 1929, 63–64; Helck 1956, 163–78; *KRI* 6:455–58; trans. *KRITA* 6:350–53; also now Froot 2007, 68–77.

2 The word used here, *mn.t*, is otherwise unknown. Based on its writing, *man=nu₂=ta*, and feminine ending, it may be a Semitic loanword meaning "sarcophagus lid" or an otherwise unattested name for "burial chamber" (see Hoch 1994, 129, no. 167).

3 The chief draftsman meant is Amenhotep (vi), son of Amunnakhte (v). The numbering of individuals here follows that of B. Davies 1999.

4 *Giornale* 17-B recto 8:2-9:4 (see Botti and Peet 1928, pl. 24; *KRI* 6:579.5–15); a partial translation of the passage also appears in McDowell 1999, 198, no. 151A.

Year 16, 3rd Akhet, 19: Day of going to inspect the Great Places of the royal children, royal wives, and royal mothers, which are in the Place of Beauty, by the City-governor and Vizier Khaemwaset^[5] and (by) the Royal Butler Nesamun, the Scribe of Pharaoh, l.p.h., after the coppersmith Paikharu, son of Kharuy, whose mother is Mytsheri of the West of Thebes, a man of the staff of the Mansion of Usimare Meriamun, l.p.h., in the estate of Amun, under the authority of the High Priest of Amun-re, King of the Gods, Amenhotep, the man who had been found there and was arrested with two other men of the mansion, (being) near the tombs, and whose interrogation City-governor and Vizier Nebmarenakht^[6] had conducted in Year 14, had told them: “I was in the tomb of Isis, may she live!, the queen of King Usimare Meriamun, l.p.h., I brought away a few things from there and I appropriated them” [trans. after Peden 1994a, 232–34].^[7]

The sacking of the tomb, QV 51, may seem to be but one minor episode of many in the first documented outbreak of tomb robberies afflicting the late Ramesside period.⁸ For reasons to be discussed here, however, the date, the tomb, and the context provide a good starting point for a discussion of certain aspects of an age when Theban tomb painting entered its last New Kingdom phase.

THE DATE

Irrespective of how the role of the Deir el-Medina crew or its members is seen in the tomb robberies, year 17 of Ramesses IX represents a critical juncture or turning point in the crew’s history.⁹ Although assigning exact dates to processes is notoriously imprecise and deceptive, the year nonetheless can be perceived as opening the period of decline ultimately resulting in the eventual transformation of the community sometime in the Third Intermediate Period.¹⁰ Of the various symptoms of decline, two are relevant here—first, the size of the crew was reduced from sixty-six to forty-four and then thirty-four during Ramesses IX’s

5 One of the better-known figures of Ramesses IX’s reign, the vizier Khaemwaset owes this to his rather dubious portrayal in the papyri describing the tomb-robbery proceedings of years 16 and 17. His tenure probably started sometime between years 14 and 16 and extended to year 3 of Ramesses X, when on the presently available evidence he is last attested. According to the necropolis journal (P. Turin 1898+frg.) in year 3 (2 Shomu 16) he sent a letter to the Deir el-Medina crew, the purpose or contents of which, however, are not specified (see *KRI* 6:693.2–3; *KRITA* 6:489). An interesting entry of 2 Shomu 23 in the same document also records the accusation(?) leveled against the vizier that he appropriated the royal linen and cedar wood of the deceased Ramesses IX (*KRI* 6:693.12–15; *KRITA* 6:489). For a Thebes-West graffito (no. 1756) also from year 3 (3 Peret 6), see *KRI* 6:680.15. See now Dresbach 2012, 94, no. 10.11.

6 The reference is usually taken as that to a vizier of Ramesses IX’s reign, Nebmarenakht A, as distinct from the like-named one, Nebmarenakht B, who is known from the tomb-robbery papyri of the Renaissance era (see now Dresbach 2012, 91–92, no. 10.9). The two may have been one and the same individual, however, given that Nebmarenakht would have been vizier of Lower Egypt and Khaemwaset that of Upper Egypt, their careers overlapping to some extent, as also suggested in Häggman 2002, 40–41, 243, and Dresbach 2012, 91.

7 For P. Abbott (P. BM 10221) 4:11–17, see also Peet 1930, pl. III; *KRI* 6:473.16–474.10; *KRITA* 6:363.

8 It seems that QV 51 was robbed at least twice at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, once during the reign of Ramesses IX and once sometime later, during the reign of Ramesses XI (see more recently Barwik 2011, 88–93, and earlier, e.g., von Beckerath 2000, 115). In addition to P. Abbott and the *Giornale*, the first robbery is also referenced in P. BM 10068 recto and P. BM 10053 recto (Peet’s Group III [Peet 1930, 72–111]), the latter documenting the recovery of the loot stolen by the “eight thieves” from different tombs, among them no doubt QV 51 (see also McDowell 1990, 194–98). As shown by P. BM 10052 (of Peet’s Group V papyri [Peet 1930, 128–75]), QV 51 was looted for a second time by the herdsman Bukhaaf and his accomplices at an unknown date, but probably years before the start of the Renaissance era and the ensuing trials. It was at this time that the mummy of the queen was disturbed and her coffin (*wt*) of silver and mummy board (*sw_h.t*) of gold and silver were taken (P. BM 10052, 1, 15–19), Peet 1930, 143, pl. XXV; *KRI* 6:768.10–769.2; *KRITA* 6:540). For *wt*, “coffin,” and *sw_h.t*, “mummy board,” see Cooney 2007, 18–28.

9 For instance, it was in this year that one of the eight brothers of the chief draftsman Amenhotep, son of Amunnakhte—one Pentaweret (viii/i)—and at least three of his sons, Nakhtmin (vii), Amenhotep (iv), and Mose (xii), were implicated and arrested, while another brother, the scribe of the tomb Horisheru (i), had to give way to his son, Khaemhedje (i) (see Janssen 1982; B. Davies 1999, 111, 114–17; Barwik 2011, 35–36). The family of his close associate Hormin was also involved, as Hormin’s brother, Amenwa (i), and three of his sons, Pa-anqen (i), Hori (xii), and Paysen (ii), were among the eight thieves arrested (B. Davies 1999, 172–74; discussed now in detail in B. Davies 2017–18).

10 Häggman 2002, 355–75; more recently Barwik 2011, 287–98.

reign, to about thirty-two during the reign of Ramesses X, and eventually to twenty-three under Ramesses XI.¹¹ Although the proportion of draftsmen within the crew during these reductions cannot be ascertained with any confidence, the sense that the talent pool available in the Theban necropolis was shrinking cannot be escaped. This change, though the Deir el-Medina crew's participation or role in their creation remains unclear,¹² is well illustrated, for instance, by the architectural elements and decoration of the double-tomb complex K93.11/K93.12 at Dra' Abu el-Naga, where a sharp decline in quality has been observed between the "temple-tombs" of the two high priests, Ramessesnakht and his son Amenhotep.¹³

The other significant development was a sort of "changing of the guard," with prominent figures leaving the scene for one reason or another.¹⁴ While he may have survived a few more years into the reign of Ramesses X, the active career of Deir el-Medina's chief draftsman Amenhotep, son of Amunnakhte, can also be considered to have come to a close during this time (fig. 1.1).¹⁵ Incidentally, year 17 was also the last year in which one of the closest associates of Amenhotep, the draftsman Hormin, appears.¹⁶ Amenhotep's importance in understanding the artistic output of the age is emphasized by the great period of his predominance of royal, queenly, and princely tomb painting, covering most of the Twentieth Dynasty except for its beginning and very end.¹⁷



Figure 1.1. The chief draftsman Amenhotep—self-portrait (O. CG 25037). After Daressy 1901, pl. VIII.

THE TOMB

Situated in the western part of the main wadi, QV 51¹⁸ belongs to a well-known type created during the reign of Ramesses III that, with its linear arrangement, is basically a scaled-down version of the period's royal tombs (fig. 1.2).¹⁹ It comprises a sloping entrance corridor, a gateway, a corridor or long antechamber, a second gateway giving access to the burial chamber, and two annexes (I and G) opening off it to the east

11 See Valbelle 1985, 101–2, with tableau III on 103–5; also more recently B. Davies 2017, 209–11. The number may have been increased to thirty-five during the Twenty-First Dynasty (Häggman 2002, 373–74; see also the twenty-seven workmen at least listed on O. DeB inv. No. F.8958 in Barwik 2011, 294).

12 As in other cases as well; see Laboury in this volume.

13 Rummel 2015, 382 with n37; also Rummel 2018, 254–57.

14 Barwik 2011, 35–36.

15 This consideration may be made given that an entry in P. Turin 1932+1939 vs. 1.8 from year 1 of Ramesses X refers to him (see B. Davies 1999, 113 with n399; earlier Keller 1984).

16 The close relationship between the families of the scribe Amennakhte and the chief draftsman Hori (ix) (for the latter, see B. Davies 1999, 168–74) is exemplified, for instance, by such gestures as both composing instructions to the other's son (see Bickel and Mathieu 1993, 49–51). In graffiti, such as in those in the Vallée de la Corde (Valley of the Rope), this closeness is expressed by Amenhotep's calling Hormin (i), as well as Nebnefer (ix), "his brother" (see Černý 1956, 23, pl. 68, graffito 1355; in general, Keller 2001, 91n73; Leblanc and Fekri 1993, 262–63; on the types of graffiti in the Theban mountains, see Dorn 2014; see also Dorn 2018 with a newly discovered graffito of Hormin).

17 See Bács 2017, 2021.

18 PM 1², 756; Schiaparelli 1923, 156–57; Thomas 1966, 223, 285. On its modern clearance, see Mahmoud Soliman and Tosi 1996.

19 I am referring to Type III according to the typology in Leblanc 1989a, 243–45.

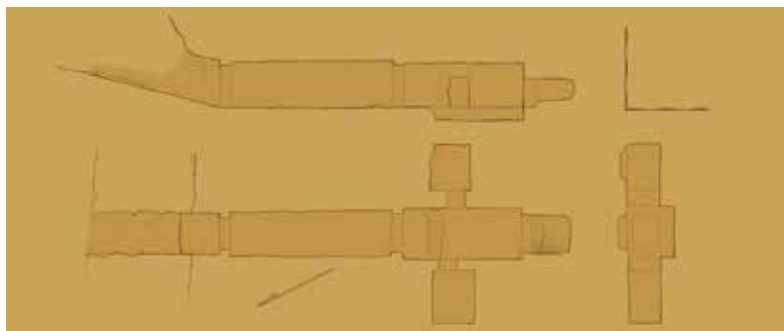


Figure 1.2. Plan of QV 51. Drawing by Marcell Nagy.

and west, respectively. A further, unfinished cutting also opens to the south. The cutting of the tomb, however, may have actually been begun by Ramesses III, with work being abandoned during the hewing of what was originally planned as a second corridor that was then transformed into the burial chamber under Ramesses VI.²⁰

Used extensively in the Rameside period, including in both the royal tombs and the princely and queenly tombs of Ramesses III, the decoration was done in sculptured plaster relief except on the ceilings and the undersides of the gates, which received only paint.²¹ The decoration, however, was never completed—a common trait in Twentieth Dynasty tombs, both royal and nonroyal. In the two side chambers, the figures of the tutelary goddesses Isis, Nephthys, Neith, and Selket, the four sons of Horus, and their accompanying text columns were only sketched preliminarily, in red (fig. 1.3).

The tomb was prepared by Ramesses VI for his mother, Isis-Tahemdjeret,²² but there is no direct dating evidence that would indicate when this happened within his reign.²³ An indirect indication would place this monument after year 2 or 3 of Ramesses VI, since Isis-Tahemdjeret, one of the queens of Ramesses III, is known to have been still alive at this point in time. In the second month of Shomu of either year 2 or 3, she personally partook in the investiture of her granddaughter, also named Isis, into the office of god's wife and divine adoratrix.²⁴ As commemorated in this latter Isis's Dra' Abu el-Naga edifice (K.93.12), she was installed on the occasion of the Valley Festival attended in person by the king, Isis-Tahemdjeret, and the then vizier Nehy.²⁵

This also implies that QV 51—unlike QV 74, the tomb refitted for Queen (Dua)-Tentopet, mother of Ramesses V²⁶—was not among the six tombs being urgently prepared within a four-month period in the Valley of the Queens in conjunction with and preceding Ramesses V's burial. Recorded on the verso of P. Turin 1923 (plus fragments), which was written partly or entirely in Ramesses VI's year 3, the commissioning of the six burials suggests that Ramesses V's untimely death may not have been an isolated event

20 This was noted already in Thomas 1966, 223; also in Grist 1985, 77. An abandoned preliminary cut in its southern wall (perhaps a would-be third side chamber given up because the cutters hit a layer of "tafl" here) was refilled, walled up, plastered, and then decorated, as described in Mahmoud Soliman and Tosi 1996, 214–16.

21 Still basic is Mackay 1921, 166–68; see also Hofmann 2004, 149–57; on the princely tombs, see Abitz 1986; Leblanc 1989b.

22 For Isis-Tahemdjeret, see with earlier literature Roth 2002, 61–62; the alternative reconstruction of Leblanc 2001–2 reckons with the existence of two like-named queens, mother (i) and daughter (ii), the former being the mother also of Ramesses IV, the latter that of Ramesses VI. For the study of these relationships the central, albeit ambiguous, source is of course the Medinet Habu double procession of princes and princesses from the portico in the mortuary temple's second court. Attracting a substantial amount of scholarly attention, the result was the emergence of two conflicting interpretations, termed Hypothesis A and B. The former understands the labeled procession as depicting the sons of Ramesses III, the latter as those of Ramesses VI; for the former, see, e.g., Kitchen 1972, 1982; Grandet 1993, 60–66; Leblanc 2001–2; Dodson and Hilton 2004, 186–94; for the latter, see originally Sethe 1896, more recently restated in Altenmüller 1994, 2009. At present it is understood that Ramesses III had at least four wives—namely, Isis-Tahemdjeret, Tyti, Minefer, and Tiye (of harim-conspiracy repute). Where most genealogical reconstructions differ consists in which sons were born of which queen (compare, e.g., the genealogical tables in Dodson and Hilton 2004, 186–87, with Leblanc 2001–2, fig. 9).

23 A survey of his reign appears in Amer 1985; for his accession date, see Hudson 2014, 90–94; earlier Dorn 2011c.

24 For the divine adoratrix Isis, see Bács 1995; Traunecker 2010; also Rummel 2010.

25 For a proposed date of year 2, see Amer 1985, 68; also Kitchen 1972, 189–91; for the Deir el-Bakhit inscription that probably came from the Dra' Abu el-Naga edifice K.93.12, see with earlier literature Rummel 2010. For the vizier Nehy, see *KRI* 6:349.1–14; *KRITA* 6:276; and now also Dresbach 2012, 87–89.

26 See Peden 1994b, 5–6.



Figure 1.3. The tutelary goddesses (eastern annex, QV 51). Photo by Szabolcs Gebauer.

but instead the result of some occurrence²⁷ that affected at least six other members of the royal family.²⁸ Since none of these burials has been identified archaeologically or otherwise (there are five unfinished and unattributable Twentieth Dynasty tombs in the Valley of the Queens: QV 54, 84, 85, 86, and 95),²⁹ the identity of those concerned remains obscure, except perhaps that of Queen (Dua)-Tentopet.³⁰ As Ramesses V was buried on 2 Akhet 1 of Ramesses VI's year 2, it is more likely that the aforementioned investiture of

27 Since the discovery in 1898 of the mummy of Ramesses V in the cache of KV 35, his death has commonly been attributed to smallpox (Smith 1912, 91; Harris and Wente 1980, 66; Hopkins 1980; Ventura 1988, 154–56; Fenner et al. 1988, 210–11; Strouhal 1996; and McCollum et al. 2014, 181, with reservation). But questions have recently been raised about the validity of this diagnosis, questions based mainly on DNA evidence pointing to a much later historical appearance of the variola virus, the cause of smallpox (Duggan et al. 2016). If this evidence in fact negates such a diagnosis, the cause of Ramesses V's death and that of the vesicular cutaneous lesions on parts of his body remain to be determined; and it would also call into question the historical reconstruction that suggests a smallpox epidemic during the Twentieth Dynasty (Ventura 1988; Strouhal 1996). The occurrence of epidemics due to infectious diseases, on the other hand, were not infrequent, and their potential impact cannot be underestimated (Gnirs 2015, 124–36).

I must acknowledge my indebtedness here to Tanja Pommerening first of all for bringing this issue to my attention. My most sincere thanks go in turn to Jerome S. Cybulski and Robert J. Stark, who spared no time or effort in bringing me up to date on the relevant paleopathological research and supplied me with the appropriate literature on the subject.

28 The papyrus mentions 2 Shomu of year 2 as the date of initiating the reworking of KV 9 for Ramesses VI, while the burial of Ramesses V is dated by O. Cairo 25254 to 2 Akhet 1 of Ramesses VI's year 2 (see *KRI* 6:343, with a translation in Černý 1973b, 34, and *KRITA* 6:271; for Part C of P. Turin 1923 verso, see Ventura 1988, 147–50; *KRI* 6:367.1–368.14; *KRITA* 6:288–89).

29 See Leblanc 1989a, 239.

30 The evidence from her tomb, QV 74 (a usurped tomb originally made for a king's daughter, one of Ramesses II), would support such a contention, since it shows a measure of haste in adaptation—understandable if five other tombs were to be prepared likewise within four months. In addition, that she was still alive during her son's reign is indicated by her bearing the title “great queen-mother” (*mw.t-nsw wr.t*) in one of her tomb inscriptions, where she also bears the title “god's mother” (*mw.t-ntr*) (see Leblanc and Abdel-Rahman 1991, 167). For the work procedures in the tomb, see again Leblanc and Abdel-Rahman 1991, 166–67.



Figure 1.4. The effects of fire on the walls of QV 51. Photo by Szabolcs Gebauer.

from fire (fig. 1.4).³⁴ Besides soot deposits, removed in large part by the 1988–91 restoration work done in the tomb, the rock, plaster, and wall paintings have all undergone severe heat alteration.³⁵ For stylistic attribution, the greatest loss is the nearly total absence of heads and faces, and to a lesser degree those of feet in the long antechamber, the decoration of which seems to have been finished. Fortunately, on the other hand, the relief sculptor(s) did not obscure the work of the draftsmen to the degree that stylistic analysis becomes impossible, especially for those doing the final line work. And a side note: the relief sculptors' quality of work otherwise is rather uneven, ranging from very finely carved details on some of the figures to rather sloppy execution on others. One relevant example is the different treatment of details on two figures of the queen shown before Ptah-Sokar on the eastern and western walls (C.12 and C.11, respectively) (fig. 1.5): whereas the flowers springing from the platform of the vulture crown worn by Isis were carved—as was the rest of the crown—in C.12, in C.11 these elements were supplied only in paint. Moreover, on this same

Isis took place during the subsequent Valley Festival, namely, that of year 3.³¹

Incidentally, due to these delays it was also not until year 3 that work could start, or more precisely resume, in the royal tomb KV 9 itself.³² No doubt related to this was the elevation in status granted to the chief draftsman Amenhotep in the same year that made him, in addition to the two foremen and the scribe of the tomb, the fourth of the *ḥ(n)tyw n p3 hr*, or “captains of the tomb.” As I have attempted to show elsewhere, the well-known “stela-ostrakon” with his self-portrait (O. Cairo CG 25029) probably constitutes a commemoration of this distinction in status, an unprecedented personal social ascendancy within the community.³³

The association of the chief draftsman Amenhotep with QV 51, then, derived from his office. But beyond this institutional connection, his involvement is also evident from his visible artistic presence in the tomb, even if a detailed stylistic analysis is unachievable due to the tomb's present state of preservation. Apart from the ravages brought on by the robbers referred to in the introductory quotation, which no doubt affected the walls to a lesser degree than the sarcophagus and grave furniture, the tomb has suffered mostly

31 Such a reconstruction of events would suit the textual evidence from Deir el-Medina better, as it would place the investiture into the context of Ramesses VI's program of changes in Thebes. Since P. Turin 2044 recto dates more likely to year 1 of Ramesses V than of Ramesses VI, it invalidates most of Amer's reconstruction of the first two years of Ramesses VI's reign (see Amer 1985, 66–68). For the dating of the papyrus, see Valbelle 1985, 36n1; Helck 1992, 274–75; and Demarée 1993a, 50–51; 1993b, 103–4.

32 See Ventura 1988, 153.

33 See Bács 2018.

34 Besides the visible changes to the wall surfaces, the recovered seven wooden shabtis of the queen were also all charred (Mahmoud Soliman and Tosi 1996, 216, pls. LVIII B, LIX A–B).

35 The phenomenon is apparent in other tombs of the necropolis as well; see now Hofmann 2018.



Figure 1.5. Queen Isis. Left: C.11. Right: C.12. Photos by Szabolcs Gebauer.

figure the uraeus earring was rendered only in paint rather than being carved.³⁶ While these details may be attributed to hasty execution, other examples of less skillful work are mostly confined to peripheral elements elsewhere in the tomb and may be seen rather as confirming the expected work allocation, where less qualified or talented artisans were assigned such tasks.

The frieze of the antechamber follows the tradition of royal and queenly tombs in featuring rather bulky pointed *hkr*-elements, here edged with red and with roundels also in red (as in the white-blue-white border framing the main wall area).³⁷ A more unusual design can be found in the burial chamber, where a frieze pattern more akin to private tombs was laid out, namely, the figure of Anubis on his shrine alternating with groups of three *hkr*-elements (fig. 1.6).³⁸

While the iconography and style of the wall decoration closely resembles that of the neighboring tomb of Queen Tyti, QV 52, other aspects demand a certain chronological distancing of the two (fig. 1.7). One is paleography. Like the princely tombs, QV 52, which can now be dated to the reign of Ramesses IV³⁹ and therefore earlier than QV 51, still employs a type of hieroglyphic script that is characterized by stout, squarish, polychrome signs. This script type,⁴⁰ used extensively in the royal tomb of Ramesses III (KV 11) and those of his sons in the Valley of the Queens, was restrictively employed in the royal tombs from Ramesses IV onward, mainly for the so-called “Books of the Netherworld.”⁴¹ And even here, it was now used with a new

36 A further minor detail of interest is that both here and in the adjacent panel (C.12), the vulture-head of the crown on the queen’s brow was only painted in red, while the uraeus, otherwise an extra element on this type of headdress, was cut in relief in C.12.

37 On pointed *hkr*-elements typical of Ramesside royal tombs (with the exception of Seti I’s), see Mackay 1920, 117–18.

38 Already noted as a distinctive feature not present in other Twentieth Dynasty royal tombs in Grist 1985, 77 with n28.

39 As shown by Collier, Dodson, and Hamernick 2010, Tyti was identified in P. BM EA 10052, 6.22–23, as the royal wife of Ramesses III (*hm.t-nsw Tity n nsw Wsr-m3^c.t-r^c-mry-imm^c.w.s.*), putting to rest speculations concerning her position within the late Ramesside royal family. Her identity as the wife of Ramesses III was already suggested in Grist 1985, an ascription mostly rejected in the literature for a preferred later dating of her. Leblanc, on the other hand, when returning to considering her as a wife of Ramesses III, also suggested her being the mother of three of the king’s sons, namely, princes Khaemwaset, Amunhirkhopshef, and Meryamun (Leblanc 2001b; 2001–2, 210–11).

40 See examples from QV 52 in Leblanc 1989b, pls. CXIX–CXXVI/B; for examples from KV 11, see Brock 2001a; for those from the princely tombs, see Leblanc 2001a.

41 In corridor K of Ramesses IV’s tomb (KV 2), the texts from the Book of Caverns that were finalized by at least four hieroglyphic “hands” already display a difference in style (see Müller 1986); for a linguistic analysis, see now Werning 2011, 61–64. This difference is probably due to the fact that the ductus of the text was defined not by the four draftsmen working on the



Figure 1.6. Anubis on his shrine with groups of three *hkr*s (burial chamber, QV 51). Photo by Szabolcs Gebauer.

color scheme first introduced in Ramesses IV's tomb.⁴² Although the inscriptions that would have adorned the inner chambers of QV 51 have not survived or were never added, it seems that in contrast to QV 52, where both types are present, QV 51 preferred only the so-called "monumental" type⁴³ of inscription (fig. 1.8).

As far as can be seen today, virtually nothing has survived of the decoration of the entrance corridor or doorway, which presumably would have included on each side the figures of the winged goddess Maat seated on a basket (and, depending on the orientation, a papyrus or a lotus bundle).⁴⁴ The side walls of the following antechamber were each divided into six symmetrical and equal panels to carry a series of scenes of nearly identical

design. These show the queen before various deities, many of whom cannot be identified today; those that can be identified include Ptah-Sokar (twice, in C.1, queen presenting heraldic staffs, and C.6, queen rattling sistra) and Banebdjed (C.4, queen holding braziers) on the left-hand wall, and Nefertum (C.9), Ptah-Sokar (C.11, queen in adoration), and Osiris (C.12, queen in adoration) on the right-hand wall, respectively.⁴⁵ This depicted pantheon is similar, but not identical, to that in QV 52 of Queen Tyti.⁴⁶

The queen is always depicted with a long, flowing, white linen robe, largely semitransparent and open below the breasts. Her curvaceous form is in keeping with other representations known from, for instance, a preparatory study on an ostrakon (OIM 17006)⁴⁷ that may be attributed to Amenhotep on stylistic grounds, or the rendering of the female relatives of Imiseba, the owner of TT 65, which Amenhotep is known to have done.⁴⁸ The only apparent differentiation in status between the queen and the nonroyal ladies, apart from the crowns of course, is to be found in the elaborateness of dress details: the sleeves of the queen's dress

final version but to a large extent by one person, the chief draftsman Amenhotep, who did the preliminary sketch in red (see Keller 2003, 97–98.) For illustrative examples from Ramesses VI's tomb (KV 9), see, e.g., Brock 2001b.

42 One of the most diagnostic features of this color scheme was, in the case of a white background, the use of yellow fillings not only for closed hieroglyphic signs but also for ones that were open on one side (e.g., *m*, Gardiner sign Aa 13; see E. Staehelin in Hornung 1990, 106). Although not used in the tomb of Ramesses III or in those of his sons, the scheme is already attested in a temple context in the inscriptions at Medinet Habu (see, e.g., Epigraphic Survey 1940, pl. 198). While in the case of royal tombs it would be tempting to assign this innovation or adaptation to the chief draftsman Amenhotep, doing so cannot be substantiated at present.

43 For the term (German *Zierinschrift*), see E. Staehelin in Hornung 1990, 103–4.

44 In QV 51 this scene opens the series of adorations on both side walls (Bénédict 1893, pls. I–II).

45 The numbering follows Mahmoud Soliman and Tosi 1996, 217–22; see also PM 1², 756.

46 On the northern wall, QV 51 has the queen before Ptah, Re-Harakhte, Imsety, Duamutef, and Isis, while she appears before Thoth, Atum, Hapy, Qebhsenuf, and Nephthys on the southern one (see PM 1², 757; Bénédict 1893, 396–400, pls. I–II).

47 In Bács 2021 the ostrakon is now listed among Amenhotep's works; see also Teeter 2003, 66–67, and earlier van Siclen 1974.

48 This was probably done in conjunction with the draftsman Hormin (see Bács 2011b, 36–37).

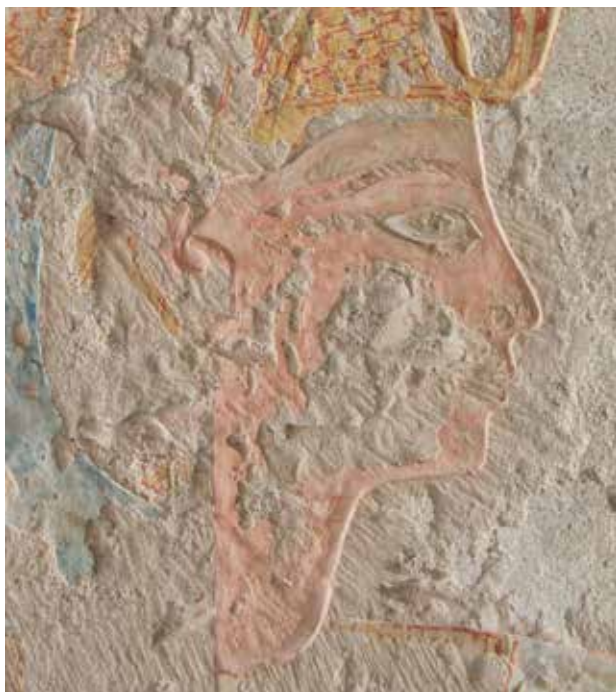


Figure 1.7. Portrait of Queen Tyti (QV 52).
Photo by Szabolcs Gebauer.



Figure 1.8. "Monumental" inscription type
(QV 51). Photo by Szabolcs Gebauer.

have ornate hems as well as two long sashes, one red and one blue (fig. 1.9).⁴⁹ Incidentally, this last feature probably originates from royal and princely attire, as only a single, red, cross-striped sash is usual in the iconography of goddesses and women.⁵⁰ On the other hand, certain artistic mannerisms are shared between the two tombs—for example, the elegant rendering of the jewelry on the arms of Wiay, the grandmother of Imiseba, and the queen.⁵¹

The only two instances (C.11 and C.12) in which the facial features of the queen have survived to a degree, and despite the relief carver's sometimes not-too-finely sculpted contours (as notably in the case of C.12), indeed recall the hand of Amenhotep. Without entering into too much detail, the depiction of the queen's face mostly resembles one of Amenhotep's facial types familiar primarily from the ceiling decorations of royal tombs in which he worked.⁵²

That Amenhotep was not responsible for the drawing of all the major figures, and that his supervisory role here did not include having a hand in every aspect personally, becomes more apparent when the drafted figures in the annexes are considered. In these areas, as already mentioned, a number of rough preliminary sketches were executed during the preparation of the tomb in which Amenhotep (probably) approximated the general features of a limited section of the composition, namely, the figures done with a thick brush. Due probably to the pressure of needing to close down work in the tomb, the figures had to

49 Neither the queen nor Imiseba's female family members are shown wearing an underdress, the *mss*, with their complex wrapped, open-fronted dresses (see, in general, Johnstone 2014).

50 This feature seems to have been taken over directly from the depictions of Queen Tyti, as the two sashes already appear as part of her attire (see Leblanc 1989b, pls. CXIV, CXV, CXXIII, CXXVIB, CXIX, CXX).

51 This rendering is attributable on stylistic grounds to the hand of the draftsman Hormin (see Bács 2021). His career extended from year 2 of Ramesses IV to possibly year 17 of Ramesses IX (Keller 2001, 74; B. Davies 1999, 170; Cherpion and Corteggiani 2010, 26).

52 While they do not offer exact or very close parallels to Amenhotep's facial types known from his figural ostraca or tomb scenes, the figures can nevertheless be ascribed to him based on such details as the elongated medial canthus and the shape of the mouth, which occur in the face of the goddess Nut on the ceilings of the tombs of Ramesses IV, VII (Hornung 1990, pls. 69, 72, 121), and IX (personal inspection by Guilmant 1907, pl. LXXXVIII) or most recognizably in the fifth division of the Book of Caverns in the tomb of Ramesses VI (KV 9) (see Piankoff 1954, 32).



Figure 1.9. Queen Isis's dress and jewelry, detail. Photo by Szabolcs Gebauer.

be “finished,” so a final outlining was also done, in a single color. Another of Amenhotep’s projects provides an excellent example of this particular understanding of what a finished representation is. In the axial corridor of TT 65, the upper row of panels of the side walls consists in a composition that should be essentially understood as a Book of the Netherworld specially created for this tomb.⁵³ The pictorial composition, very much in the style of its royal tomb equivalents, shows the day-and-night journey of the sun god by repeating the image of the sun bark in subsequent panels, five on the southern wall moving inward, and five on the northern one moving outward. The scenes themselves were never finished in our sense of the word, but in each panel the figure of the tomb owner, Imiseba, was carefully “finished” by adding the final outlines with care for even the smallest of details (fig. 1.10).

While this detail in TT 65 can be attributed to Amenhotep, those in QV 51 were done by more than one hand. The facial features of the goddesses Isis and Selket in the western annex (I), which are the only ones preserved, are strongly suggestive of Amenhotep’s hand (fig. 1.11), especially when compared to those of minor figures in royal



Figure 1.10. Finished figure of the adoring Imiseba (northern wall, axial corridor, TT 65).

⁵³ Bács 2011a, 15–16; 2011b, 38–39.



Figure 1.11. Left: The goddess Isis (western annex, QV 51). Right: The goddess Selket (western annex, QV 51). Photos by Szabolcs Gebauer.

tomb scenes; the figures of Imsety (fig. 1.12) and Hapy in the eastern annex (G), however, cannot be linked stylistically to any of the known draftsmen.

Tombs QV 51 and TT 65 also share another aspect in how Amenhotep used preliminary drawings. Besides reflecting haste, the vigorously drawn forms done quickly in red also reveal that they were made without lavishing care on placement. Executed with masterly drawing skills, these sketches were actually meant to reference the approximate size and subject but were not intended to serve as detailed underdrawings for the individual compositions (fig. 1.13).

Entrusting to another person or delegating the execution of main figures by the chief draftsman is a practice that finds another informative example in KV 19, the burial place supplied by Ramesses IX for his son, Prince Montuhirkhopshef (II), his prematurely deceased crown prince (fig. 1.14).⁵⁴ The wall paintings, of exquisite quality, were clearly done under the supervision and with the participation of Amenhotep, whose personal style can be recognized in many places, as can also that of the draftsman Hormin.

What distinguishes KV 19 from the other princely tombs of the Twentieth Dynasty is the fact that in layout, form, and content it follows those of queenly tombs instead of those of princes.⁵⁵ Consisting of only a corridor and a possible burial place in what, on completion, would have been the second corridor of a royal tomb,⁵⁶ the decoration corresponds to that of the first corridors of QV 51 and QV 52. Accordingly, Prince Montuhirkhopshef is shown alone in subsequent panels adoring and/or offering to various deities. With Amenhotep as the “master artist,” the other draftsmen, even those as well known as Hormin, had to work

⁵⁴ PM 1², 546; Ayrton 1908; Johnson 2005.

⁵⁵ For KV 3, see Wente 1972; for the QV princely tombs, see Abitz 1986; for the decoration of the burial place of the sons of Ramesses II in KV 5, which probably served as the model for Ramesses III, see Brock 2000. Unfortunately, of the secondary decoration provided in KV 13 for the princes interred there, merely a figure of the wife of Ramesses VI, Nubkhesbed, survives (Altenmüller 1994, 5–6).

⁵⁶ The tomb of royal dimensions originally intended for the burial of Ramesses VIII, discovered by Belzoni in 1817 and cleared again by Ayrton in 1906, had been barely cut beyond the first corridor when it was taken over and adapted for the burial of the prince (Brock 2013, 101–8). The mummy pit sunk into the floor of the second corridor and covered with slabs of stone is usually considered the prince’s burial place within the tomb. This impression of the excavator Ayrton was seemingly reinforced by his finding a broken mummy near the pit (Ayrton 1908, 23); this mummy fragment, however, probably belonged to one of the intrusive mummies already found previously in the tomb by Belzoni (Thomas 1966, 151). Although the orientation of the pit is unusual, as it is not aligned to the longitudinal axis of the tomb, its dimensions indeed suggest that it is the burial place of the prince, for these dimensions (a 1.22 × 3.0 m rectangle, 1.22 m deep) are very close to those of the similar pit of Ramesses VII (3.0 × 1.7 m, 1.0 m deep). A sarcophagus lid covering the pit (replaced by the slabs later, when the tomb was reused) could have been removed from the tomb, as was the one from his father’s.



Figure 1.12. Imsety (eastern annex, QV 51).
Photo by Szabolcs Gebauer.



Figure 1.13. Left: Finished and underdrawing in red of Uadjet (western reveal, doorway to burial chamber, QV 51). Photo by Szabolcs Gebauer. Right: Finished and underdrawing in red of the divine bark's prow (northern wall, axial corridor, TT 65).



Figure 1.14. Left: Prince Montuhirkhopshef as painted by Amenhotep (KV 19).
Right: The goddess Meretseger by Amenhotep's hand (KV 19).

in his style, thus subordinating their personal hands to that of the master. To achieve the effect of stylistic unity for the tomb, this required a certain amount of stylistic “masquerading,” something less expected in a private tomb, as shown by Hormin’s and Nebnefer’s work in the Deir el-Medina tomb of the chief workman Inherkhau the Younger (TT 359).⁵⁷

In TT 65, the larger of the private commissions, Amenhotep was entrusted with painting fourteen murals (four of them of quite large scale at approximately 10.0 × 4.0 m each)—six murals in the transverse hall and two each in the axial corridor, the entrance, the recess, and the passageway—and a ceiling panel of three registers, as well as providing the ceilings and soffits with textile patterns and bandeaux texts and supplying the architraves and columns with monumental texts. Contrary to what may be expected, visual analysis indicates that to achieve and manage all these tasks, a relatively small workshop crew headed by the master painter and working in installments was sufficient. The slight variations in painting methods do not warrant assuming the presence of several crews drawn from different institutional backgrounds, as was the case in Suemniwet’s tomb chapel (TT 92), for example, or the Amarna elite tombs, the need for these multiple crews being explained by high demand coupled with a shortage of skilled specialists.⁵⁸ The organizational model recognized in the tomb of Menna (TT 69), involving clearly distinguishable work zones with a group of artists that included four collaborating “outline scribes” of differing talents and personal styles, may at first offer a convenient analogy, but the more uniform figural style present in TT 65 causes one to hesitate in accepting the analogy outright.⁵⁹

The pattern of work displayed in the Deir el-Medina tomb of the chief workman Inherkhau the Younger (TT 359)—where a pair of brothers, Hormin and Nebnefer, essentially divided the wall surfaces between them so as to do the complete decoration themselves (as described by Keller and confirmed more recently by Cherpion)—may seem at first easily dismissible.⁶⁰ But in dimensions, form, and decorative layout, the axial corridor of TT 65 is, in effect, directly comparable to Inherkhau’s burial chamber. It represents the purposeful reconciliation of two distinct concepts of a tomb’s subterranean apartments, that of the burial chambers of Ramesside Deir el-Medina tombs (otherwise referred to as “sarcophagus vaults” or “macro-sarcophagi”) and contemporary royal tombs.⁶¹ It also represents the “smaller, more intimate spaces of the private tombs”⁶² the draftsmen of Deir el-Medina were familiar with.

In its unfinished state, TT 65, which affords a rare opportunity to study work procedure, shows that, as in other tombs, a regular procedural pattern was followed: the ceiling and frieze decorations were finished, albeit in a rather sloppy manner (fig. 1.15), while those of the walls were left in various states of incompleteness. The latter are each divided by bands into five equal panels of two registers, with the degree of incompleteness varying not only from one wall to the other but also from panel to panel. In addition to revealing the order of application of the paintwork within panels, a close examination of the individual panels shows that the work would in fact have been done by one painter with the aid of a small number of assistants, one of whom would have been Amenhotep’s son.⁶³ Thus, as also in the transverse hall, Amenhotep would have probably delegated the painting of the ceiling designs, which could be done relatively independently of his supervision. While he personally did the underdrawings in red and may have applied the white ground he used under the figures to illuminate them as a first step (fig. 1.16), an assistant or apprentice prepared pigment, and it may have been the same person who, working laterally, applied single colors (e.g., yellow for the text bands and certain elements supposed to be of gold) over the whole area. Whether it was done by the

57 Cherpion and Corteggiani 2010; for Hormin and Nebnefer, see also Bács 2020; for Hormin’s corpus, see Luiselli and Dorn 2016.

58 For TT 92, see Bryan 2001; the work procedure observable in the Amarna tombs is discussed in Owen and Kemp 1994.

59 Hartwig 2013, 133–61.

60 Keller 2001; Cherpion and Corteggiani 2010.

61 Bács 2011a, 15–18.

62 Keller 2001, 87.

63 In other words, Amunnakhte, as mentioned in the graffito Amenhotep left in KV 9 (see Bács 2011b); on the original place of the graffito, today lost, see Brock 2013, 115–16.



Figure 1.15. Ceiling patterns of mediocre quality in the axial corridor of TT 65.



Figure 1.16. Applied white ground to illuminate the figure of Atum (northern wall, axial corridor, TT 65).



Figure 1.17. Panel with added background color (northern wall, axial corridor, TT 65).

same individual or another person remains to be determined, but the next step consisted in the application of the background color of grayish tint (fig. 1.17). The background color also served to give outlines to the figures and objects, correcting and concealing the excesses or sloppiness of the earlier paint, which was mostly laid on in blocks. Amenhotep and, in the case of one or two figures, another draftsman—probably the already-mentioned Hormin—then applied himself to the most important sections—the figures of the tomb owner, Imiseba—devoting enough attention to give them a high degree of finish.

The reason the axial corridor is informative in more than one way consists in how it provides the key to understanding the work pattern followed in decorating the monumental transverse hall as well. It happens that basically the same system was used by Amenhotep, though on a different scale.⁶⁴ Lest we forget, however, Amenhotep was used to working on projects of such proportions. As in the royal tombs, he treated each wall as a separate entity, proceeding one scene at a time. Visual analysis of the two large compositions occupying the northern and southern rear walls has revealed, for instance, that they can be divided, respectively, into two and three zones, which were executed separately and done in several installments. On the northern rear wall, the first zone includes Imiseba performing a litany before the Theban triad (Amun, Mut, and Khonsu), a group of musicians, and the participating cult statues of Ahmes-Nefertari and Amenhotep I. The second zone on the same wall features the beginning of the procession of the New Year Feast, which continues and occupies the entire northern end wall. The third zone shows another episode of the same feast, namely, the distribution of new clothing and extra grain payment to the assembled clergies of Amun, Mut, and Khonsu. The southern rear wall shows Imiseba and his relatives/ancestors offering to Osiris. Osiris, shown enthroned under a baldachin, and the figures of Imiseba and his wife were initially painted in zone 1 and the file of relatives in zone 2. Incidentally, this method also explains why, rather surprisingly, unfinished details appear in the middle sections of these scenes, and it indicates at the same time that when work on the second zones resumed, it was not picked up at the point where it was left off.⁶⁵

As for details, a telling example is furnished by the manner in which the same subject, in this instance the processional bark of Amun, was treated in the grand scenes occupying the front walls. Working from the same model, the same detail—in this case the *Maat*-goddess shown on the front of the processional bark's so-called veil—could nevertheless be painted with care and elaborated in one scene or done in a more summary manner in the other (fig. 1.18).



Figure 1.18. The *Maat*-goddess on the front of the processional bark's so-called veil.
Left: Northern front wall, TT 65. Right: Southern front wall, TT 65.

⁶⁴ When working in the transverse hall, his crew here may have been larger, but probably not significantly so.

⁶⁵ For the litany, see Bács 2004; for the New Year procession, see Schott 1970, 38, fig. 4, 47, 48, fig. 6; Traunecker 1972, 233, no. 3, pl. L; Bács 2001, color pl. 30/2–3; 2011a, 27, fig. 6; on the Amun-vases, see more recently also Stupko-Lubczynska 2015.



Figure 1.19. Left: Unfinished offerings (northern rear wall, TT 65).
Right: Unfinished inscription (southern rear wall, TT 65).

The work pattern employed also explains why neither of the wall scenes was actually completed, with the sole exception of that of the southern end wall. With the draftsmen always pressed for time, most frequently minor captions or accompanying inscriptions (e.g., northern rear wall, southern front wall, one of the ceiling bands), the final line work of certain details (e.g., to parts of the northern front, end, and rear walls), and/or the final coloration (e.g., the inscriptions of the southern rear wall) were abandoned and never completed (fig. 1.19). This last point is important, because the lack of time was a significant factor for Imiseba and Amenhotep, as also for his royal patrons, though as in so many cases the reason(s) predictably remain unknown. Nevertheless, it underlines that, as the whole decoration of QV 51, KV 19, or TT 65 more than abundantly demonstrates, time was indeed spent on design, as was labor of the first order invested in the painting of the monuments.

2

VISIBILITY AND HIDDENNESS: RELATIONAL MEANINGS OF ARCHITECTURAL DEPICTIONS IN EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY PRE-AMARNA TOMB DECORATION

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AN IMPORTANT FINDING OF Melinda Hartwig's book *Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes, 1419–1372 BCE* is that the tomb-mural “icons” contributed to the formation of identity for the tomb owners.¹ This essay considers how images of structures employed in tomb relief and painting in the period through the reign of Amenhotep III could have evoked reactions, memories, and consequently associations with the tomb owners. Depictions of structures were features of Egyptian art at least as early as the first *serekh* was drawn in the fourth millennium BC.² Architectural images in Eighteenth Dynasty Theban tombs have been a subject of interest for a number of scholars. The house of Djehuty-nefer in TT 104 offers one example (fig. 2.1).³ Badawy, Assad, Roik, and Doyen concentrated on attempting to understand the architectural layout of the house as shown in ground plan.⁴ The identification of the buildings with actual architecture has sometimes been proposed as well.⁵ More recent studies have emphasized the symbolic aspects of the depictions in ritual contexts.⁶ In this chapter, several modes of considering scenes from Theban tombs that include images of structures will be discussed. The aim will be to see how a diversity of design, location, lighting, and sound, in addition to iconography and symbolism, might have been utilized by artists and patrons in creating and living with art.

MATERIALITY IN ARCHITECTURAL DEPICTIONS

Tombs were, of course, themselves architecture, whether built as freestanding structures or hewn into rock cliffs. Egyptian tombs and chapels, therefore, exemplify the transformation of landscape and materials by people whose needs for preservative habitation and remembrance they satisfied. Anthropologist Timothy Ingold observed that space was made discrete by the human actions within it. “It is from this relational context of people’s engagement with the world, in the business of dwelling, that each place draws its unique significance. Thus whereas with space, meanings are *attached to* the world, with the landscape, they are *gathered from it*.”⁷ Therefore, form, function, and symbolism are interrelated in the architecture of the burial chamber. It hid and housed the body of the deceased and connected its owner, through the excavation of stone, to the chthonic cavern of the imagined divine underworld and its protective environment for the

1 Hartwig 2004.

2 Jiménez-Serrano 2003.

3 Shedid 1988.

4 Badawy 1968, 15–17; Assad 1983; Roik 1988; Doyen 1998.

5 Preys 2013.

6 Vomberg 2009, 2014.

7 Ingold 2010, 218.

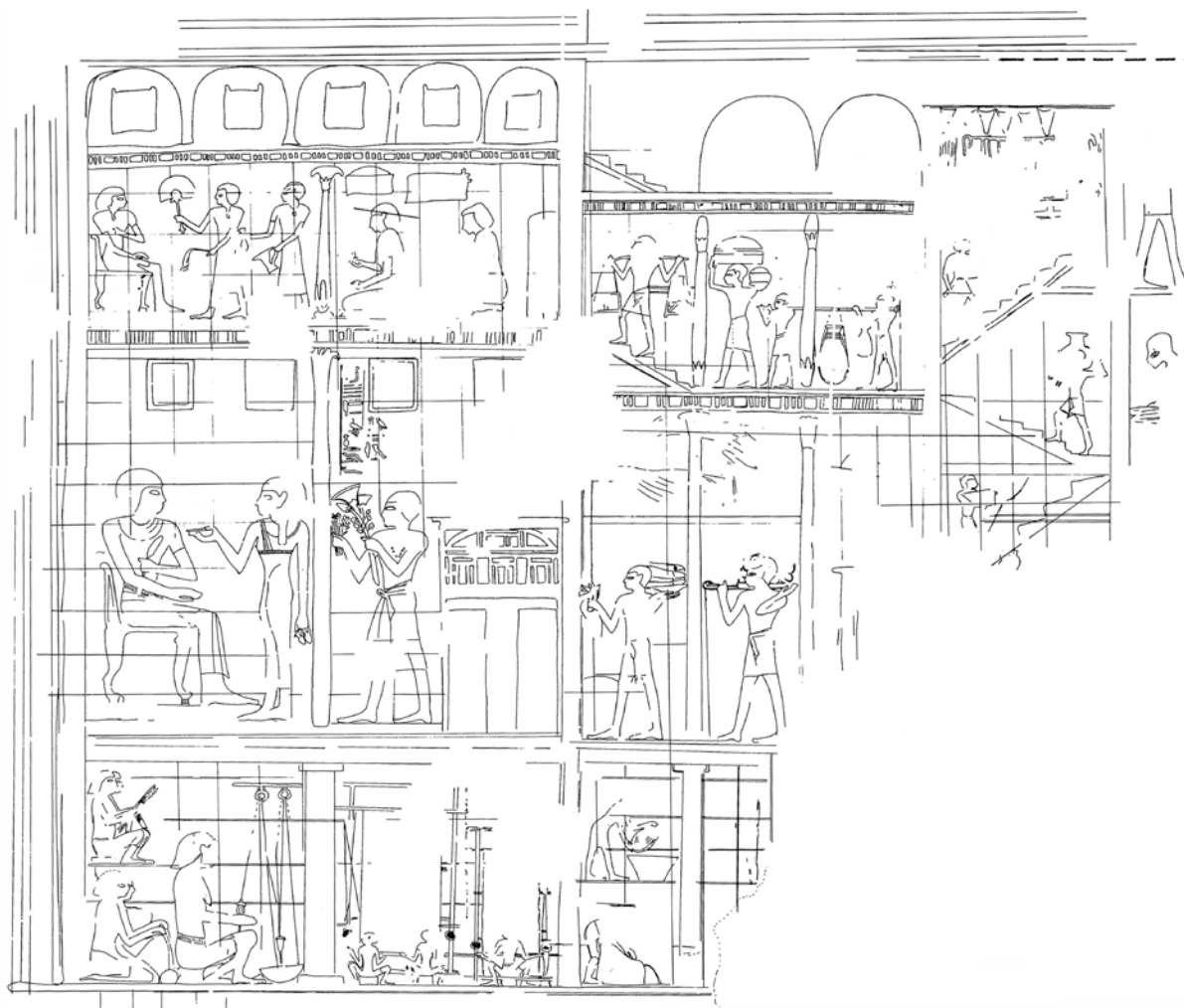


Figure 2.1. House of Djehuty-nefer (TT 104, transverse hall, northern wall east). After Shedid 1988.

deceased.⁸ The chapel was created as shelter and communal space, but also as a construct of the persons who commissioned it, built it, and interacted with it over decades, centuries, and millennia.⁹

The three-dimensional conception of elite tomb chapels in the Eighteenth Dynasty utilized architectural forms that relied on rectilinear spaces, porticoes, pillared and transverse halls, and inner passages. They are laid out to create spaces in support of the funerary environment and not, at least in the Eighteenth Dynasty, in emulation of domestic architecture, despite the earlier view of Badawy.¹⁰ Actual ground plans of houses demonstrate that domestic buildings had spaces that ran vertically and horizontally but rarely in the spatial configurations of tomb chapels that focus on statue cult niches approached through a central aisle.¹¹ Some elements, however, did evoke house architecture, particularly in mid-Eighteenth Dynasty tombs with pillared front rooms and false or real doorways—sometimes surmounted by openwork-like carved or painted entablatures (figs. 2.1, 2.2).¹² As Davies described in reference to this feature at the southern end of the western wall of Kenamun's front room: "In the back wall of the hall a small chapel-like room has been hewn out towards each end. From this we see that it imitates the exit from the dining-room of a typical Egyptian

8 Bonanno 2014; Onstine 1995; Wegner 2009; Assmann 2003.

9 Lemos et al. 2017; Stone-Miller and McEwan 1990–91.

10 Badawy 1968, 408.

11 Spence 2004, 127–32.

12 Borchardt and Ricke 1980, pl. 17.

mansion to the private rooms behind it in having two entrances, separated by a narrow post, and a painted imitation of a pierced entablature above!”¹³ These illusional architectural windows reference the intimate areas of a dwelling. In their lunettes, papyrus bouquets, as seen above false doors, are depicted earlier in the dynasty but later are generally replaced by confronting cats or sphinxes.¹⁴ The female association of the cats continued to be shown in tombs and palaces and alluded to the entrances to the women’s apartments.¹⁵



Figure 2.2. Entablature above false door (TT 93 of Kenamun). Photo by Betsy M. Bryan.

The two-dimensional decoration of religious architecture also referenced far more than the form and function of the room spaces. Decorative elements such as *kheker*-friezes and color bars were material emblems of purified sacred space that contributed to the construction of the identity of tomb owners and temple deities (fig. 2.3). They posited spatial boundaries and, through their presence or absence, suggested movement through the imagined mural environments. Yet the depictions of *khekers* and other wall-border features on tomb walls likely did not represent architecture but rather textiles that might have alluded to pre- and early dynastic reed-wall construction.¹⁶ The friezes at the top of wall scenes were sourced in woven or embroidered and painted wall mats, hung by cords whose gathered tassels formed the tops of the *khekers* (figs. 2.3, 2.4).¹⁷ The color bars represented above murals and vertically at the ends of walls were likely replicating the finished selvage edges of these mats.¹⁸ In the Theban tombs, *kheker* elements, as well as the ceiling decoration, not only brought the materials and skills of tomb artisans into the realm of the tomb owner’s setting but also evoked the memory of the work of the household itself—and frequently that of the family therein. The ceilings were painted with



Figure 2.3. *Kheker*-frieze and color band above funerary procession (southern passage, TT 92 of Suemniwet). Photo by Betsy M. Bryan.

13 N. de G. Davies 1930, 3.

14 Säve-Söderbergh 1957, pl. LVI; N. de G. Davies 1930, pl. VI.

15 Hermann 1937; Hofmann 1985.

16 Marciniak 1985.

17 Lauer 1928; Barber 1982; Leveque 1996. This understanding of the *kheker* was mixed with a depiction of a spear head or other pointed implement already by the reign of Thutmose IV (Vandier 1964, 42; Brack and Brack 1980, pl. 6c).

18 Aldred 1977; Vandier 1964, 41–47.



Figure 2.4. *Kheker*-frieze, color band, and ceiling showing faux wood plank and textile mat (TT 92 of Suemniwet). Photo by Betsy M. Bryan.

various textile patterns that left no doubt of the intended linkage to home-woven organic accoutrements rather than to stone and pigment (fig. 2.4). Thus, even the most common of architectural images in Theban tombs alluded to the multigendered household of a tomb owner—something represented by weavers in the tomb of chief weaver Neferrenpet (TT 133) and depicted in the house of Djehuty-nefer referred to at the beginning of this discussion (figs. 2.1, 2.5).¹⁹



Figure 2.5. House of Djehuty-nefer, detail of female weavers (TT 104). Photo by Betsy M. Bryan.

Artists employed depictions of a variety of architectural forms as discrete images in tomb scenes related to career, family life, and religious service, where they conveyed a variety of agencies and values. Ancient Egyptian tombs are hardly unique in such use of mural imagery. Winston Kyan discussed the decoration of Buddhist cave niches and how it mediated the patrons' ambivalence concerning the grandeur of the decorated caverns against the spiritual demands of Buddhism: he noted that even the most iconic elements common to niches, namely couches, had great flexibility of meaning, as they were used for everything from

¹⁹ Shedid 1988; N. de G. Davies 1948, pl. XXXV.

romantic intimacy to the reception of visitors to business exchanges to beds for the aged or severely ill.²⁰ He summarized: “In both text and image, the prominence of the couch . . . as the flexible stage from which to negotiate public discourse and private retirement sheds light on the layered meanings of ninth century niches at Mogao.”²¹ Similarly, the Theban tomb chapels of the Eighteenth Dynasty preserved the animated power of the *gebel* and the deities residing within it while producing a surface where the connection of the tomb owner and family to both the living land and the afterworld were displayed. In slightly later periods, the *gebel* itself and the goddess of the mountain were explicitly depicted.²² Although the material status of architecture was not an ambivalent spiritual value for the ancient Egyptian, the flexibility of association was just as operative in ancient Thebes as in the Mogao caves.

SYNESTHESIA IN ARCHITECTURAL DEPICTIONS

Dimitri Laboury has discussed the explosion of architectural designs—generally depicted as ground plans elaborated by gate elevations—used in Amarna-era tombs and temples.²³ The earlier Eighteenth Dynasty Theban tombs also represent architecture, sometimes in ground plan and sometimes as solid structures. These scenes depict houses, storage magazines, treasuries, religious architecture, kiosks, and so forth, as elements in self-presentations, traditional elite activities, ritual scenes, and more. The locations, colors, and forms of depiction were all elements in how these buildings contributed to the visual presentation of the tomb owners.

Egyptian icons are similar to Byzantine ones, whose reproduction, whether in whole or in part, carried the energy and power of the original.²⁴ This was partially communicated through the effects of synesthesia, a fusion of the senses whereby the sounds, tastes, sights, and smells associated with memories are recalled by a single-sense event. Although synesthesia can be considered a medical condition, it is also used to describe the actual memories evoked by words, images, and music.²⁵ The familiarity of Byzantine iconic images was reinforced by the rich colors and materials that enhanced the memory of saints.²⁶ Likewise, the synesthetic aspects of Egyptian painted architecture focused attention not only on the form of the depicted structures but also on the sensations created by their color, tone, and luminescence in the setting. In an earlier work I discussed the manner in which tempera (or distemper) painting produced tonalities with luminous qualities.²⁷ These tonalities are most apparent on the focal walls of tombs with front broad and narrow halls (particularly the so-called “T-shaped” tombs). Melinda Hartwig has discussed these focal walls with great result.²⁸ Where the light from chapel doors differentially illuminated paintings, such structures as kiosks, in which the king was represented, would have evoked strong synesthetic responses to the richness and radiant colors on the walls opposite the entries (fig. 2.6).²⁹ The urge for tactile connection may even have been partially satisfied in the creation of “relief” painted surfaces, such as wigs formed with thickened paint and plaster (fig. 2.7).

Based on the variety of painted and relief-decorated elements that demand more than the visual sense, we may conclude that synesthetic reactions to tomb murals would have been routinely expected in Egyptian chapels. The ubiquitous use of “orchestra songs” in banqueting scenes, where the words were shown above the musicians and singers, would have stimulated the musical activities of the communal visitors at ritual

²⁰ Kyan 2010, 68–70.

²¹ Kyan 2010, 68.

²² Refai 1996; Arnold 1977, 1041; Andreu 2002, 275, 286.

²³ Laboury 2010, 266–92.

²⁴ Torp 1984.

²⁵ Berman 1999; Gilbert, Martin, and Kemp 1996; Bradley 2014.

²⁶ Pentcheva 2006.

²⁷ Bryan 2001, 69–70.

²⁸ Hartwig 2004, 53–120.

²⁹ Berman 1999.



Figure 2.6. Kiosk with Thutmose IV seated (TT 76 of Tjenuna). Photo by Betsy M. Bryan.



Figure 2.7. Suemniwet with wig fashioned in relief from plaster and paint, providing additional visual and sensual experience to the viewer (TT 92). Photo by Betsy M. Bryan.

banquets and encouraged the vocal response of later visitors as well.³⁰ A fine example of a structure that might have evoked aural and olfactory memory, in addition to visual, is the Amun Temple stables depicted in the tomb of Hatiay, TT 151 (fig. 2.8).³¹ There we see not only the tomb owner visiting the cattle in the stables but also the animals, recumbent in numerous rather small stalls, being fed and watered. The sound of mooing bulls (for they all appear to be male) being fattened for slaughter is immediately in our ears, as is perhaps the strong, acrid smell of the same confined environment. Surely more pleasant would have been the olfactory and limbic systems' responses to gardens and the structures depicted within and beside them, as seen in the tombs of Ineni, Sobekhotep, Rekhmire, and others (see figs. 2.13, 2.14 below).³²

FUNCTION AND CONCEPT IN ARCHITECTURAL DEPICTIONS

The primary function of buildings is to protect.³³ Architects, archaeologists, philosophers, and lawyers agree on this point. Yet the meaning of architecture beyond its sheltering capability is considered of paramount interest by art historians and especially architects, as well as architectural critics. Lebbeus Woods, a pioneer in experimental architecture, conceived fantasy urban landscapes for several cities afflicted by repression,

³⁰ Lichtheim 1945; Wente 1962.

³¹ PM 1¹, 261 (2); Hartwig 2004, 110.

³² Moena 1984; Dziobek 1992; Gilbert, Martin, and Kemp 1996.

³³ A building is defined as "any structure intended for shelter, housing, or enclosure of persons, animals, or chattels" (*Greene County v. N. Shore Resort*, 238 Ga. App. 236, 237 [Georgia Court of Appeals 1999]). According to the appeals court, "the August 8, 1990, amendment of the 1984 Land Development Regulations was also placed in evidence, along with the definitions section and the LR-1 and LR-2 zoning provisions." It included the definition above.



Figure 2.8. Stable with bulls of Amun in separate stalls (TT 151 of Hatiay, reign of Thutmose IV). Photo by Betsy M. Bryan.

violence, and warfare.³⁴ He imagined cities where, in his words, “architecture . . . is not only an instrument for receiving and passively controlling the forces of environment (the aim of any architecture), but also an instrument of transmitting energy.”³⁵ Woods, who died in 2012, maintained a blog in his last years and illustrated this idea in a 2010 entry titled “Walls of Change.”³⁶ He noted that walls normally separate things and people. But, as Woods wrote, “On rare occasions such walls reverse their roles and bring people together,” a statement referring to the dismantling of the Berlin Wall.³⁷ Woods carried his illustration further to note that in the 1990s the building of walls in Havana was proposed to support deteriorating parts of the old city.³⁸ He envisioned them as high-technology walls the community could plug into for water purification and electricity; ultimately, as he put it, “The point is, the proposed urban walls would act as generators—or, more precisely, as re-generators—of the old city.”³⁹ His own fantastic visions of how decaying urban landscapes could be made to bring people together are full of bridges in stark cities that open and access paths and adapt existing structures for human purposes (fig. 2.9). Michael Speaks, dean of the School of Architecture at Syracuse University, commented on Woods in 1993 in *Architecture New York*: “The architectural power of Woods’s work consists, then, not so much in its ‘buildability’ as in its production of an architectural affect or energy, which challenges the existent political and ideological state of architecture.”⁴⁰

Although Woods and Speaks described entirely different notions of architecture from those in Egyptian Theban tombs, their ideas and those of architects such as Peter Eisenman are informed by the

³⁴ Woods 1984, 1995.

³⁵ Speaks 1993, 7.

³⁶ Woods 2010; 2015, 141–43.

³⁷ Woods 2010, 2.

³⁸ Woods 2010, 2–4 (see the 1995 drawing by Woods titled “La Haban Vieja: Walls—Terrace—Metainstitute,” La Habana, Cuba, 23°8′0″N 82°23′0″W); 2015, 142.

³⁹ Woods 2010, 4; 2015, 142.

⁴⁰ Speaks 1993, 7.

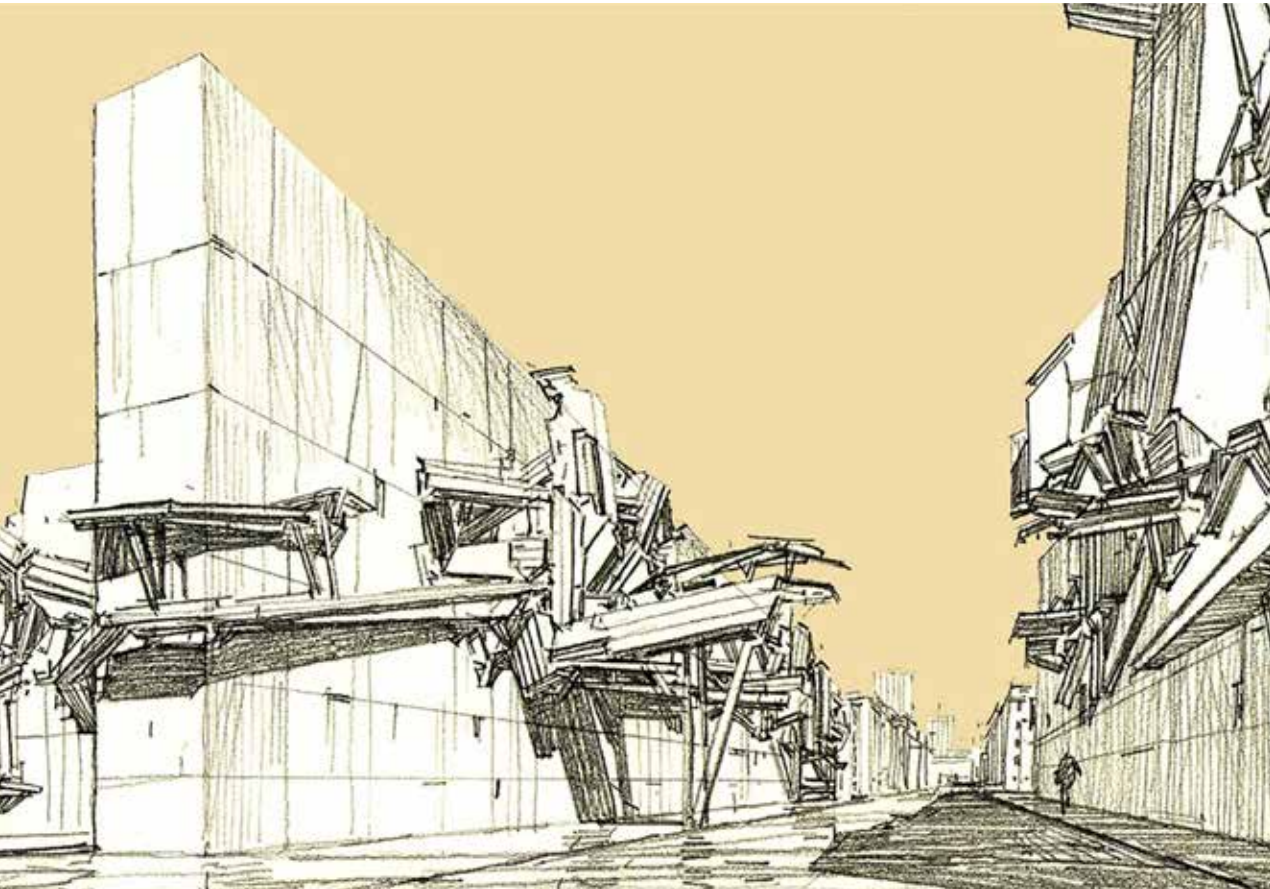
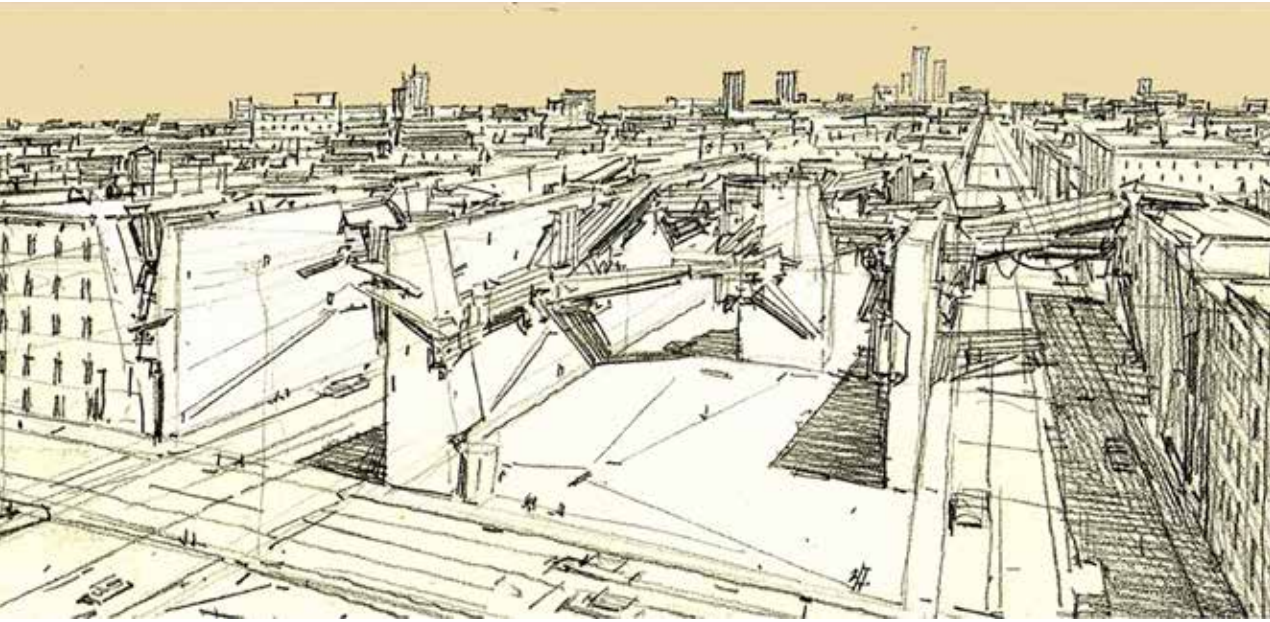


Figure 2.9. Top: Lebbeus Woods's walls showing the human additions of bridges and modes of communication in deteriorating urban setting. After Woods 2010. © Estate of Lebbeus Woods. Bottom: Lebbeus Woods's detailed wall of regeneration transformed by human interaction. After Woods 2010. © Estate of Lebbeus Woods.

deconstructionist-derived notion that the sign and the signified can be distinct.⁴¹ In Egyptian art, doorways, rather than walls, frequently functioned as the *Sinnbild* for separation by status, as in the storage magazines represented in several Theban tombs (e.g., TT 56 and TT 78) where the prenomen of Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV distinguish the entryways and limit access.⁴² Portals also signified separation due to knowledge, and thus worthiness, as in the guarded doorways through the after-life from funerary books and also in the association of the tomb owner with temple and funerary architecture (fig. 2.10).⁴³ Indeed, the architectural image might allude to the potential housed within, wherein the material represented the immaterial. The depicted structures reminded the viewer of the real needs of the deceased—protection, food, and ritual. A similar observation was made regarding the medieval Buddhist caves referred to above, about which Kyan comments, “these frames of materiality ground the otherworldly vision of Buddhist *sutras* within the immediate space of the observer.”⁴⁴

For Woods and Eisenman, the conceptualized building, that is, the virtual building, is the real architecture, which the built model may attempt to bring into material form. The energy they identified and the multiplicity of historical meanings in architecture as described by William Whyte might be seen to correspond with the many cultural and symbolic notions associated with Egyptian building icons.⁴⁵ Eisenman, a longtime friend of Jacques Derrida, was asked what constituted architecture for him, and he replied, “The ‘real architecture’ only exists in the drawings. The ‘real building’ exists outside the drawings. The difference here is that ‘architecture’ and ‘building’ are not the same.”⁴⁶ For him the challenge was to make the “built model,” as he called it, as close to the “real architecture” as possible, while bearing in mind that, as in classical ideals, the real creation would never approach the ideal. A purist,



Figure 2.10. House of Nebamun, chief of police on the west bank of Thebes, reigns of Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III (TT 90). After N. de G. Davies 1923c, pl. XXXIII.

41 Speaks 1993, 6.

42 Brack and Brack 1980, pl. 38; Eisermann 1995; Beinlich-Seeber and Shedid 1987.

43 PM 1ⁱ, 473b; N. de G. Davies 1923c, pls. XIV, XXXIII; Brack and Brack 1977, 25–26, fig. 2.

44 Kyan 2010, 69.

45 Whyte 2006, esp. 168–70. “The building itself is something more: more than the sum total of parts, more than a collection of its representations. In the end, it expresses itself more than it represents anything else” (Whyte 2006, 170).

46 Ansari 2013, 82–85.

Eisenman eschewed the role of materials even in the drawings of architecture and as such differed from Lebbeus Woods.⁴⁷

From the foregoing, we may conclude that representations of architecture in Egyptian tombs did not generally depict real structures but instead constituted material links of the deceased with a range of environments and a broad swath of intentions. Norman de Garis Davies made this observation about the temple represented in TT 75 of Amenhotep Sise, which was probably intended to represent a pylon at Karnak but is quite generic in its appearance.⁴⁸ Such representations in Egyptian tombs, rather, were iconic models whose presence altered the focus and meaning of the overall context.

With this general notion Elke Roik might have agreed, for she concluded that the true representation of the tomb owner's house was not the motivator in depiction.⁴⁹ For Roik the intent was the fulfillment of the offering requirements, such that architecture was subordinated to representational principles. She considered that scenes were primarily expressions of offering requests, as found in Barta's *Opferformel*, where Request 97 was the only one associated with houses or households for eternity.⁵⁰ That request, from the tomb of Tjanuni (TT 74), included the phrase *sip.t hnw.fn ʿnh.w*, "assigning of his household for the living."⁵¹

Roik acknowledged that architecture's function should be protective, but she argued that because only six chapels from the New Kingdom depicted houses, shelter for the deceased could not have been a primary intent in representation.⁵² Yet one might surely make the same objection to the suggestion that the house depictions illustrated a funerary offering request for a household in the next life. Although Tjanuni's request formula was the only one Roik could cite for the pre-Amarna Eighteenth Dynasty, the frequency of structures, including kiosks that protected elite professionals from the sun as they observed workers or storage rooms that kept property safe, suggests that the most fundamental function of "architecture" was a primary and significant one in tomb representations. The association of tomb owners with houses, kiosks, and other buildings likewise conveyed elite status within their professional and community settings. As parts of carefully crafted self-presentations, kiosks and houses distinguished the deceased from others represented in the scenes. The sheltering function of architecture could thereby guarantee the bodily protection of the tomb owner in the next world. Yet in what other ways might such architectural icons have conveyed the regenerative energy that Woods referred to in "Walls of Change?"

HIDDENNESS AND VISIBILITY IN LITERARY AND VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS OF ARCHITECTURE

The tomb of Nebamun (TT 90), chief of police in western Thebes in the reigns of Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III, depicts his west-bank estate, with cattle branding, a vineyard with active wine-making, and a garden chapel honoring the new king, Amenhotep III, on the western wall, north of the transverse hall (fig. 2.11).⁵³ Directly beneath the shrine is Nebamun's own house, in front of which he sits. With him stand two females directly before the door of the house; the rear one is identified as "*sn.t.f*, mistress of the house Tiy," while the identity of the smaller and damaged one in front is uncertain but was probably a younger daughter.⁵⁴ Toward the house come recruits, who chant to the ruler that Nebamun raises up troops for Amun. In the upper scene before the chapel, Nebamun pours libation on behalf of the ruler, Amenhotep III. The overall western wall, north, places Nebamun in an elite setting that resumes the military themes on the rest of the western walls. To the south of the scenes of his estate, Nebamun approaches the king's

47 Ansari 2013, 82.

48 N. de G. Davies 1923c, 9.

49 Roik 1988, 158

50 Barta 1968, 118.

51 Barta 1968, 118; Brack and Brack 1977, 26, fig. 2.

52 Roik 1988, 143.

53 N. de G. Davies 1923c, pl. XXXIII; Hartwig 2004, 107, 110, and n518.

54 N. de G. Davies 1923c, 30.

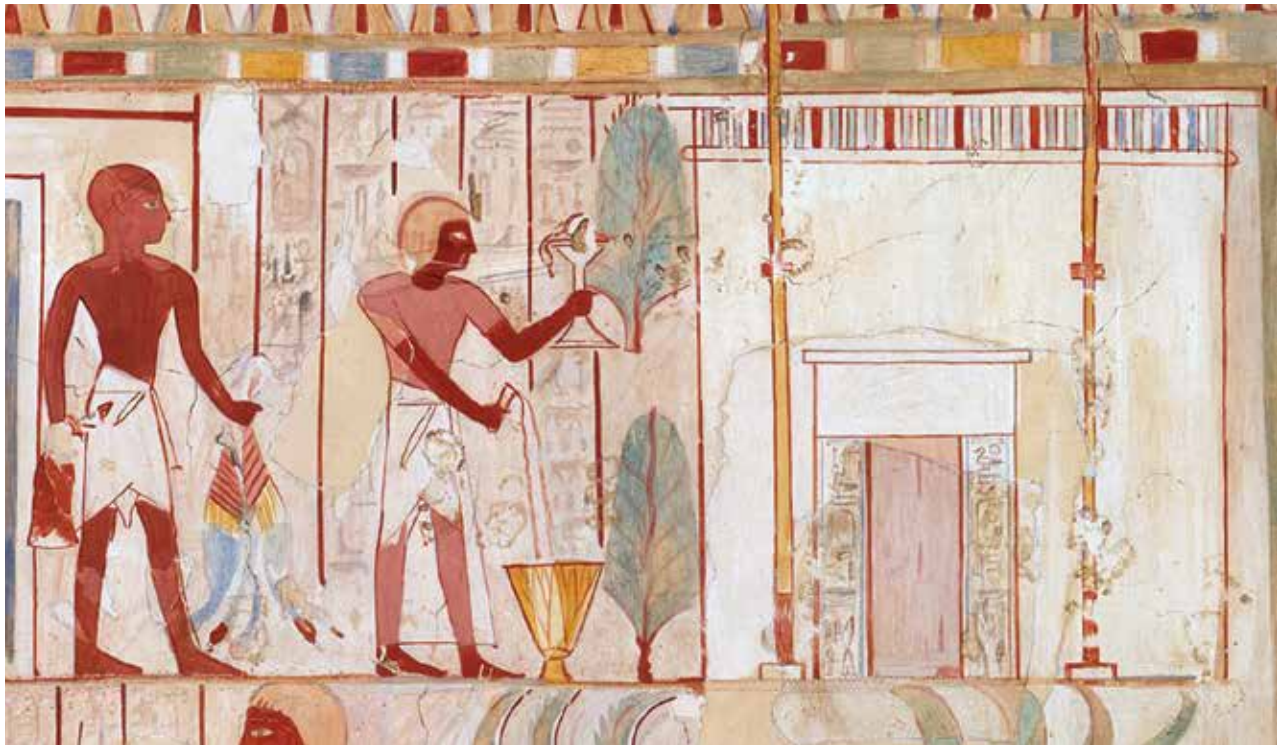


Figure 2.11. Chapel of Amenhotep III on the west bank of Thebes (TT 90). Watercolor of Charles Wilkinson, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund 30.4.57. File made available under the Creative Commons CC0 1.0 Universal Public Domain Dedication.

kiosk with foreign captives behind him, such that the martial aspect of the police chief is confronted—and rewarded—with his domestic luxury and his indebtedness to his royal benefactors.⁵⁵ In the far northwestern corner we see the beautifully painted facade of his house and his female family members before it, as well as the chapel above it, but we do not see inside either building.

The orientation of the opaque structures in Nebamun's tomb is identical to that of the temple-pylon facade in the tomb of Amenhotep Sise (TT 75)—the wall opposite the doorway and on the far right (fig. 2.12).⁵⁶ By contrast the royal kiosks, flanking the central doorway to the passage, frame the ruler sitting within, like the visible sun in the heaven, and would have been illuminated daily by any doorway opening. The depictions of the pylon, chapel, and house were placed where little light from the door would have reached, thus increasing the opacity of the images and challenging the viewers' vision. The same might be said of Djehuty-nefer's house in TT 104, in the northern corner of the eastern wall, but as with the royal kiosk, the open-plan depiction focuses attention on the tomb owner, seated in his receiving hall, along with all the domestic activity in the household.⁵⁷ The northern end of the eastern wall was frequently a locus for family offering scenes, which to some extent could be equated with Hartwig's "offering table" icons.⁵⁸ In this case, the house of Djehuty-nefer, with its beehive of activity by male and female workers, may serve to lift a veil from the normal family gathering scene (figs. 2.1, 2.5). It is worthy of note, however, that the door with entablature leading to the living apartments (see above) was painted solidly to protect the family's privacy, as were the granaries that hid the stored wealth of the household.

⁵⁵ N. de G. Davies 1923c, pls. XXVIII–XXXIII.

⁵⁶ N. de G. Davies 1923c, pl. XIV; Hartwig 2004, 83 and nn260–62.

⁵⁷ Shedid 1988, pls. 21, 36.

⁵⁸ Hartwig 2004, 86–98.



Figure 2.12. Pylon at Karnak Temple (probably) at time of Amenhotep Sise's initiation (TT 75, nonstandard tomb orientation). Southern wall of transverse hall, western side (equivalent of western wall north). Photo by Betsy M. Bryan.

We might compare Ineni's house in TT 81, where privacy was enhanced at the house's compound by a sheltering sinusoidal wall.⁵⁹ In that case the explosion of garden beyond the house serves to pique further interest; the same would have been done by the lure of the temple initiation ritual for Amenhotep Sise and the family welcome by Nebamun's wife and daughter.

Depictions of architecture in ancient Egypt were not limited to the visual arts but are just as present in literature. In the Westcar Papyrus story of the birth of future Fifth Dynasty kings, the birthing deities are sent by Re to assist at the childbirth. The house to which the gods travel belongs to a priest of Re, and the dwelling is first described from the exterior with the owner Rewoser outside: "When they reached the house of Rewoser, they found him standing with his kilt all askew [lit., 'upside down']. . . . [He] said to them: Ladies, look, there is a woman who is suffering, and her labor is difficult. They said to him: Let [us] see her, for we are knowledgeable about midwifery [lit., 'causing childbirth']. So, he said to them: Go ahead! And they entered into the presence of Ruddedet. Then they locked the room on her and on themselves."⁶⁰

The unusual appearance of Rewoser is doubtless related to the invisible labor of Ruddedet inside the house and may allude to his undoing himself in sympathy with his wife, from whom he is separated.⁶¹ The exterior of the house is first associated to Rewoser as owner, but the secret inside is kept from the audience and the unwitting priestly father. The chamber of Ruddedet is then revealed to us, but thanks to a lock it remains hidden from the husband and other members of the household. As Manisali has argued, for the initiated—that is, Ruddedet and the deities—the inner chamber has become a *mammisi* for the children, who

⁵⁹ Dziobek 1992, pl. 64.

⁶⁰ Sethe 1983, 33; Lichtheim 1975, 220; Blackman 1988, 13. This translation is mine, but here I have cited Lichtheim's for the reader's convenience.

⁶¹ Manisali 2015, 58.

become kings of the highly solarized Fifth Dynasty. The priest of Re of Sakhbu, normally an initiate, has, however, been replaced by the female deities just as depicted in the divine birth scenes of the Eighteenth Dynasty and later.⁶² The interior, sealed location of the royal birth chamber identifies this architectural space as sacred and shrine-like. Likewise, the sealed storeroom where the deities later place their bags of grain holding the hidden crowns, is easily equated with temple magazines. When the house is made ready for celebration, the maid visits the storeroom to get grain for making beer, and suddenly temple music and festival sounds announce the presence of the kingly crowns. For the household, the secrecy ends and the festival begins, as when the god comes out of his sanctuary to be revealed to all. Yet the maid then steals the sack with the crowns and locks it away in her own chamber, continuing the tension between the hidden and the visible. The flat exterior of Rewoser's house expresses how hidden "powerful Re's" divine plans are, but slowly the entirety of the home is revealed, as though in ground plan, to the story's characters and audience.⁶³

In another Westcar Papyrus tale, a chief lector priest named Webaoner owns a home with a garden, pool, and pavilion.⁶⁴ His wife has an affair with a townsman, and they use the structure for eating and drinking and enjoying themselves. The pavilion is used as a major agent in the narrative: The wife of Webaoner sends to the caretaker to have the pavilion prepared, then she and the townsman spend a day eating and drinking there, after which the townsman goes to the lake. And on a second day, after Webaoner is informed of the situation by his caretaker, the following occurs: "Now the [wife] of Webaoner sent to the caretaker who was in charge of the [garden] saying: Let the pavilion which is in the garden be prepared, for I have come to stay in it. The pavilion was prepared [with] every good thing. [They] went forth, and she feasted with the townsman."⁶⁵

In the text the pavilion functions as a place for the wife and townsman to drink and have a pleasant day, and that we are privy to what goes on inside suggests it was an open space—a kiosk, perhaps, as we glimpse in Theban tomb gardens. The visibility of the activity in the pavilion allows us to see private behavior by the wife and townsman, behavior that is, however, adulterous and inappropriate. Such a meaning is quite distinct from the visible activity inside tomb representations of gardens and their pavilions. In the chapel of Ineni, for example, the tomb owner and his wife sit together in a kiosk, open to our view, observing the trees that are enumerated in the text above them. Beneath is a plan view of the gardens and pool, with a gardener visible (fig. 2.13).⁶⁶ The pleasure aspect is conveyed by the images, but the connection to the religious environment is also communicated in the text that identifies the trees with Amun-Re.

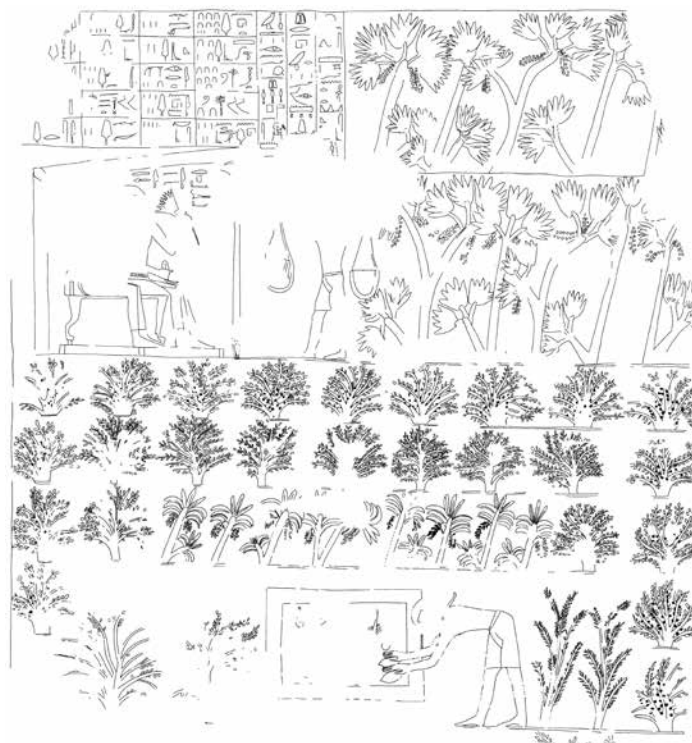


Figure 2.13. Garden of Ineni (TT 81). After Dziobek 1992, pl. 64.

62 Manisali 2015.

63 Badawy 1962, 185–88, stresses the importance of privacy in domestic architecture.

64 Blackman 1988, 3.

65 Blackman 1988, 3.

66 Dziobek 1992, pl. 64 a.

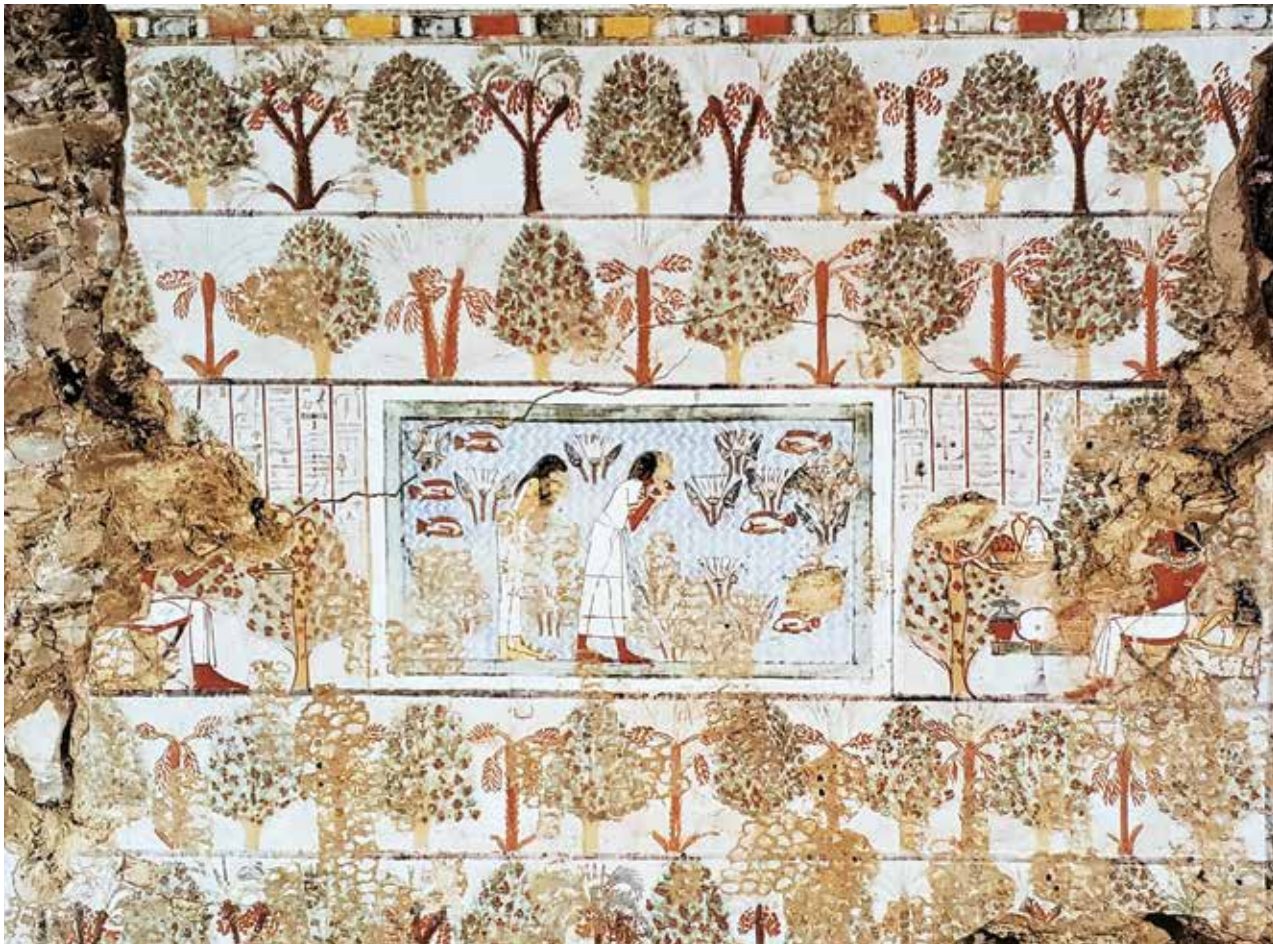


Figure 2.14. Garden of Sobekhotep, treasurer of Thutmose IV (TT 63). Tomb owner and wife purifying at the lake. Photo by Betsy M. Bryan.

In the Westcar story, the townsman routinely goes down to the water after his time with the woman, one presumes for the purpose of drinking and cleansing himself. How distinct from the images of ritual purification in garden ponds is that activity! No wonder that the story uses that location to have Webaofer magically bring the townsman's death by crocodile (fig. 2.14).⁶⁷

In the first example we hear of a house's facade shielding the powerful elements at work within, but it also foregrounds the priest's concern for his wife and the obviously worthy nature of the family. Here the energy the house generates is *re*generation in the form of sexuality and procreation that guarantees not only the future of the family but also, here, the future of the kingship. The parallel to Lebbeus Woods's imagined architectural meaning is strong. The second example provides us with a transparent architectural setting focused on the activity and bounty of leisure within the garden kiosk rather than on the family. Both literary examples employ domestic architecture to mark the loci of social correctness and incorrectness. Regardless of whether the domestic structures are presented as closed or open spaces, they are associated with shelters that energize their legitimate inhabitants and eschew others.

The tomb of Rekhmire depicts an example of a visible structure and a literary text together—the hall where he administered justice as vizier (fig. 2.15).⁶⁸ This iconic scene appears on the eastern wall of the transverse hall, running from the southern end toward the central doorway.⁶⁹ It is flanked on its north

67 Dziobek and Abdel Raziq 1990, pl. 13.

68 N. de G. Davies 1943, 1:30–32; 2:pls. XXIV–XXV.

69 N. de G. Davies 1943, 2:pl. XLVII.

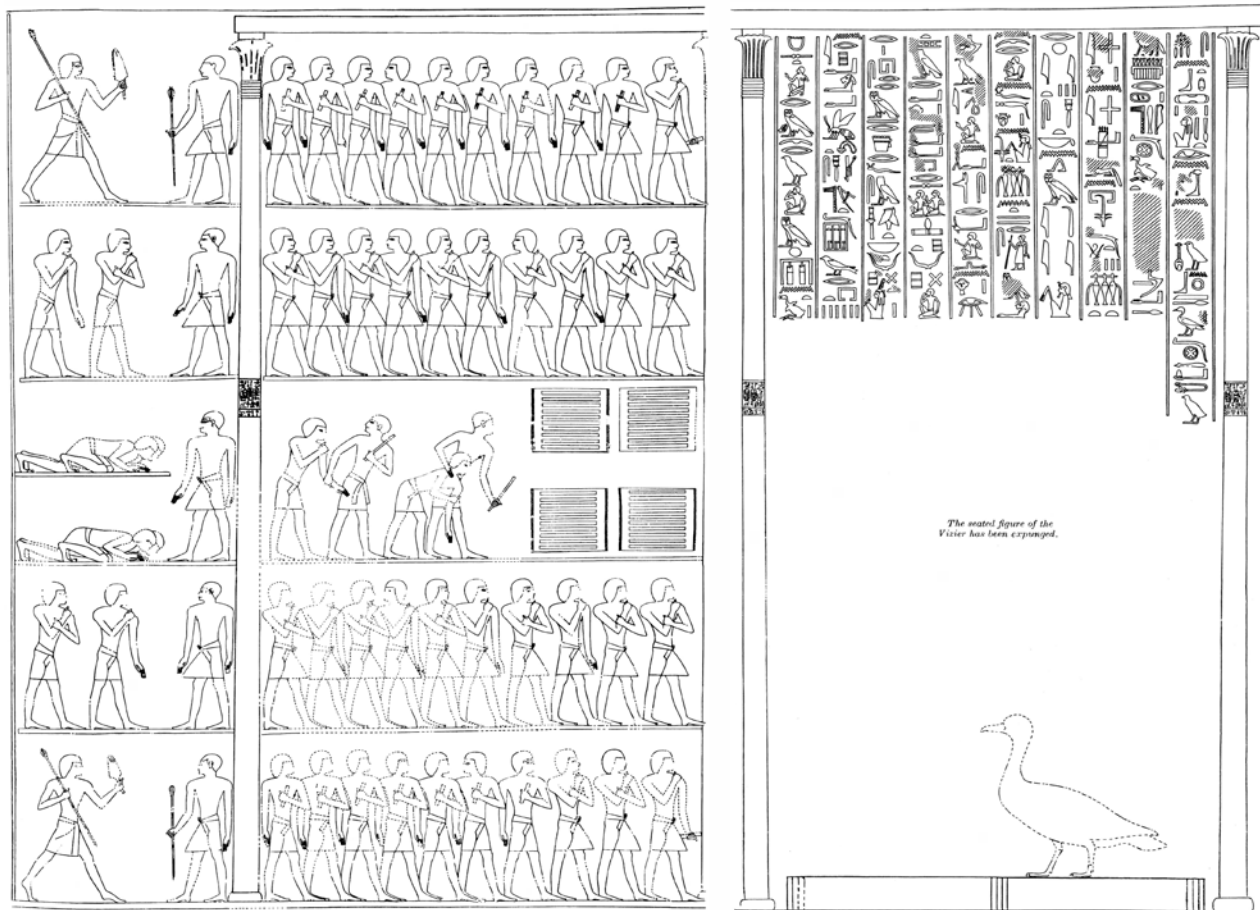


Figure 2.15. Vizier's hall of justice (TT 100 of Rekhmire). After N. de G. Davies 1943, 2:pls. XXIV–XXV.

by the long text of the Duties of the Vizier, which preserves a full description of the vizier and his chair, and a caption for the scene appears above, beginning “an audience for judging petitions in the hall of the Vizier.”⁷⁰ The vizier's image has been completely erased, but a goose, recalling petitions to Amun-Re, has been recaptured by Norman de Garis Davies.⁷¹ Throughout the long Duties text, the vizier's hall, or office, is the locus for his action.⁷² He sits at the rear of the hall, while activity in the forepart is busy, but the entire building is open to view, it being a columned hall rather than a walled structure. The generative nature of Lebbeus Woods's fantasy architecture might at least be considered alongside the vizier's structure, but Woods would have cringed at the display of human violence in the forecourt of the hall. The columns of the office, though judging from their color surely of wood, have palm capitals, alluding to the sun god's justice and a solar resurrection (fig. 2.16).⁷³ In the front hall, forty men are lined up in four rows of ten, and between them miscreants are being punished before the vizier. “Forty ‘leather envelopes’ (*šsm.w*) were laid out in his presence” is how the Duties text describes the forty brown rods represented on mats and variously interpreted as holders for papyrus rolls or leather rods to administer beatings. The current consensus is that these elements of the image represent the rods with which the forty men who administered justice throughout Egypt on behalf of the vizier punished the unfortunate.⁷⁴

70 N. de G. Davies 1943, 2:pl. XXIV.

71 Guglielmi and Dittmar 1992; Andreu-Lanoë 2017.

72 N. de G. Davies 1943, 1:89–94.

73 Wallert 1962; Servajean 1999, 232–37.

74 N. de G. Davies 1943, 1:31; 2:pl. XXVI; van den Boorn 1988, 29–32.



Figure 2.16. Vizier's hall of justice (TT 100 of Rekhmire), front half showing wooden construction and forty rods. Photo by Betsy M. Bryan.

This icon allows the viewer to see justice implemented by the one man in Egypt authorized by the king to do so. The vizier was the priest of Maat, and justice had to be administered where it could be observed by all, as the king's speech states: "Look, as to an official who is judging, being open of face, the water and the air report all that he does. Look, then, his action is not unknown."⁷⁵ So this building is marked as the locus of *maat* on earth, with the vizier being the king's surrogate for that cosmic duty. This icon's placement on the eastern wall likewise suggests a solar association for the deceased. The sun god sees all, and Rekhmire's visible structure claims his righteousness in virtue of its placement near the entrance, where it will be in the light when the door is open, at least somewhat, throughout the day, along with the kiosk scenes on the focal walls. Neither does it escape the viewer that, like Djehuty-nefer's house, the vizier's office hall is located where the tomb owner's image appeared, often as seated with family receiving offerings in a more domestic setting. The open yet organic material structure of the wood-columned hall imposes the identity of Rekhmire as vizier onto the limestone-hewn tomb chapel in a powerful yet distinctly different manner from the elaborate royal kiosk on the opposite, western wall. Rekhmire's character is be-

spoken by the tall, strong, but unadorned palm columns of the hall, not by the gleaming gold of the king as solar deity. Compare the manner in which the couch and its presentation conveyed the identity of medieval Buddhist cave owners.⁷⁶ The chief judge remains in a purely worldly setting where, as the king says to him at his appointment, "decisions are many and there is no end to them, and the judgment of cases never flags."⁷⁷

A final example from the tomb of Rekhmire represents the facade architecture again. In the passage, on the southern wall, are the well-known scenes depicting activities in the Karnak Temple, including construction and production of statues, bronze doors, bricks, and more. Rekhmire is responsible for all the materials used in this work, and at the far eastern end is a cluster of storerooms. The easternmost storeroom, whose architecture is that of the Lower Egyptian shrine (*pr nw*), is the treasury, the *pr.wy-ḥd-nbw*, while next to it are beehive-shaped magazines (*wḏ3.w*) (fig. 2.17).⁷⁸ To remind the viewer that the shrine's facade sheltered the valuables within, some of the prized materials are depicted between these two structures, including turquoise, incense, and types of gold. The sealed protection of these valuables came under Rekhmire's

75 N. de G. Davies 1943, 1:86, 2:pl. XVI.

76 Kyan 2010.

77 N. de G. Davies 1943; Gardiner in N. de G. Davies 1943, 1:80; 2:pl. XI, line 10.

78 N. de G. Davies 1943, 2:pls. XLVIII–XLIX; Arnold 1982, 932 and n6.

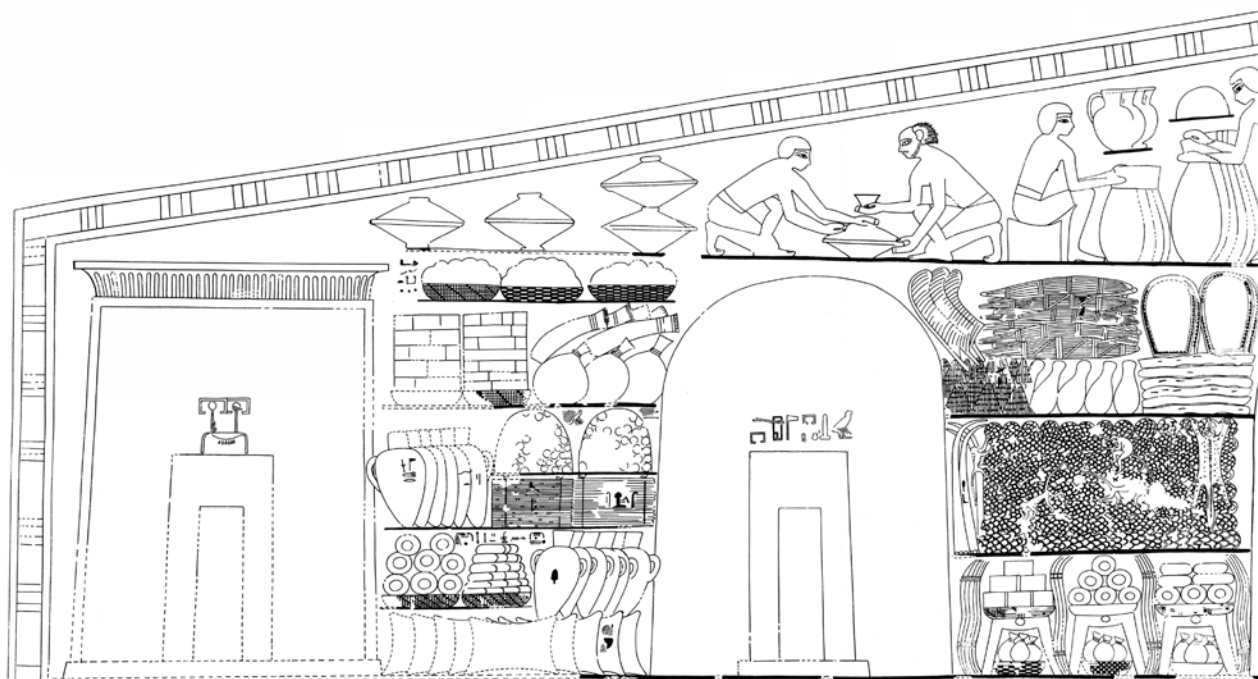


Figure 2.17. Treasury of temple of Amun (TT 100 of Rekhmire). After N. de G. Davies 1943, 2:pl. XLVIII.

supervision. Megan O’Neil has argued that memory could “inhere” in the materiality of Mayan monuments by a number of means, and unusual choices of imagery and location assisted in this phenomenon.⁷⁹ Here, like the palm-wood columns of the vizier’s hall, the Lower Egyptian chapel architecture invests the scene with reference to the northern gods, Re in particular. The locked magazine holds the solar-connected materials of gold and turquoise to regenerate the temple and even its deity. The location of the treasury within the tomb enhanced that power—at the far eastern end of the passage, where the sun streamed through the door during the daylight hours.

CONCLUSION

As with other iconic images from Egyptian art, buildings and architectural elements were skillfully employed in a rich variety of settings and elicited an equally varied array of responses by visitors to tomb chapels. The carefully constructed use of architecture in Theban tomb scenes of the pre-Amarna era combined the aims of identity formation with a cosmic one, such that tomb owners were visually provided with shelter for their bodies, the divine order of the sun god, and regeneration. Further, the careful modification of the excavated tomb environment with depictions of structures also created new networks for memories and responses to wall scenes. Visitors were stimulated by the sight of architecture, domestic and religious, while the buildings and surrounding imagery of plants, animals, or friends and family also evinced synesthetic responses that triggered olfactory and even aural memories that deepened the connection of these iconic images with tomb owners and their families. The location of images of buildings also influenced the impact on the senses, highlighting the luxurious colors of royal kiosks placed across from doorway sunlight or dimming the light on the representations of more inaccessible buildings such as temples and private homes. Far from representing iconic structures conveying a single meaning by form, each image worked singly and programmatically for the tomb owner’s identity, memory, and continued existence.

⁷⁹ O’Neil 2011, 264.

3 GOLDEN COFFINS, GOLDEN TOMBS: INNOVATION AND THE DISPLAY OF SOCIAL POWER¹

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COFFINS AND TOMBS

We Egyptologists usually treat the decoration, style, and materials of coffins separately from the tombs in which they were placed for the obvious reason that most coffins have long since been removed from their resting places and brought to museums. Most coffins have thus lost their original tomb contexts. But during times of prosperity and security, the ancient Egyptians would have commissioned contemporary coffins and tombs within the same approximate time period, under the same elite fashion prescriptions, and perhaps even using the same communities of practice for their funerary arts, though this process is not yet well understood. I argue that there was interaction between coffins and tombs throughout Egyptian history, with craftsmen and commissioners innovating design, fashion, and iconographical influence that affected both.

Style choice and innovation are not synonymous with religious prescription, though Egyptology has been fond of assuming that religious belief in and of itself was an agent of style change in funerary and temple arts. In other words, if a coffin style or tomb style changed, our orthodox Egyptological assumption is often that there was some religious change in Egyptian society brought about from on high, through prominent priests or even ordered by the king, trickling down through the high elites and then lower elites, thus creating demand for new types of funerary objects. But this way of understanding style change in religiously charged objects is limited. I would therefore like to prioritize the agency of (1) coffin and tomb painters, (2) commissioners of the funerary arts (the future coffin/tomb owner, or whoever the decision-maker in a given person's family was), and (3) the family of the dead who organized the funerary ritual and interment (because the dead do not bury themselves).

The display potential of coffins is very different from that of tombs. Coffins and tombs display social power in different contexts—some closed (that is, allowing only limited access to a few select people, as within a burial chamber or an embalming workshop) and some open (as during the public funerary cortege, when a coffin was pulled in procession through the necropolis). Prioritizing coffins and tombs as social documents does not discount religious belief or hierarchical priestly restrictions; rather, it highlights the social intent to create prestige for the family as the main driver of style and iconographical change.²

It has long been noted that coffins—three-dimensional objects with the potential for interior and exterior decoration—have an architectural quality. René van Walsem tied early Twenty-Second Dynasty stola coffins to temple imagery and architectural features and coined the term “architectonization.”³ Andrej Niwiński

1 I want to express my dearest thanks to Betsy Bryan for organizing this conference and for her support and love throughout the years. I would also like to thank Peter Dorman for his careful reading and work on the volume. Amber Myers Wells and Marissa Stevens helped with the editing, footnotes, and images in this article.

2 Cooney 2007, 283.

3 Van Walsem 2014; see also van Walsem 1993, 1997.

equated tomb decoration of the New Kingdom with coffin decoration of the Twenty-First Dynasty.⁴ Coffins are enclosures in their own right, much like Egyptian burial chambers. If we understand nesting writ large,⁵ then the anthropoid coffin set is the innermost element in a series of enclosures, potentially including the sarcophagus, shrines, and burial chamber itself. The coffin is a material manifestation of social place and religious ritual within a larger context.

In my book *The Cost of Death*, I worked with the notion of functional materialism—that a material object was believed necessary to manifest a religious transformational reality.⁶ Coffins and tombs were thus activated under the same overlapping religious and social forces, simultaneously shaping their styles and iconography to match the social and religious agendas of elite commissioners. In this study, I examine coffin and tomb decorative styles by looking at the interplay of conservatism and innovation within contemporary funerary elements through time, while also examining the sources of change and the interactions in style between coffin and tomb. I specifically examine New Kingdom and early Third Intermediate Period coffin decoration in relation to contemporary burial chamber decoration.

BURIAL CHAMBERS AND DISPLAY POTENTIAL

The *raison d'être* for any tomb complex belonging to a wealthy patron was to protect, contain, and transform the human body—ideally embalmed and wrapped—within an elite New Kingdom tomb and placed within a coffin. The most vital room for the body in the tomb complex was the burial chamber, the *shetayt*—the hidden, and ostensibly sealed, part of the tomb. No burial chamber could be publicly displayed; it was a place meant to be hidden and protected. The *shetayt* was a small chamber, accommodating only a few ritual participants at any one time. Access to it was gained through a shaft or sloping passage; entering it was likely difficult for the elderly or disabled. Significantly, a burial chamber could be decorated easily only before its first use, when a tomb was commissioned by the elite patriarch of the given family. After interments were made, the space would fill with nesting-coffin sets of different members of the family, and later family members would probably not have been able to add new decorations easily. Between the times of these interments, the burial chamber was meant to be closed off or sealed, though the development of the sloping passage to access it, as opposed to a vertical shaft, does suggest a more regular in-and-out use of the burial chamber as a family sepulchre.

The closed social context of the burial chamber conditioned the display agenda for commissioners of wall decoration in such a space. Because there was so little potential prestige in the display of a burial chamber to a closed social group, most burial chambers were not decorated but instead were left with bare plastered or unplastered walls. Very few New Kingdom elites decided to put resources toward burial chamber decoration, thus bringing up the question of why any elites chose to decorate their burial chambers at all. Those who did commission decoration for this small, hidden chamber must have determined there would be some socioreligious reward even though the potential audience was limited to family members allowed into the burial chamber during the funeral and to those elites to whom the family members described what they saw in the burial chamber. Otherwise, the only potential audience of such a display were the gods themselves.

It is thus likely that those who commissioned decoration of their burial chambers gained more prestige and social power from a closed circle of peer elites than from the broader public. Burial chamber decoration

4 “It seems evident that the paintings on the coffins should be considered as a continuation of the Twentieth Dynasty tomb painting” (Niwirski 1988, 15, 18).

5 As Anders Bettum argues, “A singular coffin is in itself a highly complex and sophisticated structure, in which the traditional Egyptian symbolic receptacles such as shapes, numbers, light and colors occur in three-dimensional interplay. The dichotomy between the inside and outside of the coffin adds a fourth dimension which was utilized fully by the Egyptian theologians of late New Kingdom Thebes. Putting a number of such coffins together in a nest gave an extremely powerful medium through which mythological narrative could be conveyed in a non-linear, non-verbal form. This potential was utilized to varying degrees and with varying success in the different official decorative schemes” (Bettum 2011, 27–28).

6 Cooney 2007, 280–82. See also Cooney 2021.

was, by its very nature and location, exclusionary, which in and of itself likely created social capital as an unusual and scarce thing, adding potential social value for those elites who—in intense competition with each other—were ostensibly always searching within a conservative group of funerary architecture and funerary objects for some means of setting themselves apart. If an elite could afford the luxury spending and find potential reward in display to only a select few, then burial chamber decoration constituted a clever and strategic social investment to build family prestige.

Put into the context of return on social investment and social place, then, only a few Egyptian elites would have decided to spend the extra amount for burial chamber decoration. Most lower- and mid-level elites would have been constrained not only by more limited budgets but also by different audiences, thus pushing them to choose only the most public and visible prestige opportunities—including decorating an accessible tomb chapel meant to be visited for generations, or commissioning stelae and statuary to be placed in highly visible locations at the tomb, all in addition to the necessary commission of a nesting-coffin set. High elites, on the other hand, might have wanted to make their mark within an exclusive and closed peer society of courtiers. For them, burial chamber decoration made more sense and likely fulfilled the desired wish to get the right people—that is, other high elites—talking about innovative, even exclusive access to key religious texts and iconography. Put in social terms, some high elites needed to impress other high elites.

By the same token, Deir el-Medina craftsmen also consistently chose to commission (or themselves paint) burial chamber decoration. Deir el-Medina was an artificial and contrived village in the necropolis desert, to which even water had to be carried by hand. As such, Deir el-Medina artisans were stuck within a closed social group of fellow craftsmen of limited number, and though they were by no means high elites, they also connected and competed with one another through burial chamber decoration. This small community of artisans likely found ample opportunities to access these small underground chambers, view them up close, and discuss them with one another. The limited necropolis space may have also played a role by demanding that these artisans find whatever space was available to make their visual displays. Deir el-Medina artisans also had fewer peers to impress in their social-sphere neighborhood, and for them investment in burial chamber decoration must have delivered a significant return.

BODY CONTAINERS AND DISPLAY POTENTIAL

In terms of display potential, coffins and wooden sarcophagi served very different purposes than the burial chamber, even though they were meant to be placed within the same secret and sealed place, because prior to the interment, body containers were shown to a larger viewing public in procession and during funerary rituals. Coffins were mobile objects—meant to be dragged to the tomb in funeral procession under the gaze of a scrutinizing and/or mourning public. Thus the incentive for a coffin's richly decorated exterior was always present—for craftsmen and for all levels of the elite. The coffin was the most visible and public part of the funeral because it could act as a display object beyond the context of the necropolis. It is even likely that a given nesting-coffin set was pulled unnested in procession to the tomb, so that each container could be seen and admired by the public along the route.

Compared to anthropoid coffins, rectangular New Kingdom Theban sarcophagi of wood or even stone gave a particularly large surface area for decorative display, though they were not as easily manipulated. A sarcophagus was pulled in procession and then presumably placed before the tomb during funerary rituals. Even though the decorative scheme of the rectangular sarcophagus could be very similar to that of the coffin—showing mainly Book of the Dead spells 151 and 161, as on the Eighteenth Dynasty sets of Kha and Merit (TT 8) or Yuya and Thuyu (KV 46)—the sarcophagus's potential for decorative display *in procession* was far greater than the coffin's, because as the objects passed before the eyes of the audience, a large expanse of decoration was oriented perfectly for close inspection. This opportunity for public display is likely why the Egyptians developed more complex scene and text choices for their Nineteenth Dynasty rectangular sarcophagi, as seen on the examples of Sennedjem and Khonsu (TT 1) with Book of the Dead spells 110 and 17, in addition to spells 151 and 161. The display potential for the sarcophagus must have pushed the

inclusion of new iconography, at least at Deir el-Medina, the only place where such wooden sarcophagi are preserved from the Ramesside period.⁷

In comparison to the sarcophagus, however, the anthropoid coffin set could be manipulated into multiple postures—upright, lying flat, pulled on a bier, open or closed, nested or unnested, mummy within or not. An anthropoid coffin was probably displayed to greatest effect to a viewing public in a stationary setting during the funerary ritual and in an upright position, when the lid—the most colorfully decorated part with the most expensive material application—could be clearly seen. When pulled in procession, the coffin set would have been placed on its back, making the face and upper body of the deceased difficult for the viewing public to discern.⁸

Thus, if we look at the anthropoid coffin from the perspective of display potential, we can come to some interesting conclusions. For example, a coffin's interior was less publicly available than its exterior. One had to be close to see the full interior decoration, because the case walls would obstruct a complete view. In addition, the interior of an anthropoid coffin could not be displayed in procession but only when it was opened outside the tomb when the deceased was brought for the Opening of the Mouth ceremony. Inside the burial chamber, only a tiny percentage of potential viewers could see the coffin's interior, and then only by lamplight. In the large public burials of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, putting money, so to speak, into careful and detailed interior coffin decoration made little sense. Instead, the coffin interiors of elite Thebans were painted with a shiny black coating of condensed *Pistacia* resin and bitumen that would have reflected both sunlight and lamplight to great effect.⁹ If the New Kingdom commissioner could not afford the black resin, then a layer of black (or sometimes red) paint was laid down, particularly in the Twentieth and early Twenty-First Dynasties. The coffin interior was thus not a focus of ritual or display attention during the New Kingdom. But at Deir el-Medina, at least, additional texts and/or decoration were sometimes added to the coffin's interior, as is visible on the inner coffin of Iyeferty (fig. 3.1) from TT 1,¹⁰ and it may have been that these innovations were appropriate just for the coffin's interior, where only an exclusive few would, in reality, have been able to view them.

The interiors of anthropoid coffins were not regularly decorated until the Twenty-First Dynasty—at the same moment in history when, to protect sepulchres' secrecy in the context of plummeting necropolis security, processions through it to a marked and visible tomb stopped. To keep the final resting place secret in the Third Intermediate Period, funerary rituals potentially only happened in temple spaces, where a greater public could assemble, maybe in the courtyard of a temple on the Theban west bank; or perhaps funeral rituals took place in generalized and unclaimed necropolis space without any spatial connection to the actual resting place of the coffins because of fears of potential tomb robbery.¹¹

It is within this context of funerary ritual change that we see figural decoration on the interior of coffins for the first time. Perhaps coffin interiors could be better displayed in this more stationary and intimate context, likely contained within a smaller social network. If a bereaved family had only a few dozen people to whom to display—because necropolis insecurity and material scarcity denied the possibility of the fabulous public-processional burials to which elites had grown accustomed at the height of Amenhotep III's or Ramesses II's rule—then that family probably wanted the most return on its investment possible in the

7 Cooney 2007. For TT 8, see also Bruyère 1925, 53–56, pls. II, XIV; 1939; Kampp 1996, 188–90, figs. 90–92; Schiaparelli 1927; Ostrand 2013; PM 1¹, 16–18; Vandier d'Abbadie 1939, 1–18. For KV 46, see also Davis et al. 1907; Quibell 1908. For TT 1, see Bierbrier 2001, 340–49; Bruyère 1929, 134–35, pl. XIII; 1959; Eaton-Krauss 1997, 179–92; Haring 2006b; Hodel-Hoenes 1991, 210–25; Kampp 1996, 188; PM 1², 1–5; Sanjaume 2006; Saleh 1984, 11, 14, 30, 37, 54, 59, 61, 73, 90, figs. 3, 8, 28, 40, 63, 69, 71, 72, 87, 115; Seton-Williams and Stocks 2011, 593; Shedid and Shedit 1994; Weeks 2005, 470–77; Wettengel 1994.

8 Taylor 2001, 187–92.

9 Fulcher, Serpico, and Taylor 2021; Serpico and White 2000, 2001; Stacey 2008, 2016; Sousa 2018; Stulik, Porta, and Palet 1993; Serpico 1996. See also the conference and working group presented on June 17–18, 2021, at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, titled “NetWood: Networks in Egypt from Antiquity to Islamic Times.”

10 Cooney 2007.

11 Cooney 2011. This explains the mass of Third Intermediate Period stelae within temple spaces (see El-Leithy 2018; Niwiński 1987–89) and the subsequent claim of West Theban temple space, such as at the Ramesseum, for burial (see Betz 2016a, 2016b; Nelson 2003; Hassanein et al. 1989a, 1989b).



Figure 3.1. Interior of inner coffin of Ineferty (TT 1).
Photo by Kara Cooney.

context of a smaller, more inward-looking society. I argue that the innovation of interior coffin decoration at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, at least at Thebes, accompanies a game-changing shift toward insular politics among a close-knit set of families who kept the political, economic, military, and priestly rule of Upper Egypt in their hands for the entire Twenty-First Dynasty and into the early Twenty-Second Dynasty.

Interestingly, when interior coffin decoration began in the Twenty-First Dynasty, it coincided with the development of new, intensified mummification practices by high elites, who commissioned hyper-realistic mummies with false eyes, hair weaves, plastered and painted skin, and stuffed faces and limbs.¹² I view both innovations—interior coffin decoration and intensified mummification—in terms of potential reward on investment within an insular, oligarchic, social context. In other words, people spend on small, minute details invisible to the larger public only when they have the right potential space and exclusive set of people to whom to display it. If the display potential is not met, a commissioner of funerary arts will not invest in a given element. Like the interior of a coffin, an unwrapped mummy could ostensibly be displayed to only very few of one's close inner circle—not in a grandiose public procession or flashy funeral in front of thousands, but only in an embalming workshop, inner temple room, or lamplit burial chamber. It therefore makes sense that these two innovations—intensified mummification and interior coffin decoration—would develop hand in hand within a closed circle of Theban elites in charge of Egypt's southern institutions during a time period when social instability and necropolis insecurity removed the option of public funerary display. If the burial had to be secret and shown only to one's close peer group, then social display could be adapted to work with that reality.

Tomb robbery elicited increased defensiveness, as well as protectiveness of security in burial that is reflected in the changing style of tombs and tomb goods. When necropolis security was reclaimed in the Twenty-Second Dynasty, tombs, coffins, and mummies changed style again. It thus makes sense that burial chamber decoration, limited

though it was, also ceased with the advent of the Twenty-First Dynasty, for there was almost no potential for display in a space that was meant to remain hidden, unmarked, and unvisited.

THE COFFIN AS A SOLAR OBJECT

Whether a New Kingdom coffin was of the black variety of the Eighteenth Dynasty or the yellow polychrome variety of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, it ideally possessed an anthropoid form with a face, sometimes hands, hieroglyphic inscriptions (usually including Book of the Dead chapters 151 and 161, plus the name of the deceased in the Nut invocation), and iconography of rejuvenation after death, such as the *wedjat* eye. The coffin also needed to have nesting potential within a series of body containers fitting inside one another, with three-dimensionality of interior and exterior decorated space. Finally, the coffin required a means of interacting with light in some way, including yellow paint (yellow ocher, orpiment), gilding, and varnish (black or yellow).¹³

¹² Smith 1912; Ikram and Dodson 1998; Cooney 2012c.

¹³ Taylor 1989.



Figure 3.2. Yuya outer coffin (CG 51002). Photo credit: Alain Guilleux / Alamy Stock Photo.

It is useful to view the coffin as a mobile purveyor of light. Death rituals allowed unification of the coffin and/or deceased with solar elements in the light of day; once coffins were suffused with sunlight, they were brought into the pitch-black burial chamber underground. There, lamplight would interact with a coffin's surface just permeated with sunlight. This process explains why, ideally, Egyptian coffins have a shiny surface—to interact with light. Gold was the ideal medium for achieving this goal, as on the Eighteenth Dynasty, high-elite coffins of Yuya and Thuyu (figs. 3.2, 3.3¹⁴), but spending abilities and scarcity limited its use, especially by craftsmen such as those at Deir el-Medina or during the later economic crisis of the Twentieth to Twenty-Second Dynasties. In lieu of gold, black or yellow varnish was essential for those who could afford it and provided a fantastic interaction with light, possessing a luminous solar quality even in a dark burial chamber.

The black varnish of the Eighteenth Dynasty—essentially condensed *Pistacia* resin, bitumen, wax, and oils, according to chemical tests¹⁵—was a shiny substance of the darkest black, a kind of miraculous luminous void that could nonetheless reflect light. Translucent yellow varnish (also *Pistacia* resin) on Nineteenth to early Twenty-Second Dynasty coffins would have also caught the light, making these objects the most visible part of any sunlit funerary procession or lamplit transformational ritual.¹⁶ Varnish was, ostensibly, a means of pulling light from outdoor funerary processions and of bringing that light into the darkness of the burial chamber. Helen Strudwick, Meghan Strong, and Elsbeth Geldhof have recently done a series of experiments determining that a combination of orpiment paint, yellow ocher paint, and yellow varnish was best at catching lamplight, in comparison to varnish alone or ocher/orpiment paint. As far as I know, the team did not conduct any tests with gilded surfaces.¹⁷

14 Davis et al. 1907.

15 Nicholson and Shaw 2000, 459–61; see also Serpico and White 2000, 33–32; Fulcher, Serpico, and Taylor 2021.

16 For varnishes in ancient Egypt, see also Stacey 2016, 75–111; 2008, 51–60; de Vartavan 2009.

17 Strong 2021; Strudwick, Strong, and Geldhof 2016.



Figure 3.3. Thuyu outer and inner coffins (CG 51006–51007). After Davis 1907.

A decorated burial chamber seems to have had the same religiously functional purpose as the coffin, but socially it lacked the mobility and potential for display to large crowds of people. If a burial chamber was decorated (a rare occurrence), it seemed to mimic the decoration of the coffin—with Book of the Dead chapters 151 and 161, plus straps or bandages running transversely and horizontally over the top. The Eighteenth Dynasty burial chamber of Rey (TT 201), a royal herald under Amenhotep II and/or Thutmose IV, for example, is painted black with gold writing, just like a coffin of the time period.

In contrast, coffin decoration had very little to do with the decoration of the tomb chapel. The tomb chapel's accessibility and aboveground context did not match the functional context of the coffin or the burial chamber. In the tomb chapel were scenes of feasting, public festivals, the tomb owner on the job during life, and so forth. Burial chamber decoration, by contrast, was less varied than that in the tomb chapel aboveground—though both coffin and decorated burial chamber generally included Book of the Dead inscriptions, as well as the name of the deceased and transformational iconography. The burial chamber also had a nesting aspect as a container for the dead with a series of other transformational objects within it, including the body itself.

Unlike the coffin, the burial chamber could never connect with light from the outside. Light had to be

brought into it—in the form of lamps and torches—to interact with the wall decoration.¹⁸ The walls of the burial chamber, if decorated, usually had white or yellow background paint to interact with the lamplight. It would have been prohibitively expensive to varnish burial chamber walls, but it seems that varnish could be selectively applied.¹⁹ The Nineteenth Dynasty Deir el-Medina craftsmen consistently painted their burial chambers with yellow background paint, likely an attempt to bring solarism into the dark space. If we understand the coffin set as a kind of mobile representative of the burial chamber, it makes sense that the coffin, alongside decorated burial chambers of the time, eventually took on a yellow color by the late Eighteenth Dynasty and into the Nineteenth Dynasty.

Even though both coffin and burial chamber were transformational devices of the deceased, the nesting-coffin set seems to have followed a more complicated and intensified trajectory of decoration, text, and iconography when compared to the burial chamber's decoration and text. The coffin was a mobile representative of the burial chamber, allowing display of a hidden reality in the light of day and to a crowd of

18 "Illumination was provided near the entrance by the sun. As the workers descended, sunlight would be reflected into the tomb by mirrors of polished metal, much as is done even today. Once beyond the reach of sunlight, simple ceramic lamps with linen twists as wicks were used. These burned locally produced oils, such as sesame oil. Salt was often added to prevent the lamps from smoking unduly. Despite this precaution, however, workers commonly complained of eye problems. A letter, written by the draftsman Pay of Deir el Medina to one of his sons, importunes him to bring salves and eye-paint to soothe and improve his sight. No doubt the smoke, dust and poor quality of illumination led to serious eye-diseases and even blindness amongst the tomb workers" (Dodson and Ikram 2008, 51).

19 Discussion on varnish and light in the ancient world is a new field, and more work needs to be done to determine why specific choices were made to varnish some elements—on coffins and on tomb walls—and not others. The forthcoming work of Anne-Claire Salmas and Alexandra Winkels at Deir el-Medina is important here. See also Bryan 2001; Hartwig 2013; Vandenabeele et al. 2009.

people; it brought light into the burial chamber—in a kind of *hnm itn*, “joining with the sun”—into which the deceased’s body was placed. As necropolis insecurity increased and tomb locations were shielded from public view, the mobile nesting-coffin set was the one element of funerary preparations that could be displayed to an audience in a separate location away from the tomb. It is no surprise that so much social investment was poured into nesting-coffin sets, while almost none was spent on the decoration of most burial chambers at the end of the New Kingdom and into the Twenty-First Dynasty. To examine the interaction in style and function between the coffin and the burial chamber fully, we need to examine the coffin and burial chamber comparatively.

THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY DECORATED BURIAL CHAMBER AND THE NINETEENTH DYNASTY COFFIN

During the early Eighteenth Dynasty, decorated burial chambers were restricted to a very small, high-elite peer group, and in that vein their decoration seems to have allowed claims to potentially restricted texts and iconography—claims that might even have been understood as audacious and unprecedented. During the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III and then into the sole reign of Thutmose III, we see a number of envelope-pushing innovations in burial chamber decoration. Useramen’s burial chamber (TT 61) displays the first Amduat text in a private context.²⁰ Senenmut’s burial chamber near Hatshepsut’s temple at Deir el-Bahari (TT 353) shows the first astronomical star chart in human history and the only such astronomical display ever found in a private tomb.²¹ Amenemhat’s burial chamber (TT 82) displays Pyramid Texts in cursive form.²² None of these early Eighteenth Dynasty innovations become visible in coffin decoration of the



Figure 3.4. Book of the Dead, chapter 151, from the Eighteenth Dynasty burial chamber of Sennefer (TT 96). After Hodel-Hoernes 1991.

Eighteenth Dynasty or even later into the Ramesside period, likely because such audacity could not be made public on a coffin that was viewed by many in procession.

By the reign of Amenhotep II, however, it seems that Eighteenth Dynasty elites’ use of burial chambers for restricted texts had slowed or even stopped. Minnakht’s burial chamber (TT 87; late Thutmose III or Amenhotep II) is decorated with Book of the Dead texts.²³ Rey’s tomb (TT 201), from the reign of Amenhotep II or Thutmose IV, constitutes a rare decorated burial chamber but included only very standard texts, mimicking a black coffin with decoration from chapters 151 and 161 of the Book of the Dead.²⁴ Sennefer’s decorated burial chamber (TT 96B; fig. 3.4), also dating from Amenhotep II to

20 Dziobek 1998.

21 Dorman 1991.

22 Davies and Gardiner 1915; PM 1², 163–67.

23 Guksch et al. 1995; PM 1², 178–79.

24 PM 1², 304–5; Redford and Redford 1994.

Thutmose IV,²⁵ is extensive in size and polychrome decoration, but its selection of text and iconography, including from spell 151, were not restricted. The Sennefer burial chamber is innovative in its decorative elements, such as the grapevines painted on an undulating ceiling and the way the deceased and his family are depicted as wearing white garments and golden jewelry, presumably as transformed *akh* in the after-life (fig. 3.5).²⁶ Such imagery does not appear in contemporary coffin decoration of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

Overall, it seems that innovations in early Eighteenth Dynasty burial chamber decoration pushed the boundaries of what was accepted. Restricted texts such as the Amduat, star charts, and Pyramid



Figure 3.5. Eighteenth Dynasty burial chamber of Sennefer (TT 96). © Osirisnet (www.osirisnet.net).

Texts found in early Eighteenth Dynasty burial chambers could have been viewed by only a few fellow elites in a tiny burial chamber (making it the perfect place for potentially restricted or even secret texts and images), thus creating great social capital for the decorations' commissioners among their closed peer group. Such restricted texts do not appear again in a private context until the Third Intermediate Period, if at all. But mid-Eighteenth Dynasty burial chamber decoration, in contrast to that in the early Eighteenth Dynasty, shows more connection with the painted coffins of the time period in the use of Book of the Dead chapters 151 and 161. Even with this mid-Eighteenth Dynasty coffin-chamber decorative link, the Egyptians still placed innovative elements—such as the deceased in a white, pleated garment with jewelry—only in the burial chamber and not (yet) on the coffin.

It was not until a few generations later, in the late Eighteenth or early Nineteenth Dynasty, that we see the inclusion of the gendered and bejeweled deceased as an *akh* wearing white in anthropoid coffin form. The late Eighteenth/early Nineteenth Dynasty mummy mask of Katebet (fig. 3.6) in the British Museum is potentially the earliest attested example of the inclusion of the *akh* in the form of a body container.²⁷ This mummy mask shows Katebet wearing white, on her upper body at least, and bedecked with precious jewelry. This trend of showing the deceased as an *akh* on the inner-coffin pieces continued into the Nineteenth Dynasty; TT 1 at Deir el-Medina preserved many such examples, including the mummy board of Sennedjem (fig. 3.7), the mummy board of Iyeferty, and the coffin lid of Iset.²⁸ All such lids and boards

25 Desroches-Noblecourt et al. 1986; Hodel-Hoernes 1991, 101–22; 2000; PM 1², 2.

26 For more on the dead transforming into the *akh*, see Cooney 2008a; 2010.

27 Budge 1924, 58, pl. VII; Edwards 1938, 35, pl. XII; Murray 1949, pl. XXVII; Dawson and Gary 1968, 28–29, pl. 146; Niwiński 1976, 462n25; 1988, 150; Dodson 2000.

28 For publication of the coffin set of Sennedjem, see Cooney 2007, 432; Toda and Daressy 1920; Serpico and White 2001; Bruyère 1959, 83; Schmidt 1919, figs. 625–27; Bierbrier 1975, 30–31; Niwiński 1988, 118. For publication of the coffin set of Khonsu, see Cooney 2007, 50–55, 438; Toda and Daressy 1920, 145–60; Daressy 1928, 7–9; Hayes 1959, 417, fig. 265; Gillett 1898, 123–24; Niwiński 1988, 159. For publication of the coffin set of Iyeferty, see Cooney 2007, 450–55; Maspero 1887; Toda and Daressy 1920, 151–56 (where it is erroneously referred to as belonging to Tamaket); Daressy 1928, 7–11; Hayes 1959, 414–16; Niwiński 1988, 159. For publication of the coffin set of Iset, see Maspero 1887, 204 (where the coffin is wrongly called



Figure 3.6. Late Eighteenth or early Nineteenth Dynasty mummy mask of Katebet in the British Museum (EA 6665). ©The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.



Figure 3.7. Nineteenth Dynasty mummy board of Sennedjem in the Egyptian Museum (JE 27308). Photo by Kara Cooney.

show the deceased as gendered male or female and wearing a pleated white garment, close-fitting if the person in question is female. The Nineteenth Dynasty coffin lid of Bensusipet (reused by Weretwahset) shows the deceased holding *Convolvulus* vines, similar to the grape vines painted on the ceiling of Sennefer's burial chamber.²⁹ Iset's coffin lid shows similar greenery.³⁰ Tiny drill holes on the wooden surfaces of many of these pieces show where real jewelry would have been attached to the coffin's surface for the funerary ritual, jewelry perhaps reminiscent of the hoop earrings and golden necklaces on the bodies of Sennefer and his wife depicted in Eighteenth Dynasty TT 96b's burial chamber. Multiple other Nineteenth Dynasty mummy boards—including those of Piay in Cairo and R-am in Brussels—show a gendered deceased wearing the white garment, with hands in the attitude of prayer; a man is shown with both hands flat on his thighs, a woman with one arm bent over the chest and the other flat on the thigh.³¹ Many other, more conservative, coffins instead show the deceased as an *akh* in two-dimensions on the coffin's surface (as, for example, on the sets of Takayit in Frankfurt and Tamutnofret in Paris).³² The point is that images of the deceased as an

that of Iyneferty); Toda and Daressy 1920, 151–56; Vernier 1911, 18, pl. 2; Hayes 1959, 414–16; Desroches-Noblecourt 1976, 170–71, pl. 37; Niwiński 1988, 118; Tiradritti 1999a, 272. See also Mahmoud and Donnat 2011.

²⁹ Bleiberg and Cooney 2008, 124–25; Cooney 2007, 435.

³⁰ Cooney 2007, 435–38, fig. 108.

³¹ For the mummy board of Piay, see Cooney 2007, 425–26, fig. 75. For the mummy board of R-am, see Cooney 2007, 440–42, fig. 124.

³² For publication of the coffin set of Takayit, see Cooney 2007, 407–12, fig. 25; Geßler-Löhr 1981, 25–27; Niwiński 1988, 140; Bayer-Niemeier et al. 1993, 302–23. For publication of the coffin set of Tamutnofret, see Cooney 2007, 413–18, fig. 38;

akh appeared in the burial chamber first, to be seen in coffin form or in coffin decoration only many generations later.

Indeed, there are many innovations that we see *first* in a burial chamber context before they appear on coffins, the most important being polychrome decoration in and of itself. Coffins of the Eighteenth Dynasty are generally monochrome in their decoration—black and gold or black and yellow. It is not until the late Eighteenth Dynasty that we see the first polychrome coffin.³³ In many ways, the polychrome coffin of the Nineteenth Dynasty could be understood as an extension of the polychrome burial chamber after some period of time, when the innovation became a part of accepted Theban funerary practice.

Perhaps the Egyptians first used the exclusive and closed space of the burial chamber for innovative and boundary-pushing material that could appear only later in some capacity in coffin decorative schema. Some burial chamber innovations appeared on coffins a few generations later, and others, taking longer to appear, not until the Twentieth or Twenty-First Dynasty. The coffin—as the most public and simultaneously most ritually essential piece in the burial assemblage—simply did not allow for as much innovation as the burial chamber did. The functional materialism of the coffin required it to maintain a certain conservatism.

THE NINETEENTH DYNASTY BURIAL CHAMBER

As we move into the Ramesside period, decorated burial chambers with restricted texts were still rare among Theban elites. In this period, restricted and strange iconography includes ritual processions, images of the royal bark, unusual Book of the Dead scenes such as Hathor coming out of the western mountain, or images of unusual divinities. The Nineteenth Dynasty burial chamber of Pennesuttaui (TT 156), for example, included scenes of the deceased adoring the western hawk, Hathor coming out of the western mountain, Thoth in the weighing-of-heart scene, and the deceased led by a variety of male and female gods.³⁴ The Nineteenth Dynasty tomb of Djhutymes (TT 32) had a burial chamber with decorated ceiling and various Book of the Dead texts.³⁵ An anonymous Ramesside tomb (A26) in Dra^c Abu el-Naga was commissioned with a painted burial chamber sporting more innovation, including a decorated ceiling, a divine-bark procession, standard-bearers, a procession of the statue of Min, and a funerary procession with the *tekenu*.³⁶ Other Ramesside tombs with decorated burial chambers include TT 35 of Bekhenkhonsu at Dra^c Abu el-Naga,³⁷ TT 235 of Userhat in Qurnet Murai,³⁸ TT 282 of Nakht at Dra^c Abu el-Naga,³⁹ TT 289 of Setau in Dra^c Abu el-Naga,⁴⁰ and TT 399 of an unknown person at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna.⁴¹ Interestingly, these burial chamber scenes—divine adoration, Hathoric imagery, divine processions, even the *tekenu* procession—will later appear on coffins of the Twentieth and Twenty-First Dynasties. The coffin–tomb interaction at Deir el-Medina bear this pattern out more clearly.

Boreaux 1932, 192; Niwiński 1976, 462–63n26; 1988, 166; Dunand and Lichtenberg 1991, 64; Colinart et al. 1997, 23–24, fig. 4; Vandier 1952, 68–69; Ziegler 1993, 203, figs. 4–5; Raven et al. 1998, 18n27; Taylor 1999, 65–66; Colinart 2001, 1–4.

33 Dodson 2000.

34 For publication of TT 156, see Kampp 1996, 443–45, fig. 340; PM 1², 265–66.

35 For publication of TT 32, see Kákósy et al. 2004; Kákósy and Vörös 1996; PM 1², 49–50; Kampp 1996, 221–24, fig. 126.

36 For publication of tomb A26, see Manniche 2011, 61–63; PM 1², 454–55; Kampp 1996, 618.

37 For publication of TT 35, see Bell 1968, 38–47; 1969, 26–27; 1972, 7–8; 1974, 24–25; 1979, 50–51; 1981, 51–62; Fisher 1924, 35–41; Gardiner and Weigall 1913, 176; Kampp 1996, 225–27, fig. 127; PM 1², 61–63.

38 For publication of TT 235, see Fakhry 1934, 135–40; Kampp 1996, 514–15, fig. 408; PM 1², 329.

39 For publication of TT 282, see Bell 1981, 51–62; Fisher 1924, 35–41; Habachi 1968, 107–13; 1976, 113–16; Kampp 1996, 550–53, figs. 445–46; PM 1², 364–65.

40 For publication of TT 289, see Borchartd 1934, 25–35; Kampp 1996, 558–61, figs. 452–54; PM 1², 369–72.

41 For publication of TT 399, see Kampp 1996, 609, fig. 506; PM 1², 443–44.

THE BURIAL CHAMBER AT DEIR EL-MEDINA

Painted burial chambers become a standard part of the tomb complex at Deir el-Medina, where the decoration of hidden and exclusive space seems to have been expected and normal among the royal necropolis craftsmen. Possible reasons for this phenomenon are many—including limited space for chapels in the small necropolis, a closed peer group to whom to display, and influence from the Valley of the Kings, which the Deir el-Medina artisans decorated—and, in any case, the highest-level patriarch-artisans seem to have considered a decorated burial chamber an essential part of their burial ensemble.

The Deir el-Medina necropolis thus provides us with an extraordinary opportunity to compare burial chamber decoration with contemporary coffins from the same craftsmen's burial chambers. TT 1 at Deir el-Medina is the only intact Ramesside tomb yet found, and its burial chamber not only has polychrome decoration but also contained coffins and coffin sets for nine individuals (fig. 3.8).⁴² At Deir el-Medina, burial chamber decoration was *de rigueur* among a closed community of craftsmen, the highest ranking of whom could ostensibly fit inside the burial chamber to decorate it, view it, compete visually, comment to one another verbally, and participate in funerary rituals.

At Deir el-Medina, the decorated burial chamber became a desired part of the funerary ensemble early on. One of the earliest examples of a decorated burial chamber, perhaps from the end of the Eighteenth



Figure 3.8. A wall from the polychrome burial chamber of Sennedjem (TT 1).
Photo credit: F. Jack Jackson / Alamy Stock Photo.

⁴² For publication of TT 1, see Bierbrier 2001, 340–49; Bruyère 1929, 134–35, pl. XIII; 1959; Eaton-Krauss 1997, 179–92; Haring 2006b; Hodel-Hoernes 1991, 210–25; Kampp 1996, 188; PM 1², 1–5; Sanjaume 2006; Saleh 1984, 11, 14, 30, 37, 54, 59, 61, 73, 90, figs. 3, 8, 28, 40, 63, 69, 71, 72, 87, 115; Seton-Williams and Stocks 2011, 593; Shedin and Shedin 1994; Weeks 2005, 470–77; Wettengel 1994.

Dynasty, is TT 340 of Amenemhat, which shows a funerary procession in polychrome.⁴³ Another early such burial chamber from Deir el-Medina (TT 227) shows men carrying a coffin to a tomb.⁴⁴ Fitting the pattern of interaction between burial chamber and coffin, such funerary cortege and transport scenes would not make their way into coffin decoration until a few generations later, in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Dynasties, when such scenes became typical on anthropoid-coffin surfaces.

As is well documented in the Egyptological literature, there were two different types of burial chamber decoration in Nineteenth Dynasty Deir el-Medina: the polychrome type and a new type, the monochrome variety, as coined by Bernard Bruyère.⁴⁵ The polychrome type has a yellow background, on which the colors red, blue, green, black, and white were applied. The so-called “monochrome tomb” actually included three or four colors: red, black, and sometimes white, also applied on a yellow background. The monochrome tomb essentially lacked the manufactured, high-cost pigments blue and green. Both the polychrome and monochrome burial chamber types were commissioned during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, as most burial chambers at Deir el-Medina, whether polychrome or monochrome, were built during the reigns of Seti I and Ramesses II.⁴⁶ There was little tomb decoration and even less tomb construction at Deir el-Medina during the later Nineteenth Dynasty, not to mention the Twentieth Dynasty and beyond, into the Twenty-First Dynasty.⁴⁷ The few Twentieth Dynasty decorated burial chambers (TT 359 and TT 299 of Inherkhau, TT 355 of Amenpahapi, TT 267 of Hay) were almost certainly painted in older, reused tombs, though no systematic research on this point has been done to find traces of older decoration.⁴⁸

THE POLYCHROME BURIAL CHAMBER AT DEIR EL-MEDINA

Among the decorated burial chambers at Deir el-Medina there are few polychrome examples, the monochrome variety having been the preferred type (tables 3.1–3.3). Polychrome decoration appears to have been considered more appropriate for the tomb chapel. The polychrome burial chambers built from the reigns of Seti I to Ramesses II seem to share a pattern book that included the standard coffin chapters from the Book of the Dead (151 and 161) plus some new chapter additions (17, the solar hymn, and 110, the field of reeds). As such, these new additions mirror some specific body containers from Deir el-Medina, including the wooden sarcophagi of Khonsu (fig. 3.9) and Sennedjem, both found preserved in the polychrome burial chamber of Sennedjem (TT 1) and both showing Book of the Dead chapters 17 and 110 in addition to chapters 151 and 161.



Figure 3.9. Sarcophagus of Khonsu in the Egyptian Museum (JE 27302). After Hornung and Bryan 2002.

43 For publication of TT 340, see Bruyère 1924, 64–76, figs. 40–51, pl. VII; Cherpion 1999; Fakhry 1947, 25–54; Kampp 1996, 579; PM 1², 407–8.

44 For publication of TT 227, see Kampp 1996, 504–5, fig. 395; PM 1², 327; Seyfried 1991.

45 Bruyère 1952.

46 Benderitter and Hirst 2011.

47 Kampp 1996.

48 For more on Twentieth Dynasty tomb reuse, see Cooney 2011.

Wooden sarcophagi provided a mobile reflection of the burial chamber to which they belonged, but it is unclear how common such large body containers were, as sarcophagi are rarely preserved for archaeological discovery. These large, rectangular wooden boxes were attached to sledges that included wheels for pulling them in procession, presumably through the streets of Deir el-Medina and into its necropolis.⁴⁹ They were fully and, economically speaking, extravagantly varnished containers and, as such, were meant to bring solar luminosity into the burial chamber. These sarcophagi were supplied with the same approximate decorative scheme as the new-style polychrome burial chamber decoration at Deir el-Medina. Interestingly, both types of sarcophagus and burial chamber appeared simultaneously in the Nineteenth Dynasty, with no time lag separating them, and they bore the same Book of the Dead chapters: 151, 161, 17, and 110.

Perhaps the Deir el-Medina craftsmen shared an interest in bringing their extraordinarily detailed and vibrant polychrome burial chamber decoration—visible to only a limited few—to a larger public during the funerary ritual in front of the tomb. The painted sarcophagus could be seen as a means of displaying an unrolled funerary papyrus to all in the funeral audience.⁵⁰ No Book of the Dead papyri survive from tombs at Deir el-Medina, but receipts indicate that village inhabitants did buy and sell illuminated copies of them.⁵¹

Table 3.1. Polychrome burial chambers of the Nineteenth Dynasty at Deir el-Medina.⁵²

Tomb no.	Tomb owner
TT 1 ⁵³	Sennedjem
TT 3 ⁵⁴	Pashed
TT 6 ⁵⁵	Neferhotep and Nebnefer
TT 218 ⁵⁶	Amennakht (two chambers)
TT 265 ⁵⁷	Amenemipet
TT 290 ⁵⁸	Irynefer
TT 360 ⁵⁹	Qeha

49 Baines 2015.

50 Cooney 2007, 259.

51 Cooney 2007, 125–26.

52 These lists of polychrome and monochrome chambers can be found in Benderitter and Hirst 2011. For more on polychrome and monochrome tomb decoration, see also Bruyère 1952; Gaber 2002b.

53 For publication of TT 1, see Bierbrier 2001, 340–49; Bruyère 1929, 134–35, pl. XIII; 1959; Eaton-Krauss 1997, 179–92; Haring 2006b; Hodel-Hoernes 1991, 210–25; Kampp 1996, 188; PM 1², 1–5; Saleh 1984, 11, 14, 30, 37, 54, 59, 61, 73, 90, figs. 3, 8, 28, 40, 63, 69, 71, 72, 87, 115; Sanjaume 2006; Seton-Williams and Stocks 2011, 593; Shedid and Shedit 1994; Weeks 2005, 470–77; Wettengel 1994.

54 For publication of TT 3, see Bruyère 1926, 61–63; Kampp 1996, 188; Nash 1901, 360–61; PM 1², 9–11; Saleh 1984, 34, 76, 91, 92; Seton-Williams and Stocks 2011, 593; Wasmuth 2003, 81; Weeks 2005, 464–69; Zivie 1979.

55 For publication of TT 6, see Bruyère 1926, pls. 2–3; Kampp 1996, 188; Polz 1990, 301–36; PM 1², 14–15.

56 For publication of TT 218, see Bruyère 1928, 53–68, 80–82, figs. 40–47, 53–56; Gaber 2002a, 38–47; Kampp 1996, 496; PM 1¹, 317–20; Saleh 1984, 11, 13, 23, 35, 38, 60, 72, 76, 90, 91, 92, figs. 4, 23, 37, 43, 70, 89, 92, 116, 119, 120; Seton-Williams and Stocks 2011, 593.

57 For publication of TT 265, see Bruyère 1926, pls. 2–3; Kampp 1996, 542; PM 1², 346; Saleh 1984, 15–16, 65, figs. 9–14, 75.

58 For publication of TT 290, see Bruyère 1924, 10–38, pls. I–II, IV, VIb, VII, IX–X; Bruyère and Kuentz 1926, 67–152; Forbes 1994, 49–52; Kampp 1996, 561; PM 1², 372–73; Saleh 1984, 11, 23, 35, 38, 41, 46, 47, 51, 53, 58, 65, 74, 85, 86, 88, figs. 5, 24, 38, 42, 48, 49, 52, 58, 62, 68, 76a, 90, 108, 111, 113; Seton-Williams and Stocks 2011, 592.

59 For publication of TT 360, see Bruyère 1933, 71–82, 84–109, figs. 17–18, pls. I, XXVI–XXXI; Fakhry 1947, 25–54; Hodel-Hoernes 1991, 226–42; Kampp 1996, 589; PM 1², 424–25.

Table 3.2. Polychrome burial chambers of the Twentieth Dynasty at Deir el-Medina.

Tomb no.	Tomb owner
TT 267 ⁶⁰	Hay (two chambers)
TT 359 ⁶¹	Inherkhau (two chambers)

Table 3.3. Monochrome burial chambers at Deir el-Medina.

Tomb no.	Tomb owner	Period
TT 2 ⁶²	Khabekhnet	Ramesses II–Ramesses III
TT 4 ⁶³	Qen	Ramesses II
TT 5 ⁶⁴	Neferabet	Ramesses II
TT 10 ⁶⁵	Penbuy and Kasa	Ramesses II–Ramesses III
TT 211 ⁶⁶	Paneb	Seti I–Ramesses II
TT 213 ⁶⁷	Penamen	Seti I–Siptah
TT 214 ⁶⁸	Khawy	Ramesses II
TT 216 ⁶⁹	Neferhotep	Ramesses II
TT 219 ⁷⁰	Nebenmaat	Ramesses II
TT 220 ⁷¹	Khaemteri	Ramesses II
TT 250 ⁷²	Ramose (chapel)	Ramesses II
TT 266 ⁷³	Amennakht	Seti I–Ramesses II

(continued)

60 For publication of TT 267, see Bruyère 1926, pl. II; Kampp 1996, 543; PM 1², 347–49.

61 For publication of TT 359, see Bruyère 1933, 32–70, 84–109, figs. 17–18, pls. I, III–XXIV; Cherpion and Corteggiani 2010; Fakhry 1947, 25–54; Hodel-Hoernes 1991, 226–42; Kampp 1996, 588; Keller 2001, 73–93; PM 1², 421–24; Saleh 1984, 17, 19, 25, 36, 40, 46, 48, 50, 54, 56, 67, 83, 86, 93, figs. 18, 22, 25, 26, 39, 46, 47, 50, 54, 55, 56, 64, 65, 78, 105, 110, 117, 124; Seton-Williams and Stocks 2011, 593; Weeks 2005, 500–507.

62 For publication of TT 2, see Bruyère 1952, 22–56; Kampp 1996, 188; PM 1², 6–9; Saleh 1984, 10, 18, 37, 58, 92; Schenkel 1995, 169–83; Seton-Williams and Stocks 2011, 593.

63 For publication of TT 4, see Bruyère 1926, 179–82, figs. 120–21, pl. X; Kampp 1996, 188; PM 1², 11–12; Seton-Williams and Stocks 2011, 593.

64 For publication of TT 5, see Bruyère 1927, 85–86, fig. 61; Kampp 1996, 188; PM 1², 12–14; Saleh 1984, 73; Vandier and Vandier d'Abbadie 1935.

65 For publication of TT 10, see Bruyère 1925, 61–64, pls. II, XVII; Kampp 1996, 620; PM 1², 460.

66 For publication of TT 211, see Bruyère 1925, pl. II; 1952, 66–87; Kampp 1996, 494; PM 1², 307–9.

67 For publication of TT 213, see Bruyère 1926, 183–88, pl. X; Kampp 1996, 494; PM 1², 310.

68 For publication of TT 214, see Bruyère 1928, 42–50, pls. I–III; 1952, 494; PM 1², 310–11; Saleh 1984, 50, fig. 57.

69 For publication of TT 216, see Bruyère 1925, 36–40, pls. X–XI; 1926, 16–18, 35–42, figs. 10, 24–28, pl. II; Kampp 1996, 494–96, fig. 387; PM 1², 312–13.

70 For publication of TT 219, see Bruyère 1928, 53–55, 68–78, 83, figs. 40, 48–54, 57; Gaber 2002a; Kampp 1996, 496; Maystre 1935; PM 1², 320–22; Saleh 1984, 10, 16, 31, 53, figs. 2, 15, 29, 61; Seton-Williams and Stocks 2011, 593.

71 For publication of TT 220, see Bruyère 1928, 53–55, 78–82, 84, figs. 40, 53–54, 58; Kampp 1996, 496; PM 1², 322; Seton-Williams and Stocks 2011, 593.

72 For publication of TT 250, see Bruyère 1927, 59–74, pls. V–VIII; Kampp 1996, 525; PM 1², 336.

73 For publication of TT 266, see Bruyère 1926, 43–44, fig. 29, pls. I–II; Corteggiani 1984, 61–80; Kampp 1996, 543; PM 1², 346–47.

Table 3.3. Monochrome burial chambers at Deir el-Medina (*continued*).

Tomb no.	Tomb owner	Period
TT 292 ⁷⁴	Pashedu	Ramesses II
TT 298 ⁷⁵	Baky and Wennefer	Seti I–Ramesses II
TT 299 ⁷⁶	Inerkhau	Ramesses II–Ramesses III
TT 321 ⁷⁷	Khaemopet	Ramesses II
TT 323 ⁷⁸	Pashed	Seti I
TT 335 ⁷⁹	Nakhtamen	Ramesses II
TT 336 ⁸⁰	Neferrenpet	Ramesses II
TT 337 ⁸¹	Ken	Ramesses II
TT 355 ⁸²	Amenpahapi(?)	Ramesses IV
TT 356 ⁸³	Amenemwia	Ramesses II
1413 ⁸⁴	Unknown	Nineteenth Dynasty

THE MONOCHROME BURIAL CHAMBER AT DEIR EL-MEDINA

The monochrome decoration style was a more popular choice among Deir el-Medina craftsmen for their burial chambers, but not for their tomb chapels (table 3.4). Only one monochrome tomb chapel (TT 250 of Ramose) but more than twenty monochrome burial chambers are known.⁸⁵ Indeed, eight polychrome tomb chapels are associated with monochrome burial chambers, indicating that, for whatever reason, this monochrome decoration style seemed more closely associated with the burial chamber and the coffins and mummies it contained.

74 For publication of TT 292, see Bruyère 1925, 66–72, pls. II, XVIII; Kampp 1996, 561; PM 1², 374–76.

75 For publication of TT 298, see Bruyère 1928, 88–89, 91–94, figs. 53, 59–61; Kampp 1996, 568; Polz 1990, 301–36; PM 1², 379.

76 For publication of TT 299, see Kampp 1996, 568; PM 1², 380.

77 For publication of TT 321, see Bruyère 1925, 72–73, pls. II, XVIII; Kampp 1996, 574; PM 1², 393.

78 For publication of TT 323, see Bruyère 1925, 80–90, pls. II, XXIII–XXV; Kampp 1996, 574; PM 1², 394–95.

79 For publication of TT 335, see Bruyère 1926, 113–78, figs. 75–119, pl. VIII; Fakhry 1947, 25–54; Kampp 1996, 579; PM 1², 401–4; Saleh 1984, 18, 68, figs. 21, 81; Servajean 2011; 2013, 131–48.

80 For publication of TT 336, see Bruyère 1926, 80–113, figs. 53–64, 66–69, 71–72, pl. VIII; Fakhry 1947, 25–54; Kampp 1996, 579; PM 1², 404–5; Saleh 1984, 92, fig. 122.

81 For publication of TT 337, see Bruyère 1926, 76–80, fig. 52, pl. VIII; Fakhry 1947, 25–54; Kampp 1996, 579; PM 1², 405–6.

82 For publication of TT 355, see Bruyère 1928, 115–17, fig. 78; Fakhry 1947, 25–54; Kampp 1996, 588; PM 1², 419.

83 For publication of TT 356, see Bruyère 1929, 76–93, 118–19, figs. 39–51; Fakhry 1947, 25–54; Kampp 1996, 588; PM 1², 419–20.

84 Bruyère 1952.

85 Benderitter and Hirst 2011.

Table 3.4. Tombs with polychrome chapel and monochrome chamber at Deir el-Medina.

Tomb no.	Tomb owner
TT 4 ⁸⁶	Qen
TT 5 ⁸⁷	Neferabou
TT 10 ⁸⁸	Penbuy and Kasa
TT 216 ⁸⁹	Neferhotep
TT 219 ⁹⁰	Nebenmaat
TT 266 ⁹¹	Amennakht
TT 292 ⁹²	Pashed
TT 298 ⁹³	Baky and Wennefer

The monochrome decoration type starts in the reign of Seti I, and most burial chambers date to the long reign of Ramesses II. When examined throughout the entire New Kingdom period, it becomes clear that this monochrome style actually appeared and disappeared quite quickly. If monochromatic decoration was an innovation, we never really see this style established in the tomb chapel beyond Deir el-Medina or after the Nineteenth Dynasty. The style of decoration is arguably visible in the houses of Deir el-Medina—in a domestic context in the village itself—but there is little overlap in decorative content.

The background color of the monochrome decoration seems to be a lighter, brighter yellow than the polychrome variety, but, as far as I know, no examples have been tested for orpiment or ochers. Nonetheless, if a lighter, brighter yellow was chosen, perhaps ocher mixed with white or arsenic pigments, the painters may have been trying to evoke solar associations. Even though most Egyptologists have assumed that the monochrome tomb, which bypassed unaffordable materials such as manufactured blue and green pigments, was of lower prestige than the polychrome, if these monochrome tombs do turn out to contain orpiment pigments, then this style would have cost an equal amount or more in materials than a polychrome tomb.

With or without the presence of orpiment, the predominant color of the monochrome tomb is light yellow, reflecting specific craft choices to highlight solarism and provide brighter radiance of reflected lamp-light into the chamber, ostensibly impressing one's fellow craftsmen in this closed society and providing a reason why so many Deir el-Medina craftsmen followed the fashion of the monochrome burial chamber so quickly. Indeed, even men's faces and bodies are painted in yellow (fig. 3.10⁹⁴), as though everyone and everything in a given scene were made of gold or of sunlight. The monochrome burial chamber transforms the

86 For publication of TT 4, see Bruyère 1926, 179–82, figs. 120–21, pl. X; Kampp 1996, 188; PM 1², 11–12; Seton-Williams and Stocks 2011, 593.

87 For publication of TT 5, see Bruyère 1927, 85–86, fig. 61; Kampp 1996, 188; PM 1², 12–14; Saleh 1984, 73; Vandier and Vandier d'Abbadie 1935.

88 For publication of TT 10, see Bruyère 1925, 61–64, pls. II, XVII; Kampp 1996, 620; PM 1², 460.

89 For publication of TT 216, see Bruyère 1925, 36–40, pls. X–XI; 1926, 16–18, 35–42, figs. 10, 24–28, pl. II; Kampp 1996, 494–96, fig. 387; PM 1², 312–13.

90 For publication of TT 219, see Bruyère 1928, 53–55, 68–78, 83, figs. 40, 48–54, 57; Gaber 2002a; Kampp 1996, 496; Maystre 1935; PM 1², 320–22; Saleh 1984, 10, 16, 31, 53, figs. 2, 15, 29, 61; Seton-Williams and Stocks 2011, 593.

91 For publication of TT 266, see Bruyère 1926, 43–44, fig. 29, pls. II–III; Corteggiani 1984, 61–80; Kampp 1996, 543; PM 1², 346–47.

92 For publication of TT 292, see Bruyère 1925, 66–72, pls. II, XVIII; Kampp 1996, 561; PM 1², 374–76.

93 For publication of TT 298, see Bruyère 1928, 88–89, 91–94, figs. 53, 59–61; Kampp 1996, 568; Polz 1990, 301–36; PM 1², 379.

94 My thanks to Dr. Thierry Benderitter of Osirisnet.net for his kind permission to publish images from his website here.



Figure 3.10. People painted yellow in the monochrome tomb of Nakhtamen (TT 335). © Osirisnet (www.osirisnet.net).

mundane into something divine and sunlike. Indeed, in its inspiration, this monochrome burial chamber was very much like an Eighteenth Dynasty high-elite black coffin on whose surface the figures were formed in yellow paint or gold leaf, and here we might see an instance of coffin decoration's moving into the burial chamber rather than vice versa.

But the monochrome and polychrome burial chamber differ in more than just color palette. The monochrome tomb also betrays a more innovative, stylized, and sketch-like application. From the time they were made, there is little evidence that craftsmen applied the full eighteen-square grid, a technique so prevalent in tomb painting during the Eighteenth Dynasty. I know of no systematic examination for red guidelines in these Deir el-Medina tombs, however, so this observation is conjectural. (Guidelines did exist in the tombs of the Valley of the Kings and the Valley of the Queens.) Even without a formal study, however, I would suggest that the polychrome burial chamber was the result of a more formal workshop enterprise, with more formal guidelines and division of labor, while the monochrome burial chamber was the result of a more informal, master-craftsman sketch without as much reliance on guidelines.⁹⁵

In lacking blue and green frit pigments, it is possible that the monochrome tomb allowed craftsmen to abandon formal color layering in favor of using only the scribal paints—red and black—to sketch, thus allowing more reliance on a master line and resulting in more individual artistic expression. Having worked with Egyptian blue in an experimental context, I can say that it is very difficult to sketch with Egyptian blue in comparison to red and black paint.⁹⁶ Could the higher number of monochrome burial chambers constitute proof that Deir el-Medina artisans appreciated artistry and creativity so much that they even dispensed with expensive prestige-granting, light-catching pigments such as blue and green in favor of yellow and red, with which they could better express their individual drawing styles? The popular monochrome style abandoned conservative application systems and thus facilitated more individualized expression, even allowing the visibility of particular artists' hands. The use of blue and green pigments demanded workshop layering techniques that potentially would have obscured individual hands. I argue that the more expensive frit pigments were abandoned in favor of yellow, red, and black to highlight artisans' abilities. If orpiment was used, then material prestige was restored in the so-called monochrome tomb without sacrificing the ability to recognize a master's hand. This monochrome style even cut down on text, giving preferential treatment to the image and thus, by extension, to the artist visible in that style.

These monochrome burial chambers provided space to highlight the abilities of artisanal patriarchs and their interconnecting nuclear families during a time when Deir el-Medina was most prosperous. This society was in many ways a closed one,⁹⁷ in which artisans made their skills visible for the purpose of impress-

⁹⁵ Cooney 2012a.

⁹⁶ Dean's discretionary funds and a transdisciplinary seed grant at UCLA funded experimental work with Elsbeth Geldhof, Caroline Arbuckle MacLeod, and Caroline Cartwright in 2016, using different kinds of wood, plaster, red ocher, yellow ocher, Egyptian blue, and yellow varnish made from *Pistacia* mastic. The publications stemming from this work are forthcoming. See also Emmett, Geldhof, and Dawson 2022.

⁹⁷ McDowell 1990.

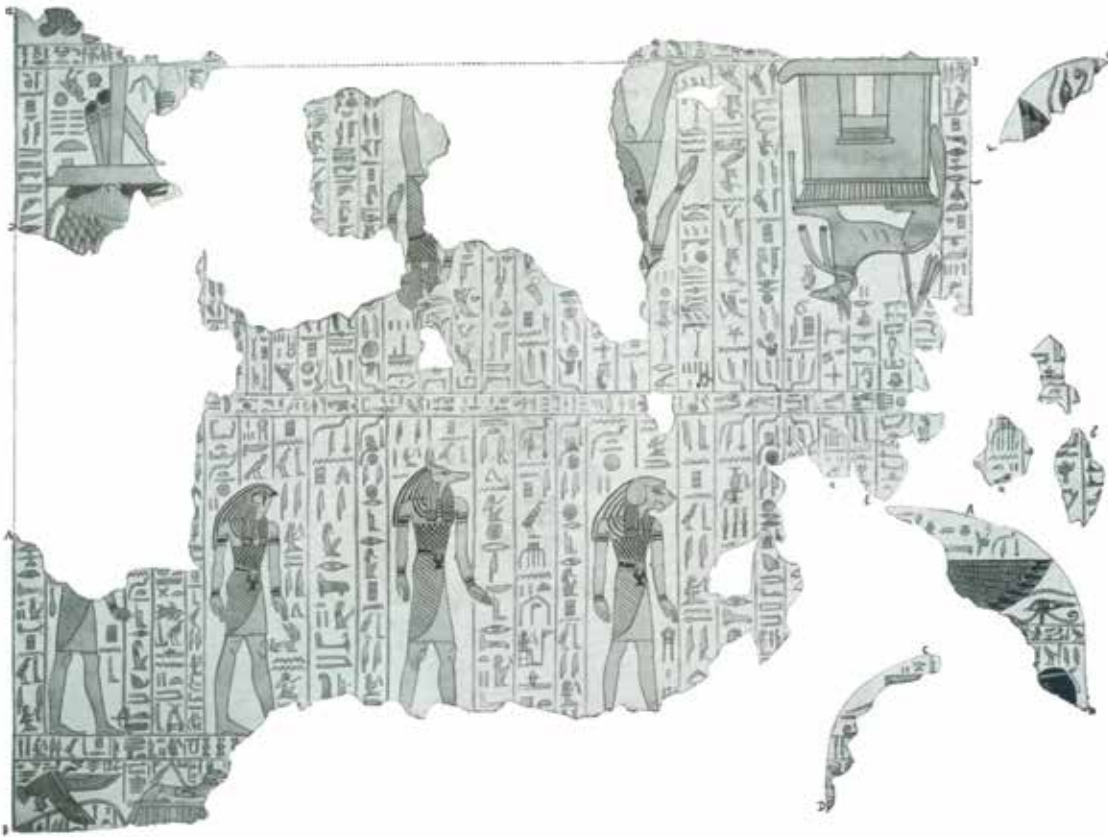


Figure 3.11. A wall from the monochrome burial chamber of Penbuy (TT 10b). After Bruyère 1952.

ing a small group of fellow artisans in a physical space where doing so worked best: the restricted burial chamber. It is no surprise that the monochrome style includes some of the most unusual, even restricted, iconography and imagery in the entire corpus of New Kingdom tomb painting. The fact that this decoration was also less textualized allowed the use of exclusive funerary iconography in reduced, cryptographic form that fellow artisans and scribes, versed in the lore of funerary art, would truly appreciate. In this closed society, the monochrome burial chamber decoration was indeed a prestige choice, not a second-best way of saving on blue and green pigments. The decoration connected its creators to exclusivity in skill and pattern books. These monochrome burial chambers are even a precedent to the new funerary mythological papyri of the Twenty-First Dynasty, which show very little text in combination with extensive complicated and cryptic funerary iconography.⁹⁸

Indeed, the Deir el-Medina craftsmen may have been trying to produce a kind of “golden room,” decorated with chapter 151 from the Book of the Dead, as in Nefertari’s tomb in the Valley of the Queens; in it, one of the side chambers for canopic jars and treasures is decorated in this monochrome style, without blue or green. Perhaps we should stop calling these tombs “monochrome” and start referring to them as “solar” or “golden.” They represent not a cost-saving choice, since this style was used in the Valley of the Queens, but instead a choice to highlight a specific meaning and particular social assets.

The new, solar burial chamber of the early Nineteenth Dynasty began at Deir el-Medina. Elsewhere, the solar burial chamber appears only in the Valley of the Kings and Valley of the Queens in side-chamber treasury rooms. The “golden room” is therefore an innovation with a source from the very top tier of society. As in the tomb of Nefertari, the first solar burial chambers at Deir el-Medina included the standard Book of the Dead body-container inscriptions, chapters 151 and 161, and some of them, such as TT 10b of Penbuy (fig. 3.11), even used the arched ceiling to mimic an anthropoid coffin with mummy braces. Anubis and the four sons of Horus are usually shown. The tree goddess might also be depicted, as in TT 211 of Paneb. TT 2

⁹⁸ Stevens 2018.

of Khabekhnet has an image of the winged Nut over the scene of Anubis tending the coffin, as well as images of goddesses kneeling over the *shen* ring—all imagery one might see on a contemporaneous coffin lid.

The differences between the monochromatic and polychromatic tomb styles are subtle but visible. For example, in monochrome burial chamber TT 2 of Khabekhnet, among standard images of the winged Nut over Anubis tending the body are some new elements, including two small trees, one on each side of this scene with personified (female?), extended hands holding a strange symbol with a semicryptographic writing: *s.t krs Wsir imnt.t*, “the place of burial of Osiris (in) the west,” on the left and *hk3 d.t*, “Ruler of Eternity,” on the right, perhaps referring to sacred cult sites of Osiris in western Thebes for the purpose of inserting local, divine expression into the iconographic mix. Even the standard scene of Anubis tending the body has new and unusual features in the monochrome tomb, including a canopic box with Anubis on the lid and a bronze mirror—innovative details for such a scene and something that a polychrome chamber showing the same Anubis-tending-mummy scene does not show.

The monochromatic style allowed more innovation in content than did the polychromatic style. In the monochrome burial chamber of Nakhtamen (TT 335), for example, we see the deceased’s wife worshipping a solar-Osirian gate decorated with a *kheker*-frieze and repeated eternity signs. We also see the deceased depicted with the divinized Amenhotep I, here called *ntr nfr hk3 pd.t 9*, “The Good God, Ruler of the Nine Bows.” Many other monochrome tombs show unusual divinities never depicted in a traditional, formal tomb decoration, including Anukis of Elephantine and Taweret, a divinity associated more with the domestic protection of women, at least according to our limited Egyptological understanding, than with funerary contexts. The burial chamber of Nakhtamen (TT 335) has one iconographic element showing two strange, gazelle-like animals rearing up, with front legs resting on *ankh* signs (fig. 3.12). Between the animals is a personified *ankh* holding grain or feathers, with a human eye painted in black in the center of the *ankh* loop. Above this image is the hieroglyph of the sun on the horizon with a *kheper* beetle in its center—dense, cryptographic iconography of great power and deep meaning, and elements that do not appear in a polychrome tomb but will later appear in the magical papyri of the Twenty-First Dynasty.

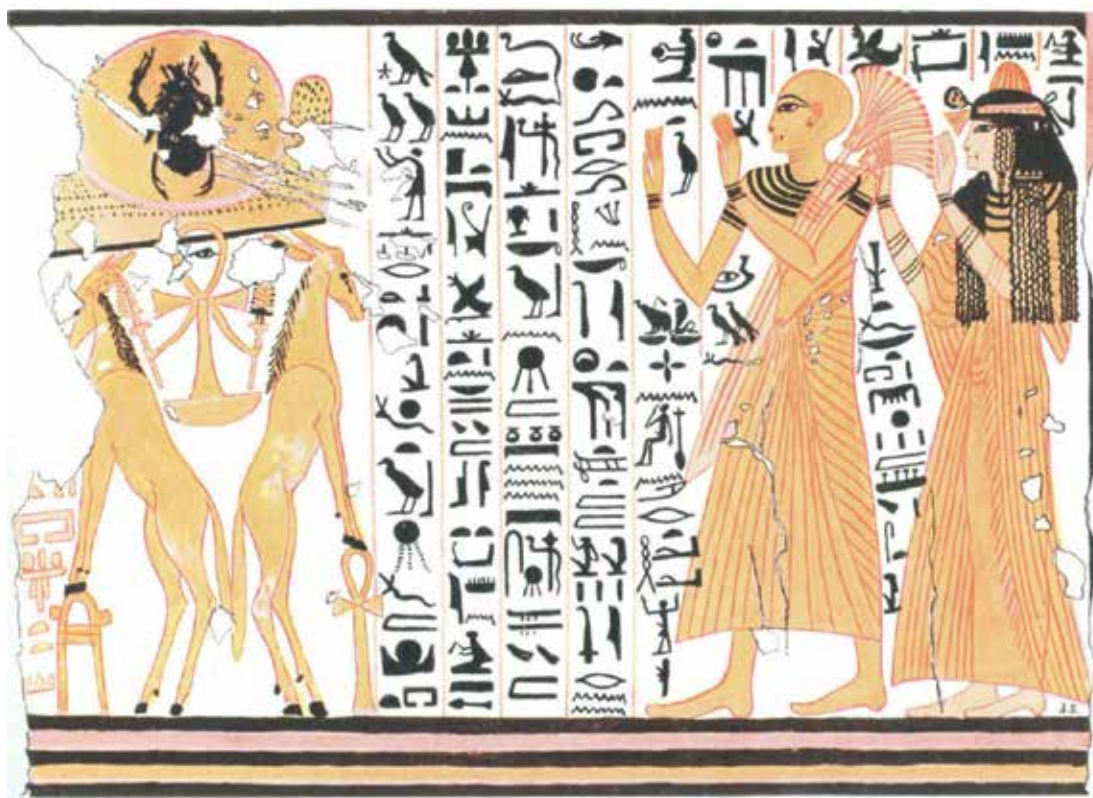


Figure 3.12. Gazelle-like animals in the monochrome tomb of Nakhtamen (TT 335). After Bruyère 1952.

Indeed, even when the same scene or Book of the Dead chapter is represented, subtle differences between the monochrome and polychrome chambers appear. For example, if we compare TT 218 of Amennakht (polychrome) with TT 335 Nakhtamen (monochrome), the polychrome burial chamber is clearly the more conservative pictorially, textually, and iconographically. In Amennakht's burial chamber, the text is long and extensive and takes up much of the space. The monochrome tomb of Nakhtamen, by contrast, shows less written text, and what is there is in a larger, less structured format. In addition, the monochrome burial chamber allowed for more artistic expression, in which the artist's hand would have been visible in its sketch-like form to any other contemporary artisans who saw it.⁹⁹ The visibility of the artists' hands in monochrome tombs must have been purposeful and a means of broadcasting the unique skills of the artisanal patriarchs at a craftsmen's necropolis such as Deir el-Medina. The monochrome tomb of Nakhtamen thus has interesting added details that the polychrome version lacks, including bundles of flowers on both sides of the embalming shrine, two goddesses pouring libations nonsymmetrically (rather than being static and formal mirror images of each other, as in the polychrome style) and holding differently shaped libation vessels (one in the shape of an *ankh*, the other in the shape of a cone of fat). The monochrome decoration of Nakhtamen's tomb bears so much informality that the text is placed organically around the arm movements of each goddess rather than in the straight, formal columns typical of the decoration in a polychrome tomb.

Both the monochrome tomb of Nakhtamen and the polychrome tomb of Amennakht show a winged Nut, but only the monochrome burial chamber includes additional details on each side of the goddess, namely, *wedjat* eyes with spitting cobras extending from the tear ducts. Both burial chambers show Anubis leaning over the mummy (figs. 3.13, 3.14), embalming and tending it; but while the polychrome tomb is static in its posture and movement, the monochrome decoration shows the Anubis figure actively crouching over the body, his arms not just resting on the chest of the deceased as in the polychrome tomb, but with one arm on the chest and the other raised with an adze for the Opening of the Mouth ceremony. Even Anubis's legs show an interesting and unusual bend in the monochrome decoration, one that provides a dynamism lacking in the formal, polychrome decoration. And beneath the bier in the monochrome chamber are unusual commodities and offerings to the dead, all labeled, including vessels called *ntyw* ("frankincense") and *mrh.t* ("varnish"), a bronze mirror carefully fitted between Anubis's legs, a *shabti* box called *itrw šm^c* ("chest of Upper Egypt"), complete with an inscription for the dead, and another wrapped chest labeled *ntr.wy* ("divine" or "how divine") and decorated with two *šw* feathers.

The monochrome burial chamber of Nakhtamen shows the extraordinary and unique scene of Anubis tending to a mummified fish (fig. 3.15), an innovation that is not equaled in a polychrome tomb context. The monochrome decoration was, it seems, the perfect medium to push the boundaries of decorum in a place where only a few crew and/or family members would see it and be impressed in this closed and introverted community. Overall, the monochrome tombs display fewer texts, but these tombs also include more iconography that is special or even restricted. Perhaps, when artisans included such unusual iconography, they felt they could not fully explicate it with text. Indeed, at the same time in the royal context, underworld books such as the Book of the Earth and Book of Caverns were inscribed in Nineteenth Dynasty royal tombs at the Valley of the Kings, along with strange and bizarre iconography accompanied by much less text than the earlier, text-heavy Book of Gates and Amduat.¹⁰⁰ Perhaps the inclusion of less text was believed to protect the secretive nature of the iconography. If Deir el-Medina craftsmen were able to include unusual and restricted iconography, therein lies the social prestige. It also follows that such imagery would have been placed in the burial chamber only, not the contemporaneous coffin or accessible tomb chapel.

In the polychrome burial chamber at Deir el-Medina, social prestige was gained through standard means, namely, formal craft production with heavy use of Egyptian blue and green pigments. In terms of prestige and social value, Egyptologists have assigned more weight to the polychrome tomb because of the higher level of textualization. In Hanane Gaber's work, for example, monochrome tombs are understood

99 Sketching was tied to reputation and displayed on a daily basis by the artisans themselves (Cooney 2012a).

100 Hornung 1999, 55–76.



Figure 3.13. Anubis standing over a mummy in the polychrome tomb of Amennakht (TT 218). © Osirisnet (www.osirisnet.net).

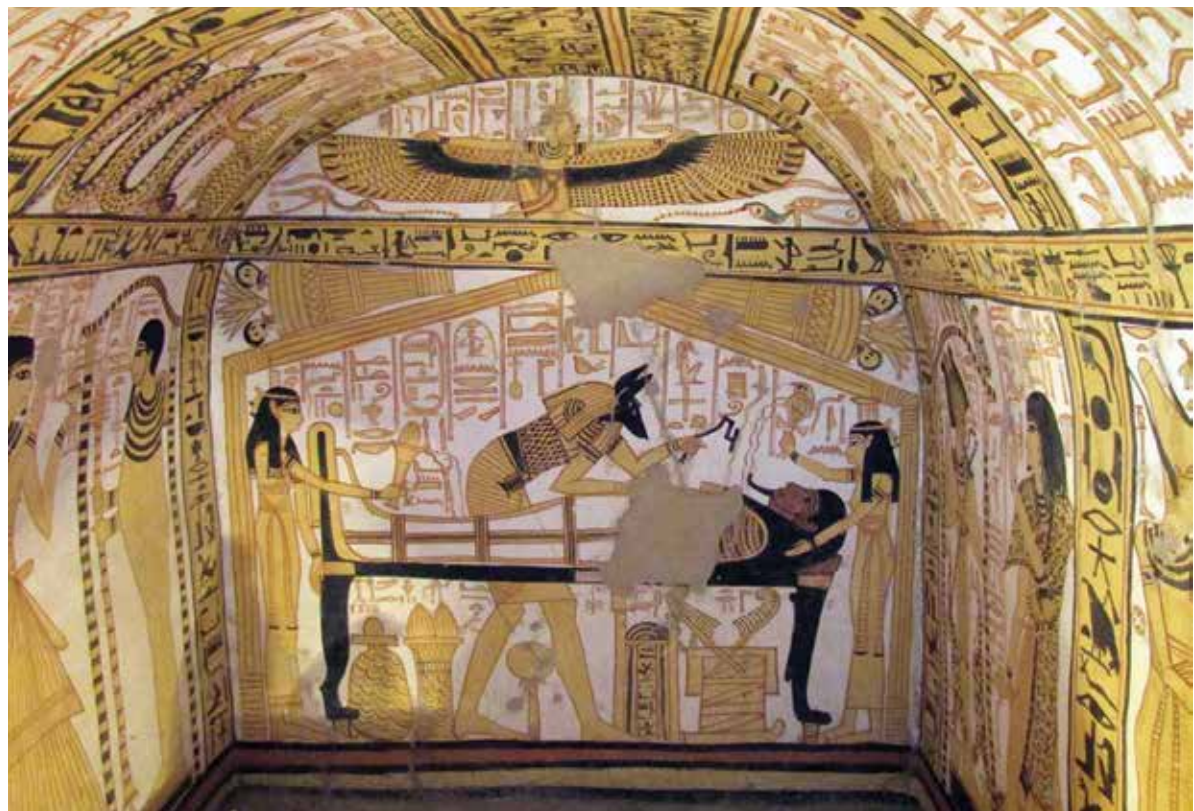


Figure 3.14. Anubis standing over a mummy in the monochrome tomb of Nakhtamen (TT 335). © Osirisnet (www.osirisnet.net).

as less valuable because they lack text,¹⁰¹ ignoring the fact that the workmen themselves favored the monochrome style. The monochrome tombs allowed the display of significant social powers that the polychrome did not, including access to restricted pattern books and religious ideas, a recognizable artist's hand, and local details prized by the closed peer group viewing the burial chamber. Indeed, it is in the monochrome burial chambers that we see a freedom to depict human social connections: these tombs often show processions of dozens of Theban colleagues and family members, with names and titles applied to personalize the relationships. These local and intimate details were felt, for whatever reason, to be inappropriate in polychrome decoration. The polychrome burial chamber showed workshop production and craft commissions in a conservative fashion: depersonalized and more in step with established pattern books.



Figure 3.15. Anubis standing over a fish mummy in the monochrome tomb of Khabekhnet (TT 2). Photo credit: The Picture Art Collection / Alamy Stock Photo.

During the reigns of Seti I and Ramesses II, when so many of these new golden, or monochrome, burial chambers were decorated, craftsmen, at least at Deir el-Medina, competed not only in the personalized representation of their skill—that is, their artistic hand and dynamic, nonsymmetrical sensibility—but also in their access to religious and iconographical innovation. In sum, the monochrome tomb allowed not only more artistic expression for a master craftsman but also detailed depictions of local color, such as unusual commodities and offerings placed with the dead and images of local cult places and ritual processions. The polychrome tomb embodied the conservative, staid version of social status. It is unclear whether the monochrome tomb was thought more appropriate for unusual depictions or, instead, the sketch-like quality and reliance on fewer craftsmen, not to mention a simplified color palette, allowed a given master artisan freer, more creative control over the composition of the tableau itself.

THE DYNAMIC BETWEEN BURIAL CHAMBER AND COFFIN AT DEIR EL-MEDINA

The new and strange iconography of the monochrome tomb is not replicated on the coffin until much later in the Twentieth or Twenty-First Dynasty. True to the pattern, the Egyptians put their most innovative and decorum-breaking choices first into the burial chamber, where they could be consumed by and displayed to a closed peer group and take their time to settle into elite consciousness, only to appear later on the coffin.

Thus far I have favored a social explanation for stylistic change by suggesting that the monochrome and polychrome decorative style choices brought their commissioners different kinds of prestige. Other Egyptological explanations cling to religion as a driver of difference. Hanane Gaber, for example, has noted that only the polychrome burial chamber includes the Book of the Dead chapter 78's section of transformation into a divinity (included only in text form in the monochrome chamber), the judgment scene from the Hall of Two Truths, and the Field of Reeds from Book of the Dead chapter 110. In contrast, Gaber notes, only the monochrome chambers show Isis, Nephthys, and the four children of Horus from Book of the Dead chapter 151 with text inscriptions on the vaulted ceiling. More monochrome than polychrome chambers show Anubis caring for the mummy. According to Gaber, these differences are sufficient to conclude that

101 Gaber 2002b.

“two distinct religious thoughts controlled the choice of decoration” and that the polychrome evidenced more interest in showing the deceased in the afterlife, while the monochrome displayed more interest in showing the safeguarding of the mummy.¹⁰²

Rather than discrete religious ideas or thoughts applied to different styles, perhaps we can see each style as associated with a different type of body container. These styles—monochrome and polychrome—could instead be associated with different functions of the same funerary ritual transformation. The contemporary body containers of the period depicting the Field of Reeds from Book of the Dead chapter 110 and the solar imagery from Book of the Dead chapter 17 appear only on the rectangular sarcophagi of Khonsu and Sennedjem, not on their anthropoid coffins, which keep more strictly to Book of the Dead chapter 151. Thus, if Isis and Nephthys rarely appear in the polychrome burial chamber, perhaps it is because that polychrome chamber was not meant to act as an inner, egg-like body container but as a kind of enclosure shrine. As Gaber notes, Barbara Lüscher¹⁰³ has argued that the monochrome burial chamber decoration is closer to a coffin’s decoration. I agree and argue that the monochrome burial chamber is more like an anthropoid coffin of the same period (Nineteenth Dynasty), a coffin that shows a care for the body primarily associated with Book of the Dead chapters 151 and 161. Even so, the polychrome burial chamber of Qeha (TT 360) still bears depictions from Book of the Dead chapter 151;¹⁰⁴ these rules are not hard and fast.

Interestingly, at the same time the monochrome and polychrome tombs were painted at Deir el Medina, the Ramesside coffin saw extraordinary style changes. The most visible Ramesside coffin innovation was the depiction of the deceased in daily dress—either on the lid of an anthropoid coffin or, more commonly, on the mummy board that fit inside the inner coffin. Here is the first time we see the deceased depicted as an *akh* in body-container form. We must remember that artisans did not place such innovative imagery first on the coffin—the deceased shown in white, daily dress was first introduced in the burial chambers of Eighteenth Dynasty elites, such as that of Sennefer (TT 96), ostensibly because it was safer to push the boundaries of religious fashion within the hidden confines of their burial chambers. The Ramesside innovation consisted in depicting the white-clad individual *on the coffin*, and with this novelty came all the innovations marking gender there as well—earrings, jewelry, body undulations, wig differentiation, and more.

BURIAL CHAMBER—COFFIN INTERACTION IN THE TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY

Burial chamber decoration in New Kingdom Thebes was relatively rare, but in the Third Intermediate Period it became nonexistent. In the Twenty-First Dynasty, the coffin was not only the visible manifestation of the burial chamber—it was also the *only* decorated representative. And in that new context, the coffin started to take on some of the new and innovative iconography that was previously applied to monochrome burial chamber walls in the Ramesside period: the image of the deified Amenhotep I, the deified Thutmose III, Anubis tending the body, and the deceased in mummy form before his pyramidal tomb.

As we move from the end of the New Kingdom to the beginning of the Third Intermediate Period, the context of burial in Thebes, and Egypt as a whole, changed dramatically. Marked tombs were abandoned in favor of unmarked, group-burial chambers. Abandoned were decorated tomb chapels, statuary, pyramidi-
ons, and stone stelae set up in the necropolis. Third Intermediate Period burial chambers are undecorated. Why decorate a burial chamber if one lacks the opportunity to gain social prestige therewith? Thus we are dealing with a different kind of interaction between burial chamber and coffin during the Twenty-First Dynasty. In the absence of burial chamber decoration, much of the boundary pushing in terms of funerary depictions moved elsewhere—to funerary papyri. Indeed, a new series of mythological papyri, with limited text, appeared. I await the systematic study of these papyri to determine whether innovation generally

102 Gaber 2002b, 220.

103 Lüscher 1998.

104 For publication of TT 360, see Bruyère 1933, 71–82, 84–109, figs. 17–18, pls. I, XXVI–XXXI; Fakhry 1947, 25–54; Hodel-Hoernes 1991, 226–42; Kampp 1996, 589; PM 1², 424–25.



Figure 3.16. Detail of outer coffin exterior from the Twenty-First Dynasty coffin set of Khenem-Khonsu-Pa (Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Egizio, Inv. 25008.2) depicting a funerary procession. Photo by Remy Hiramoto.

appears on a papyrus *first*, before it appears on a coffin, or whether iconographic innovations can appear on coffin and papyrus simultaneously.¹⁰⁵

In keeping with this coffin–tomb interaction, the Egyptians abandoned the rectangular sarcophagus of the Ramesside period at the same time that they dispensed with the decorated tomb chapel. Rectangular sarcophagi have never been uncovered from Twenty-First Dynasty archaeological contexts even though many of the period’s intact burial caches have been preserved, and even though decoration on the walls of coffins from this time shows rectangular sarcophagi pulled in funerary procession scenes. The sarcophagus of the Twenty-First Dynasty was an element of the funeral no longer accommodated by contemporary burial chambers, cramped by reuse, because all body containers now needed to be smaller. Or perhaps these sarcophagi were used short-term—“rented,” if you will—at the same time that anthropoid coffins saw a spike in reuse.¹⁰⁶ Twenty-First Dynasty coffins also began to include tomb chapel decoration typical of the New Kingdom, including scenes of funerary processions and mourning (fig. 3.16). Even some temple iconography began appearing in the scenes on Twenty-First Dynasty coffins. We also see iconography from previously royal contexts, such as the interior coffin backboard showing a *djed* pillar and/or Osiris, imagery linked to chamber Ja in a royal tomb in the Valley of the Kings.¹⁰⁷ Book of the Dead chapters 151 and 161 remained the foundational texts of the anthropoid coffin of the Twenty-First Dynasty, but they were now lurking in the background as elites used their coffin commissions to gain prestige by showing restricted religious knowledge and innovation.

¹⁰⁵ Niwiński has already published a catalog of these Twenty-First Dynasty funerary papyri (in Niwiński 1989; see also Stevens 2018; 2019, 165–75).

¹⁰⁶ Cooney 2012b.

¹⁰⁷ Roehrig 2007, 117–38.

The chief transformation of the Twenty-First Dynasty coffin is its inclusion of interior decorated space. Painted on the interior of the Ramesside coffin was nothing but a layer of shiny black resin, representative of the *duat* afterlife space. The interior of a Twenty-First Dynasty coffin, on the other hand, was replete with fantastical images, including underworld demons holding knives, winged sun disks, solar boats, the *djed* pillar or other Osirian forms, the lions of the horizon—all of which found their source in Valley of the Kings royal decoration and in underworld books. Now, in the absence of the decorated burial chamber, Twenty-First Dynasty interior coffin decoration essentially became just that—the decorated burial chamber, the space where elites could push the boundaries of acceptable display.

CONCLUSION

The coffin constituted a public form of display, the burial chamber a private form of display. Every elite included decoration on his or her coffin set, but not every elite included decoration in the burial chamber. Each context allowed for different kinds of prestige and attention, and each demanded different styles, iconographies, and sources for text and image. Both coffins and tombs are social documents. Their changing styles stem not from religious change but from social competition, commission choices, and ongoing and repeated attempts to use restricted material. Sensitive iconographic material first appeared in a restricted social context, and from there it was used in a more public social context. In a closely controlled and hierarchical society, innovation was first introduced in a restricted space—a burial chamber, the interior of a coffin, or the inner coffin in a set. Indeed, in the Ramesside coffin set, the most radical innovation happened on the mummy board first, while the larger, outer, ostensibly more visible and public pieces, such as sarcophagi and outer coffins, showed less restricted texts and were more conservative in their iconography. But upon leaving a controlled and centralized society behind, on Twenty-First Dynasty coffins we see more breaks in funerary arts decorum as commissioners abandon the conservative formality of the coffin and instead rely on it, as the only representative of funerary art, to compete socially by showing innovative and unusual iconographic elements.

4 THE TOMB CHAPEL OF HERY (TT 12) IN CONTEXT¹

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TOMB CHAPELS SHOULD NOT BE perceived as independent, isolated monuments on the desert's edge unrelated to older and contemporary monuments in the area; rather, these monuments were interrelated and integrated within a social, cultural, and artistic framework. Therefore, to analyze and better understand a funerary monument, it must be studied in its archaeological context. Just as a text is better defined in relation to other texts with which it interacts, so the nature and characteristics of a monument are identified when observing other buildings that could have influenced its development. This is particularly true for the hillside of Dra^c Abu el-Naga, where the density of burials and funerary monuments seems to be higher than in other areas of the Theban necropolis.

Tomb chapels in general, and Hery's in particular, should not be interpreted as having been conceived and planned at once and then built as the result of a single impulse or event. Instead, like any other monument, they were built over a longer time span when modifications and additions in the layout and decorative program were likely to occur. The patron, architect, and/or sculptor/craftsman could change his mind during this creative process, which in most cases did not have an established deadline.² The monuments were transformed so long as there was human activity in or near them, and, while it is often challenging to find signs of every stage and explanations for every visible detail or alteration, such exercises restore life to the monument. A tomb chapel should therefore be considered not only as a source for the reconstruction of the local social, cultural, or artistic history of an area and period of time but also for its own history, which it is willing to reveal if one dares to ask questions, recognize problems, and deal with uncertainties. This is the case for the tomb chapel of Hery, a monument that preserves traces and scars of different periods of activity and seems to have been in use for fourteen centuries.

The funerary monument of Hery (TT 12), located in Dra^c Abu el-Naga North (fig. 4.1), is one of few extant early Eighteenth Dynasty decorated rock-cut tomb chapels. Its inner walls are carved in both sunk and raised relief, a feature that highlights the importance of the physical study of the monument, which will be the subject of the following paragraphs.

The monument was identified and partially recorded for the first time by Champollion and Rosellini in the first half of 1829. Lepsius also made notes of its inscriptions in December 1844, and in the winter of 1895–96 Spiegelberg made a set of squeezes of the corridor's left-hand/southern wall.³ When the Spanish

1 This article is part of the research project HAR2014-52323-P within the Spanish National Program for Scientific Research, Technology and Innovation. I am grateful to A. Garnett for revising my English and improving my argumentation. Many of the problems raised, the identification and analysis of the significant traces, and the pros and cons of different hypotheses are the result of long discussions with conservator M. A. Navarro and geologists S. Sánchez Moral and S. Cuezva, to whom I am most grateful. The topographical recording of the tomb chapel of Hery (TT 12) was conducted by J. Ivars and the drawing of the plans by C. Cabrera. The photographs included in the present article were taken by J. Latova.

2 The decorative program on the walls of the innermost room and the burial chamber of the nearby tomb chapel of Djehuty (TT 11), for example, was drastically reorganized and recarved when it was almost complete (Galán 2014).

3 Galán and Menéndez 2011.



Figure 4.1. View of the central area of Dra' Abu el-Naga North: (1) tomb chapel of Djehuty, TT 11; (2) tomb chapel of Hery, TT 12; (3) probable findspot of Kenres and Kares stelae discovered by Bouriant in 1886; (4) tomb chapel of Nebamun, TT 24; (5) tomb chapel of Baki, TT 18; (6) pyramid of Nubkheperre Intef; (7) probable location of the pyramid of Sekhemre-Wepmaat Intef-aa; (8) mudbrick chapel and shaft of Intefmose; (9) probable location of the pyramid of Sobekemsaf; (10) K93.11 and K93.12, probable tombs of Amenhotep I and Ahmes-Nefertari; (11) Meniset, temple for the mortuary cult of Amenhotep I and Ahmes-Nefertari.

mission began working in the area in January 2002, the courtyard, facade, and superstructure were completely buried beneath sand and rubble. Champollion and Rosellini accessed Hery's corridor through a hole connecting it with the neighboring tomb chapel of Baki (see below); however, the latter was also buried at the end of the twentieth century, and thus the only available access in 2002 was through the nearby tomb chapel of Djehuty (TT 11), the transverse hall of which connected with that of the tomb chapel numbered -399- by Kampp.⁴ It, in turn, connected with Hery's corridor (fig. 4.2).

The open courtyard measures 4.85 × 4.60 m. It has no left-hand/southern sidewall and is separated from the courtyard of -399- by only a cut in the rock floor, which lowers the depth of Hery's courtyard by 0.85 m. The right-hand/northern sidewall is cut in the hillside rock. The facade was formed from the rock face, and no doorjambs or lintel have been found. The superstructure did not have funerary cones,⁵ but based on the presence of a few mudbricks aligned with the facade and around a rock bulge (similar to that of Useramen,

⁴ Kampp 1996, 769, fig. 93.

⁵ Galán and Borrego 2006.

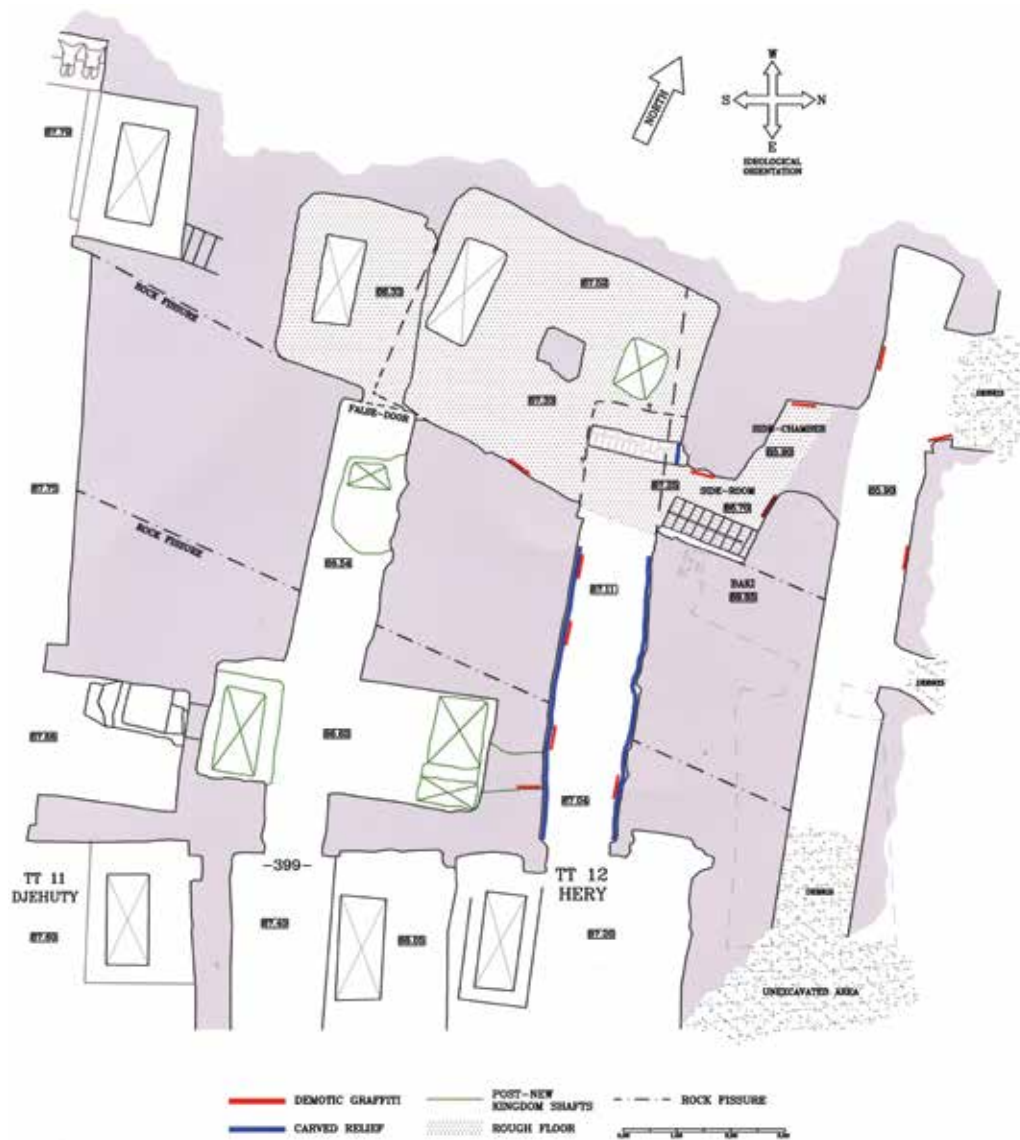


Figure 4.2. Plan of Hery's tomb chapel (TT 12) and neighboring tomb chapels.

TT 131, but on a much more modest scale⁶), it appears possible that the facade was topped by a small pyramid. This matter requires further analysis.


HERY, OVERSEER OF THE DOUBLE GRANARY OF THE KING'S MOTHER AND ROYAL WIFE, AHHOTEP


Hery immortalizes himself in the banquet scene, where he is shown sitting on a high chair accompanied by his mother, while his wife, who sits on a stool at the other side of the offering table facing them, holds out a long-stemmed lotus flower for Hery to smell.⁷ Hence Hery's mother, called Ahmose, assumes the main role next to the monument's owner, to the detriment of his wife. Hery's father, on the other hand, is conspicuous by his absence and is not mentioned in Hery's two genealogical references, which are preserved on both walls of the central corridor. This seems to be a common feature in Seventeenth Dynasty stela, in


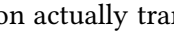
6 Dziobek 1994, 59–60, pls. 47–48.



7 The banquet scene is discussed in Galán and Menéndez 2011.

which the lineage is generally indicated only through the mother and any reference to the father's name considered superfluous.⁸

A second male character on Hery's monument who remains unnamed is the king during whose reign Hery enjoyed the peak of his career and/or his last active years. Hery's mother was related to a king through the intriguing title or epithet *hrw nsw.t*, but his identity is not mentioned. Moreover, Hery does not associate himself with any king; rather, his main title connects him with the queen mother—he presents himself twice as “the scribe, butler and overseer of the double granary of the royal wife and king's mother, Ahhotep—live!—Hery” . The office of “overseer of the double granary” was a high rank within the central administration held by or under the direct authority of the vizier or the senior steward, and from the Middle Kingdom onward it is occasionally related to the king/palace or a deity/temple.⁹ Hery, however, administers the double granary under the jurisdiction of the king's mother, Ahhotep.

Hery's close relationship with the queen mother Ahhotep is unusual but not unique. Bouriant found two stelae in Dra' Abu el-Naga—one in January and one in March 1886—before and after clearing the tomb chapels of Montuherkhepeshef (TT 20) and Nebamun (TT 24),¹⁰ located, respectively, only 39 m and 33 m northeast of the tomb chapel of Hery. These stelae belong to high officials in charge of supplies for the central administration, both of whom were also attached to Ahhotep. One stela includes an offering formula for the *ka* of “the herald, senior steward of the king's mother, Kenres,”  (CG 34004¹¹). The lunette depicts him offering to “the king's son Ahmose, [also] called Sapair.” Although the king's mother is not named, it seems probable that Kenres's title refers to Ahhotep.¹²

The second stela is dated to year 10 of King Djeserkare Amenhotep (I) and is dedicated to “the overseer of the double house of gold and overseer of the double house of silver, and senior steward of the king's mother Ahhotep—live!—the herald Kares” , also referred to as . The inscription actually transcribes a decree from the king's mother (*mw.t nsw.t wd.t*) in favor of Kares (CG 34003¹³).

Not only did Hery and Kares both write the name Ahhotep with the moon-sign facing downward on their monuments (as did Kenres in the spelling of “Ahmose”), they also followed her cartouche with the interjection  “—live!” On a contemporary stela from Abydos, *nh.ti* was used to indicate that Queen Ahmes-Nefertari was still alive, in contrast to the qualifier  *mꜛ.t-hrw*, “justified,” following the name of his grandmother, Tetisheri, who was already dead by that time. *nh.ti* was used as the feminine counterpart of the wishful expression *di nh*, “(may he be) given life,” following King Ahmose's cartouche (CG 34002¹⁴). This feature seems to indicate that Ahhotep was still alive in year 10 of Amenhotep I and therefore at the time when Hery decorated his tomb chapel.¹⁵

Conversely, Ahhotep was certainly dead when the doorkeeper and *wab*-priest in the temple of Horus in Edfu, Iuef, had a stela carved during the reign of Thutmose I (CG 34009¹⁶). This stela is dedicated “to the *ka* of the great royal wife and king's mother, Ahhotep—justified, and her son Nebpehtyre [Ahmose]—justified.” Iuef's inscription suggests that Ahhotep's reputation and cult lasted into the reign of her grandson, and it explicitly remarks that the great royal wife Ahhotep was beloved of King Aakheperkare (Thutmose I).

8 Robins 1983, 69: “Although it is unknown why some Egyptians gave filiation only to their mothers, there are clearly other possible explanations besides ‘matriarchal’ tendencies within the society.”

9 On this administrative title and its relationship with the vizier and the senior steward, see Bohleke 1991, 22, 34, 53.

10 TT 20 and TT 24 were discovered in February 1886, as reported by Bouriant 1887, 93–95. See Kampp 1996, plan VII, 5B.

11 Lacau 1909, 9–10, pl. IV.

12 Galán 2017a, 2017b.

13 Lacau 1909, 7–9, pl. IV; *Urk.* 4:45–49; Breasted 1906, 21–23 [49–53]; Bryan 1996, 31.

14 Lacau 1909, 5–7, pl. II; *Urk.* 4:26–29.7; Klug 2002, 15–21, no. 1; Beylage 2002, 1–9, 559–62; Barbotin 2015, 226–29, no. 23.

15 Galán and Menéndez 2011, 149–50; Stasser 2002, 23n2.

16 Lacau 1909, 16–17, pl. VI; *Urk.* 4:30.13; Breasted 1906, 44–46 [109–14]; Barbotin 2015, 230–31, no. 24.

As A. M. Roth¹⁷ pointed out, “a king’s mother seems to have been more important than his wife in most periods of Egyptian history.” The queen mother Ahhotep went a step further and apparently acted as regent during the early years of King Ahmose, who, according to the physical traits of his mummy, ascended the throne when he was still a child (CG 61057¹⁸). On the Louvre statue of prince Ahmose(-Sapair?) (E 15682¹⁹), Ahhotep is still referred to as “great/eldest daughter of the king” (Seqenenre) Taa/Djehuty-aa,²⁰ and even at that early stage of her queenly career she bears the epithet *hnmw.t nfr.t ḥd.t*, one “who is joined to the perfect white crown.”²¹ Years later, when her son, King Ahmose, was out of town making war north and south, the queen mother Ahhotep may have assumed the responsibility of keeping the authority of the dynastic family alive in Thebes.²²

The document that reflects Ahhotep’s relevance at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty is the limestone stela found fallen, and probably reused as a paving stone, in front of the southern face of Karnak’s eighth pylon. The inscription comprises thirty-three lines and was intended to exalt the deeds and merits of King Ahmose on the occasion of his donation of luxury items to the Amun temple in Karnak (CG 34001²³). Between the two sections, the text is interrupted to include three lines honoring Ahhotep:

⁽²³⁾ . . . Give praise to him as [if he was] Re, praise him as [if he was] Iah.
 The king of Upper and Lower Egypt Nebpehtyre [Ahmose]—live forever!
 who encircles ⁽²⁴⁾every foreign/hilly land.
 Give praise [also] to the lady of the [flat] land and mistress of the shores of *Haunebu*,²⁴
 exalted of name on every foreign/hilly land, who carries out the plan of the multitude,
 the royal wife and sister of ⁽²⁵⁾the sovereign—life, prosperity and health!
 daughter of the king and august royal mother.
 Who knows the affairs²⁵ and assembles/cares for Egypt.
 She has taken care of her entourage,²⁶ she has supported them.
⁽²⁶⁾Her fugitives come back to her, she embraces her deserters;
 she has pacified the south, she has subdued her detractors.
 The royal wife Ahhotep—live!
⁽²⁷⁾Now, his majesty has commanded to make a memorial for his father Amun-Re. . . .

While King Ahmose’s eulogy uses conventional, imperialistic phraseology, associating him with several deities and referring to his power over Egypt and foreign lands, the verbs and substantives chosen to describe Ahhotep’s influence on Egyptian society are uncommon.²⁷ The actions attributed to her seem to reflect an internal strife and certain opposition against her that she was eventually able to divert. The text mentions “fugitives,” “deserters,” and “detractors” she subdued. It may be significant to note that (1) instead of “lady

17 Roth 1999, 364.

18 Smith 1912, 15–18.

19 Winlock 1924, 255–56; Vandersleyen 2005, 9–27, 77–80, pls. 1–16; Barbotin 2005, 19–28; Galán 2017a, 2017b.

20 She is also mentioned as “great royal wife” on the stela of Iuef from Edfu.

21 *Urk.* 4:13.3; Brunton 1949, 109; Perdue 1977, 68–85.

22 Vandersleyen 1971, 135–40; Stasser 2002, 25–27; Barbotin 2015, 8–71.

23 Legrain 1904, 26–29; Lacau 1909, 1–4, pl. 1; *Urk.* 4:14–24.5; Vandersleyen 1971, 129–40; Klug 2002, 25–34, no. 4; Barbotin 2015, 210–14, no. 18.

24 For a summary of the various interpretations of the term, see Manley 2002, 37–38, to which references to Bontty 1995 and Quack 2007 should be added.

25 Barbotin 2015, 210, translates the expression *rh.t ḥ.t* as “celle qui connaît les rites,” a religious reference that does not seem to fit within the political nuance of the passage.

26 The term used is *mny.t*, generally translated as “infantry,” but occasionally it seems to have been used in a more general sense, not necessarily with a military nuance; see Vandersleyen 1971, 176–90, who translates “elle a rassemblé ses notables.”

27 Manley 2002, 37–39, however, points out on two occasions that the imagery/symbolism is drawn from the typical phraseology of kingship in the early Eighteenth Dynasty, but the passages he uses as parallels refer to other types of actions, expressed through verbs other than those used on the Karnak stela.

of the Two Lands,” Ahhotep is called “lady of the [one, flat] land”; (2) she is referred to as the one “who has pacified the south,” without a single reference to the north; and (3) she is said to be the one “who assembles/cares for Egypt.”²⁸

The internal instability and disaffection that Ahhotep had to face and suppress at the beginning of her regency may partly explain this exhortation to the people to adhere to the king (reproduced in lines 21–23) and the stable position King Ahmose eventually achieved and from which he was able to expand his power over foreign lands. The Karnak stela must have been carved in the later years of Ahmose’s reign, between years 16 and 22 according to Vandersleyen.²⁹

The passage from Ahmose’s stela resembles, and may well have served as inspiration for, the description in Ineni’s tomb (TT 81³⁰) years later of the first years of the joint reign between King Thutmose III and his stepmother Hatshepsut. After referring to Thutmose II’s death—“having ascended to heaven, he joined with the gods”—Ineni continues:

His son [Thutmose III] stood in his place as king of the Two Lands.
He rules upon the throne of his progenitor,
(¹⁷)while his sister, the god’s wife Hatshepsut, is carrying out the affairs of the land.
The Two Lands are under her plans,
one works for her, as Egypt bows the head.
She is the beneficent seed of god, who has come forth from him,
the prow-rope of the South, the mooring-post of the Southerners,
the excellent stern-rope of the Delta.
Lady of commands, excellent of plans,
who satisfies the Two Shores with her words. . . .

The comparison between Ahhotep and Hatshepsut may help us understand the role played by the former in the central administration under the first king of the Eighteenth Dynasty.³¹ Under these extraordinary circumstances, the reference in Hery’s tomb chapel to “the double granary of the royal wife and king’s mother, Ahhotep” may reflect her position as head of the central administration. The reference to the queen mother Ahhotep should not be understood as a downgrade of Hery’s duty as “overseer of the double granary”; rather, it could have been intended to underline Hery’s effective power within the Theban administration.³²

LOCATION OF HERY’S FUNERARY MONUMENT

Hery, being one of the highest officials of the Theban administration, would have been able to choose a privileged burial place for himself. It is noteworthy that, based on current knowledge, there are no contemporary decorated/inscribed tomb chapels around Hery’s monument in the middle area of Dra^c Abu el-Naga. The closest example may be the so-called “tomb of the dancers,” whose exact location is currently unknown but which, according to Petrie,³³ was “in the mouth of the small valley at the north end of Dra^c abul Nega,”³⁴ approximately 300 m northeast of Hery’s tomb chapel. At the opposite end of Dra^c Abu el-Naga, 670 m

28 Note the use (and abuse) of the concept/term “Egypt,” *Km.t*, in the Kamose stela, in the opening of Kamose’s harangue to his courtiers (Helck 1983, no. 119, 82–84).

29 Vandersleyen 1971, 192–93.

30 Dziobek 1992; *Urk.* 4:59.16–60.11; Manley 2002, 35–36, 42–44.

31 This possible disaffection toward Ahhotep also finds a parallel in Hatshepsut’s coronation inscription, where the text emphasizes how loyalty shall be rewarded and disloyalty shall meet punishment; *Urk.* 4:257.11–17, 260.8–14; Galán 2014, vii–viii.

32 I am grateful to G. Robins for the inspiring ideas she shared with me regarding this matter during the workshop.

33 Petrie 1909, 10–11, no. 21, pl. 1.

34 See also Gauthier 1908, 62–63, pls. 7–10; PM 1², 447; Ashmolean Museum 1958.145. Not far from the “tomb of the dancers” was the rock-cut tomb chapel of Baki (TT 18), whose father acted as “scribe and accountant of the cattle of the god’s wife Ahmes-Nefertari”; Petrie 1909, 11, no. 22, pls. 34–37; Gauthier 1908, 163–71, pls. 11–13; Kampp 1996, 199–200, plan VII F3.

to the southwest of Hery's monument, is the tomb chapel of the king's son and mayor of Thebes, Tetiki (TT 15), dating to the reigns of Ahmose and Amenhotep I.³⁵

This does not mean that Hery moved away from his colleagues and family; rather, it reflects the current fragmentary nature of the archaeological record, and it is likely that future excavations in the area will bring to light new data contemporary to Hery. Indeed, the two stelae mentioned above—those dedicated to Kenres and Kares and found by Bouriant close to Hery's monument—probably indicate that the tombs of these two are to be found in the area (fig. 4.1). If this proves to be the case, at least three tombs of high officials who lived under King Ahmose and Amenhotep I, and who served the queen mother Ahhotep, were located in the same area of Dra^c Abu el-Naga.³⁶

Why were these three high officials of the early Eighteenth Dynasty buried in the central area of Dra^c Abu el-Naga? The first possible reason to consider, based on the extant (biased) data at hand, is that they wished for their tombs to be close to the funerary monuments of the Seventeenth Dynasty kings (fig. 4.1). It is known from Papyrus Abbott III³⁷ and from archaeological evidence that King Sobekemsaf (II) and his two sons called Intef were buried in that area of Dra^c Abu el-Naga. The excavations of the Marquis of Northampton, conducted by Spiegelberg and Newberry in 1898–99, apparently discovered what remained of the mudbrick pyramid of King Sobekemsaf on the cliffs about 100 m southwest of the tomb chapel of Hery.³⁸ On the other hand, in 2001 the German Archaeological Institute rediscovered the pyramid of King Nubkheperre Intef, about 80 m northeast of Hery's tomb chapel, and part of the pyramidion of Sekhemre-Wepmaat Intef-aa,³⁹ whose pyramid probably stood between the other two, that is, roughly a few meters above Hery's tomb chapel.⁴⁰ As would be expected, several funerary shafts of Second Intermediate Period high officials have also been identified just below these royal monuments, as documented by the German⁴¹ and Spanish⁴² missions working in the area. Among these structures are the mudbrick offering chapel and funerary shaft of prince Intefmose, whose father was also King Sobekemsaf (II).⁴³

Moreover, a second possible reason may explain the precise location of Hery's monument, as well as the findspot of the stelae of Kenres and Kares. Daniel Polz and his team, working at the hillside of the central area of Dra^c Abu el-Naga about 120 m above the tomb chapel of Hery, identified two adjoining rock-cut tombs as belonging to King Amenhotep I and Ahmes-Nefertari.⁴⁴ Despite the absence of written evidence to confirm the identity of the tombs' original owners, the pottery and layout of the rock-cut double structure, labeled K93.11 and K93.12, seem to date to the early New Kingdom, and its size corresponds to a royal burial. The fact that it was remodeled into a private mortuary chapel by Ramessesnakht, high priest of Amun under Ramesses IV through Ramesses XI, and later used as a tomb by his son, the high priest of Amun Amenhotep, seems to support this hypothesis. The complex is also aligned with the valley temple for the mortuary cult of Amenhotep I and Ahmes-Nefertari, known as *Meniset*, which may be used to identify the original tomb owners (fig. 4.1).

Hery's tomb chapel and the stelae of Kenres and Kares may thus serve as indirect epigraphic sources in support for the large, double-tomb complex K93.11/93.12 as the location of the tomb of Amenhotep I and Ahmes-Nefertari in the central area of Dra^c Abu el-Naga. Conversely, the latter may facilitate our

35 Carnarvon and Carter 1912; N. de G. Davies 1925a; Kampp 1996, 194, fig. 98, plan VI B5; Hofmann 2011.

36 A rock-cut tomb chapel, whose owner may have been a contemporary of Hery, is located to the northeast and parallel to that of Hery, but its floor is 1.10 m lower and the entrance is still buried under Baki's courtyard; see below and fig. 4.2.

37 British Museum 1860, pl. 3; Peet 1930, pl. 2.

38 Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, 14–15.

39 Polz and Seiler 2003; Polz 2007, 115–38; 2010, 345–50.

40 Discussing the “archaeological context” of the Ahmose(-Sapair) material, Galán (2017a) argues that this pyramid may have stood above the innermost room of Djehuty's tomb chapel (TT 11).

41 Polz 1995; 2007, 231–50, pl. 28; Polz et al. 2012, 116–20.

42 Galán and Jiménez-Higueras 2015; Galán 2017a, 2017b.

43 Borrego 2017.

44 Polz 2007, 172–97, pls. 26–27; Polz et al. 2012, 123–27; Rummel 2013.

understanding of Hery's choice for the location of his funerary monument and the findspot of the Kenres and Kares stelae. Moreover, four inscribed fragments discovered by the Spanish mission southwest of Hery's tomb chapel refer to the early Eighteenth Dynasty royal family and may contribute to the contextualization of the discussion above: (1) a fragment of a calcite vessel with the cartouche of King "Nebpehtyre, given life!" (Ahmose); (2) two fragments of the two bottom lines of a large, well-carved limestone stela dedicated "to the *ka* of the noblewoman and great of favors, great royal wife and king's mother [Ahmes-Nefertari, justified], *n k3 n iry.t p^c.t wr.t ḥsw[.t] ḥm.t-nws.t wr.t mw.t-nsw.t [I^cḥms-nfrtiry m3^c.t-ḥrw]*; (3) a limestone fragment of a doorjamb(?) with the cartouche of "Ahmes-Nefertari" as part of a vertical inscription in yellow; and (4) a limestone fragment with part of the cartouche of King Amenhotep I.⁴⁵ Hery, thanks to his high-ranking position within the administration and his probable relationship with the royal family, was able to choose the location of his tomb chapel near one or more royal monuments whose owners promoted his career and status and increased his resources.

A ROCK-CUT TOMB CHAPEL DECORATED IN RELIEF

Based on the present state of knowledge, it seems that Hery was one of the first high officials of the newly established Theban dynasty who decided not to build a freestanding mudbrick offering chapel with a funerary shaft aligned with it at the front, as was apparently the customary practice among elite members of the Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasties.⁴⁶ Unlike the majority, Hery planned for himself a rock-cut tomb chapel hewn in the hillside and decorated in relief. The layout of Hery's tomb chapel is unusual when compared with earlier and later tomb chapels, and these anomalies deserve further assessment to understand how the monument was conceived and built, how it was altered over time, and what may have happened inside.

There are very few extant contemporary tomb chapels for comparison, though based on the data we do have it seems there was no fixed design. At Dra^c Abu el-Naga South, the abovementioned tomb chapel of Tetiki (TT 15) is a freestanding, mudbrick, rectangular chamber measuring 5.50 × 2.50 m and roofed with a vaulted ceiling 3.30 m high. Its layout is similar to the Elkab rock-cut tomb chapels of Reneny, a contemporary of Amenhotep I, and of Ahmose son of Ibana, dated to the very beginning of the coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. These structures comprise a rectangular vaulted room 3 m high, with the former measuring 9.10 × 3.40 m and the latter measuring 5.50 × 3.25 m.⁴⁷ In Dra^c Abu el-Naga North, the now-lost "tomb of the dancers" was described as a "pit about twenty feet square. . . . The large rock-chamber had originally been self-roofed. . . . The original entrance was by a brick tunnel about thirty feet long."⁴⁸ The tomb chapel of Amenemhat (TT 340) at Deir el-Medina, dating to the reign of Ahmose or Amenhotep I, has a rectangular inner room with a vaulted ceiling (1.59 × 2.20 m, 1.64 m high) accessed via a perpendicular vaulted corridor (1.15 × 0.84 m, 1.44 m high).⁴⁹

At Hierakonpolis, at least two small, decorated tomb chapels can be dated to the reign of Thutmose I, both of which comprise a vaulted rectangular room with the funerary shaft in the middle before a statue niche carved in the rear wall.⁵⁰ Moreover, the tomb chapel of Sataimau in the necropolis of Hagr Edfu, decorated in painted relief, can be dated by its surviving inscriptions to the reign of Amenhotep I. The plan "comprises a long rectangular chamber, oriented east-west, with a smaller rectangular niche with a raised floor at the western end. . . . The ceiling is now badly damaged and incomplete but would originally have

45 The last three objects have been studied by Serrano (2018), while the first remains unpublished.

46 Lilyquist 1997; Polz 2007, 231–50.

47 W. V. Davies 2009, 139–41, figs. 1–3. Concerning the decorated tomb chapels of Renseneb and Sobeknakht, dated to the Sixteenth Dynasty, and that of Reneny, see W. V. Davies 2010, fig. 1. Concerning the tomb chapel of Ahmose-Pennekhet, dated to the coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, see W. V. Davies 2014, 381–84.

48 Petrie 1909, 10–11, no. 21.

49 Cherpion 1999.

50 Friedman 2001. For earlier decorated tombs at Hierakonpolis, see W. V. Davies 2001b.

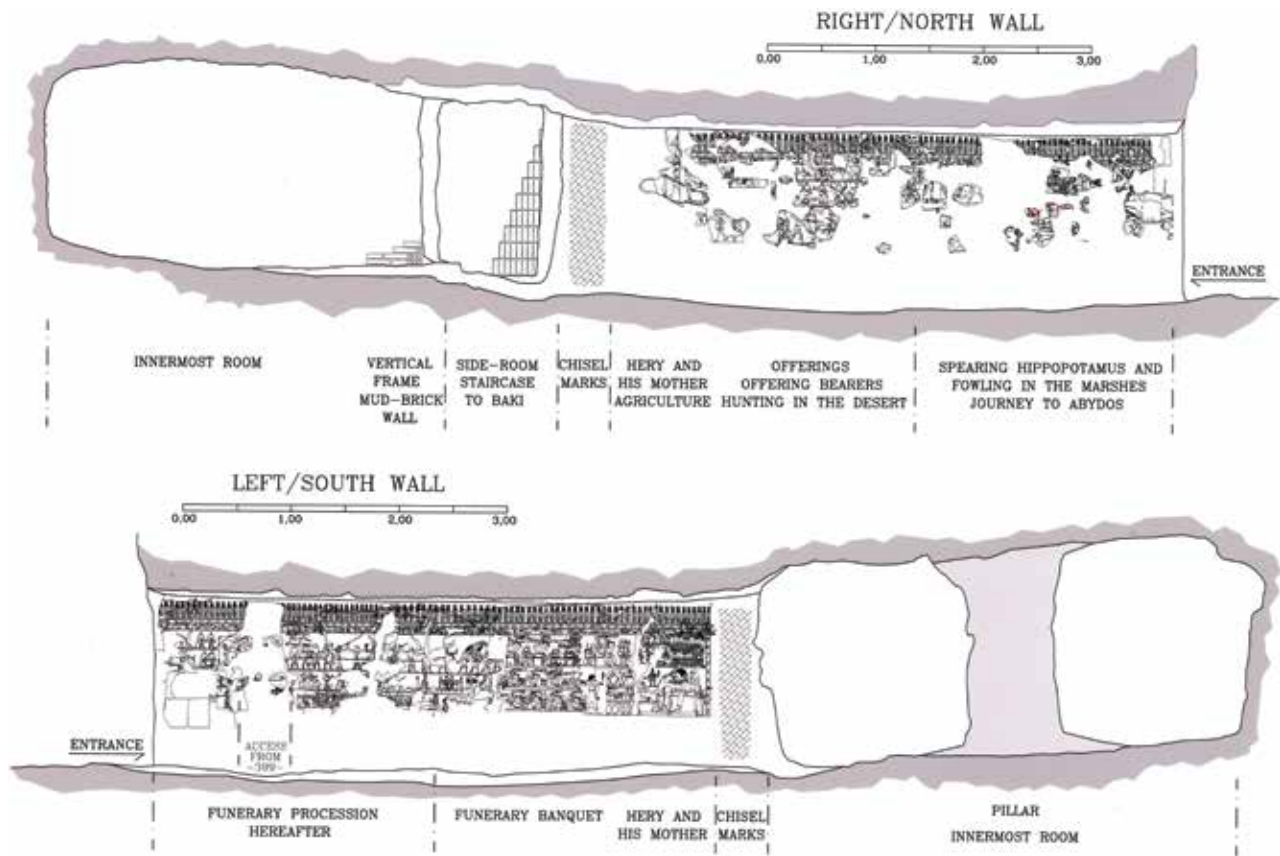


Figure 4.3. Sections of Hery's tomb chapel (TT 12) showing (1) the right-hand/northern wall, access to the side room and innermost room, and (2) the left-hand/southern wall and innermost room with central pillar.

been of vaulted form.⁵¹ Next to this structure, however, is another tomb chapel where the funerary shaft was cut inside a side room at the end of the right-hand wall of the main chamber. The style of the rock-cut statues in the niche is characteristic of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties.⁵²

The present layout of Hery's funerary monument, TT 12, is based on a straight corridor close to a south-north magnetic or geographical orientation (figs. 4.2-4.3). For convenience, however, in further references it will be considered as though it follows the east-west ideological or theoretical orientation, so the right-hand wall will be taken as north and the left-hand wall as south. The corridor (fig. 4.4) measures 6.70/7.50 m long (southern and northern wall, respectively), 1.79-1.61 m wide (the southern wall being slightly



Figure 4.4. View of the "corridor" or main room. Note the flat, well-finished ceiling and floor compared to the innermost room.

51 W. V. Davies 2013, 49. Note that the father of his wife "had been an official (title uncertain) of a queen mother, almost certainly Queen Ahhotep, the mother of King Ahmose" (W. V. Davies 2013, 50).

52 Davies and O'Connell 2009, 54, figs. 9, 18, right.



Figure 4.5. Rear end of the left-hand/southern wall.



Figure 4.6. Rear end of the right-hand/northern wall.

concave), and 1.84–2.05 m high. It has a flat ceiling, which is well finished and undecorated. Both walls are decorated in relief, each with a single panel framed with a horizontal segmented band with a *kheker*-frieze on top and a vertical segmented band at the rear. (The front of the panels has no vertical band or line.) The two decorative panels end about 0.65 m before reaching the rear of the wall—in other words, they do not continue beyond the corridor (figs. 4.5–4.6). The rear of the left-hand/southern wall preserves chisel marks from top to bottom, and at the bottom are also traces of a corner, that is, traces of a rock wall that would have closed the corridor perpendicularly. There are also chisel marks at the rear of the opposite wall and on this area of the ceiling, the latter being slightly raised here. The floor is well finished despite the poor quality of the rock at this level. Both the floor and ceiling of the corridor stand in sharp contrast with the rough condition of the innermost room's floor and ceiling, which appear to have been left unfinished. In the innermost room the floor is 0.12–0.41 m higher than that in the corridor, and the ceiling is 0.29–0.70 m higher. The right-hand/northern wall of the innermost room is slightly tilted to the right/north—that is, it is not precisely in line with that of the corridor—a feature that seems to indicate that these walls were not built at the same time but rather in two different episodes. Therefore, it is likely that the original layout of the tomb chapel comprised only the corridor—a single, rectangular room. If this is indeed the case, the term “corridor” is in fact inappropriate, and this space should rather be labeled a “room.”

It seems possible that when Hery's tomb chapel was planned and hewn as a single room, the stonemasons took advantage of a preexisting, undecorated rectangular cavity or tomb chapel. The walls were burnt before the carving of the reliefs and inscriptions for Hery took place, which is why the inside of some of the cracks are blackened from heavy smoke while the surface is not. This also explains why the rock of the walls inside has a reddish tone, which is lighter at the entrance and darker at the rear end of the corridor/room where the fire was lit. Moreover, the left-hand/southern wall is not straight but has an 18 cm concave deformation, both horizontally and vertically, which may be the result of cutting deeper in search

of better-quality rock. Finally, it is possible to observe that the chisel marks across most of the ceiling are still sharp, in contrast to the eroded marks at the entrance, indicating that there was already a cavity in the rock when the ceiling was carved.

It is difficult to determine the date of the possibly preexisting tomb chapel, since very little of it is preserved apart from its layout and approximate dimensions. One may, however, guess a Middle Kingdom date based on its shape⁵³ and the presence of rock-cut tomb chapels of that period in the area.⁵⁴ Another feature of potential significance is that Hery's monument, and its neighboring tomb chapels, sit at almost the same distance from each other: there are 5 m between the entrances to



Figure 4.7. Twelfth Dynasty vessel found on the floor of the tomb chapel northeast of Hery's tomb.

TT 12 and -399- and between -399- and TT 11 (Djehuty), and there are 4 m between Hery's corridor and that of the tomb chapel to its northeast, whose entrance is still buried. Moreover, the corridors of the four tomb chapels share the same orientation, almost parallel to one another and with almost the same width of about 1.8 m. Therefore, the four tomb chapels seem to possess a certain coherence among them, which may suggest that they were first cut in the same time period and were later rebuilt in the early Eighteenth Dynasty. Strengthening the hypothesis that the central corridors of this group of early Eighteenth Dynasty rock-cut tomb chapels were first hewn in the Middle Kingdom, in February 2018 a Twelfth Dynasty marl clay vessel (fig. 4.7) was found smashed on the rock floor of the central corridor of the tomb chapel northeast of Hery's. (Its entrance is still buried, but the inner half of its corridor has been partially excavated through its connection with TT 12; see fig. 4.2 above.)

When the area northeast of Hery's tomb chapel that is currently under 4 m of rubble is excavated, it seems plausible that more rock-cut tomb chapels will come to light at this same level of the hillside, probably at intervals of 4–5 m until the corner made in the rock 33 m northeast of Hery's is reached, that is, where the tomb chapel of Nebamun (TT 24) is located. Not by chance, the tomb chapel layout of the latter, who lived under Thutmose II and acted as steward of the royal wife of Thutmose III, Nebtu, comprises only a rectangular room of about 6 × 1.75 m and 2 m in height, with a small niche in the rear wall. This plan is closely comparable to the hypothetical layout of Hery's original tomb chapel, with the same orientation, despite the fact that the entrance to Nebamun's tomb chapel was already open in the perpendicular rock wall of the corner.

53 The known Middle Kingdom rock-cut tomb chapels in the Theban area do not follow an established pattern; see Soliman 2009. On the reuse of Middle Kingdom *saff*-tombs at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, see Dziobek 1987, 69; Polz 2007, 279–302. Kampp-Seyfried 2003, 3–7, also considers the reuse of Middle Kingdom corridor tombs in the development of tomb shapes, as also pointed out by Friedman and Davies in their analysis of early Eighteenth Dynasty tomb chapels at Hierakonpolis and Hagr Edfu. When discussing the possibility that Hery reused an earlier tomb, Galán and Menéndez (2011, 144) pointed out that “We may be in a better position to approach this issue when the inner part of Hery's funerary monument is excavated, as the innermost chamber is today filled with debris up to 1.4 m high.” The excavation began in 2011 and is still in progress, the present chapter being the result of the first team-brainstorm on the layout of Hery's tomb chapel and its relationship with the neighboring monuments.

54 Galán and Jiménez-Higueras 2015, nn13, 47.

The lapse of 4–5 m between the parallel rock-cut tomb chapels implies that at least three more ought to be present. One of them has a visible entrance and has already been numbered -385- by Kampp.⁵⁵ It is possible that among these tomb chapels, which are still buried between those of Hery and Nebamun (TT 24), are those of Kenres and of Kares, the high officials under Ahmose and Amenhotep I whose stelae were found a few meters from this vertical rock face but whose tomb chapels have not yet been located (see discussion and fig. 4.1 above).

Catharine Roehrig's insights concerning Winlock's cemetery 1100 in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna may also apply to the tomb chapel of Hery and rock-cut tomb chapels in that area of Dra' Abu el-Naga. She pointed out that "a number of Eighteenth Dynasty tombs have been suggested as possibly Middle Kingdom in origin, and several others might be considered, including TT 46, 59, 82, 119 and 122. Several of these have pillared chambers or transverse corridors which are not features of Middle Kingdom tombs, but could be explained as Eighteenth Dynasty additions."⁵⁶ She then added that "the majority of tombs in cemetery 1100 show no evidence of use in the Middle Kingdom, many having been abandoned before they were completed," the reason for which could have been that early in the reign of Amenemhat I, "with the transfer of the royal cemetery to the north, most of the active officials would no longer have considered Thebes an attractive location for a final resting place."⁵⁷ Therefore, years later, "the New Kingdom officials would have found numerous large, prominently located, unused tombs in various stages of completion," and thus "most of the tombs that seem to be of Middle Kingdom origin were appropriated by officials of Hatshepsut or Tuthmosis III, during the first half of the Dynasty."⁵⁸

Returning to Hery's tomb chapel, the physical evidence correlates with the iconographical program, since the two framed wall panels contain all the themes that one would expect in a decorated tomb chapel of the early Eighteenth Dynasty. Each panel is divided into two sections, each of which may include one or two scenes arranged in registers with a horizontal baseline but without vertical lines separating contiguous scenes (fig. 4.3). The first section of the right-hand/northern wall, near the entrance (fig. 4.8), depicts (1) spearing and fowling in the marshes, and in the lower register (2) sailing back and forth to Abydos. The inner section of the wall includes (3) a frieze of offerings and, below, a row of offering bearers (figs. 4.9–4.10) approaching Hery, who is seated behind a table next to his mother. Below them (fig. 4.11) is (4) a desert hunting episode), followed by what appears to be (5) a small agricultural scene (fig. 4.12). Each of the two sections of the left-hand/southern wall contains only one scene: (6) the funerary procession and a vision of the hereafter occupy the section near the entrance (figs. 4.13–4.15), while (7) a banquet scene is depicted on the inner section of the wall, which culminates at the rear end with a large representation of Hery and his mother sitting before an altar.⁵⁹

When comparing the repertoire in Hery's tomb chapel with other preserved decorated tomb chapels of the early Eighteenth Dynasty, it becomes clear that it includes all the significant themes (table 4.1). Hery's even grants a comparatively large space to certain scenes that other contemporary tomb chapels lack, including the spearing and fowling in the marshes, bow hunting on the desert fringe, and the pilgrimage to Abydos.

If the decoration of the walls continued beyond the first room and into the innermost room, one would expect to see a more developed agricultural scene and/or a depiction of activities related to the owner's administrative duties as overseer of the granaries, which are succinctly treated on the right-hand/northern wall. It is unlikely, however, that such scenes would have been depicted in the inner part of the monument.⁶⁰ Therefore, from an iconographic viewpoint, the tomb chapel of Hery may be regarded as complete in the first/main room.

⁵⁵ Kampp 1996, 209, fig. 104, plan VII, 5B.

⁵⁶ Roehrig 1995, 259.

⁵⁷ Roehrig 1995, 260.

⁵⁸ Roehrig 1995, 260–61.

⁵⁹ Galán and Menéndez 2011.

⁶⁰ Several contemporary tomb chapels also include a biographical inscription of the owner (Djehuty of Hierakonpolis; Sataimau of Hagr Edfu; Tetiki, TT 15; Ineni, TT 81; Nebamun, TT 24) and/or a depiction of the owner adoring one or two



Figure 4.8. Torso of Hery spearing a hippopotamus (right-hand/northern wall).



Figure 4.9. Frieze of offerings and row of offering bearers (right-hand/northern wall).



Figure 4.10. Detail of the row of offering bearers.



Figure 4.11. Detail of the desert hunting scene (right-hand/northern wall).



Figure 4.12. Detail of a tree within an agricultural scene (right-hand/northern wall).



Figure 4.13. Detail of the funerary procession and the hereafter (left-hand/southern wall).



Figure 4.14. Anubis and Osiris depicted as the main deities of the hereafter.



Figure 4.15. Isis embracing the foot of Hery's anthropomorphic coffin.

If the rear wall of the first/main room was ever decorated by Hery before it was demolished, it may have hosted a niche with one or more statues,⁶¹ probably depicting the owner accompanied by his mother, or a relief representation of the two before an offering table. Unfortunately, no remains of the rear wall have survived.

deities (Sataimau of Hagr Edfu adores Hathor in the bark, and in TT 15 Ahmes-Nefertari makes an offering before the cow goddess Hathor; Osiris and Anubis are worshipped by Amenemhat, TT 340, and by Amenhotep, TT 345).

⁶¹ The traces of the rock wall that would have perpendicularly closed the corridor do not follow a straight vertical line, but the wall seems to have had a step, protruding 0.45 m, which may have formed the base of the statue niche.

Table 4.1. Scenes/themes depicted in early Eighteenth Dynasty tomb chapels.

Tomb	Spearing and fowling	Pilgrimage to Abydos	Offering bearers	Hunting in the desert	Agriculture/ food products/ administration	Funeral/ rituals/ hereafter	Funerary banquet
Renary (Elkab)		X			X	X	X
Sataimau (Hagr Edfu)	X		X		X		X
TT 340 Amenemhat			X			X	X
TT 15 Tetiki			X		X	X	X
TT 12 Hery	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Djehuty (Hierakonpolis)	X		X		X	X	X
Hormeni (Hierakonpolis)			X			X	X
TT 21 User ⁶²		X	X	X	X	X	X
TT 345 Amenhotep ⁶³	X		X		X		X
TT 81 Ineni	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
TT 24 Nebamun	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

ALTERATIONS TO THE ORIGINAL LAYOUT

Precisely when the demolition of the rear wall took place is unclear, though two details may be of significance (fig. 4.2). First, when the rectangular room of the original layout was extended, a perpendicular side room was opened in the right-hand/northern wall, with an entrance in the left-hand/western wall to access a chamber oriented east–west (like Hery’s tomb chapel). Second, when the innermost room of Hery’s tomb chapel was hewn, the side room and the side chamber were already cut, which seems to be the reason why the layout of the former was then moved to the left/south (fig. 4.16). The existence of a structure at the right-hand/northern side of the central axis seems to be the only explanation for why the innermost room, including its central pillar, is off-center from the first room/corridor.⁶⁴

62 The steward of Thutmose I; PM 1², 35–36; Kampp 1996, 203–5.

63 The *wab*-priest and eldest king’s son of Thutmose I; PM 1², 413–14; Kampp 1996, 584–85.

64 In the nearby area of El-Tarif, for example, the layout of the subsidiary tombs of a large Eleventh Dynasty *saff*-tomb comprises a rectangular corridor of variable length leading to a centered, quadrangular/rectangular inner chamber with one, two, or four pillars that are always evenly distributed; see Arnold 1971, 36–48; 1976, pl. 30 and maps. See also Petrie 1909, pl. 11 (1); Kampp 1996, 1:3 (I, IIb, IIIa), 16–18; Soliman 2009, 29–40.



Figure 4.16. Innermost room as seen from the rear of the “corridor.”



Figure 4.17. Entrance to the side room as seen from the innermost room.

Preserved on the right-hand/northern wall of the innermost room, just beyond the access to the side room (fig. 4.17), is a narrow vertical strip with relief decoration consisting of a vertical segmented band and part of a horizontal line at the top (figs. 4.18–4.19). The vertical segmented band is similar to the inner frame of the two panels described above but is carved with less care and separated from the entrance to the side room by only 20 cm, while the framed panel of the right-hand/northern wall is separated from the entrance by 65 cm (see figs. 4.3, 4.6). Another difference is that while the framed panel is crowned by a horizontal segmented band and a *khekerfrieze* (see figs. 4.3, 4.6, 4.9), none of these features were carved at the other side of the entrance (fig. 4.19). It therefore seems that the frame on the right-hand/northern wall of the innermost room was carved sometime later, after the entrance to the perpendicular side room was opened, and was designed to be different from the framed panels of the first/main room. While it is difficult to ascertain what the vertical segmented band was framing, it seems that the innermost room was not decorated, nor was its right-hand/northern wall to its end at the rear, since the iconographic program had already been completed in the first/main room; so the innermost room was probably a short space.

It seems probable that the extension of the original layout of Hery’s tomb chapel did not occur as a single event but took place in at least two stages. The first stage consisted in the demolition of the rear wall of the rectangular single room, pushing it back no more than 3 m, that is, 1 m beyond the entrance to the side room and chamber, which were hewn at the same time (see fig. 4.2). This extension could have been conducted during Hery’s lifetime or very soon after his death by one of his relatives. In stage two, a second extension would have moved the rear wall back by almost 3 m, while at the same time more space was gained to the left/south, where there was available rock (figs. 4.2, 4.16). In addition to the innermost room’s being off-center, its layout, being tilted about 45 degrees northwest, is not perpendicular to the first/main room. The reason for this anomaly may be that the stonemasons took advantage of a natural fissure in the rock, which also affects the side room to the right/north and the connection between the corridor and the innermost room of the neighboring tomb chapel to the left/south (-399-). This new broad space needed



Figure 4.18. Original surface of the right-hand/northern wall of the innermost room, preserved behind a mudbrick wall that probably dates to the second century BC.



Figure 4.19. Incised vertical frame carved beyond the entrance to the side room.

a central pillar to keep the ceiling stable. A funerary shaft was then opened at the back,⁶⁵ parallel to and balancing the first/main room, which could now rightly be called a “corridor.” This second extension could also have been undertaken by Hery or by one of his relatives soon after his death.

Regarding the first stage, the side room was originally part of the layout of the early Eighteenth Dynasty tomb chapel (Hery’s, or soon after Hery’s time), since the entrance is well cut, with straight lines and sharp corners, and there are similar vertical frames carved at both sides of the entrance (figs. 4.6, 4.19). The sizes of the side room (1.56 m wide, 2.26 m long) and side chamber (2.97 m long, 1.57 m wide, and only 1.30 m high) are fit for a coffin. The entrance, walls, and ceiling of the side chamber were left unfinished and rough. The hypothesis that this space could have been planned as a burial chamber is supported when the layout of Hery’s tomb chapel after the first extension is compared with other contemporary tomb chapels in the necropolis of Elkab.⁶⁶ In the tomb chapel of Reneny,⁶⁷ a 0.85 m wide opening at the end of the right-hand wall

⁶⁵ Aside from the side chamber that may have been planned to host the coffin and funerary equipment of Hery at a certain stage, his tomb chapel includes two shafts, one in the courtyard and another in the innermost room. The analysis and dating of the two shafts requires a description of their excavation and the materials found, a description that exceeds the scope of the present chapter.

⁶⁶ PM 5:178.

⁶⁷ F. L. Griffith pointed out: “Mr. Somers Clarke seems to have proved that a second chamber, quite plain, with a mummy-pit, and entered from the right side of the main chamber, belongs to the original plan, which was afterwards copied for the Tomb

leads to a side chamber where the funerary shaft is located. The walls of this side chamber “are cut down to a fairly even surface, but are not rubbed smooth.”⁶⁸ The tomb chapel of Ahmose son of Ibana also has a side chamber for the funerary shaft opening at the end of the right-hand wall. In Hierakonpolis, the tomb chapel of Hormeni comprises a single rectangular room, but the tomb chapel of Djehuty has an undecorated side chamber that opens at the end of the right-hand wall, with a funerary shaft inside.⁶⁹ In Hagr Edfu, the tomb chapel of Sataimau and its neighbor consist of a single rectangular room, but a third tomb chapel next to them has a side chamber at the end of the right-hand wall with a shaft inside.⁷⁰

In stage two, the innermost room of Hery’s tomb chapel was cut after the side room and side chamber were, and before the neighboring tomb chapel -399- underwent a similar process.⁷¹ At the rear end of the corridor are traces of the lateral and upper torus of a false door that would have closed the corridor (fig. 4.20), making it clear that the original layout of -399- was a simple rectangular room (10.34 × 1.68 m, 2.45 m high) similar to but larger than Hery’s tomb chapel. At an uncertain moment (after Hery’s extension was finished), the false door carved in the rear wall was demolished and an inner room was then hewn (see fig. 4.2). The stonemasons initially attempted to make it symmetrical with the first room/corridor and broke into the innermost room of Hery’s tomb chapel, which forced them to correct its layout to the left/south. A funerary shaft was then opened to the left/south of the room, as was also the case in the construction of Hery’s monument.⁷²



Figure 4.20. “Corridor” or first/main room of tomb chapel -399-, whose rear wall was demolished and to which was then added an innermost room breaking into TT 12’s innermost room.

of Paheri” (Tylor 1900, 2). S. Clarke added: “. . . whilst a side chamber (in all cases at El Kab on the right side of the large tomb chamber) was in fashion, the approach to it was sometimes hidden and sometimes not” (Tylor 1900, 20). For the tomb of Paheri, dated to the reign of Thutmose III, see Tylor 1895, 1–2, 23, pl. 17, but note that Griffith pointed out here that the side rooms of the tomb of Paheri were of a later date: “At a later date a neat doorway was cut through the sculptures of the East wall, and two rough-hewn chambers, with a mummy pit, were added” (Tylor 1895, 1). For remarks on Reneny’s family ties, see W. V. Davies 2010, 235–37.

68 Tylor 1900, 20, pl. 17.

69 Friedman 2001, 107, fig. 2.

70 Davies and O’Connell 2009, 54, figs. 9, 18, right; W. V. Davies 2013, fig. 5. The style of the rock-cut statues in the tomb’s niche is characteristic of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties.

71 See Kampp 1996, 769, fig. 93 (note that the tentative plan is mistaken).

72 Note that both -399- and TT 12 have a funerary shaft outside, near the entrance, and a second shaft in the innermost room.

THE TOMB CHAPEL OF HERY REUSED

According to the coffin fragments found in its innermost room and within its funerary shaft, the tomb chapel of Hery was reused during the Twenty-First and Twenty-Second Dynasties. In the second century BC, according to the Demotic graffiti written on the walls⁷³ and the material culture (mostly pottery) retrieved, the innermost room was used to burn human and animal mummies, as its floor was covered with a very thin (0.20 m) layer of white dust and a large quantity of small fragments of burnt bones. The heat and smoke resulting from this activity, together with water ingress and wind blowing through the holes that were opened when the tomb chapels were later interconnected, may have caused the surface of the walls to crack and fall, leaving the walls peeled and with a smooth surface that makes them look as though they had been washed away. Only the covered areas preserved the original surface, as is the case for the abovementioned narrow vertical band carved on the right-hand/northern wall of the innermost room, just beyond the access to the side room. This innermost room was sheltered behind the mudbrick wall erected perpendicularly to the wall in the second century BC to segregate the corridor from the mummy-burning activity in the innermost room (figs. 4.2, 4.16–4.17).

The central area of the hill of Dra' Abu el-Naga was converted into a catacomb in the second century BC, if not earlier. With minimal effort, a large underground structure was created by vertically and horizontally breaking the 0.5–1 m thick rock walls that separated each tomb chapel from its neighbor. The different heights of the floors were saved by cutting steps in the rock between them or by building mudbrick staircases. The workmen involved always sought to find simple solutions and avoid difficult tasks as much as possible. At this time the doorway of Hery's tomb chapel was blocked, probably by sand and rubble accumulating in the courtyard. The corridor was then accessed through a hole that was opened near the entrance in the left-hand/southern wall, which connected with the transverse hall of the neighboring tomb chapel -399-, whose opposite end connected in turn with the transverse hall of TT 11 (fig. 4.2). A Demotic graffito written on the right-hand thickness of the break connecting -399- with Hery's corridor confirms that this was the entrance in use at that stage. Demotic graffiti were written on both walls of the corridor, indicating that the reliefs were visible and in a more complete state than they were by the nineteenth century. The mudbrick wall erected in the innermost room was meant to block access to the inside and to divert visitors coming from -399- into the side room that was opened at the rear of the right-hand/northern wall and then into the side chamber.

All the graffiti were written in red by the cult personnel responsible for the deposition of ibis and falcon mummies inside the burial chambers of the funerary shafts that open in the innermost rooms of the tomb chapels of Hery and -399- and in galleries that connect with other shafts. The authors of the graffiti wrote their names and filiation on the walls, "to remain here before the ibis and the falcon," as is frequently indicated. Occasionally they also gave directions to the visitors: above the entrance to the side chamber two graffiti were written (fig. 4.21), one of which mentions "the path," "the chapel," and "the resin" (used in mummification); the other one informs the visitor that "there are some houses of rest below here." On the western wall of the side chamber a graffito states: "This here is the First Hall. It is the one which leads [to] the chapels of the gods who are mourned. Written by Pa-she-men, son of Djehuty-sedjem, the great one of Thoth, he is the one who causes that [the] aforesaid gods rest well[?]."⁷⁴

73 Richard Jasnow (personal communication).

74 The Demotic graffiti have been copied, transcribed, and translated by Christina di Cerbo and Richard Jasnow, to whom I am most grateful. Pa-she-men son of Djehuty-sedjem (also attested Djehuty-sedjem son of Pa-she-men) and Payef-tjaw-awy-khonsu son of Nes-men, both great ones of Thoth, were the authors of several graffiti not only in the tomb chapel of Hery but also in that of Djehuty (TT 11) and in an unnumbered tomb chapel higher up the hill. The dispersion of graffiti written by the same individuals seems to indicate that the underground structure, now concealed by debris, must have been large and complex. It also seems that many of the graffiti were written by members of only a few families. The dated graffiti (only the year number is mentioned) suggest that the handling of animal mummies, as well as graffiti writing, continued for more than at least twenty-six years during the mid-second century BC. Again, these notes derive from the study conducted by di Cerbo and Jasnow.



Figure 4.21. Demotic graffiti written next to the entrance of the side chamber.

The eastern half of the side room is taken up by a mudbrick staircase ascending to the tomb chapel of Baki, “overseer of the cattle of Amun” in the early to mid-Eighteenth Dynasty;⁷⁵ it was hewn 2.80 m higher on the hillside (see figs. 4.17–4.18).⁷⁶ The northern half of the side room was left free for access to the side chamber. The northern wall of the side chamber was knocked down to connect it with the main room/corridor of another tomb chapel parallel to Hery’s but hewn about 0.60 m lower.⁷⁷ In this case, instead of cutting a staircase to save the difference in height, the floors of the side room and side chamber were lowered to this depth, leaving the extension rough and unfinished.

Therefore, it seems that the side chamber of Hery’s tomb chapel and its neighboring tomb chapel to the north were regarded as final destinations by the second century BC “great ones of Thoth” and “takers of the gods,” who laid the gods to rest—that is, the linen packages containing animal mummies or bones. The innermost room of Hery’s tomb chapel was transformed into a closed area to burn animal and human mummies without affecting the corridor and the side room and side chamber. The corridor was still used as a passageway, and because its end was closed with a mudbrick wall and probably also a wooden door (judging from a rounded socket hole in the ceiling), the reliefs that decorated the walls were not affected either by the high temperatures and smoke from the combustions in the innermost room or by water and wind. Despite the intense activity that took place inside, the reliefs were saved. Unfortunately, the poor condition of the rock and the aggressive actions of nineteenth- and twentieth-century robbers, described by

75 According to Serrano 2005, 91–94, Baki and his wife It(ef) are represented in TT 100 as ancestors of the vizier Rekhmire and were most probably the grandparents or parents of his wife. Therefore, they should have lived between the reigns of Thutmose I and Hatshepsut/Thutmose III. The tomb chapel of Baki will be published in due course by Galán and Serrano.

76 Champollion and Rosellini descended through this hole from the tomb of Baki into the corridor of Hery’s tomb in 1829. The stairs were then probably covered with debris, as we found them in January 2002. See Galán and Menéndez 2011, 44–48.

77 The corridor is 1.8 m wide and 2.05 m high, with a flat and well-cut ceiling (similar to that of Hery), but its length is unknown because the entrance is presently blocked with debris. The original corridor, which was undecorated, seems to have been extended at an uncertain date. There seems to have been access to a side room at the end of the right-hand wall, as in Hery’s tomb chapel, but it is also blocked with debris.

Galán and Menéndez,⁷⁸ worked against their preservation. The nature of the rock and the extent to which it may have affected the carving of the reliefs will now be examined.

HOST-ROCK CHARACTERISTICS AND THE CARVING OF THE RELIEFS

Hery cut his tomb chapel into a carbonated sedimentary sequence of Eocene age (Ypresian, 53–56 Ma), in the lower member (Member I) of the Thebes Formation (see fig. 4.1).⁷⁹ The host rock consists of alternations of massive, nodular, and thinly bedded micritic limestone. Hery's monument is located in the same stratigraphic section as the nearby tomb chapel of Djehuty TT 11,⁸⁰ at a level where the limestone has the best mechanical properties of the geological column (fig. 4.22). The local stratigraphic sequence consists of about 12 m of beds of variable thickness, from a few centimeters to several meters, which was divided into four sections based on field observations.



Figure 4.22. Geological column of the tomb chapel of Hery (drawing by Sánchez Moral and Cuezva).

⁷⁸ Galán and Menéndez 2011.

⁷⁹ The geological study of the site and the summary presented here was conducted by S. Sánchez Moral and S. Cuezva, to whom I am most grateful. The type-section of the Thebes Formation is located at el-Qurn, next to the area of the tomb chapels (Said 1990). This geological formation has been extensively studied for its archaeological significance, mainly on the west bank, by Wüst and Schlüchter 2000; Aubry et al. 2016; Cuezva et al. 2016. The stratigraphic succession was described in detail by Tawfik et al. 2011.

⁸⁰ Cuezva et al. 2016.

Section 1 is composed of massive white/pale-brown limestone beds with thicknesses of a few centimeters. The limestone is fine grained and porous, being predominantly composed of the remains of calcareous nanoplankton (mainly coccolithophores) and microplankton (mainly foraminifers) with abundant fragments of mollusk shells. It shows vertical fissures filled with gypsum and calcite.

Section 2 exhibits white/pale-brown massive limestone interbedded with limestone sheet-beds. Near the section top, the bed thickness of nodule limestones increases in comparison with massive beds.

Section 3 is composed of interbedded strata of pink to white/pale-brown massive and nodule limestone with slightly dolomitized levels. It shows the higher proportion of phyllosilicate minerals. Near the section top, the thickness of the massive beds increases in comparison with nodule limestone beds.

Section 4 consists of massive pink limestone with alteration rings and many nuclei of iron oxides. At the top of the stratigraphic succession we found a thick colluvial deposit consisting of heterometric, angular pebbles embedded in a poorly consolidated reddish silty-clayey matrix.

The host rock of Hery's tomb chapel is massive limestone 3 m thick (Section 4), and the characteristics of this rock are suitable to be carved and to have relief decoration. Even now the tomb walls display a good state of preservation with high-quality and detailed relief. On the other hand, the lower part of the main corridor (about 40–50 cm) was hewn into a limestone level with poorer mechanical properties (Section 3; see fig. 4.4). This level is not massive, is poorly stable, and was not decorated in relief. The instability in the base of the walls, coupled with an intense vertical cracking of the massive Section 4, led to the falling of blocks and detachments of rock. Problems of instability and falling blocks were solved during the building process by applying mortar suitable for each case, depending on the size of the detached rock fragment.

At the time of cutting or recutting the original layout of the tomb chapel, the two side walls suffered greatly from the cracking and detachment of large rock sections (fig. 4.4). The right-hand wall was in a precarious state, with large gaps along its entire extension, and thus surely could not have been regarded as suitable for carving relief decoration. Nevertheless, it seems that there was a strong interest in keeping the location of Hery's funerary monument in that particular spot and in having its decoration carved in relief, not painted. Thus, mid-to large-sized masonry limestone square blocks were embedded to reconstruct the wall and were attached with mortar after cutting the edges of the rock straight where they were going to be fixed (fig. 4.23). Being different from the rock of the wall, the inner rock of the masonry blocks does not have a pinkish tone, as they were not exposed to the high temperatures of the fire. Their surface, however, has a similar tone to the rock of the wall.

A finer mortar was used to fill the thinner cracks in the rock. At both sides of the cracks, superficial, short and tight chisel marks are visible as part of the ancient repairs (figs. 4.10, 4.24–4.26), marks that



Figure 4.23. Masonry limestone blocks embedded in the left-hand/southern wall near the entrance.

attempted to make the surface rough to help the filling mortar remain attached to the wall. This scraping was done after the relief figures and inscription had been carved, thus partly erasing some of them. Another type of chisel mark, which is deeper, longer, and looser, is randomly distributed across all the walls (see figs. 4.25, 4.29) and seems to have resulted from blows that penetrated too deeply into the rock beyond the planned surface level of the walls when they were cut. These chisel marks were present on the surface of the walls prior to the relief decoration and inscriptions, which were carved over the grooves.

A third type of mortar was used to repair small damages on the surface. While still fresh, the mortar was carefully molded to continue the outline of a broken carved figure or hieroglyph in either incised or raised relief (figs. 4.27–4.29). Traces of paint on some mortar patches indicate an attempt to emulate the tone of the rock (fig. 4.30). This effort seems to show that there was no intention to paint in color over the relief decoration but instead to leave the original rock surface visible, despite the masonry implants, filled cracks, and surface patches.



Figures 4.24–4.26. Rock fissures with chisel marks at both sides to help the filling mortar remain attached to the wall. Funerary procession, left-hand/southern wall.



Figures 4.27–4.28. Fine mortar was molded while still fresh to complete a hieroglyphic inscription when the surface was broken.



Figure 4.29. Broken carved figures repaired with fine mortar.



Figure 4.30. Fine mortar painted to emulate the rock.



Figure 4.31. Red lines traced by the stonemasons to retain the same distance between consecutive groups of hieroglyphs (red enhanced in the photo).

In several places, the incised band of text running along both walls above the decorative panels preserves red lines that were used by the stonemasons to keep the same distance between consecutive groups of hieroglyphs (fig. 4.31). No such lines are visible next to the relief figures.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

It is mainly due to the excavations of Polz and the German Archaeological Institute since 1991, and to the Spanish mission working in the area of the tomb chapels of Djehuty and Hery (TT 11 and TT 12) since 2002, that the importance of Dra' Abu el-Naga North to our knowledge of the Middle Kingdom, Second Intermediate Period, and early Eighteenth Dynasty is being realized. Significantly, new information is coming to light on Theban courtiers who served in the administration of Ahmose and Amenhotep I, on the role played by Queens Ahhotep and Ahmes-Nefertari, and on the cult of royal ancestors and members of the royal family.

The tomb chapel of Hery is a good example of why it is essential to integrate the study of a funerary monument into a broader analysis of both its physical and its archaeological contexts. While a tomb chapel

may well have been conceived and built as an independent memorial, it unavoidably became part of the topographical and sacred landscape and was interconnected with its surroundings, which in turn may help elucidate some of the peculiarities of the monument. In the case of Hery's tomb chapel, it has proved significant to locate earlier and contemporary monuments, and to take the geology of the area into consideration, to improve our understanding of the choice of its site and the decoration of its inner walls.

When planning his memorial and burial place, Hery seems to have prioritized three criteria: (1) the location, (2) the tomb chapel being rock-cut, and (3) the decoration of the inner walls being carved in relief. As though no other type of decoration was contemplated, stonemasons and artists had to overcome detachments and fissures of the rock to accomplish their assignment. Perhaps as a result, Hery's monument is one of the few decorated early Eighteenth Dynasty tomb chapels preserved. The reliefs have suffered greatly from various agents over time, but what is preserved on the walls and on recovered fragments is of the highest standard and can almost be described as "classic" Middle Kingdom.

The case of Hery's tomb chapel is also a good example of how a monument's own history, from its origin to the present day, plays a relevant role in the condition in which it has reached us and how it is perceived. This truism should be underlined here: Hery's small, inert, and cold rock-cut tomb chapel became a passionate expression of life by preserving traces of successive alterations of its original shape and confidently exposing its wrinkles and the makeup used to camouflage them, together with the consequences of water, wind, and fire and the red Demotic graffiti written on the walls. The unmerciful violence of modern robbers against the figures of Hery and his family also serve to remind visitors that the tomb chapel is still a living monument.

5

SCRIBAL CAPTIONS AND PAINTING IN THE TOMB
CHAPEL OF NEFERRENPET (TT 43)

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THE SMALL, UNFINISHED TOMB CHAPEL of Neferrenpet (TT 43) contains some of the most beautifully preserved paintings from the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty. From 2012 to 2014, the tomb chapel was documented and conserved by an interdisciplinary group of conservators, photographers, epigraphers, and scientists funded by the Antiquities Endowment Fund under the auspices of the American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE). The summary of the Neferrenpet Project appeared in the *ARCE Bulletin*.¹ An additional study on the identity of the unnamed kings in TT 43 was published in 2020.² This essay, presented at the 2016 Theban Workshop on tomb decoration in Baltimore, Maryland, presents an in-depth study of the painting techniques and work process in the tomb chapel of Neferrenpet.

Tomb 43 was initially cleared by Robert Mond in 1905 and given its number in 1913 by Gardiner and Weigall.³ Sections of the chapel decoration were recorded by Marcelle Baud in 1935, Norman de Garis Davies in 1935, and Wolfgang Helck in 1961.⁴ It is composed of a small, inverted-T-shaped chapel measuring 4.7 m long × 1.45 m wide × 2.12 m high in the broad hall. Tomb 43 is accessed by a modern doorway to the forecourt with an unexcavated tomb (Kampp -6-) to the right (fig. 5.1).⁵ The rough-hewn long hall measures 3.5 m with a sloping passage that continues downward 2.63 m, curving to the east, and opens into a burial chamber 2.45 m long × 1.52 m at its widest point. Since excavation was not part of the Neferrenpet Project's concession, the burial chamber and its contents were left to complete at a later stage. Four of the walls were painted but never completed. These walls are labeled according to their placement in the chapel to the viewer: broad hall near right (BHNR), broad hall small right (BHSR), broad hall far right (BHFR) and broad hall far left (BHFL). The other walls in the broad hall were finished with only a fine layer of gypsum plaster.

Amenhotep II is the only king identified in the chapel. I conducted a detailed analysis of the royal kiosk scenes and identified the anonymous king as Thutmose IV.⁶ The tomb preserves just one title for Neferrenpet: "the overseer of the storehouse of the Lord of Two Lands" (*imy-r s.t n(.t) nb-t3.wy*).⁷ This title

1 Hartwig 2016. The Tomb Chapel of Neferrenpet (TT 43) Conservation and Documentation Project was funded by the Antiquities Endowment Fund from a grant by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). Many thanks go to the project participants: conservators Claudia Fiocchetti, Bianca Madden, and Douglas Thorp; archaeometrist Daniel Deocampo; photographers Katy and Kevin Doyle; digital epigrapher Pieter Collet; and project assistant Megan O'Neill. John Shearman and the staff at ARCE–Luxor and the staff at ARCE–Cairo were incredibly helpful with their support of the project. A special thank-you to conservators Kathryn Etre and Renee Stein for their analysis of materials and to Niv Allon for his translations of the hieratic captions. Any errors or omissions that appear in this chapter are solely my responsibility.

2 Hartwig 2020.

3 Collins 1976, 39; Gardiner and Weigall 1913.

4 Baud 1935; N. de G. Davies 1935; Helck 1961.

5 Kampp 1996, 240, fig. 137, 626.

6 Hartwig 2020.

7 Ward 1982, 199–200; *Wb.* 4:2.17–18.

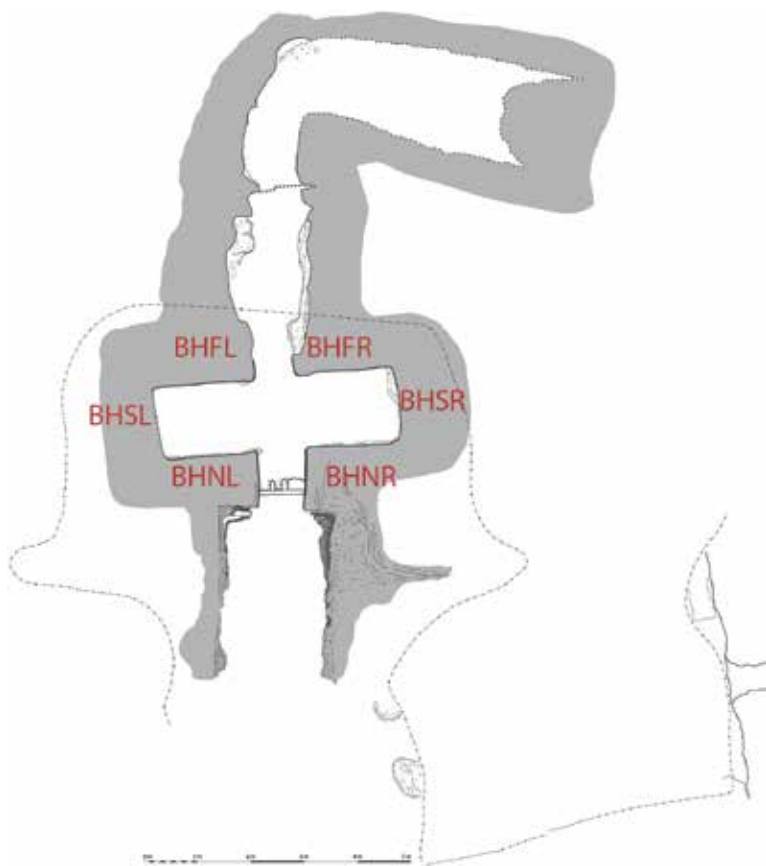


Figure 5.1. Plan of TT 43 with names of walls indicated.

ant source of revenue for the Amun temple in the Eighteenth Dynasty. Stylistically, Louvre A79 is similar to stelophorous statues manufactured during the reigns of Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV.¹⁰ Therefore, it is conceivable that Neferrenpet oversaw cattle and the royal wine cellar under the larger umbrella of his office as overseer of the royal magazines.

The most extensive inscription in TT 43 is preserved on the near wall to the right of the entrance (BHNR) (fig. 5.2). Here Neferrenpet offers two fowl on braziers and is followed by an unidentified woman, who may be his wife or mother. Unfortunately, her name and title were never inscribed. Above the couple is painted the following text:

Offering millions of everything good from the chosen (*stp*) [for Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands], for Re[-Horakhty, for] Osiris-Wennefer, for Hathor who is in Thebes and for all the gods of the necropolis, that they might give a beautiful tomb after old age in the praise of the good god for the *ka* of the overseer of the storeroom of the Lord of Two Lands, Neferrenpet, justified before the great god.

This is a common caption in Eighteenth Dynasty Theban tombs for offering scenes done in connection with the Valley Festival. The text refers to Neferrenpet's eternal desire to see the gods and participate in the annual ancestor Valley Festival celebration in the Theban necropolis.¹¹ During the Valley Festival, living family members, friends, and colleagues visited the tomb chapels and chapel forecourts of their ancestors.

8 Lacovara 1996; Kemp 1989, 222–23.

9 Helck 1961; Louvre Museum, n.d.

10 Barbotin 2013.

11 Schott 1953; Bell 1997, 136–37.

indicates that Neferrenpet supervised the royal magazines where specific provisions were kept and oversaw a number of royal processing installations. Provisioning the royal household required keeping close tabs on the flow of commodities and supplies to retreat palaces and permanent communities connected to the larger royal palaces.⁸ Neferrenpet would have supervised accounting scribes and controlled access in and out of the magazines as well as any areas that processed food for the court.

In his 1961 publication, Helck linked a stelophorous statue of Neferrenpet (Louvre A79) to the owner of TT 43.⁹ The statue stela is inscribed with a sun hymn and bears the titles “overseer of the cattle of Amun, overseer of the storeroom (*imy-r is.t*) [in] the wine cellar of Upper and Lower Egypt.” The office of “overseer of the cattle of Amun” was charged with estimating the livestock tax, which was an important

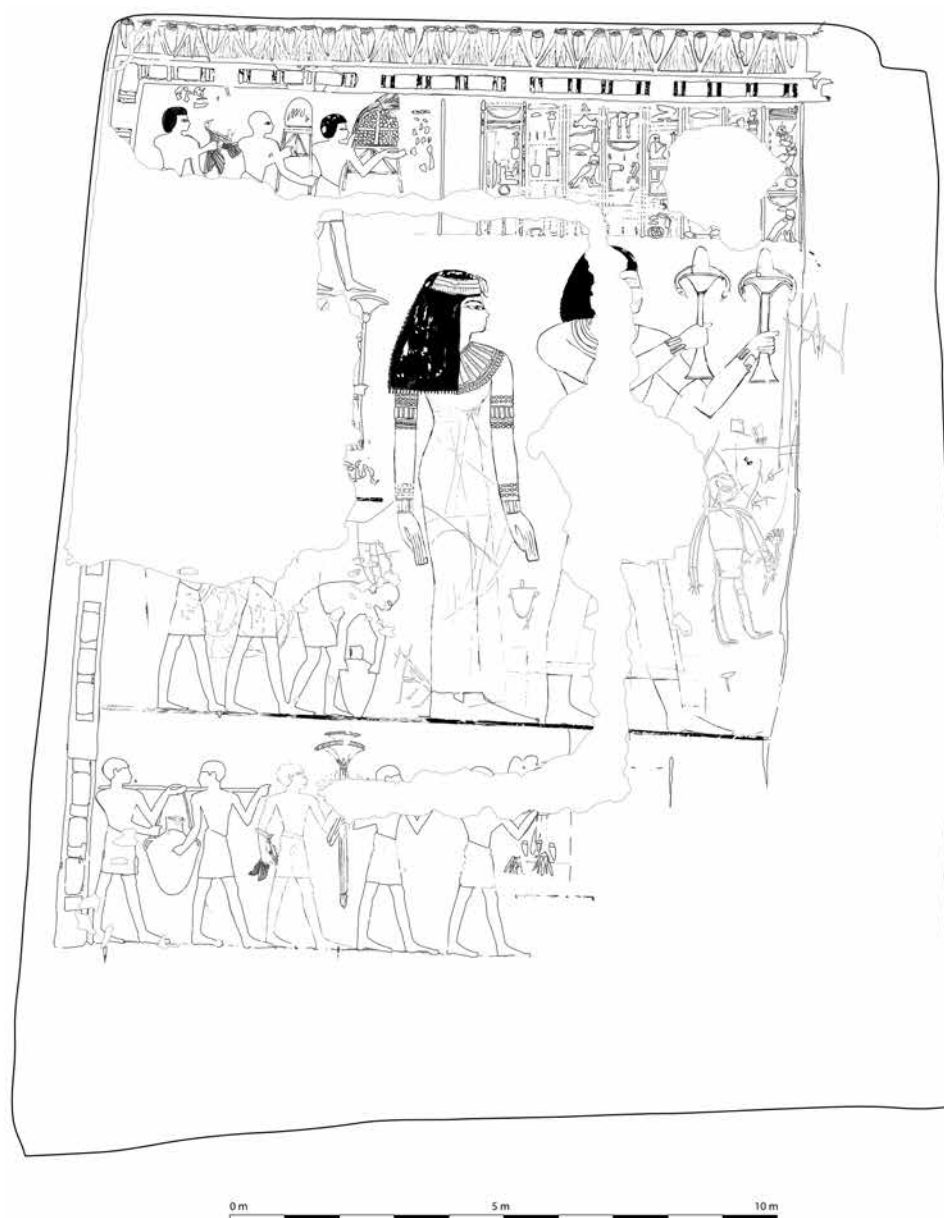


Figure 5.2. Line drawing of Valley Festival offering scene (BHR, TT 43).

At this time, offerings to solar and funerary gods were burned, animals were butchered, food offerings were made, and bouquets were presented to the dead.

Behind Neferrenpet and the woman are three registers of male offering bearers. Below them is another register of male offerers that stretches the length of the wall. The registers are uninscribed except for the presence of pale-green hieratic captions.¹² In the uppermost register before the first offerer, holding a table heaped with fruit, is the word “bring into being” ($\overline{\text{shpr}} \cdot w$) in hieratic; the remaining glyphs are unreadable. Above the last offerer, holding a duck by the wings, is written “Wennekhu” ($\overline{Wn} \cdot nhw$). Moving down to the middle register, below the hand of a destroyed offerer holding a papyrus stalk is written “the scribe Sn. . .”

¹² Originally, the color of these hieratic captions may have been blue. Schiegl, Weiner, and El Goresy 1992 noted an advanced deterioration process in Egyptian blue that occurs with the devitrification of copper- and chloride-bearing glass. Copper and chloride leach out of the glass into migration solutions, which results in the formation of atacamite or paratacamite. Basic copper chloride deposits on the surface of the pigment then turn a pale green color.

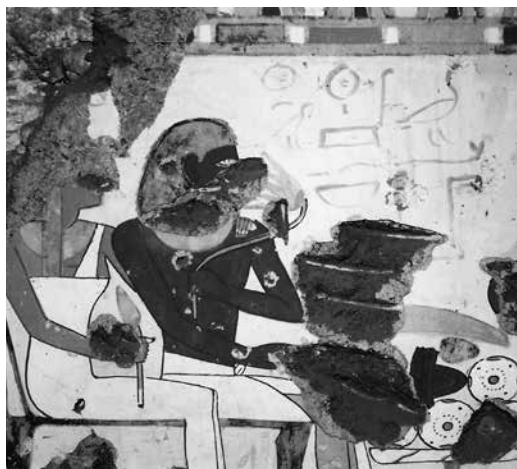







Figure 5.3. Captions found in tomb chapel of Tjanuro (TT 101).



Figure 5.4. Hieratic names above male banqueters (BHFL, TT 43).

( = *sš Sn. . .*). Below Neferrenpet is a modern graffito of a boy holding a lotus flower, scratched into the plaster.

Hieratic captions such as these appear sporadically in Theban tombs contemporary with TT 43. For example, in the tomb of Nebamun (TT 90), decorated during the Thutmose IV/Amenhotep III transitional period, the names of Nebamun's children and minor figures are recorded in hieratic.¹³ In the unpublished tomb of Tjenuro (TT 101), painted during the reign of Amenhotep II, figures are prominently labeled in cursive hieroglyphs such as “his son, the prophet of Heryshef, lord of [Herakleopolis], Khut” (fig. 5.3).¹⁴ In TT 90, hieratic captions served as fillers where no space remained for the texts. In TT 101, the captions acted as placeholders before the final hieroglyphs were painted, or they were done by a hurried scribe as the final texts themselves. In both cases, a literate scribe was responsible. In the case of TT 43, “Wennekhu” identifies the figure holding a fowl in the upper register. The other hieratic caption, “bring into being” (*shpr.w*), is likely a part of an offering prayer that was spoken during the Valley Festival.¹⁵

Hieratic captions also occur on the far-left wall (BHFL) in connection with a banquet scene. This wall is composed of two registers, one of male and one of female attendees before a larger seated couple, probably Neferrenpet and his wife or mother. In the uppermost register, one can see faint hieratic letters above the heads of the seated male banqueters. In his unpublished notes, Norman de Garis Davies dismissed these notes as “make believe daubs.”¹⁶ When viewed under ultraviolet (UV) light, however, the hieratic is legible and appears to correspond to the names of the seated male figures (fig. 5.4). The first man, labeled “the scribe Sennu ( = *sš Snnw*),” is followed by Siamun ( = *S3-*imn**), Aa-kheperu-r-neheh ( = *3-hpr.w-(r)-nhh*), and Wennekhu ( = *Wnnhw*). No other texts appear on the wall.

During his 1905 excavation of TT 43, Robert Mond found a limestone obelisk in a 12.7 m shaft in the forecourt. This obelisk was inscribed for Siamun, “the overseer of the storehouse [*imy-r (i)s.t*] of the perfect god [*ntr nfr*, i.e., the king].”¹⁷ Not only is this the same title held by Neferrenpet, the owner of TT 43, but the

13 N. de G. Davies 1923c, 28n5, 32n5, pls. XXI, XXXI.

14 See also *Urk.* 4:1475.

15 See, for example, the spells in the Book of the Festival of the Valley (Haikal and Hussein 1970–72). In the tomb of Menna (TT 69), the owner speaks of his “heart of transformations” (*hpr.w*) from chapter 30B of the Book of the Dead, with a scene of burning offerings on an altar (Hartwig 2013, 70–71, 75). The juxtaposition of chapter 30 with the burning of offerings may be suggestive of a fire ritual performed in connection with it. The word *shpr.w* also appears in chapter 30A (Lapp 1997).

16 N. de G. Davies n.d.

17 Collins 1976, 39, fig. 61.

spelling of the name Siamun on the BHFL is also exactly the same as the name on the obelisk. Given that sons often followed their father's career, it is likely that Siamun was the son of Neferrenpet.

In the banquet scene of the BHFL, the third man from the left is named Aa-kheperu-(r)-neheh, which incorporates the prenomen of king Amenhotep II and means "Amenhotep II [lives] eternally."¹⁸ If Aa-kheperu-(r)-neheh was a son of Neferrenpet, he was named to honor his father's association with Amenhotep II, who is the only king to be identified in TT 43. The name of the last male banqueter, Wennekhu, is a common one in the New Kingdom.¹⁹ The writing of the name is also the same as the name identifying the offering bearer carrying a duck on the BHNR. Given the discussion above, it is plausible that Siamun, Aa-kheperu-(r)-neheh, and Wennekhu were sons of Neferrenpet.

Which brings us back to the first banqueter, "the scribe Sennu." The name "Sennu" means "the second" and probably refers to birth order.²⁰ Was he a son of Neferrenpet? He sits alongside two or three men who are sons of Neferrenpet, but that placement is not enough to prove that Sennu was the tomb owner's son. Is he the author of the caption "the scribe *Sn. . .*" in the second register from the top on the BHNR (compare figs. 5.2 and 5.4)? Comparison of the two texts shows similar paleography, color, and brushstrokes, indicating that the "scribe *Sn. . .*" is the same "scribe Sennu" on the BHFL. It is important to note that all the hieratic texts in TT 43 were done by the same hand. It is interesting that of all the hieratic captions in TT 43, Sennu's is the only one to mention his profession, which may be significant.

In the Eighteenth Dynasty, being a literate scribe was the fastest way to achieve upward social mobility. The acquisition of foreign territory and great wealth required a vast, literate administration to oversee it. Scribes were also integral to the funerary establishment of Egypt. In the autobiographical text of the scribe Ineni (TT 81), he mentions that he invented mud plaster as a painting ground for tomb walls.²¹ Scribal training included reading, writing, and drawing skills. A perfect encapsulation of scribal training is found on an apprentice's board from Dra' Abu el Naga tombs TT 11 and TT 12. The board is inscribed twice in hieratic with the first paragraph of a didactic text, the Book of Kemi. The first text is written by the master scribe, and the second text is copied by an apprentice with a less assured hand.²² The recto of the board has two frontal drawings of royal statues, one by the master and one by the less confident hand of an apprentice.

A group of inscribed work ostraca from Deir el-Bahari excavated by the Metropolitan Museum of Art were recently reexamined to summarize the procedures, people, and terminology used to paint the Theban tombs of Senenmut.²³ Senenmut's upper tomb was quite large and employed a number of workmen over a number of years:

- tomb artisans (*hrty.w* or *hrty.w-ntr*) who filled voids in the wall with plaster to create a surface for decoration;
- tomb artisans who trimmed the damp plaster to create a smooth surface;
- tomb artisans who applied background wash;
- scribes (*sš.w*) who laid out preliminary sketches for scenes with red ocher, sometimes with grids;
- tomb artisans who applied pigment to the preliminary sketches; and
- scribes who drew the final outline to complete the images.

Another workman's title appears in connection with the decoration of Senenmut's lower tomb, and that is *sš-qd*, or "outline scribe." While some scholars argue that outline scribes performed different functions than scribes did, the titles *sš* and *sš-qd* appear to be used interchangeably in ancient Egypt.²⁴ After all, the

¹⁸ Ranke 1935, 58.3.

¹⁹ Ranke 1935, 79.4.

²⁰ Ranke 1935, 310.21.

²¹ Dziobek 1992, 139–41.

²² Galán 2007.

²³ Bryan 2017.

²⁴ Allon and Navratilova 2017, 23, 54, 88–101, 112–13.

term for “outline scribe,” *sš-*qd**, is based on the word *sš*, “scribe.” Currently, the definition and professional responsibilities of a scribe in ancient Egypt are undergoing reexamination, with the goal of presenting a more nuanced understanding of the scribal duties, which ranged from administration to artistic activities.²⁵

Going back to TT 43, the presence of Sennu’s name and scribal title certainly relays his status. If Sennu was not a son of Neferrenpet, did he usurp TT 43 and paint his captions above anonymous figures? With those questions in mind, we turn back to the decoration of Neferrenpet’s tomb chapel.

The painted walls in TT 43 were examined by energy-dispersive X-ray fluorescence (XRF) to detect the major, minor, and trace elements of pigments. The XRF method has been used extensively in many archaeological and artistic settings because it has the advantage of being a field-portable, nondestructive analytical technology. Although it does not precisely determine quantitative chemical compositions of the regions of analysis, field-portable XRF is well established in estimating the abundances of several elements in archaeological and artistic materials that are diagnostic for preparation methods. These XRF analyses are therefore especially useful in the characterization of pigments in ancient paintings.

To characterize the pigments and painting ground in TT 43, we used an Innov-X field portable XRF spectrometer with a tungsten tube. The Innov-X was mounted on a custom-built tripod that allowed for lateral and vertical movement of the unit. A total of 72 points were measured, keyed to locations on the painted walls. The XRF unit was operated at 40 kV and 50 μ A, with measuring times of at least 60 seconds. This imaging technique has the advantage of measuring the distribution of the chemical elements present on the surface and also in the underlying layers invisible to the naked eye. Below is the summary of materials and pigments that were found on the painted walls of TT 43:

- Plaster = gypsum
- White = mixture of gypsum/calcite or huntite with blue particles; possible presence of arsenolite
- Yellow = arsenic sulfide (orpiment?) mixed with iron oxide
- Red/red brown = arsenic sulfide (realgar?) mixed with iron oxide
- Blue = Egyptian blue (cuprorivaite)
- Green = Egyptian green (wollastonite)

The red, brown, and yellow pigments are composed of mixtures of iron oxides and arsenic sulfides, some mixed with white. The copper traces are curious and have been found in the pigment mixtures of other Theban tombs. Two types of white occur in TT 43: a standard white for the wash and certain clothing, composed primarily of calcite and gypsum, and a thicker white for corrections, details, and figural backgrounds. In UV light, the strong white shows a similar fluorescence as huntite (fig. 5.5).²⁶ Huntite white, used since the Old and Middle Kingdoms, is one of the principal white pigments in the New Kingdom because of its adhesiveness, small particle size, and fine grains.²⁷ In visible light, both whites have a bluish cast, which is explained by traces of copper found in the XRF readings. The high percentage of



Figure 5.5. Ultraviolet-light photograph of bright areas conforming to huntite white (BHFR, TT 43).

²⁵ Grandet 2013; Hagen 2013.

²⁶ Robbins 1994. See also <https://www.fluomin.org/uk/fiche.php?id=403>.

²⁷ Lee and Quirke 2001.

arsenic in the white is curious and may be due to the presence of arsenolite, as discovered in other Theban tombs.²⁸ Readings were not taken for black because light elements such as carbon cannot be quantified by XRF. The exact mineralogy of the red, yellow, black, and white pigments requires other noninvasive spectroscopic methods, such as XRD (X-ray diffraction), to detect them and will be the focus of a later study.

Egyptian blue and green are synthetic pigments created by heating a mixture of copper, sand, limestone, and ashes. At 850 degrees, blue is formed and then, when the oven becomes even hotter, decomposes and turns into green. The presence of arsenic in the blue and green pigments in TT 43 is an impurity associated with copper, as seen in other Theban tombs.²⁹ The readings of calcium, sulfur, and iron in each of the spectra from TT 43 refer to the underlying plaster matrix, because the X-ray beam penetrates up to a millimeter—enough to register the underlying gypsum plaster background with its traces of iron particles. Last, but definitely not least, XRF registered the same copper chloride signature in the hieratic captions and the original wall decoration in TT 43. In other words, the hieratic captions on the BHNR and BHFL were done with the same pigment mixture and at the same time as the decoration. The hieratic does not stem from a later usurpation of the tomb.

Using a technique pioneered in the tomb of Menna (TT 69), the painted walls were examined stratigraphically, from the initial preparation of the wall surface, reference marks, and preliminary outlines to the successive painting of colors, final outlines, corrections, and coatings.³⁰ The goal of the visual analysis was to elucidate the work process and artistic techniques. The summary of the visual analysis in TT 43 is given in table 5.1. A few unique decorative features will be discussed here. The rock is covered with a layer of 5.2 cm or less of mud plaster mixed with straw, followed by a 1.0–1.2 cm coating of rough plaster that is mixed with straw and limestone chips. The final layer is composed of 0.2–0.3 cm of fine plaster. The plaster on which the kiosk scene of Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV occurs (BHSR) overlaps the plaster on the adjacent walls (BHNR, BHFR). This small wall was often the secondary place of worship for the tomb owner's cult and held the autobiographical stela, which commemorated aspects of the tomb owner's life.³¹ Tomb autobiographies were personal declarations and allowed greater freedom of expression than the usual standardized texts of offering that decorated other tomb chapel walls. It is possible that instead of placing his autobiography here, Neferrenpet expressed his biography visually by portraying his service to both kings through the offering action of the life-bouquet.³²

Horizontal guidelines were painted with a straightedge to set the frame of each wall. The preliminary outlines for the principal figures were drawn in the usual eighteen-square grid from the base of the feet to the hairline for standing figures and a fourteen-square grid for seated figures. Horizontal lines were used to gauge the proportions of minor figures. A bluish-tinted whitewash was painted around the preliminary outlines to “reserve” figures and objects on the intonaco (the outermost layer of fine plaster on which pigment is applied) to receive color (fig. 5.6). In the kiosk scenes, yellow served as the background wash and was applied around all outlines except those that would later be colored yellow (fig. 5.7). Red preliminary outlines were painted on the yellow background in the kiosk scenes but were filled in with black. Figural skin tones of red, red-brown, and pink were painted directly on the intonaco to enhance the color's vibrancy. Applications of bright white were done on the intonaco for cartouches, some clothing, objects, texts, and jewelry. Garment transparency was created by thin applications of whitewash to delineate the woman's shawl on the Valley Festival wall (BHNR) (fig. 5.8). For the principal male figures, white was applied over pink. For minor figures, garment transparency is indicated only by pink. The eyes (reserved in the preliminary outline) were covered with the same color used for the figure's skin color (fig. 5.9). White was then applied, and black for the pupil. In the right wing of the transverse hall, the eyes of the principal figures

28 Pagés-Camagna et al. 2010.

29 Alfeld et al. 2017, pl. XVI.

30 Leterme, Hartwig, and Vandenabeele 2009; Hartwig 2013.

31 Hermann 1940, 18–31; Kampp 1996, 54–55.

32 See the explanation in Hartwig 2004, 121–25.

Table 5.1. Summary of the visual analysis survey of TT 43.

Wall	Grids	Preliminary outline	Background wash and reserve		Colors	Color succession	Color succession— kiosk
BHNR	18-square grid with 4.5–5 mm squares for N. and woman; horizontal guidelines for minor figures	Done right on intonaco; correspondence between preliminary and final outlines	Bluish whitewash; N. and woman, and minor figures reserved		N. = strong red-brown skin tone; woman = more yellow than N.; minor figures = same skin tone as woman; pink combination of red and white	1. white 2. yellow 3. red 4. pink 5. blue 6. green 7. black (eyes)	
BHSR	18-square grid with 4.5–5 mm squares preserved only for N.	N. preliminary outline on intonaco; kiosk = preliminary outline on yellow	Bluish whitewash with kiosk reserved; light-yellow background for kiosk; N.'s eyes, skin, hair, and lower kilt reserved	N. skin dark red-brown; king's skin more yellowish; kiosk yellow painted on a bright white	1. white 2. red 3. light blue 4. green 5. pink 6. black (only N.)	1. light yellow 2. white 3. red 4. pink 5. blue 6. green	
BHFR	18-square grid with 4.8–5 mm squares, only visible with N.	N. preliminary outlines on intonaco; kiosk scene outlines done on yellow background; preliminary sketch changed significantly	Bluish whitewash with kiosk reserved; applied while wet to yellow background; red, blue, green, and black reserved	Skin color red-brown same for N. and king; bright white for king's clothes and glyphs; N. hair = yellowish wash (same as kiosk) over pink with black lines for strands	1. white 2. pink 3. red 4. green/blue 5. black (only N.)	1. light yellow 2. wash (wet) 3. white/yellow (columns) 4. pink 5. blue/green	
BHFL	14-square grid with 4 mm squares for N. and woman; all lines snapped	Preliminary outlines on intonaco; correspondence with final outlines	Bluish whitewash; skin colors and hair reserved	Skin color = N. strong red-brown skin tone; more yellow added for woman; male banqueters = same skin color as N.; female banqueters same tone as woman; two women yellow	1. white 2. red 3. yellow 4. pink (whitewash over pink for N.) 5. blue/green 6. black		

Wall	Transparency	Final outline	Corrections	Coatings and fluorescence	Details
BHNR	Woman = thin whitewash over skin for shawl	Thick line for N. and woman; one minor figure outlined with a fine line (same brush as BHFL); lotus frieze finished	Red painted over eyes scratched out with a stylus or stick and then repainted; corrections done in a thick white for N., bluish-white for woman; minor figure corrections sometimes applied with a stick while final outline was still wet	Organic resin coating on yellow over white for braziers fluoresces; yellow on white for yellow glyphs, female jewelry fluoresces; whitewash of veil fluoresces	Dashed line appears for water (<i>n</i>)-hieroglyph and in preliminary outlines for minor figures' heads
BHSR	Pink painted on bright white for royal dress transparency in kiosk; white and pink for N.	Only columns and lintel of kiosk have thick red outline	All corrections done by thick bluish-white line or bluish- tinted whitewash	White fluoresces in kiosk scenes; brown coating (degraded resin coating?) on white/yellow mix fluoresces	Dashed line in preliminary outline of A. II's wig; initial sketch of kiosk redone significantly
BHFR	N. and king = pink on bright white	Only eyes of N.	Thick bluish-white correction for N.; king corrected with bluish-tinted whitewash	White fluoresces only in kiosk scene	Dashed line for preliminary outlines; initial sketch of kiosk redone significantly
BHFL	N. = white on pink; male banqueters transparency solid pink	Very fine line work for jewelry and part of offering table; N. and woman = thick and steady lines for upper body; jewelry done with a very fine line	Corrections everywhere; done with second application of heavier whitewash	White base for yellow in jewelry, offering table, two female banqueters' skin tones; white fluoresces in male banqueter's collars	Dashed line in upraised arm of yellow banqueter; very fine line work of portions of offering table and jewelry



Figure 5.6. Preliminary drawing of bull head on royal kiosk with areas reserved for later painting (BHFR, TT 43).



Figure 5.7. Royal kiosk scene with dashed preliminary drawing on yellow background and bright white (BHSR, TT 43).



Figure 5.8. Garment transparency created by thin application of whitewash on woman's arm (BHNR, TT 43).



Figure 5.9. Red outline for profiles, fine line for jewelry, dashed line on arm, and "white-out" corrections (BHFR, TT 43).

were scratched out or dabbed with water. These changes may stem from later visitors. More likely, the eyes were painted over by mistake and erased to create a more suitable and stable painting ground.

Very few figures and objects received final outlines in TT 43. On the BHNR, the final outlines were completed for major figures, one minor figure, and the lotus frieze in the Valley Festival scene. On the BHSR, the kiosk columns and lintel were completed. On the BHFR, Neferrenpet's eyes were finished. On the BHFL, the faces of major figures and one minor female figure in the banquet scene received final outlines. It is notable that on each of the nonkiosk walls, one minor figure was completed and outlined by a very sure hand (fig. 5.9). Probably completed by the principal artist-scribe, these figures served to illustrate to apprentices how to complete the remaining figures on the wall.

There are a number of corrections in TT 43. In most cases, the red and red-brown pigments were not carefully applied. These colors were either too thick or layered too quickly, causing the pigment to pool or drip. To erase these errors, a thick white or bluish-white line was applied to cover mistakes, erase preliminary outlines, and clean up drips. In some cases, a second coat of bluish-tinted whitewash was applied as a

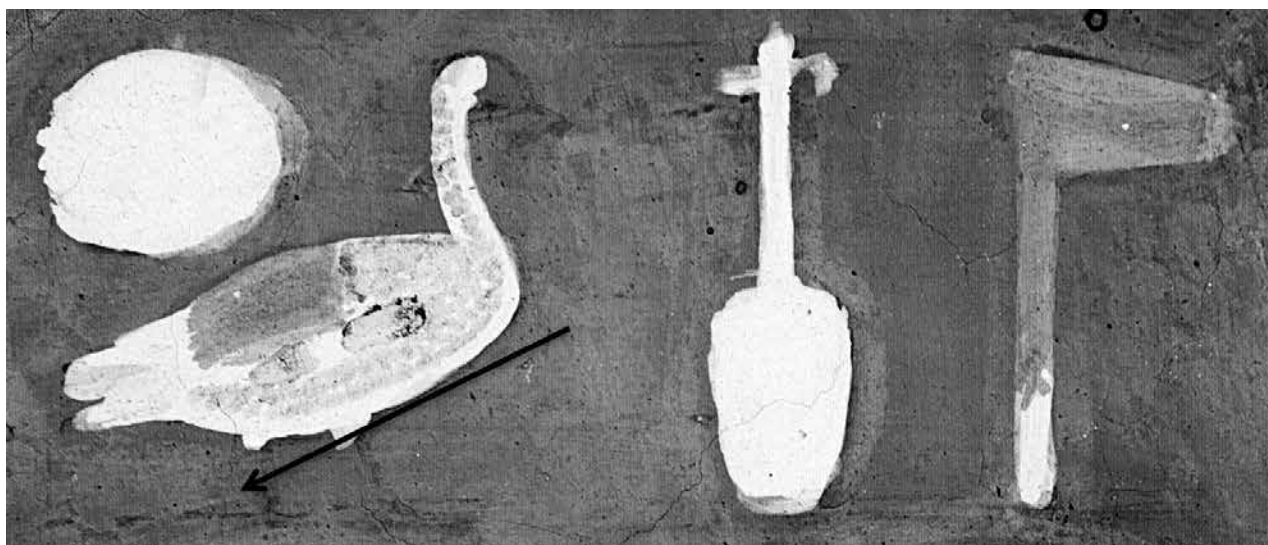


Figure 5.10. Dashed baseline under *s3*-goose (BHFR, TT 43).

corrective measure to hide preliminary drawings, especially on the yellow kiosk background on the BHFR. On the BHFL, the color black did double duty as the color for wigs and to erase the preliminary red outlines of the adjacent woman's face. The scribe's specific technique was a dashed line. It is found everywhere on the chapel walls in preliminary outlines, final outlines, and texts (cf. figs. 5.2—texts, 5.7—scepter, 5.9—arm, and 5.10—texts).

Based on the above discussion, what do the stratigraphic, UV, and XRF analysis of the painting reveal about the work process in TT 43? The Senenmut ostraca demonstrate that, at least in the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, scribes laid out preliminary sketches, the final outlines, and details. In TT 43, we see the work of one scribe, whose signature detail—a dashed line—is found in the figural outlines and texts on all four decorated walls. The paleography of the hieratic captions points to the hand of a single individual, again a literate scribe. The similarity between the pigment mixtures used for the chapel texts and the hieratic captions proves they were done at the same time. The painter who applied the colors was sloppy or simply inexperienced. This painter's messy application of pigment led to numerous corrections in various hues of "white-out." The painting-over of the eyes with the strong red-brown pigment may have led to the pigment's being scratched out down to the intonaco so that white could be applied.

In short, the evidence suggests two possible work processes. Two individuals decorated the tomb chapel of Neferrenpet—a scribe who painted the dashed lines, preliminary outlines, texts, final lines, and hieratic captions; and a tomb artisan who filled the outlines with color. Or one person, a scribe, completed the tomb chapel alone, but that person's inexperience with actual painting resulted in an inability to "color between the lines." Keep in mind that Neferrenpet's chapel is only 4.7 m long × 1.45 m wide × 2.12 m high—barely enough space for more than two people working side by side. Whether the paintings were done by one artist or two, however, one wonders whether Sennu might have contributed to the decoration of TT 43. He wrote his name over several prominent depictions of family members. And other than Neferrenpet, he is also the only individual in TT 43 to bear a title. As mentioned above, Sennu may be a son of Neferrenpet. If he is not, perhaps Sennu painted his name and title so he could share in the tomb owner's offerings as a type of eternal payment for his services.³³

This same Sennu may also be the owner of a shabti, now in the Brooklyn Museum (BMA 37.120E). Originally from Thebes, this unusual shabti depicts the scribe Sennu grinding grain (fig. 5.11).³⁴ The statuette

³³ See the discussion in Eyre 1987, 198–99, about depictions and accompanying texts that suggest workmen received portions of the reversion of the patron's/tomb owner's offerings. See also the text in Davies and Gardiner 1915, 36–37, pl. VIII.

³⁴ James 1974, 119, no. 270, pls. LXIX, LXX.

carries the standard Eighteenth Dynasty shabti offering formula, with the unusual addition of an appeal by Sennu to the gods of the underworld. The style of the wig places the shabti in the reign of Thutmose IV.³⁵ It is tempting to follow Marc Gabolde's suggestion that the owner of the shabti also appears on a rectangular stela belonging to Nebansu in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (CG 34055),³⁶ dating to the second half of the reign of Amenhotep III.³⁷ On the lower register of the stela are the parents of Nebansu, "the Osiris, Sennu" and his wife Ipwy, seated on chairs and receiving offerings. This depiction would place the career of Sennu before year 15 of Amenhotep III and into the reign of Thutmose IV. Although the stela of Nebansu is from Saqqara, Sennu's career could have taken him to Thebes to serve the kings in their palace near Karnak or Malqata.

There is another well-known Sennu who held the titles of military scribe, scribe of elite troops, and royal herald (MMA 18.2.5, MMA 12.182.39).³⁸ These titles appear on monuments that clearly date to the reign of Amenhotep III, though Sennu's career may have started earlier, in the reign of Thutmose IV. Interestingly, the royal herald Sennu had a son named Siamun, who followed his father as a military scribe.

Regardless of which Sennu wrote his name in TT 43, the provenance of his shabti (BMA 37.102E) indicates that he was buried in the Theban necropolis. Hopefully his tomb will be discovered in the not-too-distant future and shed more light on the scribe Sennu's identity.



Figure 5.11. Sennu grinding grain. Limestone, $7\frac{1}{16}$ × $3\frac{3}{8}$ × $7\frac{1}{16}$ in. (18 × 8 × 19.2 cm). Brooklyn Museum, Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund (37.120E.8).

35 Gabolde 2004, 234.

36 Lacau 1926, pl. XXXIII.

37 Bryan 1990a, 72–73.

38 In Hayes 1959, 274; Bresciani 1981.

6

THREE GENERATIONS OF RAMESSIDE FOREMEN
HONORING GODDESSES: THE CASE FOR ANUKET
AND HATHOR IN THE NEFERHOTEP FAMILY¹

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INTRODUCTION

The site of Deir el-Medina (fig. 6.1) has produced astonishing archaeological finds for two centuries. Nestled against the foothills of the western mountain in ancient Thebes, the village once housed extraordinary artists and craftsmen, since the community's purpose was to house and support the men creating the royal tombs nearby. When these skilled sculptors, draftsmen, and painters died, they were interred in tombs that often had been designed to suit their individual tastes. This study focuses on two of those tombs, designated TT 6² and TT 216,³ which together housed three generations of an elite family (fig. 6.2) employed as part of the Egyptian state's workforce of artists: Neferhotep the Elder (I) and his immediate descendants.⁴ Neferhotep held the position of foreman⁵ (or chief workman) of the gang on the right⁶ beginning in the reign of Horemheb (1323–1295 BC⁷). His grandson Neferhotep the Younger (II) was displaced in this important role during the reign of Seti II, a hundred years later.⁸

Because of their high standing within the village community, these foremen in the Place of Truth—as the cluster of valleys housing the royal necropoleis was known⁹—would have maintained professional relationships with many artisans, whose progress on the royal tomb projects they supervised daily over the course of their careers. The result of this collaboration was that the foremen could commission artists to incorporate personalized input or individual expression regarding their own tombs' appearance when they became clients.

The imagery in TT 6 and TT 216 suggests a conscious decision by these powerful men of the Neferhotep family to highlight their devotion to two goddesses in particular: Hathor, especially in her funerary role

1 I would like to thank the following people for their very kind assistance with my presentation and this resulting chapter: Betsy Bryan, Peter Dorman, Kathlyn Cooney, JJ Shirley, Ken Griffin, Brooke Norton, and Thierry Benderitter.

2 Bruyère 1925, pl. 2; 1952, 86–87; Wild 1979; Porter and Moss 1994, 2, 14–15; Kampp 1996, 188; Institut français d'archéologie orientale 2015a.

3 Bruyère 1925, 36–52, pls. 9–13; 1926, 16–18, 25, 30–44, 102, 128, 205, pl. 2; 1939, 17, 41–42, 189–90, 204–8, 246–48, 370; Porter and Moss 1994, 308, 312–15; Kampp 1996, 494–96; Institut français d'archéologie orientale 2015b.

4 B. Davies 1999, 1–2, 31–36, chart 6.

5 I use the term “foreman” here for simplicity's sake.

6 *Hry-is.t [ri.t] wnmj* (or *ʕ n is.t wnmj*, less often for our selected foremen) (Černý 2001, 121–32; 285–303 for the early members of this family).

7 After Shaw 2000, 481.

8 Shaw 2000, 481; B. Davies 1999, 31–36.

9 Hoffmeier 1988, 217–20; Černý 2001, 34.



Figure 6.1. Western cemetery on Deir el-Medina hillside, with TT 216 marked. Photo by Unger 2005.

as the embodiment of the cliffs in western Thebes,¹⁰ and the less prominent Anuket.¹¹ This study focuses on the case of Anuket, since her cult was considerably less significant in the Egyptian pantheon and, thus, the selection of this deity for prominence indicates a conscious decision¹² by the commissioners of TT 6 and TT 216. The gazelle goddess's frequent association with Hathor, however, means both deities warrant consideration in the present discussion. Ashraf Sadek has examined many sources of evidence for personal religious practice at Deir el-Medina and concludes it "suggests a simple form of organization that may have been a precursor [to organized cults]. Namely, that among the Deir el-Madina workforce, various individuals were personally attached to one god or another."¹³ This description certainly appears to apply to the villagers' dealings with Anuket.

Inscriptions at Deir el-Medina, artifacts attributed to the three foremen, and their tomb scenes especially suggest Anuket and Hathor were frequent recipients of this family's cultic attention. Anuket is an unexpected choice, since she was a relatively minor deity in the Egyptian pantheon during most time periods. We shall see in the discussion below, though, that at her home site of Elephantine—and for certain inhabitants of Deir el-Medina—she was elevated to much higher standing than was typical. Evidence extant in the tombs themselves to support this argument includes iconography, similarities in color scheme, and texts.

10 Allam 1963, 67–68, 74–75; Pinch 1993, 179–83; Lesko 1999, 100–105, 111.

11 Otto 1973, 333–34; Valbelle 1981.

12 Sadek 1988, 10, 85.

13 Sadek 1988, 81. For a volume that focuses on objects and worship in domestic contexts, see also Weiss 2015.

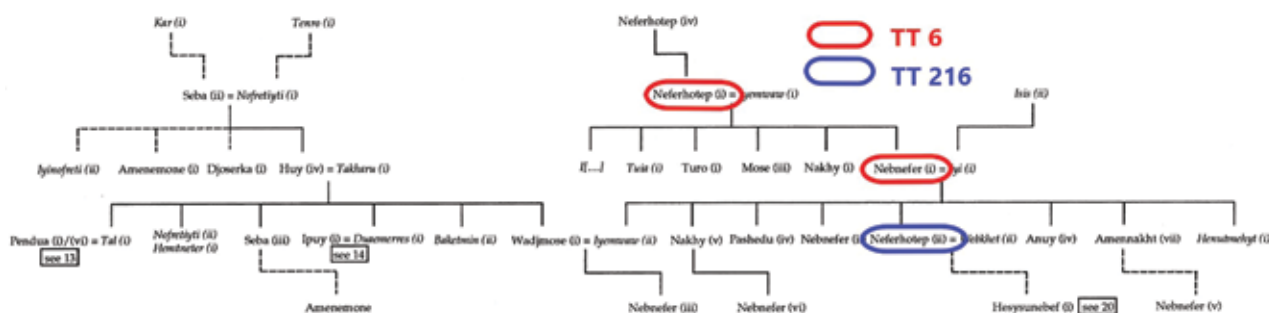


Figure 6.2. Family of Neferhotep, with owners of tombs indicated. After B. Davies 1999, chart 6.

The family of Neferhotep I spans several generations at Deir el-Medina, but I focus here on the three that are represented by TT 6 and TT 216 (fig. 6.2). The earlier tomb, TT 6, was very likely commissioned by Nebnefer, Neferhotep's son, who was also a foreman on the right—a supervisor of the work crew charged with decorating the right-hand side of each royal tomb in the Valley of the Kings, Valley of the Queens, and Western Valley.¹⁴ Later, TT 216 was constructed to memorialize and house the burial of a particularly influential member of the village community: Nebnefer's son, Neferhotep II. He laid claim to a permanent view of his powerful ruler's mortuary temple, the Ramesseum (Ramesses II, r. 1279–1213 BC),¹⁵ by means of a prominent position in the uppermost portion of the west cemetery at Deir el-Medina. The sepulchre's tremendous size and extensive decoration would have been coveted by the community's residents, all of whom hoped to have a lavish, properly equipped burial place in which to spend eternity.

The junior Neferhotep's influence or wealth may even have contributed to his death; one theory, based on certain interpretations of P. Salt 124 (P. BM EA 10055),¹⁶ holds that the worker he adopted professionally, the now-infamous Paneb, murdered him to take over his job as foreman.¹⁷ This tale mixes in the new character of the envious subordinate who plotted to murder his benefactor and was largely successful in usurping the powerful position. Records indicate that Paneb did, at the very least, threaten his adoptive father with death.¹⁸ But more recent analyses of the evidence—by Morris Bierbrier,¹⁹ for instance—have backed off this sensationalist hypothesis.²⁰ In actuality, Neferhotep II may have been killed during the political conflict between Amenmesse and Seti II,²¹ and Paneb's alleged “bribery” of servants to the sitting vizier was merely a thank-you gift for the prestigious appointment. Papyrus Salt reinforces the indisputable fact that Neferhotep was powerful enough to inspire a jealous rival.

At Deir el-Medina, the tombs the artists erected for themselves and their colleagues adhere to a time-honored format for private funerary monuments.²² They possess both a superstructure above ground, with a portion excavated into the face of the limestone cliff, and a substructure below. The Egyptians treated the courtyard and chapel—specifically intended to receive priests or family members bringing offerings to sustain the soul of the one interred there—as the focus of a deceased individual's personal funerary cult, while the below-ground portions were sealed to protect the funerary equipment around the mummified body. Each Egyptian hoped his outer tomb would always continue to receive visitors bestowing offerings

14 Černý 2001, 130–37, 285–95, 300–303, 312–14.

15 Shaw 2000, 481; Gabolde, 1995, 155–65.

16 See, e.g., Grandet 2002, 207–8, 318–19, cat. no. 161.

17 Černý 1929, 243–58, pls. XLII–XLVI. See especially lines 2–3 of recto page 1 [*hr hdb*—killed].

18 Bierbrier 1982, 29, 108.

19 Bierbrier 2000, 51–54, pls. IV–V.

20 These scholars prefer to attribute Amennakht's accusations on behalf of his dead brother to his own machinations to secure the job of foreman. Perhaps the ever-scheming Paneb merely took advantage of the political unrest of the time, capitalizing on Neferhotep II's fortuitous death.

21 Van Dijk 2000, 303–4.

22 Andreu 2002, 29–30; Dodson and Ikram 2008, 31–54, 247–69.

to revive his spirit or assist it in uniting with deities on numerous festival occasions.²³ (The festivals of Hathor and Anuket may even have served as such opportunities for the residents of Deir el-Medina.) Consequently, in most of the private tombs in the Theban region, it is only the courtyard and chapel rooms of the “public” area that received sculpted and painted decoration. The Deir el-Medina artisans, however, followed the model of the royal tombs they were employed to create by also embellishing the below-ground areas of their own tombs, sometimes with scenes addressing similar subject matter.²⁴

Over the years, the hillside tombs adjacent to the village have incurred significant damage, which has resulted in an ironic loss of imagery from these chapels, the only portion to be ornamented in most of the Theban necropoleis. Their superstructures—marked by small pyramids with a stela niche—were prone to vandalism and art theft. Nevertheless, numerous funerary artifacts or instruments of daily life can still be attributed to individual members of the Neferhotep family (fig. 6.3), providing valuable insight into their cultic activities.²⁵ These objects point to our foremen’s uncommon preference for Anuket and Hathor.



Figure 6.3. Stela of Nebnefer (BM EA 267). Drawing by Deanna Kiser-Go after James 1970, pl. 37.

THEBAN TOMB 6 OF NEFERHOTEP I AND NEBNEFER

This tomb²⁶ has long been known to scholars primarily from a single publication in the late 1970s. Henri Wild produced an impressive volume of line drawings for the Institut français d’archéologie orientale²⁷ but passed away before completing the intended accompanying text.²⁸ Quite recently, however, a concise summary of TT 6 was posted on the internet by Thierry Benderitter in the form of an entry on Osirisnet,²⁹ complete with color photographs. These photos, in combination with the superb work by Wild, show Neferhotep and Nebnefer’s tomb to be a beautifully executed example of Ramesside funerary architecture. This average-sized tomb features a courtyard and entrance corridor added onto the traditional,

23 These were primarily intended to honor various popular deities, such as Amun or the deified Amenhotep I, but they also served as holidays during which personal piety and ancestor veneration were highlighted in a party atmosphere. See Schott 1950; Sadek 1988, 167–91.

24 Hofmann 2004, 90–91; Snape 2011, 233–345.

25 See Sadek 1988, 59–84, for religious practice at Deir el-Medina more generally. Several types of cult objects also had the ability to function as substitutes for the action of deity veneration, since the action depicted or referenced was believed by the worshippers to occur in perpetuity; see Weiss 2015, 159–61, for citations on this topic.

26 See references to the publications of this tomb in n. 2.

27 Wild 1979.

28 Delphine Driaux has just completed a publication to compensate for this serious recording gap (personal communication, February 19, 2016).

29 http://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/artisans/neferhotep6/e_neferhotep6_01.htm, accessed October 28, 2022.

inverted-T-shape architectural plan.³⁰ Like many of the tombs at Deir el-Medina, its burial chamber also boasts painted decoration, though few illustrations of these sketched compositions exist.³¹

The great skill evident in the painted images, as well as the division of the dedicatory focus between Neferhotep I—highlighted on the left half—and his son Nebnefer—on the right—are two of the more important elements of TT 6’s decoration. Extensive detail and polychrome texts in TT 6 (fig. 6.4) foster a sense of opulence that immediately impresses any viewer. Despite some noticeable differences in style and quality between the images in the transverse hall and those in the shrine at the tomb’s rear,³² TT 6 typifies the meticulous attention of artists practicing during the reign of Seti I.³³

One additional feature of note in TT 6 is the unfortunate state of its decoration. Wild published as reconstructions numerous gaps in the paintings where damage had already occurred when he recorded them, but additional losses have compounded the problem since then. Enough remains of the decoration, however, to show certain stylistic elements that are extant in better-preserved tombs nearby, such as TT 1 of Sennedjem.³⁴ Sennedjem’s contemporary burial provides useful comparative material for visualizing the entire decorative program of TT 6.³⁵



Figure 6.4. Neferhotep I with Hathor-head bandeau frieze in TT 6.

THEBAN TOMB 216 OF NEFERHOTEP II

This tomb³⁶ has garnered little scholarly attention despite its impressive nature. Since Bernard Bruyère’s publications in the FIFAO series,³⁷ only scraps of imagery had been available for study.³⁸ Neferhotep II clearly wanted to make his mark on the cemetery landscape of Deir el-Medina, selecting a prime location for his tomb that is high on the hillside that overlooked the village and low desert to the east (fig. 6.1, at arrow). The massive monument includes a stepped ramp running up the slope, fore and main courtyards, a pillared outer chamber illuminated by two “windows,” a longitudinal passage, and a rear niche.³⁹

30 Kampp 1996, 13, 23–24.

31 Wild 1979, pls. 24–26; Hofmann 2004, 80, fig. 97; Griffith Institute Archives DM 6. 4–7.

32 Compare the images from different locations in the tomb on www.osirisnet.net, and see Wild 1979 throughout.

33 Brand 2000; Smith 1998, 213. For example, the outer chamber’s ornate ceiling patterns compare well with a masterpiece of ceiling art, TT 50’s beautiful patterns, seen in Hari 1985, 31–32, color pls. 1, 4.

34 http://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/artisans/neferhotep6/e_neferhotep6_01.htm.

35 Hofmann 2004, 78–80, figs. 96–97.

36 References to the major tomb publications are in n. 3.

37 See the note above.

38 This was true until Osirisnet posted its entry online. See http://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/artisans/neferhotep216/e_neferhotep216_01.htm.

39 Kampp 1996, 495–96.

Neferhotep's tomb received its decoration⁴⁰ during Ramesses II's long reign, probably not until at least regnal years 35 to 40.⁴¹ The artists of TT 216 possessed a penchant for ornamentation. Details abound in the form of garment pleats, feathered goddess wings and headdresses, speckled leopard skins, and—important to my theory here—quite diligent portrayals of sandy landscapes (fig. 6.5). Like his father's tomb, that of the later Neferhotep also exhibits a high level of skill in the execution of its painted scenes. It is simply more difficult to pick out the draftsman's careful line work amid the deteriorated or soot-obscured images. Some of the color has certainly vanished, including the black that appears as almost ghostly forms. Nevertheless, careful inspection teases out fine elements that are the work of a team of expert artists.



Figure 6.5. Neferhotep II offering to Hathor cow emerging from mountain (TT 216). © Osirisnet (www.osirisnet.net). https://osirisnet.net/tombes/artisans/neferhotep216/e_neferhotep216_01.htm.

ANUKET AND HATHOR REFERENCES IN THE TOMBS

Each tomb is a product of its specific era and displays the fashionable beliefs and imagery that its original occupant or occupants desired.⁴² This characteristic accounts, for example, for the greater emphasis in TT 6 of vignettes taken almost directly from Book of the Dead chapters, whereas TT 216 shows a movement toward including slightly later underworld books. After all, the tombs are separated by at least one generation. Some very notable exceptions stand out, however. Perhaps the most striking is the inclusion in both tombs of multiple references to the cult of the goddess Anuket (fig. 6.3, top left). Elephantine mythology assigned Anuket the role of daughter of the creator god Khnum and his consort Satet.⁴³ As such, she was associated with the waters of the Nile as it entered Egypt, having emerged from the rocks of the First Cataract.⁴⁴ Anuket is most often depicted as a woman wearing a distinctive headdress composed of upright, splayed, ostrich plumes on a white or yellow base and tied with a sash (fig. 6.6), and her sacred animal was the gazelle.⁴⁵

40 This tomb is also highly damaged, its careful paintings having been affected by both natural forces (wasps, earthquakes) and human ones (burning, vandalism).

41 This is an approximation created by combining the estimated regnal years 20 to 25, extrapolated from Bierbrier (1975, 23), with stylistic elements.

42 Tombs at Deir el-Medina became more widely used to inter the mummies of extended families, through multiple generations, later, in the Nineteenth Dynasty. See McDowell (1999, 13–14, 21, 67–69) for a court case in which the ownership of a certain tomb was claimed by descendants of two families.

43 Habachi 1950, 501–5.

44 Otto 1973, 333.

45 This depiction is seen on BMA N372.2.



Figure 6.6. Bark of Anuket (BMA N372.2). After Champollion 1823–25.
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=34004814>.

The cult of Anuket was clearly practiced at Deir el-Medina, and there are many references to it in recovered artifacts (see the expanded discussion below). But depictions of this goddess in the private tombs of Thebes are relatively rare,⁴⁶ and all occur within tombs belonging to the village workmen. The extent to which the Anuket cult at Deir el-Medina was formalized is unknown, with some scholars suggesting it even approached the level of a cooperative.⁴⁷ Given the sheer number of visual and textual references to this unusual deity that occur on materials attributed to the Neferhotep family, it seems they held her in very high regard. It is also noteworthy that depictions of Anuket occur independent of the rest of the trio, such as the scene on the southern wall of TT 6's shrine,⁴⁸ so it is not the divine family that was most important to Neferhotep's clan.

Anuket's exotic origins and costume likely appealed to Deir el-Medina's inhabitants, who embraced several other foreign deities, including, for example, Reshef.⁴⁹ What is more, Anuket embodied the being referred to in classical studies as the *nébride*, a youthful woman wearing the skin of a faun. (Perhaps "gazelle" is a more appropriate translation of Bruyère's term here, given Anuket's identification with this graceful

46 Bruyère 1939, 189, where he notes that the cult of Khnum manifests at Deir el-Medina in only three other tombs: TT 267, TT 292, and TT 335. See the separate entries for these tombs in Porter and Moss 1994, 347–49; 370, 374–76; and 400–404, respectively. Also see Valbelle 1981, 30–31, nos. 259, 260, 261A.

47 This interpretation of O. Turin 57062 is argued by Helck (1991, 197–204). See Sadek 1988, 79–81, for a brief discussion of this possibility.

48 Wild 1979, pl. 20.

49 Reshef was honored on a stela attributed to Nebnefer in Wild 1979, pl. 34.

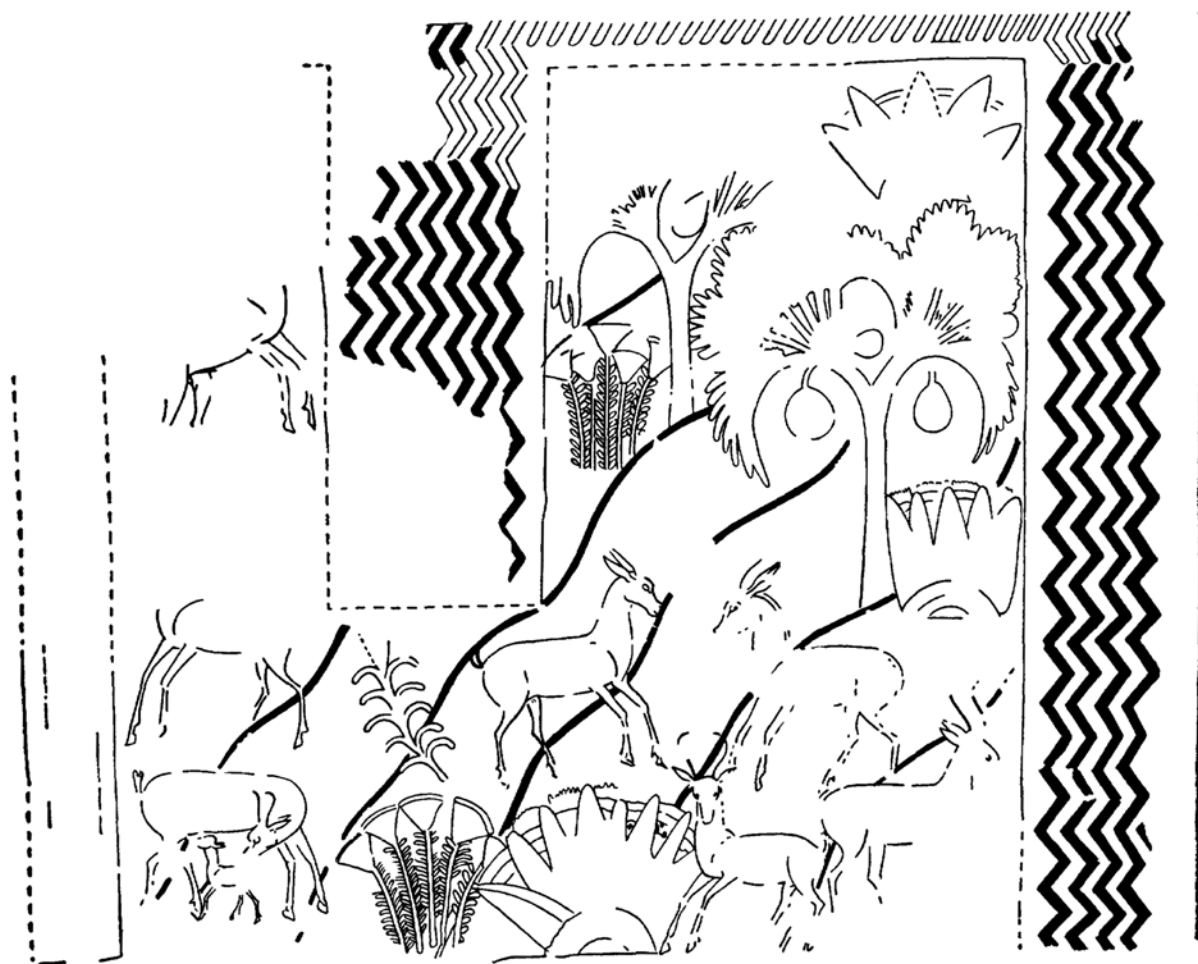


Figure 6.7. Line drawing of gazelles in Anuket's temple grove (TT 216), but without the shaded pink hills evident in the wall painting itself. After N. de G. Davies 1923a, 52, fig. 20.

animal.) Included in TT 216 is an *en face* depiction of her local cult statue in rather extraordinary guise, namely, cloaked in a beaded-net garment while carried in procession by priests.⁵⁰

Another quite rare iconographic element, which occurs on the eastern wall of TT 216's pillared chamber (fig. 6.7), is a possible reference to Anuket's Elephantine homeland. Scholars⁵¹ have surmised that it depicts her temple grove situated on an island surrounded on three sides by water. Several gazelles caper through the vegetation at the river's edge adjacent to the temple. The Festival of Anuket is probably illustrated in Neferhotep II's tomb because it paid tribute to a goddess who embodied the Nile, as well as commemorating each joyous occasion when the flood carried its life-giving gifts of water and fresh silt to the Theban agricultural fields. Anuket is represented multiple (more than eight) times in our tombs perhaps because of the reasons noted above, but scholars have also speculated that the popularity of the Elephantine triad (Khnum, Satet, and Anuket) at Deir el-Medina is connected to the ancestral religious practices of some villagers who hailed from the Aswan region.⁵² One notable letter in the corpus of correspondence referred to as "Late Ramesside Letters"⁵³ was composed by an inhabitant of Elephantine who writes to his son living in Deir el-Medina, one of several such immigrants to the site who probably moved there to work in the

50 Educalingo, <https://educalingo.com/en/dic-fr/nebride>. See Bruyère 1939, 189–90; Valbelle discusses the only other similar example (1975a, 123–26, pl. 18; 1981, 23, 116–17, 124).

51 Porter and Moss 1994, (6), 313; see also Allam 1981, 197–204; Valbelle 1981, 126.

52 Spiegelberg 1918, 64–67; Bruyère 1939, 246–48; Valbelle 1981, 126.

53 Late Ramesside Letter no. 10 is preserved on P. Bibliothèque Nationale 196, II, and is discussed in Wente 1967, 42–43.

royal tombs as stone workers or in similar roles. Tjaroy begins this personal letter with the statement that he daily asks the local divine triad, which includes the daughter Anuket, to intercede on his son's behalf.

Anuket's occasional conflation with the traits of Hathor is another possible motivation for her popularity at Deir el-Medina;⁵⁴ consider the model "sistrum" housed in the Louvre that bears her characteristic headdress but also the widely recognizable cow ears of Hathor (N 3534⁵⁵). This assimilation of traits brings up another interesting iconographic similarity: the prominence in each tomb of both the sycomore-tree goddess⁵⁶ and Hathor in her more conventional forms. The latter include a woman crowned with horns and sun disk, a cow,⁵⁷ and the Western Goddess. Indeed, she is represented on a minimum of twelve observable occasions, but likely other representations are hidden by damage (fig. 6.5). The burial place of Nebnefer and his father claims one of these cases. The rear of the tomb's chapel was originally equipped with four engaged statues representing the deities Satet, Osiris, Re-Horakhty-Atum, and Hathor as the Western Goddess. And in just the legible texts appearing in TT 6 and TT 216, Hathor—in one form another—is referenced more than a dozen times.

The festival celebrating Hathor is shown in TT 216,⁵⁸ indicating—like the festival dedicated to Anuket—the goddess's importance to the tomb's occupants. The beneficent tree-goddess manifestation appears a total of three times in these tombs, even turning up on the ceiling panels that decorate the vestibule to the burial chamber of TT 6. Hathor's lofty standing in the personal cults of Egyptians who called Thebes home should not be underestimated, since she had long been a regular member of the funerary pantheon there.⁵⁹ (Witness, for example, her manifestation as the cow emerging from the mountain now known as the "Qurn" that appears myriad times on the Theban west bank in shrines and tomb imagery, on statues, and so forth, going back centuries.)⁶⁰ Her prominence among the images chosen for the funerary monuments belonging to the Neferhotep family is unusual, however. Their attention to Hathor cannot be explained by the occupations of the tombs' owners; none of the foremen under discussion here held any titles linked to this goddess, though it is worth noting that Nebnefer's wife Iyi was a chantress of Khnum, Satet, and Anuket.⁶¹ She is also referred to several times as "greatly favored by Hathor" in TT 6 inscriptions.⁶²

THE COLOR CONNECTION

Given that both tombs have been heavily damaged, one would assume that similarities in subject matter would be more readily apparent than any shared stylistic traits. However, TT 6 and TT 216 indeed possess parallels in color scheme that are immediately noticeable. There is a heavy use of red and pink throughout both monuments. The paintings in TT 6 were primarily made on an off-white background in its outer rooms (transverse hall and shrine), but one can see that rosy hues were used extensively throughout the tomb. The pleated linen garments of elite figures are executed in pink to represent the skin color that easily

54 http://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/artisans/neferhotep6/e_neferhotep6_02.htm.

55 In Andreu 2002, cat. no. 221a–b. See also Cairo JE 43660 in Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 158–59, pl. 95.

56 Lesko 1999, 83–89; Allam 1963, 103–9. The representation of the tree goddess in TT 216 (burial chamber ceiling) is labeled Nut, but this deity is also sometimes interchanged with Hathor.

57 Allam 1963, 112–13. See the simple (almost humorous) representation on a figured ostrakon in Stockholm (MM 14087) in Peterson 1973, 79, pl. 21 upper.

58 Porter and Moss 1994, (6–8), 313.

59 Allam 1963, 57–75.

60 Hathor's cult was already present in Thebes by the Sixth Dynasty before gaining popularity with royalty by the Eleventh Dynasty (per Lesko 1999, 99–111). The residents of Deir el-Medina also believed that another goddess, Meretseger, lived in the same mountain peak, but Hathor's critical role as a *funerary* deity who welcomed the deceased to the West (i.e., the afterlife) distinguishes her cult in Thebes.

61 Barbara A. Richter recently produced an exhaustive analysis of the Hathoric clergy members in Deir el-Medina. In it she highlighted two *female* members of Neferhotep II's family with the pertinent title *ḥsy.t ʿ3.t*, "chief musician-priestess" of Hathor (Richter 2022).

62 *KRI* 3:399–401.

shows through the costly, thin fabric. The more common practice of the era used yellowish washes for the pleats, resulting in the suggestion of seemingly less-transparent linen. Even the hair of several people is reddish-brown instead of the expected black, which makes their hair difficult to distinguish from their skin tone (fig. 6.4). Repeated Hathor heads atop *neb*-baskets, all set against an unusual red ground, comprise the frieze in the transverse hall.⁶³ The burial chamber of this tomb includes its own, red-painted compositions, hinting perhaps that this pigment was applied early in the decorative process.

The background color of the chapel rooms (pillared hall, longitudinal chamber, and niche) in TT 216 is often pink or pale red, regardless of the themes represented. We see, for example, Osiris enthroned in a kiosk against a pink background. Dimitri Laboury and Hugues Tavier also noted somewhat eccentric color choices in the palette used to decorate TT 29 of Amenemope—significantly, the absence of yellow. Indeed, their work documents a remarkable and deliberate “conversion of yellow to pink” in that tomb.⁶⁴ Another one of Neferhotep’s scenes is quite important because it may provide a clue to explain the use of red and pink throughout both tombs: surely the desert environment of the Theban cliffs is being invoked by means of a speckled, reddish-pink hue to highlight Hathor in her cow form as she emerges from the western mountain (fig. 6.5). Along a similar vein, the pink color could also allude to Anuket, who we know from numerous texts was called upon by Egyptians to provide protection from dangerous animals that inhabited the same sandy environs. (See the expanded discussion below.) In some instances, the association of Hathor and Anuket is particularly pronounced: Cairo ostrakon JE 43660 depicts a gazelle emerging from the iconic shaded mountain so frequently shown behind the Hathor cow.⁶⁵

Ancient Egyptian painters used pigments that were mostly organic, exploiting sources of ocher and charcoal, for instance, in their art supplies. Many ingredients in the paints are chemically unstable and degrade over millennia so that the colors transform from what was originally intended. Both heat and light are important catalysts for such changes, and the predominance of the pink and red hues I observed may have resulted from burning in these tombs.⁶⁶ As an example, some yellow pigments react with high heat to turn reddish.⁶⁷ If that had been the case in this pair of tombs, however, one would see more evidence of fire, such as soot and flame patterns. Nor could heat have been selectively applied to the Hathor heads in TT 6’s frieze or to the carefully delineated sand fields in the Hathor cow compositions of TT 216. The heat-altering scenario would have resulted in any area of yellow ocher’s being rather uniformly changed to a reddish hue, but this simply does not occur in the decoration of either tomb.

There are yet more cases of these unusual color choices, since even the text columns in Neferhotep II’s tomb are often solid red. The ceiling texts of the long chamber are picked out in blue on a red background, and the niche ceiling exhibits a reddish-orange background on which to highlight the winged Nut figure.⁶⁸ Indeed, the palette for this later tomb seems quite limited overall; blue and green are relegated to only the most appropriate items. Surely—even given the effects of color degradation due to age, light, and/or heat—it is no coincidence that the painters of both tombs frequently selected red and pink over other possibilities.

TEXTUAL EVIDENCE FOR DEVOTION TO ANUKET AT THE VILLAGE

As noted above, a variety of artifact types have been discovered at Deir el-Medina that reference and depict the goddess Anuket. Those items pertaining to Hathor are too numerous to count, given that the village at

63 The Twentieth Dynasty tomb of Setjau at Elkab also includes a red bandeau frieze, but parallels with TT 6 end here.

64 Laboury and Tavier 2010, 100–101. See especially note 34, where the authors point out that the background of the royal kiosk, more normally yellow, has been painted pink.

65 Vandier d’Abbadie 1946, 158–59, pl. 95.

66 Personal communications at Theban Workshop 2016.

67 Yellow ocher will turn red at a temperature of greater than 500 degrees Fahrenheit, as noted by Le Fur (1994, 66).

68 Image pm-P1120232 at http://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/artisans/neferhotep216/e_neferhotep216_01.htm.

its height housed shrines to this goddess, as well as a temple in later times.⁶⁹ But Anuket seems to have had a more exclusive following among the village's residents. Mention of Anuket appears several times in TT 6 and TT 216, selectively in TTs 267, 292, and 335, and many times on ostraca and papyri. Less frequent are the occurrences on statues, stelae, and miscellaneous objects.⁷⁰ The majority of the papyri include texts directed at Anuket that appeal to her apotropaic aspect. In an environment rife with scorpions and venomous snakes, it would have been beneficial to use the magical "spells" on these papyri to ward off disastrous encounters at both the village site and the artisans' workplace in the desert valleys. These magical texts largely protect parts of the human body, while one in particular evokes "Anuket the Nubienne"—citing her origins at Egypt's southern frontier—to act on the appellant's behalf against snake bites (Geneva MAH 15274⁷¹).

A small number of the recovered ostraca are figured, such as the one depicting a round-topped stela with Hay adoring the goddess in her female form (fig. 6.8). The lower half of the drawn stela includes a long hymn extolling the deity's virtues (BM EA 8494⁷²). Two additional ostraca in Stockholm also show the goddess in this form, one with the songstress Tamerout kneeling while proffering a sistrum (MM 14013⁷³), the other dedicated by Amenemipet and depicting the goddess seated before two recumbent gazelles (MM 14011, found with MM 14013⁷⁴), the gazelle being her typical animal manifestation. I have already noted another figured ostracon found at Deir el-Medina (Cairo JE 43660⁷⁵) that shows Hay kneeling to pay homage to a gazelle while offering it sumptuous provisions.

Several solely textual references on ostraca implicitly tell us that an active cult to the goddess was located in the village itself. Ostracon DM 230 references Anuket within the greater framework of a festival

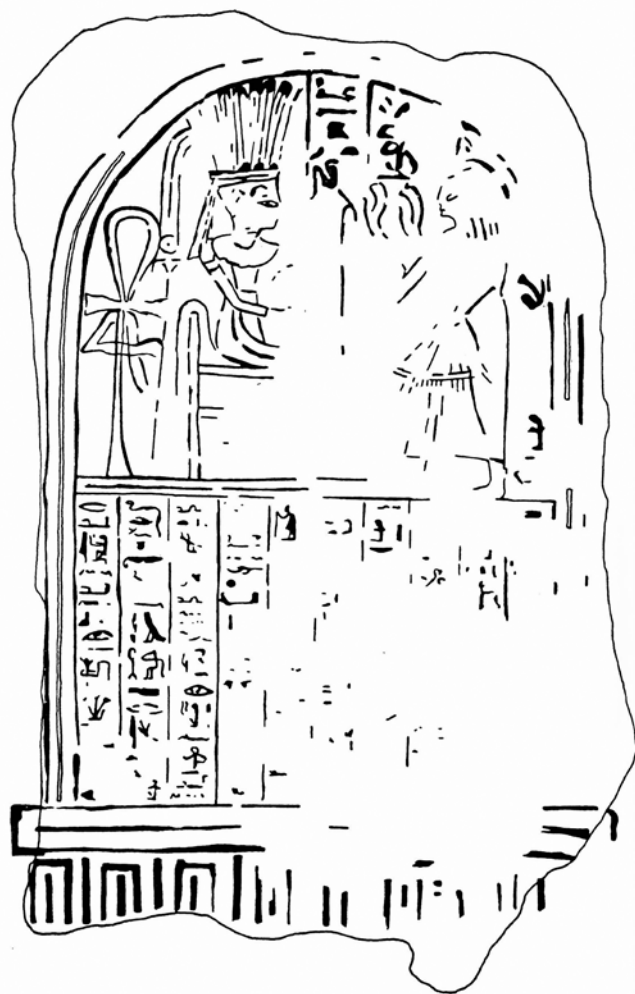


Figure 6.8. Ostracon of Hay with stela image (BM O. 8494). https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA8494. © Trustees of the British Museum 2021 (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

69 A shrine that was dedicated to Hathor in the time of Seti I of the Nineteenth Dynasty was probably the precursor to a much more significant cult structure. See Lesko 1999, 109.

70 These objects include, for example, offering basins, sistra, graffiti, and statues. For a full list, see Valbelle 1981, 13–14, 29–34.

71 See Massart 1957.

72 https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA8494. See Demarée 2002, pls. 46–47.

73 See Peterson 1973, 77–79, pl. 20.

74 See Peterson 1973, 77, pl. 19.

75 Vandier d'Abbadie 1946, 158–59, pl. 95, cat. no. 2729.

of Taweret,⁷⁶ and Turin 57474 is a notation about a grain transfer for the benefit of Anuket.⁷⁷ Finally, there is the important Valley of the Queens find designated O. Turin N. 57062/O. DM 230, dated to regnal year 47 of Ramesses II.⁷⁸ Its hieratic inscription describes the oaths by four Deir el-Medina devotees of Anuket. In exchange for their service to her, they request to remain healthy. It is important to point out that they are pledging at a tribunal their willingness to continue providing offerings to the goddess, as well as performing ritual acts in connection with an event called the “day of drinking.” The text emphasizes their preparation and donation of quantities of beer, as well as its consumption. The level of detail, in conjunction with the oath in a court setting, suggested to Wolfgang Helck that Anuket’s cult at Deir el-Medina went far beyond personal or domestic piety to the level of an organized religious society. That a feast or ritual performance was the reason for this tribunal after the fact seems evident, though sadly the exact nature of the activities performed is unknown.⁷⁹ One tempting possibility is that this ostrakon references the Festival of Anuket, known from a stela (Cairo CG 34019;⁸⁰ fig. 6.9) to have been established by Amenhotep II at Elephantine and taking place



Figure 6.9. Stela dedicated by Amenhotep II at Elephantine for the Festival of Anuket (Cairo CG 34019). Photo by Captmondo 2010.

76 Černý 1937, 10, pl. 18.

77 López 1984, 17, pls. 161–61a.

78 See López 1978, 36, pls. 39–39a, 40–40a; Allam 1981; Helck 1991; and *KRI* 3:524–26. See also references to “Turin 5941 supplement,” which is the portion that mentions a water carrier and brewer of Anuket who may have belonged to the formal cult of the goddess (Allam 1973, pls. 64–65), and the website entry for the Turin Museum collection (https://collezioni.museoegizio.it/en-GB/material/S_5941_1/), accessed October 28, 2022.

79 For the intriguing possibility that inebriation, music, and sexual activity before abrupt waking may have led to epiphanies by ritual participants seeking to view a deity, see B. Bryan’s publications on the cult of Mut (e.g., Bryan 2014, 93–123). I am indebted to her for this reference.

80 Schott 1950, 66, 87–88, 105; Allam 1981, 201.

over the course of four days, but Sadek categorizes the festival activities referenced on this ostrakon as personal feasts and points out that celebrations of this type did not generally coincide with the dates of the public holidays.⁸¹ Considering the Festival of Anuket scene on a wall of TT 216, discussed above, one might interpret the idea of additional personal celebrations and feasts to this deity as further indicating her high status among the Deir el-Medina residents.

OTHER DOCUMENTS OF THE NEFERHOTEP FAMILY

A scant number of objects have been identified as belonging to Neferhotep I, despite his obvious influence as a founding member of one of the village's leading families of workmen. It is not until one examines records of later generations of foremen that the influential status of his descendants stands out. Neferhotep the Elder has no tomb devoted solely to him, but the following objects were likely commissioned in his name: a portion of fine, sunk-relief sculpture that likely served as part of a door jamb or lower door thickness from TT 6 (Chicago OIM 17370⁸²) and two(?) fragmentary stelae, one with the lower extremities of a female deity sculpted, though only her feet remain as she stands behind a figure of the king or Re-Horakhty.⁸³ It is a pity that the graffiti attributed to Neferhotep I contain no mention of Anuket or Hathor.⁸⁴ Instead, it is the tomb that his son Nebnefer commissioned to memorialize both men that contains the most plentiful references to these goddesses.

To these cases can be added several artifacts that are dedicated solely to Nebnefer rather than combining his funerary cult with that of his father. Many more objects are documented for Nebnefer,⁸⁵ but here I shall concentrate on just three of them. First, a lintel that can be traced back to TT 6 (BM EA 447⁸⁶) includes figures of both Nebnefer and his son Neferhotep II. Its antithetical composition shows Nebnefer with his wife receiving offerings from several of their children. In addition to the Turin stela with a goddess's feet mentioned above, there are two other stelae of interest in any discussion of the family's favored deities. The lower half of Strasbourg 974 includes a lengthy inscription by Nebnefer dedicating it to the goddess Hathor as the "chief of the West."⁸⁷ A third stela (BM EA 267⁸⁸) is certainly the most important, since its three-row composition (fig. 6.3) depicts the entire Elephantine triad as they sit in state behind Ptah. Figures of Nebnefer and his son Neferhotep II are included among kneeling adorers, along with identifying labels.

In accordance with the high status that the younger Neferhotep achieved in the workmen's community, significantly greater numbers of monuments were commissioned by this foreman.⁸⁹ Bruyère includes a line drawing of the ebony stela fragments from an artifact dedicated to Anuket that he discovered in TT 216.⁹⁰ Neferhotep II ended up having a total of six freestanding statues placed in his tomb.⁹¹ One of them, found in the burial chamber, is a stelophorous example of the great man kneeling. Like most stelae of this type, it

81 Sadek 1988, 188, 192.

82 Hoffmeier (1988) suggests that the Neferhotep depicted is actually Neferhotep II, but it likely dates earlier on stylistic grounds.

83 On Turin N. 50145/S. 5990, see Wild 1979, pl. 35e; Tosi and Roccati 1972, 149, 319 fig. An additional stela, Turin N. 50093/S. 6188, is missing some of the gods and goddesses to which it was dedicated, so it is impossible to know whether any of them referenced Anuket or Hathor. See Bruyère 1953, 78; Tosi and Roccati 1972, 128, 303 top.

84 *KRI* 3:576.

85 *KRI* 3:581–87.

86 James 1970, 44–45, pls. 38A.1–38.1.

87 *KRI* 3:584, lines 12–16.

88 James 1970, 42–43, pls. 37A.1.–37.1.

89 For example, Louvre E 13991 in Andreu 2002, 74 top, and BM EA 1516 in Russmann 2001, 192–94.

90 Bruyère 1939, 247–49.

91 Numerous cases suggest it was the standard practice in Theban tombs of the Ramesside era to sculpt engaged statues into the rock matrix of a tomb so that approximately three-quarters of them emerge, but it is unusual to find so many freestanding examples. See Hofmann 1995, 271–79, pls. 14–19.

includes a hymn to Re, but Hathor is invoked multiple times on the statue's base.⁹² Adding to the numerous depictions within his tomb that reference Anuket's cult are clear indications that Neferhotep venerated Hathor as well. She is mentioned or illustrated several times in his tomb, and objects, such as the libation table assigned to Neferhotep that honors her, were also found at the village site.⁹³ Perhaps the most unusual archaeological find is a polychrome, wooden doorframe of a house (Turin 1464⁹⁴) dedicated to both Ptah and Hathor. On each side of the doorway, a vertical panel of text terminates in two large male figures (Neferhotep and the vizier Neferrenpet) kneeling at the base. While the vizier chose to repeat his veneration of Ptah on each side, Neferhotep singles out Hathor for his devotion so that his person is closely tied to both Hathor and Ptah, a wholly expected recipient of homage by an artists' supervisor.⁹⁵

ANUKET IN THE DEIR EL-MEDINA COMMUNITY

I have already noted the importance of Anuket within the wider community of workmen at Deir el-Medina as a whole. While extra attention seems to have been devoted to the goddess in the Neferhotep family, she was clearly not unknown at the site. Dominique Valbelle documents many instances in the village where Anuket is named or depicted.⁹⁶ They include three additional local tombs,⁹⁷ as well as figured and inscribed ostraca—for instance, those belonging to the Late Ramesside Letters corpus—stelae, a statue, a lintel from a cult building, magical papyri, and miscellaneous objects. Several of these cases have already been discussed above. The tomb of Hay (TT 267) in Deir el-Medina's west cemetery includes two wall paintings with Anuket in her female form, depicted with green skin, as well as a hymn praising her;⁹⁸ TT 335 of Nakhtamen has an intriguing composition of the “monochrome” type in its burial chamber (Chamber C) that shows the goddess accompanying a form of Taweret;⁹⁹ and Pashed commissioned both an incomplete stela with Anuket's figure now missing (Turin N. 50242¹⁰⁰) and two wall paintings that include the goddess for his sepulchre (TT 292).¹⁰¹

Together these cases paint a picture of regular, albeit unofficial, attention to the worship of this relatively minor goddess. Most of the images and inscriptions associate her with the rest of the divine triad from Elephantine in the traditional family format and do not suggest her cult obtained the level that necessitated priests and a dedicated religious building. Only a single artifact, a chapel lintel tentatively assigned to an unknown structure built for the deified Amenhotep I and Thutmose III and illustrating several other deities (BM EA 153¹⁰²), might be evidence of a permanent cult to Anuket that demanded organized, priestly participation.

It is more probable, however, that certain individuals or families elevated Anuket for worship so they might partake of her protective attention—people including a contemporary of Nebnefer.¹⁰³ This individual

92 Bruyère 1925, 44–45; 1926, 37, fig. 25c; *KRI* 3:594.

93 This table was excavated from pit 1010. See Bruyère 1926, 37, fig. 24.

94 Donadoni Roveri 1988, 87, fig. 130; https://collezioni.museoegizio.it/en-GB/material/Cat_1464/, accessed October 28, 2022.

95 Ptah's role as the patron god of artists and craftsmen is well documented. See Andreu 2002, 148, 150.

96 Cat. nos. 114–17, 256–69, 271–86 (Valbelle 1981, 13–14, 29–34).

97 Each of these funerary monuments—TT 267 (Hay), TT 292 (Pashed), and TT 335 (Nakhtamen)—holds only one or two illustrations of the goddess, however, as opposed to the multiple depictions found in TT 6 and TT 216.

98 Valbelle 1975b, 15, 26, pls. 17, 21. IFAO online photo archive no. 624, <http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ttdem/>.

99 Porter and Moss 1994, (26), 403; noted in Bruyère 1926, 156–60, figs. 104–7.

100 Tosi and Roccati 1972, 200–201, 352–53.

101 Bruyère 1925, 68.

102 See Murnane 1977, 219; Bierbrier 1993, 18–19, pls. 56–57; https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA153.

103 Kasa is one of the participants depicted on Nebnefer's stela (BM EA 267; see Černý 2001, 251).

was the workman and soldier Kasa, who commissioned a gessoed wooden naos¹⁰⁴ that focuses on Anuket and likely once contained a statuette of the goddess. Its imagery fits well with Elephantine's mythology but highlights worship of her specifically; one long side depicts the goddess in her distinctive feathered head-dress as she travels alone in a bark ornamented with Hathor-headed aegises (as in fig. 6.6). Valbelle points out that this small naos would not have required its own cult sanctuary but might easily have been installed in a building dedicated to Amun, since that powerful deity is also lauded in its inscriptions.¹⁰⁵

CONCLUSION

The pantheon of deities available for worship by the citizens of ancient Egypt was widely varied and extensive. Sometimes the selection of particular gods or goddesses for adoration by an individual is difficult to explain. At first glance, this seems true for the powerful men who commissioned the decoration of TT 6 and TT 216. On closer examination, however, several avenues of investigation help explain the prominence of Anuket and Hathor in this pair of funerary monuments. The three foremen of the gang on the right who were memorialized in TT 6 and TT 216 had their choice of subject matter to incorporate in their places of interment. They also possessed both the financial means and professional ties in the artisan community to obtain their desired product in such an important project, so we can presume the images in these two tombs were deliberately selected by their owners.

The many texts available to scholars clearly show that a cult to Anuket was unusually popular at Deir el-Medina, and especially so during the hundred years or so that these foremen lived. The figured and textual ostraca, magical papyri, and votive objects are unambiguous in their expressed veneration of this little-known goddess. Witness, for example, the extraordinary wooden naos dedicated by Kasa during Nebnefer's lifetime that elevates Anuket's cult above several, more major deities. It is especially telling that the only other instances of decorated Theban tombs containing illustrations of Anuket—a total of five sepulchres out of more than four hundred—also occur at the site of Deir el-Medina. Her distinctive appearance would have been readily identified by most inhabitants of the village as one of the divine beings to whom they entrusted their continued health in the inhospitable desert environment inhabited by venomous creatures. These men and their families would have spent most days living and working in close proximity to the deadly vipers and scorpions that continue to thrive in the arid regions of western Thebes. Given the special circumstances of their habitation, Anuket was clearly a logical choice of deity to celebrate. Equally important was the goddess Hathor, though her popularity among the village's residents probably stemmed from her long history as a funerary goddess in the region. These workmen toiled for decades in the shadow of the mountain believed to be her earthly dwelling place, and numerous depictions of Hathor emerging in cow form from her cliff home occur in the tombs at Deir el-Medina, including TT 216. If Anuket was a goddess crucial to their daily lives, then Hathor was essential for ensuring that they transitioned to a successful existence in the afterlife.

It is not only the illustrations and textual references to Anuket and Hathor in this pair of tombs crafted for the family of Neferhotep that are important, but also the special compositions and color scheme in them. I have noted how the unusual emphasis on red or pink hues in the palette alluded to the barren environment over which each goddess presided. The desert sands are very clearly depicted as stippled pink or color gradations in TT 216's scenes celebrating Hathor's arrival from within the mountain.¹⁰⁶ Adjacent to one of these motifs is a scene showing her joyous festival, with a procession, votive offerings, and priests traveling from her temple. A similar celebration is illustrated for Anuket elsewhere in the same tomb, even encompassing the artist's rendition of her original cult place in the Elephantine Island grove populated by

104 This item is Turin 2446, of unknown provenience but possibly from Deir el-Medina (Valbelle 1972, 179–94, pls. 45–48). The texts describing the valuable gifts Anuket grants to Kasa include one phrase that correlates closely with that listed in TT 6 of Neferhotep I and Nebnefer (Valbelle 1972, 189).

105 Valbelle 1972, 193.

106 Porter and Moss 1994, (16) and (18), 313–14.

gazelles. Surely an added attraction for the Neferhotep family was the timing of the Festival of Anuket with the beginning of the river's annual inundation, presaging the happy time when the Nile's rejuvenating waters—believed to spring anew in Anuket's homeland—returned to the parched croplands on the floodplain. One can come to no other reasonable conclusion than that these influential members of the village community were so devoted to Anuket and Hathor that they saw the opportunity of choosing imagery for their tombs as yet another way to pay homage to these goddesses. The tomb scenes are likely portrayals of the very activities in which the Neferhotep family engaged while living—activities carefully depicted in their tombs for all eternity as hoped-for events to occupy one's afterlife.

7

ON THE ALLEGED INVOLVEMENT OF THE
DEIR EL-MEDINA CREW IN THE MAKING
OF ELITE TOMBS IN THE THEBAN NECROPOLIS
DURING THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY:
A REASSESSMENT¹

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“WHO MADE THE PRIVATE TOMBS OF THEBES?”² A PLAIN “STANDARD THEORY”?

Because of the contiguity of Deir el-Medina and the necropolis of the Theban elite, it has often seemed natural to assume that the two sites were closely connected on a functional level, with the inhabitants of the former—usually presented as “the only identifiable group of tomb makers in western Thebes during the New Kingdom”³—being easily considered plausible candidates as the creators and decorators of the latter’s tombs and funerary monuments.⁴ A quarter of a century ago, John Romer aimed to address the issue from a statistical point of view (fig. 7.1), and his attempt to evaluate and correlate the production rate in the Valley of the Kings, that is, the work carried out by the Deir el-Medina crew, and in the nearby elite cemetery, on the eastern slope of the same Theban rock formation, led him to the following, more nuanced suggestion:

Statistical comparison of activity in the two necropoleis, private and royal, shows that . . . the activities of the celebrated tomb makers of Deir el-Medina were linked to the activities of the craftsmen who made the private tombs.⁵

That this overall equivalence of effort was maintained within the royal and private necropoleis of Thebes for more than four hundred years strongly suggests that Theban tomb making was conducted by a permanent workforce and directed by a single authority: the same authority, therefore, that Deir el-Medina archives describe as overseeing the work at the royal tomb. Thus, the offices of the administration that controlled the unknown craftsmen who made and decorated the private tombs are probably to be discovered in the same departments that controlled work in the royal necropolis.⁶

1 This chapter is a revised version of a paper first presented at the conference “Deir el-Medina and the Theban Necropolis in Contact: Describing the Interactions within and outside the Community of Workmen,” organized by Andreas Dorn and Stéphane Polis at the University of Liège, October 27–29, 2014 (see now Dorn and Polis 2018). It results from a research program funded by a Research Incentive Grant of the F.R.S.-FNRS at the University of Liège titled “Painters and Painting Practices in the Theban Necropolis during the 18th Dynasty” (dir. D. Laboury). I wish to express here my gratitude to those two institutions that made this research possible, as well as the invitation to participate in the Theban Workshop of 2016.

2 This is the title of the article of Romer 1994.

3 Romer 1994, 211.

4 It is noteworthy that the same reasoning is also frequently adopted regarding the workmen’s village at the site of Amarna and the elite necropolis to the north and south of this settlement. Furthermore, quite interestingly, it also applies, but the other way around, to the search for a hypothetical equivalent of Deir el-Medina in the Memphite necropolis (see Navratilova 2018).

5 Romer 1994, 218–19.

6 Romer 1994, 220.

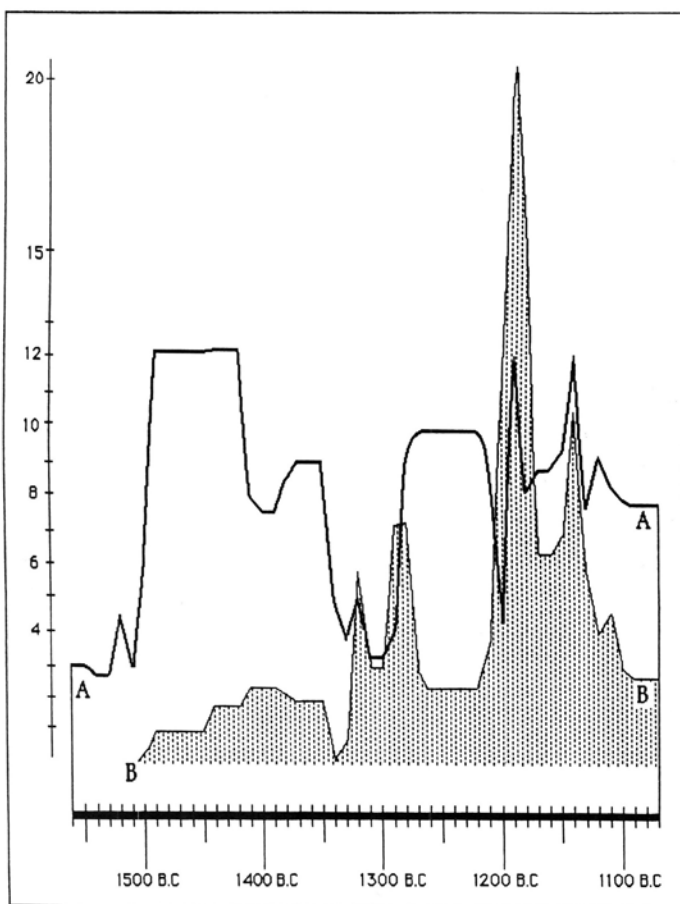


Figure 7.1. Correlation of production rates in the private (A) and royal (B) necropoleis during the New Kingdom, as computed and presented in Romer 1994, 229, fig. 9.

Without discussing the rather problematic questions of the estimation (or quantification) of tomb production rates (see the comments of Romer himself⁷) and, consequently, of the conclusiveness of the supposed correlation (fig. 7.1),⁸ one can only follow Melinda Hartwig, who rightly stressed that “this ‘equivalence of effort’ does not offer proof that the private workforce was a permanent entity situated on the West Bank, directed by the same authority that oversaw the Deir el-Medina workmen.”⁹ Furthermore, many other historical factors¹⁰ could of course have influenced and thus account for this apparently similar production rate in both cemeteries. But more importantly, there is a methodological and documentary problem we are now much more aware of than in the time of Romer’s contributions on the topic: the evolution of Deir el-Medina and its community through the half millennium of its existence. It is indeed increasingly better acknowledged and considered that Egyptology long used to extrapolate the life of this crew over five centuries thanks mainly to the exceptional richness of textual sources from the past hundred years or so of its history. And, in this perspective, recent research on literacy practices—especially the study of literature

production and consumption in the village,¹¹ on the one hand, and the use of pseudoscripts (the so-called “funny signs”),¹² on the other hand—has clearly demonstrated a dramatic evolution of the socioeducational level of the population housed in this settlement during the New Kingdom. Besides, Andreas Dorn has rather convincingly suggested that the site may not have been in use on a permanent basis in its early

7 Romer 1994. Note that Rune Rasmus Olsen aimed to develop a volumetric and more precise method in this respect in his doctoral thesis, “Socioeconomic Aspects of Ancient Egyptian Private Tomb Construction: A Study on New Kingdom Tomb Volumetrics as Economic Markers,” presented in 2018 at the University of Copenhagen.

8 See, for instance, the clear divorce of the two lines for the middle of the thirteenth century BC.

9 Hartwig 2004, 25.

10 Examples of such factors include the global wealth of the country at a certain time; the fashion or pressure to be buried in a particular necropolis or area (e.g., Thebes vs. Memphis or Pi-Ramesses); the evolution of tomb concepts both in royal and private spheres; the need of the king (or queen) to rely on his (or her) elite for political reasons (as in the case of Hatshepsut; see Laboury 2014, 88–89) and, consequently, the increased influence and power of this royal entourage; and so forth.

11 As, for instance, the synthesis of Mathieu 2006, 136–37, plainly reveals, this is a phenomenon exclusively attested in the village during the Ramesside period. See also Haring 2006a.

12 This has been the subject of a long-term project led by Ben J. J. Haring at the University of Leiden; see his seminal article, Haring 2006a, and now Haring 2018a (with earlier bibliography); and Haring, van der Moezel, and Soliman 2018. See the excellent synthesis on the system used in the Eighteenth Dynasty and its educational and organizational consequences in Haring 2018b, as well as in Soliman 2018. On the fluctuations of the size of the crew throughout its history, see B. Davies 2017, and, for the Eighteenth Dynasty, Soliman 2018, 501.

history.¹³ All this renders even more challenging the question of who made the private tombs of Thebes, especially during the Eighteenth Dynasty, and what involvement the Deir el-Medina crew could have had in this process.

To address this double issue, let us start by reassessing the foundations of the commonly assumed hypothesis of Deir el-Medina as the most plausible origin for the artists and craftsmen¹⁴ responsible for the making and decoration of Theban private tombs, with a special focus on the Eighteenth Dynasty.

THE EVIDENCE FOR THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE DEIR EL-MEDINA CREW IN THE MAKING OF PRIVATE TOMBS

As is well known, the members of the Deir el-Medina community often used their own talents, skills, and resources to create their funerary equipment, including tombs, for themselves as well as for their colleagues in the village. A good example of these “informal workshop” practices¹⁵ is provided by TT 359, in the name of the Twentieth Dynasty “superior of the crew” Inherkhawy, who commissioned two of the best painters of his team, the two brothers Nebnefer and Hor(i)min, to decorate his funerary monument.¹⁶ Of course, such a case of internal employment—that is, when an artist worked for a colleague, a superior, or himself—cannot be considered evidence for the participation of the Deir el-Medina workforce in the production of private tombs in the sense of elite private tombs such as the ones of the Theban cemetery from Qurnet Murai to Dra^c Abu el-Naga. And the same holds true for artists’ funerary chapels, such as the Eighteenth Dynasty mutualized tombs of Djehutymose and Qenamun in Saqqara (T Bubasteion I.19),¹⁷ whose connection with the Deir el-Medina community is still unclear;¹⁸ of Nebamun and Ipuky at el-Khokha (TT 181);¹⁹ or of Nu and Nakhtmin in Deir el-Medina (TT 291).²⁰ As a matter of fact, the only elite private tombs that might be related to the activity of Deir el-Medina artists or craftsmen are all of Ramesside date, with two dubious cases in the Nineteenth Dynasty and two much clearer ones from the late Twentieth Dynasty.

¹³ Dorn 2011b, esp. 35–38; and more recently Soliman 2018, esp. 471.

¹⁴ On the distinction between artists and craftsmen from an emic vantage point, see Laboury 2016, esp. 374–75.

¹⁵ Cooney 2006. Thorough study of the phenomenon, with previous bibliography, appears in Cooney 2007. On tomb production more specifically, see Cooney 2008b.

¹⁶ Keller 2001. Publication of the tomb was done by Cherpion and Corteggiani 2010. As the late Cathleen Keller underlined (Keller 2001, 90n43), this practice may have been quite common.

¹⁷ Zivie 2013.

¹⁸ See the recent discussion in Haring 2017 and Navratilova 2018, 397–99. It must be noted here that, despite the title of the book by Alain-Pierre Zivie (2013) on T Bubasteion I.19, none of the members of Thutmose’s family is connected to the *s.t m3^c.t* (Zivie 2013, pls. 13–22, 35–36, 50–63); this toponym is indeed only attested in the epigraphy of the tomb for Qenamun/Qenaton and his sons (Zivie 2013, pls. 12, 29–31, 34). As the modification of his name makes perfectly clear, this “chief painter in the Place of Maat” Qenamun/Qenaton lived during the Atenist reform. This implies that all the earliest mentions of *s.t m3^c.t* in the titles of artists or craftsmen are definitely to be dated to this period, including those from Deir el-Medina (Černý 1973a, 50–52; Haring 2017, 152–53). Furthermore, regarding the latter, the now-lost stone seat in the name of “the servant in the Place of Maat to the west of *3h.t-n-Itm*” Nakhy does not come initially from Amarna, since *3h.t-n-Itm* is actually a designation of the first Atenist complex built by Amenhotep IV in his regnal year 4 to the east of Karnak, in contrast to the royal residence of Akhet-Aten at Amarna, initiated the following year (on this, see Gabolde 1998, 28n218; Laboury 2010, 151; for these reasons, the stela Turin Museo Egizio 96 and the lintel BM EA 281 belong to the same Nakhy). All this means that by year 4 of Amenhotep IV (and maybe earlier in the reign, since the lintel BM EA 281 mentions an early form of Amenhotep IV’s god—that is, *R^c-hr-3h.ty-h^cy-m-3h.t* without any cartouche—that disappeared in year 4 [see Laboury 2010, 125–34, esp. 128–29]), the transformation of the royal necropolis at Thebes as *s.t 3.t* into *s.t m3^c.t* had already occurred. On the importance of the concept of Maat in the Atenist ideology and in the traditional solar theology, see Laboury 2010, 184; on the evolution of the community of Deir el-Medina just before, that is, in the time of Amenhotep III, see Dorn 2011b, 35–36, and Soliman 2018, 501, 504, 506. In this context, it is absolutely possible, but yet undemonstrable, that the chief painter in the Place of Maat Qenamun/Qenaton worked within the Deir el-Medina community in the Valley of the Kings. It also becomes even more tantalizing to restore the expression *s.t m3^c.t* in the inscription “servant in the Place [. . .] Nehemmaatiu[?]” on a wooden pedestal found in one of the tomb chapels near the workmen’s village at Amarna (Peet and Woolley 1923, 101, fig. 15).

¹⁹ N. de G. Davies 1925b.

²⁰ Bruyère and Kuentz 1926, 1–65.

In the sloping passage leading to the burial chamber of TT 32, made for the overseer of the granaries of Amun Djehutymose during the reign of Ramesses II, three control marks signed by the “painter [zš-ḳd] Pay” prompted Zoltán Fábrián to suggest that this painter most probably supervised the tunneling operation—and maybe also the entire architecture in the tomb—and, moreover, could be identified with a contemporary namesake attested as a member of the Deir el-Medina community.²¹ But “Pay” was a rather common name at that time, and other painters named Pay are attested in the early Ramesside period, including outside Deir el-Medina,²² thus weakening what must remain a mere hypothesis.

The contemporaneous royal steward and ambassador—*wpw.ty n(y)sw(.t) r ḥ3s.t nb.t*—of Ramesses II Netjeruymose, whose nickname was *p3-rḥ-nw(3)* (“the one who knows how to [fore]see”)—spelled *Pa/(Pi)-ri-ih-na(a)-wa* in Hittite sources—had his tomb made in the cliff of the so-called “Bubasteion” in Saqqara (ancient *dhn.t-ḥt-ḥt.wy*; T Bubasteion I.16), with a protruding, high-relief depiction of Hathor as a cow coming out of the rock of the rear wall and protecting a royal figure in adoration. Alain-Pierre Zivie, who discovered the tomb, compared this rock-cut statue with an almost equivalent two-dimensional representation of the goddess preceded by the effigy of a prince labeled with the epithet *p3-rḥ-nw(3)* on a stela in the name of the “call-listener in the Place-of-Maat” (*sdm-ḥ m s.t-m3(.t)*) Khabekhnet (BM EA 555); and since the tomb of this Deir el-Medina crew member (TT 2) features a similar depiction of Hathor as a cow emerging from the cliff, as does the one of his colleague, the sculptor Qen (TT 4), Zivie inferred that those two artists of Deir el-Medina were responsible for the decoration of the tomb of Netjeruymose²³—an appealing but yet insufficiently conclusive speculation.²⁴

Definitely more indisputable are the two cases of the late Twentieth Dynasty. Both relate to the same individual—the chief painter of Deir el-Medina, Amenhotep son of Amunnakhte, a highly educated artist, who was plainly a star of his time and happened to decorate (at least) two tombs of Theban elites, TT 65 and TT 113, as can be demonstrated on signature and stylistic evidence.²⁵ The latter tomb, in the name of the *w3b*-priest and *ḥry-sšt3* of the estate of Amun Kynebu, now badly damaged, was visited in the early nineteenth century by John Gardner Wilkinson, who recorded a funeral scene with a self-portrait *in assistenza* of our painter,²⁶ reading the Opening of the Mouth ritual and designated as “the scribe and deputy of the venerable [institution of the] Tomb [*p3 ḥr špsy*], Amenhotep.”²⁷ The few preserved remains of the decoration compare favorably with the quite well characterized style of Amenhotep.²⁸ As for TT 65—a Thutmoside tomb of the time of Hatshepsut usurped by the chief of the altar-chamber and chief of the temple archives of Amun, Imiseba—it is referred to in a graffito left in year 9 of Ramesses IX in the tomb of Ramesses VI (KV 9) stating that “the scribe Amenhotep and his son, the scribe and deputy of painters Amennakhte of the Tomb [*p3 ḥr*] came” there “[after] they executed the decoration in the tomb [. . . of the overseer of the scribes of the] temple Imiseba, of the estate of Amun.”²⁹ As Cathleen Keller and then Tamás Bács have perfectly shown, the stylistic analysis of the decoration of TT 65 not only allows the specific painterly handwriting (or perhaps one should say “handpainting”) of the father and son artists to be recognized but also leads to the conclusion that they were helped in their task by a friend and contemporary of Amenhotep, Hor(i)min, “whose individual style has also been treated by Keller in detail.”³⁰

21 Fábrián 1992, 1997, 2004.

22 See, for instance, the *zš-ḳd n s.t-m3(.t)* Pay, son of the (*ḥry*) *zš-ḳd n s.t-m3(.t)* Qenna (or Qenamun/Qenaton; see n18 above and Zivie 2013, pls. 12, 29, 31), who, for genealogical reasons, cannot be equated with any of the other Pays mentioned in Deir el-Medina sources; see B. Davies 1999, 301, with references.

23 Zivie 2003, 75–76; 2006, 69–70.

24 On the rather well-attested motif of Hathor as an emerging cow protecting a royal figure (especially in the Theban area), see Blumenthal 2001.

25 Keller 1984, 2003; Bács 2011b, 2017 (with previous bibliography).

26 On the concept of self-portrait *in assistenza*, see Laboury 2015, 327–30; 2016, 388–89.

27 Wilkinson 1841, pl. 86.

28 Keller 2003, 95–96; Bács and Parkinson 2011.

29 See, notably, Bács 2011b, 2017 (with previous bibliography).

30 Bács 2011b, 36, quoting Keller 2001. See Bács 2017 on the fascinating combination this hiring yielded between the visual culture of temple imagery desired by the order-giving patron, Imiseba, and the iconography and style of Ramesside Deir

These two isolated cases of the late Twentieth Dynasty are nevertheless very specific in that they belong to a rather special period of ancient Egyptian history, a period “of extreme civic violence, inter-elite skirmishing, various bloody wars, and patronage from the Ramessesnakht family (and their ilk), and locally all-powerful Amun clergy,”³¹ and a period during which the Theban artistic talents were clearly to be found on the west bank, in Deir el-Medina, and apparently no longer in the estate of Karnak. They are also highly specific because they involve a close and limited social network, since both Kynebu and Imiseba are documented as having business contacts with the Deir el-Medina community.³² So in any case, these two private works of the distinguished Amenhotep son of Amennakhte in the necropolis of the Theban elites cannot substantiate a general theory of regular implication of the Deir el-Medina crew in the making of such tombs, a theory for which the evidence is actually very scarce, to say the least.³³

THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY CREW OF DEIR EL-MEDINA AND THEIR ARTISTIC ABILITIES AND AUTONOMY

If the chief painter Amenhotep son of Amunnakhte was plainly the kind of artist the Renaissance would have designated a *pictor doctus*—that is, a scholar-painter accumulating prestigious responsibilities and religious titles and capable of creating new compositions, both in images and texts, for his royal and private clientele³⁴—such was certainly not the case for most of, perhaps all, his pre-Ramesside colleagues in the village of Deir el-Medina. As mentioned above, the dearth of textual production in and around the settlement during the Eighteenth Dynasty and the use of a parascriptural system of notation, the pseudoscript of the so-called “funny signs,” strongly hint in this direction. But there are other, not exclusively philological arguments to support such a deduction, namely, the tombs of the artists at issue—in other words, their own work for themselves.

First of all, among the Eighteenth Dynasty tombs that can be related to the coeval community of Deir el-Medina, a strikingly small number of them were decorated, in clear contrast with the Ramesside situation of the village and its necropolis: of a total of about three hundred burials datable to the Eighteenth Dynasty in both the western and eastern cemeteries,³⁵ only six or seven (TT 340, TT 354, TT 325, TT 8, and, for the post-Amarna era, TT 291, TT 338, and probably also the first chapel of TT 268)—that is, less than 3 percent—were discovered with a decorated chapel. In addition to this raw archaeological fact, which might be due at least partly to socioeconomic factors,³⁶ and more revealingly, almost all these funerary monuments were decorated in a quite rudimentary way—a feature that needs further analysis here.

The earliest preserved example, the unfinished TT 340, was made for the “call-listener” Amenemhat, apparently by his son, Sennefer, who depicted himself in the tomb as someone “who writes correctly and <causes his [i.e., his father’s]> name to live” (fig. 7.2).³⁷ This funerary chapel is of tiny dimensions, its only

el-Medina tradition (itself derived from the decoration of royal tombs) brought in by the artists of the institution of the Tomb, namely, Amenhotep and his two colleagues.

31 Bács 2017, 308.

32 Bács 2011b, 35n14.

33 The well-known fact that Deir el-Medina crew members could, on some occasions, be sent out of the Valley of the Kings to work on other royal projects, apparently as early as the Eighteenth Dynasty (Valbelle 1985, 21–22; see also the arguments of Haring 2018b, 241–42), is of course also irrelevant to this theory, since those commissions were actually royal and not private.

34 For a summary, see Bács 2017.

35 Soliman 2015.

36 One has to recall here that TT 8 and TT 338 belonged, respectively, to the *hry* and/or *imy-r k3.wt m s.t-ḥ3.t* Kha (Russo 2012, 67) and to the *zš-ḳd n Imn* and maybe also *hry hmww m s.t-mḥ.t* Maya (Tosi 1994, 57–58), that is, two superiors within the crew. Additionally, some chapels may have been destroyed during the occupation or reoccupation of the site. But, beyond any doubt, the number of decorated chapels was far smaller in the Eighteenth Dynasty than in the Ramesside period.

37 Because of the situation of the tomb and of what follows, it is assumed, though no title explicitly supports this deduction, that Sennefer was, like his father, a member of the Deir el-Medina crew; see also Kruchten 1999, 47.



Figure 7.2. Scene from the western wall of TT 340 depicting the tomb owner, Amenemhat, and his wife, Satamun, receiving offerings from their son, Sennefer. After Cherpion 1999, pl. 8. © IFAO.

wedjat eyes flanking an incense pot on top of the three water signs for *mw* (fig. 7.3). And the inscriptions on the walls confirm this impression of a decoration directly inspired by, if not derived from, the visual culture of basic or low-cost funerary monuments such as stelae: through a careful analysis of these short texts, the late Jean-Marie Kruchten was able to demonstrate that Sennefer—the alleged and self-proclaimed “son who writes correctly”—clumsily reproduced formulae learned by rote, such as *ḥtp-di-(ny)-sw.t*, which he tried to adapt or emend almost exclusively with uniliteral signs,⁴¹ thereby making many errors that betray his actual and rather low level of literacy.⁴² Even in his boastful signature as a self-portrait *in assistenzia*, our obviously self-taught novice scribe Sennefer made many orthographic mistakes: *šsp{t} ḥt nb(t) nfr(.t) w^cb(.t) (n) k3 (n) Imn-|m-ḥ3.t (m-dr.t) s3(.f) Sn-nfr | (i)r (i)nk jnk s3 zš-|i mty (s)^cnh rn(.f)*⁴³ (fig. 7.2, right panel).⁴⁴ In addition, he regularly broke the compositional or editorial rules for hieroglyphic panels in monumental decoration by inverting the orientation of a text and the figure to which it relates (fig. 7.4), disregarding the norms of grouping hieroglyphs in balanced quadrats (fig. 7.4, *ḥtp-di-(ny)-sw.t* formulae), rejecting final signs out of a panel that was not properly composed in advance, and even reversing the order of words or signs (fig. 7.4, in the epithet *ḥk3 d.t* of Osiris).

38 Cherpion 1999, 6.

39 Cherpion 1999, pls. 1–5, 14–15.

40 Cherpion 1999, pls. 1–2, 6–13, 20–21. Compare, for instance, the almost contemporary stela Turin Museo Egizio C. 1618 of Kha (Vandier d’Abbadie 1939, 13–14, pl. 11; Ferraris 2018, 18), or even the post-Amarna stela Turin Museo Egizio C. 1579 of Maya (Tosi 1994, 41). Under the stela’s lunette-like scene of the deceased kneeling in front of Anubis and Osiris on the north wall of TT 340 was also depicted an unfinished mortuary procession (Cherpion 1999, pls. 14–15, 17–19) of a kind that might well be encountered on funerary stelae. On this iconographic theme and its variations, see the classic Settgast 1963.

41 Kruchten (1999, 48, 55) also noted the acrophonic use of a few biliteral or trilateral signs; see, for instance, the gecko hieroglyph (*š3*, Gardiner sign I1) in the expression *sdm-š* in the panel illustrated in figures 7.3–7.4.

42 Kruchten 1999.

43 The transliteration is from Kruchten 1999, 44.

44 As noted by Kruchten (1999, 55), the initial sign of this panel is the contemporary hieratic form for *šsp* (Gardiner sign O42), a fact that might suggest Sennefer had at least some sort of acquaintance with cursive hieroglyphs.

room measuring 1.59 m long, 2.20 m wide, and only 1.64 m high, so that it is not possible to stand in it, as emphasized by Nadine Cherpion, who published the monument.³⁸ Even more significantly, the iconographic scheme and repertoire are particularly basic, strongly reminiscent of the usual decoration of funerary stelae of the time, showing the adoration of and presentation of offerings to Osiris and Anubis in a symmetric composition (fig. 7.3)³⁹ or the deceased couple sitting in front of an offering table (figs. 7.2, 7.3), with family members aligned in rows (fig. 7.3).⁴⁰ The side walls, with their upper part rounded by the vaulted ceiling of the chamber, also display the typical stela motif of a pair of



Figure 7.3. Decoration of the southern wall of TT 340. After Cherpion 1999, pl. 1. © IFAO.



Figure 7.4. Detail of figure 7.3 highlighting the orientation of texts and figures in the central part of the double scene of the upper register, as well as abnormalities in the hieroglyphic text composition. After Cherpion 1999, pl. 1. © IFAO.

Interestingly enough, Daniel Soliman, in his study of the use of workmen's marks in pre-Amarna tombs at Deir el-Medina, observed exactly the same kinds of hieroglyphic mistakes on the few inscribed objects from those burials:

We see several instances of words or signs that are omitted, while in other instances signs or sign groups are written where they should not be present. Furthermore there are some mistakes in the orientation and placement of signs. Elsewhere on the coffin from DM 1380, in column 4 the name of the god Thot is written $\overline{\text{𓄏𓄏𓄏}}$, using only uniliteral signs, while in column 5 the name of the god Imseti is written $\overline{\text{𓄏𓄏𓄏}}$, with an incorrectly oriented sign $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$.⁴⁵

In much of the textual evidence that does survive from both the Western and the Eastern cemeteries miswriting, non-orthographic spelling and mistakes in the orientation of signs are abundant. These inscriptions seem to be the efforts of individuals who were not formally educated as scribes but were in contact with hieroglyphic script and had enough creativity and knowledge of hieroglyphic script to write certain formulas and texts.⁴⁶

Comparable evidence of a lack of hieroglyphic mastery may also sometimes be detected in the official, though certainly supervised, work of the Deir el-Medina crew during the Eighteenth Dynasty—that is, on the murals of the contemporaneous tombs in the Valley of the Kings.⁴⁷ One example comes from the burial chamber of Amenhotep II (KV 35), the first one in the history of New Kingdom royal tombs whose decoration in the schematic style of an illustrated ritual papyrus (for the so-called Book of the Amduat) is complemented with large-scale figurative scenes depicting the king in interaction with deities. In one of those scenes (pillar B, face c of PM 1², 552, 554) the epithet *tp<w> dw:f* of Anubis was written in two columns so that the determinatives (or classifiers) and suffix pronoun $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$ at the end of the word *dw* were pushed into the second column (fig. 7.5)⁴⁸—a word break certainly not expected



Figure 7.5. Scene depicting Amenhotep II receiving life from Anubis on face c of pillar B in the burial chamber of the king's tomb (KV 35). Photo by M. Kacicnik—Theban Mapping Project, courtesy of the Theban Mapping Project.

45 Soliman 2015, 121.

46 Soliman 2015, 122.

47 The supervision of their teamwork in royal tombs probably limited such mistakes in a significant way, in comparison with their rather individual productions for their own funerary equipment, such as TT 340 or the coffins analyzed by Soliman (2015, 120–22). For some hints at the administrative and scribal supervision of their work during the Thutmoside period, see most recently Gabler and Soliman 2018 and Soliman 2018. Other cases from other periods of poor-literate use of hieroglyphs, notably based on uniliteral signs (such as the one described by Verner 1997), suggest that the educational level of the members of the Deir el-Medina community during the Eighteenth Dynasty was rather common and normal among the trades involved in ancient Egyptian monumental production. So, in context—and in contrast—such basic errors highlight the exceptionally high socioeducational level of Deir el-Medina crew members (or at least some of them) during the Ramesside period, and even more specifically during the end of this epoch.

48 Bucher 1932, 216.

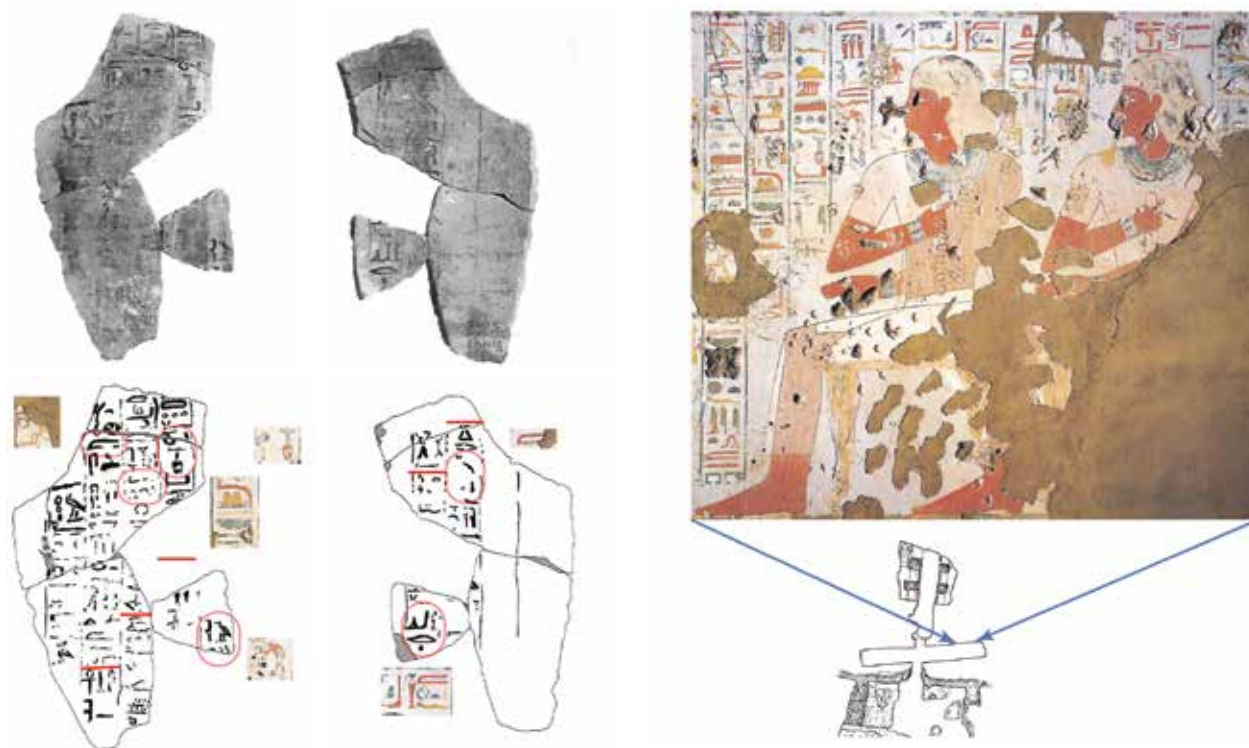


Figure 7.6. Comparison of an inscription of the tomb of Menkheperreseneb (TT 79) in its drafted version on an ostracum (79/24) and its painted actualization on the tomb's wall. After Guksch et al. 1995, 126, fig. 60, pls. 41, 47a–b.

from a properly trained scribe who fully comprehends what he writes.⁴⁹ This kind of mistake seems to reveal again a rather limited capacity to improvise on the basis of a given textual pattern, probably not entirely understood.

To the contrary, such errors are extremely rare in coeval tombs of the Theban elites,⁵⁰ in which an improvisational ability to lay out and adapt the composition according to the surface to be decorated can usually be observed. A very good and clear example was provided by the archaeological investigation of TT 79: the clearance of the courtyard of this tomb of the overseer of the double granary of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperreseneb, brought to light an ostracum with a sketched inscription in cursive hieroglyphs prepared for a scene that was luckily preserved in the funerary chapel itself (fig. 7.6).⁵¹ Heike Guksch, who published the monument, compared the two versions of this short text—in other words, the initial draft⁵² and its final actualization on the wall of the tomb—and noted only “minor deviations.”⁵³ But these deviations provide clear evidence of an excellent mastery of monumental hieroglyphic writing: the inscription has indeed been reedited with respect to the space left for it in the depicted scene, that is, to the size and

49 Note also the incorrect presence of the plural mark after the sign *tp* in the epithet of the god. In general, both the hieroglyphic signs and the figures themselves on the pillars of KV 35 present a rather unusual schematic shape (Bucher 1932, pls. 41–42), as though the painters were experimenting with something new in their routine repertoire and habits. Comparable oddities also occur in the next royal tomb, that of Thutmose IV (KV 43), notably, unusually shaped or placed hieroglyphs and plainly visible corrections.

50 Nevertheless, they did occur; for a case of an infrequent sign misunderstood, see Laboury 2020, 95–96.

51 For parallels for the use of the outside borders or the filling of the courtyard as a dump area by painters after they have completed their work, see, among many other cases, Polz 1997a; Hayes 1973; or the ostraca published by Tallet (2005, 2010) found with painting materials, pots, and brushes.

52 The preparation of the ostracum to receive a drafted inscription seems to conform to a standard procedure of drawing a series of column lines before—and independently of—writing the text itself, as though to create some sort of a field notebook; see, for instance, the similar examples studied by Lüscher (2013) or Tallet (2005, 2010). This is in clear contrast with administrative ostraca, written in lines and in hieratic; compare, for example, Hayes 1973, pls. 9–11 with pls. 13–23.

53 Guksch et al. 1995, 125–26.

distribution of the columns, without any break inside a single word (fig. 7.6; with the end of each column of the text on the wall marked by a red horizontal line on the drawing of the ostrakon). To adjust the text accordingly, the painter had to reconfigure the inscription, modifying the hieroglyphic orthography or spelling of some words, through the conversion of a — into a ⤵ (fig. 7.6; recto of the ostrakon, second column) or vice versa (fig. 7.6; verso, second column); the reorganization of signs in a single quadrat (fig. 7.6; the group *nw + sm3* in the fourth column of the ostrakon); the rewriting of the word *ibw.t* with only an ideogram (fig. 7.6; recto, fourth column); or the modification of some expressions, such as *kbḥ r3 [m niw.t.f]* into *kbḥ m niw.t.f* (fig. 7.6; verso, first column)⁵⁴ or the title *imy-r šnw.ty* into *imy-r šnw.ty n nb t3.wy* (fig. 7.6; recto, third column). These emendations, obviously made on the spot during the transcription of the sketched model onto the wall, demonstrate that the author of this mural was a scholar-painter expert in the arts and rules of designing ancient Egyptian monumental decoration.

Conversely, in TT 340, if Sennefer appears to be a professional painter who knows how to prepare pigments and handle a brush, he clearly tried to go beyond the limitations of his artistic and hieroglyphic training and skills. The quite unorthodox style of his figures, with their wasted limbs and rather stiff shape (figs. 7.2–7.4),⁵⁵ is also evidence that he ventured out of his usual comfort zone in an effort to produce this exceptionally decorated funerary chapel for his plainly beloved father, Amenemhat.

Analysis of the second Eighteenth Dynasty decorated tomb in Deir el-Medina, TT 354,⁵⁶ leads to a very similar conclusion. The chapel is barely larger (1.57/1.60 m long, 2.78 m wide, and 1.76 m high), and its decoration, left even more unfinished than in TT 340, presents the same characteristics: a stela-like composition and repertoire, with antithetic depictions of funerary deities and the (deceased) seated couple receiving offerings (fig. 7.7). The tomb could not be attributed to a specific individual because its inscriptions are completely absent; though the places to receive the texts were in some cases manifestly prepared, they were left blank (fig. 7.7, the little panels in front of the gods), as though the literate painter meant to inscribe them had never been able to come. As Nadine Cherpion has noted,⁵⁷ the style is clumsy, “careless,” and obviously maladroit “at every level”: the elongated figures with “heavy limbs,” the lack of any detail—from necklaces to baskets or offerings⁵⁸—everything points to an insufficiently mastered

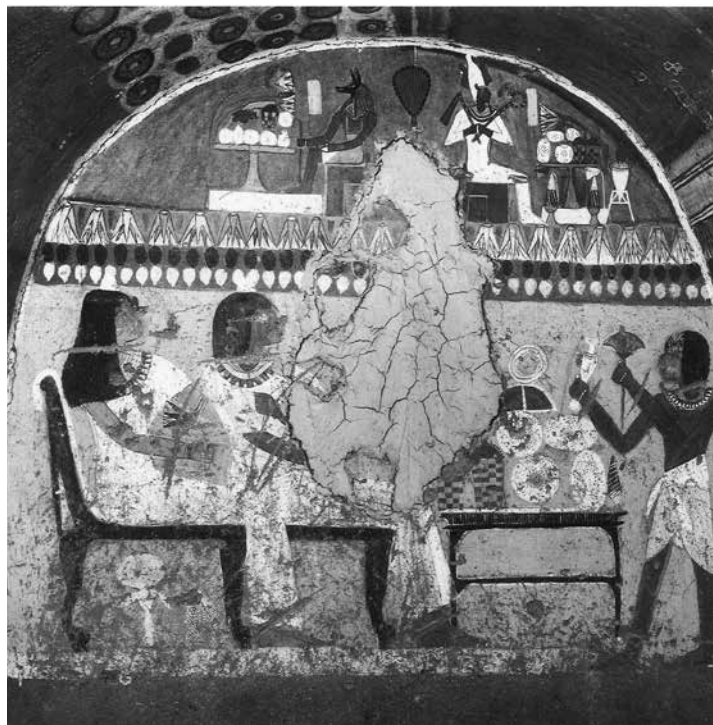


Figure 7.7. Decoration of the southern wall of TT 354. After Cherpion 1999, pl. 27. © IFAO.

54 It is my pleasure here to express my thanks to Stéphane Polis for drawing my attention to the extreme rarity of this expression, which might explain a correction by the painter or, more simply, an omission of the word *r3*.

55 This poorer quality of style, combined with the intericonic process of finding inspiration in the visual culture of surrounding but also—or consequently—earlier monuments, renders the precise dating of TT 340 within the Thutmoside period quite problematic; see Cherpion 1999, 31–39. On intericonicity in ancient Egyptian artistic creation, see Laboury 2017. With their squarish shoulders and rather geometric style, as well as their neatly delineated facial features, the figures of TT 340 (fig. 7.2–4) compare interestingly with those from KV 35 (fig. 7.5).

56 Cherpion 1999, 57–90, pls. 26–44.

57 Cherpion 1999, 67.

58 Cherpion 1999, pls. 28, 30 or 32–33.

craftsmanship.⁵⁹ The best example of this carelessness is perhaps to be observed in the decoration of the ceiling. Whereas in TT 340 the son of Amenemhat opted for the quite simple depiction of a vine rack—with grape clusters and vine leaves alternating in a grid-like framework⁶⁰—the anonymous painter of TT 354 tried to imitate the more sophisticated fabric patterns usually encountered on the ceilings of elite tombs but produced an awkwardly irregular and unbalanced composition that reveals his ignorance of the technique for painting such a motif (fig. 7.8). The presence of (probably pedagogic) sketches that clarify the structure of such patterns on the walls of unfinished elite tombs (fig. 7.9) or even on ostraca⁶¹ shows that these elaborate designs were neither common nor easy to make; rather, they required training, or at least an explanation, to which the painter of TT 354 obviously did not have access. So, just like Sennefer in TT 340, in wishing to create an exceptionally decorated

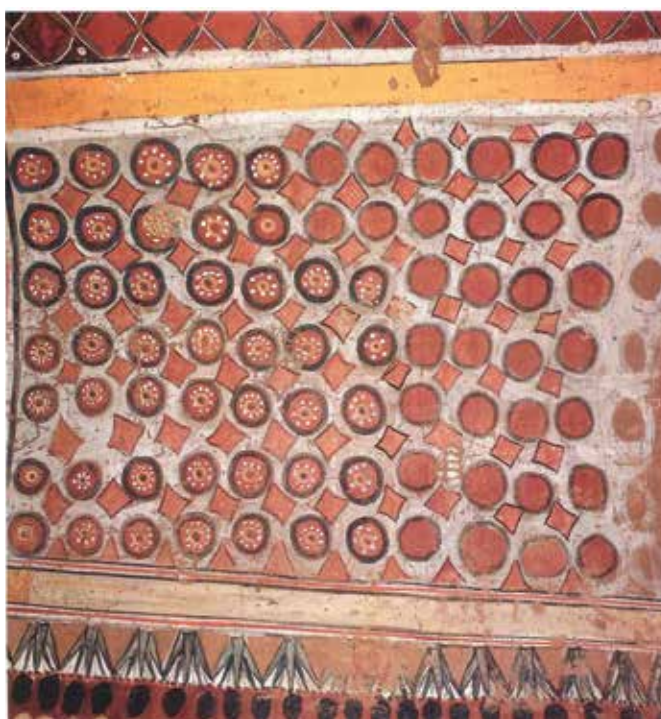


Figure 7.8. Detail of the northeastern part of the painted ceiling of TT 354. After Cherpion 1999, pl. 43a. © IFAO.



Figure 7.9. Sketches of the structure of ceiling patterns on the unfinished walls of TT 38 and TT 101. Photos by Dimitri Laboury.

⁵⁹ Again, this makes dating the murals very difficult, though Cherpion was able to show that some typological details suggest a date in the late pre-Amarna phase of the Eighteenth Dynasty, that is, the reigns of Thutmose IV or Amenhotep III (Cherpion 1999, 85–90).

⁶⁰ Cherpion 1999, pls. 22–23.

⁶¹ See, for instance, Hayes 1973, pl. 6 (nos. 25–28, to be compared with Dorman 1991, pls. 27c, 28c–d); or Delvaux and Pierlot 2013, 20, 56–57 (Brussels, MRAH E.2904 and E.6780a). One may also cite here Ramesside ostraca, such as Cairo JE 36407 (Minault-Gout 2002, 24) or British Museum EA 40969 (Andreu-Lanœ 2013, 183, no. 48), that display a study of an Eighteenth Dynasty-style ceiling pattern, reflecting how challenging such motifs were to artists involved in other kinds of iconographic productions. For an experimental analysis of the technical skills involved in the production of these ceiling patterns, see Tavler 2019.

funerary chapel within the Eighteenth Dynasty cemetery of Deir el-Medina, the anonymous artist ventured beyond the limits of his actual artistic abilities, and his doing so is still plainly detectable in his work.

Another funerary monument, TT 325⁶²—ascribed to a certain Smen on the basis of locally found funerary cones⁶³—is preserved only in the lower parts of its walls. Again, the repertoire of this small tomb chapel was restricted to simple scenes of offerings to the deceased or to funerary gods (now sitting in a kiosk), with figures whose style of clothing suggests a similar dating, that is, in the second half of the pre-Amarna period.⁶⁴

The next Eighteenth Dynasty decorated tomb chapel of Deir el-Medina, TT 8,⁶⁵ is certainly of the same date, but it was made for a superior in the hierarchy of the crew: the chief (*hry*) and “director of all works in the Great-Place (*imy-r k3.wt m s.t-ʿ3.t*),” Kha,⁶⁶ today famous thanks to the discovery of his undisturbed burial by Ernesto Schiaparelli’s expedition in 1906.⁶⁷ The painted chapel has dimensions very similar to the previous ones but inverted—in other words, with a single room longer than wide—and a slightly higher ceiling (3.00 m long, 1.60 m wide, and 2.15 m high). Its entrance door and general architecture were more monumental(ized),⁶⁸ and the decoration was definitely closer to contemporary elite standards. First of all, the classic themes of the deceased couple adoring funerary deities and receiving offerings were enhanced by subsidiary scenes of quite nicely diversified offering bearers or female musicians,⁶⁹ clearly derived from the repertoire of nobles’ tombs. The rear and focal wall⁷⁰ still presents in its stela-like rounded upper part a symmetric composition—with two images of Anubis as a jackal recumbent on a base representing the *sh*-motif on both sides of a central papyrus and lotus flower bouquet—but was designed to be integrated, physically as well as iconographically, with a real stela (almost certainly Turin C. 1618),⁷¹ a formula to be adopted in subsequent chapels of the cemetery and again inspired from elite tombs. The style is also much more reminiscent of the latter, with better-shaped and balanced figures (though often still quite elongated and not entirely devoid of traces of clumsiness),⁷² transparency and texture effects in the depiction of garments or wigs (fig. 7.10), finely detailed offerings and pieces of jewelry, and much better-mastered painted-fabric patterns on the ceiling (fig. 7.11). But the inscriptions are nevertheless still flawed by many oddities. In addition to a few hieroglyphs presenting an unusual form (such as the surprisingly fat viper or the *hryw* oar after the name of Kha on fig. 7.12), Jeanne Vandier d’Abbadie noted:



Figure 7.10. Detail of the western wall of TT 8 depicting a female figure behind Meryt, the wife of the tomb owner, Kha. Photo by IFAO. © IFAO.

62 Bruyère 1925, 100–102; 1927, 51–56, pl. 4.

63 Macadam and Davies 1957, no. 404, in the name of the *im3h hr Wsir Smn m3c hryw*.

64 Cherpion 1999, 1n5.

65 Vandier d’Abbadie 1939; Ferraris 2018, 120–23.

66 Russo 2012, 67.

67 Schiaparelli 1927; Ferraris 2018.

68 See the 3D graphic restitutions made by the Institut français d’archéologie orientale in Ferraris 2018, 14–15.

69 Vandier d’Abbadie 1939, pls. 4, 7–8, 13, 16; Ferraris 2018, 120–22.

70 Vandier d’Abbadie 1939, pls. 2–3.

71 Vandier d’Abbadie 1939, 13–14, pl. 11; Ferraris 2018, 18.

72 See, for instance, the indeed challenging figures of the lute player looking backward and her dancing mate (Vandier d’Abbadie 1939, pls. 7, 16, or Ferraris 2018, 120, to be compared with N. de G. Davies 1917, frontispiece, pls. 15–16 [TT 52], or N. de G. Davies 1963, pl. 6 [TT 38], among many other examples).



Figure 7.11. Detail of the southern half of the painted ceiling of TT 8. Photo by IFAO. © IFAO.



Figure 7.12. Detail of the western wall of TT 8 showing the hieroglyphic panel accompanying the figure of Meryt, the wife of the tomb owner, Kha. Photo by IFAO. © IFAO.

Les quelques textes que l'on peut encore lire sur les murs de cette chapelle sont constitués par des formules funéraires courantes et très connues. Plusieurs de ces formules sont écrites d'une façon bizarre et erronée, qui permet de supposer que ce travail avait été confié à un scribe [*sic*], bon dessinateur sans doute, mais très ignorant et qui ne comprenait pas grand'chose aux textes qu'il était chargé d'écrire. C'est ainsi que l'on trouve de fréquentes interventions de signes comme: $\overline{\square} \overline{\text{A}}$ pour $\overline{\text{A}} \overline{\square}$, $\overline{\text{L}} \overline{\text{L}}$ pour $\overline{\text{L}} \overline{\text{L}}$, $\overline{\square} \overline{\text{A}}$ pour $\overline{\text{A}} \overline{\square}$ (. . .). Le mot $\overline{\text{L}}$ est écrit une fois $\overline{\text{L}}$, et une autre fois $\overline{\text{L}}$ (. . .). Certains signes sont écrits à l'envers, comme $\overline{\text{A}}$ pour $\overline{\text{A}}$, $\overline{\square}$ pour $\overline{\square}$, $\overline{\text{A}}$ pour $\overline{\text{A}}$, $\overline{\text{L}}$ pour $\overline{\text{L}}$. Enfin, il faut signaler la façon dont est écrit dans le cintre de la paroi A le nom d'Anubis. On lit deux fois le mot $\overline{\text{A}} \overline{\square}$ qui semble être une déformation inexplicable de $\overline{\text{A}} \overline{\square}$.⁷³

Furthermore, some signs were sometimes simply omitted, such as the *n* and the *f* in the expression *s<n>.t<f>* for the designation of Kha's wife, Meryt, in the inscription illustrated in figure 7.12,⁷⁴ thus adding to the inaccuracy of these short texts.

Since Kha was at the highest level in the hierarchy of the Deir el-Medina crew, it is extremely likely that, just as Inherkhawy did for his own tomb (TT 359) a bit more than two centuries later (see above and n. 16), Kha employed the best talents of his team to decorate his funerary monument. But those (supposedly) top artists within the community, who were rather well trained in the art of painting, showed clear signs of a limited hieroglyphic literacy probably comparable to that of Kha himself; apparently he asked for no corrections, though he seems to have claimed to be a “royal scribe” (a title actually only attested on two decorated sticks from his tomb: Turin Museo Egizio S. 8417 and 8418/01).⁷⁵ So again the gap with makers of elite tombs is patent.

73 Vandier d'Abbadie 1939, 8–9.

74 Other examples appear in Vandier d'Abbadie 1939, 9–13.

75 Russo 2012, 67. One cannot completely rule out the hypothesis that these two very similar sticks (Ferraris 2018, 106, fig. 123, third and fourth from the left) could have been given to him, like many other objects of his funerary set (Russo 2012), by a colleague and namesake who was a royal scribe. It is also important to note here that the same kind of hieroglyphic mistakes are quite frequent in the inscriptions on the objects from Kha and Meryt's tomb; among many examples, see Ferraris 2018, 101–2 (cosmetic and wig boxes Turin S. 8479 and S. 8493, with the name of Meryt written $\overline{\text{L}} \overline{\text{L}}$), 124–25,



Figure 7.13. Comparison of the figure of an officiant on the right of the stela niche in the rear wall of TT 338 (left) and in the first chapel of TT 268 (right). Photo by Dimitri Laboury, courtesy of the Museo Egizio of Turin; G. Menendez, © University of Liège.

Not until the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, after the Atenist episode of the reign of Akhenaten, do inscriptions begin to appear flawless in the tombs of Deir el-Medina.⁷⁶ This is the case in the nearby TT 338,⁷⁷ the funerary chapel of another prominent member of the community: the “painter of Amun in the Place-of-Maat” Maya, who according to Mario Tosi may also have been “chief of the artists of the Place-of-Maat.”⁷⁸ This small monument, now preserved in the Museo Egizio of Turin, is again of quite tiny dimensions, measuring 2.25 m long by 1.45 m wide and 1.85 m high. It was beautifully painted in a very well-mastered (directly) post-Amarna style (figs. 7.13 left and 7.14 left), with a more diversified iconographic repertoire (including two detailed boat processions [the so-called Abydos pilgrimage], a funeral scene with a lively group of female mourners, and a double depiction of the tomb) and much more space devoted to longer inscriptions; the latter were written by a practiced and regular hand, with two quotes of the so-called Pyramid Texts (PT 25 [fig. 7.13 left] and 32),⁷⁹ or what should now be designated as glorification-ritual texts (*s3h.w*),

128 (boxes S. 8212–3, with many inversions of signs or of the orientation of the entire panel of text regarding the figure to which it is related), 140.

76 Interestingly enough, the same holds true for the inscriptions in the royal tombs of the Valley of the Kings, that is, in the official work of the Deir el-Medina crew; see, for instance, similar cases of inversions of signs or erroneous spellings in WV 22 of Amenhotep III, in Yoshimura and Kondo 2004, cover and 199 (*sh ntr* written without the normal metathesis of the two signs, or misspelling of the expression *msi.n.s* as *msi.s.n*), 146. Considering the remarkable artistic and, particularly, technical involvement in the making of these paintings (Yoshimura and Kondo 2004), these mistakes again imply a group of poorly literate but definitely professional painters. Of course, long textual compositions, such as the Book of the Amduat, were certainly transcribed on the walls by literati specialists, likely brought in for this specific purpose or task.

77 Tosi 1970, 1994.

78 Tosi 1994, 57–58.

79 Tosi 1994, 44–45.



Figure 7.14. Comparison of the detail of a couple sitting in front of an offering table on the left of the stela niche in the rear wall of TT 338 (left) and in the first chapel of TT 268 (right). Photo by Dimitri Laboury, courtesy of the Museo Egizio of Turin; G. Menendez, © University of Liège.

after Jan Assmann.⁸⁰ As for the now anonymously decorated first chapel of TT 268, only the lower part of its walls is still preserved, but the style of its decoration, as well as its iconography and even the paleography of its remaining texts, are strongly reminiscent of the ones probably painted by Maya himself in TT 338 (figs. 7.13–7.14). Finally, the unfinished mutualized tomb TT 291, shared by the two “call-listeners” Nu and Nakhtmin, is also seemingly to be dated to the very end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, just after the Amarna period.⁸¹ Although its style and iconography are definitely more sober, not to say basic,⁸² its inscriptions are free from the kinds of mistakes encountered in every pre-Amarna tomb of the village.⁸³

So art-historical characterization of Eighteenth Dynasty decorated tombs in the cemetery of the Deir el-Medina community—taking into account their materiality, size, iconographic repertoire and scheme,

80 Assmann 2005. In addition to the then-standard family stela in the niche in the center of the rear wall of TT 338 (Turin C. 1579), Maya also owned another small stela with a long and rather detailed solar hymn, likely set into the pyramidion on top of the funerary chapel (Tosi 1994, 40; Bankes stela 1). Interestingly, the inscriptions on these stelae are usually more precise (see also the one of Kha, Turin C. 1618; Ferraris 2018, 18), as though they were made by more specialized or educated colleagues.

81 Bruyère and Kuentz 1926, 1–65. The puzzling element in the dating of TT 291 is the fact that Nu and Nakhtmin are systematically presented as “call-listener(s) in the Great-Place,” though in the upper register of the rear wall, members of their family—namely, Nakhtmin’s progenitor, Minhotep, and Nu’s wife and mother, Kha(it)nezut and Mutnofret—are described as being “in the Place-of-Maat.” The reference to the “Place-of-Maat” seems to imply a date after the beginning of Amenhotep IV’s reign (see n. 18 above), as does the figures’ style of fashion. In this case, Nu and Nakhtmin may have wished to keep their original title from the pre-Amarna period, or there was a time when both designations of the royal necropolis coexisted.

82 This observation remains true even for the sketched funeral scene with offering booths before the entrance of the tomb, in front of which a mummy or mummiform coffin was upraised (Bruyère and Kuentz 1926, pl. 3). Here one also must note that every single painted face in the decoration of this small tomb was damaged and restored later in antiquity, perhaps in the late Ramesside period or Twenty-First Dynasty, when Ankhefenamun, son of Butehamun, left a graffito on the inside northern wall of the chapel (Bruyère and Kuentz 1926, pls. 6, 9).

83 The only oddity to be noted is an inverted sign (*d*sr, Gardiner sign D45) in the longer inscription on the northern wall. The paleography of the inscriptions in TT 291 is strikingly reminiscent of that in the tomb of Tutankhamun, KV 62.

style and quality of workmanship, and textual epigraphy—leads to some rather important conclusions for the question raised in the present study.

First, compared to non-elite funerary monuments, such as the Middle Kingdom chapels in Abydos or the early New Kingdom structures built in the plain just below the slope of Dra^c Abu el-Naga,⁸⁴ they appear absolutely normal, quite average, and even with some tokens of ambition, certainly due to the specific skills of the members of the crew and their involvement in monumental production. These artists used and capitalized on an iconographic repertoire directly inspired by the visual culture of basic—and low-cost or affordable—funerary monuments (such as stelae and their tradition), a visual culture they may have partly derived from their own professional activities,⁸⁵ though it was probably shared by almost every ancient Egyptian.⁸⁶ But their production for themselves in this respect, at least during the pre-Amarna period, is still quite far from the specific and more scholarly Deir el-Medina iconographic tradition or culture their successors were to develop in Ramesside times (that is, after the reestablishment of the community and its organizational reform under the reign of Horemheb⁸⁷) by gradually appropriating and reinterpreting the visual (and to some extent also textual) culture of the sophisticated royal tombs they built and decorated.⁸⁸

Returning to the essential topic of this contribution, the comparison between these funerary monuments made by Deir el-Medina crew members of the pre-Amarna era and contemporary tombs of the Theban elite reveals a striking discrepancy in terms of artistic abilities and autonomy. The decoration of Eighteenth Dynasty chapels of Deir el-Medina is extremely repetitive, and almost any attempt to step beyond the limits of the classic and basic repertoire was marked by quite patent or easily detectable mistakes.⁸⁹ To the contrary, in coeval elite tombs in the Theban necropolis the schemes are usually customized to the spaces to be decorated and, more importantly, to the idiosyncrasies of the professional, historical, and individual profile of the commissioning patrons.⁹⁰ Moreover, when sketches for wall decoration are preserved, they always convey very minimal information (often focused on the general layout and composition, or thematic encoding; fig. 7.15),⁹¹ implying a rather broad range of freedom for the artist's creativity and also great artistic autonomy in the sense of ability to improvise and elaborate on a raw, basic given

84 Polz 1995. A comparison may also be proposed with slightly later chapels from the Memphite necropolis (see Martin 2001).

85 This is clearly the case for their use of hieroglyphs.

86 It is quite interesting to note that the same basic funerary imagery also occurs on objects, such as some of the boxes found in the burial equipment of Kha and Meryt, owners of TT 8 (Turin S. 8212–3; see Ferraris 2018, 124–25, 128). Of course, the roots of this iconography go back as far as the very origins of the depiction of the deceased and its funerary cult or commemoration, in the so-called Archaic period; on this, see der Manuelian 2003. So, in a certain way and from an ancient Egyptian (or emic) point of view, one may plausibly state that it has always been there, and everywhere.

87 Valbelle 1985, 160–63.

88 The acme of this educated Deir el-Medina tradition was probably achieved by the work of the scholar-painter Amenhotep son of Amunnakhte in the tomb of Imiseba (see n30 above).

89 Every innovation also seems to be followed in subsequent tombs (for instance, the passage to a chapel longer than wide, the depiction of funerary deities in a kiosk, the design of the rear wall to integrate a stela physically and iconographically, the patterns for the ceiling, and more), highlighting the strong intericonic relationship between all these exceptionally decorated tombs within a small community and a small area.

90 Among countless examples and addressing the topic, see Guksch 2003. It is so common that “the stereotyped nature of . . . scenes” and “the absence of personal and domestic notices” in the iconographic scheme of an elite Theban tomb appear to Egyptologists extremely puzzling and need to be commented on; see, for instance, N. de G. Davies 1917, 44–46.


91 For other examples, see N. de G. Davies 1923b, 15, pl. 79d (TT 39; cf. with pl. 72, fragments 44–45); Hayes 1973, pls. 1.6–1.7, 2.8–2.10 (TT 71); or Guksch et al. 1995, 120, pl. 22c–d (TT 87; cf. with pls. 27, 37–38), 177, pl. 47 (TT 79). It is noteworthy that the same sketchiness or contraction of information with linear abbreviated figures was also used to guide restoration work after Atenist desecrations; see, for instance, Epigraphic Survey 2009, 31, 56, 65, 67, pl. 96 (graffito 413) and 98 (graffito 423) (Thutmoside temple of Medinet Habu; cf. with pls. 35, 79); similar cases are known from the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, currently under study by the Polish Mission. Furthermore, in the study of painterly practices in TT 96A, the Belgian Archaeological Mission in the Theban Necropolis discovered two cursive, hieroglyph-like artist's marks or pictograms encoding the themes to be depicted on the walls, with a single sign—Gardiner sign A115, —indicating a future banquet scene (see Pieke and Laboury, forthcoming).



Figure 7.15. Ostracon JE 36083 of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo depicting the sketch for a wall scene in a Theban tomb. From Sir Robert Mond excavations in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (20 × 18 cm). After Minault-Gout 2002, 149.



Figure 7.16. Self-portrait *in assistenza* of the painter of Amun Userhat in the banquet scene on the western section of the northern wall of the broad hall of TT 75. Photo by Dimitri Laboury.

model or theme—precisely an ability that seems to be so lacking in the artistic profile of the pre-Amarna members of the Deir el-Medina community.

These observations thus compel us to conclude that the Eighteenth Dynasty artists of Deir el-Medina were actually incapable of making the nearby elite Theban tombs. So, once again, “who made the private tombs of Thebes?”

MANY MORE ARTISTS

Despite what has often been thought and repeated, the Deir el-Medina community was certainly not “the only identifiable group of tomb makers in western Thebes during the New Kingdom.” A crucial hint in this respect is provided by the (double) self-portrait *in assistenza* of “the painter of Amun Userhat” in TT 75—the tomb of his superior in the domain of Amun, the second high-priest of Amun Amenhotep Sise, in the reign of Thutmose IV (fig. 7.16). Its contextualized analysis⁹² indeed reveals that it functioned as a pictorial signature left by the master painter who decorated this funerary chapel, proving that an artist officially affiliated with the domain of Amun in Karnak—and apparently one of the most prominent ones of his time⁹³—could engage in the making of elite monuments and even be allowed by his private patron to sign his work.⁹⁴

This conclusion is corroborated by another famous case of equal importance, that of Pahery of Elkab.⁹⁵ This future governor of his hometown in upper Egypt was, in an earlier stage of his career, “painter of

92 Laboury 2015.

93 Laboury 2015, 332–37.

94 On the circumstances needed for the emergence of an artist’s signature, see Laboury 2016, esp. 389–90, and Laboury and Devillers 2022. For parallel signatures as a self-portrait *in assistenza* in other Eighteenth Dynasty tombs of the Theban elite, see Davies and Gardiner 1915, 37, pl. 8. Of course, such activities constituted another manifestation of what may now be called “informal workshop” practices (see n15 above) or freelance work, to which any temple or royal artist (or craftsman) in ancient Egypt—including an official portrait-sculptor of the king, such as Thutmose in Akhetaten–Amarna, who obviously had private clients in addition to his royal patron (Laboury 2005)—could apparently devote himself in his free time.

95 Laboury 2017, 241–47.

Amun” as well. In this capacity, he appears to have decorated not only the very individualized and now almost completely lost Theban tomb of his colleague and, in all likelihood, friend, the scribe-accountant of grain Wensu (TT A4), but also the rock-cut tomb of his renowned grandfather, the veteran Ahmose son of Ibana, in Elkab (T Elkab 5), labeling the most prominent of his many self-depictions in this funerary monument: “by the son of his daughter, who directed the works in this tomb as the one who causes to live the name of the father of his mother, the painter of Amun Pahery, justified” (fig. 7.17).⁹⁶ This other case of a private tomb signed by a painter of Amun is of great significance in the perspective developed here because it provides further evidence of the versatility and wide range of expertise of those artists, who revealed themselves plainly capable of mastering an iconographic repertoire well beyond the limits of temple imagery, including in a medium other than painting (since the tomb of Ahmose son of Ibana is decorated in relief).⁹⁷ As well, this tomb demonstrates the artists’ mobility, Elkab being distant from the Theban area by about 80 km.⁹⁸

The geographic mobility of Eighteenth Dynasty artists of the domain of Amun is actually well substantiated. For instance, the small Manchester Museum stela 4528 (23.3 cm high, 15.7 cm wide) (fig. 7.18) in the name of the sculptor (*tȝy-[mḏȝ].t*) of Amun Anhotep and “made by” his colleague “the *w^cb*-priest of Amun, the chief sculptor Nedjem,” was found in 1895 by W. M. Flinders Petrie and James Edward Quibell on the site of the Thutmoside temple of Seth of Ombos in Nagada,⁹⁹ some 35 km north of Thebes, where the two



Figure 7.17. Self-portrait *in assistenz*a of the painter of Amun Pahery on the eastern wall of T Elkab 5, the tomb of his grandfather, Ahmose son of Ibana. Photo by Dimitri Laboury.

⁹⁶ See the analysis in Laboury 2016; 2017, 241–47.

⁹⁷ Other examples of various periods (e.g., Habachi 1957, 100, fig. 6; Ward 1977; Stefanovic 2012, 187, 189–90) indeed confirm that the *zš-ḳd(.wt)*, literally, “the scribe of forms (or ‘shapes’)” (Laboury 2016, 379n22), was more a specialist in what today would be designated as graphic arts, including painting, than a painter or a draftsman in the technical sense of the terms (Laboury 2016, esp. 388; 2020, 87). For a reversed case of the Eighteenth Dynasty from the Theban necropolis that equally implies the extensive expertise of these master artists of the domain of Amun, see TT 54, the painted tomb of the director of the sculptors of Amun (*imy-r ḳs.tyw n Imn*), Amenhotep Huy, published by Polz 1997b; the same applies to the famous tomb of the two chief sculptors (*hry Ḳ(y) mḏȝ.t m s.t ḏsr:t*) Nebamun and Ipuky (TT 181; N. de G. Davies 1925b). It is indeed difficult to imagine that these chief artists did not take a significant part in the decoration of their own tombs, unless they asked a close colleague to do the job (for instance, the “painter of Amun Pasesut, called Parennefer,” the only identified artist in the workshop scene of TT 181; N. de G. Davies 1925b, pl. 11). Finally, it must be noted that Pahery claims to have “directed the works in this tomb,” that is, supervised the entire process of making the tomb of his grandfather; for a parallel, see the case of the painter Pay in TT 32, referred to above and discussed in Fábíán 1992, 1997, and 2004.

⁹⁸ One must also note the social mobility of this painter of Amun, who eventually became governor of Elkab and Esna. On this topic, out of the scope of the present chapter, see Laboury 2016; Laboury and Devillers 2022.

⁹⁹ Petrie and Quibell 1896, 68, pl. 78.

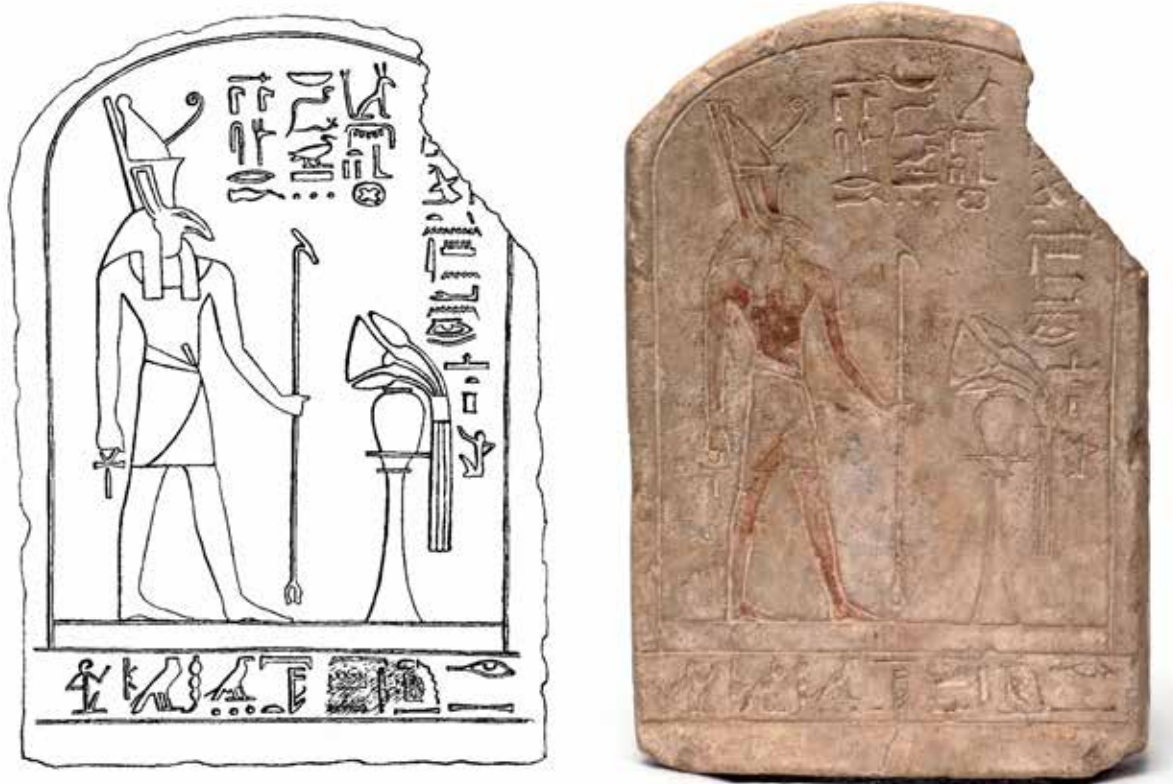


Figure 7.18. Manchester Museum stela 4528, found in Nagada in 1895 by W. M. Fl. Petrie and J. E. Quibell. After Petrie and Quibell 1896, pl. 78. Photo by Manchester Museum, courtesy of Manchester Museum.

artists were probably sent on a mission. Another stela, housed in the Louvre (C 65 – N 210), belonged to the chief sculptor (*ḥry Ḳy-md3.t*) of Amun Amenemope, who was also appointed “chief sculptor in the mansion of Ay [*ḥw.t Ḥpr-ḥpr.w-r-ir-m3̄.t*] in Abydos,”¹⁰⁰ thus more than 100 km farther north.¹⁰¹

These artistic commissions were in fact part of a much broader and general system developed from the very beginning of pharaonic society, which involved raising teams of well-trained experts or workforces who could then be dispatched and used throughout the country according to the ruler’s projects.¹⁰² This highly centralized system, which characterizes pharaonic society as a whole, accounts for the fact that whenever an ancient Egyptian artist mentioned his professional affiliation, it was always to the king or his residence (especially in the Old Kingdom) or to a temple (particularly in the New Kingdom), since it was in those royal institutions that artistic forces were raised, trained, and employed (and above all needed).¹⁰³

100 *Urk.* 4:2112.18–19.

101 For an almost contemporaneous parallel to such an artistic assignment, see the case of the chief painter of Amun (both *imy-r* and *ḥry zš(.w)-ḳd n Imn*), Dedia, heir of six generations of artists in the same function, who was commissioned by Seti I to repair Atenist damages in Karnak and the rest of the Theban area as “director of the works and artistic functions of Amun in the *Akh-menu*, the *Men-sut*, the *Akh-sut*, the *Djeser-akhet*, the *Djeser-djeseru* and the *Heneqet-ankh*” (Lowle 1976). For Dedia’s equivalent in sculpture, the *ḥry Ḳy-md3.t n nb ʔ.wy* Hatiay, who “gave birth” to divine statues throughout the country, see Kruchten 1992; for their master-shipbuilder colleague, the *ḥmw(w) wr (n mdḥ wi3.w n ntr:w nb.w)* Iunna, see *Urk.* 4:1630–31.

102 Laboury 2020, 91.

103 For rare examples of New Kingdom artists claiming a direct affiliation to the king, see the case of Hatiay, just mentioned (Kruchten 1992), or that of the “chief painter of the Lord of the Two Lands in every monument of Amun in Karnak (*Ipet-Sut*), who inscribed the great name of the perfect god in the temple of Usermaatre Setepenere in the estate of Amun to the West of Thebes,” Simut, depicted in TT 111, the tomb of his son, the “scholar-scribe Amenwahsu” (Amer 2000, 2). This scribe of the *Per-ankh* and scribe of the divine books in the domain of Amun, son of a prominent artist, who claimed to have written the inscriptions in his tomb “with his own fingers” (Amer 2000, 2), may also be the namesake painter (*zš-ḳd*) portrayed less

For the elite and their deliberate use of art as a display of prestige, one of the most important consequences of this institutional monopolization of artistic resources by the pharaoh—the main producer, consumer, and patron of arts—was that skilled, expert, and autonomous artists were to be found in such royal institutions.¹⁰⁴ In this context, and returning to the necropolis of the Theban elites under the Eighteenth Dynasty, it seems quite clear that the principal source for artistic talents in Upper Egypt during this first part of the New Kingdom was the domain of Amun, based in Karnak.¹⁰⁵

If the estate of Amun was indeed the main origin of the artists who made the private tombs of Thebes in the Eighteenth Dynasty,¹⁰⁶ it might allow us to explain some characteristics of the necropolis. One such aspect is the significant presence of the personnel of the domain of Amun: its top dignitaries, high priests, and great stewards as expected, but also some lower-ranking officials, with a surprising representation of categories such as the scribe-accountants of the grain of Amun, as Wolfgang Helck underlined almost three decades ago.¹⁰⁷ A good and well-known example, already mentioned above, is the very singular tomb of Wensu (TT A4), almost certainly designed and decorated by the painter of Amun Pahery, with whom Wensu seems to have worked and may have been friends.¹⁰⁸ A similar professional as well as personal connection could justify the very existence of the world-famous and exquisite, though very small (and unfinished), tomb of the horologer priest of Amun (*wnw.t(y) n 'Imn*) Nakht (TT 52):¹⁰⁹ despite the fact that he belonged to a socioprofessional category that left almost no other archaeological trace¹¹⁰ and was apparently not naturally meant to gain access to monumental death, this Nakht managed to own one of the most beautiful and valued tombs of the Theban necropolis.¹¹¹ The same holds true for the other well-known “tomb of Nakht” (TT 161), a gardener of Amun (*k3ry [n ḥtp-ntr] n 'Imn*) in the time of Amenhotep III.¹¹² It seems that in the entire history of ancient Egyptian art, floral bouquets have never been depicted as luxuriantly and exuberantly as in the single room of this tomb of a floral-offering bearer of Amun (fig. 7.19); the artist responsible for the magnificent murals of this tomb chapel, plainly a scholar-painter, got so involved in his creation that he invented three new hieroglyphic compositions to transcribe pictorially the main title of our gardener (*βi ḥtp.w n 'Imn*) (fig. 7.20), to whom he thus seems to have been rather closely connected.¹¹³

than a generation earlier in a workshop scene in the House of Gold under the supervision of the vizier Paser in the latter's funerary chapel, TT 106 (Assmann 1992, 53).

104 Whereas the monarch had a real army of artists, craftsmen, and workers at hand to undertake his monumental policy on a national scale, such was clearly not the case for the elite, who had to rely on small teams, as administrative evidence suggests (Laboury 2012, 202), and thus on qualified and polyvalent specialists; on this topic, see also Laboury 2020, 91–95.

105 As some sort of a counterpoint, in the early Middle Kingdom it seems that artistic taskforces were rather based in the royal residence of the time, that is, in *Itjet-tawy*, from where they could be dispatched on artistic missions throughout the country (Franke 1994, 106–7; Quirke 2009, 117–18).

106 It should probably also be noted here that the domain of Amun even employed plasterers and *ḥr.tyw ntr*, two trades needed for tomb excavation and architecture (see Eichler 2000, 159–60). Furthermore, as Soliman (2018, 472–73) has perfectly underlined, members of Deir el-Medina community in the Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Dynasties occasionally displayed a connection with the estate of Amun through their use of titles such as *sḏm-ꜥš n 'Imn* or *zš-ḳd n 'Imn*.

107 Helck 1993.

108 Laboury 2017, 241–47. As one would expect from a general art-historical point of view, personal connections through the work environment—including, of course, relations of subordination—or thanks to family ties appear to have been among the most efficient means of gaining access to artistic or monumental production in ancient Egypt. In addition to the examples of TT 359, TT 113, TT 65, TT 340, TT 75, and T Elkab 5, discussed above, see, e.g., Davies and Gardiner 1915, 5, pl. 8 (TT 82: “the chief of the works [in this tomb], the scribe Amenemhat,” son of the tomb owner); Hill and Schorsch 2007, 18–21 (Thutmose copper statuette of Hepu, Athens National Museum 3365: “by his brother, the goldsmith Tjenena”); or the many cases of artists described as *mḥnk* of the tomb owner in Old Kingdom tombs studied by Junker (1959).

109 N. de G. Davies 1917.

110 Eichler 2000, 170.

111 On the modern as well as ancient fame of this tomb—witness to its unanimous artistic evaluation—see the comments in Laboury 2017, 236n14.

112 For a brief analysis of this professional function and its very rarely attested holders, see Eichler 2000, 71–72.

113 Laboury 2013, 39–40. Again, despite the rather humble status of its owner, this tomb chapel was quite famous in ancient times, as can be established on the basis of visitors' inscriptions left by family members and colleagues over a few



Figure 7.19. Detail of the depiction of two floral bouquets brought by offering bearers in the rear part of the western and eastern walls of the tomb of Nakht the gardener (TT 161). Photos by Dimitri Laboury.



Figure 7.20. Three hieroglyphic compositions created by the painter of TT 161 to transcribe the title *ḥtp.w n Imn* of the tomb owner, Nakht the gardener, on the eastern wall (see fig. 7.19b), the western wall, and a fragment of the sandstone door frame of the tomb. Photos by Dimitri Laboury.

CONCLUSION: BACK TO THE VILLAGE

If the members of the Deir el-Medina community could without any possible doubt, and increasingly through time, be occasionally commissioned to work outside their usual institutional posting—in their case, the royal necropolis of Thebes¹¹⁴—the same was true for their colleagues with other administrative affiliations throughout the pharaoh’s kingdom. Because of this mobility of artists, craftsmen, and workers in general in ancient Egypt, one cannot deduce from the proximity of the Deir el-Medina settlement and the nearby necropolis of the Theban elites that the latter was the product of the former—no matter how tantalizing such an inference might seem. Quite the contrary, as we have seen, until at least the very end of the Eighteenth Dynasty the inhabitants of the village demonstrated through their own production for themselves their manifest inability to master the various skills required for the making of an elite tomb of the time. The reason for this inability is simply that they were trained in another specialty for another goal.

This leads us to the very function of such a settlement and crew. Various camps for workmen on a royal mission are known from ancient Egypt, such as the one found by Herbert Winlock and his team on the site of Deir el-Bahari¹¹⁵ and the huts built by the Deir el-Medina crew itself in the Valley of the Kings while excavating and decorating specific royal tombs.¹¹⁶ But the settlement of Deir el-Medina is of another kind, more durable and organized, and made for a long-lasting undertaking.¹¹⁷ Only one equivalent exists in New Kingdom archaeology: the Amarna workmen’s village. They have in common their situation near a royal cemetery, which was obviously their *raison d’être*.¹¹⁸ This is precisely why the community settled in Deir el-Medina did not, at least originally, have the abilities and training to create private tombs: its members were initially skilled—and probably put together—to produce royal tombs of the type(s) typical of the early Eighteenth Dynasty, when the village was founded;¹¹⁹ and it was only because of their own socioeducational improvement, along with the evolution of the artistic resources available in the Theban area during the Ramesside period, that some of them happened to decorate elite funerary monuments. Otherwise, as seemingly in any cemetery in ancient Egypt, such private monuments were produced thanks to local artistic resources to be found in temples or royal estates, if any.¹²⁰

But the specialization of the crew hosted on the site of Deir el-Medina—even if they were more or less secluded for security reasons because of their knowledge about royal burials—does not necessarily mean that this team of workmen was completely isolated from the administration of the rest of the artistic production in the Theban area, especially in the Eighteenth Dynasty. Recent study of the few pieces of evidence relating to the administration of the Deir el-Medina community and its activities during the Thutmoside period has indeed confirmed that they were supervised by the mayor of Thebes, Ineni, and maybe also the

generations (see Quirke 1986).

114 For the Eighteenth Dynasty, see the evidence for some occasional royal reassignments gathered by Haring 2018b, 241–42. Otherwise, for the Ramesside era, see the synthesis of McDowell 1994.

115 Winlock 1923, 31.

116 Dorn 2011a.

117 See the distinction suggested by Moeller (2010, esp. 202–7) about settlements of Old and Middle Kingdom workers.

118 This is why the question whether the inhabitants of both villages were the same and moved from one settlement to the other is probably purely theoretical: both dwelling facilities have exactly the same function, that is, to accommodate a special workforce dedicated to the activities in the royal necropolis. So, in other words, one was obviously replaced by the other when the pharaoh’s cemetery was moved from the Theban area (at the occasion of the foundation of a new main royal residence) and then moved back—a fact that implies it is extremely likely that most trained inhabitants of the two villages at the moment of these moves were indeed the same. For a thorough comparison between the two settlements, see Müller 2014.

119 Soliman 2018, 506.

120 See, for instance, the administrative affiliation of the artists Navratilova (2018, 394) was able to trace in the Memphite necropolis. Because of the absence of a royal cemetery in that region during the New Kingdom, one can only agree with Navratilova when she writes that a “workmen’s community of a similar character to the Theban Place of Truth—as a discrete organizational unit—is unlikely in Memphis” (Navratilova 2018, 383).

high-priest of Amun, Hapuseneb,¹²¹ both “director of all offices of the domain of Amun.”¹²² One also has to recall here that the painter Maya, owner of TT 338 in the cemetery of Deir el-Medina, presented himself as a “painter of Amun in the Place-of-Maat,” just like many of his successors in the early Ramesside institution of “the Tomb.”¹²³ So, in the end, the suggestion made by John Romer that tomb making for the Theban elites and the work of the Deir el-Medina crew in the royal necropolis were both supervised by the same authority could nevertheless be correct—at least for most of the history of this community—even if this single authority was almost certainly situated on the eastern rather than the western bank of the Nile.

121 Gabler and Soliman 2018.

122 Haring 2013, 619.

123 See, for instance, the family of Pay, son of Ipuy, who was, with all his sons and grandsons, designated as *zš-ḳd n 'Imn* (B. Davies 1999, 149–55); see also the data gathered by Soliman (2018, 472–73), which led him to conclude, “It is likely that the village of Deir el-Medina was founded under Thutmose I to accommodate the workmen, *perhaps sent from temples of Amun at Thebes*, who constructed tombs in the Valley of the Queens and later in the Valley of the Kings” (Soliman 2018, 506; italics mine). Given the geographic mobility of royal and/or temple artists underlined in the previous pages, it seems rather plausible that this local Theban team could have been reinforced with colleagues sent from other places in Egypt, especially when the crew was expanded in the late Eighteenth Dynasty and Ramesside times. Such reassignments and relocations might explain, for instance, why the cult of deities connected with the First Cataract of the Nile, more than 200 km south of Deir el-Medina, was unusually attested within the community (see Valbelle 1985, 317, with references).

8

EPIGRAPHIC INTERACTION WITH THE THEBAN TOMBS'
DECORATION: THE CASE OF GRAFFITI AND VISITORS'
INSCRIPTIONS¹

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THE DECORATIVE PROGRAM OR SCENARIO of a tomb is a message addressed to this world and the other. The audience that I consider here are the visitors to the tomb; ostensibly they may be in the role of observers, yet they interact with what they see. In the case of scribes in the New Kingdom, their interaction with the decoration is recorded for us through their epigraphic testimonies on the walls of the tomb chapels. These so-called “visitors’ inscriptions” that are found in many funerary monuments² tell us how the message of the tomb was understood but also show how the tomb space was appropriated and redefined by its visitors.³

This study draws on a research project I began conducting in 2010 on secondary epigraphy in tomb chapels in Thebes⁴ before extending it in 2017 to private necropoleis in Middle Egypt with Khaled Hassan.⁵ Along with other scholars working on similar materials, I define secondary epigraphy as inscriptions that do not belong to the primary state of the environment in which they appear but that redefine it.⁶ The corpus I have been gathering in the Theban context proved to be very coherent: hieratic inscriptions in Theban chapels date mainly from the New Kingdom, with a major phase in the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty that can be associated with the contemporary search for models from the past for a dynasty that needed to reinvent itself.⁷ These graffiti, signed by scribes and members of an intermediary elite belonging to the staff of the royal funerary temples of the west bank, are systemic in the sense that they exploit the system of cultural and social significations of the tomb. This stands in contrast to later graffiti, in Demotic and Coptic for example, which are postsystemic and correspond to a use of the monument that is disconnected from its original one. I also leave aside work inscriptions by craftsmen, which belong to the building time of the tomb.⁸

This material deconstructs and touches on several aspects of Egyptian culture, such as writing practices, self-presentation and social links, and the appropriation of space. Here I briefly present and define the corpus of visitors’ inscriptions in Theban tombs before addressing more precisely the interaction between graffiti and the decoration. Graffiti are often considered a response to the decoration; along this line, I explore how they can be considered a conscious scribal response to what is expected from visitors as these expectations are expressed in appeals to the living. Finally I show how, while the graffiti are responses to

1 It is my great pleasure to thank Betsy Bryan and Peter Dorman of the 2016 Theban Workshop in Baltimore. I also wish to thank JJ Shirley and Melinda Hartwig, who subsequently shared with me their photographs of graffiti, some of which contributed to this chapter.

2 Helck 1952; Philips 1997; Navratilova 2007; Ragazzoli 2011; Frood and Ragazzoli 2013.

3 Den Doncker 2010, 2019.

4 See, e.g., Frood and Ragazzoli 2013; Ragazzoli 2017b; 2019, 523–52.

5 Hassan and Ragazzoli 2022.

6 Frood 2010; Ragazzoli 2013; Ragazzoli, forthcoming.

7 See, e.g., Den Doncker 2010.

8 For example, in TT 113 (Amer 1981); in TT 68 (Seyfried 1991, 82–83); as well as in notes of inspections and (re)burials such as TT 87 (Guksch et al. 1995, 74).

the decoration, they also act on it and reshape the tomb space in the context of the fundamental shift in tombs' decoration and definition at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty and in the Ramesside period.

NEW KINGDOM VISITORS' INSCRIPTIONS AND GRAFFITI IN THEBAN TOMBS: DEFINITIONS

In human history, written graffiti represent a practice as old as writing itself. In societies where literacy was often a social privilege and white walls were not sacrosanct, such inscriptional practices are to be considered organic to writing practices of their time and socially accepted.⁹ This is certainly the case in ancient Egypt, where graffiti have an extensive presence and a significance that can be compared to other important corpora, such as that of temple inscriptions. Graffiti are very common in the desert as records of expeditions and mining;¹⁰ they can also be found in buildings, for example as staff or votive inscriptions in temples,¹¹ mainly from the Ramesside period onward.¹²

Despite this wide epigraphic landscape, visitors' inscriptions span a short period of time. They date mainly to the Eighteenth Dynasty yet extend throughout the Ramesside period. They appear within the decoration of the public part of funerary monuments throughout Egypt. Besides Theban tombs, they are found in the royal Memphite necropolis¹³ and in Middle Kingdom tombs in Middle Egypt.¹⁴ From a textual point of view, their generic identity shows in their common incipit built on the formula (with a few variations) *ḵw.t pw ḵr:n sš X r m33*, "This is a visit accomplished by the scribe X to see [name of the monument]. . . ." In their inscriptions, these visitors display their own identity, and scribal ethos is a key element of this self-fashioning. Often the *sš*-scribe title is present with no mention of the administration to which the writer belonged; the title is used here as a mark of status and a sign of belonging to the scribal community rather than providing personal information of an individual situation. Scribal status also shows in the use of literary hieratic, a script belonging to the world of manuscripts, as well as in the literary style.¹⁵ In terms of content, these inscriptions generally consist of a votive action (e.g., prayer, adoration) for the deceased but also give the name of the visitor, who can thus use the power of the tomb to ensure his own survival via commemoration.

As already mentioned, the texts are mostly written in hieratic and with ink; from this point of view, they do not fall into the category of formal inscriptions but instead act as manuscripts, a conclusion that both the literary calligraphy and the layout support. Yet these secondary inscriptions always follow the same rules of "decorum" as the decorative program of the tomb. This concept, imported to Egyptology by John Baines, refers to the way that "texts are integrated into formal visual language of public display in which painted or carved pictorial elements and the form of the monument itself play a role."¹⁶ This itself is sufficient to demonstrate that these visitors "read" the decoration and reacted to it, as the general pattern shows, with graffiti inserted into blank spaces between the figures. This interaction with decorum goes beyond mere respect, and the graffiti truly use this decorum as part of their own meaning. One example is the use of the margins of the scenes and of ground lines or other lines of separation to "frame" the graffiti, as though to monumentalize a piece of writing that belongs to the realm of manuscripts. The examples shown here include a graffito addressed to the deceased in TT 51 and framed by a rectangle that is part of the platform on which the addressee kneels (fig. 8.1); a long hieratic text from TT 60 inserted into the blank space

9 See, e.g., Fleming 2001, 30; Baird and Taylor 2011, 4; Ragazzoli et al. 2018.

10 Tallet et al. 2012.

11 Jacquet-Gordon 2003; Froot 2013.

12 For a survey, see Peden 2001; Ragazzoli 2017a, 5–8.

13 Navratilova 2015.

14 Verhoeven 2012; Hassan 2016.

15 Ragazzoli 2017a, 76–81; forthcoming.

16 Baines 2007, 1–30; Mairs 2011, 154.

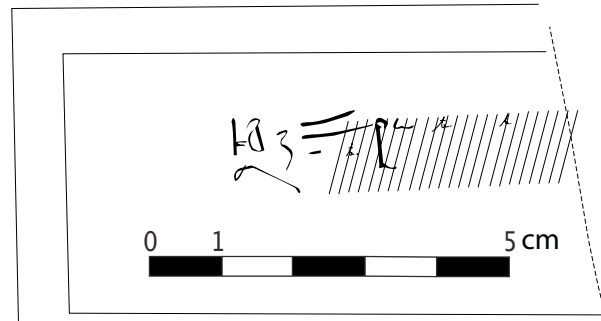
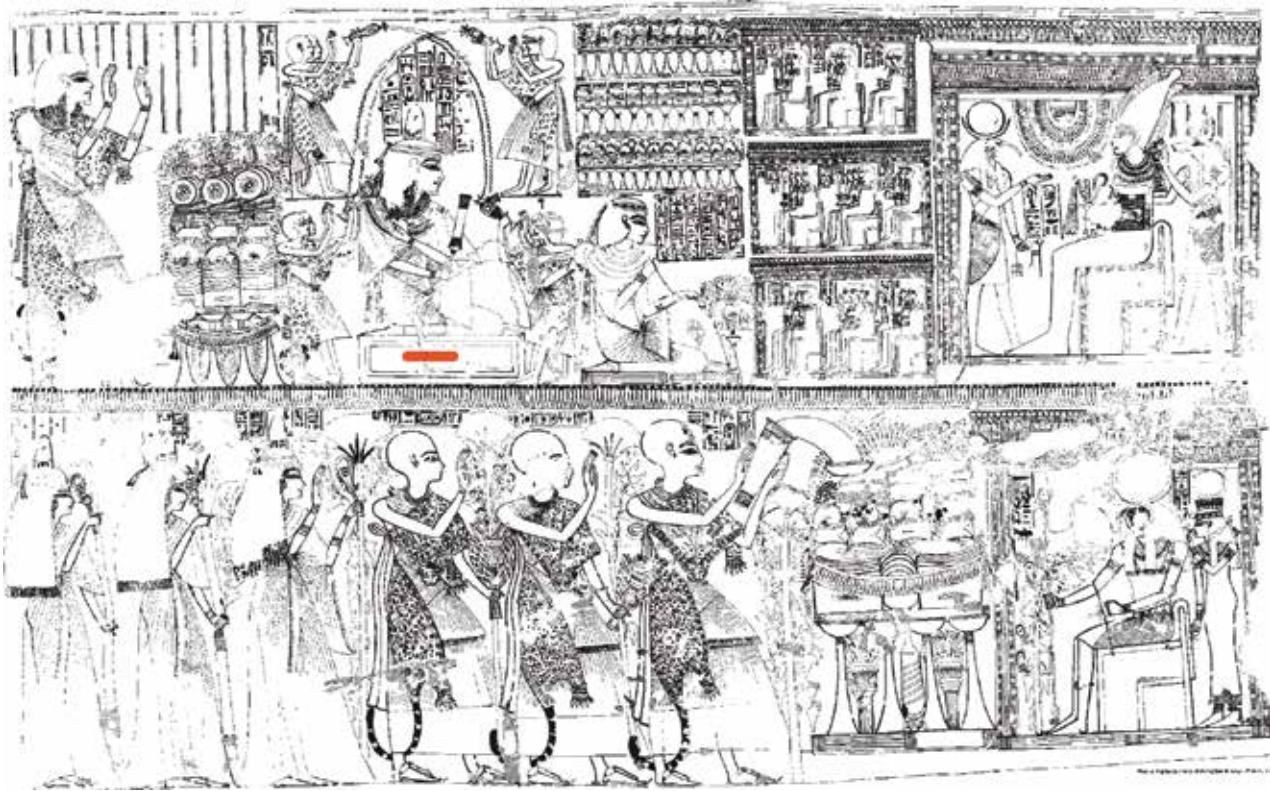


Figure 8.1. Graffito 2 in TT 51, southern wall, eastern side: [. . .] *w^cb m jb.k*, “[. . .] be pure in your heart.” Plate from N. de G. Davies 1927, pl. XVI. Photo and drawing by Chloé Ragazzoli (complete edition; see Ragazzoli, forthcoming).

between the legs of some attendants, carefully composed along their contour lines (fig. 8.2); and a cursive protocol of Sesostris I inserted into the blank strip below the decorated registers (fig. 8.3).

Some graffiti use hieroglyphs, the script for public and monumental writing. Using hieroglyphs for graffiti is another way to monumentalize a text, to move from the world of handwriting to the one of public display. Some visiting scribes used this functionality of Egyptian scripts to its fullest. This is the case with a scribe Djehuty, who several times left his signature on the walls of the tomb of Antefiqer (TT 60) at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty.¹⁷ All his graffiti are in a beautiful literary hieratic typical of the time of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III, but one is drawn in cursive hieroglyphs (fig. 8.4).

In this latter case, the graffito bears witness to a remarkable understanding of the funerary decorum where it is inserted. The caption to the figure, a scribe painted with the attributes of his trade, is composed

¹⁷ Ragazzoli 2013, graffiti nos. 7, 15, 29, 31, 34.

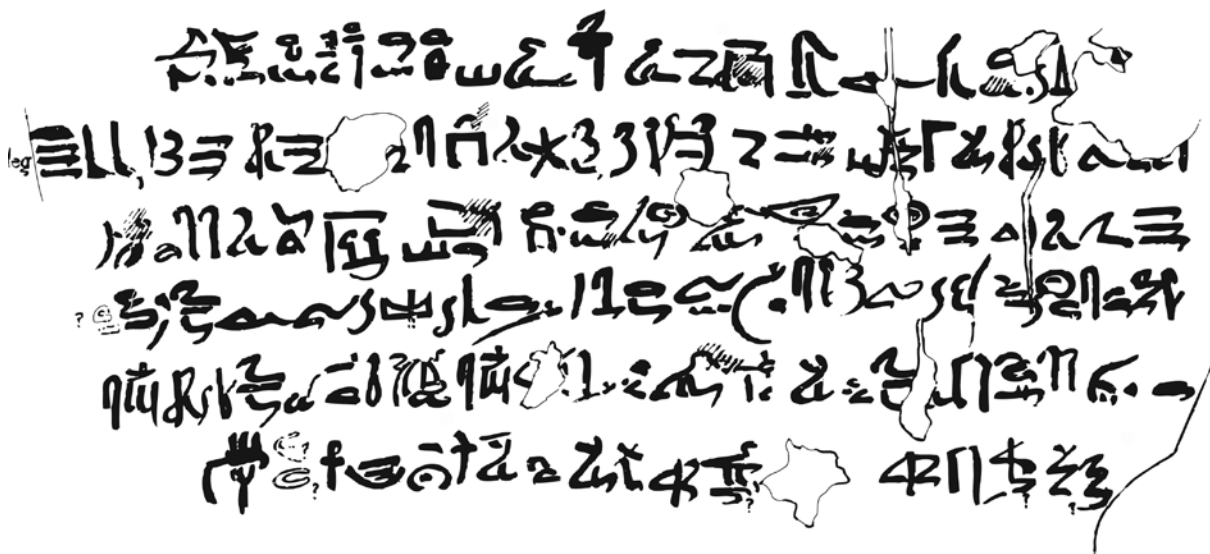


Figure 8.2. Graffito 15 in TT 60, passage, northern wall, fowling and fishing scene, between the legs of the net-towers: offering formula to the benefit of scribes Djehuty and Ramosenefer. Photo by Chloé Ragazzoli (2013, 305–6). Facsimile by A. H. Gardiner (N. de G. Davies 1920, 28, no. 15, pls. XXXV–XXXVa).



Figure 8.3. Graffito H in TT 60, passage, southern wall, under scene of funerals: *Hr ḥnh-msw.t Nbty ḥnh-msw.t Hr-nbw ḥnh-msw.t nsw.t-hjty Hpr-k3-Rḥ*, “Horus Ânkhmesut, Neby Ânkhmesut, Golden Horus Ânkhmesut, Dual King Kheperkarâ.” Photo and facsimile by Chloé Ragazzoli (2013, 314).

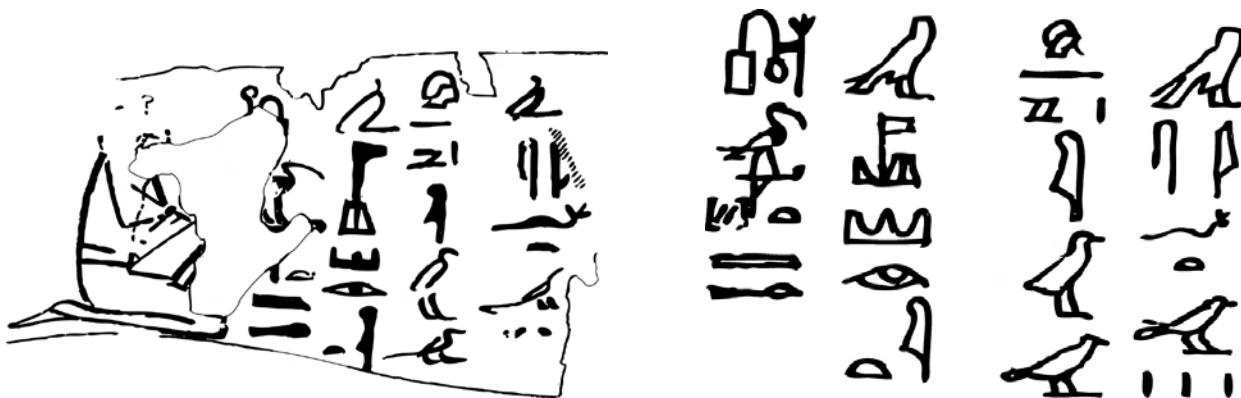


Figure 8.4. Graffito 24 in TT 60, passage, northern wall, hunting scene, third register: (1) *sš Dhwtj m3ḥ-hrw* (2) *m hr(y.t)-ntr jr(w) m3ḥ.t* (3) *tp-B šw* (4) *m jsf.t*, “(1) Scribe Djehuty true-of-voice (2) in the necropolis, who accomplished *maat* (3) on earth, one who is devoid (4) of wrongdoing.” Photo by Chloé Ragazzoli (complete study, Ragazzoli 2013, 309). Facsimile and transcription by A. H. Gardiner (N. de G. Davies 1920, pls. XXXVI–XXXVIa).

in beautiful hieroglyphs and retrograde script. Egyptian convention would normally dictate the reading of this text from the right, that is, the direction the hieroglyphs are facing, whereas here the text starts on the left.¹⁸ The choice of retrograde script, beyond showing off the scribal skills of its author, takes its full meaning once the iconographic context is considered (fig 8.5). The graffito is thus inscribed in the general direction of one's reading the whole scene—and this is one of the main functions of retrograde script, namely, to give an indication as to the order of reading for various elements belonging to a larger scene, which Valérie Angenot called “vectorialité.”¹⁹

In this way, this little graffito depicting a scribe at work with autobiographical epithets follows the general orientation of the scene and of the text in the upper frieze, which itself contains the names and titles of Antefiqer. The ensemble looks toward the exit of the tomb in the wake of the deceased, who can thus “exit to the day.” The secondary inscription of Djehuty is mimetic through its content and form, and the graffito—caption and portrait—emulates the posture of the deceased, to whom successors will be able to pay visits and give homage. In a manner less elaborate but no less efficient, scribe Amennakht in Deir el-Medina similarly used the general layout of an offering scene in TT 6 through filling unfinished text columns with his own name (fig. 8.6).

Graffiti in general, and visitors' inscriptions in particular, are situated at the crossroads of the domain of manuscripts and handwriting on the one hand—as individual, personal, informal pieces of handwriting—and epigraphy on the other hand, since graffiti are inscribed on walls, natural or built, and are meant to be seen. The two examples examined above in terms of decorum and graphic register have already shown how scribes used the decorum of the tomb and appropriated it to give extra status to their own inscription

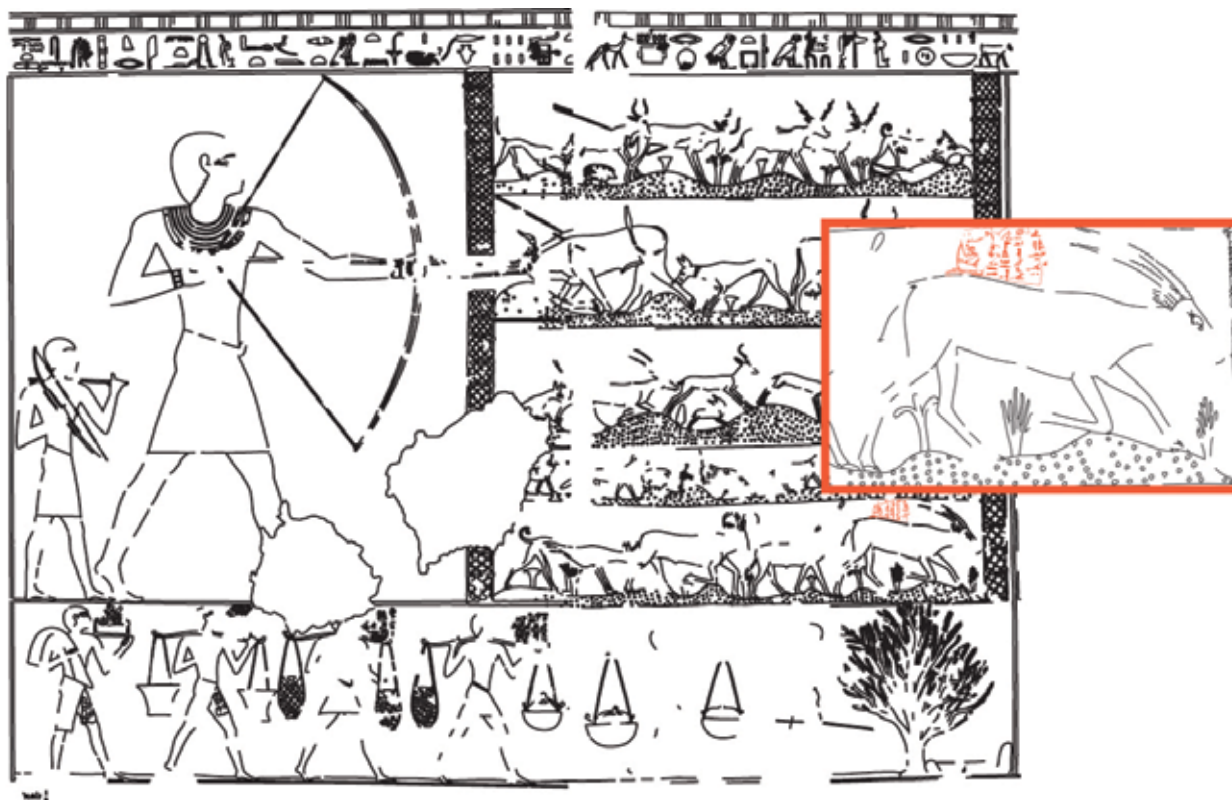


Figure 8.5. Position of graffito 24 in TT 60, passage, northern wall, hunting scene.
After N. de G. Davies 1920, pls. VI–VII.

18 For a definition of retrograde writing, see, e.g., Fischer 1986, 105.

19 Angenot 2010.



Figure 8.6. Graffito of scribe Amennakht in TT 6, first room, northern side of eastern wall, second register. Photo and drawing by Chloé Ragazzoli.*

* Delphine Driaux has prepared the publication of the manuscript of Henri Wild on the decoration of the tomb, and I thank her for granting me access to the monument.

and to monumentalize it. In this sense, Alexis Den Doncker is right to say that “the graffiti of Theban tombs can be studied as positive reactions to the decorative programs of the private tomb chapels.”²⁰ In such a perspective, contextualizing graffiti in the tomb space is key to understanding the meaning both of these inscriptions and of the tomb for its audience at a certain time, unlike the perspective of many previous publications, which too often have been concerned with secondary inscriptions for their linguistic content alone. Learned visitors of ancient times, whether priests or scribes, understood and interacted with the decoration. They carefully chose the places where they left statements of their visits, and each graffito can be understood as an individual reading of the decoration.

Furthermore, the decoration contributes to the construction of the meaning of the graffito and, on the same level as the graffito’s linguistic contents and graphic appearance, is fully part of this meaning. In the following section, I examine the distribution of the visitors’ graffiti I have so far collected in the overall decoration of the tomb.

GRAFFITI IN TOMB DECORATION

Graffiti should be judged by where they appear in a tomb, as well as by the type of scene in which they appear. From such examinations, it appears that visitors’ graffiti in decorated tombs can be considered largely as epigraphic offerings falling under the performative scope of a graphic act.

Among the graffiti of known position collected by 2016 from tomb chapels containing more than one room, 114 are found in the first room and only 10 in the second.²¹ The Egyptian tomb is often considered a polarized space with a progressive degree of holiness;²² in this view, each part of the tomb is associated with specific functions in relation to their access.²³ Thus the pathway going from the entrance—ideally situated on the east—to the core of the tomb on the west is a metaphorical reflection of the journey from life to death.²⁴ In such a system, visitors’ graffiti, which are mainly posted in the first part of the tomb, belong to the space turned to the outside world, the one to which living beings and visitors belong. A typical example of this phenomenon exists in the tomb of Antefiqer, where all but one of its sixty-seven graffiti appear in the first part of the corridor (fig. 8.7).

Only one graffito was recorded in the shrine, on its southern wall. The graffito is a typical visitor’s inscription with a slight variation on the incipit phrase *ḵw.t ḵn sš [Tt] ḵ r mʒ[ʒ]*, “coming by the scribe Teti to see the tomb of Antef in the Occident.”²⁵ It subsequently contains an address to the deceased mentioning two major deities, which may explain its unusual position in the axis of holiness of the tomb: *di n.k R^c Wsjr . . .*, “may Re and Osiris grant you . . .” (TT 60, graffito 36, line 4).



Figure 8.7. Map of TT 60 with position of the graffiti (in green).

²⁰ Den Doncker 2012, 24.

²¹ Ragazzoli, forthcoming.

²² Assmann 2003, 47.

²³ Assmann 2003, 46.

²⁴ Hartwig 2004, 16.

²⁵ Ragazzoli 2013, 315–16, graffito no. 36.

The tomb establishes both the memory and the cult of the deceased. It is usually considered, in what may be a slightly simplistic functionalization of spaces, that various parts of the tomb can be associated with different functions: the more religious scenes (funerals, cultic activities, pilgrimage to Abydos) are linked with the ritual function of the tomb, while scenes of daily life are associated with the (social) memory of the deceased. Yet secular scenes can also have a sacred and funerary-related meaning,²⁶ and neither domain is exclusive of the other in Egyptian representations.²⁷ In any case, from this point of view, graffiti are distributed indistinctly between both categories, with about 60 percent of graffiti appearing in religious scenes and 40 percent in scenes of daily life. This division reduces to a 50:50 split once Ramesside tombs, in which daily scenes are almost absent, are taken out of the count.

Distribution becomes more meaningful when we consider themes and types of scenes where graffiti appear. Egyptian tombs and their decorative program present an ensemble of iconographic themes, which are modified and rearranged by each tomb owner. Melinda Hartwig calls these type-scenes “icons” in the perspective of Erwin Panofsky, and she considers that each icon encodes the social status of the deceased while providing for his survival in the afterworld.²⁸ The type-scene icons where graffiti appear (and the number of them) are royal kiosk (1), tribute (2), award of distinction (1), offering table (7), banquet (2), fishing and fowling (25), natural resources (20), worshipping Osiris or other deities (10), and funerary rites (26). Graffitists chose some of these icons more often than others; examples of the more frequently occurring icons include funerary rituals and gestures of offering, whether the offerings are presented to the deceased, the king, or Osiris. Thus, a clear preference is shown for scenes of presentation (whether an adoration or the delivery of an offering) to a deity, the king, or the deceased. In scenes from daily life, the depiction of the deceased is essential, and the graffito is usually presented to him. Through their position, graffiti appear as a means of intercession.

This predilection for the deceased and the gods should not come as a surprise. A graffito may celebrate a visit and register it in the social memory through its inscription in the public space of the tomb chapel of an established person; it also constitutes an act of speech, as proved by the offering formulae and the wishes they contain to the benefit of the deceased or the visitor. The efficacy of such speech-acts does not lie only in the formulae the graffito contains—it is also reinforced through their place in the decoration, thus integrated into the message and actualized by the graffito.

RECAPTIONING

This aspect appears first in the practice consisting of using the graffito to “recaption” an element in an existing scene. Most frequently the visitor added his name—and sometimes his title—next to a character from the targeted scene to identify himself with that character. From a graphic point of view, such graffiti look like clear and visible captions (fig. 8.8). The visitor can thus identify with participants in the funerary rites, and the visit constitutes an activation of the text and the decorative program. Such practices allow the visitor to perpetuate his presence, establish contact with the deceased and his community, and also benefit from the magical efficacy of the tomb enhanced by cults and visits to come.

Such a situation is not limited to Theban tombs; Paul van Pelt and Nico Staring note similar cases in private chapels from the New Kingdom in Saqqara (fig. 8.9). They interpret these recaptions as the signatures of members of the community of the deceased.²⁹

In some cases the recaptioned figure is the deceased himself, as in the Theban tomb of Horemheb (TT 78) with a caption-graffito over the head of Horemheb himself in the scene of the royal kiosk (fig. 8.10). In such cases, visitors' graffiti belong to the gray zone of Egyptian reuse and usurpation, though appropriating the tomb is clearly not the aim here. More likely, this inscription was meant to multiply the power of

26 See, e.g., Desroches-Noblecourt 1954; Derchain 1976; Manniche 2003; Parkinson 2008, 28–30.

27 Hartwig 2004, 53.

28 Hartwig 2004, 53.

29 Van Pelt and Staring 2019, 7.



Figure 8.8. Recaptioning in TT 38 (left) and TT 108 (right).



Figure 8.9. Caption-graffiti consisting of names and titles within the decoration of Maya and Meryt at Saqqara (Martin et al. 2012, pl. 12 = van Pelt and Staring 2019, 5).

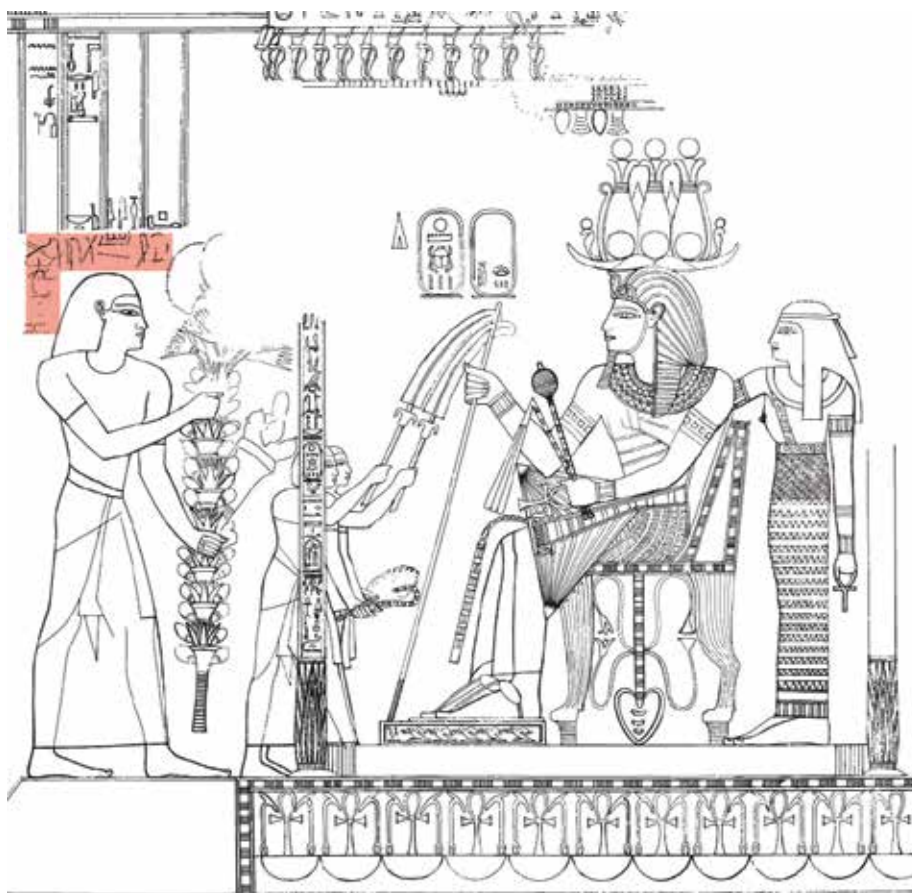


Figure 8.10. Caption-graffito above Horemheb in TT 78: *w^cb Imn sš-ḳd P3-nḥt-Ḥnsw*, “the *wab*-priest of Amun and draftsman Panakhtkhonsu” (Brack and Brack 1980, 33).

the inscription and participate in the efficacy of the tomb. This aim is not a usurpation,³⁰ which would entail replacing the name of someone else by one’s own. It is rather an addition, an “annexation.”³¹

OFFERING-GRAFFITI

The graffito itself becomes the expected offering, coming as a complement to the offerings depicted in the decoration. Several graffiti are presented to the deceased and inserted into the decoration immediately in front of him. The graffito may consist of a visitor’s inscription with the typical formula “This is a visit made by,” suggesting that the visitor and his inscription came to meet the deceased. In other cases, the text of the graffito directly addresses the deceased it adorns (fig. 8.11).

The most common cases, however, consist of graffiti placed among offerings before the deceased or a god. Such graffiti appear in processions of offering and tribute bearers and are even placed, for instance, within the outline of some of the products presented. This is the case with the well-known graffiti in the funerary procession in the tomb of Nakht (TT 161) (fig. 8.12). In the scene, several graffiti appear on the body of one of the oxen being driven, as though to animate and comment on the procession; one of the graffiti (G7) reads: *jḥ.k jḥ r’Imnt.t njw.t.k* [. . .] *mj ḥsy mj-ḳd.k*, “may you bring cattle to the West of your city, [. . .] as someone as favored as you!”³² Thus the scribe integrates the linguistic content of his graffito and a motive of the decoration into the same message.

30 Brand 2010; Helck 1986; Capart 1932.

31 Brand 2010, 5.

32 Cf. Quirke 1986, 85–87, fig. 8.4.

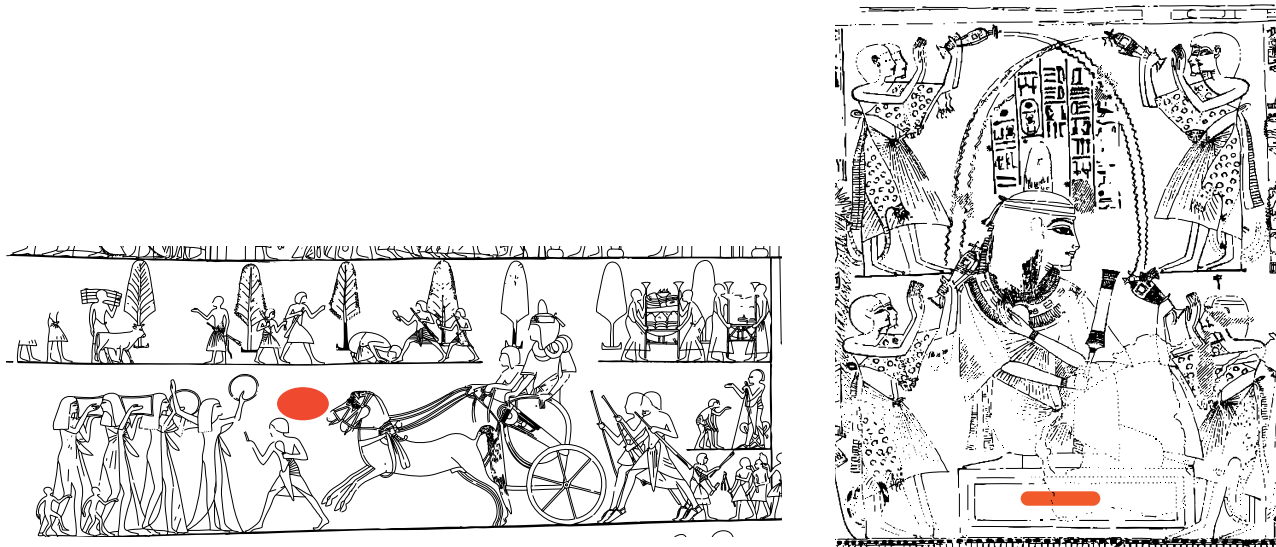


Figure 8.11. Position of a graffito in TT 49 before the deceased on his chariot (after N. de G. Davies 1933, pl. XVIII) and in TT 51, on the platform where the deceased is purified (after N. de G. Davies 1927, pl. XVI).

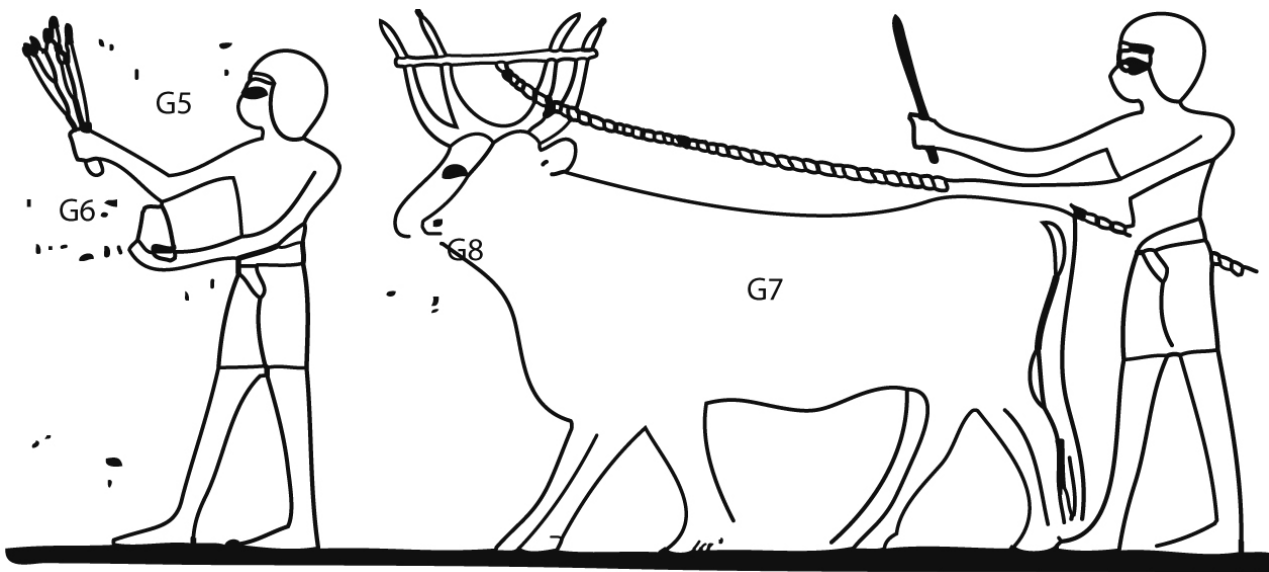


Figure 8.12. Graffiti in TT 161, northern wall, lower register (Manniche 1986, fig. 12).

The offering of scribe Iuy in the tomb of Sobekhotep (TT 63) offers a very good case study both of this device and of the dialogue between a graffito and the tomb decoration.³³ This unique document reveals a certain number of key features at play with visitors' inscriptions. The text itself is remarkable for its intertextuality, which plays with several genres of the time and shows off the literate culture of the visitors. Furthermore, it constitutes an example of commentary, reception, and use of the decorative program of the tomb by secondary epigraphy.

This graffito appears as a beautiful rectangle of twelve lines of carefully penned literary hieratic, with almost no ligatures. Both sides are carefully justified.³⁴ The block of text stands out on the white background of the decoration immediately in front of Sobekhotep, the owner of the tomb, under his hand. Through this positioning, the graffito takes precedence over the tributes received by the overseer of the sealed things on

³³ Ragazzoli 2011, 304–10.

³⁴ Dziobek and Abdel Raziq 1990, pl. XX.

behalf of the king. In its row of tributes, this epigraphic gift is the first of an array of gifts comprising elaborate vases, and the physical space it occupies is like such an object. Just like a second visitor's inscription that appears in the same scene under the plate carried by a Syrian envoy, Iuy's graffito can be read as a gift (*jnw*) presented to the tomb's master. This similitude between the text and such gifts is suggested at the end of the graffito (line 9), which mentions the tributes presented to Sobekhotep, through a second-person singular combining Sobekhotep and Amun:

hl tw.j m njw.t.k
jw jn.tw n.k m jn.w nfr:w r t3 [. .]
 "May I stay in your city,
 since beautiful tributes are brought to you at [. .]."³⁵

The word *jn.w* refers *stricto sensu* to the diplomatic gift presented each year by Egypt's vassals,³⁶ and it stands for symbolic, political, and economic relationships between Egypt and its international partners.³⁷ But at an etymological level, *jnw* is "what is brought,"³⁸ and the deceased is entitled to expect such tributes and gifts (*jmn.t*) from his visitors during the major festivals. The tomb of Sennefer (TT 99) shows the deceased receiving this gift: *m33 ndt-hr jnn.t hm.t.f ms.w.f snw-nw.f hmw.w.f*, "seeing the gifts brought by his wife, children, brothers and craftsmen."³⁹

The gift of the visitor Iuy is the literary composition itself, and one of a high literary quality. The graffito follows the rules of the visitor's inscription with the *jw.t pw jr:n sš* incipit, but the scribe has mastered the rules of the genre so well as to be able to play with and reinvent them. Furthermore, he plays with a rich intertextuality, and his text borrows from royal phraseology, praises of cities, and prayers from personal piety. The intertextuality with which the graffito plays introduces the praise of a place (lines 2–3), not the expected urban domain but the "domain of Sobekhotep," leading to a play on the polysemy of the word *pr*, which here designates the domain of eternity (*pr-d.t*) for Sobekhotep as well as his agrarian domain:

sh.t[.st mh.tj m . . .]
šst.s m mh rm.w
 "[its] land [is full of . . .]
 Its marsh is filled with fish."⁴⁰

The text subtly takes us to the tomb itself, designated as the "beautiful West" of Sobekhotep, which metonymically refers to the afterworld, the necropolis, and the tomb.⁴¹ The expression conjures up multiple times and spaces: the tomb of Sobekhotep and his afterworld, which a perfect tomb must take him to. But if one follows such a line of interpretation, what must one do with the lush nature described by Iuy on a rock wall carved in the Theban mountain? First it should be noted that this rich domain sketches a topography compatible with the afterworld. The water feature usually mentioned in the praise of an agricultural domain is the pond-garden *š*,⁴² unlike the *šst*-marsh mentioned here and belonging instead to funerary

35 Dziobek and Abdel Raziq 1990, 88–89; Ragazzoli 2008, 29.

36 Bleiberg 1996, 114–25.

37 Liverani 2001, 341–45.

38 *Wb.* 1:91.12–17.

39 *Urk.* 4:538.11.

40 Dziobek and Abdel Raziq 1990, 88–89; Ragazzoli 2008, 29.

41 Consider: *wd n.k Imnt.t nfr.t*, "a beautiful West was decreed for you" (P. Anastasi III, 4, 8); *sm3.ft3 m htp r jmn.t nfr.t*, "may he be buried in peace in a beautiful West" (stela BM EA 614, 17); *sm3-t3.fr jmn.t nfr.t m jm3h*, "may he be buried in a beautiful West as a venerated one" (stela Moscow I.1.a.5603); *di.k h3.j r jmn.t nfr*, "may you grant that I go down to a beautiful West" (*Urk.* 4:445.9); *k.j m htp m jmn.t nfr.t*, "May I enter in peace in a beautiful West" (Book of the Dead §150, P. BM EA 10477); *r(3).w m sts s3w pr(t) m hrw pr(t) m hr:t-ntr sm3-t3 m jmn.t*, "Formulae to stand up and transform, to go out in the day in the necropolis, to be buried in the beautiful West" (Book of the Dead §17, P. BM 10793, 2.16–17).

42 Hugonot 1989; Ragazzoli 2008, 198–201.

discourse, since the word depicts the marshes of the fowling and hunting scene of the private tombs and their captions: *hbhb sšw*, “sailing the marshes,”⁴³ and *swrj mw ndm m sšw:f*, “drinking fresh water from his marshes.”⁴⁴ In the tomb of Sobekhotep himself, such an aquatic environment is painted on scene 18 of the northern wall of the corridor with the following caption:

hnš sš.w [hb š3.w] šhmj jb st.t mhy.t
 “Crossing the marshes, [sailing the ponds], rejoicing, spearing fish.”⁴⁵

The natural features praised in Iuy’s graffito, therefore, may well echo “the wall of mountains” (*n3y.sn jnb.w m d.w.w*) of “the West of Sobekhotep” mentioned in the graffito. Iuy’s text strikingly echoes the decoration of the northern wall of the corridor, which successively presents farming scenes, fishing in marshes, and a rich garden for the deceased and his wife (fig. 8.13). This garden scene is a central theme of elite identity of this period, as such a domain was a marker of status as well as an indication of the luxury of high dignitaries’ villas.⁴⁶ Such a pond also fulfills wishes for survival,⁴⁷ this garden being the contact point between both realms.⁴⁸

Sobekhotep and his wife are shown seated before a richly laden offering table on either side of the water; they are also provided with water by a tree-goddess⁴⁹ before this pond filled with lotuses and tilapias, both associated with the funerary realm (fig. 8.14).⁵⁰ The garden, as it is praised in the graffito and painted on the walls of the tomb, has a double meaning: it is both an evocation of the status of Sobekhotep in social memory and a wish for his survival post mortem, in the active space of the tomb.⁵¹ As a gift to Sobekhotep entrusted to the tribute-bearers of the scene where it is inserted, the graffito of Iuy praises the domain of the deceased as it is depicted on the walls of the tomb that Iuy visited. Iuy unveils his own reading of this place, but he also activates, through his praise, a key theme of the funerary representations of this time.

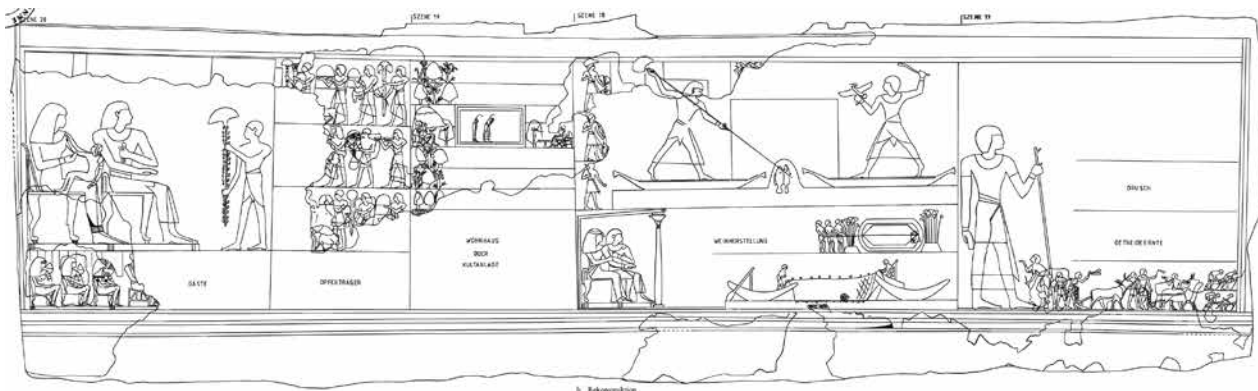


Figure 8.13. Scenes of the northern wall, passage, TT 63 (Dziobek and Abdel Raziq 1990, pl. 40).

43 *Urk.* 4:917.15.

44 *Urk.* 4:918.10.

45 Dziobek and Abdel Raziq 1990, 65, text 18a, scene 18.

46 Hugonot 1989, 169–221; Wilkinson 1998; Hartwig 2004, 106–12.

47 See, for example, Djehuty in his tomb’s hymn to Amun (TT 11): [*di.k skbb.j hr*] *nhw.t.j hr hw.t.j jr.t.n.j m š.j n(y) d.t*, [. . .] *šb.w n(y) dd.k n(j) m-hnw š.k n(y) m3^c-hrw m njw.t nhh m js.j n(y) d.t m bw nfr n(y) dd.k n.j*, “[May you grant that I refresh under] my sycamores in the tomb chapel I made for myself as a garden for eternity, [. . .] the offerings that you give me in my garden of justification as a town for eternity in my tomb for eternity, thanks to all the good that you grant me” (*Urk.* 4:447.4–11).

48 Assmann et al. 1995, 284–86; Harrington 2013, 92.

49 For parallels, see Hugonot 1989, 171.

50 Desroches-Noblecourt 1954; Derchain 1976; Hartwig 2004, 105–6.

51 Ragazzoli 2008, 202.



Figure 8.14. Estate garden of Sobekhotep, northern wall, passage (Dziobek and Abdel Raziq 1990, pl. XIII, detail).

Such offering-graffiti use the decoration of the tomb, but they also take it as their subject matter. In so doing, they reenact the decoration and stand for a performative reading that must conjure up the promises contained in the decoration on which they comment.

GRAFFITI AS SCRIBES' FULFILLMENT OF THE APPEAL TO THE LIVING

Graffiti correspond to aesthetics of reception. They use the decoration while showing an individual reading of the funerary discourse. This reading is performative: it enacts prayers and scenes, which are like many magical words tending to their self-actualization to the benefit of the deceased. Through their graffiti, visitors prove that they have immersed themselves in texts and scenes and, in this way, accomplished what was expected of them.

Graffiti are acts of speech; they are also acts of reading. In this sense, they respond to the requests made in the appeals to the living, or more precisely in those that Elmar Edel named “appeals to visitors.”⁵² Both genres address the similar scribe-figure, which in the New Kingdom embodies a specific use of text—namely, copying from and transmitting to social memory—while lector-priests are in charge of the ritual reading of magic addressed to the divine world. Graffiti and appeals refer to the same realms of discourse and practices, as shown by the lexical choice.⁵³ At the most basic level, one should underline that the former commemorates visits made *to see* (*jwt r m33*), such a “reading” of the tomb being the first wish of the deceased. *M33* refers basically to viewing inscriptions and decoration. Along this line, the vizier Useramen says:⁵⁴

⁵² Edel 1944, 3.

⁵³ I am indebted to Chiara Salvador for making her master’s thesis available to me (Salvador 2012); without it, most of the comparisons made here would not have been possible.

⁵⁴ See also *Urk.* 4:412.10–14, 939.6–15, 1036.11–1037.5, 1610.4–14; *KRI* 2:878.7–10, 879.8–12; 3:369.1–3.

j ^c*nh.w tpy.w t3*
sš.w hry.w-hb(.t)
w^cb.w hm.w-k3
m33t(y).sn ^ch^c(w) pn snn.(t).(j)
jw^c(w,j) tp t3
sh3.j m hr(y).t-ntr
 “Lo, living ones on earth,
 scribes and lector-priests,
 pure-priests and funerary priests,
 who will see this monument and my image,
 my heritage on earth,
 and the memory of me in the necropolis.”⁵⁵

The pragmatic and thematic closeness between visitors’ inscriptions and the expectations of the deceased is based on a closely knitted intertextuality. The phraseology of visitors’ inscriptions points out two main reasons for the visit: the *swtwt* stroll and *sd3-hr* entertainment, on the one hand, and the enunciation of formulaic offerings such as *dj nsw.t htp*, “may the king grant offerings,” on the other hand. Meanwhile, appeals to the living address passersby and promise entertainment through the beauty of the tomb in the hope of benefiting from such formulae:⁵⁶

dd.f hr rmt jw.sn
3bby swd3-hr Imnt.t
swtwt m sp3.t [nhh]
 “He says to the people who will come,
 and who wish to be entertained in the West
 and to stroll in the district of [eternity].”⁵⁷

Furthermore, the generic *sš*-scribe of the visitors’ inscriptions echoes his counterpart in the appeals to the living, addressed to several generic categories. Scribes and priests are indeed essential to the performative magic of the tomb: in Egypt it is through their being read that the scenes and formulae of the tomb can accomplish their magic. But the literacy and the realm of action of each of these categories of professional roles are different, and they contribute to distinctive but complementary kinds of survival. While priests contribute to survival in the afterworld, scribes contribute to posterity, to survival in this world through literary transmission, through copying canonical works,⁵⁸ as clearly put into words in the scribal literature and in the Late Egyptian Miscellanies. Scribes are aware of the power of literary transmission in terms of establishing the name of their (symbolic) authors in posterity and social memory, as celebrated in the praise of great scribes of P. Chester Beatty IV, verso 2.5–3.10, and other texts.⁵⁹

While the appeal to a priest refers to the ritual reading of magically empowered texts, the scribe stands for another type of textual activity, namely, the posterity promised to their symbolic author through secular reading and transmission, typical of the literary corpora designated under *mdw.t nfrw.t*, “beautiful speech.”⁶⁰ The appeals to the living address this kind of survival and refer to the texts of the tombs as such “sweet speech of entertainment” (*md.t ndm.t n[y].t swd3-hr*⁶¹), promising, like Neferronpe on his false-door stela, that “You will read the beautiful speech which causes my name to endure” (*jh šd.tn m mdw.t nfr[.wt] nty*

55 Stela Grenoble N 1954; *Urk.* 4:1032.3–10; Salvador 2012, 16–17.

56 See also *KRI* 2:387.14–15; 3:163.5–7; *Urk.* 4:120.15–122.16.

57 Martin et al. 2012, 19–20, pl. 14, cols. 4–6.

58 Ragazzoli 2013, 283.

59 See the harper song recorded on P. BM EA 10060 (Harris 500), 6.2–7.2, and in tombs Leiden K6 and TT 355 (cf. Osing 1992, 12; Fischer-Elfert 2003, 122).

60 See, e.g., Moers 2001, 167–69.

61 *Urk.* 4:122.16.

mn hr rn.j; stela Louvre C 108⁶²). The deceased expects from the “beautiful words” of his tomb, “which rest above his name,” the same power as literature and *belles lettres* in terms of transmitting his *rn*-name, in other words, his fame and social identity.⁶³ Such pleasure is there in graffiti, with evaluation of the *nfr*-beauty of the tomb in the *jb*-heart of the visitors, with formulaic expression such as *gm.n.f sw nfr hr jb.f gm.n.f sw mj p.t m-hnw.sy*, “He found it beautiful in his heart; he found it as if the sky was in it.”⁶⁴

GRAFFITI AND THE REDEFINITION OF THE TOMB SPACE

Graffiti use the tomb space to benefit from its sacred efficacy and establish contact with the sacred realm and the afterworld. In so doing, they themselves act on this space. From this point of view, graffiti follow the evolution of the tomb through the New Kingdom, when it transforms from a funerary monument to a private temple: the tomb not only is the cult place of its owner but also acquires the status of a sacred space where the deceased and his visitors can worship the gods.⁶⁵ Architecture, decoration, and visitors' graffiti all echo these changes. While graffiti from the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty conform to the generic pattern of the *jwt pw jr.n sš* phraseology, graffiti from the Amarna period onward belong generically to the expression of personal piety. Below I examine some of the interactions between the graffiti and divine figures in the decoration. More complex interactions with the overall space and the relationships with the liturgical and ritual times are treated elsewhere.⁶⁶

Rites and performances are explicitly marked as such by most graffiti, which include religious content or explicitly mention the accomplishment of offerings, worshipping, or prayers. Such formal and thematic features signal to the audience that they are reading ritual acts.⁶⁷ These graffiti process the sacred space from within and “offer a relational and performative perspective on the creation, organization, and meaning of sacred space.”⁶⁸ Such a dynamic approach shows how sacred places are continuously appropriated and shaped by their users.

Graffiti point out such “contact zones.” Beyond their votive context, they use the active space of the tomb to draw closer to the gods they address. Scenes of divine adoration are scarce and limited to the Osirian icon in the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty but multiply afterward.⁶⁹ This sacred space is fully exploited by votive graffiti. Among fourteen prayers precisely localized in the corpus by 2016, twelve are situated in relation to a god, usually Osiris (fig. 8.15).⁷⁰

These graffiti indicate contact zones, interfaces, even points of tension between two worlds,⁷¹ between what is accessible and what is not. Graffitists chose relevant spaces for the content of their prayers. Therefore, graffiti record acts of devotion, their physical interaction with the divine image, and the eventual divine presence. From a very different time and context, the graffiti recorded by Véronique Plesch on religious paintings from an Italian oratory in Orvieto, and traced between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, show a similar pattern in that they were preferably written on the figures of saints from the cycle of

62 Sottas 1913, 55–56; Bakry 1969, 237.

63 Hartwig 2004, 6.

64 See, for example, TT 60 (Ragazzoli 2013, graffiti nos. 2–3); on the phraseology of visitors' inscriptions, see Navratilova 2006.

65 Assmann 2003, 49.

66 Ragazzoli 2017b; Ragazzoli, forthcoming.

67 Ritualization can be understood as “a way of doing things to trigger the perception that these practices are distinct and the associations they engender are special” (Bell 1992, 220, apud Froid 2013, 286).

68 Froid 2013, 285.

69 Hartwig 2004, 112.

70 Graffiti before Osiris: TT 15, TT 23, TT 49, TT 51, TT 291; before Amun and Osiris: TT 139; other: TT 93, TT 277, TT 112.

71 Froid 2013, 289.

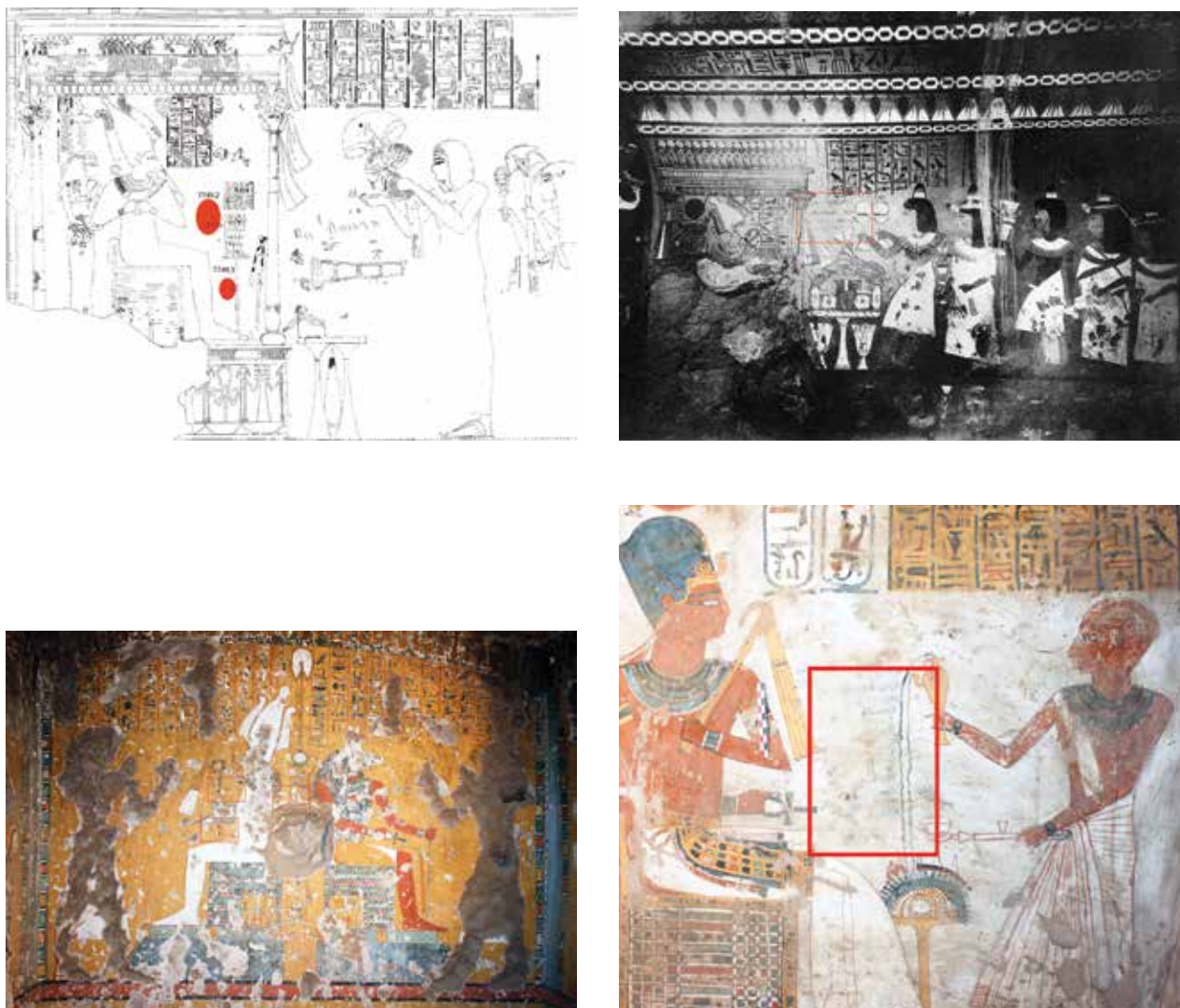


Figure 8.15. Graffiti within scenes of divine adoration (TT 49, TT 291, TT 93, and TT 277).

Christ's life, for example.⁷² They similarly recorded signs of individual devotion for holy figures who could intercede and with whom the worshippers hoped to establish communication.

CONCLUSION

This short study presented some examples of the interaction between visitors' graffiti and tomb decoration and how they bear witness to the reception of this decoration. Beyond the mere tracing of an audience's reaction to artifacts of high culture, the graffiti also act within this decoration. Graffiti penetrate what they comment on; they alter the balance and points of gravity of the original decoration, which they rework from within. Graffiti set into motion strategies of appropriation through which individuals can work their way into official building space and official forms of expression, into what is already there, into societal and artistic norms.⁷³ In the case of Theban tombs, the movement accompanies the transformation of tomb space throughout the Eighteenth Dynasty. At first, when the tomb is a funerary monument focused on the cult and memory of the deceased, graffiti seek for their signatories a similar posterity, within this sacred space,

⁷² Plesch 2002.

⁷³ Certeau 1990, xlv–xlvi.

by joining in the cult of the deceased. The dialogue of graffiti with the decoration follows closely the evolution of tomb (re)use, and visitors seem fully to enable the transformation of the tomb into small private temples wherein they can hope for privileged interaction with the divine sphere.

Graffiti embody the reception of the decorative program by a certain category of visitors in specific tombs, but they also empower the tomb's audience to display their own identity, to use the active space of the tomb to their own benefit, and to appropriate that space. In this sense they contribute to redefining the tomb space, whose definition and usage change through time. These graffiti, which may seem marginal and anecdotal when considered individually in a single monument, systemically pertain to the life and use of funerary monuments in ancient Egypt.

9

A NEW LOOK AT MEKETRE'S SPORTING BOAT¹

Catharine H. Roehrig

The Metropolitan Museum of Art

LATE IN FEBRUARY 1920, Herbert Winlock and members of the Metropolitan Museum's Egyptian Expedition decided to clear the area outside a large Middle Kingdom tomb located in a section of the Theban necropolis south of Deir el-Bahari and west of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna hill (fig. 9.1). Two other expeditions had excavated in the area, one in 1895² and another in 1903–4,³ and it was understood that the tomb's interior had been completely explored. The name of the owner had not been found, but there was still a pile of ancient debris near the tomb's entrance, where the Museum's excavators hoped to find fragments of the facade (fig. 9.2). No plan of the tomb had been made by the previous expeditions, so Winlock also decided to re-clear the interior, expecting to find nothing of great interest. During several weeks of work, the excavators uncovered a number of exquisitely painted relief fragments and broken pieces of funerary equipment, including the splintered remains of a fine coffin of coniferous wood decorated with gilding and paint.⁴ Anticipating nothing further from the site, Winlock and his team were astounded when, on March 17, the entrance to a small, sealed room was uncovered along the tomb's central corridor (fig. 9.3). This room turned out to be a *serdab*, or statue chamber, containing a group of twenty-four finely crafted, carefully detailed wooden funerary models and statues that had escaped the notice of the ancient robbers. Short inscriptions on components of some models identified the owner as the chancellor Meketre, who had begun his career sometime in the reign of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II, founder of the Middle Kingdom. Meketre had then served the succeeding kings of the Eleventh Dynasty and into the early reign of Amenemhat I, founder of the Twelfth Dynasty.⁵

Though impressive in design, Meketre's tomb had been cut into an inferior stratum of stone, and the *serdab* containing the models was only roughly carved. The models had been placed in the room systematically, but large sections of the ceiling had caved in, upending one of the boats, turning another on its side, and partially burying other models under heavy limestone rock and chip (fig. 9.4). Numerous figures had been dislodged and separated from their models, but many others, including most of those on the upended boat, remained securely pegged in place. Despite serious damage to several models that were directly below the fallen ceiling, the majority remained remarkably intact, and it was possible to replace the fallen figures

1 Thanks to my colleagues in the Department of Egyptian Art for their consultation on this study. Special thanks to conservator emerita Ann Heywood, who patiently moved figures from place to place to place on the deck of the boat, and to Gustavo Camps, the department's imaging specialist, who took photographs of the individual figures while they were off the boat and is responsible for numerous illustrations in this chapter. All black-and-white photographs in this study were taken in Egypt in early 1920 by Harry Burton and were later used in Herbert Winlock's publications of the models (Winlock 1920, 1955). Color photographs, unless otherwise noted, were taken by Gustavo Camps.

2 Daressy 1895, 134–35.

3 Mond 1905, 77–78.

4 For images of these objects, see the Museum's website (www.metmuseum.org). See especially a relief fragment depicting a bull (20.3.162) and the largest of the coffin fragments (20.3.101).

5 For this dating of Meketre's career, see Arnold 1991, 5–48.



Figure 9.1. Tomb of Meketre (TT 280, MMA 1101). This photograph was taken in fall or winter 1920–21, the season after work on the tomb had been completed. Photo MCC 107.

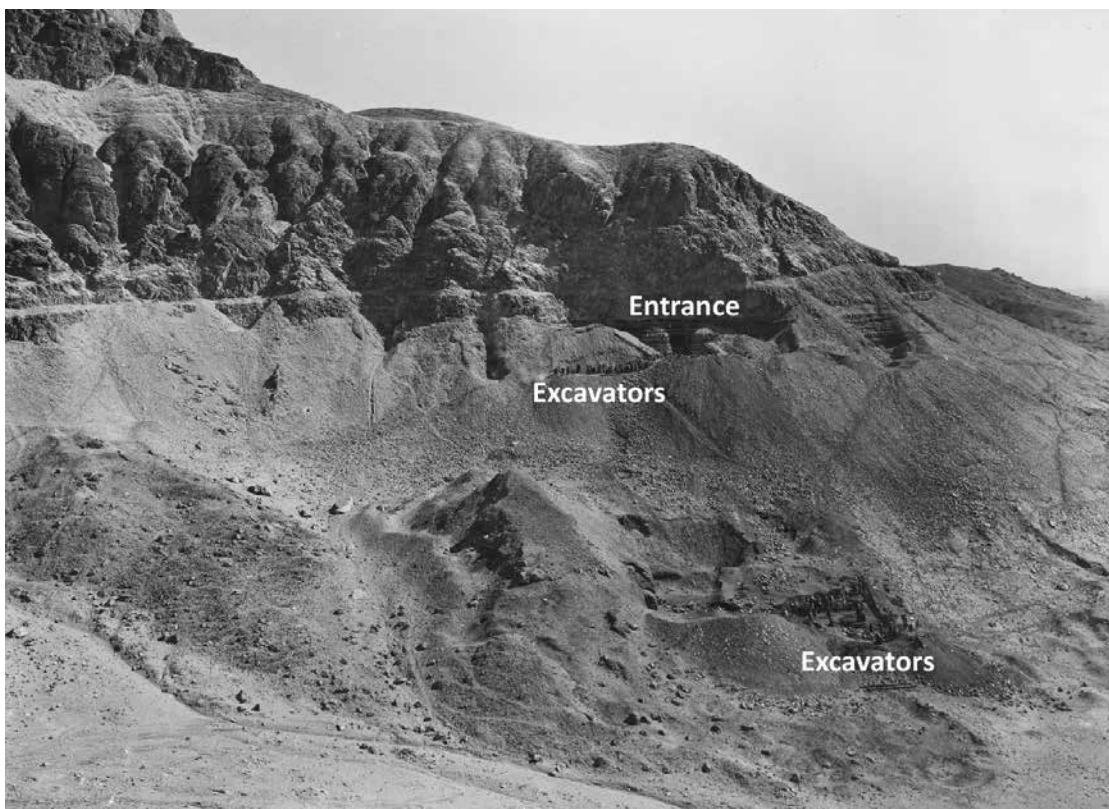


Figure 9.2. Egyptian Expedition excavators clearing the entrance and causeway of Meketre's tomb in February 1920. Photo MC 4.



Figure 9.3. Entrance of the *serdab* (statue chamber) early on the morning of March 18, 1920, before clearance was begun. Photo MC 21.



Figure 9.4. View of the models inside the *serdab* before clearing. Taken around 4:00 p.m. on March 18, 1920. Remarkably, many of the figures were still in place. Photo MC 26.



Figure 9.5. View of the remaining models after partial clearance of the *serdab*. Taken early in the morning on March 19, 1920. The sporting boat lies on its side beneath the large model of cattle being counted. Photo MC 28 (Winlock 1955, pl. 5, bottom).

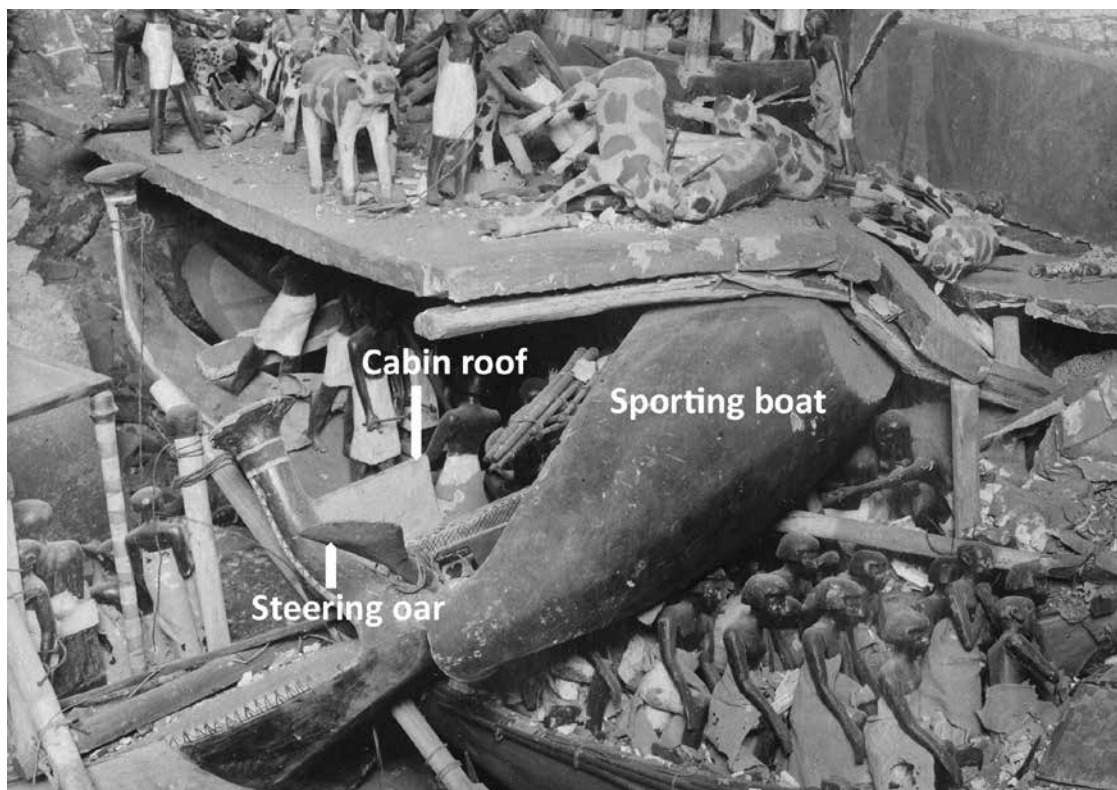


Figure 9.6. Detail of figure 9.5 showing the broken end of the cattle-counting scene with the sporting boat beneath. The top of the boat's cabin, having been knocked off its supports, lies on the deck of the boat below, and the steering oar has been broken off and displaced.

in their original positions without much difficulty.⁶ One exception was a boat that lay on its side beneath the broken end of a large model depicting cattle being herded past a covered platform, where the owner sits with scribes who count the cattle (fig. 9.5). Winlock dubbed this find the “sporting boat” based on figures and components that could be associated with fishing and fowling.⁷

Winlock believed the sporting boat had been carelessly knocked over when the large cattle-counting model was placed in the tomb, thereby causing the breakage to the boat's cabin and steering oar and the detachment of most of the figures from the deck.⁸ But it seems more likely that the boat was laid on its side deliberately to help support one end of the cattle-counting model. If this is the case, any loose components lying on the deck would have fallen off, but the boat's cabin and the figures, all of which were pegged to the deck, probably remained in place. When at some later date the ceiling fell, it came down with a force that broke both the base and the back board of the large cattle-counting model, displacing many of its figures as well (fig. 9.6). This event probably pushed the boat over farther, crushing the cabin, breaking off the steering oar, and detaching the majority of the figures.

1920 RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SPORTING BOAT (FIG. 9.7)

IN HIS CATALOG OF THE models,⁹ Winlock states that the figures on the sporting boat could be put back in place by matching them to peg holes, traces of glue, and smudged paint on the deck. There would have been no question where most of the fifteen figures should go. Each of the six paddlers fits well in only one position, the helmsman sits near the steering oar at the stern, and a small area of deck has been cut away so that the left foot of the lookout can rest more securely and allow him to stand in a more upright position (figs. 9.8, 9.9).

Three other figures are also easy to place. They are associated with one another by their shaven heads and lighter skin color (fig. 9.10). The most important of them, a man depicted in the formal pose of a seated statue, probably represents the spirit of the owner, in this case Meketre. A man squatting in an asymmetrical seated pose was identified by Winlock as Meketre's son, Inyotef, and for the purposes of this study



Figure 9.7. First reconstruction of the sporting boat. Photo MC 138 (Winlock 1955, pl. 51, center).

⁶ In a letter written March 21, 1920, to Albert Lythgoe in New York, Winlock says that they had no worries about fallen stucco and paint because “In spite of everything the figures were as solid as the day they were made.”

⁷ Winlock 1955, 64–67, 101–2.

⁸ Winlock 1955, 79, 101.

⁹ Winlock 1955, 101–2.

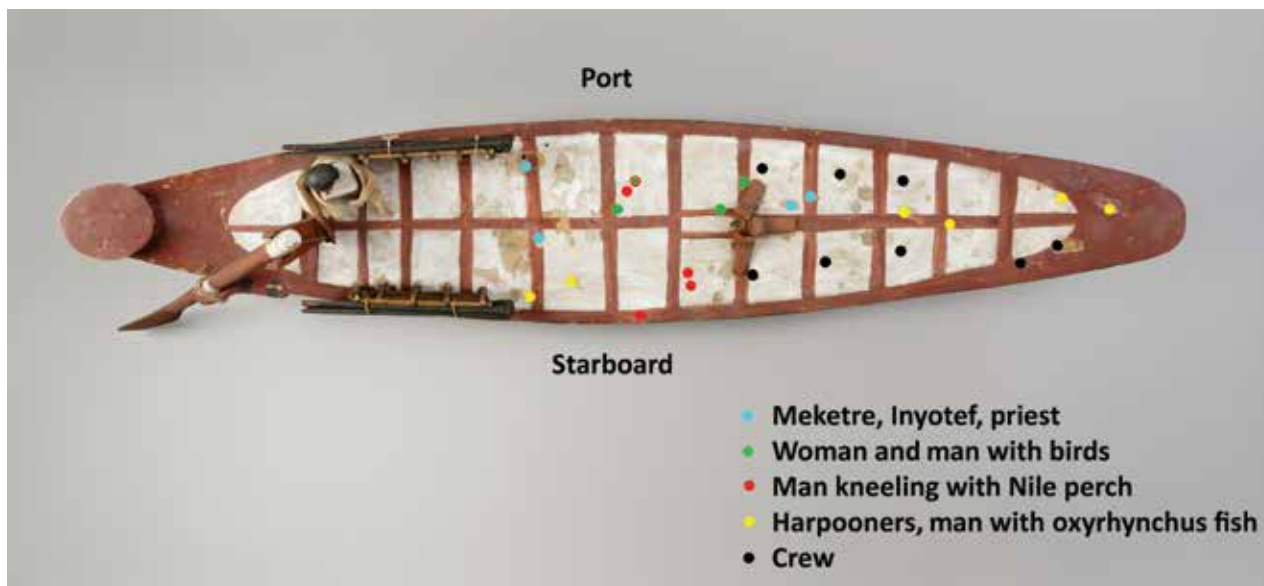


Figure 9.8. Plan of the boat deck with positions of the figures. The kneeling fisherman has two positions, shown by two red dots close together—one near the port side and one near the starboard side in the center of the boat. The right foot of the woman (small green dot inside the red dot) fits into one of the holes near the port side. Drawing by Lindsley F. Hall (Winlock 1955, pl. 82), with additions by C. H. Roehrig.

he will be identified as such, though it is possible he is simply an anonymous attendant. The third man is standing, wears a long kilt, and may have carried something in his right hand.¹⁰ Winlock identified him as an overseer, but it seems more likely that he is a priest who is there to attend to the needs of Meketre's spirit. Peg holes and discoloration on the deck indicate that Meketre was facing forward at a slight angle to the left (figs. 9.8, 9.11). Similar evidence indicates that Inyotef sat to the left of Meketre and facing him, but there are several peg holes and two spots of discoloration in this area suggesting that Inyotef's position was shifted at least once (see below under Further Comments on the Sporting Boat). The priest fits into peg holes at the center of the boat just in front of the mast supports, and marks on the deck indicate that he was facing Meketre.

A striding woman, who holds a bird in her outstretched right hand, and a man carrying seven birds can be placed in peg holes just behind the mast supports and facing Meketre (figs. 9.8, 9.12). But based on adaptations to the mast supports and a shift in the placement of one fisherman (discussed below), Winlock decided that these two figures had been placed on the deck as an afterthought. Various components of a clapnet are also associated with these figures. The poles of the net have been lashed to the cabin, four on



Figure 9.9. Dowels in the heels of the lookout figure fit exactly into peg holes at the bow of the sporting boat. An area of the deck has also been cut away around the figure's left foot. Photo by C. H. Roehrig.

¹⁰ A pointed, scepter-like implement was placed in his hand in 1920, but he may have held something else, or nothing at all. It seems to have been standard practice for the craftsmen who made the arms for the Meketre figures to drill holes in the fists. The holes would have allowed the arms to be attached to any figure, whether that figure needed to hold an implement or not.

each side, and the net pegs probably lay somewhere on the deck or perhaps were piled inside the cabin itself (fig. 9.13).

The final figures on the deck are four fishermen, two harpooners and two men with fish that have already been caught (fig. 9.14). The first harpooner stands ready to spear a fish, the second harpooner holds a harpoon shaft without its point, a kneeling man pulls a harpoon point from a large Nile perch,¹¹ and another man carries a large oxyrhynchus fish on his shoulder. Of these figures, the kneeling man should be easy to place, because he has two dowels in his feet that are very close together. But, as Winlock points out, there are two places on the deck where he could fit, one on the port side near the squatting figure of Inyotef and one on the starboard side facing Meketre (fig. 9.8). When the woman and man with birds are on the deck, the kneeling man can be placed only in the starboard position, so Winlock suggested that the birders were



Figure 9.10. The spirit of Meketre represented in the formal pose of a seated statue. Squatting next to him is a figure who may represent his son, Inyotef, or who may be an attendant. Facing them is the figure of a standing priest. The object in this man's hand may or may not have been there originally.



Figure 9.11. Peg holes and discoloration on the deck indicate that Meketre's statue faced forward at a slight angle and Inyotef sat to his left facing him. Cropped from photo MC 139 (Winlock 1955, pl. 51, top).

¹¹ Winlock identified this fish as a tilapia, but the large mouth, shape of the tail, and size of the fish suggest it is a Nile perch. Compare a photograph of the fish from the sporting boat and the fishing model from Meketre's tomb where this fish, an oxyrhynchus fish from each model, and several smaller fish including a tilapia are shown (Winlock 1955, pl. 53, lower left).



Figure 9.12. A woman wearing bead netting and jewelry and holding a pintail duck accompanied by a slightly smaller man carrying seven birds.

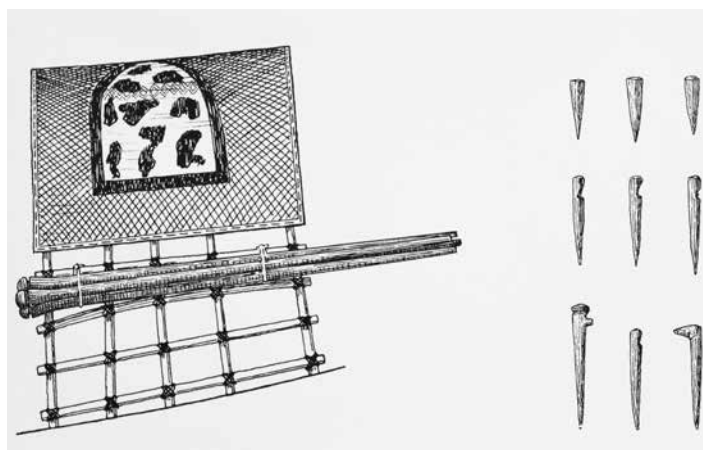


Figure 9.13. Four poles of a clapnet, lashed to the port side of the cabin, and net pegs that would have lain loose on the deck. Drawing by Lindsley F. Hall (Winlock 1955, pl. 83, bottom).



Figure 9.14. Four fishermen from the sporting boat. The first harpooner stands ready to harpoon a fish. The second harpooner holds a harpoon shaft without its point. A kneeling man pulls the point from a large Nile perch. Another man carries a large oxyrhynchus fish on his shoulder.

a later addition.¹² The three standing fishermen also pose a problem, as they have pegs in their feet that are the same distance apart. This fact makes their positions on the deck interchangeable. Winlock chose to place the two harpooners near the bow of the boat, one facing forward and one facing aft, as the stains on the deck indicate. The man carrying the oxyrhynchus fish was placed facing forward at Meketre's right (fig. 9.7).

2015 RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SPORTING BOAT

Winlock's 1920 configuration of the sporting boat remained essentially the same until 2014, when preparations were underway for the special exhibition *Ancient Egypt Transformed: The Middle Kingdom*.¹³ That the sporting boat was to be included in the exhibition gave us an opportunity to study it more carefully

¹² The pair of holes on the port side is covered by the woman's right foot, and a peg in this foot fits into one of the holes (fig. 9.8). When the kneeling fisherman was moved to the starboard side of the deck, the Nile perch was secured to the deck with a peg set into the center of the fish's proper right side. This peg went into a hole in the gunwale in front of the kneeling fisherman (fig. 9.8), leaving the fish's tail over the side of the boat.

¹³ Photographs taken during the intervening years show that the Nile perch moved around the deck, and, at one point, the oxyrhynchus fish became detached from the shoulder of the fisherman and this man was turned to face the stern.

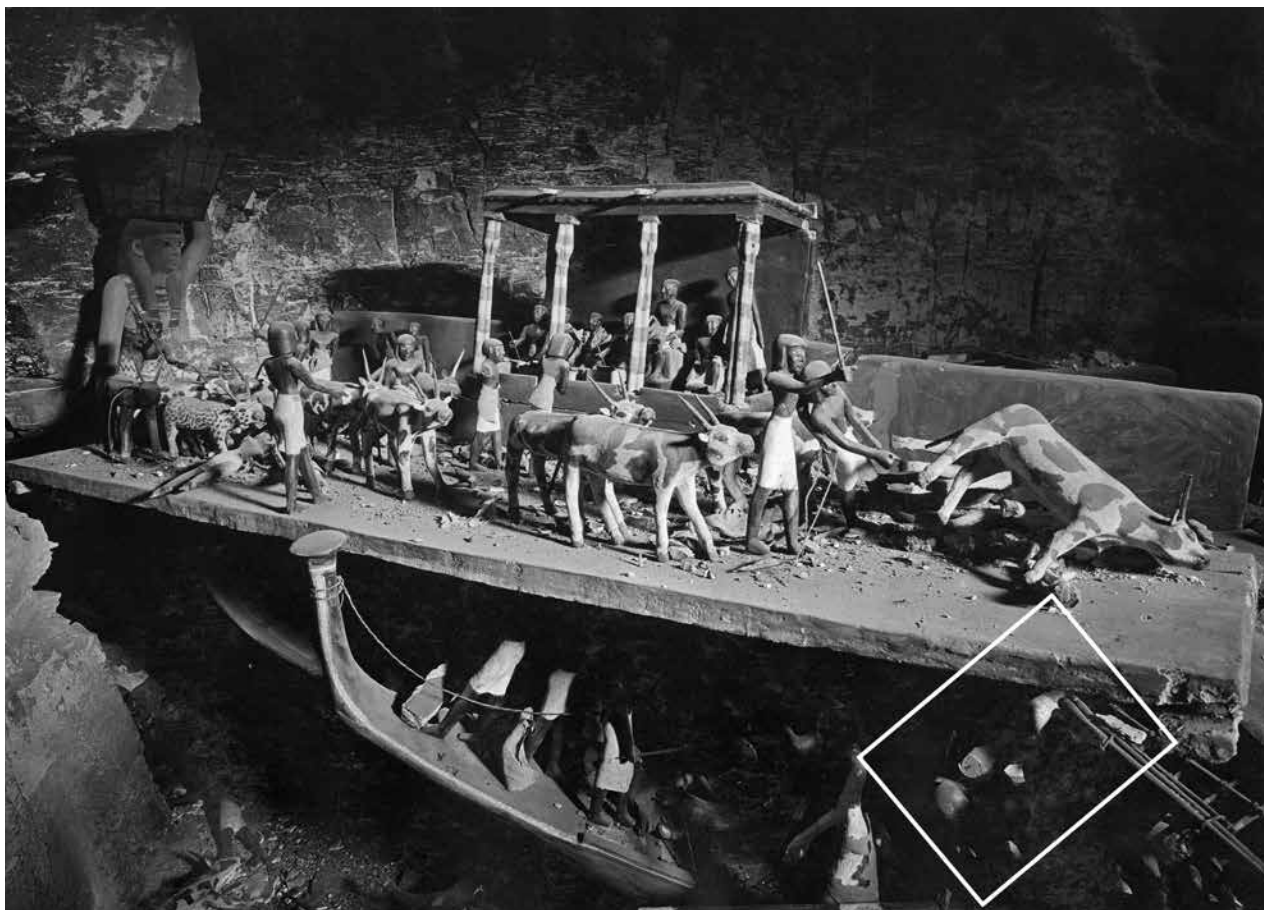


Figure 9.15. Photograph taken inside the *serdab* showing the position of the cattle-counting model. The sporting boat is visible in the lower right-hand corner. Photo MC 37, taken on March 19, 1920 (Winlock 1955, pl. 6).

and answer several questions. I did so with Ann Heywood, the conservator in the Museum's department of objects conservation who concentrated on our collection. The first question was raised by Winlock's statement that "most of the figures had fallen off the boat,"¹⁴ which implies that one or more had still been in place. Unfortunately he did not elaborate, and, in the photograph that best shows its position in the *serdab*, the sporting boat is largely obscured by the large cattle-counting scene (figs. 9.5–9.6). Fortunately, a second photograph that focuses primarily on the cattle-counting scene shows the starboard side of the sporting boat's cabin with the four clapnet poles still lashed in place (fig. 9.15). One can see that just in front of the poles a figure is still pegged to the deck. The photographs were taken by Harry Burton using very long exposures. The resulting 13 × 18 cm glass negatives (roughly 5 × 7 inches) and the contact prints made from them have a wealth of detail and, when digitized, can be manipulated to reveal even more information. An enlarged detail of the photograph shows that the figure still in place on the sporting boat's deck was a standing man who is missing his right arm (fig. 9.16, left). The photograph clearly indicates that the right arm of this figure was raised 90 degrees. Comparing the photograph to the three standing fishermen, it is the second harpooner, the man holding the spear without a point (fig. 9.16, center), who has the same arm position, not the first harpooner (whose right arm was never detached) or the man carrying the oxyrhynchus fish (fig. 9.16, right).

Presumably, when the sporting boat was taken out of the *serdab*, figures still attached to the deck were removed for transport. Or perhaps the harpooner was loose and fell from the deck when the boat was lifted off the models below it. Clearly, no one remembered its original position when the figures were reattached to the deck.

¹⁴ Winlock 1955, 101.



Figure 9.16. Left: Detail of figure 9.15 (rotated 130 degrees to the right) shows one man still in place on the deck of the sporting boat. His right arm is missing, but the position is clear. Center: The only fisherman who has his right arm in the same position is the man holding a harpoon without its point. Right: The man carrying the oxyrhynchus fish has his right arm down.

In the new configuration of the boat, the second harpooner has been placed in his original position, facing forward on the starboard side just in front of the cabin. In this position, he becomes part of a vignette within the boat model. In this scene within a scene, he has just harpooned a large Nile perch and waits for the kneeling fisherman to remove the harpoon point from the fish and return it (fig. 9.17, center).

Although our first question could be partially answered using photographs, confirming the placement of other figures required taking

the boat off display and removing the figures from the deck, with one exception. The helmsman, whose position is indisputable, was so firmly attached that we left him in place. We spent several weeks examining the figures and asking questions, one of which was easy to answer: Was the fisherman really carrying the oxyrhynchus fish in this manner? This appears to be an awkward way to carry a fish, and I have found no tomb paintings of fishing scenes that show a man carrying a fish in this manner. But the answer to this question was a resounding yes. Not only did we find glue on one side of the fish and on the man's raised



Figure 9.17. Configuration of the sporting boat in 2015. Near the center of the boat, the fisherman without a point on his harpoon now stands facing the kneeling man who is drawing the harpoon point out of the Nile perch. In the photograph, Meketre is facing forward to allow a view of his profile. The figure of Inyotef has been removed, as he would have filled in the empty spaces that help define other figures without being recognizable himself. Photo by Anna-Marie Kellen of the imaging department of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 9.18. The sporting boat in what was probably its original configuration as a fishing boat, with the man carrying the oxyrhynchus fish facing the stern.

left arm, but we also found a dowel hole in the left side of the man's neck and a broken dowel filling a hole in the nose of the fish.

ORIGINAL CONFIGURATION OF THE SPORTING BOAT AS A FISHING BOAT

Two more questions were raised by Winlock's assertion that the woman and the man with birds were later additions to the boat. What did the boat look like in its original configuration, and why were the two figures added? The first of these questions was answered by reconfiguring the boat without the two birders and by placing the kneeling fisherman in his alternative position on the port side of the boat (fig. 9.18). These changes create a fishing boat that brings to mind the fishing scenes found in nonroyal tomb decoration from the Old Kingdom onward. The major difference between the model and its two-dimensional counterparts is that Meketre appears as a passive observer rather than a participant in the action.

In answer to the second question, one can only speculate that Meketre, having provided himself with a three-dimensional fishing scene, decided that he wanted to include a fowling scene as well. Instead of adding figures hunting birds with throw sticks, which would have referenced the usual fowling scenes in nonroyal tombs (again with Meketre as a passive observer rather than a participant), he seems to have opted for the less common clapnetting scene, like the one in the tomb of Khnumhotep at Beni Hassan (fig. 9.19). By adding the figures with birds and the clapnet paraphernalia, a new story could be alluded to—one in which the fishing part of the outing was actively taking place, after the fowling had been completed and the clapnet poles and pegs had been stored for later use. But this raises another question: Who are the woman and man with birds?

IDENTITY OF THE WOMAN AND MAN WITH BIRDS

The woman on the sporting boat (fig. 9.20) is unique among the figures in the Meketre models. Only four of the other models include women: the procession of a priest and three offering bearers (MMA 20.3.8), the weavers' shed (Egyptian Museum, Cairo JE 46723), the combined brewery and bakery (MMA 20.3.12), and one of the kitchen tenders (MMA 20.3.3). These other women wear simple sheath dresses and no jewelry,



Figure 9.19. Facsimile of the clapnet scene in the tomb of Khnumhotep at Beni Hasan (tomb 3). Painted by Nina de Garis Davies. Rogers Fund 1933 (33.8.18).

and they are similar in size to the men around them. The woman on the sporting boat is slightly but noticeably taller than the men on the boat. She wears a multicolored bead net that covers the upper half of her dress, has a fillet around the top of her head, and wears a broad collar, anklets, and bracelets. She also strides forward to offer her duck to Meketre. Her active pose and her attire separate her from the other women in the models, but she can be compared with the two much larger estate figures found in the tomb (Cairo JE 46725; MMA 20.3.7). These figures wear jewelry, and bead netting covers their dresses. These estate figures are semidivine entities, and it seems likely that the woman on the sporting boat is divine as well. The goddess most closely associated with fishing and fowling is Sekhet, the lady of the catch, who personifies the bounty of the marshes during the Middle Kingdom.¹⁵ She is referred to in texts accompanying fishing and fowling scenes,¹⁶ and in the tomb chapel of Iti-ibi-iqer at Asyut, she actually appears in a clapnet scene wearing a fillet on her head, a broad collar, and a beaded dress with feathers at the bottom, and presenting the catch of birds to the tomb owner.¹⁷

If the woman on the boat is the goddess Sekhet, who is the man accompanying her? Like the fishermen on the boat, this man is dressed in a short kilt with a piece of cloth over his left shoulder, so he may simply represent the bird catcher who operates the clapnet. There is, however, another possibility. In his description of the clapnet scene mentioned above, Mahmoud El-Khadragy notes a poorly preserved male figure who is painted blue, indicating that he may be divine. El-Khadragy then suggests that this may represent Sekhet's son Hab (*ḥ3b*) and that the scene might then be a pictorial version of Pyramid Text 555.¹⁸ Although



Figure 9.20. The woman on the sporting boat is striding forward, holding a duck in her outstretched right hand. She wears a bead net, jewelry, and a fillet on her head, unlike the other women in Meketre's models.

¹⁵ Guglielmi 2013.

¹⁶ For example, in Khnumhotep's tomb; see Kamrin 1999, 110–11.

¹⁷ El-Khadragy 2007, 112–13, 126, fig. 6.

¹⁸ El-Khadragy 2007, 112–13n56.

the bird catcher on Meketre's sporting boat is not painted blue, he is significantly smaller than Sekhet and even smaller than the other men on the boat. Perhaps he also represents her son Hab, who is bringing the great bounty of the marshes, represented by seven birds, to Meketre.

FURTHER COMMENTS ON THE SPORTING BOAT

While I tried to find comparisons for the sporting boat in any of its configurations, it soon became clear that all comparisons had to come from the wall paintings and reliefs in nonroyal tombs.¹⁹ The boat is unique among wooden models of the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom. The only other published model in which fish are shown being caught is also from Meketre's tomb and represents fishermen on two papyrus skiffs catching fish in a net between them (Cairo JE 46715). The activity on this fishing model relates it more closely to the food-production models from the tomb than to scenes that include the spirit of the tomb owner. The only published models that deal with fowling seem to be two simple boats, each with two crouching birds on the deck, that were found in the tomb of Djehutynakht at Bersha and are now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Boston 21.802, 21.890).²⁰

The orientation of the man carrying the oxyrhynchus fish is still somewhat problematic. In the photographs of figures 9.17 and 9.18 he is shown facing Meketre. This orientation works well aesthetically, as he fits into the space without touching the priest, who stands in front of him. It also works well with the story of the catch (in this case fish) being brought to Meketre. But marks on the deck show that a figure was placed here before the paint was dry, and the smudges indicate that the figure was facing the bow with his back to Meketre. If the fisherman is oriented in this direction, his left arm and the fish touch the shoulder of the lookout in front of him (fig. 9.21). He also gives the impression that he is heading toward the bow to throw the fish overboard. For the time being, we have opted to display the boat with this fisherman facing Meketre (fig. 9.17).



Figure 9.21. The sporting boat in what was probably its original configuration as a fishing boat, with the man carrying the fish facing forward. For the photograph, Meketre and Inyotef have been shifted so they appear to better advantage. Meketre should be facing slightly to his left instead of straight ahead, and Inyotef should be closer to the cabin. Photo by Anna-Marie Kellen.

¹⁹ Unfortunately, the decoration in Meketre's tomb is so fragmentary that it is impossible to tell whether the standard fishing and fowling scenes were included. Adela Oppenheim, who is currently studying the fragments, kindly provided this information.

²⁰ D'Auria, Lacovara, and Roehrig 1988, 115, fig. 68.

The deck of the sporting boat has a number of extra peg holes, some of which were filled in ancient times, while others were left unfilled. Two of the extra holes may be associated with a shift in the placement of the cabin, which appears to have been moved farther aft to make more room for Sekhet and her companion. Judging from two discolored spots and two peg holes on the port side just in front of the cabin, the figure of Inyotef was probably also moved at this time. In its current position, the cabin leaves almost no room for the helmsman, whose right arm is pressed against the steering-oar support. He also may have been moved farther aft when Sekhet was added, but he is so tightly attached to the deck that we could not see whether more than one hole was beneath him.

10 TWO PREVIOUSLY UNRECORDED DECORATED EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY PRIVATE TOMBS

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INTRODUCTION

In 2012, the American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE) received a generous grant from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) to undertake a program of job creation and training on the west bank at Luxor. Several activities were incorporated into the project. For our colleagues in Egypt's Ministry of Antiquities (MoA), ARCE provided hands-on training in archaeology, monument and wall painting conservation, and field photography. For the local residents of Luxor, a community that relies almost solely on tourism for its economy and had been hard-hit in the aftermath of the Egyptian revolution, ARCE provided a job creation program for day laborers, semiskilled craftsmen, and skilled artisans. This work centered on clearing away the debris left behind when the village of Qurna was largely demolished and partially removed by the government of Egypt shortly before the revolution of 2011. Among the tasks undertaken were creating low walls, pathways, signage, lighting, and mastaba bench seating to improve the visitor experience in the area of the Tombs of the Nobles. Much of the work centered on the hill of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna in the area around TT 110.

Initially, conservation and debris removal focused solely on TT 110, belonging to a Thutmose official—the royal butler and herald Djehuty, who served the monarchs Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. Following completion of the majority of the work planned for the tomb itself, the team moved to the area of the tomb's forecourt, which the MoA requested be cleared so that the long-buried tomb entrance could be used by modern visitors. From at least the nineteenth century, and throughout most of the ARCE team's work, access to TT 110 had been through an expanded robber's entrance at the rear of the tomb.

In the forecourt, the team encountered several burial shafts, which were cleared and recorded. As this work progressed, an anomalous feature was encountered on March 2, 2015, on the eastern side of the forecourt outside the entrance to TT 110. This feature proved to be the entrance to the tomb of the doorkeeper of Amun Amenhotep called Rebiu (fig. 10.1). A week later, on March 10, 2015, another anomalous feature was uncovered, this one on the southern side of the forecourt; it proved to be the tomb of Amenhotep Rebiu's son Samut, who was also a doorkeeper of Amun.¹

Although both tomb entrances were largely blocked by centuries of accumulated debris from the occasional heavy rains that fall on the west bank at Luxor, each entrance had a small, unblocked space at its

¹ The ARCE team in Luxor that discovered the tombs of Amenhotep Rebiu and his son Samut included John Shearman, ARCE project director and associate director for Luxor, whom I wish to thank for his help in clarifying the relative orientation of the tomb entrances and for other comments and kind assistance. As well, the team included Saad Bakhit Abd El Hafez, codirector of the TT 110 forecourt excavation; Ali Mohamed Ahmed, codirector of the TT 110 forecourt excavation; Shima Montaser, codirector of the TT 110 shaft chamber excavation and clearance; El Sayed Mamdouh El Sayed, codirector of the TT 110 shaft chamber excavation and clearance; Khadiga Adam, ARCE conservation manager; Ayman Mohamed Ahmed, photographer; Mo'men Saad Mohamed, small objects study and research coordinator; Mohamed Hatem, small objects study and research coordinator; Mohamed Abd El Baset, surveyor; and Afaf Whaba Abd El Salam, osteologist.

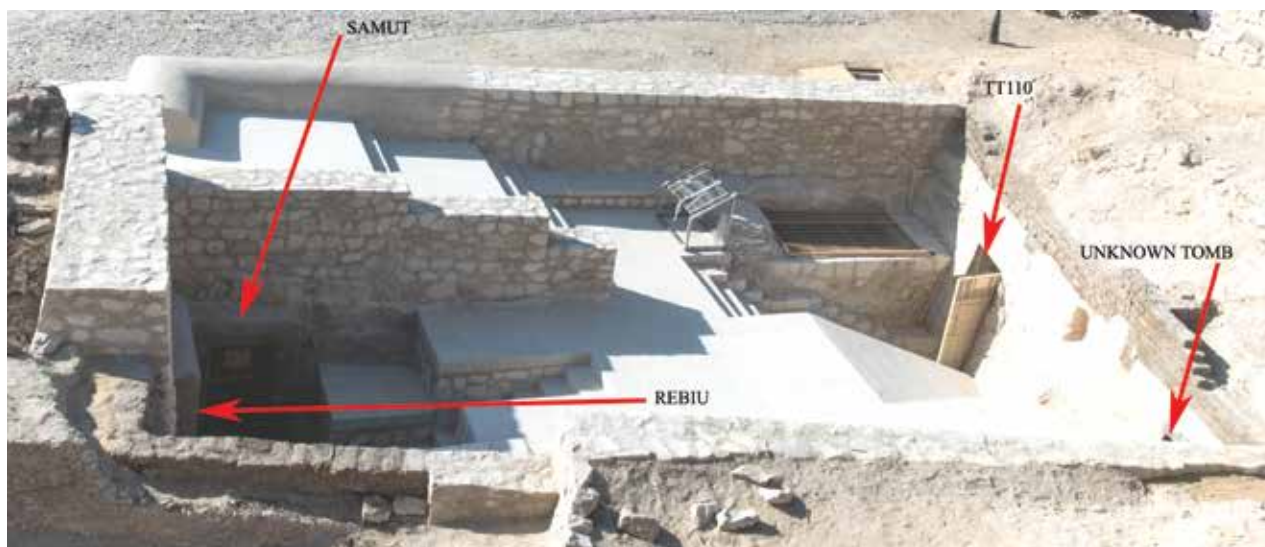


Figure 10.1. View of the courtyard of TT 110 looking south.

top, allowing cameras to be positioned for taking preliminary photographs, including those of the tomb interiors included here. To ensure the safety of the tombs and their contents until proper plans are in place for excavation, clearing, recording, and conservation, the joint ARCE–MoA team quickly installed security gates for the tombs, protecting them until an appropriate multidisciplinary team has been assembled to carry out the work.

On March 21, 2015, shortly after the two tombs were discovered, the then minister of antiquities, Dr. Mamdouh El Damaty; the governor of Luxor, Mr. Mohamed Sayed Badr; and the USAID mission director, Ms. Sherry Carlin, visited the site. Amid a throng of local media, they were able to view the tombs from the security doorways. Entering the tombs was not possible, since they remain unexplored archaeological sites; furthermore, centuries of accumulated debris still clog each entrance and much of the interior space in both tombs, as the accompanying photographs here show. This debris must be carefully excavated, recorded, and removed before a detailed assessment can be made to determine the future scope of work required to make the tombs available to the scholarly community and the general public.

Once the two tombs have been properly cleared, conserved, and documented, their full significance can be assessed and presented in a suitable scholarly and scientific format, which is the intent of the MoA. In the meantime, what follows is a preliminary description of the two tombs based on the photographs—necessarily, and unfortunately, of limited view and quality—that could be taken shortly after the discovery.²

GENERAL COMMENTS

As stated above, the two tombs belong to a father and son: Amenhotep called Rebiu and Samut. Both men held the title “doorkeeper of Amun” and were presumably attached to the Karnak Temple complex across the river from their burials. In antiquity, the tombs were adjacent to each other. Today, they are connected by what is presumed to be a robber’s passage.

Both tomb entrances are largely blocked by debris that has made any kind of access to the tombs nearly impossible, and the first step in their further investigation should be the proper archaeological removal and recording of the debris fill. From the photography that it has been possible to undertake, there seem to be human remains and fragments of funerary material present. While this material could derive from the original burials, it might also be related to a cache of funerary materials and two intact burials discovered by the ARCE team nearby, also in the area of the forecourt of TT 110.

² The photography was done by Ayman Mohamed Ahmed; the photographs presented here are courtesy of ARCE.

THE TOMB OF AMENHOTEP CALLED REBIU

The tomb of Amenhotep called Rebiu is the larger of the two and is the more complex, both in terms of its layout and the surviving decorative scheme. It is rock-cut and T-shaped. The tomb's entrance is on the west (figs. 10.2, 10.3) and opens into a transverse hall leading to a long hall. Both halls contain significant remaining painted decoration on their walls and ceiling.

PAINTED DECORATION IN THE TRANSVERSE HALL

Just inside the narrow opening at the top of the tomb's debris-filled entrance doorway on the western wall of the transverse hall's northern segment are the remains of a papyrus marsh scene that once depicted the tomb owner hunting birds with a throwstick. Figure 10.4 shows Amenhotep Rebiu's hand holding his throwstick, the remains of his eye and brow, a portion of his other hand and arm holding a bird, various waterfowl taking flight, and a multicolored inscription recorded in eight short, vertical text registers. The relationship of this scene on the western wall to the rest of the northern segment of the transverse hall is shown in figure 10.5. The marsh scene continues to fill the rest of the western wall; the adjoining northern wall shows the deceased presenting wine and beer in front of a stela; and the eastern wall is now mainly lost, with only evidence of a *kheker*-frieze remaining.

Returning to the western wall and the rest of the marsh scene that may be seen above the level of debris, figure 10.5 shows the geometric pattern on the ceiling rendered in red, blue, yellow, and black pigment on a white ground, as well as a text register of blue hieroglyphs on a yellow band, set off by two red stripes on each side, running down the center of the ceiling. At the top of the wall is a *kheker*-frieze. At the viewer's left in figure 10.5 may be seen the remains of Amenhotep Rebiu's hand holding the bird he has captured (his fingernails rendered in white). At the center of the scene are four vertical text registers of multicolored hieroglyphs that are oriented to the viewer's left, toward the tomb's entrance. Beneath them are the remains of a figure of Amenhotep Rebiu balancing a spear in his hand, a spear he no doubt points toward an aquatic creature, probably a fish (fig. 10.6). The marsh scene concludes with a stand of papyrus being harvested by a nude laborer standing in the bow of a papyrus boat, which is being propelled by a nude waterman holding a pole. Both figures are oriented toward the viewer's left. To the right of the boat are two nude laborers—the first one facing toward the viewer's right, the second one to the left—who bind the harvested papyrus plants into bundles. The small part of the register below them suggests that it shows fish being processed on the riverbank.

On the adjacent northern wall of this section of the transverse hall, also shown in figure 10.6, a round-topped stela is being adored by two kneeling male figures of the tomb owner. The better-preserved figure, on the viewer's left and facing right, toward the stela, sports a black wig and short chin beard, blue broad collar,

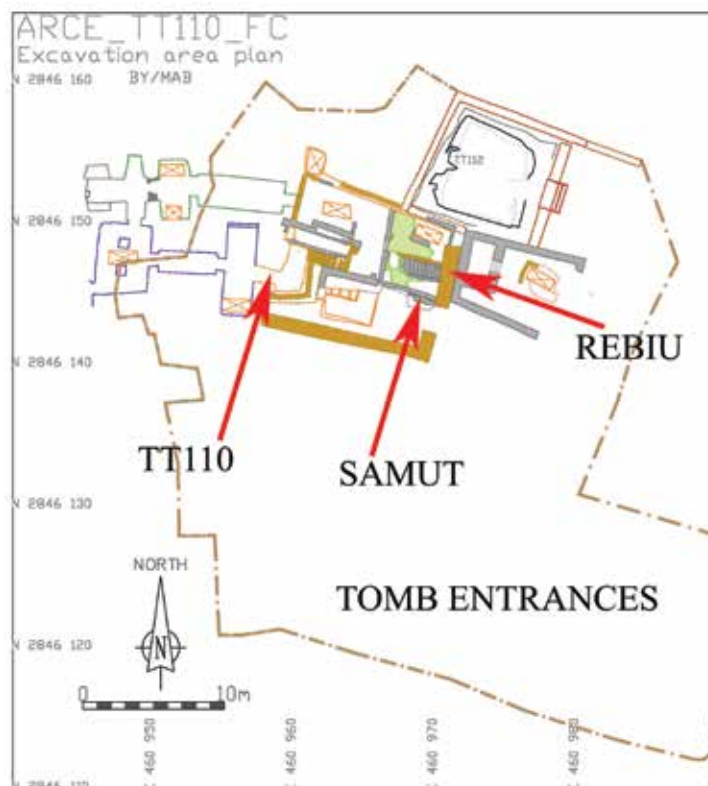


Figure 10.2. Location of the tombs of Amenhotep called Rebiu and Samut in the courtyard of TT 110.



Figure 10.3. Doorway to the tomb of Amenhotep Rebiu.



Figure 10.4. Tomb of Amenhotep Rebiu, northern segment of transverse hall, western wall: hunting birds in the marsh.



Figure 10.5. Tomb of Amenhotep Rebiu, western wall continued: marsh scene.



Figure 10.6. Tomb of Amenhotep Rebiu, northern segment of transverse hall, northern wall: round-topped stela.

and white kilt. Since the coloring of the figure's flesh changes from the traditional red-brown to a light pink at the lower leg, it seems that he is depicted wearing a two-part kilt ensemble, with a short, knee-length kilt beneath a lighter, longer, translucent kilt of ankle length. The yellow vessels in the figure's hands likely hold wine, a deduction based on the remaining blue hieroglyphic label text, which is preceded by an eye of Horus, to the viewer's right.

The upper portion of a round-topped stela remains between the figures. It is painted yellow and outlined by a light blue band. This top register (lunette) of the stela is preserved reasonably well. The scene is symmetrical. To the viewer's left, a kneeling male figure faces right, toward the seated deity before him, with his hands raised in adoration. His flesh is red-brown, his ankle-length kilt white, his broad collar light blue, and his wig black. Before him are offerings placed on a now-missing offering table. The upper portion of an enthroned male deity, holding a *was*-scepter in his far hand and an *ankh*-sign in his near hand, faces the table and the kneeling figure. Four short, vertical text registers of blue hieroglyphs set off by red vertical lines above the kneeling figure record that Amenhotep Rebiu is adoring Osiris. Two vertical text registers above the deity, rendered similarly, identify the god as Osiris *heqa-djet*. Interestingly, he is shown as a living human figure with red-brown flesh wearing a white knee-length kilt and corselet with a long black divine beard and wig. The complementary scene shows a partially preserved kneeling figure of the tomb owner facing toward the viewer's left, with hands raised in adoration before a light-blue (base) and white (top) offering table laden with offerings and a partially preserved figure of Anubis facing toward the viewer's right. Both deities are seated on low-backed thrones. Four short, vertical text columns of blue hieroglyphs and red register lines name Anubis, lord of the necropolis. The decoration on the northern wall concludes with a partially preserved kneeling figure of the tomb owner, the remains of a blue label text for the liquid offering (likely beer) he once proffered, and a blue eye of Horus. A *kheker*-frieze tops the entire scene.

Apart from some scant remains of the *kheker*-frieze at the top of the eastern wall of the transverse hall's northern segment, the rest seems now lost, though more may be preserved beneath the rubble. Above the frieze are the remains of a ceiling text band.

Moving to the painted decoration of the southern segment of the tomb's transverse hall, the eastern wall features a banquet scene in its southeastern corner. The southern wall shows a painted false door and symmetrically arranged depictions of Amenhotep Rebiu and his wife, Satamen, and the western wall has a seated figure of Amenhotep Rebiu viewing various activities.

An examination of what may be currently seen on the western wall, just inside the tomb's entrance, shows an arrangement of stacked vessels and what appear to be two large baskets in the top register below the *kheker*-frieze (fig. 10.7). Debris covers any decoration below. On the viewer's left, in the southwestern corner, is a seated figure of Amenhotep Rebiu facing the top two registers of decoration, with a third beneath him. Figure 10.8 provides a better view of Amenhotep Rebiu's figure. He is shown with very close-cropped hair (his hairline being indicated) and wearing a short, knee-length white kilt and a light-blue broad collar. He is seated on a white stool and holds a cane in his far hand and a folded white cloth in his near hand. Details are rendered in red. A light-blue papyrus mat lies beneath his feet and the legs of the stool. Before him, and facing him, are four offering bearers, two in the upper register and two in the lower register. A single line of light-blue hieroglyphs identifies the leading figure in the top register as "his son Samut." Samut holds floral bouquets as his offering. The figure behind him balances a tray of offerings on his shoulders. The two offering bearers in the register below carry a tray of breads and two jars, respectively. Grouped behind the offering bearers are six craftsmen, three in each register. Above Amenhotep Rebiu's head are four short, vertical text columns that identify the viewing scene and once gave his name and titles. Three of the four columns have been erased, as has the upper part of a longer text column behind his figure. The remaining portion of this column records Amenhotep's nickname, Rebiu.

Portions of two more registers of painted decoration appear beneath Amenhotep Rebiu's seated figure (fig. 10.9). The upper register shows laborers storing grain in three granaries and a stack of grain; the lower register contains a fragmentary inscription within a kiosk and a group of offerings. More of the craftsmen depicted in the western wall's top register of painted decoration are seen in figure 10.10. The subject seems to be potters at work making bread molds, though some of the stacked product resembles funerary cones,



Figure 10.7. Tomb of Amenhotep Rebiu, southern segment of transverse hall, western wall: craftsmen at work.



Figure 10.8. Southern segment of transverse hall, western wall: offerings presented to Amenhotep Rebiu.



Figure 10.9. Tomb of Amenhotep Rebiu, western wall continued: storage of grain and upper part of a kiosk.



Figure 10.10. Tomb of Amenhotep Rebiu, western wall continued: detail of potters at work.

at least one of which was recorded in the excavation of the courtyard. It should be noted that two of the craftsmen are given darker flesh color.

At the center of the adjoining southern wall, beneath the *khoker*-frieze, is a false-door stela (fig. 10.11). It is rendered in pink and white pigment to resemble red Aswan granite, with details such as the central scene of the deceased before an offering table and the hieroglyphic texts rendered in light blue. The various zones of the false door are indicated with red-brown pigment.

Seated figures of Amenhotep Rebiu and Satamen are to the viewer's right of the false door, the western side of the southern wall. Both wear typical white garments and light-blue broad collars. Amenhotep Rebiu holds a lotus flower in his far hand and a folded cloth in his near hand. Areas of his figure rendered in pink indicate that he wears his white knee-length kilt with a longer overgarment of ankle length that also covers his far shoulder. Satamen supports Amenhotep Rebiu's shoulder with her far hand, while she holds a lotus bud in her near hand. A text label for beer, rendered in light-blue hieroglyphs, appears before Amenhotep Rebiu and probably refers to the contents of jars once held by an erased figure, almost certainly that of their son Samut officiating as a *sem*-priest. Above the couple are nine short, vertical text registers, five of which preserve their light-blue hieroglyphs while the other four (the first and last three of the series) have been erased. Below the couple are another ten vertical text registers, three of which have been erased. A text register, on the viewer's far right and reading left to right, appears above the partially preserved figure of a "beloved son," while the remaining columns, reading right to left, are an offering text, though two of the registers, those probably once containing Amenhotep Rebiu's name and title and the name of his wife, have been erased.

A second, symmetrical depiction of a seated Amenhotep Rebiu and Satamen is to the left of the false-door stela, on the eastern side of the southern wall. It is arranged and rendered similarly with ten short, vertical registers of text above the couple. Two of these texts, again probably those that recorded Amenhotep Rebiu's name and title and the "Amen" portion of Satamen's name, have been erased. Once again, the figure of Samut serving as *sem*-priest has also been erased. The text recording "wine" that appears between the missing figure and the seated couple probably refers to what is being offered.



Figure 10.11. Tomb of Amenhotep Rebiu, southern segment of transverse hall, southern wall: false-door stela.



Figure 10.12. Tomb of Amenhotep Rebiu, southern segment of transverse hall, eastern wall: banquet scene.

On the eastern wall of the southern portion of the transverse hall is a banquet scene. The top register shows four seated men, some holding lotus flowers to their noses; the second register shows four seated women, who alternately hold buds and flowers to their noses; and the third register preserves four seated men, each of whom holds a flower (fig. 10.12). Before the seated men stands a male attendant and an arrangement of jars and stands. One of the larger jars is labeled for wine and another for beer, and partially preserved texts are present. Below, a female attendant, a female musician, and a female singer stand before the seated women. To the viewer's left of this scene are the remains of an offering text composed of multicolored hieroglyphs and offerings. The decoration on this wall continues, but it is presently obscured by debris and not illustrated here. The different patterns of the painted ceiling in this section of the tomb should also be noted.

THE LONG HALL

Wall paintings in the long hall of the tomb of Amenhotep Rebiu are preserved fairly well, especially on the long hall's northern and southern walls. Much of the decoration on this hall's eastern wall has been lost, though it may be that some elements of the decoration can be salvaged from the debris on the floor.

The northern wall preserves an interesting scene showing the partially preserved figures of the tomb owner and his wife seated before an offering table and sequences from the Opening of the Mouth ceremony. The eastern wall is badly damaged but preserves a scene of Amenhotep Rebiu making offerings before the seated goddess Renenwetet nursing a royal child and the remains of a *shen*-sign between two eyes of Horus. On the southern wall is a funerary procession, with the god Osiris and the goddess Imentet also shown. A decorative *kheker*-frieze appears at the top of all three walls.

Looking at each of these three walls in a bit more detail, and beginning with the northern wall, figure 10.13 shows two registers of mummiform figures at different sequences in the Opening of the Mouth ceremony. The upper register preserves four mummiform figures, and the lower register shows two, though



Figure 10.13. Tomb of Amenhotep Rebiu, long hall, northern wall: Opening of the Mouth ceremony.

the rubble debris may conceal more. Each of the six mummiform figures shows the deceased in white with red-brown flesh, a black wig, and a long beard standing on a plinth. Before the mummiform figures of Amenhotep Rebiu, one or more priestly attendants conduct the ceremonies. In some cases the figure has been erased, probably because it depicted the *sem*-priest. The sequences were identified in partially preserved label texts of light-blue hieroglyphs, some arranged in vertical columns set off by red lines and others arranged horizontally. Readily identifiable are a censuring scene and a priest holding the Opening of the Mouth implement. Behind these scenes, toward the viewer's right, are four partially preserved columns of blue hieroglyphic text that reads right to left and serves as a visual divider. A depiction of the partially preserved seated figures of the deceased couple before their offering table, with eight vertical columns of hieroglyphic text above them (an offering invocation), completes the decoration on this wall (fig. 10.14).

The eastern wall of the long hall, though much damaged, preserves most of a scene in which Amenhotep Rebiu stands before an offering stand and the goddess Renenwetet below a *kheker*-frieze (fig. 10.14). Above the figures are eight columns of vertical hieroglyphic text rendered in blue pigment, two of which are damaged. The first two columns, on the viewer's right, name Renenwetet and read left to right. The remaining columns of text read right to left and relate to Amenhotep Rebiu and his actions. The erased column probably once gave his name, Amenhotep, and the "Amun" portion of his title, doorkeeper of Amun. Similarly, the "Amun" portion of the divine name Amun-Re has been erased. Most of Renenwetet's head is now lost, though probably not as an example of intentional erasure but instead through decay and vandalism. The goddess nurses a seated male figure on her lap, probably a figure of the king as a child wearing the blue crown. At the center of the wall, above the niche, are the remains of a painted *shen*-sign between two partially preserved eyes of Horus, each rendered in blue, white, and black pigment, with the better-preserved eye of Horus showing red at the inner and outer canthi. In the southeastern corner of the eastern wall are the remains of two painted scenes, the lower one of which shows only part of a male head and torso (fig. 10.15). The upper scene may have shown some sort of architectural element rendered in speckled white and red, perhaps in imitation of red granite, like the false-door stela.



Figure 10.14. Tomb of Amenhotep Rebiu, long hall, eastern wall: Amenhotep Rebiu before Renenwetet.



Figure 10.15. Tomb of Amenhotep Rebiu, long hall, eastern wall with adjoining scenes.



Figure 10.16. Tomb of Amenhotep Rebiu, long hall, southern wall: funerary procession.

On the long hall's southern wall, a funerary procession that moves toward a figure of the god Osiris is well preserved in the upper register beneath a *kheker*-frieze (fig. 10.16). A lower register of offering bearers is partially preserved, as is a figure of the goddess Imentet. Additional decoration may be discovered after the debris has been excavated and cleared.

The figure of the god Osiris in the southeastern corner of the long hall is interesting in that it shows the god as striding, rather than mummiform, and with red-brown flesh, rather than the more usual green or black. In these two ways it resembles the image of the god on the round-topped stela in the transverse hall. Osiris stands two registers in height and is identified as "Osiris, foremost-of-the-westerners, the great god, and lord of the necropolis" by a vertical text column of light-blue hieroglyphs in front of him. He wears a white crown with two yellow plumes, a broad collar, and a knee-length kilt rendered in white and yellow-tan pigment; its details are indicated with red lines. He also wears a bracelet of blue and yellow on the wrist of his near arm and a long divine beard. (The far wrist is damaged but probably also showed a bracelet.) In his near hand he holds a blue *ankh*-sign and in his far hand a blue *was*-scepter.

Directly beneath his figure is the partially preserved upper portion of a figure of the goddess Imentet, here an aspect of Hathor as identified in the accompanying vertical text column of blue hieroglyphs in front of her, reading "Hathor, lady of heaven and foremost of Imentet," and by the Imentet standard of falcon and feather on her head. She wears a long, black, tripartite wig with a red fillet, a light-blue and black broad collar, and a white sheath dress suspended from her far shoulder. She stands facing a partially preserved architectural feature rendered in white pigment outlined in red and with red, blue, yellow, and black details.

The majority of the funeral procession is shown by joined images in figure 10.17. At the front of the procession, with his back turned toward Osiris, stands a lector priest, who inclines slightly toward the unrolled papyrus he spreads open to read. Above him is a text referring to the scene; the text is composed of light-blue hieroglyphs contained in three horizontal text registers, reading left to right.

The lector priest faces a pair of oxen that are controlled by a drover behind them who holds a pair of leafy branches in his far hand and pats the rump of an ox with his near hand. A white drag rope, ultimately



Figure 10.17. Tomb of Amenhotep Rebiu, southern wall continued: funerary procession.

attached to the bier, its details marked in red pigment, is tied to a red-brown strap that lashes the oxen's horns together. Behind the drover are three men, their arms held aloft in a gesture of praise or prayer. Behind them is another trio, who grasp the drag rope and help propel the bier. A priest pouring liquid from a jar held in his far hand and holding a jar of incense in his near hand is next in the procession, followed by a specialist priest who wears a high-collared, knee-length white robe and holds a staff in both hands. Next is the bier, flanked before and behind by a mourning woman. Each woman holds her hands in a gesture that places the near hand above the far wrist. They wear tight, white sheath dresses suspended from the far shoulder, blue broad collars, and white kerchiefs over their hair. The women's flesh tone is yellow-tan. The bier has a base, two vertical support columns, and a sloped roof, its decoration done in red, black, and yellow-tan pigment. Upon the bier is the mummiform Amenhotep Rebiu, lying on a white lion bed decorated with a yellow-tan head and tail. A single horizontal text register of light-blue hieroglyphs between red register lines and reading left to right once recorded Amenhotep Rebiu's name and title, but both have been partially erased.

The conclusion of the procession is shown in figure 10.18. Following the second female mourner is a scribe holding a papyrus roll in his far hand. Behind him are three men in white knee-length kilts, each holding a staff in the far hand and probably to be identified as friends of the deceased. Bringing up the rear of the procession are two men who drag a shrine holding the canopic box with an attendant grasping a single long lotus flower behind them. The canopic sledge-shrine is rendered in red, black, and yellow pigment and the canopic box itself in gray-black and yellow-tan.

THE TOMB OF SAMUT

Samut's tomb is located at the southwestern corner of his father's tomb (fig. 10.2). It is entered from the north. The tomb's doorway, like that of Amenhotep Rebiu's tomb, is currently largely blocked with debris. Just inside the entrance, to the right, is one decorated segment of what is likely (or was likely intended to be) a transverse hall. It is possible that the tomb was never completed, or not completed as originally intended. The decorated, three-wall section preserves a fair amount of its original painted decoration (fig. 10.19). The northern wall of this segment, just inside the doorway, is partially lost, but it preserves portions of three registers of a banquet scene below a *kheker*-frieze. The adjoining western wall shows a false-door stela flanked on each side by three decorated registers, the top two of which show the tomb owner and his wife seated before a *sem*-priest, and the bottom register of which shows a butchery scene. A *kheker*-frieze tops the whole wall. The southern wall shows another banquet scene, this time in four registers, beneath a *kheker*-frieze. Finally, the decorated ceiling should be noted.

Because of the tomb's current physical condition, it was difficult for the joint ARCE–MoA team to achieve photography that would show the decorated wall surfaces to their individual advantage, especially for the northern and western walls. Therefore, the description given here of the northern wall and the western wall of the Samut tomb are based on what can be seen in figure 10.19. First, it must be noted that both the northern and southern walls extend farther toward the viewer than the photograph shows. Apart for one small section showing some isolated offerings near the tomb's entrance, however, the decoration



Figure 10.18. Tomb of Amenhotep Rebiu, southern wall continued: funerary procession.



Figure 10.19. Tomb of Samut, overview of western segment of transverse hall.

of approximately half the northern wall is now lost, though it may be that sections of painted plaster can be recovered from the debris inside the tomb. Beneath a *kheker*-frieze, three registers of painted decoration may be seen, as noted above, showing the tomb owners and a banquet scene. The top register displays the tomb owners: Samut and his wife, the lady of the house Ta-akhet, seated on black stools that rest on a blue-green papyrus mat before a partially preserved offering table (the lower part being a vertical support painted in black). Before them once stood a male figure, but only his feet and a portion of his mid-calf-length garment survive. The rest of the register is similarly now lacking.

The second, middle register shows the seated couple, again before an offering table, this one preserved with its stacked offerings. This time the couple sits on high-backed chairs rendered in black. Ta-akhet holds a lotus bud in her near hand, while Samut holds a lotus flower in his far hand. The loss of decoration in front of Samut's face is probably an intentional erasure of his title, doorkeeper of Amun. Before them, a male figure—their son—stands presenting a floral bouquet. Four vertical text columns of hieroglyphs, reading left to right and oriented toward their son, are preserved. The angle of the photograph makes it difficult to determine the text, but it likely relates to Samut's son and his activity. Behind the couple's son are two registers of seated guests; those in the upper register are male and sit on stools. There are three of them, but only the lower portion of their figures (legs and feet) are preserved. A stand in black and white is between the first male guest and Samut's son. In the register below are three female guests; they are seated on the ground, with legs tucked beneath them. Each wears a white sheath dress and a black wig. The first female figure holds a lotus flower to her nose with her far hand and a lotus bud in her near hand; the second one holds a lotus bud to her nose with her far hand; and the third holds a lotus flower in her near hand. This third female figure is only partly preserved. A red-brown stand with a bowl is shown between Samut's son and the first female guest.

The portion of the third (bottom) register that survives shows two seated couples facing a standing male figure. Seven vertical text columns are above them, but the texts are difficult to read with certainty from the photograph. Five columns appear to relate to the seated couple and two to the standing male figure.

Moving to the western wall, beneath the *kheker*-frieze and at the center of the wall is a false-door stela rendered in speckled pink and white pigment to imitate red granite. Like his father Amenhotep Rebiu's false-door stela, the spatial divisions are marked in red-brown pigment. Details, including the figure of Samut seated before a table of offerings, architectural features, and hieroglyphs, are shown in blue pigment. The focal point of the false door is the painted recess with a *shen*-sign and water signs between two eyes of Horus surmounted by the seated figure of Samut before his offering table. He sits on a low-backed chair with hieroglyphic text arranged in four vertical columns above his figure. Flanking the false-door recess are two vertical, symmetrical columns of hieroglyphic text. There are four more symmetrically arranged offering texts in the two outer registers of the false door.

To the northern side (viewer's right) of the false-door stela are three decorated registers. The uppermost shows Samut and Ta-akhet seated on high-backed chairs that stand on a mat. Both wear black wigs decked with a perfumed cone, broad collars, bracelets, and long white garments that are suspended from the far shoulder. Ta-akhet has an armband on her near arm as well, and her far arm supports Samut's far shoulder. Both hold flowers, his blue, hers white. Above their heads are seven vertical text columns composed of blue hieroglyphs and red register lines, reading right to left, that record an offering text addressed to Anubis as well as the couple's names and titles, with the name of Amun in Samut's priestly title partly erased. An eighth vertical text column, reading left to right, is above the erased figure of the couple's son, who is described as performing a priestly function—in this case, purifying by offering jars of beer (now lacking, but identified by the text in front of Samut), lotus buds, and flowers. The middle register recorded a nearly identical scene, and the figure of Samut's son has been similarly erased. The bottom register shows a bovine being slaughtered by three butchers, one of whom presents a foreleg to the false door; before him is an offering stand with the animal's head on it. The other two butchers face each other as they remove another haunch.

To the southern side (viewer's left) of the false-door stela are three registers very similar to those just described but oriented symmetrically to face the opposite direction, balancing those on the northern side.

The top register shows Samut and Ta-akhet facing the now mostly erased figure of their son, who holds two jars and lotus buds and flowers in his hands. A single vertical text register above his head, like that on the opposite side, identifies him only as their son and states his act of purification, in this case with wine, as indicated by the hieroglyphic label text between father and son. The couple again sits on high-backed chairs and are dressed and posed similarly, though Ta-akhet holds a bud instead of a blossom in her near hand. Above their heads are seven vertical text registers that contain an offering text addressed to Osiris and give the couple's names and titles, though a portion of Samut's title (the name of Amun) and all of his name have been erased. Below, in the middle register, is a nearly identical scene. Once again, the figure of Samut's son has been erased, as has the beginning of the offering text, which was likely addressed to Amun. Since Samut's title in this text is given only as that of doorkeeper, the rest of the inscription is intact. The bottom register shows a butchery scene that is nearly identical to its opposite apart from the coloring of the slaughtered animal.

The decoration on the southern wall is again another banquet scene below a *kheker*-frieze (fig. 10.20). At the eastern end of the southern wall is an opening to another part of the tomb and an area of rough limestone where any plaster surface that may have been present has fallen away. What remains of the decoration, however, gives the impression of being a fairly complete composition that complements the decoration on the northern wall. While the two walls both show the seated tomb owners before an offering table receiving appropriate offerings and rituals, together with a banquet scene, the figures of Samut and his wife on the southern wall face the western wall and false-door stela, while their figures on the opposite (northern) wall face the tomb entrance, away from the false-door stela.

That being noted, as with the other decorated walls in the tomb, a *kheker*-frieze is at the top. Beneath it, on the viewer's left, Samut and Ta-akhet are shown seated, facing an offering table and standing figures of their son and a female figure, probably a daughter or perhaps a daughter-in-law. They sit on high-backed animal-paw chairs rendered in black that rest on a blue-green papyrus mat. Yellow and red pigment are used to show the lashings of the mat and the detail of the terminal pads of the chair legs. Both wear black



Figure 10.20. Tomb of Samut, western segment of transverse hall, southern wall: banquet scene.

wigs; Ta-akhet's is embellished with a perfume cone resting on a lotus flower and is bound with a floral fillet. Both also wear multicolored broad collars and white, ankle-length garments. Samut's is, as before, suspended from his far shoulder and with a translucent element, while Ta-akhet's is drawn up over her breasts but is strapless. The pattern of her broad collar shows blue, yellow, and red beads alternating in vertical rows, while Samut's is floral-patterned, showing blue-topped red floral elements alternating with pale-green leaf shapes set on a white ground, with a single band of alternating red and yellow beads at the top, nearest the throat. Both Ta-akhet's and Samut's far nipple are indicated in red pigment, and husband and wife both wear bracelets; hers is of alternating vertical beads, arranged (top to bottom) blue, yellow, red, yellow, green, and his, alternating blue and green.

Ta-akhet and Samut's eyebrows are marked in green pigment, and Samut's iris, short chin beard, and the top central portion of his lotus flower are yellow-tan (prior to being painted black or another color?). As traditionally, Ta-akhet's flesh is also rendered yellow-tan, while Samut's is red-brown. Remarkably, a preliminary sketch of a female head wearing a wig with floral decoration and rendered in similar yellow-tan pigment appears between the legs of Ta-akhet's chair. Three vertical text columns of blue hieroglyphs above the couple record Samut's "justified" designation and the male determinative of Samut's name and identify "the lady of the house, his beloved, Ta-akhet."

Between the seated couple and the standing figures of their son and his female companion is a partially erased hieroglyphic inscription identifying an activity of praise, but two of the three short registers of text are erased. Samut's son proffers two floral bouquets to his parents, the shorter held in his far hand, the longer in his near hand. He wears a wig, broad collar, and two-part kilt of mid-calf length. Three text registers appear above him, of which the phrase "his beloved son, the doorkeeper" is preserved, the final short column having been erased. Behind Samut's son are two jars on short jar stands that appear between him and the standing female figure. Figure 10.21 is a detail of these two figures and shows the quality of the work. The female figure wears a strapless white sheath dress and a broad collar rendered in yellow with red detail. A bracelet and wristlet, also in yellow outlined in red, adorn her far arm, and she holds a small, white



Figure 10.21. Detail of offering bearers in figure 10.20.

libation bowl in her far hand. Her near hand and most of what it held are now lost (fig. 10.20). Three vertical text registers, two of them erased, appear above her head. Behind this couple are four registers of a banquet scene, while beneath the depiction of the seated parents and their standing children are the remains of a similar scene that once showed a seated Samut and Ta-akhet before an offering table facing the now-erased figure of their son, who was probably shown officiating as *sem*-priest. Six columns of text appear above the erased figure of their son; only the first column is damaged. It is an offering text addressed to Osiris. A further seven text registers, two of them erased, are above the seated tomb owners. Ta-akhet's name and title are preserved; Samut's are entirely erased, save for the determinative to his name.

Turning to the registers of the banquet scene, the uppermost shows a male attendant facing six male guests. Behind the attendant are two groups of jars on stands containing liquid refreshment for the banquet. Each of the seated male guests wears a two-part kilt: a white, knee-length kilt beneath a longer, translucent kilt. Two of the guests wear wigs; the other four have shaved heads or close-cropped hair. The faces of the first four have been damaged, but each seems to have had a cone of perfume on his head. All six hold lotus flowers to their noses and wear broad collars. Their white chairs stand on a blue-green papyrus mat.

The register below begins with a similar, but slightly different, arrangement of jars on stands. To the (viewer's) right of the jars stands a female attendant facing six female guests seated on low-backed chairs that appear to alternate in color: red-brown and blue-green(?). All the women wear black wigs draped with a lotus bud surmounted by a perfume cone. Each also wears a long, white sheath dress suspended from a strap on the far shoulder. As with their male counterparts, their chairs stand on a mat.

The third register from the top begins on the viewer's left with a male harper seated on a mat on the ground, the bottom of one foot visibly tucked beneath him. He faces toward the viewer's left, away from the seated guests; he wears a broad collar, long white kilt, and translucent short-sleeved shirt or overgarment and has a perfume cone on his shaved pate. Behind him stands a male lute player, who sports a broad collar and white kilt with a short-sleeved translucent overgarment that extends to his ankles. Behind the lute player is a small bowl on a stand.

To the (viewer's) right of the bowl and stand are six male guests seated on white stools resting on a green papyrus mat. Each wears a two-part kilt consisting of a knee-length white element and a longer, translucent overkilt that extends to just above the ankle. All wear a broad collar. The first three hold lotus flowers to their noses and are bald. Of the next three, one has a shaved head, while the other two wear black wigs. The second-to-last male guest places his near hand on his predecessor's near shoulder, while the final one extends his far hand to his predecessor as he turns away to look behind him.

The bottom register is partially concealed by debris, including human remains. It shows (from the viewer's left to right) three female performers seated on the ground, two standing female attendants on a smaller scale, and five female guests seated on the ground, their legs folded beneath them. The three female performers wear black wigs decorated with floral fillets and surmounted by perfume cones. Each has a broad collar and wears a white sheath dress suspended from a single strap on the far shoulder. The two female attendants have long black hair and appear to be wearing long translucent gowns. The five female guests have long black wigs with floral fillets, draped with a lotus bud and surmounted by a white perfume cone. They wear long white sheath dresses, four of which are suspended from a single strap on the far shoulder. The sheath dress of the second figure in the group is strapless.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

There are several interesting aspects to these two previously unrecorded tombs. Most should, and must, await the full, scientific study that it is hoped will follow the tombs' archaeological clearance, conservation, and study. This introduction and preliminary report is intended solely to bring the two tombs to the notice of the scholarly community and to record preliminary impressions.

These tombs record three generations of an Eighteenth Dynasty family of successive doorkeepers of Amun: Amenhotep called Rebiu, his son Samut, and his (so far) unnamed grandson. The tombs of father and son were open and accessible at the time of the Amarna period, as both tombs show erasures of references

to the name of the god Amun and images of sons acting as *sem*-priests. Of course, this demonstrates that the decoration of both tombs predates the Amarna period. Of art historical interest are the two non-mummiform depictions of Osiris in Amenhotep Rebiu's tomb. It should be noted that Samut's tomb may not have been completed and that Ta-akhet, his wife, has an unusual name—one that is perhaps compatible with a nascent solar cult of Aten. At this point, it is best to conclude until further work has been done and the tombs are fully accessible.

11

THE HISTORICITY OF THEBAN TOMB DECORATION

JJ Shirley

*Managing Editor, Journal of Egyptian History; Director, TT 110 Field School*INTRODUCTION¹

Tomb decoration is a valuable source of sociohistorical information. Tomb owners were not simply repeating traditional tropes; rather, they were choosing illustrations and inscriptions that reflected what they believed was important to convey about themselves or their relationship to society. While a scene may often appear to conform to a narrow standard, closer analysis reveals elements of originality and agency that could have come only from the tomb owner. By taking an approach in which image and text, and their placement within the tomb, are viewed as an integrated whole, chosen by the tomb owner to communicate particular information, we can begin to view each tomb scene as an intentionally composed single entity. Putting aside the notion of “standard” or “typical” when examining tomb scenes allows us to focus instead on analyzing the inscriptions and images from the viewpoint of the historicity, that is, the historical reality, of the tomb owner’s career and family, as well as his level of involvement in the decorative program. Additionally, if we use this approach to examine areas of erasure, recarving, replastering, and so forth, it becomes possible to gain insight into different phases and relative dating of tomb decoration within one tomb, as well as to place a tomb’s construction and decoration into the wider historical context.²

In the following pages, I demonstrate two ways in which tomb decoration can be used as a source of historical information. In the first tomb, the choice of so-called “standard” or “stock” scenes for the focal walls immediately suggests that the scenes are more than what they seem—that is, they are not typical at all but, instead, were intentionally chosen by the tomb owner as a means of providing certain types of information about his career. Regarding the second tomb presented here, a study of where the kings, cartouches, and tomb owner’s titles are placed in relation to each other within the tomb offers a glimpse into how changes in the tomb owner’s career and the kings he served had a direct impact on how he chose to decorate his tomb.

1 I wish to thank Betsy Bryan and Peter Dorman for once again inviting me to participate in the Theban tomb symposium.

2 I am not the first scholar to draw attention to the use of scenes and texts, as well as architecture, as a means of further elucidating a tomb owner’s career, social status, or historical setting. Of note are the works of Bryan 1990b; Engelmann–von Carnap 1999; Dziobek 1995, 1998, esp. 100–101, 127–28, 131–32, 149–56; and Guksch 1994, 2003, 2008. Additional references can be found in Shirley 2007. Likewise, the concept of a tomb owner’s agency in tomb construction and decoration has been gaining traction in recent years. See, for example, the contributions to Gillen 2017, particularly those in the “Art” section by Laboury, Pieke, Bács, and Den Doncker; see also Chauvet 2014; Devillers 2018; Merzeban 2014; Pieke 2016.

TOMB SCENES AS SOURCES OF CAREER INFORMATION: THE CASE OF THEBAN TOMB 17³

I presented TT 17, of the royal physician Nebamun, at the Baltimore Theban Workshop conference to demonstrate how a close, internally contextual reading of tomb scenes and their corresponding inscriptions can provide new information on the tomb owner's career. In this tomb, so-called "traditional" scenes function as a way to contextualize the owner's career and duties and provide a vehicle for the tomb owner to incorporate new images, thereby personalizing the scene. The interpretations of the focal scenes in TT 17 have largely been published in the *Festschrift* honoring David B. O'Connor,⁴ but based on further analysis, including the discussions following the conference presentation, I would like here to offer a few additional remarks.

In my earlier discussion, I argued that the focal wall scene on the southern side of the western wall (fig. 11.1),⁵ which depicts Nebamun inspecting a variety of activities in his capacity as scribe and physician of the king in Thebes, should be understood as depicting Nebamun overseeing his physician's workshop. The activities depicted here provide a visual complement to the same type of pharmacy activities textually described for the Ramesside physician Iwty. These activities include, for example, grinding, brewing, cooking, and sieving, all of which would have required preparation rooms and stores of supplies.⁶ An examination of physicians with a known presence in Thebes also supports the interpretation of Nebamun's choosing to depict himself in his tomb overseeing his medical workshop. The recent work of Anne Austin into health care at Deir el-Medina catalogs twenty-four texts mentioning men given the title *swmw*, or for whom this title can be inferred, and finds at least five known physicians who practiced successively from the reign of Ramesses II into the reign of Ramesses XI.⁷ While most of the references involve ration lists, thereby grouping the physicians in with the work gangs and implying they were paid by the state, others denote what appears to be private payment by an individual for services rendered. Among the texts, two are of particular interest for the discussion here. The first is ostrakon BM 5634, the recto of which notes the absence from work of one Paherypedjet due to needing to care for, or prepare medicines for, sick workers. The ostrakon also mentions another worker who likewise missed work so as to assist Paherypedjet.⁸ The medical papyri belonging to the family of the scribe Qenherkhopeshef and giving remedies for treating a variety of problems has generally been remarked upon as demonstrating that literate individuals, not only doctors, might own such works.⁹ Going a bit further, I wonder whether the highly literate status of Qenherkhopeshef and his family meant that at some point one of them functioned as a physician's assistant and as a result had several medical papyri to assist with these duties, particularly as the use of the remedies by a *swmw* is specifically mentioned.¹⁰ Coming back to TT 17 and Nebamun, the workshop scene he chose for his focal wall implies that (1) as a royal physician he may have overseen physicians assigned to the work gangs; (2) his workshop helped supply physicians and individuals with the medicines they needed; and (3) the figure standing behind Nebamun and carrying the bag and case was Nebamun's assistant in these matters.

I have already argued that the focal scene located on the northern side of the western wall depicts not the expected, though somewhat atypical, banqueting scene but instead a duty-related scene in which Syrians depart from their homeland and are depicted in Egypt, consulting or at least meeting with Nebamun

3 I wish to thank the editors for allowing me to present—and publish here—remarks that build on a previous publication concerning this tomb (see Shirley 2007).

4 Shirley 2007.

5 PM 1¹: TT 17 (4).

6 Shirley 2007, 391–93.

7 Austin 2014, 86, 92–93.

8 *KRI* 3:515–25; McDowell 1999, 54, no. 25; Austin 2014, 87, 91–92.

9 P. Chester Beatty 5–9, 15–16, 18; Austin 2014, 67–69; McDowell 1999, 56–58n29.

10 P. BM 10686, 6.8–6.10.



Figure 11.1. Nebamun inspecting activities on the western wall, southern side of TT 17's transverse hall. © Alexis Den Doncker / University of Liège–MANT, with permission of Dimitri Laboury.

in his role as physician of the king in Thebes (fig. 11.2).¹¹ Additional examination of the scene, including more advanced photographic analyses, further supports this conclusion.

In my previous remarks on this scene, I focused primarily on the inscriptions that accompany the figures of Nebamun and his brother and the depictions of the seated Syrian dignitary and ship, relegating to a footnote a brief discussion of the other figures present who wear a combination of the typically Syrian (women and children) and Syro-Aegean hybrid (men) form of dress and hairstyles.¹² Here I shall add two remarks. The first is that despite the overall unfinished nature of the wall, the seated figure of Nebamun and his brother Sheni, who offers to him, both have very clear column lines associated with them, as well as now-faded inscriptions. Through DStretch analysis I can confirm that this is not the case for the remainder of the scene



Figure 11.2. Detail showing the Syrian and Syro-Aegean figures on the western wall, northern side of TT 17's transverse hall. © Alexis Den Doncker / University of Liège–MANT, with permission of Dimitri Laboury.

¹¹ PM 1¹: TT 17 (7); Shirley 2007, 383–91.

¹² Shirley 2007, 394–95n8. To the references cited there I would add Matic 2012, 2015; and Matic and Francović 2017. On the historicity of foreigners in Egyptian New Kingdom tombs, see also Panagiotopoulos 2001, 2006; Rehak 1998. I wish also to thank Uroš Matic and Beth Ann Judas for discussing these figures with me at length, the intricacies involved in understanding who they represent, and the difficulties in interpreting their historicity.

in either the upper or lower registers; it does not appear as though text was ever meant to be associated with any of the other figures or with the ship. Although very few scenes are completely finished, one finds that throughout the tomb all areas that were meant to receive text have column lines and/or sketches of inscriptions visible. Were the scene depicted here meant to portray an unusual, or even special, event in the career of Nebamun, one would expect some indication that identifying text was at the very least planned.

An excellent comparison is afforded by the contemporary tomb of the overseer of northern countries Amenmose (TT 42), who depicts male and female foreigners styled in the same variations of dress found in TT 17 in two of his tomb scenes. On one wall Amenmose depicts his presence before a fortress set in a forested area, in front of which appear Syrian and Syro-Aegean figures, the leader of whom is identified as “great chief of *Rmnn*.”¹³ On the adjacent wall Amenmose presents the items he gathered while in Syria to Thutmose III, with registers of Syrian and Syro-Aegean hybrid figures depicted behind him.¹⁴ While a badly destroyed text accompanies the figure of Amenmose in the fortress scene, and it is possible that further mention was made of the “great chiefs” in Amenmose’s presentation before Thutmose III, no inscriptions are awarded to the registers of Syro-Aegean hybrid figures bearing gifts, including the prostrate leaders. Another comparative example is found in the tomb of the mayor of Thebes Qenamun (TT 162), whose boat arrival scene likewise depicts Syrians and their goods but does not include any inscriptions.¹⁵

These comparisons lead to the second point, namely, that if identifying these figures was deemed unnecessary in Amenmose’s and Qenamun’s tombs, it would seem to demonstrate the regularity with which these types of events occurred in the careers of these officials.¹⁶ In the case of Nebamun, then, while the importance of the scene is clear, given its placement on a focal wall, the clearly intentional lack of an inscription suggests that the image portrayed in it, that is, the reception of foreign visitors, should be seen as typical, a recurring part of Nebamun’s career as a royal physician in Thebes.

In sum, the above discussion reinforces the interpretation of Nebamun’s focal-wall scenes as typical images adapted to convey information about Nebamun’s duties as a physician of the king in Thebes. On one wall, Nebamun used an existing framework for depicting standard “duty” or “estate” scenes and adapted it by means of the specific elements displayed to showcase his own physician’s workshop, and perhaps staff. Likewise, by replacing the Egyptian figures one would expect with a Syrian dignitary and his retinue on the opposite focal wall, Nebamun demonstrates quite clearly that his duties involved regular contact with peoples of the ancient Middle East—so regular that the foreigners did not even merit identifying inscriptions. Both scenes should be read in much the same way as any other type of focal scene depicting duties, that is, as displaying a historical aspect of the official’s career. These two scenes also demonstrate the amount of control and involvement Nebamun had in the decoration of his tomb, a feature we shall also see in the next tomb under discussion. As the only known New Kingdom tomb of a physician whose scenes actually depict aspects of his career, the focal walls become important historical sources of information not only about Nebamun but also concerning the role, duties, and social sphere of New Kingdom royal physicians generally.

13 PM 1¹: TT 42 (4). Davies and Davies 1933, 30–31, pl. XXXVI; see also Strudwick 2016, 106–7.

14 PM 1¹: TT 42 (5); Davies and Davies 1933, 28–30, pls. XXXIII–XXXV.

15 PM 1¹: TT 162 (1); N. M. Davies 1963, 14–18, pls. XV–XX; Shirley 2007, 387–89.

16 This is in marked contrast to other similar focal scenes, such as in the tombs of the high priest Menkheperreseneb (PM 1¹: TT 86 [8]; Davies and Davies 1933, pls. III–VII) and the vizier Rekhmire (PM 1¹: TT 100 [4]; N. de G. Davies 1943, pls. XVII–XXIII), where both chiefs and information about the peoples and products are given in the scenes’ registers. For Menkheperreseneb, the scene depicted was connected to particular campaigns of Thutmose III and the resulting booty that was brought to Egypt, while Rekhmire in his tomb was projecting the importance of his position as vizier.

TOMB SCENES AS SOURCES OF (RELATIVE) DATING: THE CASE OF THEBAN TOMB 110¹⁷

When no cartouches are present, the dating of a tomb often relies on decorative design, color palette, and other stylistic elements. For tombs with a cartouche, the dating is relatively clear. But examining any contemporary changes to scene composition—including erasures, recarving/painting, and replastering—can add to the story of a tomb's decoration. In some tombs, these types of changes to the artistic program are not due to later usurpation/restoration or programs of defacement but instead reflect decisions undertaken by the tomb owner during the time frame of the tomb's original construction and/or decoration. These alterations demonstrate the tomb owner's agency in decorating the tomb, can bring new and unexpected information about a tomb owner's life and career, and at the same time help place both tomb and owner within a more defined historical context.

Well-known examples of contemporary decorative changes are found in tombs dating to the transition to the Amarna period, as in TT 55 of the vizier Ramose or TT 188 of the steward and royal butler Parennefer. Another excellent instance can be seen in TT 100 of the vizier Rekhmire, who served primarily under Thutmose III and changed one area of his already-finished tomb to reflect the accession of Amenhotep II to the throne.¹⁸ Elsewhere I have argued that Hatshepsut's second high priest of Amun, Puiemre, altered several focal scenes in his tomb (TT 39) to award additional space and priority to Thutmose III, providing a more nuanced historical understanding of Puiemre's place among Thutmose III's elite officials.¹⁹

The subtle interplay between text and image, and the potential for garnering important historical information by reading the two together, has come to bear in my own work on TT 110—an epigraphy project I have directed since 2014. The conclusions presented here are preliminary and based on the documentation of all the carved areas of the tomb, which are found in the transverse hall (southern wall; western wall, northern and southern sides; passage lintel and jambs; northern wall) and on the facade, as well as one fully documented painted scene (transverse hall, western wall, southern side) and detailed photographic analysis of several additional painted scenes.²⁰

TT 110 belongs to an official named Djehuty, who served, like many others, under both Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. What makes this particular official, and his tomb, unusual is that not only is he one of the few officials with a depiction of Hatshepsut in his tomb, but also, and significantly, he is the only known official of this time period who was awarded permission to depict both of these kings in his tomb.²¹ Due to this unique circumstance, a study of where the cartouches and royal images are placed in the tomb has provided a timeline for the tomb's decoration. In addition, while it has long been known that Djehuty served as both royal butler and royal herald for his kings, a detailed examination of where and in what context these titles appear throughout the tomb—that is, in conjunction with which king—has provided a window into the progression of his career. The results of our investigations tell a rather remarkable story of Djehuty's engagement with the decoration of his tomb, indicating a level of personal involvement hitherto implied but often left unconfirmed for private New Kingdom tombs.

¹⁷ I wish to thank all the students and staff of the TT 110 Epigraphy, Research, and Drawing Field School, whose hard work and thoughtful discussions have informed so much of my work on the tomb.

¹⁸ PM 1¹: TT 100 (17); N. de G. Davies 1943, 63–64, fig. 8, pl. LXX; Bryan 2006, 75.

¹⁹ Shirley 2014, 202–4.

²⁰ See Shirley 2014, 227–30; Shirley and Schenck 2017, 12–14. At the time of this chapter's publication, the complete documentation of the tomb has been achieved—both the carved areas of the transverse hall (southern wall; western wall, northern and southern sides; passage lintel and jambs; northern wall) and the facade, and all the painted scenes in the transverse hall (western wall, southern side; eastern wall) and the passage. Analysis is ongoing and the full publication of the tomb is in preparation, but I do not anticipate significant changes to the results presented here.

²¹ Of the twenty or so known decorated tombs dating to the reign of Hatshepsut, only two have a confirmed image of Hatshepsut in them (TT 73 and TT 110), while it seems likely that she appeared in three other tombs (TT 71, TT 125, and TT 252).

HATSHEPSUT IN THEBAN TOMB 110

Two areas in the tomb contain *only* the name and/or image of Hatshepsut, and both areas are located in the transverse hall: the kiosk scene, placed on the northern side of the western wall, and the carved stela located on the northern wall. In nearly all instances her name has been intentionally erased, and in several cases it has been prepared for recarving.

The kiosk scene commands attention due to its placement on a focal wall of the tomb and the fact that even with the erasure it is the only known remaining image of Hatshepsut in a private tomb.²² Although her figure was destroyed and the “*t*” element in *s3.t* removed, Hatshepsut’s nomen and prenomen were left untouched (fig. 11.3).²³ There is a large natural crack running through this portion of the scene, but the intentional damage done to the cartouche affects only the Amun epithet and thus dates to Amarna-period defacement (and subsequent post-Amarna restoration). In the accompanying scene Djehuty offers an elaborate bouquet to the enthroned Hatshepsut, and in the associated inscription Hatshepsut’s prenomen is given in column 3 and her nomen in the last column (fig. 11.4).²⁴ In both instances her name has been attacked, and efforts were made to smooth the area, possibly in preparation for recarving. Although the Amun element of her nomen was left untouched, the god’s name was attacked in other areas of the inscription. The text of the inscription centers on Djehuty’s presentation of offerings to Hatshepsut, and on her behalf, in his capacity as a *wdhw n’Imn* and royal butler (*wb3 nsw.t*).



Figure 11.3. Detail of the Hatshepsut kiosk scene on the western wall, northern side of TT 110’s transverse hall. Drawing and inking by Will Schenck.

22 N. de G. Davies 1932, 281–82, pls. 35, 41.

23 PM 1¹: TT 110 (9).

24 PM 1¹: TT 110 (9).

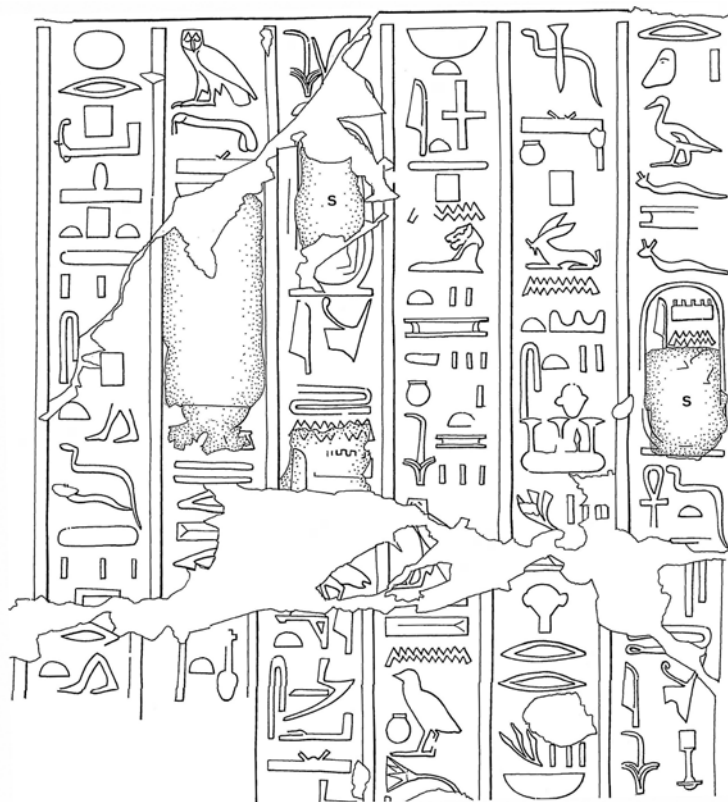


Figure 11.4. Detail of Djehuty's inscription adjacent to the Hatshepsut kiosk scene in TT 110. Drawing by Mr. Sayed Mamdouh and Mr. Yaser Hussein. Inking by Will Schenck. *Note:* The "s" in both cartouches in this figure (and in figs. 11.5 and 11.7) indicates a smoothed area. This convention was adopted by the TT 110 epigraphic team to indicate that an area had been erased and then smoothed, likely in preparation for recarving.

Although the prenomen of both Hatshepsut and Thutmose III currently appear in the lunette of the northern stela, this was not originally the case (fig. 11.5).²⁵ As Norman de Garis Davies noted,²⁶ the clear removal of the "t" element in *mry.t* found in the accompanying inscriptions on each side implies that the cartouches once held both the nomen and prenomen of Hatshepsut. During our rerecording of this area, we confirmed that Thutmose III's prenomen was not original to the carved lunette but a later addition. Traces of the reed leaf and bottom of the *mn* sign are still extant beneath the *r^c* sign of Thutmose III's prenomen, and these clearly belong to the *hnm.t Imn* phrase found as a part of Hatshepsut's nomen and used in the kiosk scene and southern stela. In the northern stela's main text, following the *h^{tp}-di-nsw.t* formula that takes up the first four lines, the remainder of the inscription focuses on Djehuty proclaiming his effectiveness and projecting an air of importance to the king, while also giving his titles and describing the duties and ritual acts he undertook on the king's behalf.²⁷ Hatshepsut's name, now erased, appears twice: once as the king on whose behalf Djehuty offers to Amun in Karnak,²⁸ and a few lines below as the king for whom Djehuty was a royal butler. The only other king mentioned in the stela's inscription is Thutmose I, as another king for whom Djehuty offers to Amun,²⁹ and our recording of the text confirms this cartouche as original to the inscription (fig. 11.6).³⁰

25 PM 1¹: TT 110 (7).

26 N. de G. Davies 1932, 286–88, pls. 36, 38b, 39.

27 Ron Leprohon is currently preparing a new translation of the stela as a contribution to the upcoming Festschrift for Nigel Strudwick. I would like to thank him for sharing his work with me.

28 Line 11: *wdn n [Imn] m Ipt-sw.t hry-tp ^cnh wd3 snb nsw.t-bit.y (//////) d.t Dhwti*. Traces of the edges of the cartouche remain, but nothing of Hatshepsut's prenomen.

29 Lines 14–15: *wdnw n [Imn] n nsw.t-bit.y (^c3-hpr-k3-r^c) n ht ntrw Ipt-sw.t n [ntrw] dsr.t imnt.t wb3 n nsw.t (//////) Dhwt*. Here again only traces of the cartouche around Hatshepsut's name remain.

30 PM 1¹: TT 110 (7).

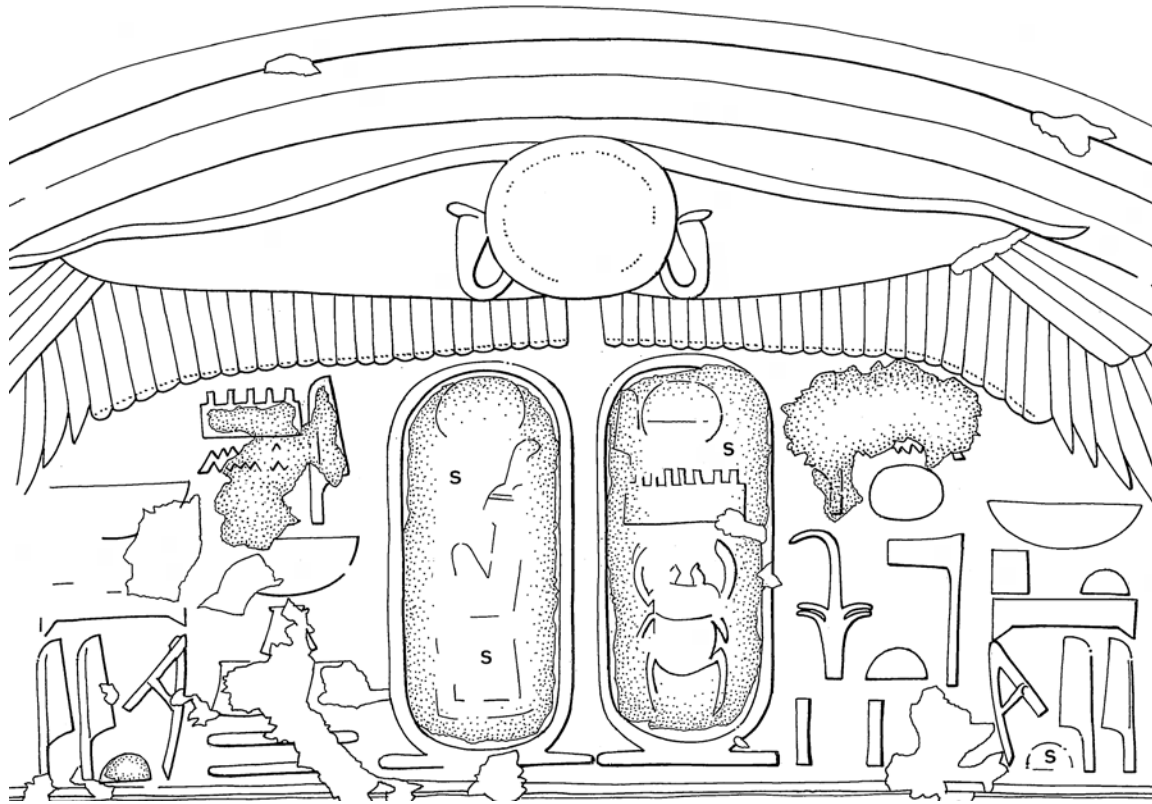


Figure 11.5. Lunette of the northern stela in TT 110's transverse hall. Drawing by Mr. Alaa Hussein Mahmoud Menshawy and Mr. Hazem Helmy Shared Mohamed. Inking by Will Schenck.

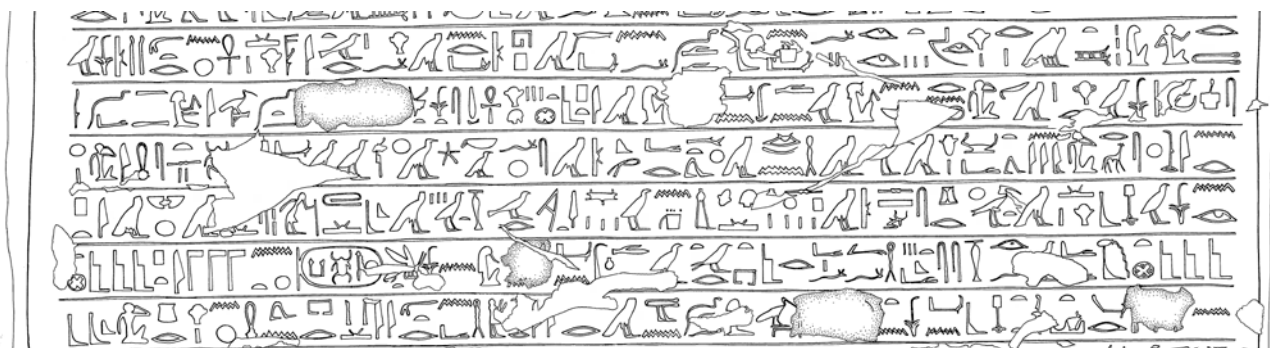


Figure 11.6. Detail of lines 10–15 from the northern stela inscription in TT 110. Drawing by Ms. Rasha Ahmed Hany Mohamed and Mr. Ahmed El-Nasseh. Inking by Will Schenck.

HATSHEPSUT AND THUTMOSE III IN THEBAN TOMB 110

There is only once place in TT 110 where the cartouches of *both* Hatshepsut and Thutmose III were intentionally carved: the stela that takes up the southern wall of the transverse hall.³¹ Here, as in the northern stela, the lunette bore the double cartouches of Hatshepsut, which were later erased and prepared for recarving, as was the “*t*” element in *mry.t* in the inscription to the east of her prenomen; that on the west seems not ever to have carried the “*t*” element. But in the main text of the stela the prenomen of Hatshepsut,

31 N. de G. Davies 1932, 288–89, pls. 37, 38c, 40.

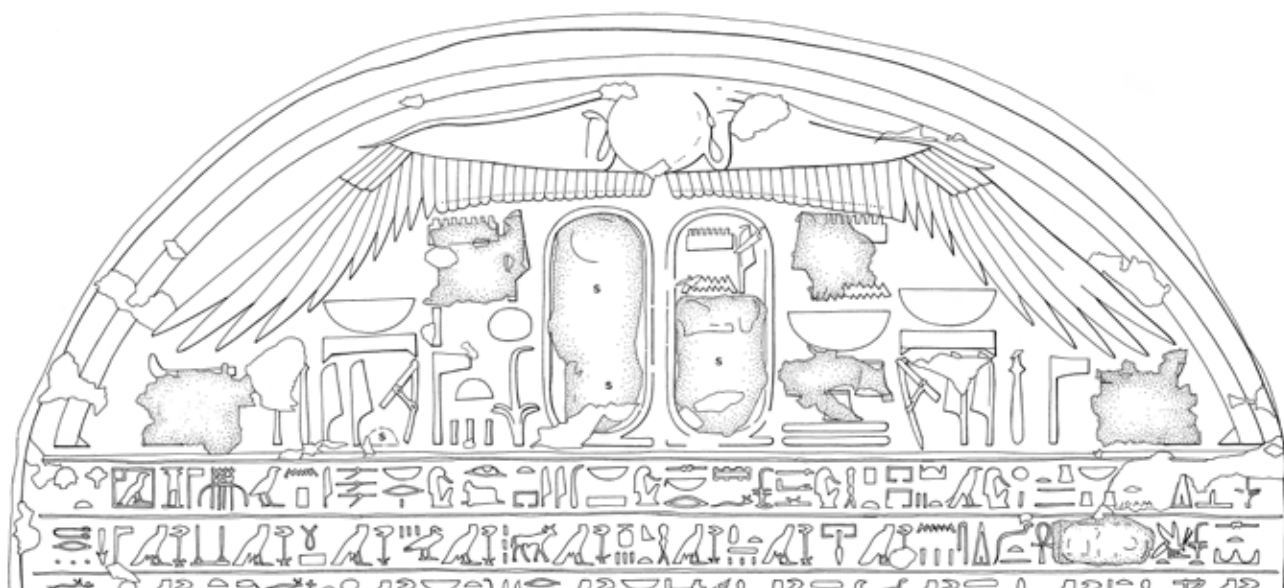


Figure 11.7. Lunette and detail of lines 1–2 on the southern stela in TT 110's transverse hall. Drawing by Mr. Peter Hana Fady and Mr. Abd El-Ghany Abd El-Rahman Mohamed. Inking by Will Schenck.

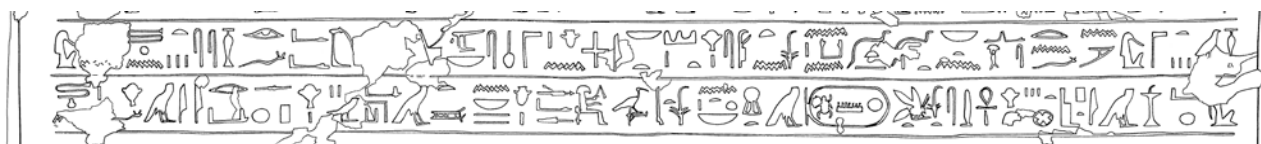


Figure 11.8. Detail of lines 14–15 from the southern stela inscription in TT 110. Drawing by Mr. Alaa Talaat Shams El-Din Mohamed and Mr. Mena Fahim Rezk. Inking by Will Schenck.

now erased, once appeared in line 2 as part of the *ḥtp-di-nsw.t* formula (fig. 11.7),³² while that of Thutmose III can be found in the very last line of the inscription (fig. 11.8).³³ Unlike on the northern stela, the main body of the text focuses on the offerings and proper burial to be given to Djehuty. Only in the last two lines does the *n k3 n* formula appear, where Thutmose III is evoked and Djehuty mentions the new titles “follower of the king” (*šms nsw.t*) and “royal herald” (*wḥm nsw.t*).³⁴

THUTMOSE III IN THEBAN TOMB 110

The sole name of Thutmose III, without any indication that Hatshepsut's name ever appeared, can be found in three separate inscriptions in TT 110's transverse hall: the western wall, southern side focal scene; the eastern wall, northern side; and the exterior of the passage lintel. It is also found on the tomb's facade lintel. In all these cases, it is clear that Thutmose III's name is original to the text.

Despite the significant damage to the southern focal wall, Davies's interpretation³⁵ of this scene as complementary to that of Hatshepsut on the opposite focal wall is now confirmed. The drawing produced by epigraphy assistant Sayed Mamdouh marks the first full recording of the painted scene. Here Djehuty

32 PM 1¹: TT 110 (2).

33 PM 1¹: TT 110 (2).

34 Lines 14–15: *n k3 n šms nsw.t ḥr ḥ3s.t nb.t imy-ib n ntr nfr sšm ḥb n [Imn] wꜥb ꜥ.wy ir:f ḥsw.t wdn n [Imn] f3i ih.t m Ḥpt-swt ḥry-tp ꜥnh wd3 snb nsw.t-bit.y Mn-ḥpr-rꜥ m ḥr.t hrw n.t rꜥ nb wḥm nsw.t Dḥwt.*

35 N. de G. Davies 1932, 282–83, pl. 43c.

stands before the enthroned Thutmose III, and what remains of the accompanying inscription describes Djehuty as a follower of the king upon all foreign lands (*[šms] nsw.t hr ḥ3s.[w].t nb.t*) and royal herald (*whm nsw.t*),³⁶ along with a request that Amun continue to grant Thutmose III victory on the battlefield (fig. 11.9).³⁷

Thutmose III's name appears twice in the inscription accompanying Djehuty as he presents burnt offerings on the northern side of the transverse hall's eastern wall. Although this area had not (at the time of writing) been redrawn, Davies copied it, revealing that Thutmose III's name appears twice in conjunction with the offerings Djehuty is making to Amun on festival occasions.³⁸ Like the Thutmose III kiosk scene, this depiction is also painted, and several high-resolution RTI and infrared photographs of the cartouches have been made by our photographer, Marco Repole. By further enhancing the images through DStretch, I can confidently state that they, and the name of Thutmose III, are certainly part of the original inscription (fig. 11.10).³⁹ As on the southern focal wall and last lines of the southern stela, only the royal herald title appears.

On the exterior face of the passage lintel is a double inscription in which both the prenomen and nomen of Thutmose III are given; the modifiers *ḥk3-M3.t* and *nfr-ḥpr:w* are added to his nomen on the north and south, respectively. Davies had already noted that this inscription was "original and unmutilated."⁴⁰ Despite the natural damage which has since occurred to the rock, our new drawings have confirmed this conclusion (fig. 11.11).⁴¹

The original facade of the tomb, which in Davies's time was buried under the hillside, was uncovered during the American Research Center in Egypt excavation field schools in 2012–14.⁴² Although unfinished



Figure 11.9. Detail of Djehuty's inscription on the southern side of the western wall in TT 110's transverse hall. Drawing by Mr. Sayed Mamdouh. Inking by Will Schenck.

36 The *šms nsw.t* title can be reconstructed based on the phrase that follows it: *hr ḥ3s[w].t nb.t*, "upon all foreign lands." "Royal herald," *whm nsw.t*, is the only possible reconstruction based on comparison with the paleography of Djehuty's titles throughout the tomb. The "r" element of *nsw.t* is always placed in the upper half of the space between the two signs in this title. Were this the title "royal butler," *wb3 nsw.t*, the "r" element would be either left out or placed in the lower half of the space between the two signs.

37 PM 1¹: TT 110 (4).

38 N. de G. Davies 1932, 284, pl. 43b.

39 PM 1¹: TT 110 (5).

40 N. de G. Davies 1932, 283–84, pl. 43a.

41 PM 1¹: TT 110 (10).

42 Bednarski 2013.



Figure 11.10. Detail of Thutmose III's cartouches in Djehuty's inscription on the eastern wall, northern side in TT 110's transverse hall. Top: cartouche in column X+4 of the inscription, regular image and filtered through DStretch YBR. Bottom: cartouche in last column of the inscription, regular image and filtered through DStretch YBR. © Marco Repole and JJ Shirley.

and damaged, the areas of inscription which are extant reveal quite clearly that, as on the interior lintel, only the names of Thutmose III were carved (fig. 11.12). On the right (northern) side, the full nomen of Thutmose III is preserved, with traces of a cartouche in the destroyed register above. On the left (southern) side, only the ends of the cartouches and traces of the inscription within them are preserved in each register. But based on comparison with all the possible kings who could be named here,⁴³ the best fit is Thutmose III. The traces preserved in the upper register on the southern side appear to fit the lower portion of the *hpr* sign; thus we can restore *Mn-hpr-r^c*. In the register below this area, the traces fit the *w3s* sign⁴⁴ that was used

43 Leprohon 2010, esp. 14–27; 2013, 93–100; von Beckerath 1999, 132–39.

44 See Gardiner sign S40 (Gardiner 1957, 509); the upper tip of the *w3s* element and feather are visible.

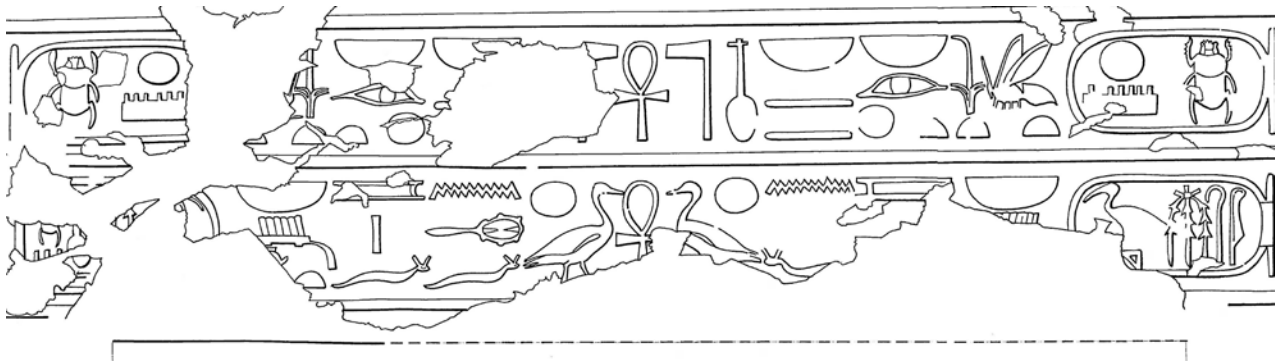


Figure 11.11. Detail of the passage's exterior lintel in TT 110 with original cartouches of Thutmose III. Drawing by Ms. Rasha Ahmed El-Ameen Ahmed and Mr. Mahmoud Abdel Wahab Mohamed Abdel Nour. Inking by Will Schenck.

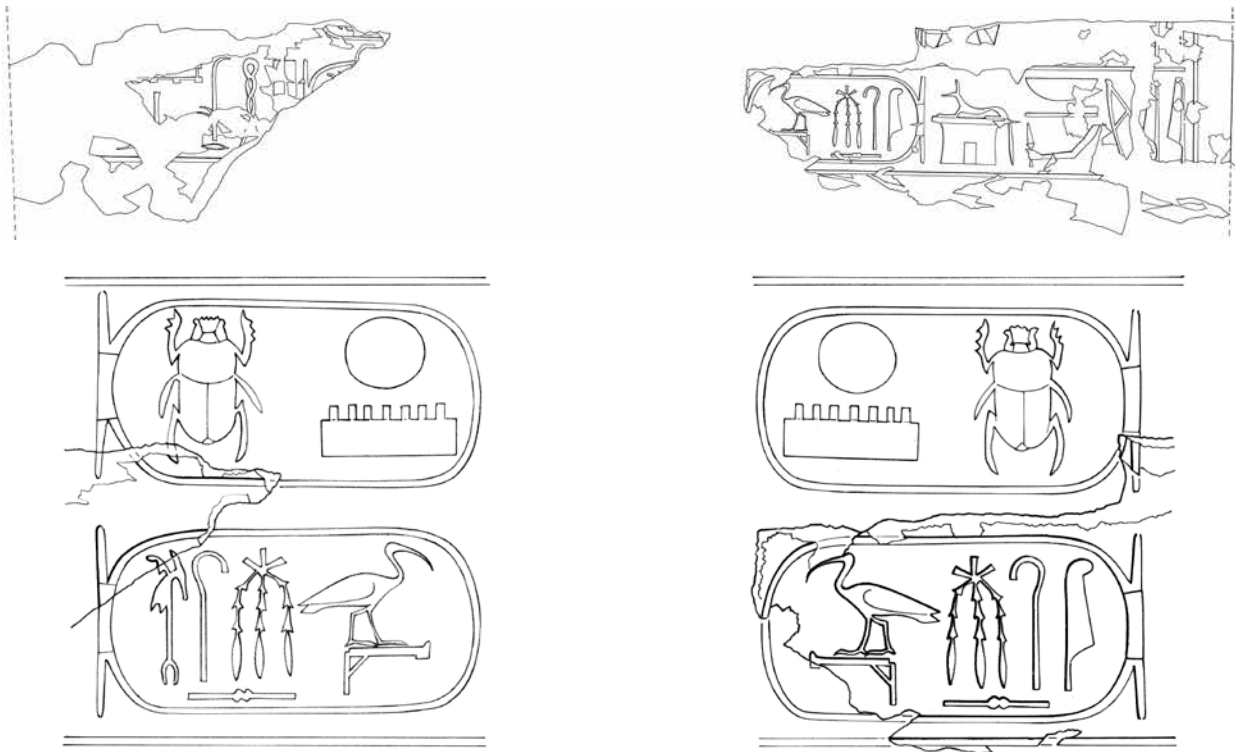


Figure 11.12. TT 110's facade lintel inscription. Top: Inscription as preserved. Bottom: Suggested reconstruction of the southern cartouches. Drawing and inking by Will Schenck.

in the modifier *ḥk3 W3s.t* following the nomen of Thutmose III.⁴⁵ The names, therefore, can be reconstructed quite similarly to those found on the passage lintel, with Thutmose III's prenomen on both sides of the upper register and his nomen in the lower, though a different modifier was used for the southern nomen.

⁴⁵ Neither Hatshepsut's prenomen or nomen nor their typical epithetic modifiers fit the traces. While Thutmose I and II might be possibilities, if they were added later to cover the name of Hatshepsut, the traces likewise do not fit their names or modifiers. Although the modifier *ḥk3 W3s.t* was used for both Amenhotep I and Amenhotep II, neither king is a likely candidate. Since it is clear that Djehuty served during his prime under Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, it is unlikely that he began his service as early as Amenhotep I or survived into the reign of Amenhotep II. Although one might argue that Hatshepsut's names could have been here and were replaced by those of Thutmose III, it is clear despite the damage that there is no indication of any recarving to the traces that remain.

DATING THE DECORATIVE PROGRAM IN THEBAN TOMB 110

Based on the evidence presented above, a relative time frame for the decoration in TT 110 can be established, and through this a clearer picture of Djehuty's career also emerges. Certainly, care must be taken in using cartouches of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III as dating criteria due to the frequency with which both are named on private monuments⁴⁶ as well as Thutmose III's regular presence in the royal building program Hatshepsut undertook, even at Deir el-Bahari.⁴⁷ In the case of TT 110, however, not only is Thutmose III the quantitatively favored king, but also the differing treatments of Hatshepsut's name combined with the depiction of both kings lends itself to the interpretation that the decoration in this tomb was carried out in at least two phases, representing different time periods and historical circumstances.

During Hatshepsut's reign, Djehuty became a favored official, and as royal butler he commissioned work to begin on his tomb. During this time Hatshepsut awarded Djehuty with permission to depict her, at which point the kiosk scene was executed. In addition, during Hatshepsut's reign the northern stela was carved, and on the southern stela the lunette was finished and the main inscription begun. It also seems likely that the painted scene on the northern side of the eastern wall was undertaken at this time, as it depicts Djehuty undertaking his duties as royal butler.⁴⁸

The lack of Hatshepsut's name elsewhere in the tomb indicates that before significant progress had been made in decorating or completing any other areas of the tomb, Thutmose III returned to power. How long a gap exists is uncertain, but it was enough time for Djehuty not only to secure his place in the administration of Thutmose III but also to be further promoted by this king to the position of royal herald—and garner enough favor also to depict him in the tomb. The completion of the southern stela, with the name of Thutmose III and the title of royal herald, demonstrates that the stela was finished only after Thutmose III (re)ascended the throne. The remainder of the tomb was also finished after Thutmose III became sole king: (1) in the decoration of the northern side of the eastern wall, only the cartouches of Thutmose III appear, and Djehuty gives his royal herald title; (2) the false door, placed adjacent to the scene of Djehuty before Thutmose III, includes Djehuty's *šms nsw.t* title; (3) in the passage, all the preserved inscriptions include Djehuty's *wḥm nsw.t* title; and (4) only the cartouches of Thutmose III are placed on the passage lintel and facade. The fact that the modifiers *nfr ḥpr.w*, *ḥk3 M3^c.t*, and *ḥk3 W3s.t* are found only in inscriptions dated after year 22 of Thutmose III⁴⁹ supports dating the final portions of the tomb's decoration to Thutmose III's sole reign. While one might argue that this can only support the dating of the passage lintel and facade to Thutmose III's sole reign, the fact that Djehuty was further promoted and achieved enough status to depict Thutmose III in his tomb argues for the majority of the tomb's decoration as being undertaken after year 22.

Djehuty's new standing in the court of Thutmose III also seems to have affected the completed parts of the tomb. The replacement of Hatshepsut's nomen with Thutmose III's prenomen on the northern stela, as well as the erasures and smoothing of Hatshepsut's cartouches undertaken in the lunettes of both stelae, suggests that Djehuty may have intended to recarve all of them with Thutmose III's names. The treatment of the lunettes is different from the cartouches of Hatshepsut found in the main text of the stelae, which bear more similarity to the proscription of Hatshepsut toward the end of Thutmose III's reign, when the goal was total erasure of her name. The kiosk scene presents a special case, as erasure and smoothing were undertaken on Hatshepsut's cartouches in Djehuty's accompanying inscription whereas the cartouches within the

46 Galán 2014, 248 with n5. Galán is quite correct in advising caution. During the Hatshepsut–Thutmose III period, the names of both kings appear frequently in stela lunettes and lintel inscriptions, thus providing little in the way of specific, or even relative, timing; and certainly, it requires more than this evidence to state with any certainty how long an official served under either king. For TT 110, while the comparisons to Puiemre (TT 39) and Rekhmire (TT 100) are certainly apt, I would point out that even better comparisons can be found with officials who likewise served fully under two kings and depict them both in their tomb. See further below.

47 Laboury 2014; Sankiewicz 2015.

48 N. de G. Davies 1932, 285–86, pl. 44b.

49 Leprohon 2013, 99–100; von Beckerath 1999, 136–39.

kiosk were left untouched. How this should be interpreted is at present uncertain,⁵⁰ but at the very least it is clear there were different treatments of her name, implying different reasons and time periods.

At some point during the sole reign of Thutmose III, Djehuty died and was buried in his tomb. When this occurred, the decoration of the transverse hall and passage was essentially finished, including the ceiling patterns, and it was only the rear two-pillared hall that remained plastered but unpainted. Presumably Djehuty's death is also the reason that the recarving of Thutmose III's name was not completed in areas where it was intended. The exact year of Djehuty's death cannot currently be determined, but for two reasons I would argue that it occurred before the proscription of Hatshepsut began. The first reason is based on the relative age of Djehuty during the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, and the second on the nature of the erasures in the tomb.

The ability to begin construction of a tomb indicates that Djehuty was advanced enough in his career to do so and had wealth enough to afford the project, while the depiction of Hatshepsut demonstrates that he had advanced far up the courtier ladder. Both achievements suggest that he was not a young man when work began. The mention of incense from Punt in the kiosk inscription (cols. 3–4) provides a *terminus post quem* of year 9 for the tomb's decoration, while Djehuty's apparent lack of any involvement with this expedition suggests he came to favor well after it. I have argued elsewhere⁵¹ that a majority of Hatshepsut's officials were already in place when she became king, even if she was the one who promoted them to higher office. It also seems reasonable to assume that at least a few years went by between the reascension of Thutmose III and Djehuty's restarting work on his tomb, thus adding to Djehuty's relative age.

The lack of specifics relating to Thutmose III's campaigns, combined with the rather generic "follower of the king" title, implies that Djehuty's role as royal herald was likely based in Egypt,⁵² and one might plausibly infer that this was due, at least in part, to his more advanced years. In addition, in an earlier discussion of Djehuty I suggested that the inscription accompanying his standing before Thutmose III could be interpreted as referring to the earlier years of the king's sole reign, and I also proposed that the lack of reference to the Euphrates campaign in year 33, which is mentioned by nearly all of Thutmose III's officials who had any connection to it, might provide a *terminus ad quem* for Djehuty's career and the tomb's decoration.⁵³ Finally, there is the use of *nsw.t-bity* preceding Thutmose I's name on the northern stela, where Djehuty offers to the king's cult. I wonder whether the use of this title, as opposed to the more expected "lord of the two lands" and similar titles, might imply that Djehuty performed this service for Thutmose I while he was alive.⁵⁴ If true, it would place Djehuty in at least his late thirties when Hatshepsut came to power and in his fifties under Thutmose III—a not unrealistic lifespan for an elite member of the court. Even if these arguments are viewed as tenuous, it seems safe to assume that by the time of Djehuty's promotion to royal herald he had already attained at least "middle age," so it is certainly plausible he would have served under Thutmose III for only about twenty years and died before the proscription of Hatshepsut began.

I would also note that although Djehuty's tenure of service fell under Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, in attempting to understand the nature of their presence in the tomb, parallels are perhaps better found in tombs of later officials whose careers clearly spanned the reigns of two kings and who depict them both in their tombs. For example, in TT 42 of Amenmose, who served under Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, both kings are honored: in the front room Amenmose offers foreign goods to Thutmose III, enthroned in a kiosk on one focal wall;⁵⁵ there is a damaged stela in the front room that likely contained depictions of both kings

50 One possibility is that the crack running through the kiosk scene had already occurred during the time of the proscription, resulting in no need for additional defacement/erasure of Hatshepsut's name.

51 Shirley 2014, 233–39.

52 In this way he would be unlike others who served in the military theater in their capacity as civil officials (see Shirley 2011).

53 Shirley 2014, 228–29, 239 with n222.

54 Cf. N. de G. Davies 1932, 288 with n1.

55 PM 1¹: TT 42 (5); Davies and Davies 1933, 28–30, pl. XXXIII.

in the lunette;⁵⁶ and the lintel in the passage bears their joint prenomen cartouches.⁵⁷ Even more similar, however, is TT 85 of Amenemhab Mahu. As a military officer who served in the campaigns of Thutmose III and was subsequently further promoted to the military administration under Amenhotep II, his tomb depicts both of these kings on the northern and southern focal walls, respectively.⁵⁸ This is precisely the same orientation as that found in TT 110, with the earlier king placed on the northern side and the later king on the southern, allowing the earlier king to face rightward and thereby affording him the dominant position despite being on the northern side of the wall.⁵⁹

With regard to the intentional erasures of Hatshepsut's name and figure found in the tomb, they are of two distinct types: (1) the removal of Hatshepsut's name or figure, with the area left rough; and (2) the removal of Hatshepsut's name, with the area smoothed.⁶⁰ This is unique among the private monuments of this time period. While the name of Hatshepsut was systematically removed from tombs and shrines, the surfaces were left rough, and there is no indication that any recarving or replastering was intended. In contrast, on royal monuments where cartouches were erased, the most common recarving was done in the name of Thutmose I or Thutmose II, though Thutmose III did occasionally insert his own name (e.g., at Deir el-Bahari⁶¹). Another situation is found in the roughly contemporary tomb of Puimre, who clearly altered some of his focal-wall scenes to incorporate the name of Thutmose III after the tomb's decoration had been completed.⁶² The two erasure types found in TT 110 must represent not only two purposes but also two time periods. While the basic erasure of Hatshepsut's name within the stelae fits the pattern seen as part of the proscription, this is not the case for the stelae's lunettes. The lunettes, and quite possibly the inscription accompanying Djehuty standing before Hatshepsut, were intended to be recarved for Thutmose III. Had more than one lunette cartouche been completed, Thutmose III would have been mentioned in even more of the tomb's decoration, and Djehuty's career could have been "read" as falling mostly under Thutmose III. These alterations could have been done only at Djehuty's direction and before the proscription began in the later years of Thutmose III's reign.

In summing up this discussion of TT 110, it is clear that the placement of Djehuty's titles in relation to the kings' names was done intentionally and was meant to transmit specific historical information about Djehuty's career. Similarly, the location and arrangement of the cartouches provide a relative historical timeline for the tomb's initial decoration and changes made to it by Djehuty. The integrated examination of this small portion of the tomb's decoration highlights not only the tomb's historical narrative but also Djehuty's agency in creating the decorative program.⁶³

56 PM 1¹: TT 42 (11); Davies and Davies 1933, 32–33; Hermann 1940, 39; Strudwick 2016, 110.

57 PM 1¹: TT 42 (18); Davies and Davies 1933, 34, pl. XXXIX. My own examination of the tomb, undertaken in 2002 and again in 2015, confirms the presence of Amenhotep II in the tomb.

58 PM 1¹: TT 85 (17) and PM 1¹: TT 85 (9); Virey 1891. The tomb's full publication is currently in preparation by Heike Heye. The identification of the king on the southern side as Amenhotep II is certain, despite the damage to the cartouches, in large part because it is Amenemhab Mahu's wife Baky who offers to him, in her role as his chief wet nurse. By comparison, on the northern wall it is Amenemhab Mahu who stands before Thutmose III recounting his exploits in the king's campaigns and his final promotion under Amenhotep II. Dating the final stages of TT 85's decoration in the early years of Amenhotep II is cemented by the fact that, on the western end of the transverse hall's northern wall, Amenemhab Mahu and Baky join Amenhotep II in presenting offerings to Osiris (PM 1¹: TT 85 [16]; Virey 1891). I wish to thank Dr. Heye for discussing Baky's presence in the tomb with me.

59 I wish to thank Jonathan Winnerman (personal communication) for reminding me that the placement of the two kings in TT 110 is in contrast to that found generally in dual depictions of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, where she is generally associated with the south and he with the north, reflecting Thutmose III's subordinate status, and as seen, for example, at Deir el-Bahari (see Sankiewicz 2011, esp. 139–42; 2015, esp. 164–65).

60 There is also evidence for Amarna-period erasures and subsequent recarvings, which will be dealt with elsewhere.

61 See Sankiewicz 2011, 134–35.

62 Shirley 2014, 200–204.

63 Efforts to erase and recarve only the cartouches, and no other areas, are suggestive of a clear intent separate from simple removal of a name as found during the proscription. While it is possible that changes to the tomb's decoration were undertaken by a relative of Djehuty, this seems unlikely given their nature. If these changes were undertaken after Djehuty's death, one might expect other "updates" to the tomb as well.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing discussion demonstrates that the historicity of tomb decoration should not be undervalued. By investigating the texts and images together as one entity, intentionally planned by the tomb owner, we can gain a great deal of information that provides a more nuanced understanding of tomb owners and their careers. Further, this approach can provide important insights into the different phases and relative dating of tomb decoration based on historical markers, thereby supplying a valuable complement to stylistic analysis. A great deal of sociohistorical information can be gleaned from tomb decoration, if one only looks for it.

12

ALL GOOD AND PURE THINGS ON WHICH THE GOD
LIVES: TOWARD A STUDY OF INTERICONICITY IN THE
CHAPEL OF HATSHEPSUT AT DEIR EL-BAHARI

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INTRODUCTION

A recent tendency in the study of ancient Egyptian art has been to search for the role of the individual artist in the creation of any masterpiece. As yet, given the anonymity of Egyptian art—resulting in a scarcity of sources pointing to artists, on the one hand, and a neutralization of their individual styles, on the other hand—the research methods applied by scholars have most often consisted in meticulous examination of the work itself. This approach has contributed to the distinguishing of artists' hands and workshops and sometimes even allowed for a reconstruction of the organization of the work.² Important observations on the process of creating a relief were made by John Baines, who studied the techniques of decoration in the hall of barks in the temple of Seti I at Abydos.³ The unfinished state of the reliefs in this room has provided an opportunity to analyze the methods of decoration, from the initial draft to the final touches of paint, and even to determine an approximate time span for some of the work stages. In the context of the present research, the crucial observation concerned the rapid execution of the preparatory painting on the smoothed surface of the wall. Given the very elaborate painting of the details, one may assume that the images were transferred in this form from another medium (papyrus or board).⁴ In contrast to the relatively short period required for the entire process of decorating quite large areas, the detailed elaboration of the initial design may have taken years and involved the study and copying of ancient texts and other models.⁵

It was Shelley Wachsmann who proposed to examine the decoration of the Theban tombs “through the eyes of the artist.”⁶ This approach, consisting mainly of iconographic analogy, was based on the assumed existence of “pattern books”⁷—collections, in one place, of source images, which were not copied automatically

1 The research project aiming to document, reconstruct, and interpret the reliefs in the Royal Cult Complex of the Hatshepsut temple at Deir el-Bahari is directed by Prof. Mirosław Barwik of the University of Warsaw. From 2012 to 2017, my research within this project was financed from the funds of the National Science Centre, Poland (No. DEC-2012/05/D/HS3/03680).

Here I wish to thank Betsy M. Bryan and Peter F. Dorman for organizing the Theban Workshop in Baltimore in 2016. An invitation to attend this workshop was a true honor for me. I also thank the workshop participants for their relevant questions and useful comments on my paper—especially Dimitri Laboury for drawing my attention to the concept of intericonicity and for allowing me to read his article in press on this topic. Thanks also go to Jo Harper for improving my English. Photographs showing the decoration of the chapel of Hatshepsut are by Maciej Jawornicki.

2 See, e.g., Bryan 2001; Freed 2000; Oppenheim 2006. On the methodology, see Laboury 2012, 2017. For a detailed review of the state of research on the topic of art and artists in ancient Egypt, with further literature, see Oppenheim 2006, 116–21; Laboury and Devillers 2022.

3 Baines 1989.

4 Cf. Baines 1989, 15n6.

5 Baines 1989, 22–23.

6 Wachsmann 1987, 4.

7 Wachsmann 1987, 12–26.

but instead were creatively transformed and adjusted to a number of variables: the space available, individual patrons' preferences, and so forth. Recently this idea was elaborated by Dimitri Laboury, who has proposed the term "intericonicity" to emphasize the creative approach of Egyptian designers in respect to sources while inventing new compositions.⁸ The present study aims to present some scenes in the chapel of Hatshepsut as an example illustrating this phenomenon.⁹

OFFERING SCENES IN THE CHAPEL OF HATSHEPSUT

The room in question is located on the third terrace of the Hatshepsut temple at Deir el-Bahari, in the so-called "Royal Cult Complex" to the south of the main court (fig. 12.1). The two mirror-like offering scenes on the lateral (southern and northern) walls of the chapel have often been considered examples of a long-lasting tradition in the decoration of the sanctuaries of pyramid temples, a tradition established during the Fifth Dynasty under Sahure and continuing until the beginning of the New Kingdom.¹⁰ Studies of the plans of these rooms have revealed a recurring "standard" pattern in their size: 10 cubits wide × 30 cubits long.¹¹ As for the offering scenes, preserved fragments indicate that the general layout of these compositions was similar and consisted of the following elements: (1) offering table scene, (2) offering list, (3) depiction of priests performing ritual acts, (4) offering procession, and (5) frieze of piled offerings.¹² All of them, and one additional element, are attested in the chapel of Hatshepsut (fig. 12.2).¹³

While comparing the royal examples, one may observe that the most conservative, "iconic" component comprised the offering table scene and type A/B offering list.¹⁴ These two elements, adjoining one another and complemented by the images of priests performing the ritual, constituted the "core" of the composition, placed on both walls in the innermost part of the room.

During the Middle Kingdom, under Sesostri II and III, the size of the pyramid temples was considerably reduced.¹⁵ Thus, some of the offering halls were distinctly smaller than the standard rooms measuring 10 × 30 cubits.¹⁶ As far as the offering scenes are concerned, the offering procession and the frieze of piled offerings were probably the two elements most easily modified, since the overall extent of the entire scene could be adjusted to the changing size of the room. In this context, of particular interest are the northern chapels of the standard pyramid complexes, which covered the entrance of the corridor leading

8 Laboury 2015.

9 The title of the present study paraphrases the title of Laboury's article, "Tradition and Creativity: Toward a Study of Intericonicity in Ancient Egyptian Art" (Laboury 2017).

10 See, e.g., Arnold 2005, 138. The best-preserved example of the scenes in question comes from the pyramid temple of Pepy II (Jéquier 1938, pls. 61–62, 81–82, 97). It seems that the scenes from the temple of Sesostri I at Lisht (unpublished) were based on the same pattern (cf. their description in Hayes 1959, 186 fig. 114, 187–88). The last example of the kind, among those preceding the chapel of Hatshepsut, comes from the temple of Ahmose at Abydos (Harvey 1998, 274, figs. 64, 67, 68, 70, 71, 102). In fact, such compositions are attested in great numbers—and frequently in much better states of preservation—in the offering chapels of nonroyal individuals, dating mainly to the Sixth Dynasty (Harpur 1987, 107–8; Roth 2005, 150, 151n16).

11 The standard size is a feature of the sanctuaries in the Sixth Dynasty pyramid temples, while in the earlier instances it is not fixed: Sahure, 10 × 26; Djedkare Isesi, 10 × 34; Nyuserre, 10 × 19; Unas, 9 × [26]. The size 10 × 30 cubits is attested for the offering halls in the temples of Teti, Pepy I, Merenre, and Pepy II (Arnold 1988, 48, 57; for the size of Nyuserre's offering chapel, cf. Jánosi 2004a, fig. 57; for that of Merenre, cf. Jánosi 2004b, 156n61). In the Middle Kingdom, the sanctuary of Sesostri I's pyramid temple keeps the classic dimensions, 10 × [30] cubits (Arnold 1988, 48). The same size is reconstructed for the sanctuary of Amenemhat III at Dahshur (Arnold 1987, pl. 36).

12 The frieze, composed in three registers (as with the two lateral walls), appears also in the upper part of the eastern wall, over the slaughter scenes, constituting another standard element of the offering room decoration.

13 On the new element, number 6 in figure 12.2, see Stupko-Lubczynska 2016a; 2016b, 279–318.

14 Compare Stupko-Lubczynska 2016b, 19–34, 37–58.

15 Arnold 2002, 49.

16 For example, the reconstructed depth of Sesostri III's offering hall in his pyramid temple at Dahshur was 25 cubits, or even less given that the interior space of the entire temple was 26 × 32 cubits (Arnold 2002, 49–50, fig. 17).

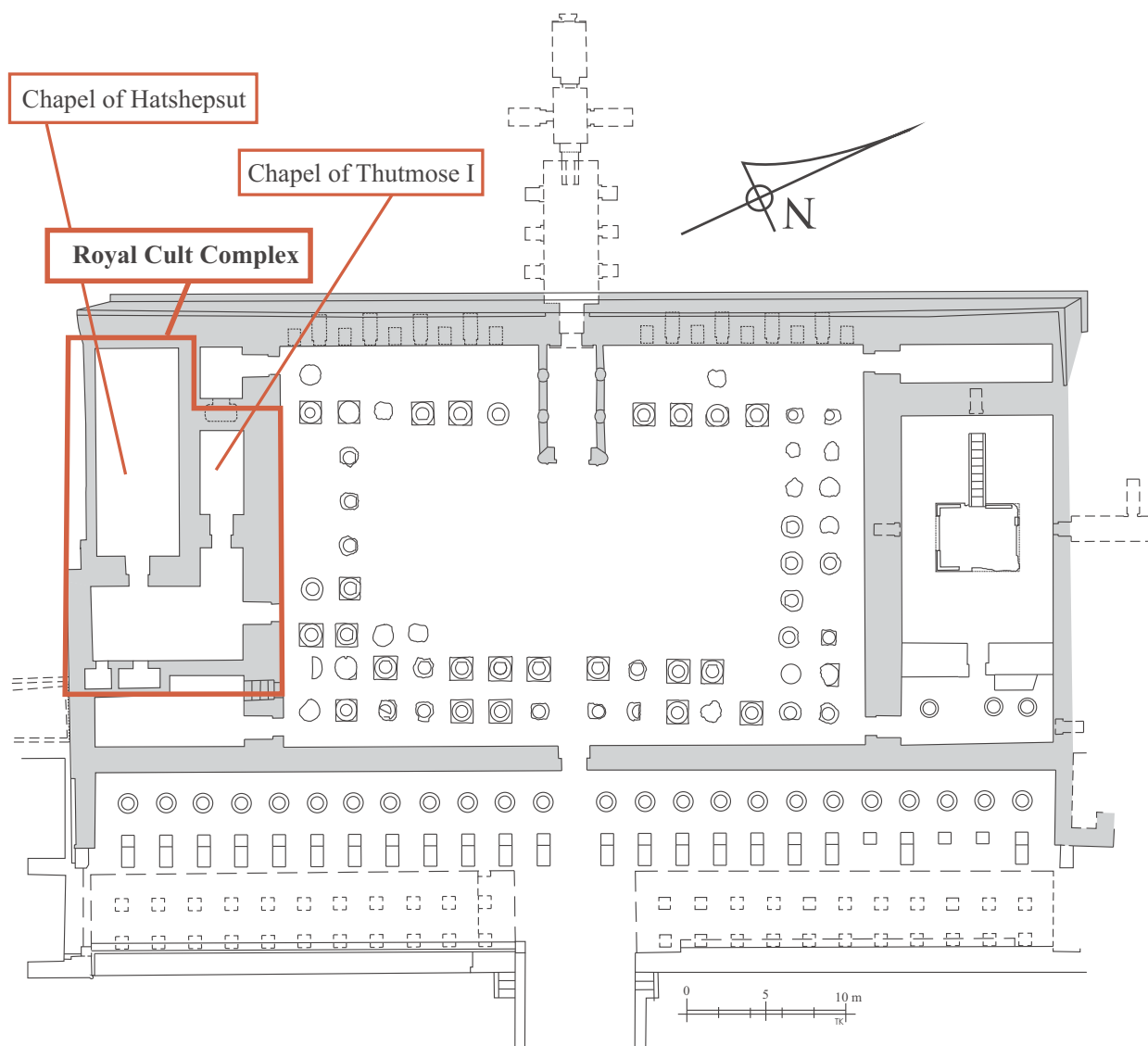


Figure 12.1. Upper terrace of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. Plan by T. Dzierdzic.

to the underground apartments. The decoration of these rooms in all aspects emulates that of the offering halls. The size of the scenes here, however, was significantly reduced because of the small dimensions of the chapels themselves.¹⁷ For instance, since 6×8 cubits is the measurement of the northern chapel in the pyramid complex of Sesostris I, the offering scenes decorating its side walls had to be fitted into an area 8 cubits (4.16 m) long.¹⁸ Indeed, the preserved fragments indicate that only the core of the composition was displayed there, while the remaining two components appeared in an abbreviated form, filling the empty space that remained.¹⁹

¹⁷ Jánosi 1995, fig. 1.

¹⁸ Arnold 1988, pls. 53, 56, 99.

¹⁹ From this perspective, noteworthy is the chapel of Thutmose I, adjacent to the chapel of Hatshepsut on the north (fig. 12.1), which displays such an abbreviated version of a “standard” decoration model (cf. Naville 1906, pl. CXXIX; Barwik 2021, *passim*, esp. 41–67, pls. 12–13). The size of this room is approximately 5.3×10.3 cubits (2.75×5.35 m; see Teresa Dzierdzic in Barwik 2021, 77).

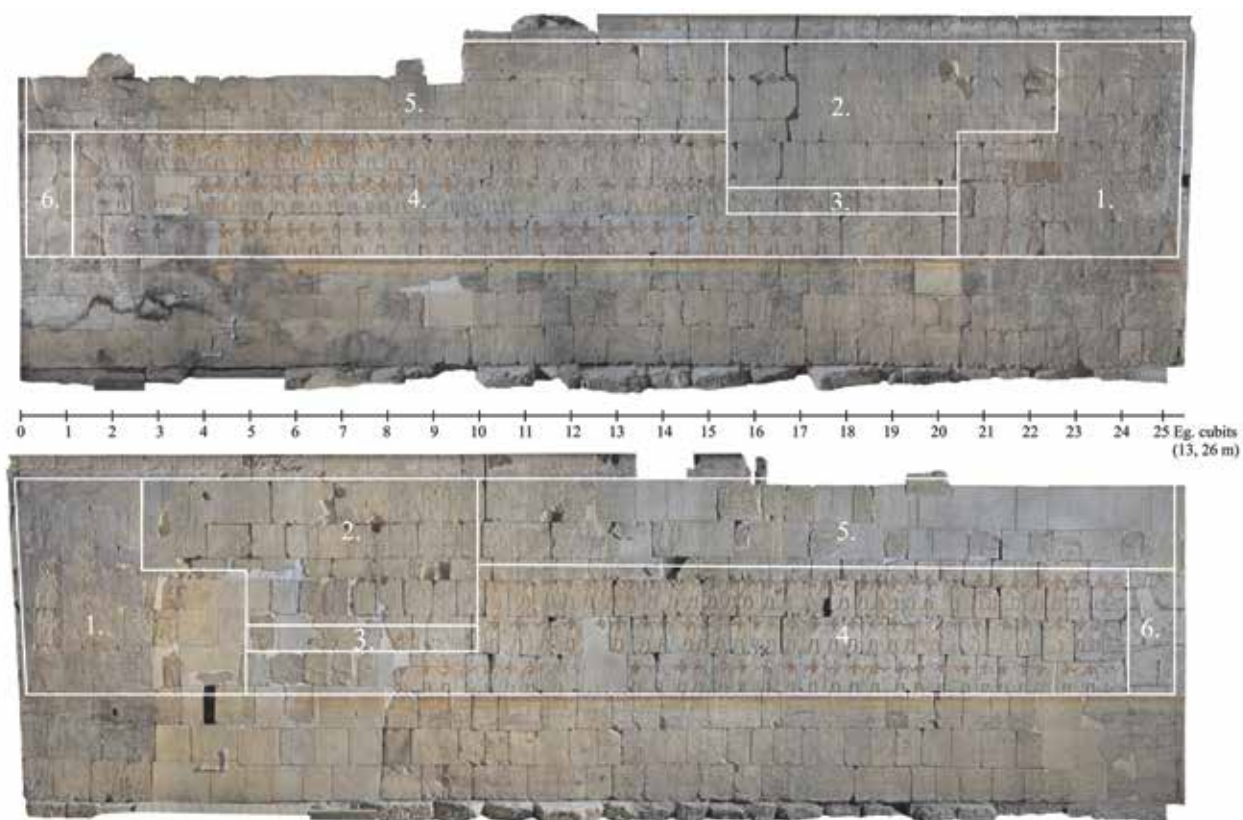


Figure 12.2. Arrangement of the components in the offering scenes. Chapel of Hatshepsut, southern wall (top) and northern wall (bottom). Orthophoto by J. Kościuk. Photo by M. Jawornicki.

The size of the chapel of Hatshepsut is 10×25.5 cubits. Here, the length of the core of the offering scene is exactly 10 cubits (5.25 m). For the offering procession and frieze, 15.5 cubits (8 m) are available, which allow exactly one hundred figures of offering bearers to be accommodated on one wall.²⁰

When analyzing scenes on an iconographic level, one may presume that the two abovementioned components—the offering procession and the offering frieze, presenting “all good and pure things on which the god lives,” according to the inscription at head of the procession—were those that enabled the overall scene to adapt to changing fashions. Compared to the preserved scenes of earlier date, both of these elements in the chapel of Hatshepsut present a mixture of motifs that may be roughly divided into four categories: (1) background—the most “populated” category, assembling images unchanged since the Old Kingdom period up to Hatshepsut’s time (i.e., meat cuts, poultry, flowers, trays with fruits and vegetables) and distributed more or less evenly on the two walls, thus forming a backdrop to the remaining three categories; (2) archaic—depictions unattested after the Old Kingdom; (3) Middle Kingdom—depictions in use from the Middle Kingdom onward; and (4) new fashion—depictions that came into use at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty.²¹

The motifs forming this fourth category are attested in the decoration of Theban tombs dating to the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty. In the present study, they are referred to by the term “contemporary” even though some of these tombs are of a relatively early date (e.g., TT 81: Amenhotep I to Hatshepsut)

²⁰ The number of figures in each register is not equal: on the southern wall there are 32, 32, and 36 figures from top to bottom; accordingly, on the northern wall there are 32, 30, and 38 figures.

²¹ The classification given above should be considered tentative, as it is not devoid of some difficulties and possible mistakes. For example, it is sometimes not easy to determine whether the motif became extinct after the Old Kingdom or whether the evidence from the Middle Kingdom material is merely lacking. The same observation applies to those depictions that are attested from the Eighteenth Dynasty onward.

while others are definitely later (e.g., TT 100: Thutmose III to Amenhotep II).²² One reason for considering them as contemporary is the relatively small number of tombs with preserved decoration that would allow their dating precisely to Hatshepsut's reign. But additionally, in the Theban necropolis a continuous line of development in tomb decoration may be drawn from the earliest Eighteenth Dynasty tomb chapels to the monuments clearly postdating the female pharaoh.²³ In fact, this artistic tradition can be traced back to the Middle Kingdom tombs built in this area, especially given that interest in them as models for images during the Thutmoside epoch is a proven fact.²⁴ Additional comparative material for the contemporary group of sources is provided by shrines at Gebel es-Silsilah, which display decoration typical of the offering chapels.²⁵ The description of particular groups of motifs in the chapel of Hatshepsut appears below.

THE ARCHAIC CATEGORY

Not a numerous group, this category includes two almost identical figures, both shown on the northern wall, holding a plucked duck by its neck in one hand and carrying a tray with other waterfowl in the other hand (fig. 12.3a–b). Among the offerings represented in the chapel's frieze, an image of a tray filled with fruit and vegetables tilting to one side also belongs to this category (fig. 12.4a). Both motifs are common in Fifth and Sixth Dynasty compositions of similar type (figs. 12.3c, 12.4b) and seem to disappear after the end of the Old Kingdom.

In summarizing this category, I should note that these images are not the only evidence in the chapel that may prove the use of ancient patterns and text sources.²⁶ To the archaic group should be added a text that was incorporated into the chapel's offering list, most probably copied from a Fifth Dynasty source.²⁷



Figure 12.3. Offering bearers carrying cooked waterfowl in (a–b) the chapel of Hatshepsut and (c) the offering hall of Pepi II. After Jéquier 1938, pl. 90, detail.

²² The dating of the Theban tombs follows Kampp 1996.

²³ Engelmann–von Carnap 1999.

²⁴ See, e.g., Ragazzoli 2013.

²⁵ Caminos and James 1963.

²⁶ On the concept of archaism, see, e.g., Josephson 2001, 109–13; Kahl 2010. Regarding the problem of archaism versus tradition, see Espinel 2014, 297–98. On the archaism at the beginning of the New Kingdom, see, e.g., Russmann 2005, 23.

²⁷ Altenmüller 1967. The text is currently under study by Mirosław Barwik.

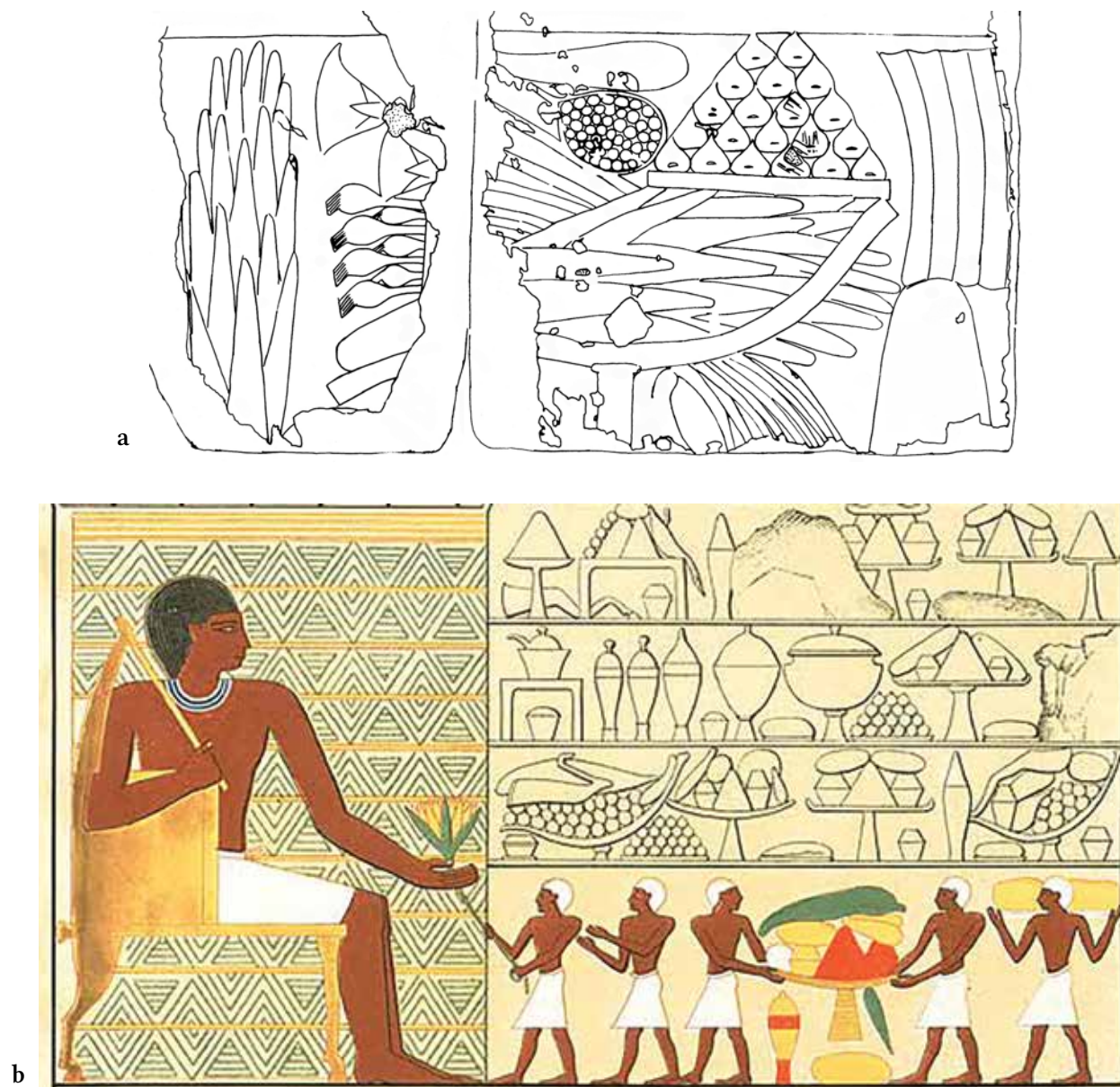


Figure 12.4. Basketry platter tilting to one side in the frieze of offerings in (a) the chapel of Hatshepsut, blocks attributed to northern wall (drawn by A. Stupko-Lubczynska), and (b) the chapel of Neferbaptah, Fifth Dynasty, Giza (after *LD 2*, pl. 57b).

Another piece of evidence is the presence of titles, labeling some of the offering bearers, that were definitely obsolete in the time of Hatshepsut but attested, among other places, in Old Kingdom royal offering scenes. Examples include $z\check{s} \text{ } \textit{r}(w) \textit{n}(w) \textit{ns}w.t$, “scribe of the royal documents,” and $jr(w) \textit{sn} \textit{pr}-\textit{3}$, “hairdresser of the Great House.”²⁸

In general, the titles in the chapel of Hatshepsut fall into the same four categories as the images of the offering bearers just discussed. Interestingly, the title and image categories do not overlap: an “extinct” image may be labeled with a contemporary title, and vice versa. As a matter of fact, it seems that the

²⁸ Borhardt 1907, fig. 58a, e; 1913, pl. 58; Jéquier 1938, 58; Jones 2000, 310 (no. 1132), 838 (no. 3057); Stupko-Lubczynska 2016b, 265–69.

figures received their titles at another, later stage of work on the overall composition. This issue deserves a separate study.

THE MIDDLE KINGDOM CATEGORY

This category mainly comprises images showing perfume jars. The motif of the so-called “seven sacred oils”²⁹ is well attested in the decoration of Old Kingdom offering rooms in private tombs, mainly of the Sixth Dynasty, where it flanks false doors. But such scenes seem absent from the royal offering chapels in the standard pyramid temples. This absence may be explained by the fact that the temples had a set of rooms, located in the innermost part of the temple behind the offering hall, that in the literature are termed “magazines” or “treasuries.”³⁰ Although their decoration is largely lost, one may infer their content by the scenes attested in their counterparts, several contemporary elite-class mastabas.³¹ These scenes show the tomb owner being presented with products that could withstand long storage, such as perfume and linen, in contrast to the consumable and perishable items being presented in the offering rooms. Typically, friezes in the magazines, placed above the presentation scenes, depict oil jars in racks and chests containing linen (fig. 12.5).

As mentioned above, during the Middle Kingdom the plans of the pyramid temples varied, and the available space in some of them was insufficient to accommodate the magazines. Thus the decoration typical of such rooms may have been combined with the scenes typical of the offering rooms that were necessarily present, even if their size was substantially curtailed. This was probably the case with the temple of Sesostris III at Dahshur. Numerous relief fragments showing unguent jars on stands, not interspersed with

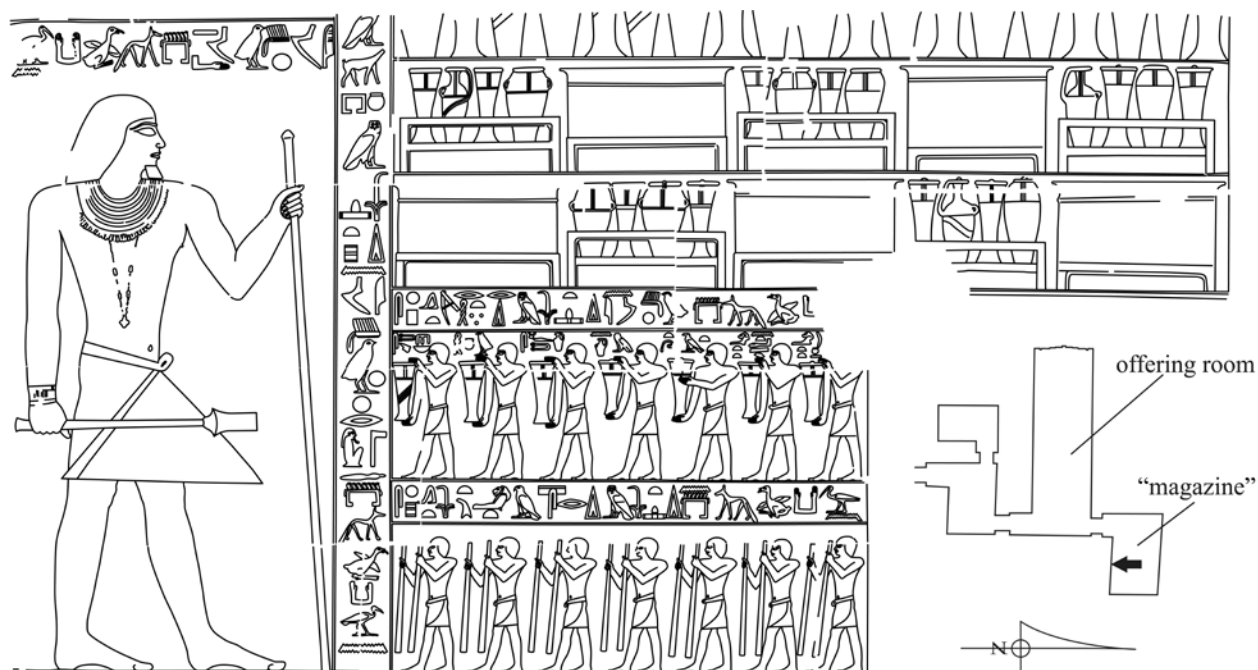


Figure 12.5. Scene of the presentation of unguents and linen in the “magazine” of the tomb of Kagemni, Sixth Dynasty, Saqqara. Digitized by A. Caban after Harpur and Scremin 2006, context drawing 36.

29 See, e.g., Koura 1999.

30 Jánosi 1996, 158–59.

31 Harpur 1987, 108; examples include Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2004, 40–44, pls. 29–36, 53–54; Harpur and Scremin 2006, context drawing 35–38.

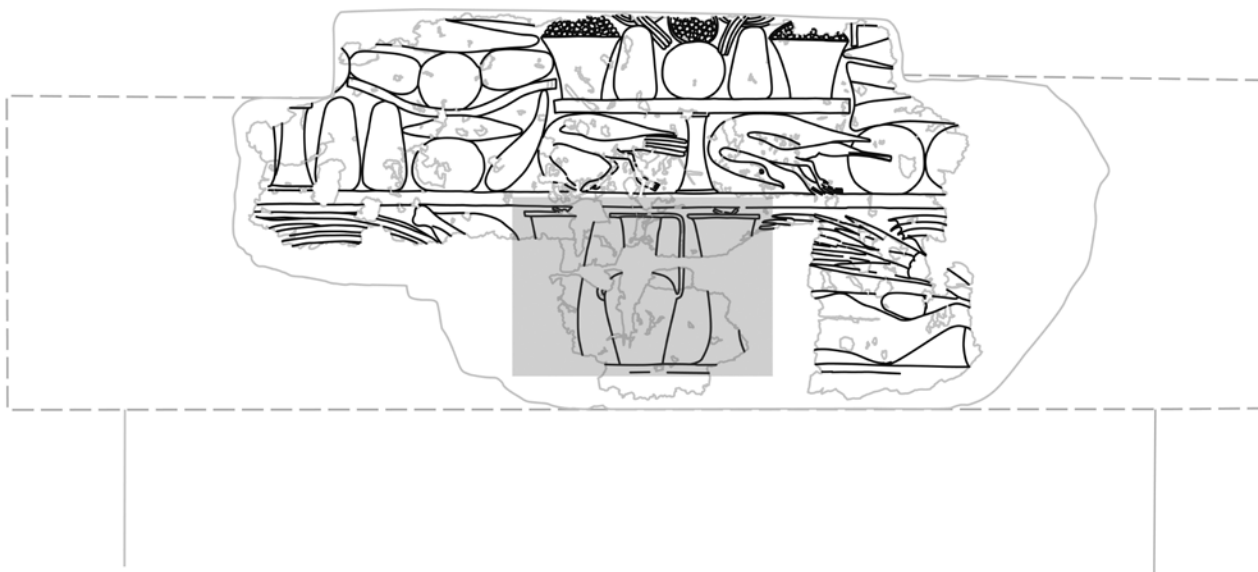


Figure 12.6. Lintel attributed to the chapel of Hatshepsut, with three unguent vessels shown in the center at bottom. The dashed line shows the reconstructed size of the block. Drawn by M. Caban, digitized by A. Stupko-Lubczynska.

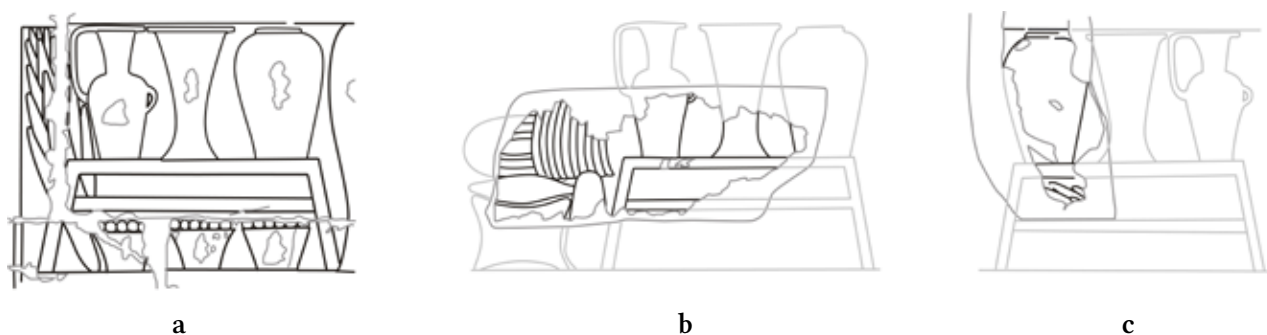


Figure 12.7. Three classic shapes of unguent vessels represented in the frieze of piled offerings, chapel of Hatshepsut, northern wall: (a) fragment in situ, (b–c) attributed fragments. Drawn by A. Stupko-Lubczynska. Light gray indicates reconstruction.

other types of products, were attributed to the offering room. According to Adela Oppenheim, these representations formed a frieze that was located above the entrance and spread onto an adjacent wall or walls.³²

A lintel assigned to the entrance of the chapel of Hatshepsut depicts, apart from food offerings, three oil jars probably marking the center of the composition, placed above the axis of a doorway (fig. 12.6). These vessels represent two of the three classic forms attested from the Old Kingdom (cf. fig. 12.5): cylindrical vessels, pitchers, and ovoid jars.

Interestingly, even though the offering frieze on the chapel's northern wall is seriously damaged, several racks with such classic containers can be distinguished among the food offerings and other goods (fig. 12.7). In contrast, in the more complete frieze on the southern wall such forms are absent, and instead two types of oil vessels typical of the Eighteenth Dynasty are depicted (as described below).

³² Oppenheim 2008, 376–78, pls. 355, 457.



Figure 12.8. (a) Piriform ointment jar naming Hatshepsut as queen (MMA, Fletcher Fund, 1919, acc. no. 26.8.8a, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/547628>, accessed February 10, 2017); (b) wide-necked ointment jar (MMA, Rogers Fund, 1916, acc. no. 16.10.421, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544028>, accessed February 10, 2017).

THE NEW-FASHION CATEGORY

All the vessels portrayed in the chapel represent shapes that were indeed in use in the time of Hatshepsut. Some of them (e.g., beer jars) represent forms that appear continuously from the Predynastic period, while others were introduced only at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Among the latter worth mentioning are oil containers (fig. 12.8): a piriform bottle³³ and a footed vase with a globular body and a broad neck.³⁴ These two shapes appear in the chapel along with classic forms in the procession depicted in the lower register on the southern wall, showing a group of men bringing “the seven sacred oils” (fig. 12.9a).³⁵ This scene may be compared with others in some Theban tombs—for example, those of Sennefer (TT 99³⁶) and of Useramen (TT 61) (fig. 12.9b).³⁷ The broad-necked, footed vase is shown once more in the procession on the same wall in the chapel and several times in the offering frieze: five times on the southern wall and once on the northern wall (fig. 12.10).

A globular jar with a flat rim (fig. 12.11), attested among the objects dating to Hatshepsut’s time,³⁸ does not represent an Eighteenth Dynasty invention,³⁹ though as an iconographical motif it seems to have become popular only at that time. Scenes in private monuments of the Eighteenth Dynasty usually show these vessels in pairs or threes, posed on a stand and adorned with lotus flowers (fig. 12.12a).⁴⁰ The same iconography is attested in the chapel of Hatshepsut—once in the offering procession and several times in the offering frieze, all displayed solely on the southern wall (fig. 12.12b–c).

One additional unguent container, the image of which is scattered on both walls in the chapel’s offering procession, takes the shape of a footed, carinated bowl, in most cases shown covered with a lotus flower

33 Lilyquist 1995, 7–9, fig. 68; 2003, 142–44, 207–11, cat. nos. 57–77, figs. 128–34.

34 Lilyquist 1995, cat. no. 43, fig. 55; 2003, 148, 216–17, cat. nos. 93–94, figs. 138, 140–41.

35 On the interpretation of this motif, compare Stupko-Lubczynska 2017, 225ff.

36 Strudwick 2016, 139–40, pl. 36B, color pl. 28B.

37 Cf. also Dziobek 1994, 32–33, pls. 5d–e, 54.

38 Lilyquist 1995, cat. nos. 31, 55, 76–79, fig. 84; 2003, 141–42, 205–6, cat. nos. 53–56, figs. 125–27.

39 Lilyquist 1995, 4. For example, a similar jar, inscribed with the name of Unas, is known (Ziegler 1999).

40 Other occurrences belong to the piled offerings shown in front of the offering table (N. de G. Davies 1913, pl. XXVIII; 1923b, pl. LXIII; Caminos and James 1963, pl. 39).

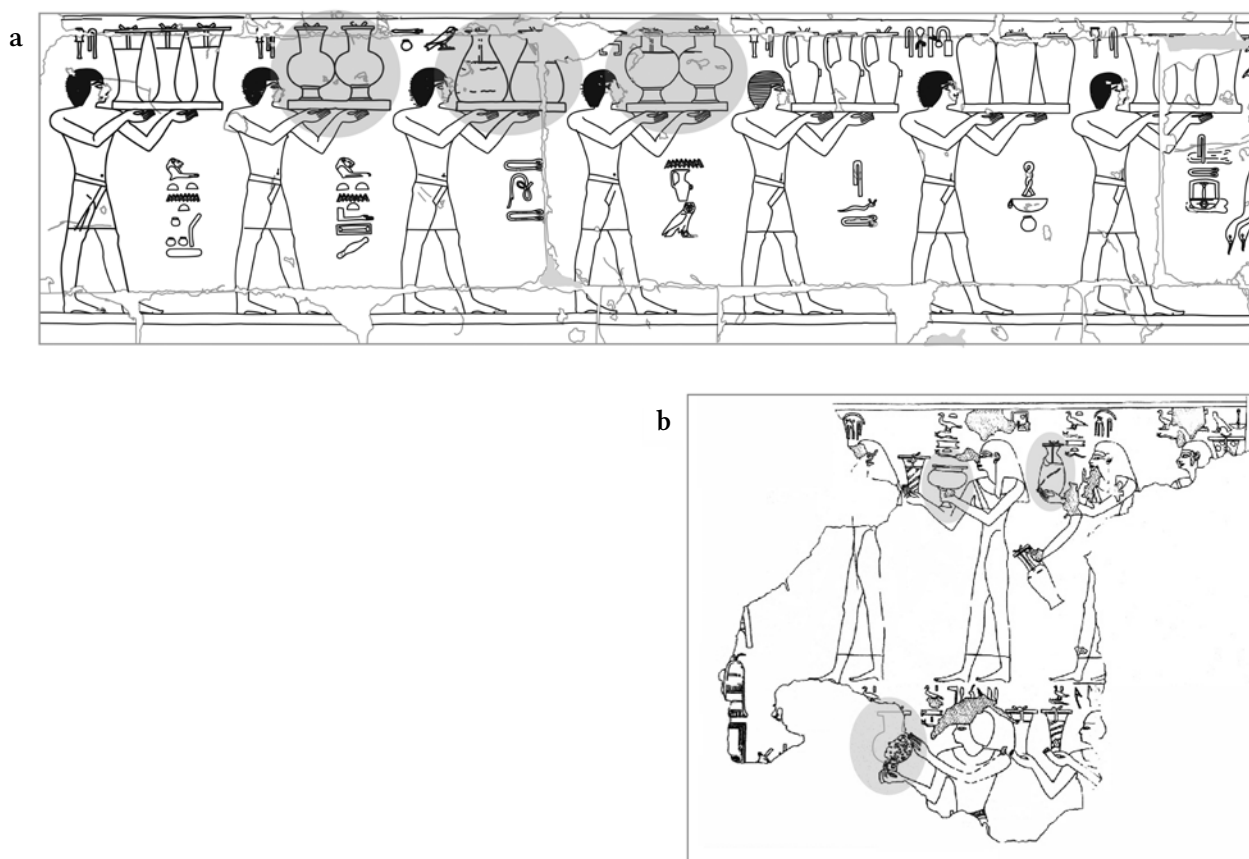


Figure 12.9. Ointment jars represented in (a) the chapel of Hatshepsut, element of the offering procession (drawn by A. Stupko-Lubczynska), and (b) TT 61, separate scene (after Dziobek 1994, pl. 63, detail). Vessels of “new” shape are highlighted.



Figure 12.10. Wide-necked cosmetic jars shown on the southern wall in the chapel of Hatshepsut in (a) the offering procession and (b–c) the offering frieze.



Figure 12.11. Globular cosmetic jar naming Hatshepsut as queen (MMA, Rogers Fund, 1917, acc. no. 18.8.15, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/547566>, accessed February 10, 2017).



Figure 12.12. Globular jars shown in (a) the Gebel es-Silsilah shrine of Hapuseneb (no. 15), offering procession (after Caminos and James 1963, pl. 39, detail), and (b–c) the chapel of Hatshepsut, southern wall, offering procession and offering frieze.

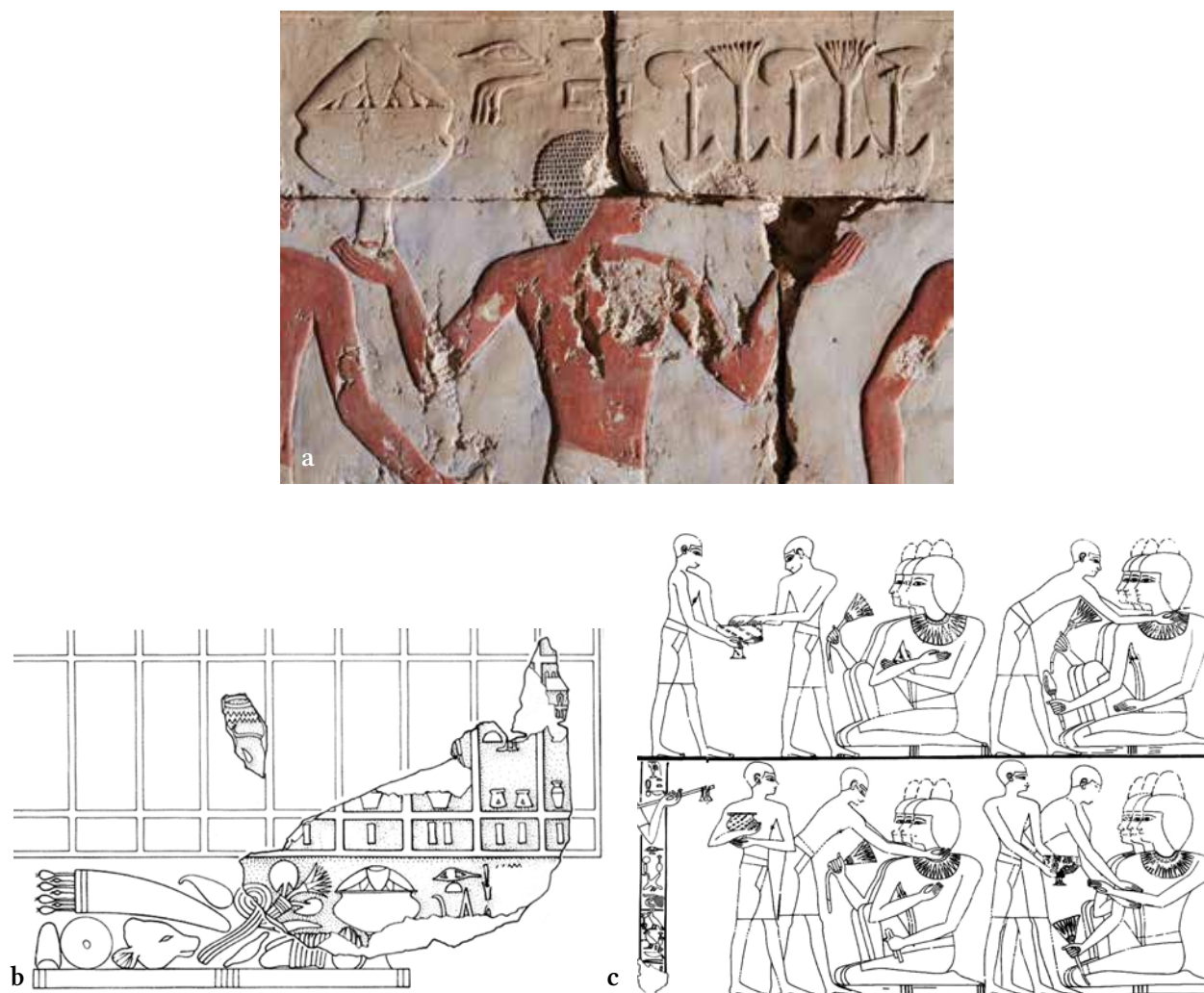


Figure 12.13. Carinated bowl shown in (a) the chapel of Hatshepsut, (b) the tomb of Senenmut (TT 71) (after Dorman 1991, pl. 18a), and (c) the tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100) (after N. de G. Davies 1943, pl. XLVI).

(fig. 12.13a). The same shape is depicted in a similar manner in the tomb of Senenmut (TT 71) in front of the offering table (fig. 12.13b), while the banquet scene in the tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100) shows such vessels in use (fig. 12.13c). Like the globular jar mentioned above, this shape was known long before the New Kingdom and used as a multipurpose container,⁴¹ but as an unguent vessel it is absent from representations dating earlier than the Eighteenth Dynasty.

Apart from the oil jars, several vessels of elaborate form were portrayed in the chapel in both the offering procession and the frieze. Two semispherical bowls with wavy rims and a carinated one with a figurine of a short-horned ox lying on a pedestal are depicted on both walls; the vessels are carried at the head of the procession in the middle register (figs. 12.13a, 12.14). These forms comprise a group of *dd.t*-vessels, and, characteristically, all three show flowers protruding vertically above their rims. In Theban tombs, similar vessels with flowers are known from the scenes of tribute presented by Aegeans and Libyans. Some of these bowls display frogs or birds on the pedestals located inside (fig. 12.15).⁴²

41 See, e.g., Faltings 1998, 244–51; Wodzińska 2006, 411–15; 2009, 129–30.

42 Wachsmann 1987, 63–66; Laboury 1990, 105–7, fig. XXVII (*dd.t*).



Figure 12.14. Flower bowls shown in the chapel of Hatshepsut, northern wall.



Figure 12.15. Wares represented in the tribute scene in (a) the tomb of Menkheperreseneb (TT 86) (after Davies and Davies 1933, pl. IV, detail) and (b–c) the tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100) (after N. de G. Davies 1943, pls. XIX, XXI, details).



Figure 12.16. Partially preserved lotiform chalice from the tomb of three foreign wives of Thutmose III, Wadi Gabbanat el-Qurud (MMA, Bequest of the Earl of Carnarvon, 1923, acc. no. 23.9, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544859>, accessed November 15, 2016).



Figure 12.17. Lotiform chalices represented in the chapel of Hatshepsut, (a–b) southern wall and (c) block attributed to the northern wall.



Figure 12.18. Flower bowls in the offering procession from the offering hall of (a) Pepi II (after Jéquier 1938, pl. 76, details) and (b) Sesostris I (MMA, Rogers Fund, 1909, acc. no. 09.180.13a, b, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544193>, accessed November 15, 2016); (c) flower bowl among the offerings in front of the offering table in the tomb of Senet (TT 60) (after N. de G. Davies 1920, pl. XXXII, detail).

Another vessel type attested in the tribute scenes, as well as in the chapel of Hatshepsut, is a lotiform chalice (*sšn*-vessel),⁴³ which is known also from the archaeological context (fig. 12.16). In the chapel, it is depicted once in the offering procession containing a “heap-shaped” object (fig. 12.17a) and again on each wall in the frieze: on the southern wall with the same heap-shaped content (fig. 12.17b) and, on a block attributed to the northern wall, on a stand along with a *hzt*-vase and a footed vessel with a globular body and a broad neck (fig. 12.17c). The main characteristic of the latter is fluting on the body and neck, ending at the rim as round-topped “petals” everted outward. Such a shape is unattested elsewhere, though flutes decorating different vessels are a frequent feature among the objects displayed in the tribute scenes.⁴⁴

As demonstrated by Laboury,⁴⁵ most of the objects represented in the tribute scenes as foreign in fact constitute native Egyptian forms.⁴⁶ This is precisely the case with two types of vessels under discussion here (*dd.t* and *sšn*). Apart from the tribute context, both forms are present in the scene showing the treasury of the Karnak Temple.⁴⁷ It should be noted, however, that the *dd.t*-vessel—like several examples listed above—does not represent an Eighteenth Dynasty novelty. The carinated and semispherical bowls with flat and wavy rims, both containing flowers, are constantly present in offering processions since the Old Kingdom period (fig. 12.18a–b).⁴⁸ In the Theban necropolis such a vessel is attested, for instance, in the Middle Kingdom tomb of Senet (TT 60), displayed among the piled offerings in front of the offering table (fig. 12.18c). Excavations have also uncovered vessels of this type—stone bowls with their rims partially turned inside and dating from the First Dynasty onward.⁴⁹

43 Wachsmann 1987, 75–76; Laboury 1990, fig. XXVIII (*sšn*).

44 Wachsmann 1987, pls. LIV (no. 1), LV (nos. 7, 13), LVI (nos. 9, 7), LVII (nos. 8, 9, 16, 19, 40), LVIII (nos. 17, 23, 26, 33, 34, 40).

45 Laboury 1990, 115.

46 Note a footed carinated bowl carried by an Aegean, depicted in the tomb of Senenmut, TT 71 (Wachsmann 1987, pls. XXIIIb, LIV [no. 1]). Other vessels represented in the tribute scenes are evidently hybrids, showing a mix of Egyptian and foreign features in one item (Wachsmann 1987, 4–5, 67–68).

47 Wreszinski 1935, pl. 33a–b, nos. 10, 121, 140 (*sšn*) and 35–36, 75, 195 (*dd.t*).

48 The earliest evidence of this motif in the offering frieze comes from the temple of Nyuserre (Lipińska 2007, 37 photo b).

49 Arnold 1999.



Figure 12.19. (a) Marsh bowl excavated near Hathor shrine at the temple of Thutmose III, Deir el-Bahari (MMA, Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1922, acc. no. 22.3.73, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/547570>, accessed February 20, 2017); (b) bowl with clay imitations of flowers attached to the rim, Second Intermediate Period to New Kingdom, Edfu (after Rzeuska 2007, fig. 4E); (c) metal bowl, with figurine of Hathor represented as a cow, excavated at the courtyard of TT 100 (MMA, Theodore M. Davis Collection, Bequest of Theodore M. Davis, 1915, acc. no. 30.8.67, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544825>, accessed November 15, 2016).

As for the flowers displayed in such bowls, lotuses are mainly depicted from the Old Kingdom onward, like those shown in the wavy-rimmed bowls seen in the chapel. In the bowl with the ox (fig. 12.14a), however, the images are circular shapes on stems, like those visible in some vessels in the foreign tribute scenes in, for example, TT 155,⁵⁰ TT 131,⁵¹ and TT 100 (fig. 12.15b–c).⁵²

Another context in which the flower vessels appear is closely associated with the worship of Hathor. From the cult places of this goddess comes a type of votive object called a “marsh bowl.”⁵³ These objects are faience bowls with aquatic decoration; they appear in great numbers from the beginning of the New Kingdom (fig. 12.19a). The flowers placed inside them were intended to emulate “marshes of the Delta,” though examples of vessels with clay imitations of flowers attached to their rims are also known (fig. 12.19b). The latter objects are attested from the First Intermediate Period onward.⁵⁴ To the group of votive vessels also belong metal bowls with a Hathor-cow figurine placed on a pedestal inside (fig. 12.19c). Three of the four known examples were discovered at the courtyard of TT 100, and all four date to the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁵⁵

The association of the bowls with Hathor is proved also by the decoration of her shrine at the Hatshepsut temple. On the northern wall of its second hypostyle hall, depicted in the ceremonial barks, are vessels of exactly the same two shapes as those represented in the chapel of Hatshepsut: two semicircular bowls

50 Säve-Söderbergh 1957, pl. XIII.

51 Dziobek 1994, pls. 22c, 92.

52 See also N. de G. Davies 1943, pl. XVIII; Wachsmann 1987, pl. LVIII (nos. 22, 23, 25).

53 Pinch 1993, 308–15; known also as “Nunschale” (cf. Strauss 1974).

54 Rzeuska 2007.

55 Radwan 1983, 120–22, pl. 62.

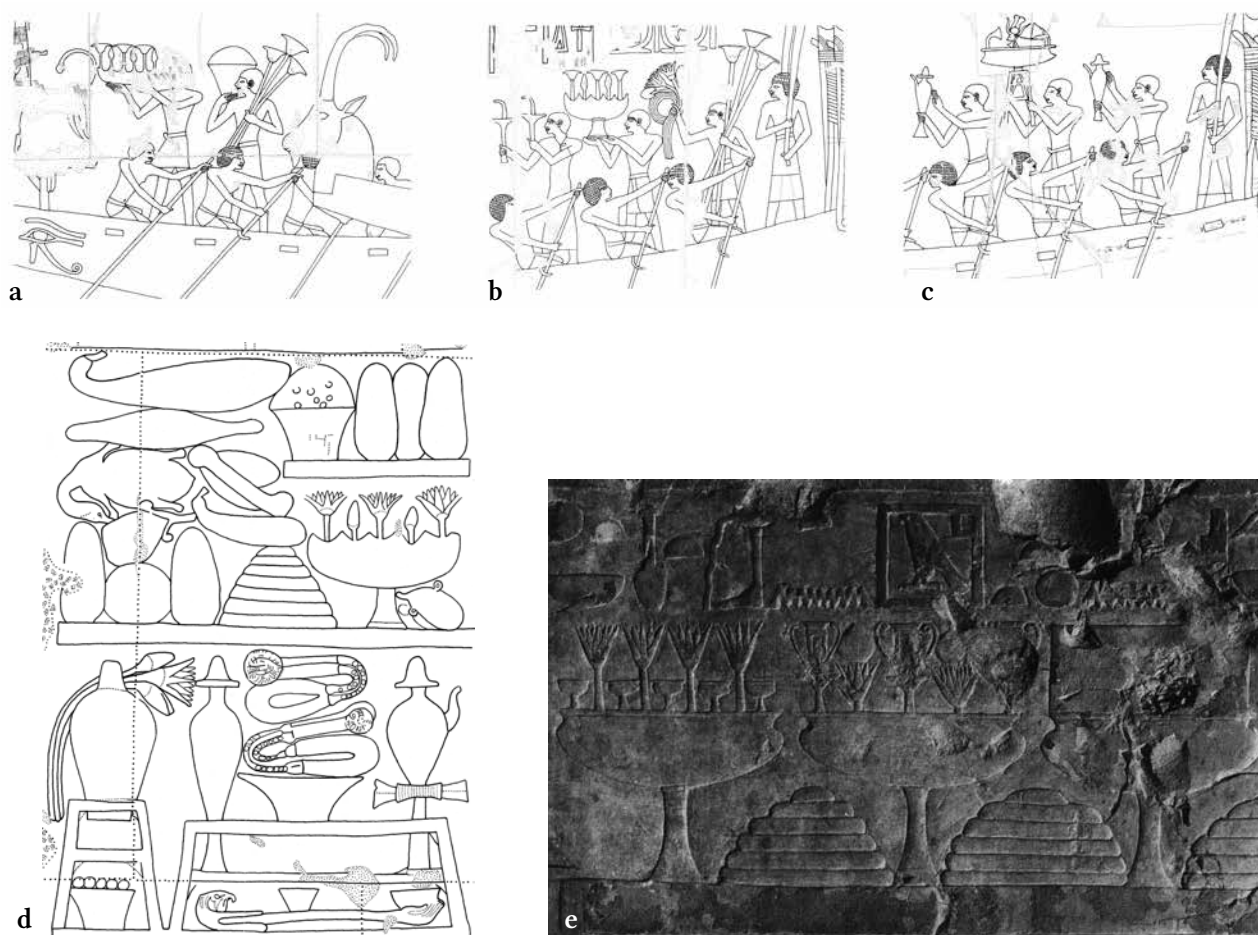


Figure 12.20. (a–c) Flower bowls represented in ceremonial barks, second hypostyle hall of Hathor shrine, temple of Hatshepsut, Deir el-Bahari (after Beaux et al. 2016, pls. 17–2b, 17–3a, 17–3b, details); (d) flower bowl and heap-shaped object represented among the piled offerings in Hathor shrine (after Beaux et al. 2012, pl. 19b, detail); (e) votive offerings to Hathor and Osiris represented in the tomb of Puyemre (TT 39) (after N. de G. Davies 1923b, pl. LV A).

with wavy rims and one carinated bowl with a figurine of a Hathor-cow placed inside (fig. 12.20a–c).⁵⁶ Bowls with wavy rims containing flowers also occur in scenes inside the shrine—in five piles of offerings (fig. 12.20d).⁵⁷ Interestingly, in the scene of offerings presented by Puyemre to Hathor and Osiris in TT 39, such bowls are also present; among them is one decorated with sistra (fig. 12.20e). Noteworthy in the Hathor shrine scene are the heaped objects shown beside the vessels, the shape of which is similar to that represented atop lotiform chalices in the chapel. The same objects are present in each of the five offering piles depicted inside the Hathor shrine (fig. 12.20d).⁵⁸

Another scene type introduced to the repertoire of Theban tomb decoration at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty shows the presentation of an *ankh*-bouquet to the tomb owner.⁵⁹ It is noteworthy that

⁵⁶ See also Beaux et al. 2016, figs. 32, 33, pls. 17, 17–2b, 17–3a, 17–3b.

⁵⁷ See also Beaux et al. 2012, pls. 31a–d, 32a–d, 39a–b, 40a–b.

⁵⁸ The identification of these objects remains unknown. It is hardly possible, however, that “intestins du bovidé” were represented here, as has been suggested (Beaux, Grimal, and Pollin 2012, fig. 7), given that the original color of the item preserved in the chapel is yellow (cf. fig. 12.17a). Yellow may have been the color of these objects in the Hathor shrine too, where the entire yellow-ocher-based polychromy reacted chemically to burning and became a red that is undistinguishable from the red pigment (on this phenomenon, observed elsewhere, see, e.g., Baines 1989, 24). The exception is the scene from which the fragment shown in figure 12.20d comes. The entire scene preserves its original color, and the heap-shaped object depicted there is red.

⁵⁹ Dittmar 1986, 132.

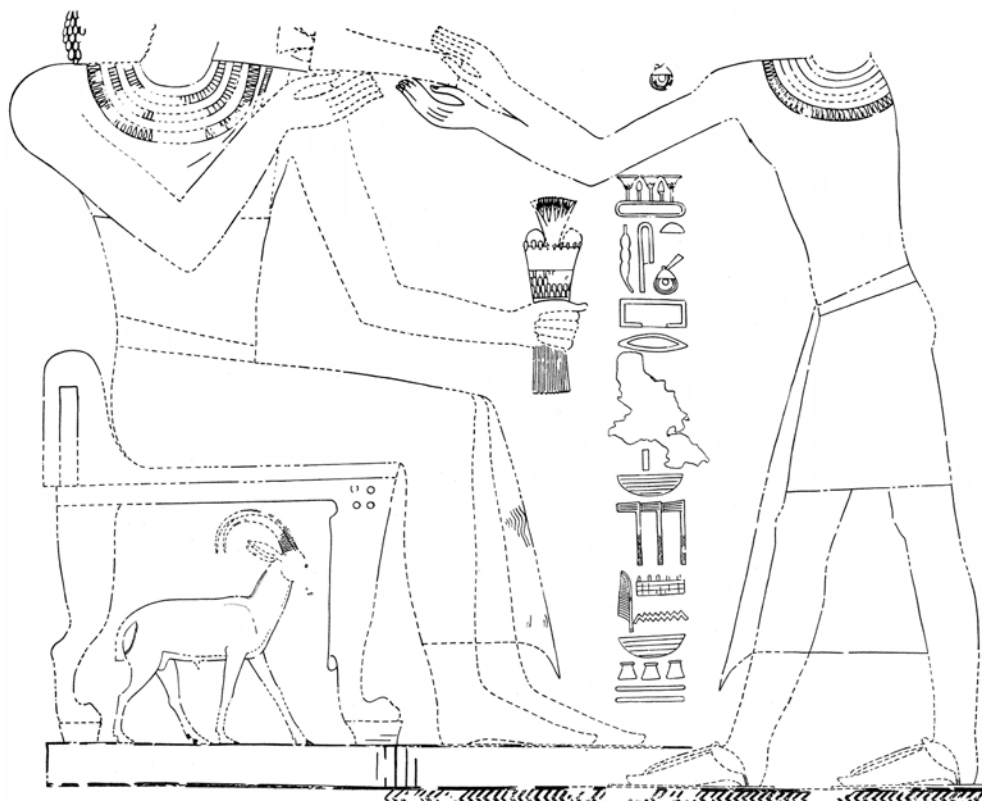


Figure 12.21. Bouquet offered to the anonymous owner of TT 73. After Säve-Söderbergh 1957, pl. VIII, detail.

this scene is attested in tombs precisely contemporaneous with Hatshepsut's reign—those of User (TT 21),⁶⁰ anonymous (TT 73; fig. 12.21), and Puyemre (TT 39)⁶¹—while in the tomb of Djehuty (TT 110) the bouquet is shown as being presented to Hatshepsut.⁶² Most of the texts accompanying the scenes in question name the floral compositions as an “*ankh*-bouquet of the god NN,” suggesting a reversion of flowers presented to the deity during the Valley Festival.⁶³ These early images show the bouquets made of one lotus bloom and two mandrake fruits (or two lotus buds) bound as a bunch, while later representations display more elaborate forms.⁶⁴

In the chapel, bouquets appear several times in the offering procession. The way in which they are shown, as well as their distribution between the two walls, is remarkable: once on each wall appears the figure of a man holding a bouquet pressed against his chest, while in his other hand he carries a globular beer jar (fig. 12.22a–b). On the southern wall, two other men bring bouquets lying on top of different food-stuffs piled in basketry platters (fig. 12.22c–d), while on the northern wall another two bouquets are held in the lowered hands of two men, walking one behind the other (fig. 12.22e).

These depictions seem literally to support the pattern-books theory. Some other figures in the procession seem, in turn, to illustrate Wachsmann's hypothesis that the pattern books may have been organized by subject matter.⁶⁵ In the chapel, images of figures carrying waterfowl hanging upside down and tied by the legs so that they form a bunch, in addition to holding three papyrus stems, display variations of the

60 N. de G. Davies 1913, 25–26, pls. XXVII–XXVIII.

61 N. de G. Davies 1922, pl. IX, detail. For later scenes, see, e.g., Rekhmire, TT 100 (N. de G. Davies 1943, pl. LXX), and Menkheperreseneb, TT 112 (Davies and Davies 1933, pl. XXIV).

62 N. de G. Davies 1932, 281–82, pls. 35, 41.

63 Dittmar 1986, 74–75; Hartwig 2004, 94–95.

64 Dittmar 1986, figs. 26–27, 33, 56–59.

65 Wachsmann 1987, 24.



Figure 12.22. Bouquets carried in the offering procession, chapel of Hatshepsut: (a, c–d) southern wall and (b, e) northern wall.



Figure 12.23. "Bunch" of waterfowl and other "Delta products" carried in the offering procession, chapel of Hatshepsut: (a, d, f) southern wall and (b-c, e, g) northern wall.

same pattern (fig. 12.23a–e). Another pattern shows a bearer with a similar “bunch” of birds⁶⁶ and a stand with a semicircular object on it (fig. 12.23f–g). As for the latter motif, analogies from private Theban tombs allow for its interpretation as a mound of fruit whose details were executed in paint but have not been preserved. In fact, all the items discussed here—fruit on stands, grapes in baskets, bags(?) with fruit (or drink?), bunched birds—constantly appear in the private tombs in scenes representing the acquisition of products from the Delta (fig. 12.24).⁶⁷

To the same marsh-related constellation of themes belongs the motif of presenting fowl, which from the Old Kingdom onward comprises a permanent element in tomb decoration. Cranes are often depicted at the head of the birds walking in procession, sometimes accompanied by the figure of a herdsman (fig. 12.25).⁶⁸ In the chapel of Hatshepsut a walking crane appears in the offering procession; it is represented three times in the middle register of the southern wall, in front of the seventh, fourteenth, and thirtieth figures in the row (fig. 12.26a).⁶⁹ In addition, two walking cranes are shown on both walls at the very end of the upper register (fig. 12.26b–c). These depictions seem to be borrowed precisely from the Delta-related scene. The man on the southern wall is even holding a herdsman’s crook.

No attestations of a walking crane appear in offering scenes of earlier date. In contemporary private monuments, however, the image seems to be in fashion (fig. 12.26d–e). In contrast, offering processions since the Old Kingdom display this bird carried by porters (fig. 12.27a)—exactly the way in which the crane is shown on the northern wall of the chapel of Hatshepsut (fig. 12.27b).⁷⁰

CONCLUSIONS

To summarize this review of the chosen motifs incorporated into the offering procession of Hatshepsut’s chapel, several phenomena may be observed. These relate to the motifs’ (1) selection, (2) broader iconographic context (applicable to some of them), and (3) place in the entire composition.

1. Where the selection of motifs is concerned, the scenes in the chapel should, on the one hand, be considered as evidence of a smooth development of the artistic tradition—hence the presence of images introduced into this context during the Middle Kingdom. On the other hand, clearly evident is a wish to enrich the composition with archaic motifs (unattested in the Middle Kingdom sources), as well as with contemporary accents.
2. Some of the motifs representing the new-fashion group in the chapel seem to derive from scenes that have nothing in common with the offering scene as such. These scenes, attested in the private tombs, typically represent so-called “outdoor themes” and are displayed in the outer part of the tomb, in contrast to the offering scenes traditionally located in its innermost part. Wachsmann called this phenomenon “transference”—the incorporation of motifs or entire scenes into other renditions to which they are not normally related⁷¹—while he called the scene from which a given motif derives a “source scene” (fig. 12.28).

It must be admitted that the selected Eighteenth Dynasty Theban tombs in which the source scenes are attested do not necessarily predate Hatshepsut’s reign. The development of these compositions, however, may be traced to earlier periods. Such is the case with the scene of the presentation of animals, where the motif of a walking crane is known from the time of the Old Kingdom onward but is incorporated into the offering procession only in the time of Hatshepsut. On the other hand, some scenes that provide the “natural iconographic environment” for the objects shown in the chapel may be characterized as an Eighteenth Dynasty invention—for example, the scene of the *ankh*-bouquet presentation.

66 Altogether, the motif is represented fifteen times on both walls and is distributed evenly.

67 For further Eighteenth Dynasty examples, see TT 343 (Guksch 1978, pl. 11) and TT 22 (Wreszinski 1923, pl. 122).

68 The motif is attested also in TT 81 (Dziobek 1992, pl. 61).

69 On the cranes depicted in the chapel, see Stupko 2010.

70 Altogether, the carried crane is depicted three times on this wall.

71 Wachsmann 1987, 11–12.



Figure 12.24. Presentation of Delta products, element of the marsh-related scene, in (a) tomb at Sheikh Said, Sixth Dynasty (digitized by A. Stupko-Lubczynska after N. de G. Davies 1901, pl. XIIIID, detail), (b) TT 386, Eleventh Dynasty (after Jaroš-Deckert 1984, pl. 20, detail), and in Eighteenth Dynasty tombs (c) TT 81 (after Dziobek 1992, pl. 62, detail), (d) TT 39 (after N. de G. Davies 1922, pl. XXXI, detail), (e) TT 100 (after N. de G. Davies 1943, pls. XLIV–XLVI, details), and (f) TT 131 (digitized by A. Stupko-Lubczynska after Dziobek 1994, pl. 93, details).

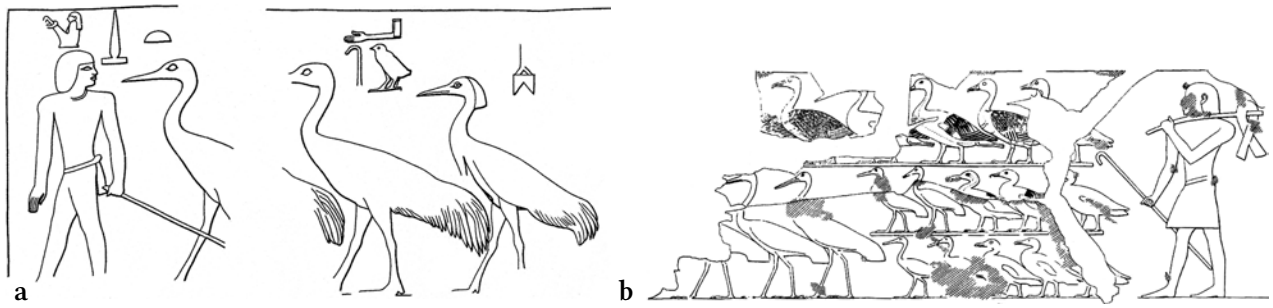


Figure 12.25. Presentation of birds, element of the Delta-related scene, in (a) tomb of Iteti, Fifth Dynasty, Giza (after Badawy 1976, fig. 20, detail), and (b) tomb of Puyemre (TT 39) (after N. de G. Davies 1922, pl. XII, detail).



Figure 12.26. Walking crane represented in the offering procession in the chapel of Hatshepsut, (a) southern wall, middle register; (b) southern wall, upper register, and (c) northern wall, upper register; (d) the Gebel es-Silsilah shrine of Useramen (no. 17) (after Caminos and James 1963, pl. 46, detail); and (e) tomb of Amenemhat (TT 82) (after Davies and Gardiner 1915, pl. XIX, detail).

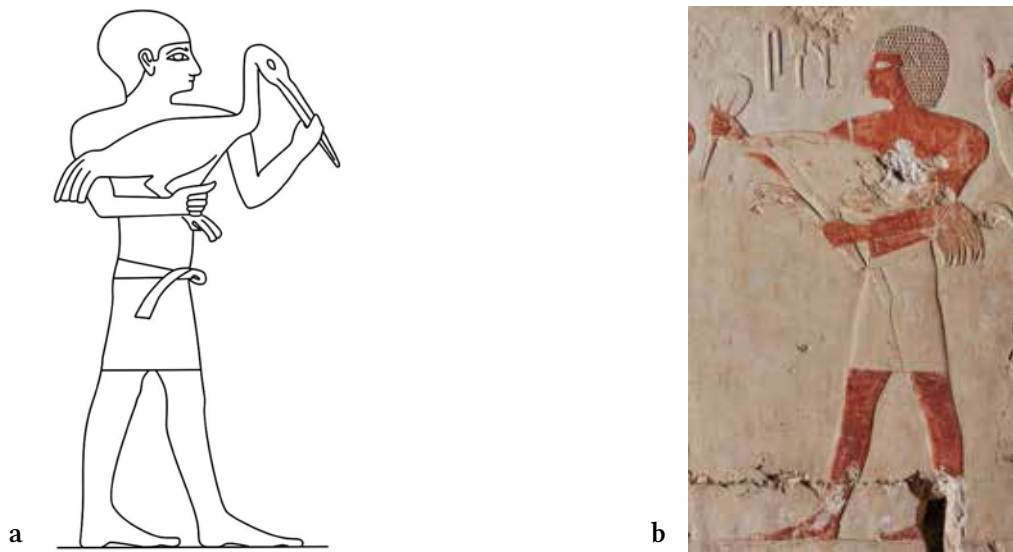


Figure 12.27. Crane carried by an offering bearer in (a) the tomb chapel of Kenenesut, Fifth Dynasty, Giza (digitized by A. Stupko-Lubczynska after Junker 1934, fig. 18, detail), and (b) the chapel of Hatshepsut.


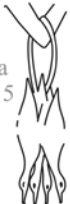


	OLD KINGDOM	MIDDLE KINGDOM	EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY
walking crane Chapel of Hatshepsut 	presentation of mammals and fowl →	presentation of mammals and fowl →	presentation of mammals and fowl ↓ offering scene
“bunch” of waterfowl Gebel es Silsila shrine 15 	fowling and presentation of products from the Delta →	fowling and presentation of products from the Delta ↓ offering scene →	fowling and presentation of products from the Delta ↓ offering scene
ankh-bouquet TT 39 			presentation of ankh-bouquet ↓ offering scene
flower bowls TT 60 	offering scene →	offering scene →	offering scene ↓ foreign tribute →

Figure 12.28. Examples of transference among the motifs attested in the chapel of Hatshepsut. Source scenes are in bold. Drawn by A. Stupko-Lubczynska.

A reverse direction of influence may be indicated as well—one going from the typical offering scene to a new type of representation. Luxury vessels shown in the chapel (at least the flower bowls) are attested among the gifts depicted in the offering processions and in the friezes of piled offerings from the Old Kingdom onward. Their presence in the tribute scenes of Theban tombs seems to be secondary and resulted from the wish to enrich visually the variety of “foreign” items.

The phenomenon of transference surely occurred in art in all periods of Egyptian history. In this context, an interesting instance is the motif of the waterfowl bunch. In the Old Kingdom, the image is rare and known from just three tombs—Werirni’s at Sheikh Said (fig. 12.24a) and Ankhmahor’s⁷² and Hesi’s⁷³ at Saqqara. The image at Sheikh Said is preserved only in fragments but was probably an element of a Delta-related scene, as is the case in Hesi’s tomb. In the mastaba of Ankhmahor, the image forms part of a procession of bearers walking toward the tomb owner, shown standing and viewing the presentation of foodstuffs. The scene is situated in the chamber preceding the offering chapel.

During the Middle Kingdom the motif becomes more popular, though the majority of occurrences still do not form part of the offering scene but are instead components of scenes showing typical marsh-related activities, such as fishing or fowling (fig. 12.24b).⁷⁴ But instances of this motif’s inclusion in the offering procession as it heads toward the offering table, though not very frequent, are also known from this period.⁷⁵

In the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the tradition of incorporating the representation of a bird bunch into Delta-related scenes is still alive (fig. 12.24c–f). Simultaneously, though, this motif appears more frequently in offering processions, as attested, for example, in the Theban tombs of Senenmut (TT 71),⁷⁶ Menkheperreseneb (TT 112),⁷⁷ and Tati (TT 154),⁷⁸ as well as in the Gebel es-Silsilah shrines of Hapuseneb (no. 15) and Useramen (no. 17).⁷⁹

Of course, a rigid affiliation of a given motif to a certain context, as presented here, is quite artificial. It would be far more natural to assume that the borders between various iconographic contexts were interwoven and that the artists juggled motifs, which after repeated reproduction did not have to be slavishly copied from pattern books. Instead, they may have belonged to the mental arsenal of the artist in the same way that, in modern times, various phrases and images constitute our stock of knowledge and are not necessarily dependent on an awareness of the original source.⁸⁰ Besides, one should be aware that any motif transferred from a given context is recognizable as “out of place” until it has been reproduced numerous times within the new environment. Novelty becomes custom by its repetition, and this is precisely the way in which the use of marsh bowls in the tribute scenes should be perceived.

Finally, worthy of a brief comment is the interrelationship between the royal and private domains in the reproduced images. The phenomenon of “creative borrowing” or “creation by imitation”⁸¹ seems to run parallel in two directions: from the royal to the private sphere, and from the private to the royal one. This may be explained by the presumed existence of pattern books, which as an initial source—at the design stage of the decoration both of temples and private tombs—would have been used in a similar manner as texts.⁸² Indeed, many higher-ranking artists simultaneously occupied positions in the

72 Kanawati and Hassan 1997, pl. 44.

73 Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 1999, pl. 54.

74 For further examples, see Newberry 1893, pls. XII, XXX; 1894, pls. VII, XXIIA; 1895, pls. XX, XXIII; Blackman 1914, pl. III.

75 See, e.g., Freed 2000, pl. 25; Blackman and Apted 1953, pl. XV.

76 Dorman 1991, pls. 18b, 19d.

77 Davies and Davies 1933, pl. XXIV.

78 N. de G. Davies 1913, pl. XXXIX.

79 Caminos and James 1963, pls. 39, 46.

80 This approach was inspired after conversation with Dimitri Laboury.

81 Both are concepts applied by Laboury 2012, 203.

82 Cf. Espinel 2014, 319.

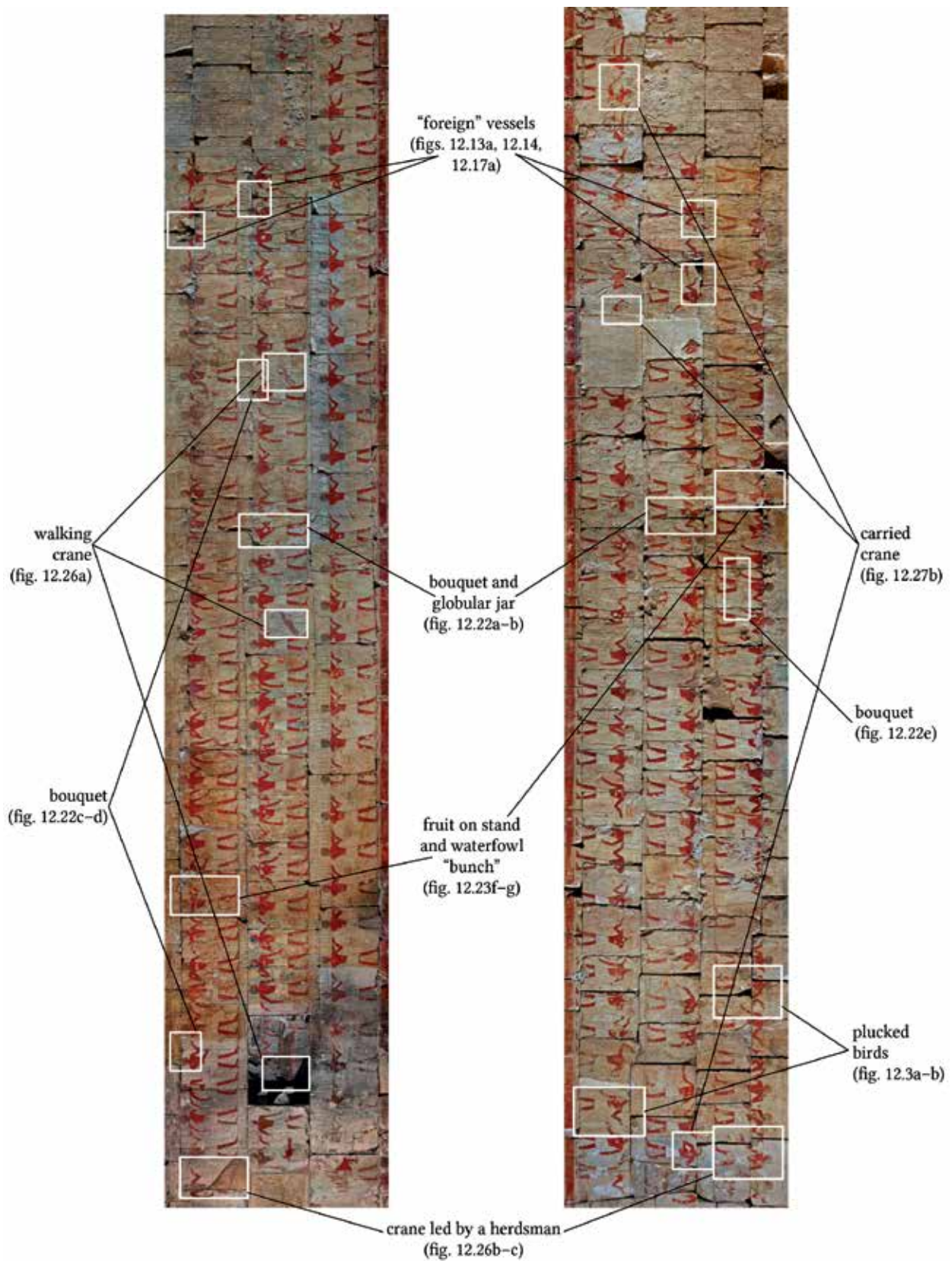


Figure 12.29. Distribution of "patterns" in the chapel of Hatshepsut's offering procession.

priesthood, and some of them claimed access to secret knowledge.⁸³ Such secret information seems to refer precisely to temple archives, where pattern books could have been stored.

3. Considering the two scenes in the chapel of Hatshepsut as one composition, the placement of some motifs is remarkable, especially when one compares them with the background consisting of classic images, which seem evenly distributed on both walls. It is true that in some cases, peculiarities of the attribution of a given image may be explained by its symbolic meaning—for example, in the course of the offering ritual.⁸⁴ Such an interpretation, however, can hardly be applied to the instances described in the present study. They should instead be classified as purely visual characteristics—for example, in the offering frieze, where classic-shaped oil jars are attested solely on the northern wall while new types appear predominantly on the southern wall. Another such instance is the walking crane, seen in the second register exclusively on the southern wall, though as a typical product of the Delta a more natural place for this image would be the opposite, northern wall. In contrast, a carried crane, a motif used in the offering procession since the Old Kingdom, is displayed exclusively on the northern wall. And it is only on this wall where the two images classified as archaic appear.

Overall, if a nonsymbolic yet visually outstanding motif is present more than once, it is doubtless a replica of the same pattern distributed in several ways: once on each of the two lateral walls more or less symmetrically, several times on one wall exclusively, or even several times on one wall in direct proximity (fig. 12.29). In trying to interpret this disparity, it seems reasonable to assume that it occurred at the stage of creating the entire layout rather than during its execution, especially because some of the motifs (e.g., walking cranes) seriously affect the composition.⁸⁵ So several scenarios may be suggested:

1. Not just one person but at least two—and perhaps a group of people—prepared the initial design of the offering scenes in the chapel of Hatshepsut. Each person or group was in charge of a wall and worked sometimes independently, sometimes as a team.
2. Work on the entire layout was executed as a set of stages with some gaps of time between them (e.g., starting from one wall, then moving to another).
3. Alternatively, a combination of scenarios 1 and 2 occurred.

⁸³ Eaton-Krauss 2001, 138; Laboury 2012, 202; Laboury and Devillers 2022, 172–74.

⁸⁴ The majority of the oil jars shown on the southern wall in the offering procession have been explained in such a way, as have the predominant number of meat cuts and live mammals displayed on the northern wall (Stupko-Lubczynska 2017).

⁸⁵ The execution of the reliefs on the two walls in the chapel by two independent gangs of workers is also certain, given the different treatment of the same details. In fact, minor details, especially those that appear on the same wall not far from each other (e.g., in bouquets), may have indeed been introduced at the stage of preparatory painting that preceded the sculpting process.

13 THE JOURNEY OF HARWA: AN INITIATORY PATH IN A FUNERARY MONUMENT OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY BC¹

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HARWA LIVED IN THEBES BETWEEN the end of the eighth and the beginning of the seventh century BC, when Egypt was under the rule of the kings of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.² Eight statues of him are on display or in the storerooms of Egyptian collections in various parts of the world.³ They belong to different statue types and are inspired by models of past eras. The archaizing vein embraced through an innovative perspective⁴ and the reappropriation of ancient monuments⁵ are characteristics of the period in which Harwa lived, which has been considered a sort of “Renaissance.”⁶

Despite the abundance of monuments, the extant evidence about the life of Harwa is scarce. Cairo JE 37377, which must belong to the beginning of his career, shows Harwa between his parents. His father was the . . . -*hnt*⁷ of the Domain of Amun and scribe Padimut son of Ankhefenamun, his mother the “mistress of the house” Nestaureret. Harwa has the priestly title *imy-hnt* and is an “acquaintance of the king” (*rh-nsw*).

1 I thank Betsy Bryan and Richard Jasnow, who invited me to give this lecture in the stimulating framework of the Theban Workshop. I also thank Peter Dorman, who took charge of hosting the publication of the proceedings. This study is a work-in-progress version of the full publication of the texts from the entrances of the Cenotaph of Harwa. Full copies, transliteration, and translation of the inscriptions cited in the present chapter will be available there.

2 It is quite difficult to fix more precisely the life span of Harwa within the chronology of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. The correlation with Taharqo is based on a supposed attestation of the name of Harwa with that of the king on the unpublished scarab Cairo JE 45742 (Egyptian Museum) (Aubert and Aubert 1974, 199; de Meulenaere 1977). During a visit to the Cairo Museum on November 9, 1996, I was able to check the information and found that the scarab bears only the *nsw-bity* and *z3-R* names of the king. The museum’s *Journal d’Entrée* affirms that it was found together with the coffin TR 6/9/16/5 from Mit Rahina. Inside it was the female mummy of Tadibastet, daughter of Ankhefheret and Nehemesbastet. Although the names of the three individuals reinforce the idea of a Memphite origin, inside TR 6/9/16/5 were found another nineteen scarabs, some with the name of Amun-Re (JE 45750, 45752, 45761) and one with that of Khonsu (JE 45758). Five of them (JE 45744, 45746, 45747, 45748, 45749) mention Harwa as “Chief of the *sdm*-*ḥs* of the Divine Worshipper.” Although there is an interesting connection with the Theban area, the pretended association between Harwa and Taharqo must be viewed cautiously. The five scarabs with his name and JE 45742 could have arrived in Tadibastet’s possession at different moments of her life, and their simultaneous presence in her coffin does not ensure contemporaneity.

3 These monuments include a statue in the attitude of an official (Aswan, Museum of the Nubian Culture, JE 37386); headless statue in the attitude of an official (Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 48606); headless statue in the attitude of an official (Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 36930); naos statue with parents (Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 37377); block statue (Paris, Musée du Louvre, A 84 = N 85); block statue (Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, 8163); block statue (London, British Museum, AE 55306); and statue of Harwa squatting behind Isis and Amenirdis I (London, British Museum, AE 32555). Perhaps also attributable to Harwa is the headless and legless statue Cairo CG 902 (Egyptian Museum).

4 Such is the case of the portrait features on Aswan JE 37386.

5 The style of Cairo JE 37377 is too close to that of the Middle Kingdom to leave room to consider it a later copy. Furthermore, the inscriptions with the names of Harwa, his father Padimut (on the skirts), and his mother Nestaureret (between her and Padimut’s images) appear coarser than those running along the cornice and look like later additions.

6 For a brief description of the archaizing movement of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, see Tiradritti 2008.

7 The title has yet to be understood. See Jansen-Winkel 2009, 280 (51.33).

The other statues must belong to a later stage of his life when he had already reached the peak of the Theban administration. His highest title was that of high steward of the god's wife of Amun Amenirdis (I).

The Renaissance spirit that permeates his statues is also detectable in his funerary monument (TT 37; fig. 13.1⁸) on the west bank of Luxor. He had it excavated into the limestone floor of the Assasif, the esplanade stretching from the cultivation to the natural rock amphitheater of Deir el-Bahari.

The exploration of what is today considered the Cenotaph of Harwa⁹ started in 1995 under the auspices of the Civiche Raccolte Archeologiche e Numismatiche di Milano and was continued by the Italian Archaeological Mission to Luxor (MAIL) from 2002.

The results from the ongoing excavations provide some glimpses into the history of the monument. After the complex was left unfinished by Harwa, his successor Akhimenru (mid-seventh century BC) enlarged and adapted the unfinished northeastern part of the corridor that surrounds the first subterranean level to make his own funerary monument. During the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, secondary burials were accommodated in other parts of the monument.

The room at the end of the first subterranean level, where a three-dimensional image of Osiris was carved on the final wall, was probably transformed into a chapel dedicated to the god. Study of the pottery found in the interior part of the monument has demonstrated that the cenotaph was also the center of embalming activities from at least the fourth century BC until the end of the Ptolemaic period.¹⁰ To the second century AD belong the fragments of two Roman funerary portraits, discovered in secondary archaeological contexts during the excavation of the courtyard.¹¹ Anthropological examination of the mummies found in association with funerary portrait HRW2008R111 showed that they belonged to non-Egyptian individuals, allowing for the hypothesis that the Cenotaph of Harwa was used as a burial place for Roman soldiers stationed in the Luxor Temple in the second century AD.

Analysis of the data collected after about twenty years of excavation has resulted in the discovery of a third-century AD phase showing traces of the systematic disposal of corpses during the Plague of Cyprian, which scourged the Roman Empire between 250 and 270 AD.¹² It is likely that this employment of the Cenotaph of Harwa as a place to get rid of plague-stricken bodies marked the end of its ancient use. Excavation has revealed a centuries-long gap until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the funerary complex of Harwa and Akhamunru was again visited, this time by robbers and tourists. Robert Hay was the first to sketch the plan of the monument.¹³ At the beginning of the 1980s, the Austrian architect Diethelm Eigner improved and completed it.¹⁴

The first subterranean level of the Cenotaph of Harwa is conceived of as an underground transposition of the plan of a typical Egyptian temple. An open-air courtyard leads into the subterranean part of TT 37, consisting of two pillared halls and a final chapel. A corridor encircles and separates them from the surrounding limestone. The subterranean part of the monument was thus thought of as a sort of ideal "island" that was conceptually associated with three of the most culturally important ancient Egyptian places: the mound that emerged from the primeval ocean, the islets that used to appear when the inundation was subsiding, and the place in which Isis had buried her husband Osiris.

The observation that the Cenotaph of Harwa was built according to an imitative and evocative plan suggests that it could have been conceived of as conveying further meanings. Their identification and study have been a primary aim of our research since the first reconnaissance in 1995.

8 All images in this chapter are © Istituto Poliziano per lo Studio del Mediterraneo.

9 See n50 below.

10 Laemmel and Simony 2016.

11 HRW1999R1 comprises three fragments of the left part of an encaustic portrait on wood of a bearded man, tentatively dated to the first half of the second century AD (mentioned in Parlasca and Frenz 2003, 116, no. 1028). HRW2008R111 is a fragment of the right part of a tempera portrait on wood of a man; it is dated to the first half of the second century AD and was found in a shallow pit (the result of a robbery) with three mummies and a painted funerary shroud.

12 Tiradritti 2014.

13 The sketch, BL Mss. Add. 29821/83, was published in Eigner 1984, pl. 11.

14 Eigner 1984, plans 5–7. These plans are the basis for the digital version elaborated by MAIL.

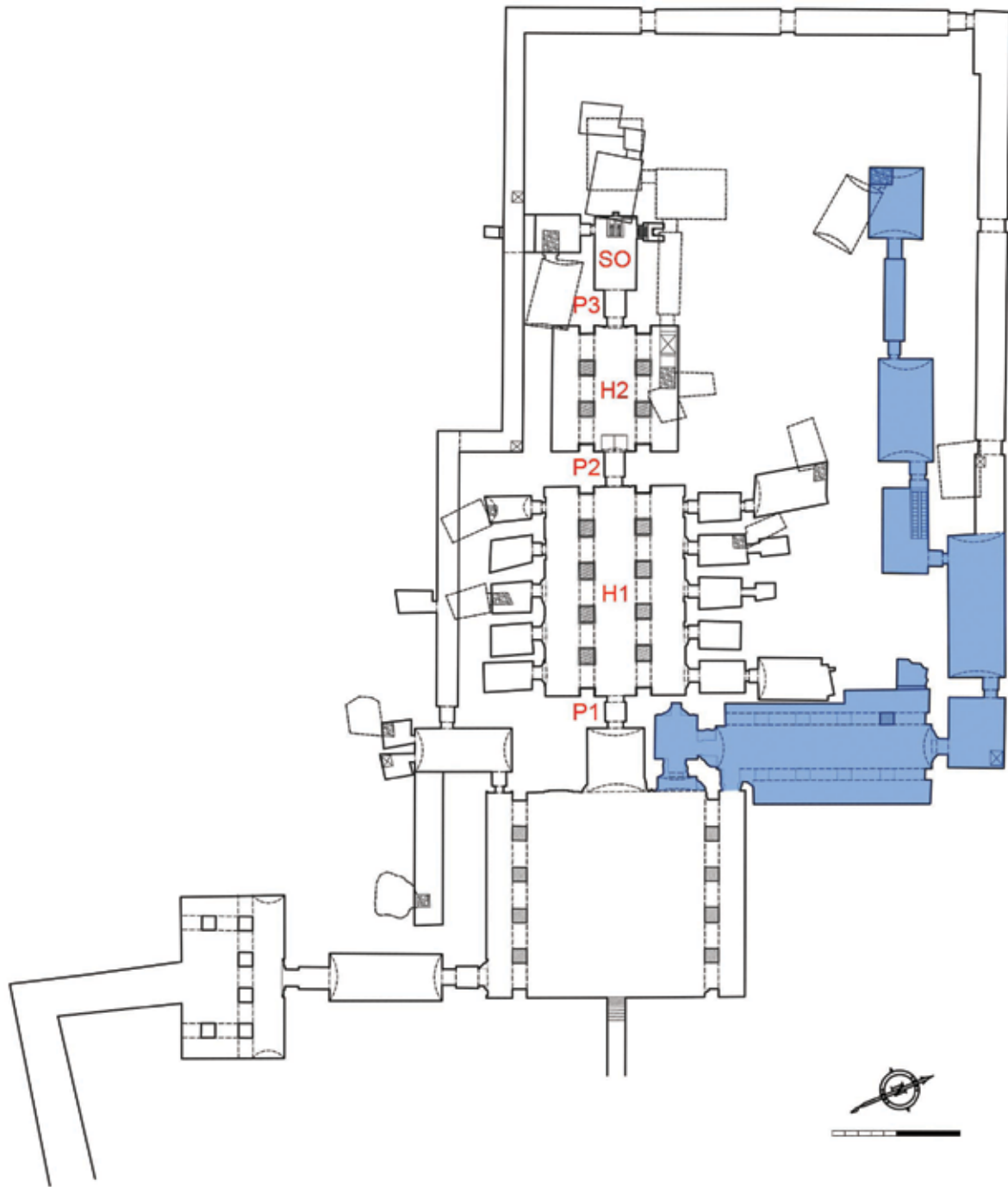


Figure 13.1. General plan of the funerary complex of Harwa (TT 37) and Akhimenru (TT 404; in blue): P1 = entrance to the first pillared hall; H1 = first pillared hall; P2 = entrance to the second pillared hall; H2 = second pillared hall; P3 = entrance to the final room; SO = final room (shrine of Osiris). Drawing by Anja Wutte and Francesco Tiradritti.

The results were encouraging from the very first moment and led to the preliminary identification of what is today known as the “Journey of Harwa” (fig. 13.2). An exhibition dedicated to that discovery was organized in Brescia in 1999.¹⁵

Initially the Journey of Harwa was considered as tracing a route inside the monument that described, through texts and images, the existence of human beings from life to eternal rebirth in the netherworld. In

¹⁵ Tiradritti 1999b.

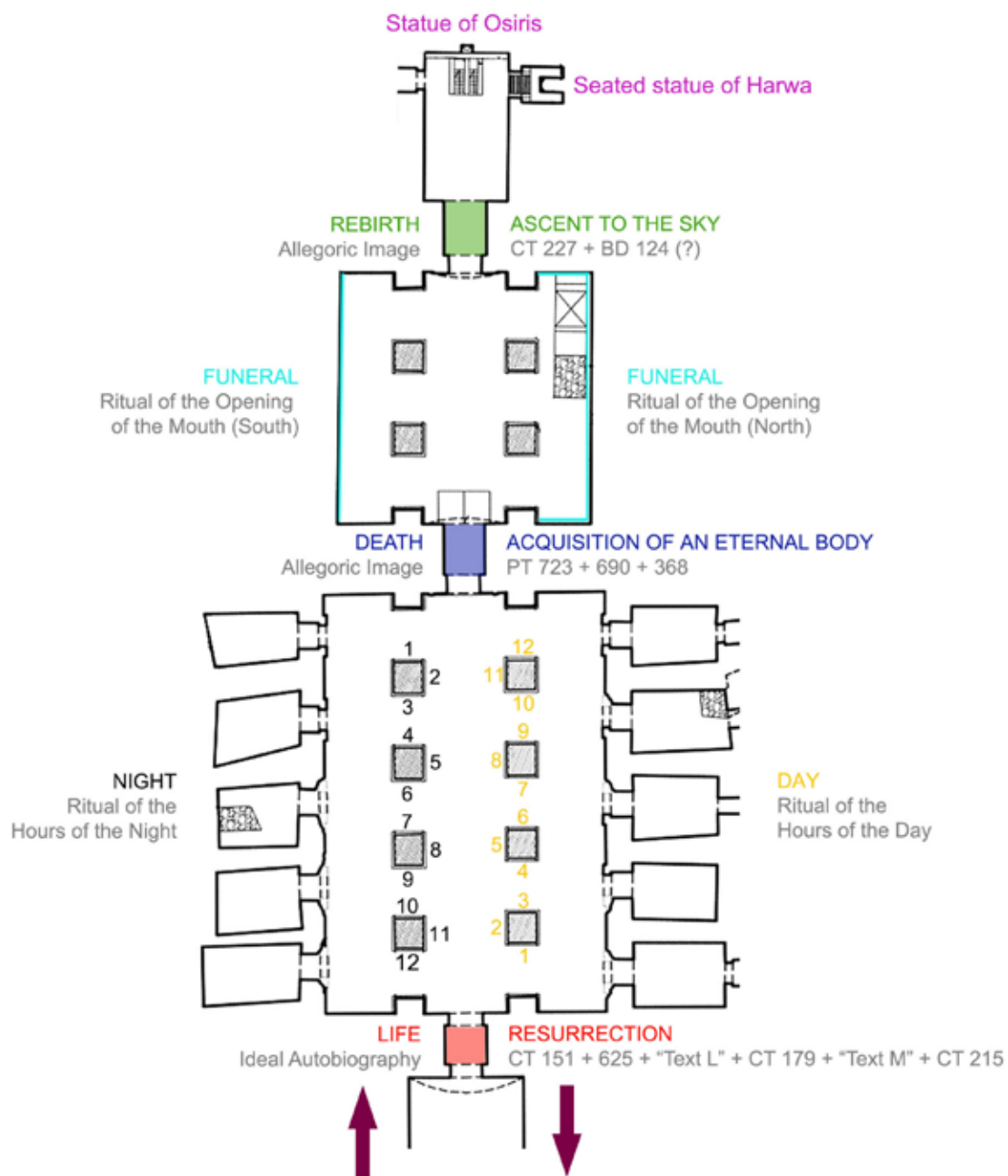


Figure 13.2. Plan of the first subterranean level of the Cenotaph of Harwa with the main steps of the Journey of Harwa. Drawing by Francesco Tiradritti from a plan of Anja Wutte.

2009, the identification of additional texts confirmed the thesis that the journey continued and had as its outcome resurrection on earth.

The journey's division into three main phases (life, death, rebirth/resurrection) recalls the ritual of initiation the worshipper underwent in the mystery cults. This kind of religion was appearing in the Aegean world during this period, and it is perhaps possible to find its point of inspiration in the very same ideas expressed by the Cenotaph of Harwa.

The main phases of the Journey of Harwa are described by texts and images carved on the walls of the entrances to the first subterranean level. Many of the inscriptions still covering the walls of the pillared halls are awaiting a more accurate study that clarifies their identification. It is likely that they will eventually reveal further meanings of and nuances in the Journey of Harwa.

LIFE (HRW P1S)¹⁶

The Journey of Harwa starts on the southern wall of the entrance to the first pillared hall (HRW P1S; fig. 13.3), on which is carved a hieroglyphic text in fourteen columns oriented toward the interior. It describes the ideal life of Harwa. The inspiration comes from the autobiographies of the late Old Kingdom and the beginning of the First Intermediate Period. After an incipit whose meaning is made elusive by its fragmentary state, Harwa recounts his life: “I tell you what I did on earth. Listen, you who are. . . I did what the people wished and the gods desired. I gave bread to the hungry man and clothes to the naked man. . . .”¹⁷ The following sentences are full of gaps, but what can still be understood shows that the inscription continued in the same vein.

Notwithstanding its fragmentary state, the text had nothing to do with an actual biography; rather, it corresponds to an enumeration of good deeds reflective of a common moral attitude. Some sentences, such as “I succored [lit., ‘I turned my sight toward’] those who were afraid when they needed,”¹⁸ are more typical of Egyptian culture and are rooted in autobiographies at least 1,500 years old. Harwa’s ideal life closely follows those texts. The inspiration of older documents is also evident in the orthography and linguistic expressions, which aimed to impart an archaic tone to the text. For example, the almost complete lack of determinatives is a characteristic of the hieroglyphic writing of Old Kingdom monumental inscriptions. The use of the prefix to form abstracts, such as *bw*¹⁹ as a relative pronoun in the expression *bw-ir.n=i tp t3* (“what I made on earth”), can be attributed to this archaistic tendency.

The speech of Harwa corresponds to a description of the righteous man and the ideal life based on piety *ante litteram* found in Egyptian civilization from the beginning of its history. If one does not observe those basic moral rules, it would be impossible to cover the Journey of Harwa until the end.



Figure 13.3. Remains of the inscription of the southern wall (HRW P1S) of the entrance to the first pillared hall with the autobiography of Harwa. Photo by Giacomo Lovera.

16 Texts and decoration in the Cenotaph of Harwa are referred to by the abbreviation of the monument (HRW) followed by that of the location (see fig. 13.1) and the cardinal position of the wall (S, W, N, E). The initial and final number of columns/lines are also indicated when a text covers only part of a wall. The abbreviations used in this study are P1 = entrance to the first pillared hall; H1 = first pillared hall; P2 = entrance to the second pillared hall; H2 = second pillared hall; P3 = entrance to the finale room; SO = final room (shrine of Osiris).

17 HRW P1S, 3–4.

18 HRW P1S, 5.

19 HRW P1S, 3. Even the orthography *bi*, with “*i*” substituted for the semiconsonant “*w*,” is intended to impart a more archaizing air to the text.

THE YEARS PASS (HRW H1)

At the time of the preliminary survey, the first pillared hall (HRW H1) was in a problematic state of decay. The pillars and ceiling had collapsed and were lying on the ground in a layer of debris whose height varied from 1 m (near the entrance) to 20 cm (western side). Study of the recovered decorated blocks, although it is far from being complete, led to the reconstruction of many of the texts and scenes of the original decoration. It was possible to ascertain that the pillars that once divided the hall into three aisles were inscribed with the Hours of the Day and Hours of the Night rituals (northern row and southern row, respectively). The two texts are arranged on the three sides of the pillars visible from the central aisle. The Hours of the Day ritual started at the east and ended on the west, while the Hours of the Night ritual began at the west and ended on the east. The reading of the two texts thus describes a circular movement imitating that of the sun: dawn (first hour of the day) and sunset (twelfth hour of the day) on earth and dawn (first hour of the night) and sunset (twelfth hour of the night) in the netherworld.

Imitating the course of the sun, the rituals of the hours together describe the passing of time. The sun rises, sets, and, after a night in the netherworld, rises again. The days become decades, the decades months, and the months years. Time passed, and Harwa grew old.

DEATH (HRW P2S)

Harwa is depicted as an old man in the scene engraved on the southern wall of the entrance to the second pillared hall (HRW P2S; fig. 13.4). Although his image conforms to the ancient Egyptian canon of abstract beauty, the double chin and the sagging breast and belly signal the attainment of old age.

Anubis marches before Harwa. The god holds the man's hand and brings him toward the darkness that opens in front of them.

The image is an allegory of death, a dynamic transitional moment between two existences: life on earth and that in the netherworld. The drama of the action is focused on the contact between the man and the god. Anubis firmly grasps the hand of Harwa, whose fingers are shown stretched out, as though he wants to escape his ineluctable fate.

The wall on which the scene is carved is the last to be touched by sunlight. The location is deliberate and underlines the passage from the brightness of life to the darkness of death.

The scene of the allegory of death is severely damaged. Harwa was once followed by Maat (whose presence only meant to underline the "true of voice" status that Harwa attained) and by the bull Apis.²⁰ The images of the two deities are now lost, but their presence is assured by the legends, still preserved, and by



Figure 13.4. Detail of the allegoric scene of the death on the southern wall (HRW P2S) of the entrance to the second pillared hall. Photo by Giacomo Lovera.

²⁰ The Apis bull is here represented as a patron of the Saqqara necropolis. His presence strengthens Russmann's hypothesis (Russmann 2004, 74) that Memphite artists worked on the decoration of the Cenotaph of Harwa.

comparison with the same scene in the tombs of Montuemhat (TT 34) and Petamenophis (TT 33).²¹

Harwa's allegory of death is described in hieroglyphic legends of great interest for their cryptic character. They are arranged in eleven columns divided into three blocks (A, B, and C) separated by double grooves. Orthographic ambiguities leave room for several interpretations, and the text retains a certain vagueness that lends an elevated degree of uncertainty to its meaning:

Block A (in front of and above Anubis; fig. 13.5)

- (1) The god comes/The gods come to him in order that the god makes
- (2) that the god reaches his domain and that endures
- (3) the god on his seat.

Block B (over Harwa)

- (4) Giving/It has been given the journeying/embrace by the Noble,
- (5) the Count, the Keeper of the seal of the King of Lower Egypt, the sole friend of
- (6) she who loves [him], Har[wa]

Block C (above where the images of Maat and the bull Apis once stood)

- (7) It is Apis, son of [Osiris],
- (8) the great god, who makes ascend
- (9) him and Maat
- (10) to his seat/place in quality of Osiris
- (11) the Venerable, the King's acquaintance, Harwa.



Figure 13.5. Copy of the inscription over the head of Anubis (HRW P2S, 1–3) from the allegoric scene of death. Drawing by Francesco Tiradritti.

It is extremely likely that Blocks B and C are rooted in the Memphite origin of the artists who decorated part of the Cenotaph of Harwa. The grammatical ambiguity in Block B of HRW P2S, 4—where it is possible to determine neither whether the initial verb is a nominal form or a passive construction nor whether the following term is to be interpreted as a nominal form of the verb “to journey” (*hp*) or the substantive “embrace” (*hp.t*)²²—describes both the handgrip between Anubis and Harwa and the journey of the artists from Memphis to Thebes.²³

In Block A the ambiguity is enhanced by the repetition of the word “god” (*ntr*), which appears four times with different orthographies. The confusion in interpretation is increased by the pronominal locution

21 The same scene is in Montuemhat (Durchgang St 48.1; Gestermann, Teotino, and Wagner 2021, 655–90; former PM 1¹, 59; Room VIII), Petamenophis (PM 1¹, 53; Dümichen 1885, pl. 22), and Kharakhamun (according to Gestermann, Teotino, and Wagner 2021, 671n32).

22 The use of the sign Gardiner Aa5 (Gardiner 1957, 548) as determinative, which Gardiner himself identifies with some doubt as “part of the steering gear of ships,” would imply a translation of the word as “rudder” (*hp.t*). The use of the sign Aa5 is rather (perhaps) to be explained by a desire to impart more interpretative ambiguity to the sentence. It is certain that the writing is inspired by the orthography of the name of the Apis bull (*h^cpy*), cited in HRW P2S, 7.

23 I am currently preparing a study on this subject.

$r=f$ at the beginning of the text without an antecedent. It assumes an absolute or proleptic value and can be interpreted either as an enclitic particle (rf , lit., “about that”) or as “toward him/it.” In the first case it simply emphasizes the verb; in the second case it refers to someone or something that is the goal of the action of “coming.” The second hypothesis yields the only interpretation possible in this case: the image of Osiris carved on the final wall of the chapel at the end of the first subterranean level.

The possibility of a partial disambiguation of Block A is suggested by the position of the second *ntr*, written before the head of Anubis, which must refer to him.²⁴ These preliminary remarks serve to eliminate the ambiguity of the first two *ntr*-terms (in bold): “(1) The god comes/The gods come to **Osiris** in order that **Anubis** makes. . . .”

To eliminate the ambiguity from the other two attestations of the term *ntr*, it is necessary to take recourse to extratextual interpretative elements. The first can be found in the scene itself. The image shows Anubis taking the hand of Harwa to bring him into the netherworld. That leads to the inference that the *ntr* in the second column is referring to Harwa. The same applies to the following sentence (to be interpreted as a coordinate), which states “that endures (3) the god on his seat.” In this case the interpretative extratextual element is in the small room that opens to the northwestern corner of the sanctuary. It once hosted a rock-carved seated statue of Harwa (of which a few remains of the lower part survive today), which gives concrete form to the locution *m s.t=f* (“on his seat”).

The appearance of the two third masculine singular pronouns ($=f$), qualifying the domain (*pr*) on the one hand and the seat (*s.t*) on the other, is more difficult to solve. They can be related to both Harwa and Osiris (to whom the third masculine singular pronoun in column 1 could also be attributed). As for the domain (*pr*), it is extremely likely that the pronoun must be linked to the god. The image shows Anubis, Harwa, Maat, and the god Apis heading for the netherworld, which is Osiris’s realm and domain. As for seat (*s.t*), it would make rather more sense to attribute the pronoun to Osiris again. It seems unlikely that Harwa can take the place of Osiris on his throne.

After these interpretations, even though they still retain a certain degree of uncertainty, the inscription of Block A can be better understood as:

“(1) The god comes/The gods come to **Osiris** in order that **Anubis** makes (causes) (2) that **Harwa** reach the domain of **Osiris** and (that) endures (3) **Harwa** on his seat.”

Block A is a general description of the scene that is focused on the action involving Anubis and Harwa, while also anticipating what will happen in the continuation of the Journey of Harwa.

The fourfold orthography of *ntr* is quite interesting. Two attestations of the word can be related to Harwa and one to Anubis. The god is mentioned by a complete and archaizing writing, whereas the man, thanks to the substitution of the voiceless palato-alveolar affricate \underline{t} with the voiceless alveolar plosive t , is alluded to with a writing closer to the attribute “divine” (*ntr*). It is noteworthy that the orthography of the *ntr* related to Harwa becomes complete only in the second attestation through the addition of the archaic god determinative.²⁵ This intentional change of orthography appears to express a concept connected to the transformation of state taking place when Harwa reaches the domain of Osiris, a moment that represents the turning point of the Journey of Harwa.

THE FUNERAL (HRW H2)

If in the first pillared hall the Hours of the Day and Hours of the Night rituals describe the passing of a period calculable in years, the decoration of the second pillared hall is devoted to an action that lasts mere hours. Here the temporal context is provided by two excerpts from chapter 15 of the Texts for Going Forth

²⁴ Additional confirmation that the term *ntr* is here to be attributed to Anubis is provided by the fact that he is the only one whose name is not explicitly written in the legend of the scene.

²⁵ Gardiner 1957, 468 (G7).

by Day (DT)²⁶ inscribed in the southern part of the room: the excerpt on the eastern wall is addressed to the rising sun and that on the western wall to the setting sun. Between the two DT 15 texts is situated the southern wall, on which is inscribed the beginning of the Opening of the Mouth (OMR) ritual, arranged as follows: it starts on the upper register of the southern wall, continues on the lower, then proceeds to the northern half of the hall, where it begins on the eastern wall and continues on the northern wall before ending on the western wall, exactly over the large opening in the northwestern corner of the second pillared hall.

Thus, the OMR appears to describe a route leading to the depths of the earth. In this respect it is very similar to the versions of DT 146w inscribed in monuments such as the tombs of Senenmut (TT 353; Eighteenth Dynasty), Padinetih (TT 197; Twenty-Sixth Dynasty), and Sheshonq (TT 27; Twenty-Sixth Dynasty) in the Assasif, and the Temple of Hibis in Kharga, dedicated to the Theban triad Amun, Mut, and Khonsu (Twenty-Seventh Dynasty).²⁷ In three of these monuments, the text is disposed to end over an opening.

In the tomb of Senenmut it is found in the southwestern corner of Chamber A, which opens over a descending staircase;²⁸ in the tomb of Sheshonq it starts on the frame of the door at the end of the pillared hall and concludes on the southwestern pilaster just over a shaft;²⁹ and in the Temple of Hibis it is engraved on the wall of a stairway (K1) that leads to an upper room (K2), where a rough pit is cut into the floor.³⁰

In the Cenotaph of Harwa, the OMR likewise ends over the large shaft in the northwestern corner of the second pillared hall. From there a descending suite of rooms opens down into the rock, reaching a depth of about 25 m, where there are two rooms. The larger has long been interpreted as the burial chamber of Harwa.³¹ Excavations there in 2001 and 2002³² brought to light hundreds of faience shabtis and dozens of stone shabtis bearing Harwa's name. Also found in this chamber were large fragments of limestone, two of them with painted inscriptions mentioning Harwa's titles and name. Given the archaeological context, the blocks were at first regarded as once belonging to Harwa's sarcophagus. Completion of the research, however, has necessitated a revision of this interpretation. Eventually the blocks proved to come from a small *naos* that once hosted a statue of Harwa.³³ That, together with other evidence, has led to the hypothesis that the monument of Harwa, more than a mere tomb, is to be considered a cenotaph where the statue of the owner was worshipped.

The possible existence of cenotaphs in ancient Egypt is a complex topic. In Harwa's case, the idea is also suggested by the OMR, which was intended for the mummy or a statue of the deceased. The interpretation as a cenotaph holds true also for those monuments where the OMR is substituted by DT 146w. The final sentence of that text in Senenmut's tomb³⁴ makes explicit mention of the statue using the term *hnty*.³⁵

26 The title "Book of the Dead," given to the collection of funerary texts referred to by the Egyptians as the texts for "Going Forth by Day," is incorrect and misleading. It hides the longing and hope to return (Allen 1974, 1) that is evident in the decorative program of the Cenotaph of Harwa. For this reason, I decided to abandon the old title and use the more appropriate "Texts for Going Forth by Day," which I tentatively propose to abbreviate as DT for consistency with the abbreviations for the Pyramid Texts (PT) and Coffin Texts (CT).

27 Tiradritti 1993. The article does not mention the tomb of Padineith, which I was able to enter only in early November 1995. At that time the monument was still unexcavated, and I was unable to ascertain whether chapter 146w is inscribed on a wall over an opening in the ground, as in the other cases. The disposition of the text in Padineith closely follows that in Sheshonq.

28 Dorman 1991, 119–20, pls. 66–69.

29 Tiradritti 1993, 102.

30 Winlock 1941, 12–13; N. de G. Davies 1953, pls. 1, 23.

31 Eigner 1984, 141.

32 Tiradritti 2005a, 172–73; 2005b, 181–82.

33 A hypothetical reconstruction of the *naos* is given in Tiradritti 2005b, 187, fig. 7.

34 TT 353, SW4.

35 *Wb.* 3:308.5.

Furthermore, the staircase in that tomb is too narrow (about 1 m)³⁶ for a sarcophagus or a coffin. The possibility of an actual burial must be completely discarded in the case of the Temple of Hibis.

It is thus likely that the OMR in the Cenotaph of Harwa, like DT 146w in the other monuments, functioned to show the route leading to the ultimate resting place of the statue (intended as a substitute for the individual) of the monument's owner. In this respect, the OMR is intended to free the soul (*ka*) from his earthly form and let it continue toward eternity.

REBIRTH (HRW P3S)

The Journey of Harwa continues with the scene carved on the southern wall of the entrance (HRW P3S; fig. 13.6) to the final room of the first subterranean level, which must be considered a real sanctuary dedicated to Osiris, whose image is carved at the center of the final wall.

The scene in P3S shows Anubis³⁷ followed by Harwa and Imentet, the patron goddess of the Theban necropolis. Anubis again holds the hand of Harwa, who has lost all the characteristics of old age. He is depicted as a sturdy young man—separation from the body has brought him eternal youth.

The legend is divided into two blocks by a double groove. The first text (Block A) comprises eight columns over the heads of Anubis and Harwa; the second text (Block B) comprises only two columns over Imentet. The absence of determinatives again creates a certain degree of ambiguity:

Block A (over Anubis and Harwa)

- (1) Those who are in the
- (2) Holy Land. Words spoken:
- (3) "Proceed³⁸ toward
- (4) the Place-that-belongs-to-God! He will make your *ka* provided with reverence."
- (5) Words spoken by the Great Steward Harwa, true of voice: "I am in sight of
- (7) my god [. . .]
- (8) in the domain of [. . .]³⁹ Khenty-imenty."



Figure 13.6. Detail of the allegoric scene of rebirth on the southern wall (HRW P3S) of the entrance to the shrine of Osiris. Anubis is apparently double headed. Photo by Giacomo Lovera.

36 Dorman 1991, pls. 51c, 52a.

37 Anubis is depicted in the scene with two heads (fig. 13.6). This unique image is the result of an artist's change of mind. Initially he wanted to show the god turning back toward Harwa. He then decided, perhaps to increase the visual parallelism with the allegory of death, to depict Anubis with his face looking forward. Plaster once covered the reversed head, which now looks unfinished. The rear line of the wig was already visible some years later: when the artists who worked on the decoration of the adjacent monument of Pabasa (TT 279) decided to copy the scene of Harwa's rebirth, they reproduced the line in front of Anubis's muzzle, creating the unusual iconography of the god.

38 The peculiar orthography of the verb *wd3* imparts a double nuance to the sentence. The context implies it should be interpreted as an action of motion, but the papyrus roll determinative also makes room for the interpretation "being prosperous."

39 Although the reading *pr n mr n[m] hnt(y)-imnt.t* appears clear, the lack of determinatives makes it impossible to find a suitable translation for the sequence of words.

Block B (over Imentet)

(9) The beautiful Imentet. Words spoken: “Peace/offerings

(10) [. . .] Harwa, true of voice.”

The inscription starts by identifying the three images by virtue of the place in which they are located. The Holy Land is the necropolis, and it is where the scene takes place. The text continues with the usual introduction of direct speech (*dd-mdw*) without revealing who the speaker is. The exhortative tone of the verbal form (“Proceed!”) seems almost an answer to the repeated requests addressed by the deceased to the demons to cross the netherworld safely.

Harwa continues his journey and reaches the “Place-that-belongs-to-God,” usually translated “necropolis” but appearing here to indicate more specifically the actual space where Osiris is. The following passage reveals who is represented behind Anubis, for the legend inscribed on the wall makes explicit reference to the *ka* of Harwa. It is Harwa’s turn to speak. He asserts that he is in sight of his god—and indeed, P3S is only a few steps away from the image of Osiris carved on the final wall of the room.

CONTEMPLATING GOD (HRW SO)

The *ka* of Harwa enters the shrine of Osiris (HRW SO; fig. 13.7) and takes his place in the small room to the left of the god. The image of the god emerges in almost full relief from the final wall and is framed by two gateways. The larger one is enclosed in the reed building, the classic representation of the chapel of Osiris. The image of the god is smaller than life-size and is visible from the entrance of the first pillared hall. It represents the culminating point of a forced perspective that makes Osiris seem farther away than he is. The god thus appears more distant, and through that illusion also death, the necessary passage to reach him, is virtually postponed as well. The optical deception vividly concretizes the fear of this painful and



Figure 13.7. Shrine of Osiris (HRW SO) with the remains of the image of the god. The small room with the statue of Harwa is visible to the right. Photo by Giacomo Lovera.

ineluctable moment, expressed as well by the way in which Harwa tries to escape from the grasp of Anubis in the scene of the allegory of death.

Until 2009 the Journey of Harwa was considered to end here, and the destiny of the deceased appeared to be that of spending eternity in contemplation of Osiris. The identification of texts inscribed on the northern walls of the entrances between the rooms, however, led to a reconsideration of this conclusion.

THE JOURNEY CONTINUES

The inscriptions on the northern walls of the entrances are taken from the most important Egyptian funerary collections: Pyramid Texts, Coffin Texts, and (perhaps) the texts for Going Forth by Day. Egyptian religious texts are often obscure and at times seemingly incomprehensible, and it is likely that this characteristic corresponds to a deliberate choice. On the one hand was the necessity to describe the afterlife, an alien region, through a mysterious and allusive language; on the other hand was the need to conceal from unworthy individuals the knowledge that allowed safe travel through the regions of the netherworld. The same concepts, *mutatis mutandis*, inspired initiation in mystery cults. In later cultures, the process was aimed at acquiring pure knowledge and brought a change of social status; in Egypt, it was aimed at acquiring the concrete knowledge required to cross the dark regions of the netherworld and come back to the sunlight.

ASSIMILATION WITH OSIRIS AND ASCENT TO THE SKY (HRW P3N)

On the northern wall of the entrance between the sanctuary of Osiris and the second pillared hall (HRW P3N; fig. 13.8) are carved eleven lines of a hieroglyphic inscription. The orientation of the signs, facing to the left, indicates that the text must be read from inside the sanctuary. Due to the poor state of conservation of the rock, only the identification of CT 227 is sure.⁴⁰ Another text that seems inspired by DT 124 starts from line 6.⁴¹

The inscription begins with the title of CT 227, [*r n wnn*]⁴² *r-gs Wsir* (“[Chapter of being] beside Osiris”), followed by the usual *dd-mdw*, which introduces the titles and name of Harwa. The title of CT 227, taken from the incipit of Papyrus Gardiner II (BM EA 10676), specifies that the spell was to be recited in the presence of Osiris. Therefore, the text, written in the first masculine singular as it is uttered by Harwa, assumes vivid concreteness. In comparison with earlier versions, here CT 227 was shortened to five sentences. The first four begin with a paronomasia (*3zb [sn] n 3zb.t, nbi nbi.t, s3h s3h, and zp3 n hrw zp3*), and the last is a closing statement that makes explicit the previous allusive concepts: throughout the text, Harwa affirms his assimilation with Osiris, meaning that he has become a *ntr*, which is usually and improperly translated “god” but is better rendered as “immortal.” That meaning is clarified further in the last step of the Journey of Harwa (on HRW P1N, 5) when Harwa, after his resurrection, states: “I will not give this utterance that I know to the ignorant *ntr:w*,”⁴³ clearly referring in this context to the deceased, not gods.

Another central concept that fits into the broader context of the Journey of Harwa (though hidden among the others) is that of ascent to the sky. In HRW P3N 3–4 we read: “I am Orion who reached shore in his land in peace and who now sails in accordance with the bright stars.”

CT 227 recounts what happened to Harwa after he was buried (“He reached shore in his land”⁴⁴ [HRW P3N, 3]) and adds further details of his journey: he has reached Osiris (“Chapter of being beside Osiris”

40 The CT 227 in Harwa is a revised and shortened version also attested in the later tombs of Panehsy in Heliopolis (Twenty-Sixth Dynasty; first half of the sixth century BC) and of Padinesi in Saqqara (Twenty-Sixth Dynasty; middle of the sixth century BC). See Gestermann 2005, 1:213–34, 2:79–96.

41 Starting in line 6, the signs were roughly carved and had to be completed with plaster.

42 There is enough space on the wall to restore the lacuna on the basis of the Panehsy inscription. See el-Sawi and Gomaa 1993, 69, mentioned in Gestermann 2005, 80.

43 The passage is taken from CT 625.

44 *Wb.* 4:20.12.

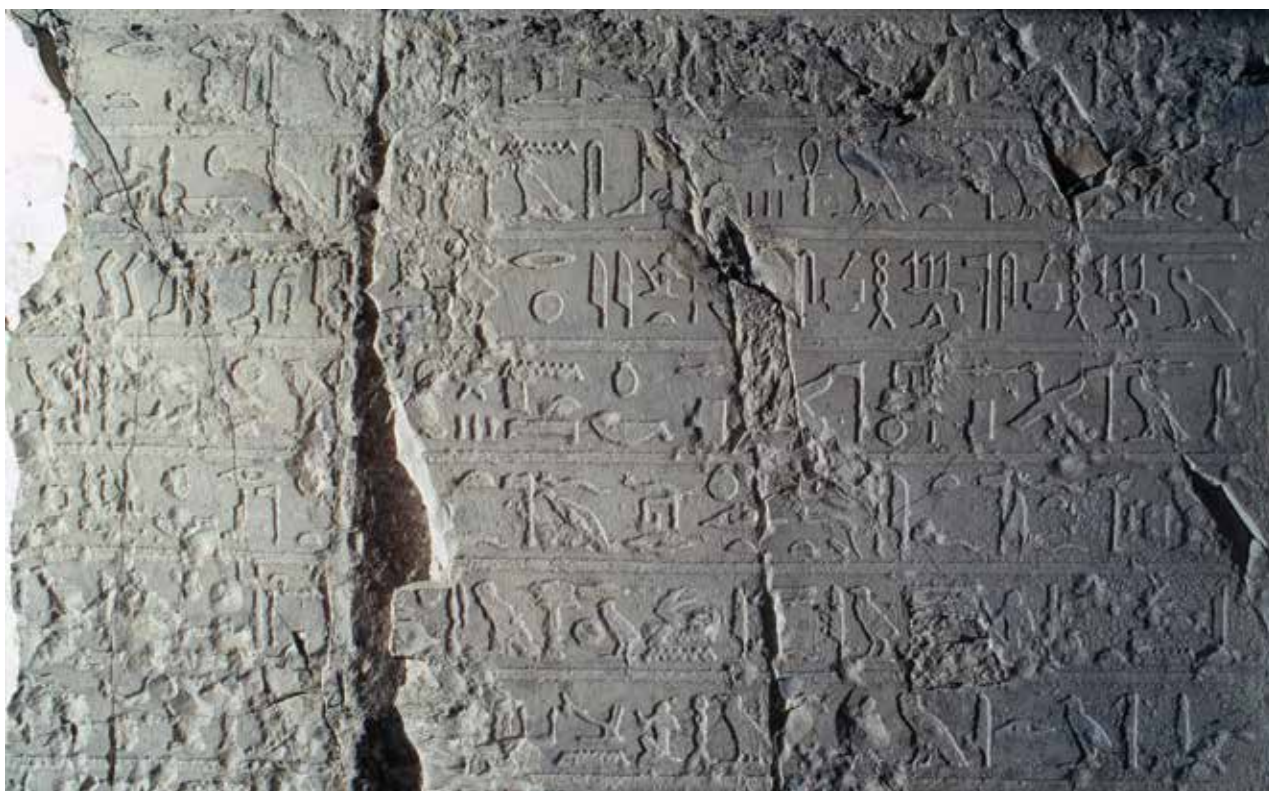


Figure 13.8. Upper part (CT 227) of the inscription on the northern wall (HRW P3N) of the entrance between the shrine of Osiris and the second pillared hall. Photo by Giacomo Lovera.

[HRW P3N, 1]) and has been assimilated to him and is now traveling in the sky together with the stars (“now sails in accordance with the bright stars” [HRW P3N, 4]).

The poor condition of the stone and the carelessly carved hieroglyphs of the lower part prevent a conclusive identification of the following text. The only comprehensible sentence is *sk3.n=i h3.t=i m irw=(i)*, “I plowed my field according to my custom [lit., ‘in my shape’],” attested in DT 124.

The Journey of Harwa continues. He is now traveling according to the stars in the sky, where perhaps he must also perform some activities of daily life, such as plowing fields.

A NEW, IMPERISHABLE BODY (HRW P2N)

On the northern wall of the entrance between the second and first pillared halls (HRW P2N; fig. 13.9), a hieroglyphic inscription is carved in seventeen columns. The orientation of the writing is left to right and continues the movement from the interior to the exterior of the monument that started with P3N.

Each column begins with the expression *dd-mdw* (“Words spoken”). Harwa is addressed in the second masculine singular, and the speaker can be one or more deities, who are not identified.

The inscription of P2N comprises a sequence of PT 723,⁴⁵ PT 690, and PT 368.⁴⁶ Despite its damaged state, especially at the beginning, the inscription is fully understandable through comparison with more complete versions. The text describes the transformation that happens to Harwa while he is advancing in the netherworld. The concepts of “rising up” (*ts* [HRW P2N, 1 and 5]) and “waking” (*rs-tp* [HRW P2N, 5]) introduce the following change.

⁴⁵ The numbering is that given by Faulkner 1969, 311.

⁴⁶ Both PT 690 and PT 368 are shortened. The first ends with the sentence Sethe 1910, 2102b; the second with the sentence Sethe 1908, 636c.



Figure 13.9. Left-hand part of the inscription (PT 723 and 690) on the northern wall of the entrance between the second and first pillared halls (HRW P2N). Photo by Giacomo Lovera.

P1N; fig. 13.10) is carved an inscription of fourteen columns. Unlike the previous texts, the reading is oriented right to left. This time the words are uttered by Harwa himself, who has regained the sunlight and speaks from outside the monument. This is clearly expressed by the incipit of the inscription, “Spell of going out from the cenotaph⁵⁰ in the necropolis,” which corresponds to the title of CT 151, the first of the six texts

The transformation described by PT 723 is physical. When Harwa rises, he has “limbs in metal and bones in gold.”⁴⁷ The new body “[will not molder, will not end, will not decay],”⁴⁸ and its eternality is explicitly affirmed through a comparison with the breath of “the son of Nut” (i.e., Seth),⁴⁹ giving to it the duration of the stars. The attribution of an imperishable body is repeated and further elaborated by PT 690.

Pyramid Text 690 reasserts that Harwa has become an “immortal” (*ntr*). The transformation had already taken place when he reached Osiris. From that moment the term *ntr* appears to be used as synonymous for “deceased.” Rather than thinking of a “divinization” of the individual, it is better to understand the term as a semantic reality describing an entity that has been provided with an ulterior and eternal existence, placed on a different plane from that of humans. Such a characteristic is immanent in gods, potential in sovereigns, and reached by every individual through the change of state obtained through death.

Pyramid Text 368 ends the P2N inscription. The text centers on an assimilation with Horus and adds nothing to what has already been stated in PT 690.

THE RETURN TO THE LIGHT (HRW P1N)

On the northern wall of the entrance between the first pillared hall and the courtyard (HRW

47 HRW P2N, 1.

48 In HRW P2N, 2 the text is in a lacuna. The presence of these sentences is proved by the traces of the signs on the wall and by comparison with the version in the pyramid of Queen Neith.

49 Only the epithet referring to Seth is preserved on the wall (HRW P2N, 3).

50 The term *h3.t* is translated as either “tomb” (*Wb.* 3:12.19; *AnLex* 77.2561, 78.2547) or “tomb of Osiris” (*Wb.* 3:12.20; HL4 {19328}). In HL4 {19328} the lemma is also translated “tomb shaft.” In the Late Period appeared a term *h3y.t*, interpreted as “hall in the necropolis where the dead was embalmed” (*Wb.* 3:16.6), which is said to derive from *h3.t*. In the Greek period the same word was used to refer to a “room of the temple” or a “chapel” (*Wb.* 3:16.3–5; *AnLex* 78.2554). When used in the context of the funerary monument of Harwa, it seems legitimate to understand the term as “cenotaph,” for which the meanings “tomb of Osiris,” “tomb shaft,” “room of the temple,” and “chapel” are all acceptable, but not “tomb.” The possibility is not to be eliminated that embalming procedures were carried out in the cenotaph. In 2004 a shaft (HRW YN) filled with the remains of a mummification procedure was discovered in the southern part of the corridor that surrounds the cenotaph of Harwa. Unfortunately, no evidence of the identity of the deceased has been recovered, though a preliminary date between the Twenty-Fifth and the Twenty-Sixth Dynasties was assigned to the associated pottery.

from which the inscription is composed. The others are CT 625, “Text L,” CT 179, “Text M,”⁵¹ and CT 215. The inscription can be conceptually divided into two parts.

The first part comprises CT 151 and CT 625. Although they appear separate in the modern Egyptological nomenclature, they must once have been a single text, as in the coffin of Sesenebenef from Lisht.⁵² Their unity is also reaffirmed by the closing sentence of CT 625 (“May I go out and receive the white bread” [HRW P1N, 7]), which repeats the concept expressed by the title of PT 151.

Pyramid Text 151 resumes the route Harwa covered across the netherworld. The description is obscure and difficult to understand. The mention of boats recalls “sailing in accordance with the bright stars” (HRW P3N, 4), with which the journey had begun.

The affirmation at the beginning of CT 625, “O great divine assembly [of the sky, you have brought me]⁵³ among you as one of you and I will not give these utterances of mine which I know to the gods who are ignorant,”⁵⁴ is striking. The prohibition of revealing what is known is the foundation of mystery religions, and the concept makes room for the hypothesis that the Journey of Harwa is to be considered a sort of initiatory rite. The intention

to hide the route in the netherworld is also expressed by the plan of the cenotaph. The entrances had doors that, whenever opened, covered almost the totality of the inscriptions on the northern walls and thus prevented their reading. It is likely that the expression “the immortals who are ignorant” refers to the dead who do not possess the knowledge and so are unable to cross the netherworld and come back to the light.

The second part of the HRW P1N inscription is composed of CT 179 (with its amplifications “L” and “M”) and CT 215. They are focused on a concession of offerings to Harwa. He is thus provided with all the necessities for new life. This text attributes concreteness to the return to light and transforms it into an actual resurrection of the body.



Figure 13.10. Northern wall of the entrance between the first pillared hall and the courtyard (HRW P1N). Photo by Giacomo Lovera.

51 The labels “Text L” and “Text M” are taken from Gestermann 2005, 1:387 and 2:39–42. They are a sort of introduction (Text L) and conclusion (Text M) of CT 179.

52 Gautier and Jequier 1902, pl. XIX.

53 The bracketed words are supplemented based on the parallel versions of CT 625.

54 HRW P1N, 4–5.

CONCLUSION

The Journey of Harwa, as it is described by the decoration of his cenotaph, traces the virtual route that an Egyptian of the seventh century BC was believed to traverse during his or her life and beyond. Going from the courtyard to the sanctuary of the monument, Harwa passes from life to death to rebirth in the netherworld. Here he spends an unspecified and almost unlimited amount of time. He then takes the same route in reverse. He ascends to the sky, assumes an imperishable body, and eventually goes out to the sunlight provided with all the good things he needs for a real new life.

In the final text, Harwa declares that he will not disclose what he has come to know. The statement emphasizes the similarity between the Journey of Harwa and initiation rites, already suggested by the common threefold division into life, death, and rebirth/resurrection.

Most of the decoration of the Cenotaph of Harwa is still to be studied. It is likely that further analysis will help improve and refine our knowledge of this aspect of Egyptian funerary beliefs and allow us to gain a clearer picture of the mentality and religious ideas of seventh-century BC Egypt.

The tombs and mortuary temples of Thebes have proved an enduring topic of interest thanks to a quickly expanding corpus of field materials and a series of conferences devoted to the subject. This volume, the fourth in a series of occasional proceedings from the ongoing Theban Workshop, presents new research on wall decoration in the Theban necropolis. Its thirteen essays, by an international array of leading scholars, attest to the wide and varied scope of the theme.

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