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Clare P. Fitzgerald

Date

Traditional Mechanisms and New Applications: Identity Construction and Definition of
Space through Image in Post-Amarna and 19th Dynasty Elite Tombs at Thebes

By

Clare P. Fitzgerald
B.A., New York University, 2004

Advisor: Gay Robins, D. Phil.

An abstract of
A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the
James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies of Emory University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in Art History
2013

Abstract

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By Clare P. Fitzgerald

This study seeks to understand the ancient visitors' experience of the elite tomb chapel from the post-Amarna period through the 19th Dynasty (ca. 1333-1188 B.C.E.) in Thebes. The tomb itself was a multipurpose space, and the decoration and text found in the different areas of the tomb were selected and arranged with an awareness of the function of these spaces. Representing a great investment of capital on the part of the tomb owner, the tomb chapel was an open space created for the purpose of receiving visitors. In the past, discussions of tombs from this period have focused on the ritual function of the images and texts, seeing them primarily as tools to conduct the deceased to the afterlife and oriented toward the beyond. Such work is important and emphasizes a primary purpose of the tomb space, but the decoration of the tomb chapel was also oriented toward the living world and served as a major tool of self-presentation on the part of the tomb owner and his family. This second function is not entirely distinct from the first, because the representation of the deceased as an individual worthy of an afterlife due to his adherence to cultural values while alive was a prerequisite for entrance into the afterlife. In this study, I consider scene selection, placement, and composition in order to understand the self presentation of the tomb owner. In constructing his identity, the tomb owner frequently uses the juxtaposition of scenes to make nuanced statements about his identity, the importance of participation in the offering cult, and his expectations of visitors to the tomb chapel. Recognizing this mechanism, this study favors a holistic treatment of tomb decoration.

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Acknowledgements

The current work is not a product of the author's labor alone, it would not have been possible without the unwavering financial, intellectual, and personal support of several institutions and even more individuals, who were too generous and to whom I am very thankful. First, I must thank Emory University for their support of my early fieldwork and professional development, especially in my acquisition of German and Arabic languages, which enabled my research. In 2010-2011, I was fortunate to be awarded Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs Fellowship at the American Research Center in Egypt by the United States Department of State. This fellowship allowed me to complete my fieldwork in Egypt and gave me the support of the wonderful staff at the American Research Center in Egypt, without whom I would have been unable to work so efficiently. My thanks go to Gerry Scott, Djodi Deutsch, Mary Sadek, and Madame Amira Khattab in Cairo and to John Shearman and the entire staff at ARCE Luxor who made my time there so productive and enjoyable. In Luxor, I would also like to thank Raymond Johnson and Marie Bryan for allowing me access to the Chicago House Library and always being so welcoming and helpful. Finally, I would like to thank Owen Murray for all of his help with photography and Khadiga Adam for her kindness and help in Luxor.

My fieldwork was facilitated by a number of dedicated individual members of the Supreme Council of Antiquities as well as the council as a whole. I would like to thank my tireless inspector Ali Reda in Luxor as well as Mustafa Waziry for his generosity and flexibility. Other scholars in Luxor kindly allowed me access to tombs under their care, and for this I am very grateful. My thanks go to Drs. Sabine Kubisch, Karl Seyfried, and Ute Rummel for their help with TT 157; Dr. Boyo Ockinga for allowing me to look at TT 149; and the Russian Academy of Sciences for allowing me to look at TT23. I feel very fortunate to have worked with all of these dedicated professionals.

As a Sylvan C. Coleman and Pamela Coleman Memorial Fund Fellow at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, I was given a wonderful opportunity to complete further archival research as well as write the bulk of my dissertation. The generosity of the institution and those who worked there was unparalleled, and I must thank a great many of them. The entire Egyptian Department welcomed me and were generous with their time and ideas. In the Egyptian Department, my deep gratitude goes to Dorothea Arnold, Marsha Hill, Diana Craig Patch, Dieter Arnold, Adela Oppenheim, Catharine Roehrig, Isabel Steunkel, Janice Kamrin, Morena Stefanova, Gustavo Camps, and Kei Yamamoto. In the Education Department, I must thank Marcie Karp and her staff for their constant support of the fellows and providing so many fascinating opportunities for us. And although too numerous to list here, I would be remiss to forget the other fellows who selflessly gave of their time to discuss my work with me. Your collegiality is much appreciated.

The members of my dissertation committee deserve the majority of the thanks for the completion of this project. Dr. Eric Varner's classes on Roman villas pointed me toward the method I employed in my reading of tombs and his helpful comments were always welcome. Dr. Walter Melion has been a great source of support since my first year in graduate school and his meticulous mind and insight helped me in every stage of my career thus far. I owe him a great deal of thanks. And of course, Dr. Gay Robins, my advisor and tireless advocate. She has been the most kind, open, and available advisor I

have ever known and a true teacher, who went so far as to devote two years of her life to teaching me Middle Egyptian. She gave me the confidence to take on this project and support during the times I faltered. I have always enjoyed our discussions and knew that I would walk away from them with a clearer sense of how to pursue a topic. Her intellectual generosity has been a great gift, and this work is the product of it.

I have been fortunate to enjoy the support of many others in the field, whose help have contributed to this project both directly and indirectly. Peter Lacovara, Lawrence Berman, Denise Doxey, and Renee Stein have been invaluable to my growth as a scholar, and I must thank them. To Melinda Hartwig, whose work was so foundational to my own and whose generosity throughout the process has been unwavering, I thank you. To my colleagues who became dear friends whose humor, intellect, and kindness made this not only possible but enjoyable, Elizabeth Cummins, Elizabeth Williams, Elizabeth Lytle, Jessica Gerschultz, Susan Blevins, Jacquelyn McCollum, Delinda Collier, Sienna Brown, Kei Yamamoto, Noreen Doyle and Sarahh Scher, my deep thanks.

To my family, particularly my mother Mary Ellen Fitzgerald, father, Timothy Fitzgerald, sister, Jane Fitzgerald and husband, Trent Brunson, there are not words enough to describe my gratitude.

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Part I: Introduction

This study seeks to understand the ancient visitors' experience of the elite tomb chapel from the post-Amarna period through the 19th Dynasty (ca. 1333-1188 B.C.E.) in Thebes. The tomb itself was a multipurpose space, and the decoration and text found in the different areas of the tomb were selected and arranged with an awareness of the function of these spaces. Representing a great investment of capital on the part of the tomb owner, the tomb chapel was an open space created for the purpose of receiving visitors. In the past, discussions of tombs from this period have focused on the ritual function of the images and texts, seeing them primarily as tools to conduct the deceased to the afterlife and oriented toward the beyond. Such work is important and emphasizes a primary purpose of the tomb space, but the decoration of the tomb chapel was also oriented toward the living world and served as a major tool of self-presentation on the part of the tomb owner and his family. This second function is not entirely distinct from the first, because the representation of the deceased as an individual worthy of an afterlife due to his adherence to cultural values while alive was a prerequisite for entrance into the afterlife. However, because earlier studies have focused on the afterlife orientation of tomb decoration as opposed to its orientation toward the living, how a contemporary (i.e., ancient) Egyptian would have read the decoration and texts has been largely ignored. It is the goal of this study to investigate that experience.

Problems and Considerations

In addition to being monuments to a deceased individual, the elite tombs of the

ancient Egyptians document lives and the beliefs of a culture. While one of the major advantages of ancient Egyptian art is that it was intended to be legible and explicit in order to function, one must be careful not to mistake this legibility for literality.¹ The ultimate form of an ancient image is the result of a number of factors, all of which must be recognized before interpretation is appropriate. Because the images found in Theban tombs depict rituals, deities, aspects of the temporal world, and historical figures, frequently with great attention given to details of dress, architecture, and the natural world, it is often tempting to look at them as “snapshots” of ancient Egyptian life and religion. Before giving into this temptation, however, one must consider a number of points.

Decorum: Omissions and Fictions

The elements included or omitted in any source, be they written, spoken, or iconographic, are influenced by a number of factors: the source/creator (who is, in the cases under consideration for this study, the artist and/or patron), context, function, medium, and aesthetic concerns of the day. Most of these issues can be understood using the notion of decorum as explained by John Baines:

The decorum found in the monuments, which can be traced from late predynastic times, is a set of rules and practices defining what may be represented pictorially with captions, displayed, and possibly written down, in which context and in what form. It can

¹ For more on these artistic conventions, see Schäfer1986.

be related to other constraints on action and reports on action, as when a king says he killed his opponents while his follower says that he kept them alive, and was based ultimately on rules or practices of conduct etiquette, of spatial separation and religious avoidance.²

Decorum dictated much of what appears in Theban tomb decoration, and its importance for the current study cannot be overstated because, while most societies exhibit a sense of decorum, the governing Egyptian concept of *maat* reinforced the establishment and strong adherence to a sense of decorum in monumental and funerary contexts, of which Theban tombs are only one category.

Maat and the Egyptian Worldview

The Egyptian worldview was defined by the tension between the forces of *maat* and its antithesis, *isfet* or chaos. *Maat* was a central concept in Egyptian thought, defined loosely as “truth” or “order” but perhaps more correctly as “things being as they ideally should be.”³ The origin of *maat* can be traced to the creation of the world. Although there are several narratives that describe creation, each associated with different places in Egypt (Heliopolis, Thebes, Memphis, Hermopolis), they differ mainly in the deities responsible for creation and the method (speech, masturbation, cackling) and not the general themes. Therefore, they share a general outline in which, before the world began,

² Baines 1990, 20.

³ For a larger discussion of the history of *maat*, see Assmann 1994; Lichtheim 1992.

the potential for all aspects of creation existed in an undifferentiated inert state called the *Nun*, described as all-encompassing dark water.⁴ This state was broken by the appearance of a mound on which a creator figure stood, who, through a process of differentiation, brought the world into being. The end result was the world as the Egyptians knew it, and this state of stasis was called *maat*. The waters of the *Nun* were associated with *isfet* or chaos, which constantly threatened *maat*.

The created world was seen by the Egyptians as a bubble within the surrounding waters with Egypt as its center as the home of *maat*. As one moved toward the edges of this bubble, they encountered forces and people more influenced by *isfet*. In practical terms this manifests as the Egyptian attitude toward foreigners or animals from the desert and borderlands. If one reached the edge of the created world, they would find the waters of *Nun* or chaos pushing in on the created world, threatening to dissolve all that was created from it. The blue of the sky is the blue water of the *Nun* surrounding the world.⁵ However, as is made clear in the creation stories, the *Nun* (and therefore the force of *isfet*) is also the source of creation, the potential out of which the order of *maat* is born. It is therefore essential, and it is perhaps more correct, to say that *maat* is the balanced state of chaos and order, not the absence of *isfet*. The generative potential in *isfet* is seen in the moment of creation and the annual inundation. If all elements of *isfet* were eradicated, *maat* would become static; and life could not renew itself. Therefore both are necessary for existence, and the relationship between the two forces must be maintained in order to uphold the state of the created world.

⁴ For a graphic representation of the Egyptian understanding of the cosmos, see Kamrin 1999, fig. I.3. For an introduction to the Egyptian cosmos, see Allen 1988.

⁵ Allen 2003, 27.

The Egyptians saw the concept created and constantly confirmed by their environment. Egypt was the fertile strip on either side of the Nile, sustained by the river's annual inundation. The Nile was seen as the *Nun* seeping up into the world. It sustained life but could also bring death and famine if the inundation rose too high or not high enough. The Egyptians saw the generative and destructive potential of the *Nun* every year and believed that a commitment to *maat* would help to protect them from its negative potential. Beyond the fertile area of Egypt was a sharp boundary with another region influenced by *isfet*, namely, the desert, home to many dangerous creatures and inhospitable to human life. Beyond the deserts lay foreign lands with their own hazards and unknown people. The Egyptians thus saw the precarious balance of order and chaos in their daily life; they witnessed confirmation of the idea that Egypt was the seat of order and correctness and that moving farther from it meant moving farther into the area of *isfet's* influence.

In order to maintain the healthy balance between *maat* and *isfet*, each individual in Egyptian society was responsible for promoting *maat* in their own lives and offering it to their superiors, reinforcing the hierarchical model of Egyptian society. The king, being at the top of the living hierarchy, promoted *maat* by building and maintaining temples to the gods, as well as by defeating foreign powers and extending the influence of Egyptian dominion and culture. Much of the familiar iconography from royal monuments relates to the king's role as promoter of *maat* on earth; he then takes *maat* and offers it to the gods. Images of the king smiting enemies of Egypt, hunting animals in the desert or the liminal space of the marsh, doing battle under the aegis of a deity, or offering to a god pervade

these contexts, reflecting this scenario.⁶ The representation of the successful promotion of *maat* was also part of its realization, an idea that will be treated more thoroughly later during the discussion of the efficacy of images in ancient Egypt. The repetition of such images increased their effectiveness. Elite Egyptians were responsible for the promotion of *maat* in their own lives by adhering to cultural norms and serving the interests of the king. As this study will demonstrate, the notion of *maat* thus plays into the self-presentation of the elite in their tomb chapels in much the same way that the king's promotion of *maat* is a major theme in royal monuments; emblematic images reflect the tomb owners' adherence to *maat* in the same way that smiting scenes do in the royal sphere.

It is difficult to overstate the importance of this concept, which should perhaps be considered so central that the idea is conveyed by describing it as a "worldview" that informed all other understanding. Egyptian royal and funerary ritual was heavily influenced by this notion, as were artistic conventions. The symmetry and ordered nature of Egyptian representation is related to the idea and promotion of *maat*. It infused all aspects of material culture and will play a major role in this study of the tombs.

Maat in Texts

Upholding *maat* made elite individuals good citizens in this life but also allowed them access to the afterlife. The idea of *maat* is somewhat flexible, but the elite make

⁶ Scenes of the king smiting appear very early--an example appears in the Label of King Den (EA 55586), an object in the British Museum which dates to the 1st Dynasty (ca. 3000 B.C.E.)--and continue throughout Egyptian history in temple and palace contexts into the Greco-Roman period.

clear declarations about its practical meaning in several written genres: the so-called “negative confessions,” “instructions,” and “autobiographies.” Found in the *Book of the Dead*, the “negative confessions” are a series of statements made by an individual asserting his purity and adherence to *maat* in order to justify his entrance into the afterlife.⁷ They are recorded in whole or in part on papyrus copies of the *Book of the Dead*, as well as on tomb walls.⁸ One source for the text is found on the Papyrus of Ani now held in the British Museum. The Papyrus of Ani dates to the 19th Dynasty and therefore is particularly apt for an exploration of the meaning of *maat* for the elite during the Ramesside period in Thebes.⁹ Furthermore, as will be seen later, vignettes and texts from the *Book of the Dead* become important parts of Theban tomb decoration, especially in the Ramesside period. Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead* is “The Declaration of Innocence before the Gods of the Tribunal” but is often referred to as “The Negative Confessions.” It lists the statements to be made to each of the gods to assert the worthiness of the deceased to have an afterlife:

I have not done wrong. I have not robbed. I have not stolen. I have not slain people. I have not destroyed food offerings. I have not reduced measures. I have not stolen the god’s property. I have not told lies. I have not stolen food. I was not sullen. I have not fornicated with the fornicator. I have not caused (anyone) to weep. I have not dissembled. I have not transgressed. I have not done

⁷ Van Es 1986.

⁸ Voss 1986.

⁹ Faulkner et al. 1994.

grain profiteering. I have not robbed a parcel of land. I have not discussed (secrets). I have brought no lawsuits. I have not disputed at all about property. I have not had intercourse with a married woman. I have not (wrongly) copulated. I have not struck terror. I have not transgressed. I have not been hot (-tempered). I have not been neglectful of truthful words. I have not cursed. I have not been violent. I have not confounded (truth). I have not discussed. I have not been garrulous about matters. I have not done wrong, I have not done evil. I have not disputed the King. I have not waded in the water. My voice was not loud. I have not cursed a god. I have not made extollings (?). I have not harmed the bread-ration of the Gods. I have not stolen the Khenef-cakes from the Blessed. I have not stolen Hefnu-cakes of a youth, (nor) have I fettered the god of my town. I have not slain sacred cattle.¹⁰

Another textual source for societal expectations in ancient Egypt comes from a group of texts known collectively as “instructions.”¹¹ Such texts are known from the Old Kingdom and continued through the Greco-Roman period.¹² In this genre, the narrator, identified as a scribe or at times a king, gives advice on correct living. In the *Instruction of Any*, a text that dates to the 18th Dynasty, the scribe Any instructs his son, Khonshotep:

Take a wife while you’re young, That she make a son for you...

¹⁰ After Faulkner et. al. 1998, pl. 31.

¹¹ “Lehren” *LÄ*, Band III, p. 964-968

¹² Lichteim identifies *The Instruction of Prince Hardjedef* as the first extant composition and, while the text is difficult to date, suggests a 5th Dynasty date. Lichteim, 1975, 58.

Observe the feast of your god, And repeat its season, God is angry
 if it is neglected... Do not enter the house of anyone, Until he
 admits you and greets you... Beware of a woman who is a
 stranger, One not known in her town... Do not leave when the
 chiefs enter, Lest your name stink... Do not raise your voice in the
 house of god, He abhors shouting... Don't indulge in drinking
 beer, Lest you utter evil speech...¹³

While the specifics of the instructions may change, the general content is quite uniform and echoes many of the statements made in the negative confessions.

A final important textual parallel source to consider when looking at the construction of the tomb owner in images is that of the “autobiography” or “biography.”¹⁴ These texts, found on stelae, sculptures, and the walls of tombs and temples, have a first-person narrative frame, hence modern references to them as “autobiographies.” However, the word “autobiography” suggests that the subject of the text is also the author, which is not likely the case in ancient Egypt.¹⁵ While such a text has a first-person frame and often refers to specific events in the subject’s life, it is also a work in a formal and idealized genre, a composition likely commissioned by the subject or the subject’s family rather than one written by him.¹⁶ The genre first appears in the Old Kingdom and continues

¹³ Lichteim 1976,135-145. For most recent translation, see Quack 1994.

¹⁴ Gnirs 2001.

¹⁵ Frood 2007, 3.

¹⁶ Ibid.

through the Roman period.¹⁷ Elite individuals used the genre of biography to construct and promote an identity for themselves and their families, often referring to highlights of their careers and emphasizing their superiority in relation to peers, the high offices they achieved, and their relationships with powerful figures. Biographies sometimes refer to family members when describing the correct relationships between parents and children but do not offer a more personal view of domestic life.¹⁸ Just as visual representations of the elite are idealized in ancient Egypt, so too are their written biographies. Even in situations in which fault is noted, these admissions are only narrative devices used to emphasize the subject's ability to overcome past difficulties.¹⁹ As is to be expected, the genre of biography shifted over time, certain themes becoming more or less prominent and reflecting the unique concerns of the day. For instance, in periods of strong centralized royal authority, biographies focus on the power of the king and the subject's role in that hierarchy.²⁰ In periods of decentralized leadership, however, such as the First Intermediate Period, biographies tend to focus more on local concerns and the subject's role in his community.²¹

In Theban tombs, Ramesside biographies are sometimes found in the transverse room of the chapel and show a return to traditional forms and themes after the Amarna interlude. They focus on the tomb owner's relationship with the king and social

¹⁷ Ibid., 1.

¹⁸ Froot 2007, 3.

¹⁹ Ibid., 4.

²⁰ King centered biographies are common in the Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom, and New Kingdom. Ibid., 9-11.

²¹ In such biographies, themes of the self-made man and independent action that began in the 5th and 6th Dynasties become more common, Ibid., 9.

responsibility and highlight individual personal piety with new vigor.²² In biographies found in TT 409 and TT 194, the tomb owners venerate the goddesses Mut and Hathor, respectively, emphasizing their special devotion to these goddesses and presenting their relationships with the goddesses as formative and central parts of their lives.²³ Some biographies echo sentiments found in the negative confessions or instructions, such as that found in TT 158, a tomb of Tjanefer, who was the third priest of Amun from the end of the 19th Dynasty into the reign of Ramesses III in the 20th Dynasty:

I was a priest, beloved of his lord, who did what he favored through every day, one weighty of council, effective of speech, discreet in relation to [his plans]... I became a high official while I was a youth. I became powerful while I was fresh. I was silent, temperate, patient, one weighty in [his] projects, calm, who spoke of matters [appropriately (?)]. [I acted as] the champion of the wretched, who saved the fearful from his wrongdoing. I was one approachable, who listened to concerns, accurate in judgment...²⁴

Efficacy of Images

Decorum and *maat* are further related to this study because of the efficacy of

²² Ibid., 24-25.

²³ For translation of the biography from TT 409, in which Samut venerates Mut, see Froot 2007, 85-89. For translation of the biography of Dhutemhab (TT 194) with its dream of and hymn to Hathor, see Ibid., 92-94.

²⁴ Ibid., 95-96.

image and text in Egyptian thought. The Egyptian understanding of images and image-making also influences the material found in Theban tomb painting. Images, be they two- or three-dimensional, made of clay or gold, painted or sculpted, were not passive representations of the world and ideas, nor were they purely aesthetic, meant only to excite the eye and enliven a space. For ancient Egyptians, images were tools with the ability to effect change in the temporal and divine world in a number of ways. Images could be considered that which they represented and were in turn multivalent. In tombs, two-dimensional images of food and food production sustained the tomb owner in the hereafter by becoming edible and potable. These images of food and drink, as well as rituals, served the deceased in perpetuity, lasting long after the real offerings had gone. In addition, images of food and drink in the tombs signaled to contemporary visitors that the tomb chapel was a place of offering. These images had multiple functions that contributed to their selection and placement in the tombs.

Furthermore, the relationship in ancient Egypt between images and writing, particularly that of the hieroglyphs used in monumental contexts, meant that there was a certain elision between text and image creating powerful, active representational tools. Large images may serve as determinatives, emphasizing the meaning of the written word and, perhaps, making meaning more legible to a larger audience. For example, the jambs of doorways in tombs often feature texts that include the tomb owner's name and titles. At the bottom of the jamb, the text is sometimes concluded with a large standing image of a striding or seated man carrying a staff. The image of the man may appear to an observer to be an independent image when in fact it often functions as a determinative for

the Egyptian word for “official”, *sr*.²⁵ Therefore, the image identifies the tomb owner as an official. The interplay between text and image in ancient Egypt facilitates several levels of meaning and allows artists to create more complex statements within the highly formalized structures of traditional representation. In this system, scale, color, and selection of determinatives and signs within texts can create specific meaning that is larger than what the content of the written word can convey.²⁶ As such, it is crucial to look at all of these elements when considering Egyptian tomb decoration, as they work together to create meaning.

Images had great power, and thus their production and dispersal also had great meaning. To produce an image was to perform a small act of creation. In one narrative, the creator god Khnum is represented as an artisan, forming man on a potter’s wheel.²⁷ The magic inherent in the creation of images was seen in the Egyptian understanding of materials and the meaning found in their properties.²⁸ For instance, lustrous blue-green faience had solar and regenerative significance and thus was frequently used in burial contexts to capitalize on the power of the material.²⁹ Images were given to other people or to deities to provide protection and honor and could act as talismans. Children received small fish amulets during life to protect them from drowning, and mummies usually had a

²⁵ Faulkner 2002, 235.

²⁶ For more on color symbolism, see Pinch 2001; Robins, 2001.

²⁷ Otto 1975.

²⁸ Aufrère 1991; Raven 1988, 237-242.

²⁹ Bianchi 1998, 24.

number of amulets in their wrappings to protect them on their way to the afterlife.³⁰ Destruction of images was powerful. Temples, forts, and palaces were dedicated with foundation deposits that included broken red pots and broken images of foreigners. The color red and foreigners were seen as representing *isfet*; by destroying them, one promoted *maat*.³¹ Image manipulation was also a major part of medicinal practice.³² Egyptian texts often mention the fear that one's name would be erased and thus the individual would be forgotten. Such a concern was even larger in the minds of rulers. When a king fell out of favor, his images were destroyed and his names erased. This type of destruction differs in motivation from the tendency of ancient rulers to reuse others' monuments or tombs. In the case of reuse, the individual reappropriates the material culture of an earlier ruler in order to promote their own reputation without draining resources. It seems that much of the time the motivation was economic. However, in the case of a few kings, most notably the 18th Dynasty rulers Hatshepsut and Akhenaten, large-scale destruction of their images and erasure of their names was intended to wipe them from the collective memory both practically and magically.³³ Just as the destruction of images of foreigners and red pots extinguished the chaos they represented, these rulers were defeated by the erasure of their images and names. Thus the efficacy of images had two related sources: the status-bearing propagandistic aspect and the magical affect. These may seem distinct to us, but to the Egyptians this distinction was likely less

³⁰ For discussion of amulets, see Andrews 1994. Fish amulets are numerous and appear throughout Egyptian history, but for one example see the Middle Kingdom gold and beryl fish amulet (09.180. 1182) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

³¹ Ritner 2008, 144.

³² For more on the use of images in medicine in ancient Egypt, see Allen 2006.

³³ Roth 2006; Eaton-Krauss 2003.

apparent. In fact, the two reinforced one another and made each more powerful. Representing a victory in battle, a successful transfer to the beyond, or a bountiful harvest, affected the perception of those who viewed the image, but it also brought about that which was depicted.

Egyptian Understanding of Death and the Afterlife: The Narrative

The Egyptians believed that death represented a transition instead of a termination, and it was incumbent upon an individual to spend their lives preparing for a smooth transition to the afterlife by acquiring funerary goods, constructing a tomb, and living righteously.³⁴ The individual in ancient Egyptian thought was made up of a group of aspects that were united in life but in death could break apart, giving the deceased a degree of flexibility to move between the living world and that of the dead. However, they needed to have the capacity to rejoin in order for the individual to experience a full afterlife. The pieces of the individual were the body, the heart, the *ka*, the *ba*, the shadow, and the name.³⁵ Immediately after death, an individual would be mummified in order to preserve one aspect, the body, in the most lifelike manner possible.³⁶ Following mummification, a series of funerary rituals were undertaken to ensure that the other

³⁴ Access to and understanding of the afterlife for non-elite is difficult to approach, given the dearth of information about this class of ancient Egyptians. In all likelihood, the ideas varied greatly based on period and location.

³⁵ Taylor 2001, 15-24.

³⁶ There were many different grades and methods of mummification throughout Egyptian history, and much of what is known about the processes come from modern investigation of the mummies themselves. However, the *Ritual of Embalming*, which survives in several Roman-era manuscripts but likely dates to the New Kingdom, contains a series of spells to be said and instructions for wrapping and placing amulets on the body. Ibid., 187.

aspects of the individual could join in the revived body and that the individual could be active in the afterlife. These rituals are often depicted in tombs and also in funerary papyri. Whether the rituals were carried out exactly as depicted is debatable, but it seems clear that these images represent the ideal burial and therefore, perhaps, through their representation, they are considered to have been completed.³⁷ Regardless, the images represent the deceased brought in procession in a shrine-shaped bark over the Nile, from the residential east bank to the necropolis on the west bank.³⁸ The procession continued on the west bank, where family members, friends, mourning women, and offering bringers accompanied the dead to his tomb.³⁹ Once the procession arrived at the doorway of the tomb, the mummy was placed in an upright position, and a series of rituals was performed before the deceased was deposited in the burial chamber. These rituals allowed the deceased to transfer to the afterlife and be active there and were directed by the *sem* priest, who was ideally the eldest son of the dead. The ceremony is sometimes referred to by its most important part, “the opening of the mouth.”⁴⁰ The ritual is first referred to in the *Pyramid Texts* but changed over time and in the New Kingdom, came to be illustrated with 75 scenes, which appear in royal New Kingdom tombs.⁴¹ For the elite, the salient parts of the ritual were the same, although they may have not been carried out in the elaborate fashion seen in royal tombs. The main parts of the ceremony were

³⁷ Assmann 2005, 247-252.

³⁸ At times an image of the deceased making the sacred trip to and from Abydos by boat is also included in the series.

³⁹ In addition to the offerings bearers that frequently occur in the procession scenes, some include image of the canopic container, *tekenu*, and the calf and its mother for the foreleg ritual.

⁴⁰ Taylor 2001, 191.

⁴¹ Otto, 1960.

purification, sacrifice of a bull, the mouth-opening, and presentation of offerings. The opening of the mouth allowed the orifices of the dead to function in the afterlife, giving him the ability to breathe and eat, and the offering ritual that occurred after it supplied the sustenance he would initially need in the afterlife.⁴² The offering ritual included the burning of incense, purification, and the offering of food and drink during the recitation of the *hṯp-dj-nswt* formula.⁴³ This offering formula is frequently found in the tombs and provided sustenance for the deceased not only at the moment of his burial but for eternity. Once the deceased was placed in his sealed burial chamber, located somewhere beneath the chapel or forecourt of the tomb, the next step in his journey to the afterlife began.

A series of funerary books outline the path from this world to the afterlife. In the New Kingdom, the *Book of the Dead* provided a description of and instructions for reaching the beyond.⁴⁴ A papyrus copy of the *Book of the Dead* was often included in the burial, and vignettes and texts found in it are frequently found on the walls of Ramesside tomb chapels. The text provided the deceased with the special knowledge they needed to move through the various trials on their way to the hall of judgment. Once there, the deceased's heart, which the Egyptians believed was the seat of thought and behavior, was weighed in a balance pan against the feather of *maat*, which represented correct behavior and righteousness. If the heart balanced, then the deceased was ushered into the community of the transfigured dead, or *akhs*, and could thereafter enjoy his afterlife. If the heart did not balance, then it was eaten by a beast called Ammit, who sat at the feet of

⁴² The most complete discussion of the ritual remains Otto 1960.

⁴³ Taylor 2001, 192.

⁴⁴ The Pyramid texts (Old Kingdom) and the Coffin texts (Middle Kingdom) are precursors to a group of about 200 chapters or spells that become known as The Book of the Dead by scholars but were known in the ancient period as "The Spells for Going Forth By Day". Ibid., 196.

the scale. Once the individual's heart was destroyed, he had lost his chance at an afterlife. The god Osiris oversaw the weighing, and once the deceased became an *akh*, he joined Osiris in the afterlife.⁴⁵

Characterizations of the afterlife differ. In some instances it is located in the sky, in others, beneath the earth. In some texts the dead travel with the sun god in his bark, while in others they seem to remain in an idyllic environment not dissimilar from the world they knew in life. The deceased had the ability to reenter the world of the living to receive offerings, visit temples or former homes, and in some cases, bring bad fortune to those who had wronged them or act in a helpful manner. However, regardless of the narrative, the deceased still required food and drink in the beyond to sustain them, and this belief provided a major motivation for tomb construction and for the decoration found within it.

The Characterization of Death in Egyptian Culture

As perhaps the most difficult concept for an individual or a culture to approach, death gives birth to a wealth of responses. In ancient Egypt, characterizations of death varied based on sources, location, and period. Jan Assmann has argued that death is the origin, center, and generator of culture and that only our awareness of our death drives us to achieve and create.⁴⁶ This notion of death as a primary cultural generator works

⁴⁵ Osiris was believed to be the first king of Egypt, who was murdered and resurrected to become ruler of the afterlife. He was the most important funerary deity.

⁴⁶ Assmann 2005, 1-7.

particularly well when considering funerary material culture, but it is Assmann's reading of the different characterizations of death found in Egyptian culture that help us to understand much of the decoration found in tomb chapels. He discusses a number of different images of death found in Egyptian texts: death as dismemberment, the enemy, dissociation, separation and reversal, transition, return, mystery, and going forth by day, but it is his discussion of death as social isolation that provides a new framework with which to view tomb chapel decoration, one that has not been treated by other studies.⁴⁷

One's reputation in the community was a major concern in life and in death, and a number of ancient Egyptian sources attest to the image of death as social isolation. Instructions, biographies, and funerary texts clearly communicate the concern for reputation. Isolation from community was not merely a metaphorical curse. It appears in tomb curses as the price for desecration:

As for any rebel who might rebel and plan in his heart to desecrate this tomb and what it contains... his name shall not be mentioned among the transfigured ones, his memory shall not endure among the living on earth.⁴⁸

New Kingdom prayers express an anxiety about the individual being the victim of gossip and ask for "deliverance from the mouths of men."⁴⁹ Righteous behavior in life

⁴⁷ Ibid., 23-225.

⁴⁸ Assmann 2005, 40.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

helped to protect one from isolation in life and in death. In the *Instruction of Ptahhotep*, the author advises the audience on the destructive nature of greed:

Greed is a serious, incurable sickness that cannot be treated. It alienates fathers, mothers, and full brothers; it drives out the wife... But that man who lives up to *maat* and who departs (i.e., dies) at his own pace. It is he who can make a testament, while the greedy one has no tomb.⁵⁰

As with most societies, the establishment of laws came from a desire to maintain social connectivity, and the importance of family relationships is emphasized as one tool in the service of community. The centrality of family relationships, particularly those between a father and son, is established in the first narratives of creation and in the principle funerary myth of Osiris and Horus.⁵¹ Osiris and Horus serve as the models for father-son relationships. When Osiris is murdered, it is his wife Isis and his son Horus who save him from death and avenge his murder. The family structure facilitated the hierarchical relationships that ensured the deceased would not only have sustenance in the afterlife through continued offering but would also be remembered and thus remain part of the living community as well. One was alive as long as one remained part of a community, and a major anxiety surrounding death is that the deceased would no longer be part of a social network. One Egyptian maxim states, “One lives, if his name is mentioned,” and much of the Egyptians’ preparation for their death related to this idea.⁵²

⁵⁰ Ibid., 54.

⁵¹ Assmann 2005, 48.

⁵² Ibid., 52.

The tomb addressed the anxiety regarding social isolation in two major ways: first, the successful construction of the tomb helped the deceased to transition from the community of the living world to that of the blessed dead and join the community of the *akhs*.

Because life was understood as community, the afterlife was conceptualized as another community parallel to that of the living. The tomb also provided the deceased with a continued presence in the living world and facilitated the memory of the tomb owner by ensuring that his name and his life would not be forgotten. The decoration found in the tomb chapel can be read in light of this purpose.

Functions of a Tomb

A number of words and phrases refer to tombs in Egyptian: *hrt*⁵³ which refers simply to a rock-cut tomb, but other names are *hwt nt nhh*, *hwt nt dt*,⁵⁴ and *pr n dt*, *pr.f nfr n nhh*,⁵⁵ *pr n sbb nhh*,⁵⁶ and *pr n ndm-jb*.⁵⁷ Many of these phrases incorporate the words *nhh* (*neheh*) and *dt* (*djet*), and it is useful to consider the significance of each in order to understand the different functions of the tomb, which ultimately inform their plan and decoration. *Neheh* and *djet* can both be translated as “time” but refer to different types of time, each of which related to the Egyptian worldview. *Neheh* was cyclical time,

⁵³ Hannig 2006, 597, *Felsgrab, Grabanlage*.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 549, “*Haus der Ewigkeit*” (*Grab*).

⁵⁵ Ibid., 295, *Grab*.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 295, *Haus des Durchlebens der Ewigkeit*.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 295, *Haus der Herzensfreude*.

seen in the cycle of the sun, movement of the moon and stars, the march of the seasons, and the regular annual inundation. *Djet* was linear time, seen in the forward moving march of history, punctuated by the reigns of particular kings, battles fought, and non-cyclical natural events. As these two types of time defined the Egyptians' understanding of the past, present, and future, it is logical that they would figure prominently in the Egyptian conception of the tomb, a place or house intended for both cyclical and linear eternity. Cyclical time was particularly relevant to rebirth in the afterlife because in many afterlife narratives the dead's daily rebirth follows the solar cycle. The importance of the solar cycle is directly referenced in the solar hymns often found within the tombs, as well as through frequent references to solar deities.⁵⁸ *Dt* time related to the tomb owner's memory and to the promotion of the tomb owner's social status and that of his family. The tomb owner represents himself as a successful professional with a family in order to promote his memory in the immediate and long-term future.

Preparation of a tomb and acquisition of funerary goods were a major concern for elite Egyptians, who began preparing for their transfer to the afterlife as soon as their economic situation and status allowed. A palpable anxiety surrounds this preparation, as unexpected illness, accident, or other events frequently brought death to even elite Egyptians very young. The theme of the importance of preparation is seen not only in the significant expenditure that tombs and funerary goods represent,⁵⁹ but also in instructional texts, such as the famous *Instruction of Any*, in which he counsils his son to:

⁵⁸ Assmann 1983.

⁵⁹ Cooney 2007.

Furnish your station in the valley, the grave that shall conceal your corpse; set it before you as your concern, a thing that matters in your eyes. Emulate the great departed, who are at rest in their tombs. No blame accrues to him who does it. It is well to be ready too. When your envoy comes to fetch you, he shall find you ready to come to take your rest and saying: "Here comes one prepared before you." Do not say, "I am young to be taken," For you do not know your death. When death comes he steals the infant who is in his mother's arms, just like him who reached old age.⁶⁰

Egyptian tombs were multifunctional structures, the basic purposes of which changed relatively little over the course of Egyptian history, but the same cannot be said for their decoration and architecture. The first and most obvious function was to protect the body of the deceased within an enclosed space.⁶¹ How this was managed changed over time but in all periods involved enclosure of the deceased in a coffin, textile, or even basketry, and burial either in the ground (e.g., cyst graves) or in subterranean chambers below the tomb superstructure. These areas were meant to be sealed at the time of interment in order to preserve the body for revivification in the afterlife, and ideally they were intended to be secret.

The second function was to serve as a site for the ritual commemoration of the deceased.⁶² Funerary monuments of the Egyptian elite incorporated open chapels in

⁶⁰ Lichtheim 1976, 138.

⁶¹ Assmann 2003a, 46-52.

⁶² Ibid.

freestanding buildings and in rock-cut tombs to facilitate the rituals associated with the initial interment, as well as those carried out later by family, friends, priests, and perhaps even strangers, for the purpose of sustaining the dead in the afterlife. Because the Egyptians believed that the deceased had to be continually sustained in the afterlife through offerings and prayers, tombs usually incorporated spaces for such rituals. In the event that offerings and prayers ceased, the tomb itself could help to sustain the deceased in part due to the existence of spaces for offering within it. Tombs of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, be they free-standing mastabas or rock-cut, incorporated a false door and/or a statue chamber into their design to facilitate offering rituals and prayers. In the New Kingdom, representations of stelae, sculptures of the deceased, and in some cases false doors (although with different architecture and decoration than those of the previous eras) met many of these same needs.

Other purposes of the tomb were more complex. It served as a site of self-presentation for the tomb owner--invariably male in New Kingdom Thebes--enumerating his accomplishments in life and therefore representing himself as worthy of an afterlife.⁶³ The specific manner of representation varied to match the individual's titles and occupation. Although some scene types were popular regardless of the tomb owner's title(s), others related more explicitly to the individual's professional circumstances. Furthermore, the very existence of a tomb was a status symbol: its construction and decoration constituted major expenses, and access to the necessary materials, space, and craftsmen were restricted to the high elite. The tomb served not only as a simple monument to the deceased's career accomplishments but also to his personal successes,

⁶³ Ibid.

with the tomb owner often represented as the head of a family with offspring. By representing himself as successful in both professional and private life, a tomb owner proved his adherence to the Egyptian ideal of *maat*. In order to transfer to the afterlife, an individual was obliged to observe *maat* by doing that which was expected of him in this life. In addition, the tomb also served as a site of self-presentation for the tomb owner's family, who would often be represented in images affirming their adherence to approved roles, such as that of the mother with many healthy children and that of the child who dutifully manages his parents' burials and maintains their offering cult. Representing each family member as adherents of *maat* validated the tomb owner together with his family. Moreover, the entire family shared in the wealth and status conferred upon the tomb's occupant. Frequently, tombs incorporate names and images of family members and therefore could serve as a site of commemoration for these individuals as well, because remembrance, specifically the record of a name, served to help sustain the deceased in the afterlife. Tomb chapels therefore served the funerary needs of the tomb owner but also to some extent those he chose to include in his texts and images.⁶⁴

Just as important was the role of the tomb as a locus of interface at which the world of the dead and that of the living came together, not only through the offering cult but also by serving as a place where the living could come to be heard by their ancestors.⁶⁵ The tomb was a liminal site, powerful and potentially dangerous, through which moved those elements of the deceased that could return to this world. The dead could become dangerous to the living if they did not receive offerings or if their funerary

⁶⁴ Dorman 2003.

⁶⁵ Assman 2003a, 46-52.

rituals were not properly performed; negligence and infractions of this sort could lead the dead to cause nightmares, sickness, bad luck, and infertility.⁶⁶ In addition, the Theban tombs were constructed with an awareness of the annual necropolis festivals, as well as other religious events in the Theban landscape, in which the dead were thought to be able to participate.

The final purpose of the tomb was to conduct the dead to the afterlife through the use of the architecture and images within the tomb, in addition to the rituals performed around it. In order to understand how these monuments could actually conduct the deceased to the afterlife, it is important to consider the Egyptian conception of images.⁶⁷ In tombs, sculpture and images painted or carved on the walls define the space in a number of ways. They give an indication of the proper behavior expected of the viewer. For example, representations of figures offering to the deceased appear on the walls of tombs to demonstrate the behavior expected within the space, and statues, false doors or stelae signal places for performing the offering ritual. Additionally, the decoration of an Egyptian tomb underscored the relative importance of the different spaces and may also have demarcated various levels of access. The open courtyard in front of the tomb was defined as a place of general access and was less sacred, whereas the statue at the most interior point of the tomb occupied a smaller, restricted space that was therefore more sacred, based on parallels found in temple and palace architecture.⁶⁸ Moreover, the

⁶⁶ As seen in the concerns communicated in “letters to the dead”, Ritner 2008, 180.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ For discussion of the scenario found in temple architecture, see Baines 1997, 216-241. For discussion of palace layout, see O’Connor 1991, 167-198.

Egyptian belief in the efficacy of imagery is highly significant: to represent an ephemeral ritual was to continue its performance in perpetuity. Representing the successful transfer of an individual into the afterlife similarly helped to accomplish this goal. In this way, the images represented on the walls of tombs were not only wishes for continued life but were also the vehicle for its realization. The purposes of the tomb and the methods used to realize them were not discrete but rather mutually reinforcing. The tomb's many functions demand that its decoration address many spheres of Egyptian life, such as the world of the living and the dead, the social and the political, the economic and the religious: changes in its construction and decoration are therefore likely to have signaled larger societal changes.

In addition to the instruction texts that explain the importance of the construction of a tomb, the tombs themselves speak to their audience in the form of a group of texts referred to by Egyptologists as “appeals to the living.” In these texts, the deceased request prayers and offerings from those who visit their tomb. In the case of the Ramesside tomb of Djutemhab (TT194), a text to the left of the door identifies the intended audience, which seem to be other members of the elite: “people, youths, all perfect scribes, accomplished in writings, intelligent, who are skilled in hieroglyphs.” The text on the right side of the door further frames the purpose of the tomb chapel as a locus for self-presentation by declaring that the tomb owner is “truly assiduous, free from evil.”⁶⁹

In Saqqara, the tomb of May, overseer of the treasury, which dates to the reign of Horemheb, has an autobiographical text that addresses visitors to the tomb:

⁶⁹Frood 2004, 33. For full text translated into German, see Seyfried 1995, 23-25, 29-30.

to the people who will come and who wish to take recreation in the West, to walkabout in the district of [eternity]: [.....] my tomb in [...], [your] [...] making [...] this speech of mine, rejoice [...] among them, [.....] my name upon my monument, which [...] made for me.⁷⁰

In the 18th Dynasty tomb of Rekhmire, governor of the town and vizier during the reign of Tuthmosis III-Amenhotep II, the appeal is even more extensive:

Any excellent scribe, skilled in writing, who reads in the texts [and understands with] his heart, sharp-tongued , open-faced, [who can penetrate] things, educated by an overseer to make things happen, calm but sturdy of heart, courageous in [inquiry]. Every one is a sage who can listen to what the ancestors have said. The gods of your city will praise you as does the king [of] his [day]... You will bequeath your offices to your children after a long life without [regrets].... Your images will be where they belong if you repeat.⁷¹

This text is followed by requests of the visitors.

Construction of Tombs at Thebes

⁷⁰ Frood 2007, 142.

⁷¹ Hodel-Hones 2000, 14.

While some difficulties arise from the fact that many Theban tombs were unfinished, this situation has facilitated an understanding of the sequence of construction of these monuments, which in turn influences their decoration (Fig. 1). One of the first points to consider when discussing the rock-cut tombs of the Theban elite is that while there are over 400 numbered tombs in the Theban necropolis, most evidence suggests that approximately two or three private tombs would have been completed a year.⁷² Larger tombs clearly took longer to complete than smaller ones, and the work schedule maintained by those who worked on the tombs, as well as whether it was continuous or intermittent, remains unclear. Still, an unusual ostrakon that dates to the reign of Ramesses VIII records that a small T-shaped tomb took 3 months and 19 days to paint.⁷³ Far more information exists for the planning and decoration of royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings during the New Kingdom, with plans for the tomb of Ramesses IV and Ramesses IX preserved on papyrus and an ostrakon, respectively, as well as from the records from Deir el Medina.⁷⁴

Deir el Medina was the site of a workmen's village on the west bank of Thebes, inhabited by artists employed in the decoration of royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings. First established in the early 18th Dynasty, it was most populated during the Ramesside period.⁷⁵ While the royal tombs these workmen decorated were clearly far larger and grander than most of the elite tombs that are under consideration in this study, it is not

⁷² Strudwick 1995.

⁷³ Amer 1981, 9-12.

⁷⁴ Cerny 1973; Hornung 1990, 39-48.

⁷⁵ McDowell 1999, 18-23.

unreasonable to assume that their methods of working or their organization would have been similar to those carving and decorating elite tombs. Some of the many ostraca found at Deir el Medina, which detail the lives of the royal workers, might generally reflect the lives of those who worked on elite tombs. In fact, Romer suggests that all Theban tomb-making was overseen by a single body that organized work within the royal and elite necropolises.⁷⁶ Ventura suggests that the “Place of Truth,” a building associated with the administration of the work of the necropolis and often mentioned in textual sources from the necropolis, was located near the Ramesseum.⁷⁷

Whether or not workers from Deir el Medina worked in elite tombs has long been debated. Some texts suggest that Deir el Medina workers took on projects for elite burials on a freelance basis, perhaps creating movable funerary goods (boxes, etc.) for the elite market.⁷⁸ But it seems unlikely that these workers would have carried out the bulk of the decoration of elite tombs, and many have posited that on the west bank there was a second workforce that would have focused on the construction and decoration of elite tombs. That the production of elite tombs remained relatively stable throughout the New Kingdom suggests a dedicated workforce; a pattern of rapid fluctuation would have implied elite tomb decoration was completed sporadically with workers brought in to work intermittently.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Romer 1994, 220.

⁷⁷ Ventura 1987.

⁷⁸ McDowell 1999, 79-80.

⁷⁹ Romer 1994, 216.

The phases of construction of a Theban tomb are quite well understood in part because many were left in various stages of completion. The elite tombs are carved into the limestone Theban hills and spread primarily across the following areas: Dra Abu el-Naga, Khokha, Asasif, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, Qurnet Murai, and (omitted from this study) the area of Deir el-Medina (Fig. 2). Limestone is a sedimentary rock, built up in layers over time, and on the west bank it ranges from almost white to a buttery color. Different areas of the necropolis were more heavily used depending on the period, the status of the tomb owner, and even his individual profession or affiliation. As with royal tombs, it is likely that plans for those of the elite were drawn up to prepare for cutting, but, due to the inconsistent nature of much of the limestone on the west bank, ad hoc changes had to be made to accommodate unexpected issues with the rock. In certain cases this is likely the reason why some tomb plans deviate from the traditional T-shape.

First, workers cut a narrow tunnel into the rock; this would become the central axis of the tomb. The ceiling was given a central red line from which extensions of the space (in the form of other rooms, walls, and/or the transverse hall) would be measured. The initial excavation of the tomb was carried out with stone tools, and bronze chisels and pumice were used for the finer work of smoothing the walls.⁸⁰ The walls were then coated in a mixture of straw and mud to create a more even surface for decoration, after which plaster was layered on. In the 18th Dynasty, with the wall surface prepared, artists often began to lay out the grid system they would use as the basis for the scale of the

⁸⁰ Hodel-Hones 2000, 16.

images they would paint.⁸¹ The grids were useful not only for planning the composition of the walls but also for decorating large areas, to maintain a relatively uniform scale across walls where multiple artists would be working. They were guidelines to aid help the artist create the preliminary sketches and are useful today because they make shifts in the rendering of the figure more evident and clearly discernable.⁸² To make them, string dipped in red paint was strung taut against the walls and then pulled back; when it rebounded, the string marked a straight line on the wall.

Ramesside tombs lack the evidence for grids found in tombs of the 18th Dynasty. This may relate to the fact that the walls of the earlier tombs were more frequently prepared with a thin layer of stucco as ground, while Ramesside tombs usually were prepared with a thicker reddish clay foundation that often pulls off the walls, or it may be that the gridlines were not used in tombs of the period.⁸³ Once the grids were laid out (or not, depending on the tomb), sketches of the scenes were done in first red and then often black ink. In some cases, it is clear that initial sketches were made in red ink, after which another hand came in with black to correct them. In cases where tombs feature relief decoration, the sculptors chiseled the scenes into the walls, which would also have been painted.⁸⁴

⁸¹ For examples of grid-lines found in 18th Dynasty Theban tombs see, TT 52, TT 89, TT 92, TT 108, and TT 154. For further discussion of grids in the 18th Dynasty, see Robins 1994, 87-119.

⁸² For further discussion of workshop and artist organization in an 18th Dynasty tomb, decorated during the reign of Amenhotep II (TT 92), see Bryan, 2001.

⁸³ Mekhitarian 1954, 131.

⁸⁴ Hodel-Hones 2000, 18.

In general, artists began work in the exterior parts of the tomb and progressed toward the shrine. This could be in part because interior areas of the tomb were still being excavated as the decoration began. However, the farther one moved into the tomb, the more one also had to contend with the encroaching darkness. Even today, with the aid of electrical light, it can be difficult to see in the interior parts of dark tombs. It seems that the Egyptians used a type of lamp in the form of a shallow clay bowl that was filled with fat or oil into which wicks of linen were inserted.⁸⁵ Salt was added to the oil in order to prevent smoking, and apparently these lamps gave off enough light to enable to artists work in the dark inner reaches of the tomb.⁸⁶

In the case of painted tombs, the painters simply filled in the designs made by the draftsmen. Paints were made from mineral pigments and resins.⁸⁷ In the 18th Dynasty, a gray-blue color mostly is used for the background of scenes, while in the Ramesside a golden-yellow color is more common.⁸⁸ The bright colors were not always intended to reflect reality. Because colors had symbolic significance, their use in the tombs had the potential to make images more powerful or to lay on additional symbolism.

Tomb Owners

⁸⁵ Texts from Deir el Medina record the distribution of rags and oil to make the lamps that lit the tombs during work and record the number of wicks consumed on each day. McDowell 1999, 207-209.

⁸⁶ Hodel-Hones 2000, 18.

⁸⁷ For more discussion of pigments and paint, see Lee and Quirke 2006.

⁸⁸ Hofmann 2003.

Since Theban tombs were expensive commodities, their owners were without exception members of an elite social class. The king awarded officials with plots of land in the necropolis on which to construct their tombs; therefore the very existence of a tomb spoke of royal favor and power.⁸⁹ While texts from some 18th Dynasty tombs make clear statements that the land for the tomb came from the king (e.g. TT 110 and TT 164), these do not necessarily suggest a personal closeness between the tomb owner and king. In the 18th Dynasty, the necropolis was protected and administered by a royal authority led by the “overseer of Western Thebes,” and it seems likely that most of the practical concerns regarding the necropolis were controlled by these officials.⁹⁰

When attempting to reconstruct the breadth of Egyptian society, it is difficult to know how many people constituted different social classes, or even how many different social classes there might have been, because the royal and high elite of the society left most of the material culture. Those in the lower classes could not afford durable stone monuments or to commission texts, thereby skewing any modern understanding of Egyptian society. Much of what is known about Egyptian elite society comes from the tombs themselves, and one of the principle indicators of the high status of tomb owners found there are professional titles. In order for an Egyptian to attain high rank and titles within the government, temple, or military administration, he had to be literate and usually came from a high-ranking family. Many genealogies show that titles were often passed down from father to son, but whether this was a formal or informal practice is not known and, in all likelihood, varied based on circumstance. The specific responsibilities

⁸⁹ Hartwig 2004, 22.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

of each professional position are also often unknown, but official titles do identify the individual as associated with certain institutions (for example, temple, military, government, or palace) and can suggest general professional responsibilities. For instance, it is known that those priests involved in temple administration were responsible for the care of the cult statue of the god or royal person honored in a specific temple and that they partook in festivals and processions involving the statue. Other titles are more descriptive of the position, such as that of Neferronpet, owner of TT 133, who held the title “chief of the weavers of the Ramesseum.” or the owner of TT 138, Nedjemger, who was “overseer of the garden of the Ramesseum.” These are more descriptive than the many priestly titles found so commonly in elite Theban tombs. However, regardless of the clarity of the title, the tomb owner’s title is crucial to the understanding of his self-presentation in the tomb space, and thus they will be of primary concern in this study.

Theban tombs can commemorate men, women, and children through image and text, but the primary tomb owner is almost exclusively male.⁹¹ Images and texts represent women and sometimes children but mostly as supplementary figures, whereas the tomb owner is the primary focus. Several possible reasons lay behind this phenomenon. Because women could not hold bureaucratic office, they were likely unable to finance a tomb chapel independent from their male relatives. It may have been considered the male relative’s responsibility to bury a wife or a mother. In Theban tombs, women often have titles that associate them with the home, most commonly “mistress of the house,” or some that connect them to temple worship, often “chantress” of a god or goddess. These must not to be confused with the bureaucratic temple titles that men held.

⁹¹ An exception to this rule is the Middle Kingdom tomb of Senet (TT 60). Robins 1993, 164-166.

This study focuses on the self presentation and construction of the *tomb owner's* identity, as he is the primary subject and was likely more directly involved with the selection of scenes and texts for his tomb. An area for further research would be the question of the representation of women in tomb chapels.

Who were the contemporary visitors to the tomb?

In order to understand tomb decoration, it is important to first understand the audience. In the case of elite Theban tombs, there are two sources that help to reconstruct the identities of the intended visitors to the tomb: appeals to the living and visitor graffiti. Appeals to the living are texts--found often at the entrance to a tomb chapel, on stelae, or in the transverse rooms--that make requests of the visitors and sometimes give an indication of their identity.⁹² For example, in the Ramesside Tomb of Djutemhab (TT194), a text to the left of the door identifies the intended audience as “people, youths, all perfect scribes, accomplished in writings, intelligent, who are skilled in hieroglyphs.”⁹³ The right side of the door frame further frames the tomb chapel's purpose as a locus for self-presentation of the tomb owner by declaring that the tomb owner is “truly assiduous, free from evil,” indicating his worthiness of offerings.⁹⁴ The majority of appeals address the literate, which seems reasonable given that they were textual, but Hartwig points out that some mention that the recipient will *hear* them rather than *read*

⁹² Frood 2007, 6-8.

⁹³ For English translation of audience address, see Frood 2004, 33. Full text translated by Seyfried into German, see Seyfried 1994), 23-25, 29-30.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

them, which widens the potential audience.⁹⁵ A Late Period (c. 715-332 B.C.E.) appeal from the tomb of Iby (TT 36) is the most evocative in its description of the tomb owner's desire to engage an audience in the decoration of his tomb, asking the visitor to "hear" mourners and other elements depicted.⁹⁶ In this case, Iby clearly intended the imagery to serve as a catalyst for a multi-sensory experience for the visitor, who would (it was hoped) recall or imagine aspects of the funeral procession as if it were occurring before him.

Regardless of the stated audience, all appeals make requests of visitors to propagate the funerary cult, and there is a stated desire that this cult would continue to exist well into the future. In the appeal found on a stela in the 18th Dynasty tomb of Menkheperresoneb (TT 79), the tomb owner not only makes requests of the visitors but also explains the benefit they will receive for having completed them: "O living ones on earth, [people] living in future times, [wab-priests, lector priests of Osiris Khentamenthes] all those skilled in divine words: As they enter my tomb, worship in it, read my stela, recall my name, [your god] will favor you, you will bequeath your office to [your children in old age]."⁹⁷

Pendant to these appeals are visitor graffiti found in tombs. These short texts usually record the visitor's name and admiration for the decoration. Their statements generally do not refer to the content but say that the decoration is beautiful.

⁹⁵ Hartwig 2004, 11.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 10.

Repetition of scenes from one tomb in another provides clear evidence that tomb owners and artists visited others' tomb chapels for inspiration.⁹⁸ While tomb chapels were likely open to visitors most of the time, traffic in the tombs increased during annual festivals that incorporated the tomb space. By the inclusion of the tomb chapel in festival celebrations, the deceased remained part of the living community and participated in the festivals themselves, repelling the social isolation that defined death. During new year festivals (several occurred each year, marking different moments in the calendar), the deceased's relatives and friends banqueted at the tomb chapel and brought offerings to its occupant.⁹⁹ Arguably, the most important festival in the Theban necropolis was that of the Valley Festival, which originated as a celebration dedicated to the goddess Hathor but came to be associated with Amun in the New Kingdom. During the festival, the cult statues of Amun, Khons, and Mut were transported from their home temples on the east bank and made a circuit around various royal mortuary temples on the west bank, and then to the Hathor sanctuary at Deir el-Bahri. During the Valley Festival, the reigning king honored his dead predecessors, and the elite visited the tombs of their family members, banqueting in the tomb space and making offerings. Hartwig argues that the festivals provided an opportunity for the group gathered at the tomb to view the decoration and read the texts.¹⁰⁰

Tomb Development in Western Thebes

⁹⁸ Hartwig 2004, 44.

⁹⁹ Ibid, 11.

¹⁰⁰ Hartwig 2004, 12.

In discussions of Theban tomb development, it is convenient to use the notion of a “canonical” or “ideal” Theban tomb to condense trends found in tomb decoration and plan, but such an approach should be used with caution. No two tombs have the same plan or decorative program, and to consider one plan or program “ideal,” with others being only deviations, is not constructive and obscures the flexible nature of tomb design. Theban tomb plans in the New Kingdom often take the shape of an inverted “T” or variations on this plan (Fig. 3).¹⁰¹ However, single-room and other types of plans are also common.¹⁰²

The earliest elite tombs on the west bank of Thebes date to the Old Kingdom. The remains of two mud-brick mastaba tombs at el-Tarif date to the 4th Dynasty, and five rock-cut tombs in the area of el-Khokha date to the 5th and 6th Dynasties.¹⁰³ The tomb space was already divided into two parts: a chapel that remained open to visitors and facilitated the cult of the deceased, and an inaccessible burial chamber for the body of the deceased. This twofold arrangement existed, with some alterations, until well beyond the Ramesside period and will be central to the description of the canonical tomb as elucidated by Assmann and Kampp. The tombs of the Middle Kingdom at Thebes are generally of the *saff* type. The term “*saff*” comes from the Arabic word for “row” and refers to the rows of pillars found on the façades of these rock-cut tombs. Kampp argues that these pillared façades develop into the transverse hall found in New Kingdom

¹⁰¹ For some examples of the variation in T-shaped tombs, see, Kampp-Seyfried 2003, fig. 2.

¹⁰² There are many examples of single-room tombs, but some included in this study include TT 16, TT 233, TT 254, and TT 296. Examples of Ramesside tombs whose plans deviate strongly from a T-shaped plan or variations are TT 141, TT 184, TT 192, TT 271, TT 289, and TT 408.

¹⁰³ Soliman 2009, 12-28.

Theban tombs.¹⁰⁴

In the 18th Dynasty, elite rock-cut tombs attained the T-shaped plan that came to define them but again display variation in plan. As with their predecessors, 18th Dynasty tombs had an open chapel and a burial chamber that was inaccessible after interment. A courtyard fronted the entrance to the chapel with a low, sloping wall. Above the door to the tomb was often a niche with a stelophoros statue representing the tomb owner holding a stela with a hymn to the sun (Fig. 4). Along the top of the façade, 18th Dynasty tombs often included a frieze of funerary cones stamped with the name and titles of the tomb owner. As visitors entered the “canonical” 18th Dynasty tomb, they would first find themselves in the transverse hall with wings spreading out to either side. They would then look down the longitudinal hall and see the shrine that housed a sculpture of the tomb owner (and perhaps his wife) as the focal point of the offering cult. At either end of the transverse hall, a stela and/or a false door are often found, marking a secondary site of offering and another point of contact between visitor and deceased.¹⁰⁵

In terms of the canonical decorative program, a sketch can be drawn but only with great caution and the awareness that no one tomb conforms entirely to the described scenario. The tomb of Benia (TT 343) comes closest.¹⁰⁶ On the thickness of the entrance to an 18th Dynasty tomb, one expects to find images of the tomb owner striding into

¹⁰⁴ Kampp-Seyfried 2003.

¹⁰⁵ Hermann, 1940.

¹⁰⁶ Guksch 1978.

and/or out of the tomb, sometimes accompanied by his family.¹⁰⁷ If facing into the space, the deceased is thought to be moving toward the west and the afterlife and thus is directed toward Osiris. When found facing out of the tomb, there is sometimes a hymn to the sun god, and the tomb owner is understood to be adoring the deity not only with his words but also with his upraised hands. In this way the major orientation of the tomb is emphasized. All tombs are understood as being oriented east to west. One enters from the east, the sunlit land of the living where the sun rises, and moves westward into the longitudinal hall, where the space becomes darker and ultimately the sun sets and the entrance to the afterlife is found. Where literal east-to-west orientation was not possible, it was achieved ritually through the use of images and texts. Figures often found on the entrance thickness represent the dead tomb owner entering from the area of the living and exiting again, as he hopes to join the sun in its constant cycle of death in the west and rebirth in the east. This scenario would also mimic the movements of those who visited the tomb and greet them.

In the first transverse room, one expects to find examples of so-called “scenes of daily life.”¹⁰⁸ This group includes scenes of the tomb owner fishing or fowling in the marshes, banquets, and agricultural activities.¹⁰⁹ Also in the transverse hall were representations of the tomb owner carrying out his professional duties and interacting

¹⁰⁷ In the 18th Dynasty, figures on both thicknesses frequently face out of the tomb, while in the 19th Dynasty, there is more variation.

¹⁰⁸ Manniche and others have shown that the designation of these images as “daily life scenes” is misleading, as they do not represent the daily life of elite ancient Egyptians; instead these are coded images with symbolic meaning. Manniche 2003.

¹⁰⁹ Manniche 1988, 37-40.

with his family members and, in certain cases, with kings, through offering scenes.¹¹⁰ In the longitudinal hall, the anticipated scenes relate more to rituals that help the deceased to make the transition into the afterlife.¹¹¹ Here it is most common to find images of the funeral, the voyage to Abydos, and the opening of the mouth ritual.¹¹²

The general explanation of the organization of the program is related to an idea most closely associated with Dieter Arnold, who argued that images help to define space in order to understand spaces within temples.¹¹³ Following this idea, it is legitimate to consider how the scenes found in the transverse hall define that space differently from those found in the longitudinal hall. Because the scenes in the transverse hall relate, at least superficially, to the profane world and those in the longitudinal hall relate to the more sacred funerary rites and the world beyond, it can be argued that because the space becomes more sacred as one moves into the tomb, sacred content is placed in the space near the shrine. Furthermore, one could understand this progression of scenes as indicative of the temporal arrangement of a life, i.e., those scenes that relate to the life of the tomb owner come first and those that occur later (after his death) are found in the interior parts. These ideas will be returned to shortly in the discussion of the methodology for the present study.

A final hallmark of 18th Dynasty tomb decoration, which in some cases changes in the 19th Dynasty, is the arrangement of scenes on the walls of the tomb. In the 18th

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 33-37.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 41-42.

¹¹² Altenmüller 1975.

¹¹³ Arnold 1962.

Dynasty, scenes on walls were intended to be read vertically from bottom to top and included a number of detailed subsidiary scenes. Usually one would find a large image, perhaps a seated tomb owner overseeing work by subordinates, below which figures of the subordinates would be rendered in far smaller scale.

The reign of Akhenaten (c. 1353-1336 B.C.E) altered the Egyptian cultural landscape.¹¹⁴ His promotion of the cult of the Aten, transportation of the royal residence and religious center of Egypt to the desert site of Amarna, and his destruction of the traditional pantheon and the temples active in upholding it were accompanied by an artistic revolution that represented a strong departure from the style and conventions that came before it. The elite tombs built at Amarna show both their origins in the tradition of Theban tomb production and their investment in a new theology. While most of the 44 rock-cut tombs at Amarna are unfinished, they demonstrate major parallels with their predecessors at Thebes. The tombs are sometimes T-shaped or variations thereof, with a linear axis between the doorway and the statue shrine in the far end, which, due to the location of Amarna on the east bank of the Nile, is usually in the east end of the chapel, rather than the west as seen at Thebes.¹¹⁵ The doorways are defined by decorated jambs and lintels, and the thicknesses often depict images of the tomb owner, sometimes accompanied by his wife. At Amarna, however, instead of the hymns to Osiris and Re often found accompanying such figures at Thebes, there are hymns to the Aten.¹¹⁶ The assessment of Amarna tombs as very different from their Theban predecessors comes

¹¹⁴ Baines and Malek 2000, 36.

¹¹⁵ Robins (forthcoming).

¹¹⁶ For example, see Tomb of Ay, Freed 1999, 171.

from the strong departure in style and scene selection in them. Traditional funerary deities such as Osiris are not represented, and tomb decoration is dominated by images of Akhenaten and his family.¹¹⁷

However, despite the fact that many subjects drop out of the canon during this period, the purpose of the spaces remains largely the same. Gay Robins has discussed the way in which the outer areas of the tomb, which parallel the transverse room in Theban tombs, are the major site of self-presentation for the tomb owner, and that the dominant images of the king and his family found in these spaces serve to represent the tomb owner's identity as a high-status individual with access to the king--someone who is worthy of offerings.¹¹⁸ Few of the inner areas of Amarna tombs are finished; however, those that are feature not images of the royal family but rather scenes of funerary and offering rituals.

In the 19th Dynasty, trends that began in the late 18th and the post-Amarna age come to fruition with a greatly altered tomb format. The conception of the façade alters and becomes more complex. Instead of the stelophorous statue above the entrance and frieze of funerary cones bearing the tomb owner's name, two stelae flank the door to the tomb chapel (Fig. 5). The sloping, round-topped walls of the 18th Dynasty courtyard rise and incorporate porticos, and in some cases there is evidence of a pylon-like gate at the entrance to the courtyard. Finally, in the 19th Dynasty a small pyramid often surmounts the tomb. While perhaps attested in the Deir el Medina necropolis in the 18th Dynasty, this element is not common in the other areas.

¹¹⁷ Robins (forthcoming.)

¹¹⁸ Robins (forthcoming.)

Scenes on the walls are sometimes divided differently in the 19th Dynasty, with horizontal lines of text separating them into two registers. These are intended to be read horizontally, so that the material in the upper register is interpreted continuously and the material in the bottom register is discrete from it but read in the same way.¹¹⁹

Furthermore, the tendency to confine scenes to one wall in the 18th Dynasty is often abandoned in the 19th Dynasty, when scenes run over corners and across walls, giving them greater continuity and changing their cadence on the walls and thus the viewers' experience of them.¹²⁰ It is possible that this new layout is related to the way one would read an unrolled scroll containing the *Book of the Dead* and that the format and the subject matter are related, a point to be clarified shortly. Additionally, the use of figural sculpture in the 19th Dynasty departs from that in the 18th Dynasty. While 18th Dynasty tomb chapels normally contain one location for the statue of the owner and his family at the end of the long hall, the amount of figural sculpture in 19th Dynasty tombs increases and appears in multiple locations.¹²¹ Theban tombs of the 19th Dynasty also sometimes incorporate statues of deities, which are unprecedented in the previous dynasty.¹²²

Kampp has also noted a change in the type of burial shaft favored in the 19th Dynasty. Many New Kingdom Theban tombs had two means of access into the subterranean level of the complex, the vertical shaft and the so-called "sloping

¹¹⁹ Assmann 1987.

¹²⁰ This tendency is also seen in Amarna tombs, Robins (forthcoming.)

¹²¹ Most of the tombs in this group were excluded from this study because they are also large and relief cut, for a list of them, see Appendix. For more on the appearance of sculpture in tombs of the Ramesside, see Hofmann 1995.

¹²² Most of the tombs in this group were excluded from this study because they are also large and relief cut, for a list of them, see Appendix.

passage.”¹²³ The latter, which sloped to a greater or lesser degree and sometimes incorporated a number of bends, could be negotiated on foot. The Egyptian visualization of the underworld probably influenced the design of this tunnel system. Vertical shafts were preferred during the 18th Dynasty and sloping passages during the 19th Dynasty, but this tendency is less than compelling, given that tombs often featured both types of subterranean spaces. If a complex featured both a shaft and a sloping passage, the latter usually led to the burial chamber containing the sarcophagus.

A change in artistic style also occurs in the 19th Dynasty, a topic clearly handled by Eva Hoffmann’s examination of not only Ramesside tombs from the Theban necropolis but also contemporary material from Saqqara and several provincial necropolises.¹²⁴ Her work describes many unpublished Ramesside-era tombs and goes on to investigate the change in style seen in the 19th and 20th Dynasty. She finds that a “stylistic pluralism” defines this era, and she suggests that influences from different periods were being actively used by artists in order to reference earlier dynasties; the shift in decoration that occurred during the Amarna period, she argues, contributed to this diversity.¹²⁵

More compelling than these changes are the new selection and arrangement of scene types. “Daily life” scenes lose prominence, and images of the deceased’s funerary rituals increase, as do images of the deceased interacting with gods. It is these changes in the decorative program that provide the basis for the current study. A major argument

¹²³ Kampp-Seyfried 1998.

¹²⁴ Hofmann 2004.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

will be made that, while aspects of the decorative program do change in the 19th Dynasty, the purpose of the tomb chapel as a site for construction and projection of the identity of the tomb owner remains central, an idea that is largely ignored by other studies about the tombs of this period. If the role of the tomb in the social world is seen in one way or another in elite tombs since the Old Kingdom, why would it be any less important in those of the Ramesside period?

Focal Walls

The T-shaped tomb chapel creates two long walls on the “western” side of the transverse room on either side of the doorway to the inner room (Fig. 6). These walls are the first interior walls a visitor sees upon entering the tomb and are the best lit by the light coming through the doorway. They frequently feature some of the most intricate and innovative images in the tomb chapel and have been identified, since the work of Max Wegner in the 1930s, as having images that focus on the tomb owner’s status, identity, and role in the social world.¹²⁶ There are instances in which “appeals to the living” within the tomb itself refer the visitor to the content on the focal walls.¹²⁷ In the case of TT 57, the tomb of Khaemhat created during the reign of Amenhotep III in the 18th Dynasty, a text found on the outer lintel of the entrance frames the viewer’s experience of the tomb by stating: “He says to people who shall pass by his tomb chapel... who shall look at my walls, and who should read my sayings.”¹²⁸ Even visitor graffiti on focal walls compliment the images found there, and autobiographical texts are often found on these

¹²⁶ Wegner 1933, 95.

¹²⁷ Hartwig 2004, 17.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

walls.¹²⁹

When Dieter Arnold demonstrated the importance of scene selection and placement in the definition of space in temples, he showed that scenes placed in the sanctuary of temples identified the deity worshiped there and directed the viewers' experience of the space. He referred to these scenes as *Blickpunktsbild* or "focal point representation."¹³⁰ Melinda Hartwig took these ideas and applied them to elite Theban tombs from the 18th Dynasty, specifically between the reigns of Tuthmosis IV and Amenhotep III (1419-1372 BCE). Her examination of 30 decorated Theban tombs and the decoration found on their focal wall revealed trends in the types of scenes selected by tomb owners with different titles. She showed that tomb owners manipulated the imagery used on the focal walls to reference their professional life and, in doing so, used the space to project their identity and establish themselves as worthy of an afterlife. Hartwig identified a number of "icons" that were used to communicate aspects of the tomb owner's identity. She found that those who were members of royal administration most frequently used the Royal Kiosk Icon which depicted the enthroned king to show their closeness to the king. She identified a series of "adjacent icons" that were all used in much the same way to emphasize the tomb owner's support of the king, including Tribute, Registration, Gift, and Award of Distinction icons (Fig. 7). On the other hand, those who worked in religious administration or as temple artists more frequently used the Offering Table Icon, Worshipping Osiris Icon, Funerary Rites Icon, and Natural Resources Icons to emphasize their association with deities and their aspiration for

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Arnold 1962, 128.

transcendence in the afterlife.¹³¹ Hartwig's work has been seminal to the current study, one of the purposes of which is to examine how focal wall decoration is used in the Ramesside period to construct the identity of the tomb owner, a topic that is particularly interesting because of the decrease in certain popular icons found on focal walls in the 18th in tombs of the 19th Dynasty, particularly the Royal Kiosk and the Natural Resources icons.

Written and Visual Literacy in Ancient Egypt

A central concern in the investigation of viewer response to the images and texts found in elite Theban tombs is that of literacy. Text and image worked together to communicate meaning more closely in Egyptian society than in most cultures due to the graphic nature and meaning of the writing system. But to what extent could visitors understand these two systems? While estimates regarding the literate population in Egypt vary greatly, it seems that an estimate of one-percent literacy for the population of Egypt is plausible with the general population. This group would have consisted entirely of elite males.¹³² The question of literacy among women is difficult to investigate, but it seems that even if a small segment of elite women were literate, it would not increase the estimate of one-percent literacy in any significant way.¹³³ The literate population of

¹³¹ Hartwig 2004, 123.

¹³² Baines and Eyre 2007, 68.

¹³³ For further discussion of the evidence for female literacy, see *Ibid.*, 83-94.

ancient Egypt, is estimated at around 5,500-10,000 in any given period.¹³⁴ Elite male Egyptians in the Ramesside period worked in temple, government, and military capacities and therefore were generally literate, and they also had greater exposure to royal and elite visual culture through their elevated status. It is this group that commissioned the Theban tombs under consideration in this study and who were the primary intended visitors to the tomb. When considering the audience for tomb decoration, it is therefore legitimate to posit a visitor who is literate in both written and visual culture. As noted, the question of female literacy is difficult but it might be assumed that female visitors to the tomb would be accompanied by literate males or might enjoy some degree of literacy themselves. Furthermore, the writing found in the Theban tombs is often highly formulaic and therefore may have been generally legible to a larger population. For instance, it may have been that a larger segment of the population was able to identify *htp-dj-nswt* formulae or the cartouche that surrounded a royal name and that this can be considered a type of literacy that would impress upon the viewer the tomb owner's desire for offerings and his association with a king, even if they could not read the full formula or the name of the king within the cartouche. If a visitor knows the thicknesses of doorways in tombs are often decorated with an image of the deceased accompanied by a solar hymn or an Osiride hymn, they need not be able to read the hieroglyphs themselves to infer meaning when they see images of the tomb owner accompanied by text on a thickness. In this way, decorum contributes to legibility, provided that a viewer knows, perhaps based on previous experience, that certain textual formulae or images are often found in a certain space in the tomb. This would likely allow them to fill in the meaning of a common text or image even with limited functional literacy. In addition, the mere appearance of text in

¹³⁴ Baines and Eyre 2007, 66.

a tomb space could signal meaning without a literate audience because literacy was an elite signifier: its presence in the tomb conferred status on the tomb owner.

Another important aspect of literacy and the use of text within a tomb is that of the performative nature of text in ancient Egyptian society. Funerary rituals included recitations of excerpts from the *Book of the Dead*, as well as texts from other sources. An elite individual would likely have heard these recitations during the funerals of their fellow elites and would recall them when confronted with the texts found in the tombs, particularly when, as is often the case, the texts are paired with vignettes that depict the funerary procession and rituals or the deceased traversing the gates to the afterlife.

While the primary audience for tomb decoration was likely other members of the elite, there are common aspects, primarily visual, of tomb decoration that could have had larger appeal. Highly descriptive or narrative images would have been legible to most of the visitors to the tomb: images depicting the tomb owner's profession, images of enthroned kings, offering scenes, and images of deities with their attributes made tomb decoration more accessible. Even the structure of the tomb, with a cult statue at its center, signaled the appropriate offering behavior to a visitor regardless of their station because Egyptians from all groups would have been familiar with offering cults in domestic, if not state, religion.

Modern History of the Tombs and Their Study

After the tombs' initial construction in the New Kingdom, they functioned as the site for the ongoing funeral cult of the tomb owner and his family. As time went on, they

were often reused as burial places for individuals of the Late Period and Greco-Roman period.¹³⁵ Sometimes reuse included alteration to tomb decoration, but frequently families or other groups would simply use the space for new burials. Much of this reuse is attested in the archaeological record, but in the Ptolemaic period there is another source that gives more explicit evidence of the practice. A group of priests called “choachytes” left significant archives that detail their work acquiring space for the dead and tending to their mummies through the continuation of their funerary cults.¹³⁶ Choachyte archives exist beginning in the 5th century B.C.E., but most date to the Ptolemaic period and describe some of the priests’ responsibilities, including finding space for mummies in the few Theban tombs constructed in the Ptolemaic or, perhaps more frequently, in tombs built during the New Kingdom.¹³⁷

Greek authors, including Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, describe royal monuments on the west bank of Thebes, such as the Ramesseum, but make no mention of the elite tombs there. There are many instances of Latin and Greek graffiti in the royal tombs, which, along with the Ramesseum and the Colossi of Memnon, were tourist attractions through the Greco-Roman period, but it seems that elite Theban tombs were not well-known or visited.¹³⁸

¹³⁵ Reuse of tombs was not only a post New Kingdom phenomenon. There are several examples of 18th Dynasty tombs that were usurped in the Ramesside era, including TT 45, 54, 58, 65, 68, 112, 127, 257, 294, 337. In addition, TT 346 likely was first constructed during the reign of Ramesses II but later was usurped by Amenhotep, during the reign of Rameses IV.

¹³⁶ Strudwick and Strudwick 1999, 200-201.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 201. One such re-used tomb is that of Nebwenenef (TT 157) which was originally constructed during the reign of Ramesses II but has Ptolemaic graffiti and is mentioned in choachyte papyri.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 204.

In the Late Roman period, Egypt became a home to Christian monasticism.¹³⁹ The elite Theban tombs on the west bank served as places for monks and hermits to stay apart from the larger communities of faithful, who lived in monasteries also on the west bank.¹⁴⁰ After the Arab conquest in 642 C.E., the support for monasteries dwindled throughout Egypt, and records of information about Theban tombs and their use declined with it. There are relatively few sources that refer to the Theban area and its ancient monuments until the 1700s, when European interest in Egypt began to flourish.¹⁴¹

The history of the academic study of Theban tombs began in the late 18th century, when the Napoleonic expedition explored many of them as part of larger campaign in Egypt. The expedition began in 1798 and produced what would eventually grow to be the 37-volume behemoth *Description de L'Égypte*, the first volume of which was published in 1809.¹⁴² Members of the expedition recorded not only the monuments and antiquities that they encountered on their travels in the country but also its flora and fauna and contemporary culture. Theban tombs were no exception, and the observations of the expedition communicate the high level of artistry still found in the tombs today:

If one looks for some hallmark of the people in these productions, it is [to be found] in the incredible multiplicity of sculptures [bas-reliefs], varied painting and ornaments of all kinds that decorated

¹³⁹ Christian communities existed in Egypt since the around 50 C.E., but, with the conversion of the Roman Empire to Christianity under Constantine (circa 313 A.D.), the tradition of monasticism in Egypt grew stronger. *Ibid.*, 206.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 210.

¹⁴² Baines and Malek 2000, 26.

the faces of the rock as far as the darkest and deepest depths... If the monuments they have raised on the ground are to be compared to anything, it is, uniquely, the works they have executed below ground. What are we to think of halls, retreats and subterranean chambers--condemned to eternal shadows--that have been decorated and enriched with as much care as the monuments lit by the sun!.. Thus one is able to say, to some extent that half of the tombs [were monuments] of the people, as the temples and palaces were monuments to the state.¹⁴³

The *Description* records the harrowing adventures of members of the expedition as they tried to access and record the tomb decoration:

On one occasion, the quarter of a pillar caved in whilst I was drawing and grazed my head as it fell to the ground. Another time I ran for my life to escape from a tomb in which a fire had started by accident near the entrance. The bitumen, which burned so rapidly and a certain red material that burned like powder, spread the fire quickly to the pieces of linen cloth and the containers [sarcophaguses] and my boxes of paints which were at the entrance.¹⁴⁴

Thankfully, the scholars prevailed and, in the *Description*'s second printing, published over 180 pages that give general comments on the types of scenes they

¹⁴³ Russell 2001, 159.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 162.

encountered in the tombs, as well as a limited number of illustrations.¹⁴⁵ It is not usually clear to which tomb the writers are referring, but, given the scene types they mention, it is likely that they visited tombs from both from the 18th Dynasty and the following Ramesside period.¹⁴⁶ The bias toward 18th Dynasty tomb scenes is even seen in this early source, with the writer recognizing that: “The greater part of tomb painting take, as their subject, scenes from domestic life. These subjects are most interesting and it is to these that I [Jomard] attach my preference.”¹⁴⁷ He goes on to mention banquet scenes, scenes of chariot manufacture and agricultural scenes, and seems particularly interested in musicians, all the while noting the enormity of the material: “Twenty people were required to copy the paintings of the tombs [reproduced] in the *Description de L’Egypte* over a period of six months, and they did not draw one tenth part.”¹⁴⁸ After the publication of the *Description de L’Egypte*, the mania for all things Egyptian took hold. In Europe and America, institutional and individual collecting and exploration became pervasive, with both positive and negative impacts on the monuments and antiquities.

A number of Egyptologists of the early 1800s made a significant impact on the

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 159.

¹⁴⁶ Some likely date to the 18th Dynasty based on their description of fishing and fowling scenes, which fall out of favor in the Ramesside period, but others probably date to the Ramesside and beyond, based on the description of tomb scenes with the deceased interacting with the gods, which are usually not found in earlier periods. However, members of the expedition did seem more interested in scenes that later come to be called “daily life scenes,” which they saw as accurate representations of the life of ancient Egyptians. While few of the plates can be directly linked to known Theban tombs, most are individual figures or scenes that give us little to go on in that respect, I would suggest that number 11, on plate 45, in volume II, likely depicts the engaged sculptures of the tomb owner found in TT 23, Tomb of Thay in Sheikh Abd el Qurna. Further identification is difficult in part based on the expeditions decision not to attempt to record plans of the tombs, as some were complex and tunnels connected multiple tombs.

¹⁴⁷ Russell 2001, 165.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 166.

study of Theban tombs, but two warrant particular attention. The first is Sir John Gardiner Wilkinson (1797-1875), sometimes referred to as the “Father of British Egyptology.” Wilkinson lived in the Theban hills for over 10 years between 1821 and 1833 and spent much of his time exploring and clearing elite tombs.¹⁴⁹ He made a concerted effort to record tomb decoration, and his drawings are still admired for their accuracy today. Wilkinson published his famous work, *The Manners and Customs of Ancient Egypt* [1837-1841], using many of the scenes found in elite tombs to make assertions about the daily life of ancient Egyptians. While the work is still impressive, it is particularly important because he published hundreds of line drawings and some color plates from Theban tombs in order to illustrate his points.¹⁵⁰

A contemporary of Wilkinson’s whose work was also formative for the study of Theban tombs is Robert Hay (1799-1863), a Scottish artist and Egyptologist who traveled in Egypt and Nubia between 1828 and 1838. While perhaps best known for his book published in 1840, *Illustrations of Cairo*, he completed a number of drawings of Theban tomb decoration that, although never published, remain a resource for scholars and are housed in the British Library, London.¹⁵¹ Hay’s work, admired for its accuracy, was later used by members of the Metropolitan Museum’s Graphic Section to fill in lost areas of decoration.¹⁵²

Drawn to the vivid painting in Theban elite tombs, Egyptologists made them a

¹⁴⁹ Wilkinson 1979, 7.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 8.

¹⁵² Ibid.

focus of many studies, but one of the most important developments in the study of Theban tombs for the purpose of the present work was the establishment of the Graphic Section of the Metropolitan Museum of Art's expedition in Egypt. Albert Lythgoe, an American Egyptologist, served as the first curator of the Metropolitan's Egyptian department when it was established in 1906.¹⁵³ That same year, Lythgoe began the department's expedition to Egypt. From the very beginning, he made the copying and archiving images from Theban tombs and other decorated surfaces in Egypt a priority:

Because an archive of illustrations of the paintings would naturally complement our [The Metropolitan Museum's] Egyptian collections, and because it was evident as early as the beginning of this century that deterioration and vandalism were inevitable, the Metropolitan Museum decided to undertake a program to copy these other remaining examples, including some of quite different character in Coptic churches, tombs, and monasteries.¹⁵⁴

In 1910 the Museum was granted a concession in Thebes, and the British Egyptologist and artist Norman de Garis Davies was appointed as head of the Graphic Division. He, along with a staff of artists, most notably his wife Nina de Garis Davies, spent almost 30 years making facsimile drawings and publishing Theban tombs, along with material from other sites.

The process of creating facsimile paintings is arduous and intended to create the

¹⁵³ Ibid., 1.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

most accurate depiction of the wall decoration as it appears in that moment in time as possible. First, an artist or copyist places a piece of tracing paper over the surface of the wall itself and copies the outlines of the forms and objects; second, the outlines are transferred to a watercolor or cotton-backed paper using graphite paper. Finally, that paper is colored with tempera paint, which more accurately reproduces the matte paint used by the ancient Egyptians.¹⁵⁵ Working directly in front of the originals in the tomb when painting in their outlines, copyists attempted to replicate exactly the shading and color variegation seen in the original. These large-scale facsimiles were then often reduced photographically, and the tracings were often published in addition to the color facsimiles.¹⁵⁶

In addition to Davies and his wife, the Graphic Division utilized the talents of photographer Harry Burton to record tomb decoration.¹⁵⁷ A gifted photographer best known for his work in the tomb of Tutankhamun, Burton was able to overcome the tight spaces and low lighting conditions in the tombs to produce photos that remain essential source material. Today, Burton's photographs, as well as the color facsimiles and line drawings produced by the Graphic Division, are held at the Metropolitan Museum and provide scholars with material from tombs that are now lost, inaccessible, or have suffered further damage since the time of their creation.

The high quality and volume of the work by the Graphic Section had a large impact on the course of the study of tombs in the Theban necropolis, and it is perhaps not

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 16.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 10.

surprising that the tastes and biases of those involved rippled down through generations of scholarship. While the Graphic Section did record and publish tombs from both the 18th Dynasty and the Ramesside era, the preference was for those of the earlier period. This was aptly communicated by Gardiner in his description of the tomb decoration in the publication of the tomb of Huy (TT 40), which dates to the reign of Tutankhamun.

Gardiner describes post-Amarna tomb decoration as:

a strange blend of dullness and brilliancy, of features derived from the revolutionary era, and others which forecast the tasteless and lifeless Ramesside style. These tombs, therefore, bear witness to the bewildered hesitancy in which Theban art stood for a while before it subsided to the long monotony of the later sepulchral art.¹⁵⁸

Gardiner relates the degradation in style in part to the shift toward more ritual subject matter that began at the end of the 18th Dynasty and continued into the 19th and 20th Dynasties. On this topic, he notes:

One can see the merit and demerit of the execution is bound up with the choice of subject matter. Tombs 50 and 255 embody the decision that personal piety, ritual and sacrament are the proper subject of sepulchral decoration, but one is made to feel that the decision was regretted and was devoid of any enthusiasm.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁸ Davies and Gardiner 1926, 3.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

He finally concludes that the Ramesside style is “slovenly.”¹⁶⁰

As previously noted, the reasons for the 18th Dynasty bias are many: the more austere artistic style of the 18th was considered more appealing, and, perhaps more importantly, tombs of this era frequently included depictions of “daily life scenes.” These scene types, which include scenes of the tomb owner and his family fishing and fowling in the marshes, attending banquets, and carrying out professional duties, appealed more to scholars of the time than the somewhat more obtuse depictions from the *Book of the Dead* and other books of the afterlife that took over during the subsequent Ramesside period. “Daily life” scenes were more relatable and gave the viewer the impression of looking at “snapshots” from the past, while visual and textual depictions of the twisting paths and enigmatic creatures seen in books of the afterlife were decidedly less understandable. As is seen in the history of most art-historical and literary disciplines, once the idea of a developmental history of a culture or medium is entrenched--positing a scenario of a time of development, a high point, followed by a decline--it is difficult to step out of it to regard art from the “period of decline” as worthy of attention equal to that devoted to the purported high point. Many of the early parts of Egyptian history (pre-Dynastic, early Dynastic) and the intermediate periods and later periods (beginning with the Third Intermediate Period) suffer from this bias and, in the history of the study of elite Theban tombs, the Ramesside period is also a victim.

Recognizing this bias, in the 1970s Jan Assmann and others established in response the Heidelberg-based Ramessidische Beamtengräber project. The work of this

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

group of scholars and their publication series, *Theben*, has brought the study of Ramesside tombs to the fore. While their work has been very influential, it has not made as strong an impression in English scholarship, which studies of tomb decoration of earlier periods continue to dominate. In addition, because most of the current work on Ramesside Theban tombs comes from those involved with the Ramessidische Beamtengräber project, their point of view is often very unified. Because of the traditional bias against Ramesside Theban tombs, there is still much ground to cover in order to understand them, a situation that makes their study particularly exciting.

Nevertheless, the work of several scholars is foundational to any study of Ramesside Theban tombs. Jan Assmann, Karl Seyfried, Eva Hofmann, Erica Feucht, Maha Mostafa, and Boyo Ockinga have all published monographs on individual tombs, complete with high-quality images, plans, and descriptions that have helped to make these tombs more accessible and made further study possible.¹⁶¹ In these monographs the focus is largely descriptive. However, some of these same scholars have gone further, seeking not only to record the decoration, architectural elements, and texts found in the tombs but also to consider their meanings. Here there are a number of notable scholars. First is Fredricke Kampp-Seyfried whose 1994 book, *Die thebanische Nekropole: zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie*, took on all the known and lost elite tombs in the Theban necropolis. With over 900 tombs in her study, she identified trends in tomb plans, architectural elements, and decoration that help to date individual tombs as well as place them within a larger narrative of tomb development. Among her major interests was the development of Theban tomb plans beginning in the

¹⁶¹ Hofmann 1995; Ockinga 2009; Feucht 2006; Seyfried 1995; Assmann 1991; Mostafa 1995.

Middle Kingdom. One of the hallmarks of New Kingdom Theban tombs is their T-shaped plan. Kampp divided the tomb plans found in the necropolis into groups and identified an intermediate tomb plan type (Kampp's type IV) that bridged the gap between the Middle Kingdom *saff* tomb and the New Kingdom canonical T-shaped tomb.¹⁶² Beyond tracing the roots of the New Kingdom tomb plan, Kampp assembled a large amount of material that, when taken together, supports her supposition (and that of others) that the tomb experienced an evolution in function “from a ‘house of the dead’ during the Middle Kingdom and most of the Eighteenth Dynasty to some kind of private mortuary temple in the Ramesside Period.”¹⁶³ This assertion was first made by Jan Assmann.¹⁶⁴ His work on the topic is vast and scattered throughout his many publications, which often speak about this shift with regard to specific tombs or as part of a larger discussion of religious developments, but Kampp drew much of his work together and presented it in a united manner for the larger corpus of Theban tombs. The scenario presented by these scholars is not definitive, and, as useful as the idea of a canonical tomb type is in identifying trends in tombs, it is also inherently reductive and thus can be misleading. It is important, therefore, to remember that while the trends these scholars identify are generally useful, they do not hold true for all tombs; in truth, the greatest similarity between most tombs is their diversity. Regardless, understanding the differences often seen between tombs of different eras is important, and for this purpose the works of Kampp, Seyfried, and Assmann are invaluable.

¹⁶² Kampp-Seyfried 2003, 2.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Assmann 1987.

A Reductive View

Consider what one might understand about contemporary American culture from the graves and monuments erected to honor the dead. In many cases these monuments are rectangular or stela-shaped stones, perhaps with a cross or other religious symbol incised on their surface, the name of the deceased, and their dates of birth and death. Sometimes a few more words may be inscribed, a short verse from a religious book, or identifiers of the deceased's role within a family: "Father," "Wife," "Daughter." Based on this evidence, a future archaeologist would be hard pressed to say much, or at least much that rings true to contemporary Americans, about American culture. If these future archaeologists were familiar with present-day American religious symbols, they might suggest that Americans had a zealously religious culture, and, with little indication of activities or identities outside the dead individual's place in a family, they might suggest that Americans were defined principally or even solely by family relationships, particularly those of marriage and parenthood. Some burials feature mausoleums, obelisks, designations like "Mayor," or military ranks, but even with these grander or more descriptive monuments, how much depth of understanding about American culture could those far in the future hope to gain from them? What might they think of the simple drawers that hold an individual's cremated remains?

Consider the plain marble slab that covers the cremated remains of the movie star Marilyn Monroe, with only her name and dates inscribed on it in the midst of a number of other markers exactly like it in a mausoleum in Westwood, California. These contain no

suggestion of her fame in life, her cultural resonance, or American society during the years in which she lived. In this case, a burial monument does not convey an accurate picture of an individual or her relative importance in society.

Suppose the future archaeologist went further and dug down to examine the physical remnants interred below these monuments. They would most frequently find bodies that, while embalmed, were not intended to remain intact over a long period of time. They would likely find very few valuables, perhaps a wedding ring or a rosary. Would these future archaeologists assume that American culture did not believe in an afterlife? What would they think about American understanding of the body after death and the life of the soul? Would they disparage American artistic production after inspection of a plastic rosary?

The information preserved on funerary monuments does not give a complete or unbiased view of an individual or their culture, and what is preserved on these monuments is influenced by a number of factors, all of which are not readily discernable to those who later encounter them. It is useful, therefore, to consider the funerary monuments of one's own time, place, and culture when looking at those of any other population--not for analogies but because it is overwhelmingly evident that all is not communicated about one's own culture in these monuments. With cultures that have long since passed or are simply not one's own, one's assessment is necessarily more reductive.

Population and Survival

What if the posited future archaeologists had left to them only the graves of a

certain town or city and the graves of a certain social class. How might they be misled about American culture as a whole?

This digression is meant to highlight the fact that when Egyptologists look to ancient Egyptian monuments--in this case, specifically the elite tombs of the 19th Dynasty Thebes--they are looking at monuments constructed by a certain socio-economic group over the course of just under 150 years (circa 1333-1188 B.C.E.). These monuments reflect the concerns of a very specific part of the population, that of the most wealthy. The picture that can be discerned based on extant material culture from ancient Egypt is only a partial one and must be understood as such. Those who had the resources to commission rock-cut tombs represented the very top of elite society. The great majority of ancient Egyptians were buried in far more meager circumstances that have not left physical traces. In addition, Thebes, while a major religious center in the New Kingdom, was not the only important city in ancient Egypt. Tombs built in the same period in places such as Memphis, Heliopolis, Aswan, Tanis, and sites in Middle Egypt are very different in character; trends identified in Theban tombs need not extend to tombs in other areas. To further complicate matters, the discussion of Theban tombs is often dominated by the aforementioned notion of a "canonical T-shaped tomb," which, while helpful for explicating general trends, gives a false impression of uniformity. While there are examples of tombs that conform more closely to the description of the "canonical tomb," no one tomb conforms completely. In addition, the size of the tomb is not always a good indicator of the quality of its decoration. There are many one-room tombs that have very high-quality painted decoration, while some of their larger cousins may exhibit a lower degree of quality.

As already mentioned, the idea of a canonical Theban tomb is useful when establishing broader trends. For example, when one tracks the placement of a scene of the tomb owner in his professional capacity and finds that it is more frequently found in the first room of 18th Dynasty Theban Tombs and also that images of the tomb owner's funeral often appears on the left wall of the long hall, this is not to say that a visitor can enter a tomb, close their eyes, and locate each scene based on precedent. What about one-room tombs, or tombs with many galleries? Should other placements be considered mistakes? In truth, these findings can be viewed more generally, i.e., it is more common to find scenes related to the life of the tomb owner in the more exterior spaces of 18th Dynasty Theban tombs (be they single-room or many-roomed) and those that deal with more ritual or afterlife material closer to the center of the space and the shrine to the tomb owner. The idea of the canonical is useful, but must be used with caution in order to avoid oversimplification of the issue: variation between tombs is perhaps as important as similarities.

The tombs that serve as the basis of this study date between c. 1333-1188 BCE, and therefore their level of preservation may be only termed impressive. However, elements have sped their deterioration, and the nature of these elements has an impact on what is extant for study today. First, most Theban tombs were never completed. They represent a massive resource drain, and it seems that, for the most part, when the patron died and was interred, work on the tomb also stopped. This is not surprising, as resources were no doubt redirected at the time of the tomb owner's death. Because Theban tombs were generally cut into the hills and decorated from exterior to interior, decoration close to the exterior is found more frequently to be extant than that of the interior spaces. It is

worth noting here that the modern notion of “finished” was perhaps not applicable to the ancient Egyptians, especially in the case of tomb decoration. Egyptian tombs were functional without decoration and still served their purpose as conduits to the next life and sites of offering. Decoration simply made their functions more explicit, so it is perhaps misleading to suggest that tombs that did not have complete decorative programs were “unfinished” and therefore somehow lacking.¹⁶⁵ Secondly, Theban tombs were used for other family members and were at times reused in the ancient period.¹⁶⁶ Sometimes this reuse included obvious changes in decoration or inscription. At other times the changes are more subtle and can lead to confusion in dating. Furthermore, over their long history, wall decoration, architectural elements, and sculpture have been damaged, stolen, or vandalized, leaving only a partial picture of the original program. Individuals and institutions have ripped decoration from the walls at times, and, once one’s eye becomes trained to detect the signs of such excisions, they are seen to be quite pervasive. In addition, many Theban tombs had lives as houses, storerooms, or stables until recent times and have suffered as a result.¹⁶⁷

The sheer number of tombs and the difficulty inherent in the recording and publication of a large body of decorated architecture also plagues the study of these monuments. There are over 400 numbered Theban tombs, with about 210 dating to the 18th Dynasty and 140 to the 19th and 20th Dynasties. And there are still more tombs that

¹⁶⁵ Kampp-Seyfried 1996.

¹⁶⁶ For more on the use of the tomb for family commemoration and burial see, Dorman 2003.

¹⁶⁷ For more on the preservation issues in the Theban Necropolis, see El-Bialy 2003.

were known earlier in the 20th century that have now been lost.¹⁶⁸ In addition to these there are at least 400 further tombs in the Theban hills that were unnumbered until the publication of Friedericke Kampp's work. Many of the tombs identified by Kampp have little or no decoration extant but are important for giving a sense of the density of the monuments, as well as to suggest the amount of resources that went into creating them.

The recording and publication of each tomb is time consuming and difficult.¹⁶⁹ A single tomb may contain 20 discrete scenes, extensive text, and often sculptural elements, many of which, as with those in any architectural context, derive meaning in part from their placement within the space and the way all these images and elements relate to one another. It is difficult to record these aspects in a meaningful way in two dimensions, to say nothing of the work required to reconstruct lost or damaged sections of images or texts.

Historical Context

Following the death of the powerful 18th Dynasty king Amenhotep III, whose reign was characterized by wealth, relative peace, and stability in Egypt, his son, Amenhotep IV came to the throne (c. 1352 BCE).¹⁷⁰ At the time of Amenhotep IV's ascension, Thebes was the center of religious life in ancient Egypt, even though Memphis remained the seat of government. Thebes was the home of the founders of the 18th

¹⁶⁸ Lise Manniche has done the most work on this topic, publishing two works trying to trace extant decoration and archival descriptions of Theban tombs to their original sources. Manniche 1988; Manniche 2011.

¹⁶⁹ For a larger discussion of the problems inherent in tomb publication and recording, see Strudwick 2001.

¹⁷⁰ Some have suggested that there was a period of co-regency between Amenhotep III and IV, but there is no firm evidence to confirm this notion. Van Dijk, 2002, 275.

Dynasty, and, during their tenure, the god Amun became one of the most important gods in the Egyptian pantheon, often combined with the sun god in the figure of Amun-Re. Amenhotep IV began his reign with relatively little indication of the revolution that would follow.¹⁷¹

Sometime in the fifth year of his reign, Amenhotep IV made a series of bold changes: he changed his name to Akhenaten, moved the capital to a place in the desert that had not previously been populated (a place now known as Amarna but then called Akhetaten), and cut any remnant ties to the god Amun. Akhenaten ordered the erasure of the names of other deities in the Egyptian pantheon, particularly Amun, and elevated the Aten, a manifestation of the sun god, as the only deity. The traditional temple system was disrupted as the old gods were disenfranchised. In Thebes, the cult center of the god Amun, these changes must have been traumatic. Akhenaten ushered in new practices of worship, religious architecture, and artistic style, and established himself and his family as the primary intercessors with the Aten on the behalf of humanity.

The Amarna period ended only about 20 years after it began (c. 1333 B.C.E.) and was followed by a period of restoration.¹⁷² Tutankhamun, likely a son of Akhenaten by a secondary wife, came to the throne as a child and was under the influence and direction of at least two men, Ay and Horemheb. Ay's origins are not entirely clear but, prior to being an advisor to Tutankhamun, he had been an official under Akhenaten and may have

¹⁷¹ Initially, it seems likely that Amenhotep IV was crowned king by Amun of Thebes and began building a temple to a form of the sun god Re, the Aten in the cult center of Amun at Karnak. However the construction of such a structure was not indicative of what was to come. Ibid.

¹⁷² Dodson and Hilton 2010, 291.

been related to Akhenaten's mother, Queen Tiye.¹⁷³ Horemheb, while not related to the royal family, was a commander-in-chief of the army.¹⁷⁴ These two men likely advised the young king and began a program of restoration of the old gods and temples that had suffered during Akhenaten's reign. Shortly after Tutankhamun came to the throne, his original name, Tutankhaten, was changed to venerate the god Amun, and the capital of Amarna was abandoned. Tutankhamun's reign was relatively short, lasting only about 9 years and ending when he died suddenly around at about the age of 18.¹⁷⁵ Tutankhamun had no children to succeed him and was followed by Ay, who reigned only four years and also died without an heir. Finally, Horemheb, Tutankhamun's other advisor, rose to the position of king around 1323 B.C.E. and ruled for the following 14 years.¹⁷⁶ The business of restoration took up the majority of these kings' reigns and included temple restoration and reorganization of administration. Horemheb, traditionally considered the final king of the 18th Dynasty, may instead be considered the first ruler of the 19th Dynasty.¹⁷⁷ It seems that, coming to the end of his reign with no son as heir, he selected his vizier, another military man Paramessu, to succeed him. Paramessu became Ramesses I and, already a grandfather, ensured traditional successions for the next two reigns. Paramessu came from the Delta, a place called Avaris, and the 19th Dynasty reflected this northern origin

¹⁷³ Van Dijk 2002, 292.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 291.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 293.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 294.

as Thebes lost some of its previous power. Ramesses I became king around 1295 B.C.E. but ruled for only a year.

His son, Sety I, came to the throne and took on the aggressive restoration of temples and the name of Amun, as well as the construction of new monuments, to legitimize his rulership. In order to complete these large-scale projects, he sought to reopen quarries and mines in the Sinai, raided Nubia for labor and gold, and pushed into modern-day Syria and Palestine for resources.¹⁷⁸ Prior to Sety I, after the Amarna period, there had been several small-scale military encounters with the Hittites and others. However, Sety I was more aggressive, and, as he moved north, he confronted the Hittites for control at Qadesh.¹⁷⁹ Several temple walls commemorate Sety I, representing the king as the dominating conqueror.¹⁸⁰ The reality of the situation was that eventually Egypt lost much of its territorial gains to the Hittites in the war that followed Qadesh. Regardless, Sety I made sure to write a narrative not only of his accomplishments at Qadesh but also of his encounters with Libyan incursions from the west, in which he was unequivocal victor. Sety I ruled for at least 11 years and appointed his son, Ramesses II, as his co-regent at the end of his reign.¹⁸¹

Ramesses II is one of the most famous personalities in Egyptian history. He began his reign around 1279 B.C.E. and ruled for about 67 years. In part because of his long reign, he created and reused a great deal of architecture, sculpture, and material culture.

¹⁷⁸ Van Dijk 2002, 295.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 296.

¹⁸⁰ E.g. reliefs at the Temple of Karnak

¹⁸¹ Van Dijk 2002, 297. However, this point is debated.

He is known for his extensive building campaigns in Nubia, creating temples honoring himself and his wife Nefertari at Abu Simbel and beyond. Ramesses II's reign was also characterized by military confrontations with Hittites, Libyans, and others and by campaigns in Nubia and Palestine. Ramesses II confronted the Hittites at Qadesh during his fourth regnal year and once again recast the unsuccessful battle as a great victory, as his father had before him.¹⁸² However, there was also diplomacy with the Hittite empire, as attested by the marriage between Ramesses II and the daughter of the Hittite ruler, Hattisili.¹⁸³ Ramesses II continued to rule from his family's home in Avaris but enlarged it and named the royal residence there Piramesse. Most of Ramesses' high officials lived and worked in Piramesse and, unlike their 18th Dynasty counterparts, were often buried in Memphis. Ramesses II had a great number of children (estimates vary) and was predeceased by at least 12 of his eldest sons.¹⁸⁴ Ultimately, it was his son Merenptah who took the throne at his father's death.

Merenptah likely was already mature when he reached the throne, and his reign was relatively uneventful, with the major event occurring in year 5 when he expelled a force of 16,000 Libyans and Sea Peoples who attempted to move on Memphis and Heliopolis after having breached the western borders of the Delta.¹⁸⁵ In addition to his tomb and mortuary temple in Thebes, Merenptah completed a palace and two temples in Memphis. He died after a reign of about 10 years and was succeeded by his son Sety II

¹⁸² Ibid., 298.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 299.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 302.

¹⁸⁵ Van Dijk 2002, 302-303.

around 1200 B.C.E.¹⁸⁶ However, the period of smooth transition between king and prince established by Ramesses I came to an end, and, as the 19th Dynasty drew to a close, succession became contentious. Sety II, who rose to power in the traditional Ramesside seat in Avaris, was challenged by Amenmessu for control of the throne. Amenmessu's origins are murky. He may be identified with a man named Messuy who was a viceroy of Nubia under Merenptah and may also have been the son of Sety II and his wife, Takhat.¹⁸⁷ Regardless, Amenmessu's power came from the south, perhaps relating to his role in Nubia, and he ruled there during Sety II's regnal years 2-5.¹⁸⁸ Ultimately, Sety II defeated Amenmessu and carried out a campaign of *damnatio memoriae* to expunge his memory, but the instability shown in this skirmish signaled the impending end of the dynasty. Sety II reigned for only about two more years after the struggle with Amenmessu and was succeeded by Siptah around 1196 B.C.E. Siptah was likely Sety II's son by a secondary wife, or perhaps he was Amenmessu's son, which would make him Sety II's grandson.¹⁸⁹ Regardless, it seems he was not the son of Sety II's principle queen, Tawosret. She nonetheless served as his regent and, following Siptah's death (c. 1190 B.C.E.), remained in power for about two years until her own death marked the end of the 19th Dynasty (c. 1188 B.C.E.). The post-Amarna 19th Dynasty was a time of great wealth, a return to traditional gods and administration, powerful rulers, and international

¹⁸⁶ Shaw 2002, 481.

¹⁸⁷ Dodson and Hilton 2010, 182.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 176.

¹⁸⁹ Van Dijk thinks Siptah was Sety II's Son, Van Dijk 2002, 303; Dodson and Hilton think he was Amenmessu's son, Dodson and Hilton 2010, 181.

contact. While the nation was largely stable during this period, the events of the Amarna period had left their mark on the culture and aesthetics of the period.

Selection of Tombs for Study

The 24 tombs that are considered in this study were selected from among all the Theban tombs that date to the 19th Dynasty for a number of reasons. First, tombs that were inaccessible, whose locations are unknown, or whose plans are not recorded were removed from the corpus. Tombs from Deir el-Medina were not included because they are the monuments of a specific group of artisans who worked decorating the royal necropolis in the Valley of the Kings, and this social group was distinct from those represented in the rest of the elite necropolis. Furthermore, these tombs often feature decorated burial chambers in addition to tomb chapels, which suggests that the images found in them had a different purpose and level of exposure than those of the decorated tomb chapels found in other parts of the necropolis.

Next, tombs that were usurped were removed from the study because it is often difficult to identify which texts and images were part of the original program based on the publication and access to those tombs. A major part of this study looks at the decorative program of the tomb holistically to understand the images as they relate to one another. If images were added or removed as part of usurpation, then the original relationship among scenes is lost and their use in this study is thus minimal. That said, it would be interesting to look at the types of changes that were made to a tomb at the time

of its usurpation in order to identify changes in program over time. However, that is not part of the current investigation.

Tombs with very little decoration remaining were removed from the corpus because they are not useful for establishing trends in scene selection and placement. Often these tombs will have only parts of the frieze, lower parts of the wall, or small fragments of scenes extant. Tombs whose dates are not known have also been removed, as have those where the name of the tomb owner and his titles are not preserved, because professional identity is a major focus of this study and established dating to the 19th Dynasty is also critical.

A group of tombs was also removed because their unusual plans make a spatially defined focal wall unclear. Tombs with a single transverse room are considered here to have spatially defined focal walls because, despite the lack of a long hall, the two long west walls are still experienced by the viewer in the same manner as the focal walls in traditional T-shaped tombs. A final group of tombs that have been excluded, but which perhaps remain some of the most interesting, are large, relief-cut tombs, which often have significant amounts of large-scale or monumental sculpture. Because these tombs are so large, the viewer's experience of the space differs strongly from that in other tombs. Most of the tombs in this study have ceilings around 6-7 feet in height, which usually puts the decoration, particularly that in the upper register, at the eye level of the viewer, while the large tombs have much higher elevations, which changes the viewer's relationship to the decoration. Their focal walls usually have large stelae flanking the door to the long hall, and, while they seem to have coherent decorative programs, that program differs from other tombs in part because of the medium but mostly due to scale. It would be

interesting and fruitful to eventually consider how the decorative programs in these larger tombs conform or depart from the trends in other tombs that this study intends to establish.

Organization of the study

The following section will describe the tomb chapel decoration for each tomb holistically and will interpret them with particular awareness of aspects of the tomb owner's professional life that may have influenced decoration. A common approach in looking at tomb decoration is to examine a certain scene type across a number of tombs and make assertions about the meaning of this scene based on similarities or differences between its rendering and placement in each tomb. This approach can be useful but often discounts the programmatic nature of the decoration, missing the connections *among* scenes in a tomb that contribute to their meaning. Therefore in this study the emphasis will be not on the details of specific scenes but rather on the way they work holistically with other scenes to create meaning.

The final section of the study identifies trends in tomb decoration, including placement within the tomb space, and relative placement among scenes in order to examine the ways tomb owners used the tomb chapel space to make statements about themselves and their families, which would be apparent to visitors. Because of the importance of the focal walls in the visitors' experience of the tomb, the decoration found on the focal walls will be given special attention.

In addition, the interpretive section treats the question of how these trends depart or conform to trends identified in 18th Dynasty tomb chapels. There are then a series of appendices intended to aid the reader: the full text of those chapters from the *Book of the Dead* that are often recorded in part on the walls of the tombs under discussion; a list of the tombs removed from the corpus and the reasons for their exclusion; lists of the tombs in the study arranged by date and by area; and lists of the decoration found in the transverse halls of each tomb in the study arranged by wall type (focal, “east,” and short) and side (left and right). Following the appendices are the figure list, figures, and the bibliography.

Part II: Holistic Readings

*The numbers used to refer to the walls and registers of each tomb are taken from the tomb plans found in Porter and Moss, as are the conventions used to identify loss: registers are counted from the top; destroyed scenes or details are indicated by square brackets; and numbers in round brackets refer to positions on plans.

*While the actual cardinal orientation of tombs varies greatly, for the purpose of this project tombs are assumed to be ritually oriented east-west, with the entrance in the east and the shrine/center of the tomb in the west. Therefore references to cardinal directions within the descriptions of tombs will be to these ritual orientations. The true cardinal orientation of each tomb is recorded on the tomb plan itself.

*“Left” and “right” indicate the viewer’s left and right sides when facing into the tomb.

*“Painted” refers to the wall decoration. Often tombs whose primary wall decoration is painted have relief on door thicknesses, lintels, and jambs; this does not make them “relief” tombs in the case of this study.

*Decoration on the ceiling of the tombs will not be discussed because of a lack of descriptions of many and because the majority feature patterns, text, and, in some cases, images of birds and other animals that do not form cohesive scenes. In addition, the focus on the visitors’ experience puts greater emphasis on the material on the walls.

Tomb: TT 13

Name of Tomb Owner: Shuroy

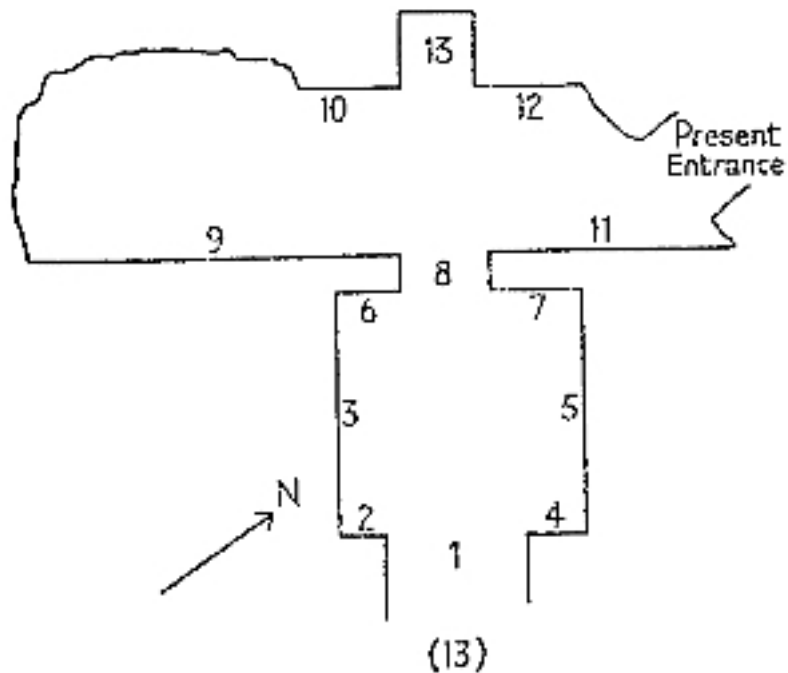
Known Title(s): Head of the Brazier Bearers of Amun¹⁹⁰

Date: end of the 19th Dynasty¹⁹¹

Area: Dra Abu el-Naga

Medium: painting

Sources: Porter and Moss 2004; MMA Archive Photos; Author Photos



The tomb of Shuroy is a reverse T-shaped tomb with an abbreviated first room and an inner room with a transverse shape. This would seem to remove the tomb from the corpus under consideration in this study, but the walls (10) and (12) of the inner room can

¹⁹⁰ Porter and Moss 2004, 25.

¹⁹¹ Dates to the end of the 19th based on style by Hoffmann 2004, 26.

be seen as the focal walls because they occupy the same location as focal walls in one-room tombs and the viewer encounters them in the same way as they do focal walls in other tombs.

The tomb has painted decoration. The entrance to the tomb has a stone lintel (of which only the bottom half remains) with a double mirrored scene of the tomb owner (?) offering to a seated Osiris on the left and the tomb owner (?) and wife (?) offering to another seated male deity on the right (likely Re-Harakhti or Horus, based on similar representations in the first room of the tomb on the left wall). Each of the posts of the door are inscribed with two vertical lines of text (now fragmentary), which give the name and title of the tomb owner (?). On the left thickness of the entrance, a red sketch shows the tomb owner followed by his wife adoring. On the right thickness is the same image but painted, with lines for text painted but not filled in with writing. In both cases the two figures face out of the tomb. These scenes likely relate to the initial introductory hymns to Amen-Re and Osiris found on other thicknesses, which also appear at the beginning of the *Book of the Dead*. The south/left walls (2, 3)) and the north/right walls (4, 5)) of the first room are divided into two horizontal registers. The upper registers on both sides have scenes from the *Book of the Dead*. The lower registers on both walls represent the deceased and wife adoring royal or divine figures.

On the left wall (2, 3)), the upper register shows the deceased and wife adoring a series of deities in gates as part of Spell 146 from the *Book of the Dead* (Fig. 8).¹⁹² The scene ends with the deceased adoring Maat and Re-Harakhti enthroned on the western

¹⁹² Although Porter and Moss say that this scene comes from the Book of Gates, it is in fact Spell 146 from the Book of the Dead, see Saleh 1984, 80.

end of the wall (Fig. 9).¹⁹³ Virtually none of the decoration survives in the lower register on the left wall, with the exception of the final scene on the wall (situated directly below that of the tomb owner and his wife offering to Maat and Re-Harakhti). There, at the end of wall (3), the deceased and wife are shown adoring a seated king and queen (Fig. 10). (The identities of these royal figures are unknown because their cartouches are not filled in, but perhaps Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari are intended, even though artists did not usually represent this king wearing the crown seen here.) In all cases, the tomb owner and his wife face into the tomb and, with the exception of Maat, the deities and royal figures face out.

On the right wall of the outer room (4, 5)), the upper register features a scene of the deceased and his wife adoring guardians in a kiosk (4?) and a god in a shrine, and Osiris (Fig. 11). In register II, the deceased and wife adore Re-Harakhti in a kiosk, with a particularly large offering pile between them (Fig. 12). Behind the couple that faces Re-Harakhti, there was another scene with a husband and wife receiving offerings. All that remains of this scene is a woman wearing a head cone, facing out, and an offering table in the place where one would expect; the woman's husband, who presumably would have sat in front of her, is lost to a lacuna in the decoration.

On the short west walls of the first room (6 and 7)), there are no registers. Instead, large dressed *djed* pillars standing on a western emblem on the left (wall 6)) and an eastern emblem on the right (wall 7)) take up the entire walls (Fig. 13). Next to the emblems and *djed* pillars, two vertical lines of text flank each side of the door. For the

¹⁹³ Porter and Moss say this is on right wall, but this is incorrect. Also, Maat faces the enthroned Horus followed by a pile of offerings and the tomb owner and wife.

purposes of this study, these walls are not considered the focal walls in part because they are so short. Nevertheless, it is significant that they show a departure from the two-register system seen on the long walls of the first hall. Sometimes focal walls feature larger, emblematic scenes, even when the scenes are of relatively uniform size in a register system on the other walls of the tomb. These large *djed* pillars seem to conform to that focal wall scenario. Furthermore, because the physical orientation of the tomb is southeast to northwest, the emblems of walls 6) and 7) may represent the actual cardinal directions in the tomb.

The thicknesses of the entrance into the inner room 8) feature, on the left thickness, a sketch of the wife of the deceased, and, on the right thickness, a sketch of the deceased, facing into the tomb. These images could be understood as representations of the deceased and his wife once they have successfully navigated the gates to the afterlife seen in the first room. Furthermore, their movement into the tomb is mimicked by the visitor, thus establishing a physical parallel between visitor and tomb owner and perhaps suggesting the visitor's ultimate visit to the afterlife.

The interior transverse room in TT 13 has no decoration on the north and south walls, and it is unclear if these were ever decorated. The east left wall 9) is divided into four shallow registers with figures moving from the door toward the south end of the wall (Fig. 14). Register I features a line of offering bringers carrying boxes, led by a group of priests (?). These figures move from the south end of the wall toward the door, which is unusual because they would be expected to move *into* the tomb. In register II, the figures are primarily facing into the tomb, and this long scene shows a line of figures that includes the deceased, relatives, and servants in the garden. Both of the scenes in register

I and II are unfinished at the south end and are divided only by a thin black base line. Possibly these two registers should be read as one, with the orientation of the figures moving toward the door in the upper register and toward the south in the lower representing a continuous line of figures organized in a boustrophedon manner. However, a thick and ornate garland band divides the two registers below (III and IV) from the upper two. So, while there are four registers, the wall is more strongly divided into merely two. Therefore, it is tempting to consider the material in the top two registers to be connected to each other, and that in the bottom two registers to be also connected with, but somewhat separate from, the top two. A thin black line that drops out in places divides registers III and IV on wall 9), suggesting that these two should be read as one, especially considering the seemingly continuous nature of their subject matter: the funeral procession, which includes servants with food tables and child dancers.

The east right wall 11) is shorter than that on the left. Because it has sustained heavy damage, much of the description of this wall comes from Porter and Moss. A thick band divides it into two registers. The upper register shows offering bringers before the deceased and his wife, and a banquet with clappers. Today only the feet of the offering bringers and a few figures of clappers are extant. The offering bringers and clappers face into the tomb, while the deceased and his wife face out. In the lower register, the deceased and his wife are seated with another couple with bouquets and a man drinking from a siphon. This scene is very difficult to read.

The focal walls of the tomb flank the niche, which must have at one time held a statue of the deceased. Both focal walls are divided into two registers by thick horizontal bands of text. On the left focal wall 10), the upper register shows a priest with opening of

the mouth instruments and a female mourner at the feet of the deceased's mummy, which is standing in front of a stela (Fig. 15). Below this scene, in the second register, the deceased kneels and offers flaming braziers to the Hathor cow emerging from the mountain through a papyrus thicket (Fig. 16). The orientation of the scenes is significant, with the mummy of the deceased standing before his stela backing up to the niche showing the westernmost part of the tomb and the end of the funeral ceremonies. Below, the Hathor cow leaving the mountain is understood to be located in the western cliffs of the cemetery, reinforcing the location of the event. Such scenes of the deceased offering to Hathor are not uncommon in tombs and reference the vibrant cult of Hathor on the west bank of Thebes.

On the right focal wall 12), the upper register shows the enthroned Osiris, followed by Isis and Nephthys, receiving the report of Thoth, who leads the (now-lost) deceased by the hand (Fig. 17). This vignette and text is identified by Saleh as Spell 125 of the *Book of the Dead*.¹⁹⁴ In register II, there is a very damaged scene, of which only the hand of a figure censing before a pile of offerings remains. Perhaps this showed the seated deceased receiving offerings from a priest or family member. Such a scene would fittingly highlight the connection between Osiris in the top register and the deceased in the bottom, but it could also have been a scene of the tomb owner offering to a deity.

Overall, the scenes on the focal walls of this tomb emphasize the westerly orientation, showing the end of the burial process (in the upper register on the left) across from the end of the transition into the afterlife (the report to Osiris) in the upper register on the right. The offering before Hathor in the mountain identifies the space as western; if

¹⁹⁴ Saleh 1984, 68.

the lower image on the right wall represented the deceased receiving offerings, then this would be another western identification. Scenes found on the short “western” walls of the outer room can be viewed as extensions of the interest in cardinal orientation, given that they feature the eastern and western emblems. Furthermore, the scenes found on walls 10) and 12) reinforce the identification of these as focal walls; as already noted, the great majority of focal walls in Ramesside tombs feature a figure of the enthroned Osiris (being offered to, being reported to, or overseeing the weighing of the heart), generally on the right focal wall. The specifics of the scenes may vary, but all are thematically and compositionally similar.

The niche itself featured painted decoration. It is unclear if there was ever decoration on its back wall, but some remains on the right and left walls. On the left wall, there is a fragment of the head of a standing woman facing into the niche, along with a fragment of text. Four figures occupy the right wall (Fig. 18). Closest to the back of the niche is a crouching harpist who is painted on a smaller scale than the three large figures that follow, which consist of a man, a woman, and a second man. They hold offerings and make gestures of adoration toward what would have once been a statue of the deceased, thus serving to make offering rituals in perpetuity and, arguably, to signal the expected behavior at the site of the shrine. The harper figure is more difficult to understand in this location unless he is to be seen as a reference to the banquet at the time of interment or at the time of annual festivals.

The reverse T-shape of the tomb may have influenced the placement of the subject matter, making this tomb of particular interest. Scenes relating to the funeral procession, which would usually be found in the first room (and thus occurring before

those scenes from the *Book of the Dead*), are instead in the inner transverse-shaped room, while the *Book of the Dead* material, which is more frequently found in the inner room, appears in the long, hall-like outer room.¹⁹⁵

Tomb: TT 14

Name of Tomb Owner: Huy

Known Title(s): *Wab* Priest of Amenhotep I, “The Image of Amun”¹⁹⁶

Date: end of the 19th Dynasty¹⁹⁷

Area: Dra Abu el-Naga

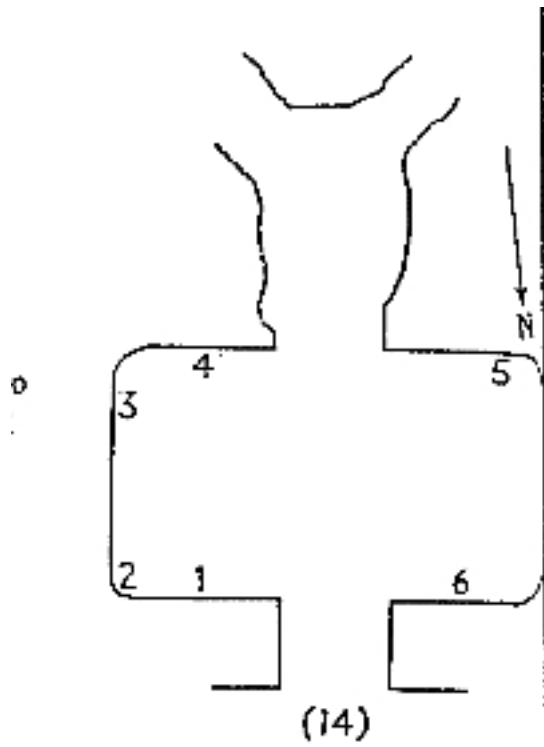
Medium: painting

Sources: Porter and Moss 2004; Betrò, Del Vesco, and Miniaci 2009

¹⁹⁵ In her work, Barthelmeß showed a general tendency for scenes of the transition to the afterlife to be arranged chronologically in the tomb space, meaning that the scenes that came first (funeral procession, etc.) preceded those that followed (the weighing of the heart) as one moves into the tomb, Barthelmeß 1992, 182.

¹⁹⁶ This title identifies Huy as a priest of one of the cult statues of the king on the west bank as well as a wab-priest of Amun. That a temple to Amenhotep “Image of Amun” existed at the end of the Ramesside period is attested by Leopold II, 4, 7, in which a gardener of that temple is mentioned. While Huy’s father Tuthmose has no special titles and his mother or wife’s name is not mentioned, his son Amenhotep is identified and is also a priest of Amenhotep I, The Image of Amun. It seems that this office was Huy’s central occupation, as no other titles are recorded and a “professional” priesthood is attested for both the cults of Amenhotep of the Forecourt and Amenhotep, The Image of Amun; see Helck 1961, 83-84; Betrò, Del Vesco and Miniaci 2009, 126-127.

¹⁹⁷ Dated to end of 19th based on style, Hofmann 2004, 26.



TT 14 is a tomb with a painted transverse hall and a roughly hewn, undecorated long hall that ends with a two-pronged fork instead of a carved niche for the shrine. It is unclear if this area was ever decorated, but, based on the roughly hewn walls and the few red sketch lines in part of the room, it seems highly unlikely.¹⁹⁸ While not recorded in Porter and Moss, the remains of two seated figures in front of an offering table face out of the tomb on the lower half of the right thickness.¹⁹⁹ Above the seated figures there are some extant lines that likely represent another figure.

The material on the walls of the left (northern) wing of the transverse hall is divided into two registers, although much of the decoration, particularly that in the lower registers, is lost or damaged. The left eastern wall, identified in PM as 1) and 2), is said to be divided into three registers but is actually divided into two main registers with two

¹⁹⁸ Betrò, Del Vesco and Miniaci 2009, 94.

¹⁹⁹ Betrò, Del Vesco and Miniaci 2009, 95.

sub-registers.²⁰⁰ In the upper register, the decoration is only sketched in red and is divided horizontally into a scene with sub-registers, but both sub-registers are part of a single narrative scene that takes up the upper register on the wall. In this scene, in the upper sub-register, a series of cult statues of Amenhotep I and members of his family are installed in palanquins, before which priests cense and make offerings (Fig. 19). Because of a loss after these priests, if more were represented is unknowable.²⁰¹ In the lower part of register I, a priest again censures before an image of Amenhotep I in a palanquin, while mourners follow (Fig. 20). The procession leads to an unusual building with a pyramidal top, with a garden and boat before it (Fig. 21). While the meaning of the scene is initially confusing, it seems to represent a festival of mourning for the long-dead king, with the building representing his tomb.²⁰² This content would be appropriate given Huy's titles, and, although no texts are extant in the scene, it seems reasonable to suggest that Huy may be identified as one of the priests. In register II, the deceased and his wife appear seated with their backs to a pool with trees, a bouquet, and a vessel beside it (Fig. 22). There has been heavy damage in front of the figures, but it seems likely that they were receiving offerings, perhaps from family members. On the other side of the pool, a priest with a censor and a *hes* vase stands before an offering table with four or five female deities (?) on the other side (Fig. 23). The meaning of these lower scenes is not entirely clear: should they be read together or separately? Is this an image of the tomb owner and

²⁰⁰ Betrò, Del Vesco and Miniaci 2009, 107.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 112.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 111.

his wife in the afterlife? At their funerary banquet? Or could it relate to the following scene of a priest and deity?²⁰³

The left short wall is identified by PM as wall 3) and is divided into two registers. The top register has a scene of a female mourner and [boat] at a pyramid tomb, with ten deities and a weighing of the heart scene, which can be identified as Spell 125 from the *Book of the Dead*.²⁰⁴ Despite heavy damage to the scene, the ten deities clearly represented members of the divine tribunal. Before them stand the scales to which Anubis leads Huy (probably once followed by his wife). The right side of the scale, which would have shown the heart, is lost, but the figure of Maat remains on the left pan.²⁰⁵ Ammit is represented poised to devour the heart if the outcome proves unfavorable to the tomb owner, and Thoth stands ready to record the results. The lower register shows priests and mourners before the mummy at the tomb. The scene, though damaged, is typical, with mourners moving from east to west, where Huy's mummy and that of his wife (?) are stood before their tomb with priests holding opening of the mouth implements and censers before them. The material in register II on wall 3) likely can be seen as continuing the content established on wall 1) 2) in register II, if in fact it does represent the funerary banquet. The narrative in the upper register, established on wall 3), finds resolution in register I on focal wall 4), where Huy is presented to the enthroned Osiris. This scene is also badly damaged, but the content is clear and common for this

²⁰³ While Betrò, Del Vesco and Miniaci suggest that any of these meanings could be seen, it seems rather that this scene primarily represents the deceased and wife at their funerary banquet; the meaning of the couple in the gardens of the afterlife may have been secondary and the scene of the priests interacting with the female deities is perhaps to be considered entirely separate from the banquet. Betrò, Del Vesco and Miniaci 2009, 109.

²⁰⁴ Saleh 1984, 68.

²⁰⁵ Betrò, Del Vesco and Miniaci 2009, 119.

location. There is nothing extant in the lower register of focal wall 4), but Betto et. al. suggest that this register might have carried an image of the tomb owner (and perhaps his wife) standing before the Hathor cow emerging from the western hills.²⁰⁶ They see this as the logical next scene in Huy's funerary narrative that wraps around the left wing in the second register. Scenes of the deceased before the Hathor cow can indeed occur on focal walls, but without more evidence this suggestion remains a hypothesis only.

The right eastern wall (6) is divided into two registers. The top register contains two scenes. The first to the right of the door is a fragmentary scene with Huy, followed by a woman (likely his wife), and a figure (perhaps his son) at the shrine of a ram-headed image of Amun. Twelve lines of fragmentary illegible text remain above the scene.²⁰⁷ This scene is identified by Saleh as Chapter 74 of the *Book of the Dead*, a spell entitled "Chapter for Being Swift-Footed When Going out from the Earth."²⁰⁸ An even more fragmentary scene follows this. Two priests stand before a now-lost shrine that may belong to the god Ptah-Sokar, but this interpretation is based on questionable copying by Davies of a now-illegible inscription above.²⁰⁹ The second register features the remains of a funeral procession with the sarcophagus dragged on a bark accompanied by figures.²¹⁰ The right short wall of the tomb has very little extant decoration. In the upper register, the scene of the procession of the image of Amenhotep I seems to continue from

²⁰⁶ Betto, Del Vesco and Miniaci 2009, 120.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 100.

²⁰⁸ Saleh 1994, 39.

²⁰⁹ Betto, Del Vesco and Miniaci 2009, 101.

²¹⁰ Ibid., 98.

focal wall 5), but there is very little left. In the lower register, Betro et. al. would like to reconstruct the rites in front of the tomb based on some scant notes by Davies.²¹¹

However, today all that remains is a pile of bread offerings, so such a reconstruction seems not truly sound. On focal wall 5), only material in the upper register is extant.²¹²

Here, a priest censes before the palanquin bearing Amenhotep the Image of Amun accompanied by Ahmose Nefertari (Fig. 24). Other priests support the palanquin, and an accompanying text gives the names and epithets of the king and queen.²¹³ Further text above the censuring priest identifies the figure as Huy.²¹⁴

The focal walls of the tomb are both decorated, and, while they both once likely had scenes in upper and lower registers, they now feature decoration only in the upper registers, which due to the hierarchical nature of register organization likely hold the more important and sacred content. Because these walls would have been the first encountered by viewers, it is legitimate to see them as major carriers of meaning. The left focal wall represents Horus reporting the conclusion of the weighing of the heart to Osiris and the funeral scenes that lead to it on the left short wall (3). In a scene on the right focal wall, a priest censes before statues of Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari in a palanquin carried by priests with mourners below. This scene highlights the professional role of the

²¹¹ Betrò, Del Vesco and Miniaci 2009, 98.

²¹² Again, while the only significant decoration on this wall appears in the upper register, Betro et. al. would perhaps like to reconstruct a scene of the funerary banquet in register II. There seems to be a male and female figure seated with their backs to the door, and the feet of figures facing them. This reconstruction, though speculative, seems likely, based on the tendency for compositional mirroring in upper and lower registers on focal walls. In other words, it seems appropriate that the figure of the tomb owner and wife receiving offering would appear on the same side of the wall, and seated beneath the figures of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari in register I above. Ibid.

²¹³ Ibid., 105.

²¹⁴ Ibid., 106.

tomb owner, as he was a *wab* priest of Amenhotep I. Because there is no extant decoration on the right short wall, it must remain unknown whether the subject matter there was connected to that on the focal wall, as is that on the left side. But the material on this focal wall can be seen as loosely connected to that in register I on the right eastern wall, as well as that in register I and II on the left eastern wall. In both the tomb owner is shown honoring a god, Amun in the case of the right eastern wall, or a deified king in the case of the left eastern wall and the right focal wall. These scenes represent his pious behavior in life, as well as his status as one who had access to the temple. The fact that the extant decoration in this tomb is almost evenly split between images of the tomb owner interacting with Amun or statues of Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari in his professional life and images that represent funerary ceremonies and funerary texts suggests the importance of the representation of the deceased in his professional life. Melinda Hartwig has shown that 18th Dynasty focal walls often feature an image of the deceased interacting with the king, carrying out his official duties.²¹⁵ Here we see a scene of the tomb owner interacting with a (deceased) king in his capacity as a *wab* priest in a scene that is compositionally and thematically similar to those from the 18th Dynasty. Finally, the tendency for more sacred content to appear in upper registers while that which pertains more to life in the profane world is relegated to the lower ones appears in the register organization of this tomb.

Tomb: TT 16

Name of Tomb Owner: Panehesi

²¹⁵ Hartwig 2004, 54-73.

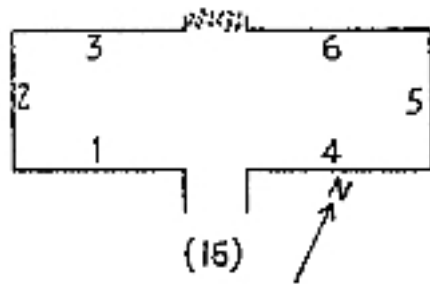
Known Title(s): Prophet of Amenhotep I of the Forecourt;²¹⁶ Chief of the Attendants of the Offering Table;²¹⁷ The Prophet of Amun.²¹⁸

Date: end of the 19th Dynasty²¹⁹

Area: Dra Abu el-Naga

Medium: painting

Sources: Porter and Moss 2004; Kitchen 1993; Baud and Drioton 1928-1935; MMA Archive Photos



The tomb chapel of Panehesi is a single room with a transverse shape. The plan shows some loose rock covered in mud in the center of the west wall, which may suggest that the tomb was originally conceived of as a traditional T-shaped tomb and that a long room was planned, or perhaps only a niche for a sculpture of the deceased was intended. All walls in the tomb are painted and divided into two registers. The scenes on the left east wall 1) are continuous with those on the left short wall 2) and those on wall 3). The material that begins on wall 4) continues onto wall 5) and 6). This continuous treatment of scenes, with the major division of the walls being a horizontal register line and with

²¹⁶ Porter and Moss 2004, 28.

²¹⁷ Kitchen 1993, v. III, 288.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ Dated to the end of the 19th Dynasty based on a mention of the tomb owner in TT 183, which was owned by an individual who can be dated to the late 19th because his father was mayor of Thebes under Ramesses II, Hoffmann 2004, 27.

little regard given to containing scenes on individual walls, becomes common in the Ramesside period. Earlier, in 18th Dynasty tombs, scenes were usually restricted to individual walls.

On wall 1) and 2), the top register contains five scenes of the deceased and his wife adoring guardians and the Ennead, which Saleh has identified as vignettes and text from the *Book of the Dead* Chapter 146 (“Chapter for Entering the Mysterious Portals of House of Osiris in the Fields of Iaru”).²²⁰ In each of these scenes the deceased and his wife face into the tomb, while the gods face out. The orientation of the figures highlights the movement of the deceased through the doors that will lead them to the beyond and also mirrors the direction of movement by the visitor through the tomb space. The second register on walls 1) and 2) showing the funeral procession is heavily damaged, especially on wall 2) (Fig. 25). However, some of the funeral scene remains in the lower register on Wall 1), where a number of male figures and four cattle (one of which has a head represented full-face while the other three are in strict profile) drag the deceased’s coffin on a sledge into the tomb. A priest following the men and cattle twists back toward the coffin on the sledge to offer incense. A number of fragmentary male figures follow another sledge, which carries the canopic box of the deceased surmounted by a recumbent jackal. This scene of the funeral procession looks much like the vignette that accompanies Chapter 1 of the *Book of the Dead*. Vertical bands for text are painted above the scene, but, because only a few hieroglyphs were painted there, it is possible that some of the text of this chapter was intended to be written and the work was never completed (Fig. 26). There is a sensible division on this wall between funeral scenes and the

²²⁰ Saleh 1984, 78.

deceased navigating the portals to the netherworld: the events that take place in the temporal world (the funeral procession) are found in the lower register, and those that take place in the divine sphere (Chapter 146) are found in the top. The lack of division between walls encourages a dynamic and continuous reading of the space and emphasizes the movement of the tomb owner and the visitors. The left focal wall 3) has the tomb owner libating and offering before a temple of Amun Re in the upper register and Horus reporting to Osiris in a kiosk in the lower register (Fig. 27). As with the walls 1) and 2), the text in the upper register is filled in, while in the lower register lines for text are painted but not filled in. The text in the bandeau above the scene reads:

An <offering> which the king gives (to) Osiris, Chief of the West, Wennufer, Ruler of the Living, Lord of Eternity, Maker of Everlasting, who surpasses millions in his lifespan, that he may grant a goodly burial on the day of interment [...end lost..].²²¹

This text seems to refer more directly to the scene found in the lower register, while that in the upper register is clarified by the text spoken by Panehesi as he offers before the Temple of Amun-Re: “Words spoken by the Osiris, Prophet of Amenhotep I of the Forecourt, Panesi, justified: ‘The odor of offerings! The god, (may he) be satisfied with the offerings [...lost...].’”²²² While the upper register shows the tomb owner carrying out one of his offices, that of the prophet of Amun, a scene like this is generally expected to appear in the lower register and that of the introduction to Osiris in the upper, simply because events occurring during the transition to the afterlife commonly appear

²²¹ Kitchen 1993, v. III, 287.

²²² Ibid., 288.

higher on the wall than those which occur during the life of the tomb owner. Even though here these scenes are reversed from the anticipated organization, the representation of the tomb owner carrying out his professional life and emphasizing his status through his involvement in temple ritual is a common subject for focal walls, as is the deceased interacting with Osiris.

The bands of scenes that run along the right three walls of the tomb are again continuous horizontally but discrete from one another vertically. However, these scenes are less continuous than those on the left side of the tomb. Wall 4), the eastern wall, has a somewhat damaged scene of a priest (followed by at least two kneeling women) censuring and libating before the deceased and his wife. It seems at though there was a half register with more figures offering above the two kneeling women, but much of it is now lost (Fig. 28). The deceased and his wife face out of the tomb, while the priest and those offering face in. Their *ba* birds follow the deceased and his wife. Here text above the couple identifies them and gives their titles.²²³ The text spoken by the priest is recorded as follows:

Making for him incense and libations. Give (up to) a 1,000 of bread, a 1,000 of beer, a 1,000 of oxen, a 1,000 of fowl, a 1,000 of everything good and pure, <for> the Osiris, chief of the attendants of the offering table, Panehsi [...rest lost...].²²⁴

²²³ Here the deceased is identified as “The Osiris, the prophet of Amenhotep I of <the Forecourt>, Panehsy, justified,” and his wife is identified as “The Chantress of Amun, Tarennu, justified.” Kitchen 1993, v. III, 287-289.

²²⁴ Kitchen 1993, v. III, p. 287-289.

Agricultural scenes occupy the lower register, most of which is split into two registers by a thin, dark ground line (Fig. 28). In each of these four scenes, some of the figures are identified by name. In the first, a man cuts trees while another ploughs; the ploughman is identified as “the prophet of Amun, Panehsi.”²²⁵ In the second scene, women sow seed, and two men plough but wrestle with a stubborn cow. The cow is identified as “on strike” and one of the ploughmen tells the animal to: “Get up, move on, stop (shamming) dead, you [brute!]”²²⁶ The ploughman is identified as “The *wab* priest, Prehotep, justified,” while the woman sowing seed is “his wife, Tadjati.” In the third scene three men harvest grain, and another drives a donkey. The man managing the donkey is identified as “the donkey-loader, Suti.”²²⁷ In the final scene we see Panehesi, again with his title as “Prophet [of] [Amen]hotep I of the Forecourt,” sitting beneath a tree while overseeing two threshers with oxen. The two threshers are identified as “herdsman, Qen-sankh” and “fowl-keeper, Khay, justified” (Fig. 29).²²⁸ The scenes in both registers on wall 4) do not strictly end at the end of the wall; instead, the tree that stands behind the seated tomb owner and his wife in register I wall 4) becomes the tree out of which the tree goddess comes in register I, wall 5), where the deceased, with his *ba*, kneels to drink. Saleh identifies this last as Chapter 59 from the *Book of the Dead* (“Chapter for Breathing Air and Having Power over Water in the God’s Domain”) (Fig. 30). While the scenes bleed onto wall 5), those that follow are distinct from them, a fact

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ Ibid.

highlighted by the rising ground line on register II and by a vertical line that divides the tree goddess scene from the one that comes next on wall 5).

The upper register of wall 5) is dominated by a scene of the tomb owner and wife adoring a damaged figure of Hathor emerging from the western mountains (Fig. 31). Strangely, although one would expect Hathor to face out of the tomb and the figures of the tomb owner and his wife to face into it, here the orientations are reversed.

The lower register on wall 5) represents two rows of priests carrying the Great Vase of Amun and a large bouquet from the temple of Amun. The upper row is led by the owner of TT 183, Nebsumenu, here identified as “steward of the city” (meaning Thebes).²²⁹ The priest with the censor is identified as a “*wab* priest in front of Amun, Amenopet, justified.”²³⁰ The lower row is led by Panehesi himself, here carrying the title of “chief of attendants of the offering table of Amun” and his brother, Pahesi.²³¹ At the very top of wall is a half scene fit into the frieze space above the top register. It shows a figure kneeling and offering before a recumbent figure of Anubis on a shrine. Columns were added, but they were seemingly never provided with text. The figure is probably that of the tomb owner (Fig. 31).

²²⁹ Kitchen 1993, v. III, 289.

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ Pahesi’s title is not certain. Kitchen records “attendant <of the offering table> of Amun,” while Porter and Moss records it as “singer of the altars of Amun”; Porter and Moss 2004, 28 and Kitchen 1993, v. III, 289. Regardless of the identification, it seems that Panehesi’s brother was employed in the temple of Amun. Furthermore, the similarity in the names of the two brothers leads one to wonder if it is Pahesi and not “Panehsy” who is meant to be recorded above the figure of the ploughman on wall 4) with the title “prophet of Amun.”

On wall 6), the right focal wall has two registers. In the top one, the deceased and wife adore the bark of Sokar, identified with Chapter 74 of the *Book of the Dead* (“Chapter for Being Swift-Footed When Going out from the Earth”) by Saleh (Fig. 32). Then, continuing toward the central axis of the tomb, the upper register shows the deceased and his wife censuring and libating at a large offering table and bouquet before a statue of Amenhotep I in a palanquin. Here the accompanying text above the couple reads: “Presenting incense and libation to the divine embodiment of Djoserkare, bodily and beloved son of Re, Amenhotep I of the Forecourt by Panehsi, justified, and his sister, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun, Tarennu, justified.”²³² Below the scene of the bark of Sokar in register II on wall 6 is a scene of the deceased and his wife adoring Anubis. Interestingly, below the scene of Amenhotep I in a palanquin is a scene of the deceased and wife adoring large figures of Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari enthroned in a kiosk (Fig. 33).

This tomb features content from the *Book of the Dead*, both textual and in the form of vignettes on the eastern long walls and the short walls. Generally scenes of events from the world beyond are found in the upper registers, while those that occur in this world are found in the lower (with the exception of those on wall 3) and perhaps 4)). This maintains the hierarchy of scenes that is common in Egyptian architecture. Two scenes refer to activities that occurred in and around the temple of Amun, (wall 3), register I, and wall 5), register II.) Both show the tomb owner as priest, and, interestingly, that on wall 5) also names other elite figures. Nebsumenu was a chief steward in the house of Ramesses II and also has a tomb in the Theban necropolis (TT 183). TT 183 was

²³² Kitchen 1993, v. III, p. 289.

removed from this corpus due to its size and the incorporation of courtyard scenes, as well as the vague designation “[ritual scenes]” to describe the decoration found on walls 9) and 11) of its outer room. However, the tomb was large and lavishly decorated, and there is no recorded evidence that Nebsumenu’s titles included those of a priest at the temple of Amun. The only tenuous connection that could be suggested based on the material is that Nebsumenu’s brother, Hunefer, who figures heavily in the decoration of TT 183, holds the title “steward of the temple of Amenhotep I,” among others. Perhaps the connection between Nebsumenu and Panehesi is through Nebsumenu’s brother in his capacity as steward of the temple of Amenhotep I. In addition, there are no extant scenes in the tomb of Nebsumenu that explicitly place him in the temple of Amun or interacting with Ramesses II as part of his professional life. Could Nebsumenu have been a relation of Panehesi? A friend? Nebsumenu’s main title as recorded by PM does not associate him with the temple of Amun, but we should probably assume that they were involved as priests somehow. Why did Panehesi choose to include Nebsumenu and his brother in his tomb? This question could likewise be asked of those figures identified in the agricultural scenes on in the lower register of wall 4). Why were certain figures included, and are the capacities in which they are represented within the tomb reflective of their actual stations in life? It seems reasonable to represent Suti, who has the title “donkey loader,” carrying out this activity in the scenes, but why is the *wab* priest Prehotep seen as a ploughman? Why is Panehesi represented felling trees with his title “the prophet of Amun” inscribed in the scene? Perhaps these identifications should be seen not as reflective of actual titles but rather as a way to include family members and friends in a tomb space within traditional scenes.

The other scenes that are found on the two focal walls make more sense. In a fragmentary scene below the image of Panehesi libating before the temple of Amun-Re, Horus reports to Osiris. As noted for other tombs, an image of Osiris in a kiosk (either as part of a larger scene of weighing, reporting, or simply receiving offerings) is one of the most common subjects for a focal wall. On the right focal wall, the upper and lower registers treat the same general subject matter. In both, the tomb owner offers to a figure of Amenhotep I (and Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari in register II). Here the tomb owner references his position as prophet of Amenhotep of the Forecourt. Formally, the image of Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari in a kiosk in the lower register on the right mirrors that of Osiris in a kiosk in the lower register of the left focal wall. Additionally, images in the upper registers on the right and left walls show the tomb owner in a temple environment. Clearly the representation of his professional life was very important to Panehesi, as he chose to make it the major theme of his focal walls.

Tomb: TT 19

Name of Tomb Owner: Amenmosi

Known Title(s): Prophet of Amenhotep of the Forecourt;²³³ High Priest of Amenhotep I;²³⁴ [...Loss...] ... the God's Father of Amun, in the Temple of [Djoserkare?]²³⁵

Date: beginning of the reign of Ramesses II²³⁶

²³³ Porter and Moss 2004, 28.

²³⁴ Kitchen 1993, v. III, p. 283.

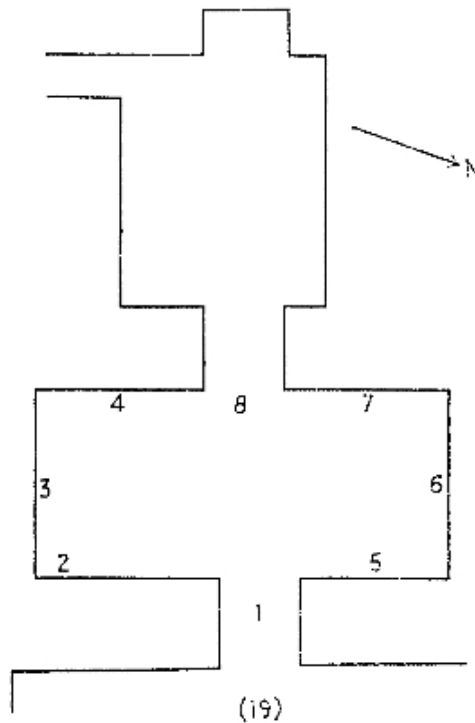
²³⁵ Alternate titles found on loose fragment likely from inner doorway, *Ibid.*, 287.

²³⁶ Dated to the beginning of the reign of Ramesses II based on the fact that the last deceased king represented in the tomb is Seti I, Hoffmann 2004, 26.

Area: Dra Abu el-Naga

Medium: painting

Sources: Porter and Moss 2004; Kitchen 1993; Foucart 1928-1935; MMA Archive Photos



TT 19 is a T-shaped tomb, but there is painted decoration extant only in the outer room. The focal walls in the tomb are 4) and 7). The walls on the left side (2), 3), 4)) and right side (5), 6), and 7) of the first room of the chapel are divided into three horizontal registers. Wall 2) has almost no extant decoration with the exception of the *khekher* frieze at the top of the wall, and only a tiny portion of the south wall is extant, enough to show that there were three registers. The *khekher* frieze runs around all walls in the outer room, with the exception of the area above the door at 8). Vertical striped bands at both corners of each wall divide the walls into individual compositions in a sense (these vertical dividers between walls are visible in MMA T 1012A, in the corners between 5), 6), 7)). This differs from other Ramesside tombs in which the decoration runs continuously from

one wall to the other. Nevertheless, despite these vertical divisions, the material on many of the walls continues from that on adjacent walls.

When entering the tomb from the courtyard, the visitor first encounters an offering list and text above them on the soffit.²³⁷ The entrance into the undecorated inner room 8) has decoration on its lintel (Fig. 34) and likely had decoration framing its sides as well, but that is now lost. The lintel has a double scene in which priests on either end of the doorway offer to seated figures of the owner Amenmosi and his wife Iuy in the center.

As previously mentioned, almost all of the registers on wall 2) are now lost, but a significant amount of decoration remains on walls 3) and 4). The subject matter in each of the three registers on walls 3) and 4) is semi-continuous, despite the vertical bands at the corners of each wall that divide the scenes. The subject matter in register I on wall 3) relates to that in register I on wall 4) and so on with the other registers. The same presumably held the material on wall 2) as well, but the only decoration extant is an image of the seated wife of Amenmose, accompanied by the text, “[...x lines lost...] Chantress of Amun, Iuy, justified in peace.”²³⁸

Porter and Moss describes register I on wall 3) as beginning (in the east) with the “[Bark of Mut] and the bark of Amun-Re being towed on a canal, [statue of ‘Amenophis

²³⁷ “[An offering which the king gives (to) DN.....], Magnate in Heliopolis, Grandee in Thebes, great god in Hatkuptah (=Memphis), (to) all gods of the Sacred Territory, (and to) the Great Conclave of the Gods which is in Ro-Setjau, that they may give receipt of food-offerings that appear in the their presence beside Wenennufer, receipt of... in Ro-Setjau, and the bouquet of grace (?) in the (hand’s) grasp,-for the spirit of the High Priest of Amenophis I, Amenmose, justified. [Giving] praise to Amen-Re-Harakhti, when he appears in Southern Heliopolis (=Thebes) that he may grant [entry and exit ?] in the necropolis, without my soul being hindered, and that I may follow Sokar (with) onions at my neck (on) the day of going round the Walls, -for the spirit of the High Priest of Amenophis I, Amenmose, justified.” Kitchen 1993, v. III, 283.

²³⁸ Kitchen 1993, v. III, 283.

of the forecourt' in palanquin carried by priests], and men acclaiming." The archival images of the tomb show only the bark of Amun-Re, which can be seen as a representation of the Beautiful Festival of the Valley, during which the cult statue of Amun-Re would move from his temple on the east bank to visit several on the west bank.²³⁹ In the Ramesside period, the bark of Amun-Re was often accompanied by those of his consort Mut and son Khonsu; here Mut's can be seen.²⁴⁰ The moment represented in this register seems to be that in which the barks of the deities are towed across the river in the company of celebrants and priests and are greeted on the west bank by the image of Amenhotep I. The register ends (on the west end) with a now-lost image of the statue of Amenhotep I, of which only a partial cartouche remains. Images of deified kings are also involved in the action, represented in register I and II, wall 4). The Feast of Tuthmosis III is represented in the top register. Beginning on the north end of the wall there was an image of the bark of this king moving toward his temple on the south side of the wall, with female mourners and men dragging the royal statue, which is now lost.²⁴¹ In front of the image of the king, figures wrestle and engage in combat with sticks; the wall ends with a bark carrying a statue of Tuthmosis III before his temple (Fig. 35).²⁴² Register II of

²³⁹ Extant text gives the identity of each figure. Above the image of Amenhotep I: "Amenophis I of the Forecourt, who beholds his father, Amen-Re, King of the Gods on his beautiful Festival of the Valley." Above the barge of Amun: "The Barque of Amen-Re, King of the Gods, by its name of Userhat." Above the barge of Mut: "The barque of Mut the Mighty, Lady of Asheru, [...], by its name of [...]." Ibid.

²⁴⁰ Strudwick and Strudwick 1999, 78.

²⁴¹ Porter and Moss 2004, 33.

²⁴² The identity of the figures seen are confirmed by text. Above the temple of Tuthmosis on the right of the wall: "The temple of the King Menkheperre, justified before the great god, which is on the west of Thebes." And above the shrine of Tuthmosis III: "The Palladium of Royal Appearance of King Menkheperre, forever and ever eternally." On fan above statue: "Menkheperre." Over the wrestlers: "Amun (is) the god who has decreed it, (even) the victory of the Ruler over every land! Woe to you, you wretched soldier, one who boasts with his mouth! I'll make you say: 'What a [mistake?] to take on a soldier of His Majesty.'" Kitchen 1993, v. III, 284.

wall 3) (beginning on the east side) depicts the bark statue of Ahmose Nefertari being dragged out in front of the temple by priests (Fig. 36). On wall 4), register II has suffered significant loss on its south side, but here again we have a continuation of some of the subject matter established on wall 3), register II. The left half shows two priests offering to two queens and two rows of kings.²⁴³ This right side of the wall in register II features the bark of Ahmose Nefertari being towed across a lake or waterway before a temple. Trees and heaps of offerings line the lake. The bark and figures move toward the temple that stands on the north side of the wall. In front of its pylon are two statues of Amenhotep I in palanquins with priests. In both register I and II, the action moves toward the pylon gates, which are stacked one on top of the other in the two registers (Fig. 35).

The funeral procession begins on the east side of wall 3) with a series of scenes similar to vignettes that accompany Chapter 1 of the *Book of the Dead*. Some of the beginning of these scenes are now lost but were recorded as “[9 friends, sarcophagus].”²⁴⁴ The figures dragging the sarcophagus are extant and the action moves (like that in the registers above) toward the west and wall 4) (Fig. 36). A large group of female mourners making gestures of grief faces the advancing sarcophagus, and a series of men carries boxes and other goods on the west end of the wall (Fig. 37). The procession continues in register III on wall 4), where there is heavy loss on the south end of the wall, but a scene

²⁴³ This area is damaged but the kings and one queen are identified by text and are all deified deceased past kings. Above queens: “<PN>, justified; the God’s wife Ahmose-Nefertari, may she live and be young.” Above the upper row of king’s figures: “Nebhepetre, justified; Ahmose I, justified, Akheperkare, justified; Akheperenre, justified; Menkheperre.” Above the lower row: “Akheprure, justified; Menkheprure, justified; Nebmare, justified; Djoserkheprure Setepenre, justified; Menpehtyre, justified; Menmare, justified.” Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Porter and Moss 2004, 33.

of a butcher, cow, and mutilated calf is recorded.²⁴⁵ The narrative continues with the resolution of the funeral procession: a scene of the lector priest with opening of the mouth instruments and three others pouring libations before the two standing mummies outside the courtyard of their rock-cut tomb (Fig. 35). The contours of the western hills are rendered, locating the tomb in a specific environment that connects it to the scene that follows (and ends the wall on the north side). The scene depicts Amenmosi, his son, Beknay, and his wife adoring and offering to the Hathor cow who strides out of the western hills with a figure of a king between her front legs (Fig. 35).²⁴⁶

On the other side of the tomb (walls 5), 6), and 7)), the walls are again divided by vertical bands, but this does not stop the material in each register from being somewhat continuous across the three walls. Like the material on the other side of the tomb, the narratives begin on the east walls, move onto the short walls, and end on the focal walls (Fig. 38). Another similarity between the right side of the tomb and the left is that the east wall has suffered the most damage in both cases, although wall 5) has fared better than wall 2). Register I on wall 5) is damaged, but descriptions and archival photos allow for the identification of the narrative that starts on the south side with the weighing of the heart scene, including Horus and assessors, Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead*.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁵ Text above the butcher reads: “Providing choice cuts (for the) one praised in the West; there is performed ‘Opening of the Mouth’, for the Praised One, as for every just man.” Kitchen 1993, v. III, p. 285.

²⁴⁶ Here the text that accompanies the worshippers clarifies their identities and titles and give praise to Hathor: “Giving praise to Hathor, Lady of the West, Lady of heaven, residing in the desert necropolis; I give praise to her beautiful face, I propitiate the Lords of the Netherworld, -that she may give receipt of food-offerings that appear in her (divine) presence, [among?] the excellent [souls](?). –May you grant me to be like the just ones (??) who are within <...>; -for the spirits of the High Priest of Amenophis I, Amenmose, justified; his son, [the wab-priest] and Lector of Amenophis I, Baknayu, justified; and his wife, dear in his affection, Chief of the Harem of Amenophis I, Iuy, justified.” Kitchen 1993, v. III, 285.

²⁴⁷ Saleh 1984, 67.

Horus is installed in a kiosk at the north end of the register, with Isis extending her wings around him (Fig. 39). Moving to wall 6) in register I leads to a double scene that has at its center two kiosks with divine figures back to back. The right scene depicts Amenmosi, with Beknay and wife (now lost) censuring and libating before a seated Re-Harakhti-Amun, who is followed by standing figures of Amenhotep I, Hathor, and the Western Goddess, all enclosed in a kiosk (Fig. 40).²⁴⁸ The left side of register I on wall 6) has a mirror image scene with perhaps Amenmosi, his mother, and daughter (this area is heavily damaged) with offerings before a kiosk with a seated Osiris, followed by a standing king and two divine female figures (Fig. 40).²⁴⁹ On wall 7) the upper register begins on the north side with the pylon gate of the temple of Amenhotep I (Fig. 41). Priests carry a statue of the king out of the temple and are accompanied by celebrants with sistra and tambourines; small figures of servants with food in booths are represented in the upper left, where the subject matter is the Feast and Oracle of Amenhotep I, when the statue of the king would be brought in procession for worship by a larger segment of the population. In such a procession, people would ask the image for judgments and oracles,

²⁴⁸ The text above Re and the king reads: “Re-Harakhti-Atum, Lord of Both Lands, the Heliopolitan, Lord of rays, maker of sunshine; when he appears, the gods (are) in his [following?]. The goodly god, Djoserkare, Son of Re, Amenophis I.” Above the figures of Amenmose, Beknay, and his wife: “Presenting incense and libation to Re-Harakhti-Atum, Lord of Both Lands, the Heliopolitan, together with his Conclave of the Gods, with bread, beer, oxen, fowl, libation(s), wine, milk, and everything good for an [endowment] (of) Re-Harakhti and his Conclave of the Gods, for the Great Conclave of the Gods, which is in heaven, and for the Great Conclave of the Gods which is on earth, -by the High Priest of Amenophis I of the Forecourt, Amenmose, justified; -by his beloved bodily son, the wa’b- priest and Lector of Amenophis I, Baknayu; and his wife, dear in his affection, Chantress of Amen-Re in Karnak, Chief of the Harim of Amenophis I, Iuy, justified in peace on the West of Thebes, beside the Lords of Eternity.” Kitchen 1993, v. III, 285.

²⁴⁹ The tentative identification of the deceased, mother, and daughter on the left side of this register is provided by Porter and Moss. Porter and Moss identify the figures in the kiosk on the left side as “three divinities and king,” arguably the seated figure here can be identified as Osiris due to its mummiform figure and white shroud (see MMA T1009). Porter and Moss 2004, 33-34.

and movements of the statue were read as answers. The identity of the figures included is noted in the accompanying text.²⁵⁰ Over the figure of Amenmose, text clarifies his role in the event: “Words spoken by the High Priest of Amenophis, Amenmose, He says: ‘My good Lord, a pronouncement which the god has made: “The servant Ramessesnakht is right, and Heqanakht is wrong.’ – Then the god agreed emphatically, saying: ‘The servant Ramessesnakht is right.’”²⁵¹ The appellant, servant of the pharaoh, [L.P.H] Ramessesnakht replies: “O my [good] Lord, Amenophis I, [...loss...], who has scrutinized the hearts and whose [...rest lost...].”²⁵² The composition of this scene is interesting because one would expect the pylon gate to be represented in the left part of the wall, with all of the figures moving out from it. Such a composition would be similar to those in other tombs with scenes showing processions from the temple (e.g. TT 14, TT 16, TT 19), as well as similar to those found across the doorway on the other focal wall 4). This scene, much like those on the other focal wall 4), emphasizes the role of the tomb owner in his position as first prophet of Amenhotep of the Forecourt.

Beginning with the south end of register II of wall 5), a visual trope continues across all three walls on this side of the room in the lower register (walls 5), 6), and 7)):

²⁵⁰ Over the image of Amenhotep I: “The Good god, Son of Amun, Champion of the Inhabitant of Thebes, glorious seed and holy egg, begotten by the King of the Gods, King of S & N Egypt, Lord of Both Lands, Lord performing rites, Djoserkare, Son of Re, Amenophis I, given life forever.” Over the fan bearer near the image of Amenhotep I: “[...Loss..N?]ebkahu, justified.” Above the overseer of the first booth: “Superintendent of the Workshop in the Temple of Usimare Setepenre, in the Estate of Amun, Piay.” The women in the scene are identified as: “[Chief of the Har]im of Amenophis I, Iuy, justified, The Chantress, Hatshepse(t), justified; her daughter, the dancer, Kasa, justified. The Chantress, Amenikui.” Kitchen 1993, v. III, 286-287. Once again, we see that the representation of the festival provides the tomb owner with an opportunity to include family members and other friends or relations in his monument, helping them to attain an afterlife.

²⁵¹ Ibid., 287.

²⁵² Kitchen 1993, v. III, 287.

the figure of the tomb owner and his wife, seated before their tomb and receiving offerings, occurs with only minor variation five times. This scene occurs twice on wall 5). On the right side the offerants are missing; although much is lost, clearly two male figures and mourning women were represented in front of the couple seated before their tomb (Fig. 39). On the right side of wall 6) in register II, this scene occurs again with a priest clad in a leopard skin and identified as “his son Panefernekhu”, followed by a lector priest identified as “the Scribe of the Estate of Amun, Nahiho, justified,” and two mourning women before the couple in front of their pyramid tomb (Fig. 40).²⁵³ On the left side of the wall, the scene is compositionally similar, with the deceased and wife seated with their *ba* birds before the tree goddess scene (Chapter 59 of the *Book of the Dead*), and in this case the offerants are identified as the couple’s sons, Beknayu and Panefernekhu, and a lector priest identified as Panekhuemnit, followed by two female mourners (Fig. 40).²⁵⁴ Above the tree goddess, the text reads: “Words spoken by Nut: ‘Receive for yourself the offerings and libations that appear before the Lords of Eternity, and the regular daily offerings!’ - for the spirit of the Osiris, the Prophet, Amenmose, justified, in peace.”²⁵⁵

On wall 7), the focal wall, register II again features two scenes of the tomb owners in front of their pyramid tomb with various priests and mourners facing them. In

²⁵³ Ibid., 286.

²⁵⁴ Above these figures, the text reads: “Setting out all good things before the Osiris, High Priest of Amenophis I, Amenmose, justified, in peace before the great god, - by his dear son, the wa’b priest and Lector of Amenophis I, Baknayu, justified in peace. Presenting incense and libation with every good thing, pure, pure, -- for the spirit of the Osiris, High Priest of Amenophis I, Amenmose, justified by the Lector of the Prophet Amenmose, justified, Panekhuemnit. Performing the ‘Opening of the Mouth’ for the Osiris, the High Priest of Amenophis I, Amenmose, justified, -by his son, Panefernekhu.” Kitchen 1993, v. III, 286.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

the case of the left scene, their son Beknay is again represented leading the group (Fig. 41).

On the right focal wall 4), the top two registers have almost identical pylon gates at their north ends, effectively capping the composition, and below that, in register III, the mountain (out of which Hathor walks) serves a similar purpose compositionally and, again like the pylons, also as a reference to location (Fig. 35). Furthermore, the stacking of the image of Tuthmosis III (in register I) with those of Amenhotep I in palanquins (in register II) and with that of Hathor and the king (in register III) clearly encourages connections among registers. It is also possible to interpret the visual echo between the large white architectural pylons in register I and II and the representation of the tomb in register III as a statement about the sanctity of these spaces and perhaps even their relative sanctity, considering that the temples occupy the top two registers and the image of the tomb lies below them in the third. There are also parallels to be found with the use of architecture on the opposing focal wall 7).

There is a strong emphasis on the representation of architecture--both tombs and temples--in this tomb, and these elements serve as visual cues of not only the continuity of subject matter across walls but also the continuity of place. So, while the vertical bands divide the walls, the repetitive representation of the same architectural element--especially across walls 5), 6), and 7) in register II--emphasize the continuous nature of the decoration and narrative. The emphasis on involvement in the cult of Amenhotep I by the tomb owner and his family is the main subject matter in the first room.

Tomb: TT 25

Name of Tomb Owner: Amenemhab

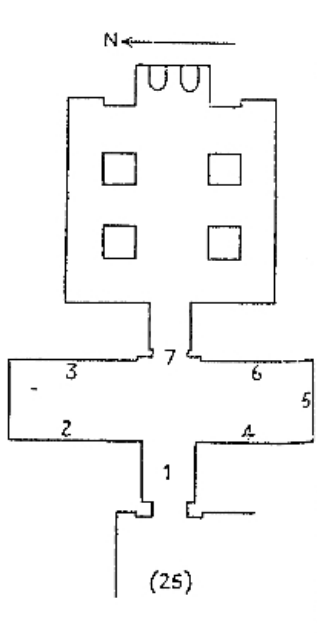
Known Title(s): High Priest of Khons²⁵⁶

Date: second half of the reign of Ramesses II²⁵⁷

Area: Asasif

Medium: painting

Sources: Porter and Moss 2004; Kitchen 1993



The tomb of Amenemhab is a T-shaped tomb with painted decoration in the transverse hall and with a square inner room that has four square pillars and two statues at its western end. There is no extant wall decoration in the inner room. The lintel of the entrance to the tomb (location 1)) has a double scene with the deceased and his wife adoring, on one side, Re-Harakhti and Maat, and, on the other, Osiris and Isis. The outer jambs feature offering texts. The thicknesses of the doorway have the deceased and his

²⁵⁶ “High Priest of Khons, Amenemhab; and (his wife); Chief of the Harim of Khons, Tewosret.” Kitchen 1993, v. III, translation, p. 217.

²⁵⁷ This tomb is dated to the second half of the reign of Ramesses II based on a mention of the tomb owner in pBerlin 3074, which dates to year 47 of Ramesses II’s reign. Hoffmann 2004, 26.

wife adoring, and, on the left, a hymn to Amen-Re, and, on the right, a hymn to Osiris.²⁵⁸ There is no indication in the record of the orientation of these figures, but there are two likely scenarios: based on many parallels found in Ramesside Theban tombs, they all may be facing out of the tomb; or the figures may be oriented according to the location of the deities they adore. In the latter case, the figures would face out of the tomb on the left, since they adore Amen-Re, the solar god who rises in the east, and into the tomb on the right, as Osiris, ruler of the afterlife, is understood to be located in the west. The textual material and figures of the deceased and wife on the thicknesses correspond to the introductory hymns to Re and Osiris that often begin the *Book of the Dead*.²⁵⁹ It is notable that these texts are the material to first greet a visitor to the tomb, reinforcing the idea that the viewer's interaction with the space had an impact on the placement of certain scene types. On the lintel of the door to the inner room (location 7)) there is another double scene, this time of the deceased before unidentified divinities. The jambs of this door have text.

There is no extant decoration on the left short wall, but the material on walls 2) and 3) on the left side is divided into two registers. No information is available about the orientation of the figures in the scenes, or about whether the scenes move from one wall to another over the corners or are restricted to single walls. Therefore, the walls (and both their registers) will be described individually.

²⁵⁸ For the hieroglyphic text of the solar hymn on the left thickness, see Kitchen 1989, v. VII, 134-135.

²⁵⁹ Faulkner et. al 1998, pl. 1-2.

In the scene depicted in register I on wall 2), Thoth and Horus lead Amenemhab to Anubis, the Western Goddess, and “two pools with divinities.”²⁶⁰ In register II, a priest stands before Osiris. On the left focal wall 3), the scene in the upper register shows Amenemhab and his wife Tausert standing before Re-Harakhti, who is likely represented seated in a kiosk. The scene in register II depicts the mummies of the deceased and his wife standing before their tomb, followed by an image of Hathor emerging from the western mountains.

Only limited information exists for the scenes on the right side of the tomb, walls 4), 5) and 6). Wall 4) is divided into two registers; in the upper register the deceased is shown kneeling before divinities, perhaps as part of a vignette that is often associated with Chapter 146 of the *Book of the Dead* (“Chapter for Entering the Mysterious Portals of the House of Osiris in the Fields of Iaru”). Register I also has a scene from Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead*, with the deceased and his wife led before Osiris, who presides over the weighing of the heart as Thoth records the proceedings. Each of the three scenes in the lower register on wall 4 shows the deceased and his wife. In the first the two kneel before a lost divinity; in the second they are seated before a house with a garden and a pool; and in the third, they are seated. If we read the scene of the two seated in a garden with a pool as a representation of the two in the beyond, it can be seen as an image of their successful transition into the next life. Wall 5) is also divided into two registers; the subject matter there is identified only as “offering scenes,” so whether these are scenes of Amenemhab and his wife receiving offerings from family members and/or priests, or are scenes of the two offering to deities, or are a mix of the two is unclear.

²⁶⁰ Porter and Moss 2004, 42.

However, none of those scenarios would be unusual. The right focal wall 6) again suffers from a lack of information. It is unclear how the wall is divided, if the decoration is damaged or unfinished. However, a scene of “people before Osiris and two goddesses” is recorded.²⁶¹ It is likely that this scene represents Osiris enthroned in a kiosk, with two goddesses behind him and the tomb owner and his family offering to them.

While more information about the scenes in this tomb would be desirable, the images on the focal walls have the anticipated scenes. The tendency for kiosk scenes to appear on these walls seems to be in evidence with that on the left wall (deceased and wife in front of Re-Harakhti) and that on the right wall (people before Osiris and two goddesses). These two scenes appear across from one another and echo each other in content and composition. The western orientation of focal wall 3) is emphasized by the material found in register II on wall 3), with Hathor in the western mountain and the representation of the necropolis on the west bank. Furthermore, it is interesting that both door lintels feature mirror images of the deceased adoring divinities, and, through these doors in the niche, there presumably once stood a cult statue of the deceased, perhaps accompanied by his wife. It seems that the material is echoed first on the lintels and then again in three dimensions through those doors with the statue(s) in the shrine.

Tomb: TT 26

Name of Tomb Owner: Khnememhab

²⁶¹ Porter and Moss 2004, 42.

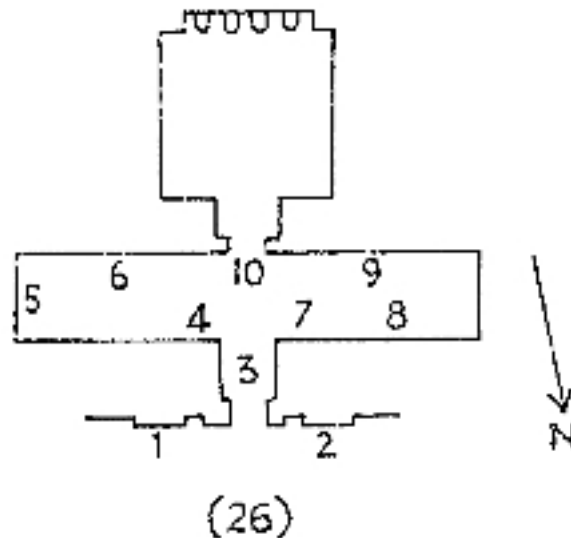
Known Title(s): Overseer of the Treasury in the Ramesseum in the Estate of Amun; Overseer of the Expeditionary Force/Army of the Lord of the Two Lands²⁶²

Date: end of the 19th Dynasty²⁶³

Area: Asasif

Medium: relief

Sources: Porter and Moss 2004; Kitchen 1978



TT 26 is a relief-decorated T-shaped tomb with two stelae on either side of the entrance in the courtyard. The transverse hall is decorated, while the square inner room with four sculptures in the shrine is left undecorated. The stela to the left of the entrance (location 1)) features a scene of the deceased adoring Re-Harakhti and Maat, along with a hymn to Amun-Re-Harakhti.²⁶⁴ On the right stela (location 2)) is a similar scene in which the deceased adores Osiris and the Western Goddess, accompanied by a fragmentary hymn to Osiris. These hymns often appear on the thicknesses of tomb entrances and

²⁶² For hieroglyphic writing of Khnemamhab's title, see Kitchen, historical and biographical 1978, v. III, p. 373.

²⁶³ Dated to the end of the 19th Dynasty based on a cartouche of Seti II found in the tomb; Hoffmann, 26.

²⁶⁴ For hieroglyphic text of the material on this stela see Kitchen 1989, v. VII, 164.

correspond to the introductory hymns to Amun-Re and Osiris found at the beginning of the *Book of the Dead*. In fact, similar material is repeated in this tomb on the thicknesses of the entrance.

When entering the tomb from the courtyard, the visitor encounters the stelae as well as jambs that have vertical lines of text listing the deceased's titles, with a figure of the deceased seated at the bottom of each jamb (at location 3)). The outer thicknesses feature texts, while the left inner thickness has a representation of the deceased and his wife accompanied by the hymn to Re-Harakhti. Khenememhab holds his hands up in adoration while his wife, Meryesi, follows holding a sistrum and papyrus stalk. The right inner thickness has a similar scene, but, instead of the tomb owner and his wife, Huy and his wife Iryiry adore and are accompanied by a hymn to Osiris.²⁶⁵ As previously noted, the general subject matter of adoring figures accompanied by hymns to Osiris and Re-Harakhti are not uncommon for entrance thicknesses, but the depiction of figures other than that of the tomb owner and his wife is unusual. Even taking into account that damage or unfinished texts make the identity of those individuals represented on the thickness impossible to know with certainty in many instances, this remains an unusual situation. Furthermore, information is lacking as to the relationship between the tomb owner and Huy and his wife. It can be assumed that they are family; perhaps Huy is a son? But this remains unclear.

The entrance to the undecorated inner room (location 10)) also features decoration on the lintels, jambs, and thickness. The outer lintel shows the deceased at the left end, with other decoration on the lintel either unfinished or damaged. Much like the jamb

²⁶⁵ The relationship between the tomb owner and Huy and Iryiry is not defined. Porter and Moss 2004, 43.

decoration on at location 3), the jambs at 10) have text running vertically with images of the deceased seated at the bottom. Only the left thickness at 10) has extant decoration, which again is similar to that on the thickness at 3). The left thickness has a depiction of Khenememhab and his [wife] with a hymn to Re at 10), as seen on the left thickness at 3).

Because of the nature of the information about this tomb, it is unknown if the scenes on the walls moved over corners and if compositional signals united wall content, nor can it be known whether gaps in the listed decoration are due to damage or to incompleteness. Therefore the material found on the walls of this tomb will be described by individual wall and wall “type” (wall type: east, short, and focal). The east walls in this tomb are numbered 4) and 8), left and right, respectively. Wall 4) has relatively little extant decoration, only a scene of Khenememhab and his wife Meryesi and another couple before Osiris and Anubis at the northern end of the wall. The other couple was likely family members, perhaps even Huy and Iryiry? At 7) on the right east wall, there is an unfinished scene of the Inmutef priest in front of Horus (?) and Anubis at the south end.

Two registers of decoration are extant on the north end of the left east wall 8). In register I the deceased offers to Re-Harakhti, Atum, Shu, Nut, and another god. In register II, there is a seated couple and a man censuring and libating to the deceased and his wife. The decoration on these two registers conforms to the general tendency of register organization with figures of higher status (deities, royalty, etc.) depicted as the focus of material in the upper register, while those of comparatively lower status are depicted in the lower. Here another common compositional motif occurs, in which the scene of figures offering to others is repeated across both registers but with the participants

changed depending on their relative status. In other words, both registers show offering scenes, but in the top the deceased offers to deities, while in the lower the deceased receives offerings from others. This parallel reinforces the hierarchical organization of Egyptian society, as well as the wall organization. Furthermore, it creates clear parallels between the deceased and deities, as, in the lower register, the tomb owner assumes the position of the gods as a recipient of offerings.

The left short wall of the outer room 5) is divided into two registers, both with material from the *Book of the Dead*. In the upper register, Porter and Moss write that there are “scenes from the Book of Gates.” This description is usually a misnomer in Porter and Moss for elite tombs and instead refers to text or vignettes from Chapter 146 (“Chapter for Entering the Mysterious Portals of the House of Osiris in the Fields of Iaru”) from the *Book of the Dead*, in which guardians are installed in gates or doorways through which the deceased must pass in order to enter the afterlife. Saleh, who notes that Chapter 146 can be found in the tomb, confirms this assumption. The lower register depicts Chapter 148 (“Spell for Making Provision for a Spirit in the God’s Domain”). In this vignette the deceased adores a bull and seven cows with sacred oars. No decoration survives on the opposing right short wall.

The focal walls in this tomb are numbered 6) and 9), left and right, respectively. Whether or not the walls were divided into multiple registers is unknown, but the left wall has two scenes and wall 9) has only one. On 6), Khenemhab and Meryesi adore and stand before Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys. This description comes from Porter and Moss; it seems unusual for one scene to consist only of the deceased and his wife adoring without an object, but resolving this difficulty would require visiting the tomb. Parallels

from many other focal walls suggest that Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys are likely installed in a kiosk. Such adoration or offering scenes are the most common content for focal walls. On the right focal wall 9) is another scene of the deceased and his wife adoring three deities, in this case Re-Harakhti, Maat, and the Western Goddess, who are probably also in a kiosk. The focal walls then feature decoration that is similar both in terms of composition and content. This tomb incorporates five separate scenes of adoration (including hymns) to Re-Harakhti and four separate scenes of adoration focused on Osiris. If decoration on the right thickness of 10) were extant, one would expect a fifth such scene of Osiris. Despite repetition of these scenes, orientational consistency in their placement is lacking: adoration of Re-Harakhti appears on the left side at 1), 3) and 10) and on the right side at 8) and 9). Adoration of Osiris occurs on the right side at 2) and 3) and on the left side at 4) and 6).

Tomb: TT 31

Name of Tomb Owner: Khons called To

Known Title(s): First Prophet of Menkheperre (Tuthmosis III); Overseer of the Cattle of Tuthmosis IV; High Priest of Mont, Lord of Djorty²⁶⁶

Date: beginning of the reign of Ramesses II²⁶⁷

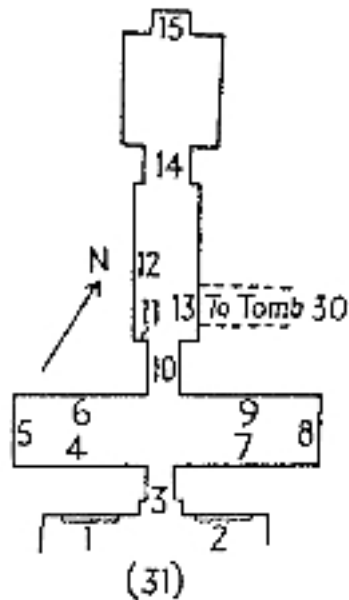
Area: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Medium: painting

Sources: Porter and Moss 2004; Davies 1948; MMA Archive Photos; Author Photos

²⁶⁶ Davies 1948, 25-26.

²⁶⁷ Dated to the beginning of the reign of Ramesses II based on the spelling of the king's name. Hofmann 2004, 26.



TT 31 is a traditional painted T-shaped tomb in plan, with a court and a rectangular transverse first hall followed by a long passage that ends in a shrine with a niche. At the time that Porter and Moss was written, decoration was extant in all four areas, but today almost all of the material in the long passage has been lost, with only select pieces of the bottom and top of the walls still visible. However, the material in the first room and the shrine has survived fairly well. The decoration found in the outer room will be the focus of attention here, with only brief reference to the material in the other parts of the tomb.

The entrance to the tomb is flanked by two stelae with offering scenes that are now quite fragmentary at locations 1) and 2).²⁶⁸ The left thickness 3) has images of the

²⁶⁸ While the stelae were quite damaged when Davies saw them, the notebooks from Kurnah record that the north stela (at 2) has three registers. The top registers represented a man named Usermont giving praise to Re-Harakhti. Usermont's title is recorded as "deputy? in the king's mansion of the West in Thebes." The middle register on this stela was lost, but the lower register shows a man and two women offering for two male/female pairs. The first man receiving is the tomb owner Khons, and the first offerant appears to be a man named Usermont, which seems to be a common family name in the tomb. In this case, Usermont is accompanied by a text that reads "...the god's father and great... (?) of Amun (?) of Khnemet-Weset, lector

tomb owner, mother, and son facing into the tomb, accompanied by a hymn to Re in sunk relief; the men raise their hands in adoration, and the woman holds a sistrum aloft (Fig. 42).²⁶⁹ Almost all traces of paint are gone on the left side, as is the majority of the bottom half of the relief. On the right thickness, more paint is extant, but, as with the left thickness, much of the lower half of the scene is lost. The right thickness presents figures of the deceased, his mother, son, and either his wife or daughter facing out of the tomb, again accompanied by a hymn to Re in sunk relief 3) (Fig. 43).²⁷⁰ The men in the scene hold their hands up in adoration, while the women hold sistra. In this case, the hymn to Re venerates the setting sun god.²⁷¹ Now lost were likely two smaller figures, one male and one female, as suggested by the nearby text: “[his (or her) son, second] priest of Menkheperre, [Kha’emwaset] and [his (or her) daughter], the chantress (?), Wia[y].”²⁷² Though heavily abraded, there remain images of pigeons painted on a gold background on the soffit at 3). These two images can be understood as emphasizing the movement in (on the left) and out (on the right) of the tomb; the movement of the scenes encountered

of [Pta]h, Usermont, justified.” Davies’ notebook is less helpful when it comes to the southern stela (at 1), judging it illegible but suggesting a similar representation such as that on the northern stela. Davies 1948, 11. For translation of texts on north stela, see Kitchen 1993, v. III, 289.

²⁶⁹ “[Adoring Re] When he rises on the Eastern Horizon [of heaven... c. 14 more groups lost...], [...] [by the] High Priest of the Lord of Both Lands, Menkheperre, Khons, born of the Lady of the house, Te<wos>ret; his mother, the Chantress of Montu, Tewosret; his son, the Stable master, Usermontu, renewing life, possessing veneration in peace; [his sister?, Chan]tress of Amun, May, justified, possessing veneration; [his son], the [Second] Prophet of Menkheperre, Khaemwaset, renewing life, possessing veneration; [his daughter, the Chan]tress Ia[y], renewing life, possessing veneration in peace.” Ibid. 290.

²⁷⁰ The identification of this figure is unclear with Davies’ reconstructing it as “[his wife, chantress] of Amun, [Mutia]y” Davies 1948, 12. Porter and Moss suggest she be identified as Khons’ daughter. Porter and Moss 2004, 47.

²⁷¹ “Adoring Re when <he> sets on the Western horizon of heaven, that they may give me a happy lifetime in the necropolis, entry and exit on the earth, eternally, without his soul being hindered (from) its desire, - for the spirit of the High Priest of Menkheperre, <Khons>. (No more was inscribed.)” Kitchen 1993, v. III, 290.

²⁷² Davies 1948, 12.

by the visitor once inside reinforces the inward movement of figures and draws the visitor in as well.

In the transverse room, the material in register I on walls 4), 5), and 6) represents the Festival of Montu and should be read continuously. The action begins on wall 4), moves into the tomb over wall 5), and resolves on the focal wall 6). All three walls were divided into two registers, but on walls 4) and 5) most of the bottom register has been lost. Wall 6) has lost not only all of the bottom register but also much of the content in the upper register, particularly on the right side near the doorway (Fig. 44). On the left side of register I, wall 4) there is the damaged image of a bark shrine; its identity as the bark shrine of Montu-Re can be deduced from the image on the bow, as well as material from other walls. Davies notes a figure of Ramesses II offering to the deity on the “long pedestal” of the “naos” or “on the balustrade of the shrine,” but fieldwork and study of images from the MMA have failed to identify such a figure. Possibly the image is now difficult to read, or perhaps Davies is referring to a statue of the kneeling king, but at this point the situation is unclear.²⁷³ Two figures stand in front of the kiosk, offering to the enshrined deity: the first is the vizier, Usermont, while the second is the priest of Montu, Huy.²⁷⁴ Moving farther down the wall toward the right end of register I, the scene continues with two boats towing the shrine with a number of sailors on the deck (Fig. 45).

²⁷³ Ibid., 13.

²⁷⁴ The text that identifies the two is as follows: “Making censuring and libation to Mont, lord of On (i.e. Hermopolis, Armant) that he may give good and pure food to the ka of Osiris, the hereditary lord, the mayor-vizier, Usermont, born of Maia, and to the Osiris, priest of Mont, lord of On, Huy, born of Maia.” Davies 1948, 13. The text refers to one of the tomb owner’s wives, Maia, but not the tomb owner himself, so the two brothers may be children of the tomb owner and Maia or from another marriage. Alternatively, it could be that the two are not so closely related to the tomb owner due to the popularity of the names involved. Davies notes that the same vizier, Usermont, is shown in TT 324 without any explicit connection to the tombs owner, Hatiay.

Images of the victorious king as a triumphant sphinx and of the deity associated with war, Montu, painted on the hulls imply that the boats have military associations. On top of the cabin of one of the boats, a pair of men engages in stick fighting, emphasizing their readiness for battle. Above the boats in a half register without a baseline, facing the shrine at the left end, four priests can be seen welcoming the arrival of the shrine of the god (Fig. 45). Each priest has before him a pile of offerings, on which he censes and pours liquid from an ankh-shaped vessel. Each of the priests wears a leopard-skin cloak and skirt with small stippling, which Davies thinks is unusual.²⁷⁵ Each of the priests is named and holds titles associated with the mortuary priesthoods of 18th Dynasty kings, similar to that of the tomb owner himself.²⁷⁶ At the right end of the wall, the tomb owner Khons appears for the first time. He faces the bark shrine in its naos/kiosk and stands before an offering table, holding his hands out to cense and libate before the shrine. Like his fellow priests, he wears a leopard-skin cloak and long, stippled skirt (Fig. 46). The narrative in this register of wall 4) is fairly clear: the bark shrine of the god Montu is first towed on a barge by the two tow boats; it arrives at its first destination and is greeted by priests of the cults of 18th Dynasty rulers who are related to the tomb owner; and finally the tomb owner himself interacts with the great statue of Montu in its bark shrine. This wall emphasizes not just the status of the tomb owner through his contact with the divine image but also that of his family, by representing them in high priestly roles.

²⁷⁵ Ibid., 14.

²⁷⁶ The first priest is called Neferhotep and is high priest of Amenhotep II; he is almost certainly Khons's father. The three following priests are called "his son" Nay, Iuy, and Menthotpe. Nay and Iuy hold the title of high priest of Tuthmosis I, and Menthotpe is a lector priest of Amenhotep II. Davies suggests the interesting idea that the involvement of these priests, who all are associated with cults of 18th Dynasty kings, in the Festival of Montu occurs because perhaps these kings established priesthoods in the temple of Montu in gratitude for military victories. He admits that this is a controversial idea but points to Winlock's suggestion in *JEA* v. 15, pg. 65 that the number of chief prophets of Tuthmosis under Seti I-Ramesses II (at least six) suggests that these priests were involved in a number of cult practices. Davies 1948, 14.

Furthermore, justification for the belief that family ties were important in the acquisition of priestly titles is evident, as all of the family members represented on the wall hold titles in the cults of 18th Dynasty kings. Here it must be emphasized that the tomb owner is shown carrying out his “daily life” and “profession,” which just happen to take place in a sacred context.

The action in register I is unbroken by dividing lines as it moves onto wall 5), where the bark of the god continues on its journey on the water with Huy and Usermont aboard the bark, offering to the enshrined deity once again (Fig. 47). However, unlike the similar image on wall 4), Huy stands in front of Usermont. Two more boats tow the bark shrine in its vessel, but Davies notes that, based on their decoration, these boats are different from those on wall 4). He suggests that they are intended for royal horse transport due to the small figures of horses on the bow. Furthermore, there are no men stick-fighting aboard these boats; instead, two named figures continue offering to the following shrine. The first is Ra’ia, charioteer of the stable of Ramesses II, and Iia the charioteer.²⁷⁷ As on wall 4), the boat with the shrine is greeted by priests (and, this time, priestesses) standing before piles of offerings, some of which are housed in small white structures, others being open to the air. Khons, here identified as the overseer of the cattle of Tuthmosis IV, appears with his mother, Twosret, [chantress] of Mont; his wife, Maiay, and her daughter Ruy; and a small girl. Other figures who stand before offering piles are “his father (?) the *imy-hnt* of Menkheperre, Dhutpai” and the “priestess of Tjenenet of

²⁷⁷ Davies 1948, 15. Also, Ra’ia is also seen in the scene of Khons’s funeral, but their relationship is unclear.

On, Ru.”²⁷⁸ Other identified figures who are associated with Ru are: “her daughter, the priestess Tent..., deceased,” “her daughter chantress [of Mont] Nesnub,” and “her daughter, the chantress of Mont ‘Aati.”²⁷⁹ The narrative begun in register I on wall 4) culminates in the same register on focal wall 6) (Fig. 48). Though a vertical band divides wall 5) and 6), the subject matter is continuous and meant to be read as such. Most likely, the vertical band is meant to emphasize the importance of the focal wall, a small clue heavily reinforced by the fact that, although broken into two registers like the walls that preceded it, the upper register on wall 6) is larger, as are the figures. The increased scale on this wall signals the viewer to look at it carefully and may be intended to induce the viewer to look back at the beginning of the narrative on wall 4). As noted earlier, the upper register on wall 6) has suffered significant loss, especially on the right, but its subject matter is clear. The bark of Montu, the progress of which is charted on walls 4) and 5), is now (having been taken from its boat) carried via carrying poles on the shoulders of eight shaven priests wearing white garments. The high priest of Mont, Ramose--distinguished from the others by his leopard cloak and long, stippled skirt--walks beside the bark.²⁸⁰ The procession is greeted by two (unnamed) priests who stand before the white pylons of the Temple at Armant (On), offering incense, water, and a bouquet. Their speech is recorded, although the end is now illegible: “Said by Mont, lord of On, ‘Welcome! You have come from Tod and are at rest in On. All your people stand acclaiming when thou enter On. Most joyful are they that you are within her, most

²⁷⁸ Tjemenet was the female partner of Mont who likely also has a shrine in the temple of Tud, and also probably at Armant (On). Ibid.

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ Translation, Davies 1948, 16.

fortunate her gleaming (?) walls, very clear of vision (?) her watchers (?). Her company of gods exult and the (rite of) incense is made for Mont of... for the ka of (?) the... of the lord of Egypt...Nakhti...".²⁸¹ The name and titulary of Tuthmosis III run in bands along the tops of the pylons, which are named by the phrase "Beautiful in his appearing" between them.²⁸² Beyond the pylons, a damaged final image shows the tomb owner, Khons, pouring a libation before a bark shrine installed in the temple (Fig. 49). There is a long text translated by Davies that illuminates the subject matter further:

Offering incense and cool water doubly pure for the ka of the Royal spirit, Menkheperre, (the products) of heaven and earth and of that which Hapi brings. They are twice as pure for your ka and your ka is satisfied with them., viz., bread, beer, cattle, fowl, cloth, incense, ointment, various grain and vegetables, your thy Ka, O good god, lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperre, son of the Sun, Tuthmosis (III) (the products) of sky and earth and [whatever is given to?] the greater and lesser enneads, and to all the gods of heaven and earth, and to (?) the royalty (?) of Menkheperre, the absolved spirit, that you may give all food, good and pure, good and pleasant, to your (sic) ka, your favourite, the high-priest of Menkheperre, Khons, called To. May he give...²⁸³

²⁸¹ After Davies' translation, *Ibid.*

²⁸² After Davies' translation, *Ibid.* Davies points out that while main temple of Armant is Ptolemaic in date, there is evidence that Tuthmosis III erected entrance pylons there and that there are also texts of Ramesses II, suggesting that the scenario put forth in the image is representative of the temple at Armant.

²⁸³ After Davies' translation, Davies 1948, 16.

Davies's assessment seems correct: here we see Khons in his role as first prophet of Tuthmosis III, offering prayers for the dead king in front of the god Montu in a shrine the king established. But it is important to note that Khons was also given the title "high priest of Mont, lord of Djorty" (on wall 4), so the image is doubly appropriate, referencing his two priestly titles. Furthermore, the fact that Khons is again represented interacting directly with the image of the god is significant; however, here another element is added, as he seems to be inside the temple in an area of restricted access, which further contributes to his status and identity. In addition, Davies points to a small fragment, no longer *in situ*, of the feet of Khons. It shows Khons's *ba* bird accompanying him in the final scene, perhaps expressing a wish that the deceased continue his priestly functions in the afterlife.²⁸⁴

Also notable about this narrative is the involvement of so many family members, especially of Usermontu the vizier who (to follow Davies's argument) served under Tutankhamun or Ay and was thus long dead; therefore the image may represent an actual annual (or less frequent) trip of the sculpture of Montu from Thebes to On, but with the actual individual actors being replaced by noted family members and associates, making this an opportunity to glorify not only the family as a whole but also important individuals--living and dead--within the family.²⁸⁵ This underscores the slippery nature of images that can seem, to the modern viewer, quite direct with a clear narrative. The ceremony likely existed and it is probable that Khons took part, but the specifics of the

²⁸⁴ See plate XX, *Ibid.*

²⁸⁵ Davies makes this argument based on a stela from Armant mentioning the vizier. Davies 1948, 12.

scene were chosen for a number of reasons, not all of them related to an accurate depiction of a particular event.

In register II on wall 4) a damaged scene shows a seated figure of Khons and a female figure receiving food offerings from a male figure with four figures following him (Fig. 45).²⁸⁶ Standing in front of the tomb owner and his companion are three candles and two conical tapers with red bands around them, all burning. Moving to the right, the next scene shows a seated Khons with the title of “overseer of the cattle of Menkeperre” and three women: his wife, May, given the title “the greatly praised of Hathor, lady of On”; his mother, Twosret; and her daughter Wiay. A male figure, likely a son, stands before the foursome and an offering table, pouring a libation (Fig. 46). One notable aspect of this scene is the compositional parallels with the register above: the figure of the enshrined Montu being honored sits directly above the figures of Khons and his companions receiving offerings. As the tomb owner is in a position subordinate to the god in the top register, the lector priest is in a subordinate position to Khons in the lower, giving a sense that material that is of higher status or more sacred belongs in the upper register and the relatively lower-status material is rightfully below. This phenomenon appears across contexts in Egyptian organization of images on walls.

The second register on wall 5) has suffered even more damage, but what is left shows the end of a large pool with a large, white, rectangular island (Fig. 50). Davies suspects that the scene probably illustrated the rites of the mummy (cf. TT 222).²⁸⁷ To the right of this fragmentary image of the pool are the remnants of a row of seated banquet

²⁸⁶ Name, *Ibid.*, 18.

²⁸⁷ Davies 1948, 18.

guests with a son of Khons, High Priest of Sobk Usermont, in the top row, followed by his mother, Ruia, and his sister, a daughter of Ruia. In front of them is a figure before offering tables giving libation. Below this are remnants of a sort of half register scene with four (?) figures seated as those above; these are perhaps recipients of some offerings, but damage is too extensive to determine this with certainty. Again similar to the arrangement on wall 4), the order of the offering recipients is reversed, so that the material in the lower register relates in composition and subject matter to that above, but a clear hierarchy is established between the two. Additionally, if the fragmentary pool indicates a funerary ritual, it relates to the subject matter in register II on wall 4), but, due to the level of damage on these lower registers, it is not possible to assess whether there might have been framing devices or other signals to suggest a continuous reading, as was the case in register I.

Moving to the right wing of the transverse hall, the east wall 7) and the short wall 8) are divided into two registers, with 7) having two principal registers that have half registers in parts. Interestingly, wall 9), the focal wall, has no register divisions: the figures in the scene take up the entire height of the wall. In this way it mirrors the larger scale seen on the other focal wall 6), relative to the short and east walls. This would emphasize the importance of the content of the material found on the focal walls. In the case of the walls on the right side of the transverse hall, the subject matter is not continuous between walls in each register, as we saw with the upper registers on the left side on walls 4), 5), and 6). Instead, the subject matter on the right side of each register relates to that of the other register on the wall; in other words, the subject matter in register I on wall 7) is related to that in register II on wall 7), and the subject matter on

wall 8) is distinct from that on wall 7), but again the material in register I and II on wall 8) are related. Therefore, discussion will encompass both registers of each wall on this side.

Register I of wall 7) shows the weighing of the heart of Khons and his mother in the hall of judgment and ultimately their presentation to the enthroned Osiris, above which appear 12 seated gods overseeing the proceedings, followed by kneeling figures of Khons and a woman.²⁸⁸ Thoth records the weighing, and a figure of the goddess Maat looks on as Anubis kneels near the scales. After the weighing, Horus leads Khons and his mother into the presence of Osiris, who sits enthroned in a kiosk, accompanied by Isis and Nephthys. Inscribed above the figures is:

The Osiris Khons, high priest of Menkheperre, has come to ones for whom (?) righteousness is upon his mouth and righteousness upon his hands. He never wrought wickedness <against> the great ones in this land, and transgression has not been found in him. He did what the kind desired and that with which the gods are pleased (emend *hrrt*). His heart has come forth justified (*ma't hrw*); he has not been accused (*srh.f?*); he has not been found sinful; the great Ennead (?) of the gods in the halls of Truth rejoice greatly over a just man proving just (?).²⁸⁹

²⁸⁸ Davies suggests that this woman may be Khons's mother, no doubt because his mother appears with him in the weighing scene, but the identification of the woman in the scene with the 12 deities is not certain. Davies 1948, 21.

²⁸⁹ Translation, Davies 1948. 21.

An inscription at the end reads: “His mother the chantress of Mont, Twosret. The guardian of the balance Anubis, (says?), ‘Your qualities are satisfactory’. The high priest of Sobk, Usermont, son of Khons, (says ?), ‘You come with acquittal (?)...’²⁹⁰ In the lower register on wall 7) is a scene of the rites before the mummies (Fig. 53). In the left corner, there is the tomb with a portico and a pyramid on top, before which stands a stela with an image of the tomb owner offering to Osiris in the lunette. The two mummies stand before the stela and are mourned by a kneeling woman (his daughter, W[ia]y) and standing woman (his wife, Mutiaiy).²⁹¹ Behind the women, lector priests Kha’y and Khaemweset hold implements for the purification rituals and the opening of the mouth. They are followed by his son Usermont, who reads the spell for the opening of the mouth from a scroll. Behind him are at least twelve mourning figures, some women, some priests, and some named men in the final row.²⁹² Beyond that are the fragmentary remains of the procession of the funeral bier and evidence of the foreleg rite, as we see the cow with a calf whose bloody foreleg lies at its feet. In this register, all the figures proceed from the right toward the mummies and the tomb on the left. In doing so, they echo the movement of the figures in the register above them, which goes leftward, through the weighing of the heart toward the figure of the enthroned Osiris. Again, as seen on the other walls, the more sacred subject matter, which occurs in the afterlife, appears higher on the wall than that which occurs in this life, namely, the funeral rituals.

²⁹⁰ After Davies’ translation, *Ibid.*

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*

²⁹² The men in the scene are identified as, starting on the left: *wab* priests and lectors of the temple of Mont, Nebamun and Usermont, both sons of Tentiunet; their father... Ra’ia, who is also a *wab* priest and lector of the temple of Mont; the *wab* priest of Mont, Pshed, son of Maany; the charioteer, Ra’ia; and the high priest of Sobk, Usermont. Davies 1948, 21.

Yet again a parallel is drawn between the deity in the upper register and the figure of the tomb owner in the lower. In the case of wall 7), the enthroned Osiris sits directly above the figure of the tomb owner as a mummy in front of his tomb, suggesting that the tomb owner will become an Osiris. Furthermore, the placement of the figures of Osiris and the image of the tomb on the left side of the wall establishes an orientation in which the figures moving into the tomb (on the right) are coming from the east and moving toward the west, site of the necropolis and the entrance to the underworld.

The short wall on the left side of the transverse hall, wall 8), has two registers, each with a scene that relates to the tomb owner's titles as priest in the cult of Tuthmosis III (Fig. 52). The top of the wall is bordered by a large *pt* sign, perhaps emphasizing that the material below takes place in the living world. The top register is dominated by a large T-shaped pool, on which a bark holding the image of Tuthmosis III is towed by another boat. A figure in the tow-boat, named Usermont and given the title "standard bearer of the great regiment of Seti I," offers to the statue of the king aboard the following boat. Khons stands at the bow, directly in front of the image of the king, censing and libating before it. The boats progress toward a dock at the end of the pool, which leads to a pylon inscribed with the name of Tuthmosis III and an image of the king offering to the god Amun.²⁹³ As on wall 4) and 5), where the bark of Mont is greeted by a number of priests and figures, so too is the bark of Tuthmosis III on wall 8). The priests, most wearing leopard-skin cloaks, line up at the top of the register, standing before tables of offerings. The first two are identified as lectors of the cult of Tuthmosis III, Kha'y and

²⁹³ Davies suggests that this pylon can be read as the Sixth Pylon at Karnak. While the present author does not see that the site specificity is necessarily indicated, for the purposes of this study, it is not an important point to belabor. Davies 1948, 20.

Kha'emwaset. Those that follow are: Neferhotep (Khons's father), high priest of Amenhotep II; his two sons, high priests of Tuthmosis I, Nay, and Iuy; his son, lector of [Amenhotep II (?)], Ment[hotpe]; [his son]...of Amnehotep II, To; his son, high-priest of Sobk, Usermont.²⁹⁴ Below the pool, groups of women hold their hands to their faces as they mourn the king. On the left side, women hold sistra and welcome the bark of the king. Most of the women are named, although some of the text is lost; among them are the tomb owner's wife, mother, and likely both women's daughters.²⁹⁵

The lower register on wall 8) also shows Khons in his official life, but here he functions as "overseer of the cattle of Tuthmosis IV." He and his wife Ruia are seated in the right side of the lower register beneath a flat-roofed structure as they receive cattle and other resources. The pair is accompanied in the structure by the standing figure of his son, the priest of Sobk, Usermont, and their kneeling daughter, Wiay. Before the group is a standard with the cartouche of Tuthmosis IV and a figure of the goddess Maat. This standard may refer to the estate that financed the cult of Tuthmosis IV.²⁹⁶ As Khons receives the resources he says: "May Mont show you favor, The animals of the god are thriving. Bring this calf to the temple."²⁹⁷ Two figures kneeling before Khons are identified as Kaka, the rural foreman, and Nefersekeru, the foreman. The content on this

²⁹⁴ Here the figure called "To" could be the tomb owner, although he is not given a priestly title for Amenhotep II elsewhere in the extant text. Translations, Ibid.

²⁹⁵ Mourning women approaching temple are: "...iay;...nofret (?), the daughter of Maany; [then perhaps Mut[iay] after a gap] Taysen; Maia, Urnero; Hetnofret. The five mourning "women meeting them are perhaps daughters of Twosret, rather than Mutiay; they include, Maia, Wosri, and Maany." The women who offer before the temple are Khons's wife Mutiay, chantress of Amun, followed by Twosret, Khons's mother and chantress of Mont, and her daughter Tentiunet, also a chantress of Mont. Ibid.

²⁹⁶ Davies 1948, 20.

²⁹⁷ Translation, Ibid., 21.

wall can again be read as divided by status: it seems that Khons's role as first prophet of Tuthmosis III (represented in register I) was more important than his role as overseer of the cattle of Tuthmosis IV. Still, the tomb owner took care to have his different official titles represented: here his offices related to royal mortuary cults, and on walls 4), 5), and 6) the importance of these titles are emphasized; additionally, on wall 4) he is identified as Khons, "high priest of Mont, lord of Djorty," the Festival of Mont, which dominates walls 4), 5), and 6), and also references his professional life. When involved in the Festival of Mont, Khons primarily uses his titles associated with Tuthmosis III and IV, and he offers a prayer to Mont for Tuthmosis III on focal wall 6). When he speaks to the foreman of the cattle in his role as overseer of the cattle of Tuthmosis IV, he also invokes the name of Mont, suggesting that all these titles together informed his professional life.

The last wall in the transverse hall is focal wall 9). Here, as previously noted, the wall is not divided into registers, and the figures take up the entire height of the wall, making the subject matter found there particularly impressive (Fig. 51). The scene represents Khons, followed by unnamed family members, approaching the enthroned Osiris on the left of the wall.²⁹⁸ Osiris's throne and kiosk feature highly detailed decoration, and the god Anubis supports him from behind. Between Khons and Osiris is a lavish offering table over which Khons holds an incense burner and a vessel in the shape of an ankh surmounted by a falcon head. A tiny *ba* bird stands on the edge of Osiris's platform, cupping its hands to its mouth and drinking the water that runs off the side of the offering table. The text behind him reads: "The soul of the Osiris, the [priest of

²⁹⁸ While Khons is not specifically named in this scene, it seems safe to assume the figure represents the tomb owner, an idea supported by the fact that his priestly leopard-skin cloak includes the titulary of Tuthmosis III.

Mont], born of (?) Twosret, drinking water from out of the water-jar (?).” The content on this focal wall is quite common for this period, and clearly the image of the offering before Osiris is one of the most important and frequently featured scenes. It offers a good parallel to the content in the top register on the opposite focal wall, as the kiosk of Osiris stands back to back with that of the god Mont, on wall 6), which is now lost. Such compositional similarity draws comparisons between the subject matter and shows the tomb owner interacting not only with the statue of a god inside the temple but also with Osiris.

This parallel is further emphasized by the content and composition of the lintel above the door between the two focal walls, which again shows the deceased, his wife Miaay, and his son offering to Re-Harakhti and Anubis on the left and the tomb owner, his mother, and his son offering to Osiris and Isis on the right (Fig. 54). On the lintel, the gods are enthroned back to back, receiving offerings from the figures that move toward them in the same way the divine figures on the focal wall sit back to back and receive offerings and praise from approaching figures. Very frequently used on focal walls, this repetition of composition makes the scenes legible.

The long room has suffered very heavy damage, with only pieces of the lowest areas of the wall and those of the frieze still visible. Regardless, the description of the scenes recorded in Porter and Moss is supported by the small pieces of extant decoration. The thicknesses of the doorway suffered heavy loss, but the left thickness (or the north thickness) shows the feet of three figures (two male, one female) facing out of the tomb. Some remnants of text identify one of the male figures as “his son, [the high-priest of] Sobk, Usermont” and the female figure as “his mother, the greatly praised lord of

eternity, the chantress of Mont, [Ruia.]”²⁹⁹ The right (or south) thickness shows the remains of the head of a male figure, which also faces out of the tomb.³⁰⁰

The passage in the tomb mostly retains its frieze, which continues that seen in the transverse room, a series of couchant jackals on shrines with flails and *khekher* elements. However, fragmentary areas on the north wall (13), which was not divided into registers but featured material that took up the height of the wall, shows the remnants of a naos, a bit of a tree, the feet of a figure on a mat. These details are not particularly instructive, but a record of the inscription on the naos, found in a Khurnah notebook, provides some clarification. It reads: “ [The Horus, Strong Bull], Kha’emweset, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre; he made (it) for his father Mont, given life like Re.”³⁰¹ The scene therefore related to those in the outer rooms showing the temple of Mont. Other fragments of text suggest that the scene showed Khons offering a bouquet to Mont in his role as high priest of the god.

The south wall of the passage, walls 11) and 12), are fragmentary, but the entirety was once dominated by a scene with figures that took up the entire height of the wall between baseline and frieze: three men seated in chairs facing into the tomb, with a stand of food in front of them. On the other side of the stand (on the westernmost end of the wall) are two priests. A fragmentary inscription that reads “to your ka, [you, overseer of

²⁹⁹ Davies 1948, 22.

³⁰⁰ Davies thinks this figure must be the vizier Usermont because of a fragment that he assigns to this area. Ibid.

³⁰¹ Davis 1948, 23.

cattle], Menkheprure, [Khons], deceased, high-priest of [Djorty?]³⁰² makes it likely that the first seated figure is Khons.

As one moves down the passage, the space becomes tighter, with the ceiling and floor lines moving closer. This mimics the experience of approaching a shrine within a temple and is appropriate in a tomb as one moves closer to the shrine at the western end of the space. Furthermore, the arrangement of the naos of the god Mont on the western end of the north wall parallels the shrine of the deceased that the visitor would encounter in the same direction.

The doorway to the antechamber is heavily damaged but still projects and features a cornice. Fragments suggest that the lintels and jambs had texts with ritual formulae addressing Harakhti, Amun, Osiris, and Anubis.³⁰³ The antechamber is undecorated, but the walls are covered in yellowish plaster. The shrine is decorated on north, west, and south sides, and the lintel has an image of Khons and a woman honoring Anubis. On the north wall of the shrine, Khons approaches the Western Goddess (Fig. 55). On the back wall, Khons, in his leopard-skin cloak, libates and censes to a seated Osiris, who is supported by Anubis (Fig. 56). On the south wall, surprisingly, Khons offers to a statue of Nebhepetre Montuhotep. The fact that this king was nowhere else mentioned is odd, but Davies suggests that because Nebhepetre Montuhotep's temple featured a chapel to Hathor he could have the same western significance that she does (Fig. 57).³⁰⁴

³⁰² After Davies' translation, *Ibid.*

³⁰³ Davies 1948, 23.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 24.

Overall, this tomb emphasizes the tomb owner's professional life and his family, and the sacred material found in the tomb (scenes of temple rituals, etc.) are very carefully planned to reference his professional titles. Furthermore, the appearance of so many family members, complete with their official titles, especially that of his ancestor, the vizier Usermont, the highest figure in state administration and therefore a particularly potent ancestor, shows the importance of family for the construction of identity.

Tomb: TT 40

Name of Tomb Owner: Amenhotep, called Huy,

Known Title(s): Viceroy/King's Son of Kush; Governor of the South Lands; King's Envoy in Every Land; the Fan Bearer to the Right of the King; Overseer of the Cattle of Amun (in the Land of Kush); Prince (rp't); Divine Father, Beloved of the God.³⁰⁵

Date: reign of Tutankhamun³⁰⁶

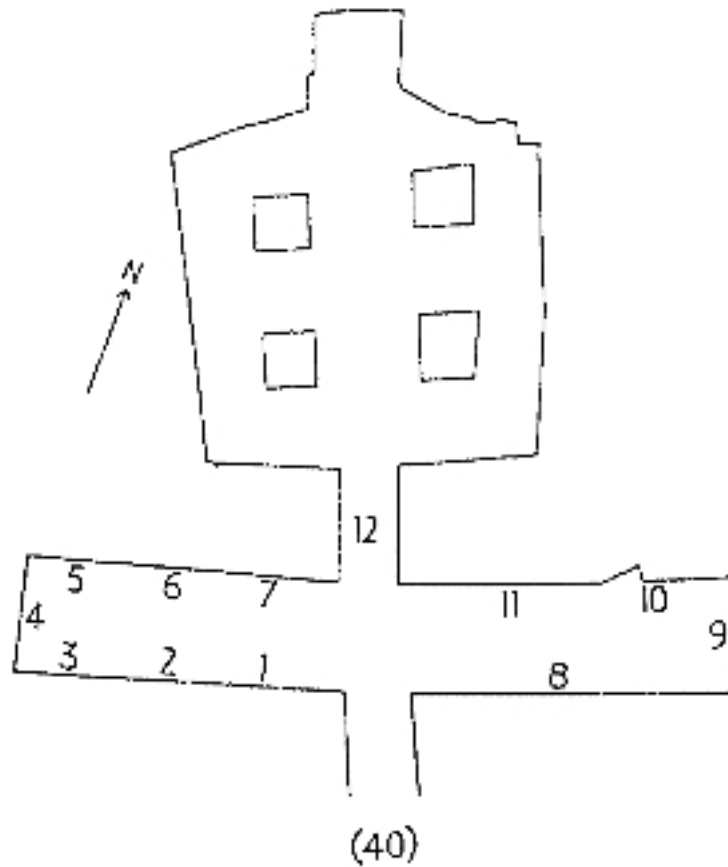
Area: Qurnet Murai,

Medium: painting

Sources: Porter and Moss 2004; Davies 1926

³⁰⁵ Porter and Moss 2004, 78.; Davies and Gardiner 1926, 4, 6-7. Further titles for Huy are found at Faras at a temple built during the reign of Tutankhamun, which has texts that commemorate Huy and his wife. At Faras, Huy is also given the titles: "overseer of the Land of Kush," "overseer of the gold countries of the Lord of the Two Lands," and "brave of His Majesty in the cavalry."

³⁰⁶ Dated to the reign of Tutankhamun because the tomb owner's career under this king is clearly depicted.



The tomb of Huy was made in the post-Amarna reign of Tutankhamun. It seems the tomb owner may have been born during the reign of Amenhotep III or IV but was given his titles under Tutankhamun. The tomb is generally T-shaped in plan, with a long transverse hall that runs north-south and a square inner room with a niche for a shrine at the western end. The inner room has four square pillars. Although the surfaces of the walls and pillars are covered with mud preparation and whitewash, no painting seems to have been done in this room. The painted decoration in the tomb is limited to the passage into the tomb, the transverse hall, and the thickness of the passage into the inner room.

The tomb owner holds a number of titles, all but one governmental. He is mentioned as “divine father, beloved of the god” only once, and this is his only extant

priestly title. He is the viceroy/king's son of Kush, governor of the South Lands, king's envoy in every land, the fan bearer to the right of the king, overseer of the cattle of Amun (in the land of Kush), and *ꜣꜣꜣ* (a difficult to translate high ranking title).³⁰⁷ These titles are supplemented by material from Faras in Nubia, which was likely the seat of Huy's administration in the south. His father is not mentioned in the tomb or elsewhere, but his mother, sons, and wife (or wives) are.³⁰⁸ The omission of his father seems unusual but is not without parallel.

The jambs and lintels of the door into the tomb have not survived, and the long thickness of the passage into the tomb has suffered heavy damage. However, there are traces of a figure on the north side with text.³⁰⁹ The ceiling in this thickness is relatively well preserved, as is that in the transverse hall, but these will not be discussed in this study.³¹⁰

The walls in the transverse room are thematically linked, with the scenes on the long walls almost all depicting parts of Huy's governmental career. The two short walls 4) and 9) are different. Both walls have a space for an unrealized stela and are surrounded by scenes that relate to Huy's funeral and afterlife. Although the subject matter of the long walls is related thematically, the content on walls 4), 9), and the two focal walls is discrete, with no suggestion that the specific subject matter moves from one wall to

³⁰⁷ Davies and Gardiner 1926, 4, 6-7. For *ꜣꜣꜣ*, see Hannig 2006, 494.

³⁰⁸ The name of Huy's wife in his tomb is lost, but a wife named Taemwaddjesi, chief lady of the harem of Nebkheperure (i.e. Tutankhamun) in Sehtep-entreru (i.e. Faras), is mentioned on two of his monuments in Faras. *Ibid.*, 7.

³⁰⁹ Gardiner and Davies 1926, 2.

³¹⁰ For further description of the ceilings in the tomb, see *Ibid.*, 2,4, 32.

another temporally. In contrast, there is reason to see the material on the east walls, 8) and 1), 2), 3), as temporally continuous. Therefore, for the decoration of the transverse room, the content on each like wall will be described in succession (i.e. both east walls, both short walls, and both western focal walls.).

Because it depicts a scene that likely predated the rest of Huy's life, the description begins with the material on wall 8), the northern east wall. The scenes here depict the installation of Huy as viceroy of Kush. The wall has one principal register, with the figures of the standing Huy and the seated king taking up almost the entire height and other smaller figures represented on their own ground lines. Below the principal register are the remnants of two small ones. These appear throughout the transverse hall and are an unusual quirk of the decoration in Huy's tomb. Each of these two registers is about 1/6 of the height of the principal register. In the principal register, Tutankhamun wearing a *khepresh* crown sits enthroned in his kiosk on the viewer's left (north end) of the wall; at the base of the steps to his dais are kneeling and bowing figures (Fig. 58). On an upper ground line before the kiosk stands an overseer of the treasury, who welcomes Huy into the presence of the king (Fig. 59). Huy faces the overseer and the king and is followed by four courtiers. Above the overseer of the treasury, a text reads: "The overseer of the treasury says: -Thus speaks Pharaoh: there is handed over to the from Nekhen to Nesut-towe."³¹¹ Answering, Huy states: "May Amun, lord of Nesut-towe, do according to all that you have commanded (?), O sovereign, my lord." The text above the four courtiers following Huy states: "The courtiers who are in the palace say:

³¹¹ Nekhen refers to Hierakonpolis and Nesut-towe to Napata, identifying Huy's area of responsibility as viceroy. Later on his territory is described as "Nekhen to Karoy," which seems to be an area around Napata. Griffith suggests it refers to El-Kurru. Translation, Davies and Gardiner 1926,10.

Thou art the son of Amun, O Nebkheprure! May he cause the chiefs of all lands to come to thee with all the choicest and best of their lands.” Below this exchange, a figure (possibly the vizier or another official) hands Huy something that may be a textile or papyrus; however, the wall is damaged at this point and lacks any clarifying text that might explain the object.³¹² Following this, a figure (likely the same as just described) hands Huy a golden seal of office, and here text describes the interaction: “Handing over the office to the king’s son of Kush, Huy from Nekhen to Karoy.”³¹³ In the next scene, Huy, represented as a large figure, walks away from his appointment (toward the right or south), holding ceremonial bouquets and followed by two small figures of his sons (Fig. 60).³¹⁴ Above Huy, the text reads:

Going forth praised from the palace, having been promoted in the presence of the good god to be the king’s son, overseer of the southern lands, Huy; Khenthannufer (Upper Nubia) having been entrusted to him, and Upper Egypt being bound together under his supervision, so as to administer them on behalf of the Lord of the Two Lands like all subjects of His Majesty.³¹⁵

³¹² Davies suggests this figure is the vizier based on the identification of the figure in the second interlude where Huy is handed the seal. Davies would read the fragmentary text as: “Giving the seal of office of king’s son by [the vizier?],” but Newberry suggests the lacunae be replaced with “Overseer of the seal.” *Ibid.*, 11.

³¹³ *Ibid.*

³¹⁴ The two sons are identified as: “The... of his Majesty, the king’s envoy..., the son of [the king’s son] Huy” and “The overseer of the horses Pesiur, the son of the king’s son, Huy.” Davies and Gardiner 1926, 11.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

As Huy leaves the palace, followed by his sons, he encounters four half-registers of figures (Fig. 61). At the top are three male figures, labeled “*rwdw*,” who work under the viceroy, and behind them are two servants.³¹⁶ The *rwdw* say: “O King’s son of the Ruler, may Amun receive him!” The servants join in, saying: “The Ruler belongs to Amun! He shall live forever. He trains generations and generations.”³¹⁷ In the register below are more servants, and in the third half-register is a row of the viceroy’s sailors, accompanied by the text: “Sailors of the King’s son of Kush, Huy. Expressions of jubilation! They say: O King’s son of the Ruler, may Amun receive him! Rejoice! You will make your old age a good one!”³¹⁸ In the lowest half register, more servants and members of Huy’s household are accompanied by the text: “Jubilations. They say: He trains generations and generations. The Ruler [belongs to] Amun. He shall be unto eternity.”³¹⁹

At the end of the wall (right, south side), Huy pours myrrh onto an offering table, praising the gods in the temple of Amun.³²⁰ An earlier source (Lepsius) says that his wife

³¹⁶ Ibid., 12.

³¹⁷ Gardiner and Davies see these statements as affirmations of Tutankhamun’s devotion to and acceptance by Amun in the post-Amarna period. Translation, Ibid.

³¹⁸ After Gardiner and Davies’ translation, Gardiner and Davies 1926, 13.

³¹⁹ Ibid.

³²⁰ Lepsius was able to copy the accompanying now-lost inscription: “The offering of all things good and pure, a thousand of bread and beer, oxen and geese, a thousand of all kinds of vegetables, a thousand libations, a thousand of wine, a thousand of incense, a thousand of all (kinds of) flowers, a thousand of all things [agreeable] and sweet; the giving of myrrh upon the fire of Harakhte, to Sokar-Osiris, lord of Shetit, (to) Nefertem and (to) Onnophris, and (to) all the gods of the Sacred Land, those who are over (?) the Island of the Just; by the king’s son of Kush, the overseer of the southern countries, the fan-bearer to the right of the king, Amenhotep, justified.” Ibid., 13-14.

once followed him in this scene, but damage makes confirming this impossible.³²¹ Below Huy are more fragmentary figures bringing offerings. Below the content described in the principal registers are the two short registers earlier referred to; these run the entire length of the wall (Fig. 62). Significant damage to the scenes makes it necessary to rely entirely on early drawings and descriptions to reconstruct the content. Beginning on the left (north) side, below the image of Tutankhamun in his kiosk, a series of animals moves toward the right (southern) end of the wall.³²² Scribes record geese, cattle, and horses.³²³ Below that, Huy sits under a tree (perhaps accompanied by a now-lost female harpist), managing the livestock from his area, while behind him men brand cattle with the praenomen of Tutankhamun and record their numbers.³²⁴ The scene is accompanied by the text: “Taking stock of the head of cattle of the herds [according to ?] their kind. The prince..[Huy.]”³²⁵ This wall shows the source of Huy’s power--the king--in the first scene. In this scene he is represented as smaller than the king, on the same scale as other palace officials, facing left, while the king faces right (the position of power).³²⁶ In the following two scenes, a shift occurs in Huy’s representation: he becomes the largest figure and takes the right-facing position of status. Here it is meant to be understood that Huy, in his official capacity as viceroy of Kush, has essentially absorbed the power of the king, an idea emphasized by the material on the other eastern wall.

³²¹ Ibid., 14.

³²² Davies and Gardiner credit Nestor L’Hôte for most of the description, Ibid., 20.

³²³ Ibid.

³²⁴ Davies and Gardiner 1926, 21.

³²⁵ Ibid.

³²⁶ Robins 1994.

On the other east wall (south, wall 1), 2), 3)), the progress of Huy after his installation as viceroy and worship in the temple of Amun continues. Here, the figure of Huy is seen moving to the right (south), as in the majority of the scenes on wall 8), so perhaps the subject matter should be considered in some sense continuous. The eastern south wall has one principal register with three scenes depicted. In each, the figure of Huy takes up the majority of the height of the register, and secondary figures and objects are arranged on successive half-registers. The first scene (on the left/north end of the wall) shows Huy and members of his family and household leaving the temple of Amun and moving toward two ships intended to take him back to Nubia. The large figure of Huy is accompanied by clarifying text that states:

Coming from the temple of Amun, after doing what is praised in
Amun's sight, in order to administer the land of Kush, by the
prince, the great courtier, important in his office, great in his
dignity, the real scribe of the king, beloved of him,
Amenhotep...³²⁷

This statement clearly links the material on this wall with that of the other eastern wall. Members of his family, identified by fragmentary text, follow Huy. The male figures in the top registers behind him are likely his sons. In the next register down, his mother, Wanho, is represented with white hair; she leads a series of other women to follow Huy. The inscriptions identifying the women who accompany Wanho are

³²⁷ Davies and Gardiner 1926, 14.

fragmentary but likely included his wife and perhaps other female family members.³²⁸ In the lowest half register is a series of male figures, likely members of the household, relations, and servants. These figures are accompanied by exclamations of praise and veneration for the king and Amun.³²⁹ The group faces two ornate boats in half registers I and II (Fig. 63). These boats are almost certainly the same represented at two moments of the trip, once leaving Thebes, and once arriving in Nubia or en route to Nubia and arriving. Gardiner and Davies, believe that the boat in the top register is the boat about to leave for Nubia because they identify the first two figures welcoming him to the river bank (in the partial register below the boats) with those who are seen again in the lower registers welcoming him back to Nubia.³³⁰ Sailors offering praise to the king and Amun also appear in the half register below the boats as part of the welcome party, presumably on the river bank in Thebes.³³¹ Behind the sailors, a group of rejoicing women dance and play tambourines.³³² To the right of the boats, we find individuals holding offerings, welcoming Huy back to Nubia. In the top partial register, the first two figures are likely

³²⁸ The inscriptions identifying the women read as follows (beginning on the right): “The chantress of Amun, singer (?) of the temple (?), K?-?-r.”; “...Nedjmet.”; “His sister, the mistress of the house, Gu”; “... [the mistress of the house], [He]nut.” Ibid., 15.

³²⁹ Davies and Gardiner record the following fragmentary text above the male elite figures: “Coming from [the temple of Amun... by the... together with] the servants. [They] say: [O king’s son of the Ruler], may Amun receive him!” “and above the servants is the text: “The servants. They say: O king’s son [of] the Ruler, may Amun receive him! May he [cause] thee to make thy [life a good one (?)].” Ibid.

³³⁰ This point is a bit difficult to confirm. Davies and Gardiner restore the text over the first of these figures as “the lieutenant of Wawat” and the other as “the lieutenant of Kush.” Using fragments copied by Erman and Wilkinson, they translate another passage near the figures, which says: “The lieutenants of the king’s son come to [welcome him on] his arrival in the favor of the Ruler. They say: Thou art come loaded with many favors of the Ruler, good....” Davies and Gardiner 1926, 17.

³³¹ “The sailors rejoice and say: Abounding in wealth and knowing him who gives it! Thou Ruler beloved of Amun, thou shalt be forever.” Ibid.

³³² The women are accompanied by the following inscription: “The deputation says: O king’s son of the Ruler, may Amun receive him! Twice joyful! Thou shalt make thine old age a good one.” Ibid.

the lieutenant of Wawat and the lieutenant of Kush.³³³ The following figures in this register are identified as the mayor of Kha'-em-ma't (Soleb) and an overseer of the cattle.³³⁴ In the second partial register are the high priest of the deified Tutankhamun at Faras, the lieutenant of the fortress at Faras, and the mayor of Faras.³³⁵ The figures in the third partial register are priests in the cult of the deified Tutankhamun, led by Huy's "brother," Mermose.³³⁶

The next scene on the east southern wall at position 2) depicts Huy collecting the revenue of Nubia. This scene is divided from the one that comes before it by a black dividing line, emphasizing the shift in space and time. Here, Huy is seated holding a staff and *sekhem*, facing right and confronting five partial registers of figures who count and carry the various resources of Nubia overseen by Huy (Fig. 64). Included in the pictured materials are: leopard skins, cowhides, dishes of minerals, leatherwork, chests, vessels, and gold. A few of the figures closest to Huy are named.³³⁷ The final scene on this wall, at position 3), again features a large standing figure of Huy, confronted by five partial registers with boats and resources piled high (Fig. 65). As with the last scene, this is also distinguished with a vertical black line, signaling the reader that a new scene is beginning. The top, second, and fourth registers have boats, and the third and bottom

³³³ The text identifying the first figure is not extant, but Davies and Gardiner assume it was the lieutenant of Wawat based on the identification of the lieutenant of Kush following him in the second position. *Ibid.*, 18.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*

³³⁵ For the specific translations of the texts, see *Ibid.*

³³⁶ For the specific translations of the texts, see Davies and Gardiner 1926, 18.

³³⁷ For named of individual figures, see Davies and Gardiner, 19. One figure, found standing in front of the scale and taking gold from another figure, is identified as "chief of the stable, Hati" and is represented three times, *Ibid.*, 19.

partial registers show stacks of food, vessels, long bundles, arrows, etc., which likely represent the cargo of the boats in the scene. Two named scribes stand recording the inventory in the lowest partial register before Huy. They are “the scribe who counts the gold of the king’s son Huy, Harnufer” and “the scribe of the king’s son Huy, Kha.” The majority of the content in the three short registers below the principal one on the east southern wall are lost, but the fragments that remain seem to depict figures carrying furniture to the left (Fig. 65) Presumably these are more resources from Nubia. This wall continues to feature Huy as the largest figure in any given scene and as a right-facing figure, essentially establishing him as outranking all the others represented in Nubia. We see examples of the scale and value of natural resources under his command and, if we agree with Davies and Gardiner regarding the emphasis on Amun’s acceptance of Tutankhamun in the text, an agent of the transitional king’s propaganda and legitimacy.

The two short walls (walls 4) and 9)) in the tomb differ in conception and subject matter from the other four walls in the transverse room. At the center of each is a space for a stela, which was never finished. Around each stela is a series of scenes that, rather than depicting aspects of Huy’s professional life, features scenes directly related to Huy’s afterlife. These walls are discrete from the long walls, a fact emphasized by the subject matter, the presence of space for stelae, and the strong bordering frame that runs around their edges. On the south wall, wall 4), the stela is surmounted by the symbol for the west, which divides the right and left sides of the wall in half (Fig. 66). Surrounded by three registers that are generally symmetrical in content and composition, the stela has a small sub-scene at its base. In the top register, Huy is seen giving offerings and libations to the seated figure of Anubis on the left and the seated figure of Osiris on the right. The

deities are seated back to back and are separated by the west symbol, which helps to reinforce their location in the place of the afterlife. In the second register Huy is seated at the right and left ends of the wall, facing toward the stela in front of a table of offerings. The fragmentary texts describe him “partaking of all good things before Osiris.”³³⁸ In the third register, Huy, again seated on the left and right of the wall, facing the stela before a table of bread, is identified as “Sitting in the company of Osiris and Anubis, Lord of Rostaw.”³³⁹ The short sub-scene at the bottom of the stela shows figures in the process of baking. The stela on the short end of the long hall is an element frequently found in 18th Dynasty Theban tombs and establishes another site of offering and veneration for the deceased, supplementing the shrine at the western end. The scenes around it--of the deceased offering to funerary deities and partaking in a successful afterlife--are not unusual, and the sub-scene of figures baking bread support the deceased’s desire for everlasting sustenance in the next life. On the opposite short wall, wall 9), instead of the tomb owner in the afterlife, there are some of the rituals necessary for him to make that transition. The content on wall 9) should therefore be understood as having come before that on wall 4), which parallels the temporal organization seen on the east walls, where the material on the northern east wall comes before that represented on the southern east wall. On wall 9) the wall is again dominated by space for a stela, but the stela on this wall is depicted as larger. The wall features the framing element seen on wall 4), but in this case adds a frieze of inverted lotuses and buds at the top. There are four registers on this wall, but the stela divides them entirely, creating eight related but discrete scenes. Each shows one part of the funeral ceremonies preformed for Huy by a lector priest wearing a

³³⁸ Davies and Gardiner 1926, 31.

³³⁹ Ibid.

leopard cloak (Fig. 67). In each scene, a figure of Huy faces out of the scene with his back to the stela, while the lector priest faces in, in order to face Huy. Short texts explain the content of each scene. On the right side, beginning in the top scene and moving down, is: “giving green paint and kohl”; “making purification with bowls of water”; “giving gifts of fruit”; “giving clothing.”³⁴⁰ On the left, beginning with the top scene and moving down: “giving the *ka* to its lord”; “giving the god’s ointment”; “giving white clothing”; “giving bread and beer.” The representation of these scenes, like the sub-scene of the bakers on the opposing wall, were meant to ensure that the appropriate ceremonies were carried out for the deceased. Even if the ceremonies went unperformed in reality, or if no bread was brought for offering, these images served as functional substitutes.

The scenes found on the two focal walls are similar compositionally and content-wise: on the left focal wall (south), Huy leads a procession of tribute from Nubia to the enthroned Tutankhamun on the right (north side) of the wall, to the left of the door to the inner room (Wall 5), 6), and 7)). On the north (right) focal wall (Wall 10) and 11), the principal scene is of Huy presenting tribute to the enthroned Tutankhamun on the left end of the wall, to the right of the door to the inner room. The similarity in subject matter is reinforced by the mirror-like symmetry of composition on the two focal walls, with the foreigners of the north depicted in the north wing of the transverse hall and those from the south represented in the southern wing of the transverse hall.

An image of the enthroned Tutankhamun in his kiosk, which takes up the whole height of the single register, dominates the left (south) focal wall. Moving toward him, from the left, is a series of figures divided onto four partial registers. The actual

³⁴⁰ Davies and Gardiner 1926, 31.

orientation of the figures is appropriate, as they move from the south (the direction of Nubia) toward the king in the north. Before the king stands Huy holding a crook (referring to his position as viceroy) and an ostrich fan (referring to his title as “fan bearer to the right of the king”).³⁴¹ Tutankhamun is shown wearing a *khepre* crown, and the base of his kiosk is decorated with adoring *rekhyt* birds on *neb* baskets (Fig. 68). Behind Huy are several rows of gold rings and gold in bags, along with minerals, piles of ivory tusks and ebony, shields, furniture, and goldwork stands topped with black and white bowls that show a pyramid and another structure surrounded by palm trees (Fig. 69). Similar objects are represented in the tombs of Kenamun (TT 93) and Imesib (TT 65), as well as at El-Amarna.³⁴² Below the small examples in partial register 5, a more elaborate but similar stand or series of stands is found, with leopard skins hanging from them and another pyramidal structure in a black and white bowl, this time surrounded by Nubian figures and palm trees. It seems likely that these are models of structures built in honor of the king in Nubia and are therefore presented to Tutankhamun as part of the tribute. A kneeling figure of Huy adores before the large stands in the bottom partial register.

Above the kneeling Huy, another figure of the viceroy holds his ostrich feather fan and gestures for the procession from Nubia to come forward. In the first two registers are “the chieftains of Wawat” and “Hekanufer, the prince of Mi’am,” all of whom kneel in the presence of the king.³⁴³ They are followed by a princess and children who, wearing Egyptianized clothing and accessories, contrast with the other Nubians, who conform

³⁴¹ The crook is a sign for the word *ḥkꜣ* meaning “to rule”, Hannig 2006, 605.

³⁴² Davies and Gardiner 1926, 22.

³⁴³ Translation of titles, *Ibid.*, 23. Wawat refers to Lower Nubia

more to typical Nubian dress. Interspersed are servants carrying more gold. They are followed by a princess riding in a chariot pulled by oxen, trailed by five bound Nubian prisoners in Nubian dress and two women with nude torsos, accompanied by three children. In the partial register below these figures, a similar line of Nubian chieftains appears, but this time they are identified as coming from Upper Nubia and bring more gold, carnelian, and minerals. A text above the figures narrates the scenes: “The chieftains of Kush. They say: Homage to thee, king of Egypt, sun of the Nine Bows! Grant to us the breath that thou givest, in order that we may live at thy good pleasure.”³⁴⁴ The chieftains and their servants are followed by still more servants, two of whom hold the tether of a giraffe; others bring oxen (Fig. 70). Interestingly, the chieftains from Southern Kush are not represented with any members of their retinue dressed in an Egyptianizing style. Perhaps coming from farther from the center of Egyptian power meant that they were less inclined to adopt Egyptian dress.

The figures in the third and fourth partial registers are overseen by another large standing figure of Huy (Fig. 71). The third register is much like the second, with a series of chieftains of Kush adoring the king and bringing him tribute. They are accompanied by two fan bearers who have more Egyptian hairstyles.³⁴⁵ Huy, facing the group, is accompanied by the text:

Coming in peace from the royal palace by the prince, the divine
father, loved by the god, the king’s son of Kush, Huy, after he has

³⁴⁴ Translation, Davies and Gardiner 1926, 24.

³⁴⁵ These figures are accompanied by a text: “The chieftains of Kush. They say: Great is thy power, thou good god, and great is thy valor. Give us the breath that thou givest, that we may cause (?) thee to be triumphant.” Translation, *Ibid.*, 25.

received the favors of the Lord of the Two Lands, having been [rewarded] with gold on his neck and arms time after time, exceedingly many (times). Great is thy praise, O Nebkheprure! If one should recount (every) occasion by name, they would be too many to put into writing.³⁴⁶

Evidence of the king's generosity to Huy is seen in the three golden broad collars and two golden bracelets he wears. In the lowest partial register, members of Huy's household in Nubia welcome him back after his profitable trip north. The text clarifies: "Going forth by the [household ?] of the king's son in order to welcome him on his return having received favors of the Lord of the Two Lands. The house of the king's son of Kush, the royal scribe Amenhotep, repeating life."³⁴⁷

On the leftmost side of the left focal wall are the boats that carried Huy and all the Nubian chieftains with all their tribute to Egypt. The five boats are stacked on five partial registers, and another figure of Huy leads them into the presence of the king (Fig. 72). Again, the scene is narrated by text above it: "Coming from Kush with this goodly tribute consisting of all the choicest and best of the southern lands. Landing at the Southern City (i.e. Thebes) by the king's son of Kush, Huy."³⁴⁸ Below the left part of this wall are the fragmentary remains of three short minor registers showing servants and officials who bring more resources toward the right side of the wall. The left (southern) focal wall mirrors the opposing wall, with the narrative beginning on the left side of the wall with

³⁴⁶ Translation, Davies and Gardiner 1926, 26.

³⁴⁷ Translation, Ibid. Gardiner notes that the first part of this text is not certain, but the statement regarding Huy having returned with the favors of the king seems secure.

³⁴⁸ Translation, Ibid., 28.

the arrival of the boat from Nubia and culminating in the full-sized image of Huy before Tutankhamun on the right side. The image not only emphasizes Huy's intimacy with the king and the riches of the areas he controls but also his dominion over all other figures in the scene. As encountered on the eastern walls, the largest figure on this wall is the king, and Huy, when depicted in direct contact with him, is represented as smaller. When Huy interacts with all of the other figures on the wall, he becomes the larger figure and mimics the orientation of the king.

The right (northern) focal wall again features a procession of figures organized into partial register lines that move from the right (northern) end of the wall to the culminating figure of Tutankhamun enthroned on the left end (Fig. 73). This wall has suffered more damage than its companion, but the scenes are still clear, as are many of the details of the Asiatic figures represented. As on the southern focal wall, Huy holds a crook and an ostrich fan and stands before the king, who again wears a *kheprsh* crown and whose height takes up the entire register. Behind Huy, the scene breaks into two registers. In the top one he is represented again facing the king, carrying a bowl of lapis (?) and a pectoral. The text above him reads:

The king's son of Kush, overseer of the southern lands, fan bearer to the right of the king, Huy, justified. He says: "May thy father Amun protect you with millions of jubilees, may he give to thee everlasting as king of the two lands, and eternity as ruler of the nine bows! Thou art Re; your form is his form. To you belongs the sky firm on its four supports. The land dwells under you because of your excellence, your good Ruler. Presentation of tribute to the

Lord of the Two lands, that which is offered by Rethenu (Syria) the vile, by the king's envoy of every land, the king's son of Kush, the overseer of the southern lands, Amenhotep, justified."³⁴⁹

Huy is followed immediately by two large-scale chieftains, and, while now lost, the inscription above them once read:

The chieftains of the Upper Rethenu, who had not known Egypt since the god (i.e. since primeval times), beg for mercy before His Majesty. They say: Give to us the breath of thy giving. Then will we tell of thy victorious power. There are no rebels in thy vicinity. Every land is at peace.³⁵⁰

The two chieftains are followed by two registers of servants who bring various vessels, minerals (perhaps an ingot of copper?), horses, and a lion on a tether. In the register below, a large figure of Huy faces another two registers of approaching Asiatics. He again holds an ostrich feather fan and beckons to them with and best of their countries, consisting of silver and gold, lapis lazuli and turquoise, and of all precious stones." The standing and kneeling Syrian chieftains and officials before Huy bring tribute and raise their hands in praise before the king.³⁵¹ Below the kiosk of the king on the left side there

³⁴⁹ After Davies and Gardiner's translation, Davies and Gardiner 1926, 29.

³⁵⁰ Translation, *Ibid.*

³⁵¹ These figures are accompanied by another text honoring the king: " All the chieftains of distant lands [who are in (?)] embassy to Pharaoh. They say: How great is thy might, thou good god, how great is thy valor! There is none can live without thee. Those who attack [thee] shall be non-existent. Give us the breath of thy giving. Then will we tell of thy victorious power." Translation, Davies and Gardiner 1926, 30.

are small fragments of a short register that has images of more figures bringing tribute to the king.

A new scene begins in the rightmost area of the northern focal wall. It is discrete in subject matter from the tribute scene that occupies the majority of the wall. Here, although there has been heavy loss to the image, much of the accompanying text is intact. The scene shows a seated figure of Osiris wearing an *atef* crown and receiving a table of offerings from Huy, who stands before him, hands raised in adoration.³⁵² The text above the figures of Huy reads:

The king's son of Kush, the overseer of the southern lands, Huy, the justified. He says: Hail to you, great one, lord of glorious appearances, great of titulary, high of feathers, lord of the *atef*-crown, sole god who created himself, feared in all lands! I have come to thee to see your face, to behold your beauty. I have reached a venerable age in the favor of this good god. I am grown old. I have reached my old age, my arms being strong in administering for the king. I have not told a falsehood, I have not done evil. I have not known... No fault of mine has come, no lapse in me has been found. He who praises you should be tranquil; I am one who quelled passion. Grant me a great road in the necropolis, to come in and go forth from Rostaw, to drink water from the

³⁵² There is text above Osiris which gives his titles, etc.: "Osiris who is in front of the Westerners, the great god, lord of eternity, the ruler of Abydos, Onnophris, the chief of the Thinite nome, lord of righteousness, the ruler of the land of quiet." Translation, *Ibid.*

depth of the river, and to feast. To the soul of the king's son of Kush, Huy, justified.³⁵³

The statements made by Huy in the presence of Osiris are like other examples of so-called “negative confessions” found on Theban tomb walls. Here he is asserting his innocence and worthiness to enter the afterlife. There is a clear connection between the content of this scene and the adjacent scene of funeral rites represented on short wall 9). It seems interesting that this scene occurs on this focal wall. As previously seen, the long walls of the transverse room in Huy's tomb deal almost exclusively with his official career; to have an important scene such as the tomb owner offering to Osiris placed in the right corner of the focal wall seems discordant. But perhaps the scene was intended for this corner because of its location next to short wall 9), with its funerary content. Furthermore, the symmetry of the two scenes of tribute that dominate the focal walls may have been more important to the designer and tomb owner than the placement of the Osiris scene. Or could scenes such as this have been intended for the inner room, and, as time went on, it was placed here in the event that the inner room had to be left undecorated? The choice of the Osiris scene on the right side, taking up space otherwise given to the tribute from the Asiatics, seems preferable to its placement on the other wall, where the major title of Huy as viceroy of Kush is represented.

There has been heavy damage to the thickness of the passage into the inner room at 12). On the north side can be found the remnants of an image of a door followed by the remnants of the image of a tree with red fruit, which a figure of Huy may have been

³⁵³ After Davies and Gardiner's translation, Davies and Gardiner 1926, 30.

facing.³⁵⁴ A scene of Huy worshipping Osiris appears on the south wall of the passage; this is also heavily damaged.³⁵⁵ Considering that the scene on the thickness deals more directly Huy's afterlife, it might be assumed that the decoration in the inner room may have comprised additional sacred content, conforming to the general scenario in which scenes of temporal life are found in the outer room and those relating to the afterlife are found in the inner spaces of the tomb. However, this must remain unknown.

Overall, the principal scenes in Huy's tomb, found on the four long walls (with special emphasis on the focal walls), relate to his high-ranking position in Tutankhamun's administration. The colorful treatment of the costumes of the foreigners, their exotic tribute, and vessels, draw in the viewers, who then find themselves following the narrative of Huy's career. The procession of figures moving from the north and south ends of the focal walls toward its conclusion in the figures of the enthroned Tutankhamun in the center of the room, on either side of the door to the inner room, directs the movement of the visitor and, as is so often seen on focal walls, has at its center the image of an enthroned god or king. Furthermore, Huy's tomb seems to conform generally to models set in the 18th Dynasty, with two stelae on either side of the transverse room as secondary sites of offering and veneration, a register system more in keeping with those

³⁵⁴ For description, see Davies and Gardiner 1926, 4. Davies and Gardiner note that a similarly placed painted door is also found in TT 74 (Thanuny).

³⁵⁵ Davies and Gardiner record the following fragmentary text accompanying the scene: "Praise to Ptah the great, (even) Osiris fair of face, who [created?] that which exists, the great god of the first age, who gave birth to him(self) before this land came into being, by the king's son of Kush, [fan-bearer] to [the right] of the king, [Amenhotep, justified.] He says: Homage to thee, being great, big, and distinguished like the doyen of the gods, [who came into existence before] the gods came into existence...[the sky], thou didst establish him who is in it. All souls, which are come into existence, thou didst establish [them?]...him between them to conceal the lands (?) of the gods. Thou didst create thyself...in [thy] body, day and night (are?) in thy likeness (?) forever and aye...Made by the prince, great noble in the palace, important in his office, great in his rank, a prince in front of the common folk, approaching the King of Upper Egypt, drawing nigh to the King of Lower Egypt, in the heart of Horus, filling..., finding god... Homage to thee, ...Onnophris, son of [Nut] and Geb... great of power...". Ibid., 32.

from the 18th Dynasty, and a general tendency to keep scenes of the living world in the outer room. However, the continuation of scenes across the western walls seem more of a Ramesside tendency. Examination of Huy's tomb benefits from the wealth of remaining text and decoration to clarify the events depicted, and this will benefit the study of tombs with far less extant decoration.

Tomb: TT 49

Name of Tomb Owner: Neferhotep

Known Title(s): Chief Scribe of Amun; Superintendent of the Oxen and Heifers of Amun³⁵⁶

Date: reign of Ay³⁵⁷

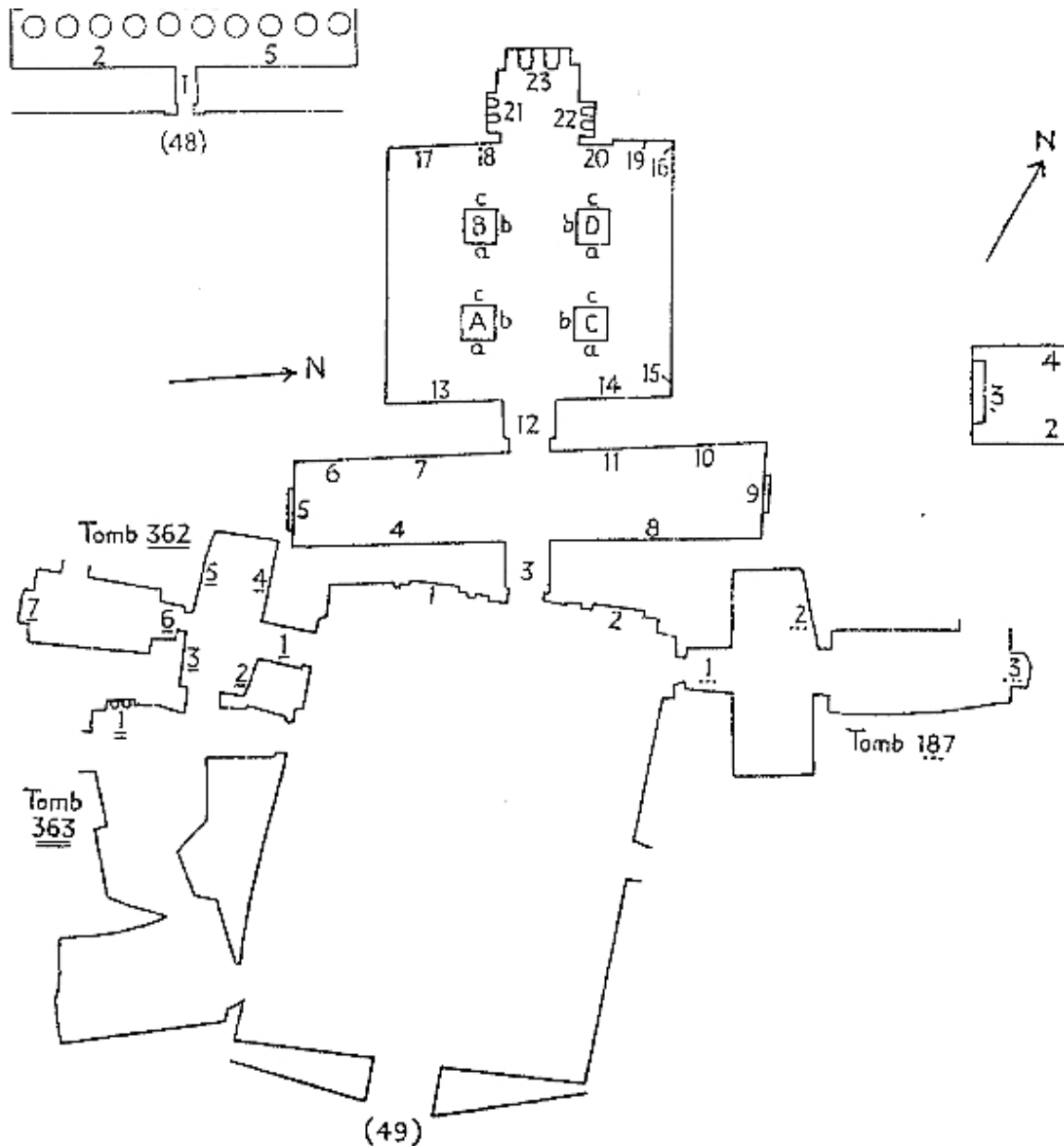
Area: Khokha

Medium: painting

Sources: Porter and Moss 2004; Davies 1933; MMA Archive Photos

³⁵⁶ Davies 1933, 17.

³⁵⁷ Dated based on cartouche of Ay in tomb, Hofmann 2004, 26.



The tomb chapel of Neferhotep (TT 49) is comprised of a long transverse hall, a square inner room with four square pillars, and a shrine with six engaged figural sculptures. The tomb has been used as a dwelling for people and livestock and as a result of this and other factors has suffered significant damage.³⁵⁸ The information we have

³⁵⁸ Including partial usurpation in the Ramesside period. While usurpation would usually exclude this tomb from the study, it has been retained in the corpus because of the good understanding of the original decoration. For a description of areas and techniques of usurpation, see Davies 1933, 4-5.

from the tomb comes, therefore, principally from Davies' MMA publication of the tomb in 1933. For this he relied on earlier sources, many from the 1830s.³⁵⁹

The door to the tomb is flanked by two round-topped, framed stelae carved into the rock of the façade (Fig. 74). The stela at 2) is heavily damaged with only a few words legible.³⁶⁰ The stela at 1) has fared better. At the top is the bark of Re, below which is a double scene of the tomb owner and his wife adoring Osiris and the Western Goddess on one side and the two adoring Anubis and the Eastern Goddess on the other. Between these two scenes is a *djed* pillar. Above each couple, text clarifies their adoration of the deities before which they stand.³⁶¹ Below the scene in the lunette are 26 lines of abraded text, a long hymn and offering text to Amun-Re.³⁶² Above the door to the tomb is another double scene with Neferhotep, his wife, and his parents adoring, on the right, Osiris and Hathor Amentet and, on the left, Osiris and Anubis. Both doorjambs feature four vertical lines of offering texts on behalf of Neferhotep and his wife: on the right, offerings to Amun-Re, Osiris, Re-Harakhti-Atum, and Hathor;³⁶³ on the left, offerings to Amun-Re, Mut, Khonsu, and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris.³⁶⁴ The thicknesses of the entrance to the tomb at 3) are both decorated. On the south thickness (on the left), the tomb owner and his wife are

³⁵⁹ Davies looked to the work of earlier copyists, including Burton, Champollion, Hay, Rosellini; and Wilkinson. Davies 1933, 3.

³⁶⁰ For fragmentary phrases on the stela at 2) see, Ibid. 48.

³⁶¹ “The text on the right runs: “An adoration of Re when he sets, an ascription of praise to Anubis, and an act of homage to Hat-hor of the West, Kheftet-hir-Neb-es, on the part of the chief scribe of Amun, Neferhotep, whose wife is the chantress of Amun, Meret-re.” The text on the left is similar. Ibid.

³⁶² For translation of the text, see Ibid., 48-50.

³⁶³ For translation of text, see Ibid., 50.

³⁶⁴ For translation of text, see Ibid., 51.

depicted leaving the tomb space and are accompanied by a solar hymn adoring the rising sun.³⁶⁵ On the north, the couple's return to the tomb is accompanied by a hymn adoring the setting sun.³⁶⁶ In the case of TT 49, the actual and ritual orientations of the tomb are essentially the same, with the entrance being in the east, the shrine in the west, and right and left ends of the transverse hall in the north and south, respectively. Therefore the orientation of the figures--coming out of the tomb, facing the east and the rising sun on the south thickness, and facing into the tomb and the setting sun in the west on the north thickness--is appropriate.

The decoration in the first room is divided roughly based on the cardinal orientation of the walls. Therefore the southern and northern east walls, 4) and 8), have scenes pertaining to the preparation of the funeral goods of the deceased and the funeral itself. The northern and southern short walls of the first room, 5) and 9), both feature stelae with small scenes related to offerings to funerary deities and the deceased beside and above them. The west walls, both north (10 and 11) and south (6 and 7), feature large kiosk scenes with figures moving toward them to adore or receive favor. On the northern wall, the enthroned figure is Osiris, and, on the southern wall, the figures are King Ay and his wife.

The east walls both have representations of the funeral preparation and procession. Wall 8), the northern east wall, is divided into three registers. The organization of the wall is such that the material in the lower two registers occurs before that in the top. In the lowest register, a male and a female figure seated on the left end of

³⁶⁵ For translation of text of hymn to rising sun from left thickness, see Davies 1933, 53.

³⁶⁶ For translation of hymn to setting sun from right thickness, see *Ibid.*, 54.

the wall look toward the action occurring before them in the horizontally divided register (Fig. 75). In the upper section, a priest purifies what may be craftsmen or perhaps sculptures to be placed on the funeral boats.³⁶⁷ Behind these figures and in the lower partial register, carpenters and craftsmen construct coffins and other burial equipment; their activities include the carving and varnishing of the coffins. The couple at left is first presumed to be the tomb owner and his wife, but text above the seated couple suggests that they are the father and mother of the tomb owner.³⁶⁸ Text above the figures, now mostly illegible, was recorded by Hay as:

His father, [the servitor] of Amun, Neby, says “O artisans, servants of the praised (deceased) one, praise ye his ka...” His mother, the housemistress and chantress of Amun, Iwy, says “How propitious (?) is this which the god has done for a righteous man. He is... one of good fortune from his egg.”³⁶⁹

In the middle register a similar scene is depicted: here the tomb owner and his wife sit at the left end of the wall and look at their burial furniture and accoutrements, which extend down the two partial registers before them (Fig. 76). In the upper row, two coffins stand and are purified, while behind them is the bark on which they will presumably be placed for transport with its carrying poles. Behind this are food offerings, four Osiride figures, two mummy masks, three collars, writing implements, jars of perfume and incense, walking sticks, chairs, etc. The text above the couple reads:

³⁶⁷ The priest in this scene is no longer visible, but Hay records such a figure and Davies sees traces of its leopard cloak. Davies 1933, 45.

³⁶⁸ Porter and Moss record the two figures as the tomb owner and his wife, Porter and Moss 2004, 92.

³⁶⁹ Davies 1933, 45.

[Sitting] pleasantly with a pleasant prospect on the most auspicious day of the month. My eyes see the productions of Ptah and the sepulchral furniture. They are full satisfied who made them. Khons, on whom my face (is fixed), has vouchsafed them to us; (for) long life in the home and fair burial are his (to give). For the ka of the chief scribe of Amun, Neferhotep, whose beloved wife and object of his desire is the chantress of Amun, Meryet-Re. She saith "How beautiful they are-these products which Amun has vouchsafed to thee..."³⁷⁰

The action in the top register on wall 8) begins on the left side of the wall and moves toward its resolution on the right end, but the subject matter may continue in the top register of wall 4), which will be examined shortly. A series of boats with priests and mourners moves toward the right end of the wall and the necropolis. The boat on the left is identified as carrying the deceased; mourners and a priest ride with him.³⁷¹ The other boats hold mourners and others. Accompanying text identifies their sorrow and confirms their destination:

Pull strongly to the West, the land of the righteous! The women of the passenger boat are weeping bitterly. In peace, in peace to the West! O favored one, come in peace! Would that this day proved

³⁷⁰ Davies 1933, 44.

³⁷¹ The accompanying text identifies the boat with that of the sun god and gives the words spoken by the priest on board. For translation of this text, see *Ibid.*, 39.

eternity for me, for we see you with gaze fixed on it (eternity). Lo, you go to the land (where) men suffer change.³⁷²

The boats dock, and the accompanying priests and mourners disembark.³⁷³ On the west bank, the rites before the tomb are depicted. Two coffins stand before a somewhat unusual depiction of the tomb, priests offer and libate to the deceased, and Neferhotep's wife Meritre embraces his coffin and says:

I am your wife, Meryet-Re. O great one, do not abandon (?) me, [for] your nature is kind, O kind father! Such is my distance from you (that while) he is like Re (?) I walk alone with the singers (?). Lo I am behind you, (but) you who did love to talk with me are silent and speak not."³⁷⁴

Mourning women behind her also praise the deceased but affirm his happiness in the beyond.³⁷⁵

Wall 4), which is divided into two registers, continues the same subject matter seen on the other eastern wall 8). The upper register shows the funeral procession moving on foot from the left end of the wall to the right (Fig. 77). Two biers and the *teknu* are dragged toward the right end of the wall, accompanied by priests and others. On the right

³⁷² After Davies' translation, Davies 1933, 40.

³⁷³ At the dock, an inscription reads: "The priests, notables, and wab priests, who follow the blessed one and keep saying 'Most fortunate is this that has been done to him! He (the god) assigns a seat and makes a throne (?). He fills his heart with Khons in Thebes, that he may let him arrive at the West, and troops on troops of servants follow him to the necropolis.'" Ibid.

³⁷⁴ After Davies' translation, Ibid., 41.

³⁷⁵ For translation of text, see Ibid.

end of the wall, the Western Goddess embraces Neferhotep in his tomb, with a frieze of funerary cones over the entrance confirming the location of the event. Here it is almost as though this is another part of the funeral procession that was represented in the top register of wall 8), only on wall 8) the scene resolves with the depiction of the rituals carried out by the mourners in this world, while on wall 4) the goddess herself embraces the deceased in the tomb space. This presents two depictions of the same moment, perhaps. The lower register is heavily damaged but can be reconstructed with help from Hay's notes. Here, beginning again on the left side of the wall, a procession of mourners moves toward the right. Following the mourners are six (?) shrines where priests offer incense and libations and consecrate the food within them. At the right end of the wall, the Hathor cow emerges from the western hills.

The north and south walls each feature large stelae at their centers. On north wall 9), the stela is painted but sunk into the wall with sculpted framing, molding, and a cornice. Much of the original content of the stela is lost, but the top seemingly showed Osiris, Anubis, and the Western Goddess on the left, with Neferhotep facing them kneeling in adoration on the right side.³⁷⁶ The text of his prayer below is lost. While the material on the stela itself is heavily damaged, the scenes above it and to its left and right are relatively well preserved. Above the stela are mirrored scenes of the deceased offering to Osiris on the left and to Anubis on the right, each accompanied by hymns of praise spoken by Neferhotep (Fig. 78).³⁷⁷ The two scenes are divided by a column of text that reads: "A ritual offering to Hat-Hor of the West, regent in the necropolis, that she

³⁷⁶ Davies 1933, 56.

³⁷⁷ For translation of these prayers, see Davies 1933, 56-57.

may give all manner of good and pure food to Neferhotep.³⁷⁸ Of the panels on the left and right of the stela only a few fragments remain to give the original content. However, stacked scenes of the deceased and sometimes other family members sitting before a table of offerings on either sides of stelae are common, and this is yet another example. On the right, Neferhotep sits before an offering table, facing toward the stela, apparently installed safely in the afterlife and enjoying his time there (Fig. 79).³⁷⁹ A fragment of text below this scene confirms that there was another similar scene below it, which would be expected, but the individual seated before that offering table may have been Neferhotep's wife. On the left side is another scene of Neferhotep seated before an offering table and facing the stela, accompanied by a text similar to that seen on the right. On the opposite short wall, wall 5), the stela again has suffered damage but featured an image in its lunette similar to that on the stela at 9). Here, however, Osiris and the Western Goddess face Anubis. At the sides of this stela are stacked figures facing into the stela, but they are not seated at offering tables as they were at 9). On the right, the deceased appears in the top register, and a man (?) is seen in the one below. On the left, a figure of Neferhotep's grandfather appears in the top register, and his wife is below.

Compositionally, the focal walls of the tomb somewhat mirror each other, with large enthroned figures in kiosks flanking each side of the doorway into the inner room. In both cases the enthroned figures are approached by a series of other, smaller figures

³⁷⁸ Ibid., 56.

³⁷⁹ The text accompanying the figure confirms his place in the afterlife: "Seated in the pavilion and tasting food close by Imy-ut. My heart is satisfied with his protection. My eyes see what is good and these ears are filled with Truth. I am devoid of (?) fear and do not speak falsehood wittingly. I do not play a double part nor am I insolent. I do not sin nor do I give offense... Anubis... May my (?) ka be satisfied with bread, beer and good things, which have been offered before thee. For the ka of the favorite of the good god, the chief scribe of Amun and superintendent of the heifers of Amun in the South and North Egypt, Neferhotep." Ibid., 57.

that move from the ends of each wall toward them. The material on the left focal wall, 6) and 7), deals with Neferhotep and his family members interacting with the reigning king, while the material on the right focal wall, 11) and 10), depicts Neferhotep and his family interacting with Osiris. The appearance of kiosk scenes on both walls helps the visitor to view the figures of Osiris and the reigning king as parallels.

The damaged southern focal wall, 6) and 7), has been restored, and the subject matter and composition of the scenes are still evident. The wall is divided into two registers, with two separate but related events represented. On the right, at 7) the king (Ay) and his wife are installed in a balcony decorated with captives on its base (Fig. 80). It can be assumed that this is a window of appearances where the king and his wife come to bestow honor on their subjects in a semi-public space. The window takes up the entire height of the wall, and before it the rows of figures are broken into the two registers. Neferhotep stands before the window and receives gifts from the king, including gold collars. The gifts are handed down to a courtier, and then several other courtiers help Neferhotep into his regalia before the king (Fig. 81). The courtiers bow and raise their arms in adoration of the king and his wife and praise him for his wisdom.³⁸⁰ Although largely lost, part of Neferhotep's response to the king is discernable from Hay's records:

The chief scribe of Amun, Neferhotep, says "O you who abound in wealth and appreciate what is given by Amun to make thy heart glad (?), fair child (?) of [Amun?]. . . when you open (your) eyes. . . How fortunate is he who stands before you. . . May his [servants]

³⁸⁰ For the text of the courtiers acclamations, see Davies 1933, 21.

summon [me] to receive [the favors of the Inmate of] the Palace. May there be given to me gold without count in the presence of the whole land. I came in joy and went out in a festive mood.” The people cheer, each saying to his fellow (?) “How happy is the life of one who stands under the prosperity of the good ruler, the Chnum who builds (men).”³⁸¹

Figures behind and above Neferhotep bring offerings and tables with food; the bounty of the king is found in the upper register. Several trees behind Neferhotep suggest that the setting for this event is perhaps a garden in the palace.

The next scene, which takes place at position 6) in the upper register, is similar to the one just described, but in this case it is Neferhotep’s wife, Merit-Re, who is honored by the queen. Once again, the edifice from which the queen is seen in her window takes up the entire height of the upper register, although it is broken into sub-registers before her (Fig. 82). This scenario is similar to the way in which the window of appearances and the figures of the king and queen took up the height of the wall at 7), although that scene was broken into sub-registers before the king. Here, the queen leans out of the window and hands Merit-Re a golden collar, as well as offerings. Merit-Re is accompanied by other worshipping figures, but all are represented smaller than she (just as the other courtiers at her husband’s audience were represented as smaller than Neferhotep). Once again the scene includes fruit trees and grape arbors, perhaps suggesting again a garden setting for the audience. Moving to the left on the wall, still in the upper register, the

³⁸¹ After Davies’ translation, *Ibid.*, 22.

visitor sees Merit-Re returning to her home, accompanied by servants who help her haul away the queen's gifts (Fig. 83).

In register II at 6), Neferhotep also returns home from his royal audience, but by chariot, accompanied by servants (Fig. 84). He is received by women and children dancing and playing instruments. Next was a heavily damaged scene of banqueting, evident now only from Hay's records.³⁸² On this wall, Neferhotep emphasizes his closeness to the king and that of his wife to the queen. The scene is rendered as if it were an actual historical moment in their lives, and, while Neferhotep's scene takes precedence over that of his wife's ennoblement (being closer to the main axis of the tomb and therefore in the viewer's line of sight, and also being represented as larger), her scene of royal audience is quite prominent. The subject matter and composition of these scenes (audience with the king and queen in the window of appearances, as well as detailed rendering of the palace architecture) appear in Amarna art and can be considered a stylistic holdover.

On the opposite focal wall, 11) and 10) feature two major scenes. At 11) the large figure of the enthroned Osiris in a kiosk takes up the entire height of the wall on the left side beside the doorway to the inner room (Fig. 85). Osiris is accompanied in the kiosk by the Western Goddess, and a text reads:

... millions (of years) as his lifetime. There is given [to him]... in
 On of the south (?) and the "whip" in Het-ka-Ptah (Memphis).
 There is [given] to him the atef crown in Heracleopolis in the

³⁸² Davies 1933, 26-27.

presence of the company of gods. Offerings are endowed for him in the necropolis in his name of the Bark...³⁸³

Neferhotep and his wife stand before the kiosk behind a table of offerings and say a prayer of offering:

Receive a boon, O lord of eternity, Osiris Khent-Amentet. Millions of incense, hundreds of thousands of wine, tens of thousands of rations of flesh and fowl to your fair face! Pure! Pure! May your spirit be content, that he may grant that I receive food offered in your presence, oblations and delicacies of thy giving. For the ka of the Osiris, Neferhotep, whose dearly beloved wife is Merit-re.³⁸⁴

Behind the couple the wall splits into three sub-registers, with other offering bringers and celebrants facing the kiosk of Osiris in worship.

Another scene begins just to the right of the one just described, at location 10). While there is no graphic demarcation of the start of a new scene, the figures stand back to back with those in the offering scene, and, whereas the focus of veneration at 11) was Osiris at the left end of the wall, at 10) the focus of veneration is Neferhotep and his wife at the right end, where they are depicted seated and receiving offerings and libation from three rows of figures (Fig. 86).³⁸⁵ Below this scene is a smaller sub-scene depicting the ritual meal of the dead (Fig. 87). The mirroring and parallels between the figures on the

³⁸³ Davies 1933, 54-55.

³⁸⁴ After Davies' translation, *Ibid.*, 55.

³⁸⁵ For the text of the priest's speech before Neferhotep and his wife, see Davies 1933, 55.

two focal walls have already been noted, but the north focal wall features another sort of parallel, this time between the figure of Osiris receiving offering on the left end of the wall and the figures of Neferhotep and his wife receiving offering on the right. Furthermore, the depiction of the ritual meal on wall 10) could parallel the banquet of celebration seen on wall 6), after the couple's audiences with the king and queen.

The door to the inner room features lintel decoration that is the same as that described for the lintel above the door from the court to the tomb.³⁸⁶ As with the latter door, the jambs of the door to the inner room feature four columns of inscribed offering texts on each side. On the right, the texts make ritual offerings to Osiris Khent-Amentet Onnofris, Ptah-Sokar, Anubis, and Hathor on behalf of Neferhotep and his wife.³⁸⁷ On the left, Amun, Mut, Thoth, and Hathor are honored on behalf of the two.³⁸⁸

The thicknesses of the door to the inner room at 12) show Neferhotep in the afterlife. On the left (southern) thickness, he faces into the tomb and embraces his deceased mother and father in the afterlife.³⁸⁹ The orientation of the figures makes sense, as Neferhotep is coming from the land of the living (the east) into the land of the deceased (the west), where his parents wait to greet him. On the right (northern) thickness, Neferhotep and his wife stand before the goddess of the sycamore and receive sustenance from her.³⁹⁰ Damage to the texts on both thicknesses has rendered them

³⁸⁶ This lintel suffered as a result of usurpation, but the original scene was identified as the same as that on the lintel at 3). *Ibid.*, 51.

³⁸⁷ For translation of text, see *Ibid.*

³⁸⁸ For translation of text, see Davies 1933, 52.

³⁸⁹ See Davies 1933, pl. 39.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pl. 40.

generally illegible, but the scene on the right can still be identified with Chapter 59 of the *Book of the Dead*.

The inner room's decoration was arranged with a clear awareness of the visitor's view. Whether or not all surfaces of the inner room were ever intended to be decorated is unknown. It seems likely that they were, but because of either lack of time or by original intention the decoration on the inner room focuses only along the path that a visitor would take toward the shrine. The areas that a viewer would see as they moved in and out of the tomb along its central axis were privileged: the west wall on either side of the shrine, 17, 18, 20, 19); three of the four surfaces of the pillars, Aa, Ab, Ac, Ba, Bb, Bc, Ca, Cb, Cc, and Da, Db, Dc); and the eastern walls of the inner room, 13-14). The north and south sides of the pillars and south wall of the inner room were not decorated. The decoration of the north wall clearly suggests that the decoration in the inner room was not restricted only to surfaces that the visitor was sure to encounter; because this surface is decorated, it is probable that the entire inner room was at some point intended to be decorated.

As noted at the outset, material in the inner room of tombs is not the focus of this study. However, a brief description of the scenes and their content is relevant to the reading of the outer room. The eastern walls, 13) and 14), feature similar decoration. On 13) the deceased and his wife, perhaps accompanied by daughters or other female figures, pour incense on a pile of offerings. As part of this scene, in a small sub-scene, a blind singer leads offering bringers.³⁹¹ On wall 14), the major scene is that of deceased with his

³⁹¹ For further discussion of musicians and musical practice in the New Kingdom, see the work of Lise Manniche. For a discussion of the blindness of musicians in tomb paintings, see Manniche 1978.

wife and other women carrying flowers and consecrating offerings; the sub-scene in this instance shows more offering bringers.

The decoration on the northern wall (15-16) is divided into two registers and deals with the activities of the temple of Karnak.³⁹² The upper register is divided into four scenes: Neferhotep receiving the bouquet of Amun in temple of Karnak; Neferhotep handing the bouquet to his wife in the temple gardens; sailing boats; and scribes registering slaves, papyrus-gathering, and cattle grazing and being branded. The lower register depicts the temple storehouses with a wine cellar and scenes of the activities within the temple and on the temple estates: scribes recording produce; a garden and shadufs; vintage with offerings to Renenutet; and temple workshops with carpenters, weavers, and baking. Interestingly, this sort of material would be expected in the outer room of an 18th Dynasty tomb. Perhaps it was added when it became clear that the first room was finished and the tomb owner had not yet died, allowing for the completion of further decoration.

The four pillars in the inner room each feature decoration on three sides. The pillars are identified by upper-case letters and the surfaces on each by lower-case letters. They are as follows:

Aa) The surface is divided into three registers. In the top register Neferhotep holds a brazier, accompanied by his wife. In the middle register are butchers, and, in the lowest, offering bringers.

³⁹² See Davies 1933, pl. 4, 41-49.

Ab) The deceased offers on braziers to Re-Harakhti.

Ac) Neferhotep's wife holds bouquets, with attendants and children.

Ca) The deceased and his wife offer on a brazier, and a servant presents ointment to them, with text mentioning Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari.

Cb) The deceased offers bouquets to Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari.

Cc) Neferhotep, holding a staff, goes forth to the Valley Festival.

Ba) The surface is divided into three registers. The top depicts Neferhotep pouring incense, with his wife, who holds a bouquet, accompanying him. The middle register depicts butchers, and the bottom, offering-bringers.

Bb) This surface is also divided into three registers. In the uppermost, the deceased offers on braziers to Osiris, while the second and third are peopled by offering bringers.

Da) This surface is divided into three registers. In the upper, the deceased and his wife pour incense on braziers. In register II, there are butchers, and in III, more offering bringers.

Db) [Neferhotep offers a bouquet to Anubis] accompanied by offering bringers and clappers below.

Dc) Neferhotep and his wife adore while a priest and offering bringer stand before another priest below them.

On either side of the shrine are sculptural elements. On the right at 18) is a stela with two registers. In the upper register, a man offers to a seated Osiris accompanied by the Western Goddess. In the lower register, a male figure offers to a couple. The space above the stela is decorated with Anubis jackals. On the left at 20), a pilaster defines the space in much the same way as the stela did on the other side. Here the Western Goddess embraces the deceased, and there is a sub-scene with offering bringers. On the right at 17) Neferhotep offers a bouquet to Osiris and the Western Goddess, and a sub-scene shows offerings stands. The wall on the left at 19) is divided into two registers: in the upper register, Neferhotep and his wife offers to Osiris and a goddess on a brazier; in the unfinished lower register, he offers on a brazier to Anubis.

The shrine in TT 49 features three pair statues, each within their own niche. The central couple at 23) is Neferhotep and his wife, installed as the center of the offering cult.³⁹³ The pair statues on the north and south are smaller and have no text to identify them.³⁹⁴ In the northern wall space in front of the statues at 23) is a small but beautiful scene representing the goddess Hathor as a cow with a small figure of the king between her forelegs, standing in her kiosk before a table of offerings.³⁹⁵ Followed by his wife, two sons or servants, and two blind singers, Neferhotep pours incense on her altar.³⁹⁶

³⁹³ For translation of offering texts that surround the central couple on the frame around their sculptures, see Davies 1933, 64-65.

³⁹⁴ Small damaged offering scenes to Osiris, a blind harper, musicians, and mourners remain in the interstitial places around the sculpture at 21) and 22); for the description of these scenes and the offering texts that accompany them, see Davies 1933, 65.

³⁹⁵ Ibid. pl. 54.

³⁹⁶ The author has no way to confirm the figure of Neferhotep before the altar or the figures that follow him, as the plates show no such detail. Instead, the figures are described by Davies 1933, 66.

Tomb: TT 51

Name of Tomb Owner: Userhet called Neferhabef

Known Title(s): High Priest of Tuthmosis I³⁹⁷

Date: Seti I³⁹⁸

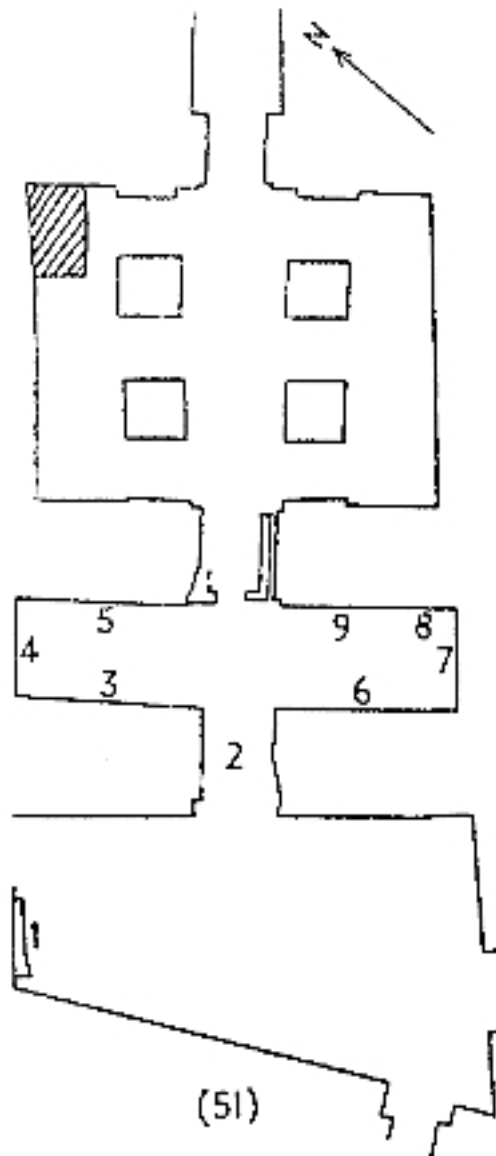
Area: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Medium: painting

Sources: Porter and Moss 2004; Davies 1927; MMA Archive Photos; Author Photos

³⁹⁷ This title and others that refer to the same position are the only ones found in the tomb: “High Priest of the King’s Temple”; “High Priest of Akheperkare (Tuthmosis I)”; “High Priest in Khnumet-anekh Temple (Mortuary Temple of Tuthmosis I on West Bank.)”; “High Priest of the Royal Spirit of Akheperkare”; “High Priest of the Temple of Akheperkare.” Kitchen 1993, v. I, 271-278.

³⁹⁸ The tomb is dated to the reign of Seti I based on cartouches of Seti I and Ramesses I on the robe of a priest depicted in the tomb. Hofmann 2004, 26.



TT 51 is a T-shaped tomb with a decorated transverse hall and an undecorated square inner room with four square pillars. A damaged stela stands in the courtyard before it, to the left of the entrance at 1). It seems likely (based on the extant sandstone frame on the left side) that it was once entirely framed in sandstone and featured a

corniced lintel.³⁹⁹ The image on the stela shows Userhet's mummy standing before his tomb as his wife kneels in mourning at his feet.⁴⁰⁰ The text below is a standard offering formula but features an interesting addition in which Userhet says:

“My [office was (that of)] a priest who entered the temple.”- (so)
the High priest of [Akheperkare, Userhat] [.. born of] the Lady [of
the house, Chantress] of Montu Lord or Armant, Tewostret, [his]
Lady of the house (being) [Hat]shepsut; (with) his son Raemwia,
his son Huy, and his [son..].⁴⁰¹

Userhet's clear statement that his official duties allow him access to the temple makes an interesting addition to the formulaic offering text.

The thicknesses to the tomb entrance are now lost, but Davies and PM record that the right one had an image of Userhet entering the tomb and a hymn to Re.⁴⁰² The decoration of the transverse hall is rendered in brilliant color, and its scenes have survived relatively well. The content does not cross corners and move onto adjoining walls as in some other tombs (such as Kenro); instead, the ends of the walls serve as the ends of the scenes. Individual scenes are separated from one another not by a framing vertical line but rather by the orientation of their figures.

³⁹⁹ Davies 1933, 3.

⁴⁰⁰ See, Davies 1927, pl. 19, no. 6.

⁴⁰¹ For the full translation of the offering text, see Kitchen 1993, v. I, 271-272.

⁴⁰² For a translation of the fragmentary hymn to Re, see *Ibid.*, 272.

A thick garland of blue-tinged flower petals divides wall 3) into two registers (Fig. 88). The upper register is shorter than the bottom, which is divided into two sub-registers by a thin black line. The subject matter represented in the lowest register comes first in the sequence represented on the wall. Here Userhet is seen departing the palace environs after having received gifts from the king. The fragmentary depiction of the temple is visible on the right hand side of the wall, and, near the middle of the wall, Userhet leaves its gates. This scene does not represent Userhet in the presence of the king actually receiving the gifts at the window of appearances, although such a scene occurs in other tombs. Instead the artists portrayed the moments after his royal audience. Userhet leaves the palace accompanied by figures who hold bouquets and other gifts from the king. Userhet himself wears several golden broad collars, apparently given to him by the king for his service. Servants, women playing instruments, a child, and his wife greet him as he returns, acclaiming

[How great] is the reward of those who know him whom Amun makes to be satisfied- (even) Pharaoh, LPH, the great Lord of Egypt! You shall give rewards to generations yet unborn, O Pharaoh, LPH, Lord of us all!⁴⁰³

Beyond the welcoming party, on the left end of the wall, a chariot waits for Userhet, and below that are more stands of gifts with an attendant. The upper part of the lower register shows Userhet's funeral procession, his last rites before the tomb, and Userhet adoring the Western Goddess. The procession begins on the left end of the wall and moves toward the "west" on the right. First comes Userhet's bier, pulled by three cows. Servants

⁴⁰³ Translation, Kitchen 1993, v. I, p. 272.

carrying boxes of funerary goods, fans, and food offerings accompany the bier. The bier is followed by a group of mourning nobles, who are grouped in four rows of three. The individuals in the first trio are identified as: “The priest Userpehty; the priest Amenhotep; the chief of the workshop-stores of Amun, Nebimose.”⁴⁰⁴ The second trio is: “The priest Neferhabef; (the scribe of the god’s treasury, Nakht); the priest Nebseny.”⁴⁰⁵ A group of female mourners meets the funeral procession before the scene transitions to that of priests libating and censuring before the two standing mummies. The priests’ recitations--the standard offering formula--are recorded.⁴⁰⁶ Behind this scene, in the right corner of the register, a figure of the deceased adores the Western Goddess, who stands before a pyramidal structure covered in garlands and bouquets, representing the tomb.⁴⁰⁷

So far a progression in time has been rendered on this wall: the events occurring during Userhet’s life are represented in the lowest part of the wall, the events that occurred at his death appear in the center, and moving to the upper register leads to those scenes that depict his experience of the transfer to and reception in the afterlife. Once again, in the upper register, action moves from left to right (as seen with Userhet’s funeral procession). In the leftmost part of the wall, Anubis leads Userhet into the hall of judgment, where the goddess Maat stands presiding over the scales. Ammit sits below the scales waiting for the outcome, and Thoth seems to adjust the right pan. Instead of an image of the goddess Maat or the feather of *maat* on the pan opposing the heart of the

⁴⁰⁴ Kitchen 1993, v. I, p. 273.

⁴⁰⁵ The second name and title is rendered in parenthesis because its record only exists in Davies’ records and can no longer be confirmed. Ibid.

⁴⁰⁶ For full text of offering formula, see Ibid.

⁴⁰⁷ Although the figure adoring here is named “Amenmose,” this name was written on plaster, which initially would have had the name of Userhet.

deceased, there is a small figure of Userhat. This anomaly notwithstanding, the center of the register shows that Userhet passed the test; he next appears kneeling before the enthroned Osiris, behind whom stands the Western Goddess. After his audience with Osiris, the final scene on in the upper register (in the right hand corner) shows Userhet kneeling before the Western Goddess and Re-Harakhti with the souls of Pe and Nekhen and three baboons. In the upper register, the areas for text have been blocked out, but, aside from the labels identifying Userhet, none has been filled in. The text of Chapter 30B in the area above Userhet's entrance into the hall of judgment seems likely to have been intended.

The band of pale blue petals that appears on wall 3) also divides the northern east wall 6) into two registers (Fig. 89). The lower one depicts Userhet with his head shaved and priestly leopard-skin robe, accompanied by two other similarly attired priests and three women bringing offerings to the enthroned figure of Mont, who is accompanied by Meret-seger on the right end of the wall. The figures take up the entire height of the register, leaving little room for text beyond that which identifies them. The offering table between the offerants and the deities is huge. The two priests behind Userhet are identified as: "High priest of the Royal Spirit of Akheperkare, Akheperkare-<sonb>" and "High priest of Ankheperkare, Nebmehyt, born of..."⁴⁰⁸ Frequently family members share similar offices, so the fact that both of these men have titles in the same priesthood as Userhet could suggest that they are relations of his. These men could be sons, brothers, or perhaps friends. Behind the men, the first woman is identified as Userhet's wife, Hatshepsut or "Shepsut," and she is given the title "favorite of Hathor Lady of Heaven,

⁴⁰⁸ Kitchen 1993, v. I, 274.

Mistress of the two lands.”⁴⁰⁹ Unfortunately the other two women’s names are lost. The adoration of the god Montu in this context could relate to the title held by Userhet’s mother, Tausret, who is “Songstress of Mont,” but there could be other reasons for the veneration of this god in this tomb.

In the upper register of wall 6), the action moves from the left end of the wall toward an enthroned figure in a kiosk at the right end. This is much like the action in the register below, only in this case there are three consecutive scenes. On the left end of the wall, Userhet, standing before a pile of offerings, holds out his hands. Very little of the text above him remains, but there is enough to identify it as a hymn of praise to Osiris. In the next scene, a large figure of Userhet kneels and is purified by eight priests. The text accompanying him on the left reads: “Pure, pure, for the Osiris, High Priest of the Royal Spirit of Akheperkare, Akheperkare-sonb, justified.”⁴¹⁰ The name “Akheperkare-sonb” has been plastered over that of Userhet in this scene; it seems to be same man who is represented behind him in the scene in the lower register. The meaning of this emendation is unclear. Such a thing occurred also in the upper sub-register of the lower register on wall 3), where the name of Userhet was plastered over by “The High Priest of the Royal Spirit of Akheperkare, Amenmose” when he is shown standing before the Western Goddess. Why such changes would have been made for people otherwise legitimately represented in the tomb originally is unclear. The text over the right half of the scene depicting Userhet’s purification has a text similar to that on the left and was also usurped, but this time for Amenmose’s son. However, this name is lost, and

⁴⁰⁹ Kitchen 1993, v. I, 274.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid.

Userhet's remains in the plaster beneath.⁴¹¹ In the final scene on this wall, Userhet kneels before the figure of the enthroned Osiris in his kiosk, with Thoth and Anubis and three rows of members of Ogdoads.⁴¹² Userhet offers a prayer to Osiris:

Words spoken by Osiris, for the spirit of the High Priest of the [Royal] Spirit of Akheperkare, Userhat, justified. He (Userhat!) says: "Hail to you, O Lord of Eternity-to the Prince {of Eternity} and Everlasting, that they (sic) may grant a happy lifetime following your Will, and a good burial after old age, on the West of Thebes, Place of Truth-for the spirit of the High Priest, Userhat."⁴¹³

The short walls of the tomb, 4) and 7), formally share some compositional elements. Both feature two registers (one of each pair being larger than the other), and both have very carefully and beautifully rendered flora. Wall 4) is in the southern end of the transverse hall (Fig. 90). It is divided into two registers with a thin black line, and the upper register is shorter than the bottom. In the larger, lower register, although the scene is damaged, Userhet and his wife Shepsut appear seated beneath a grape arbor (Fig. 92). Userhet sits on a collapsible stool while Shepsut occupies a roll of cloth or cushion. A dog may once have been depicted sitting below Userhet's chair. Situated on the left end

⁴¹¹ Kitchen 1993, v. I, 275.

⁴¹² The Ogdoads are identified as: top row: "Osiris; the gods of the East of heaven, Lords of Eternity. All the gods who rest in the Necropolis. The gods, Lords of Everlasting, in the presence of Wenenufer." Middle row: "Osiris; the Conclave of Gods, of the South of heaven. The Conclave of Gods, of the Northern heaven. The Conclave of Gods, of the West of heaven." Bottom row: "Mesti, Lord of Eternity; Hapy, Duamutef; Qebhsenu<f>." Ibid.

⁴¹³ Ibid.

of the wall, the two face a pond, the corner of which, ringed with water plants, is still visible. Shepsut holds a pole out toward the pond, and Userhet, while still facing right, twists back to hand her another. Despite the damage, based on analogous scenes in other tombs (TT 324, 157, and 215), it seems that Userhet is fishing with two poles and two lines and has caught a fish or two on one line; here he is shown handing a pole back to his wife to bait for him.⁴¹⁴ The only legible text in this scene identifies Userhet and his wife.⁴¹⁵ This sort of scene could fall under the heading of “daily life,” a type that is said to have been lost from the canon of Ramesside tomb decoration. While such scenes did become rarer, they do appear from time to time, as seen here.

In the upper register, three male figures adore and offer before a seated falcon-headed deity. The damage in the scene makes the identity of the deity unclear. This could represent Re, Montu, or Re-Harakhti. Montu appears adored on wall 6), so possibly Userhet and his family had a special interest in the god, but, without more information, the identity of the god remains unclear. The identity of the three men adoring is even more interesting. The first, wearing a vizier’s seal around his neck, is identified as “The hereditary Noble and Count, City-governor, and Vizier, Iyemhotep.”⁴¹⁶ This identification is followed by three more, but only two more figures are represented. The text reads:

⁴¹⁴ Davies 1933, 20.

⁴¹⁵ Kitchen 1993, v. I, p. 273.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid.

His dear son, the High Priest of Amun, Hapusonb, justified. His father, High priest of Amun, Khonsem[hab?]. Their son who perpetuates their name(s), the High Priest of the Royal Spirit of Akheperkare, Userhat, called Neferbanef, justified.⁴¹⁷

These individuals are represented as ancestors or relations of Userhet, but the truth of the statements is difficult to know partly because of the difficulty of the kinship terminology (i.e., when “his son” is written, the antecedent of “he” is not clear), the prevalence of certain names, and the historical information against which these assertions can be checked. Imhotep was a vizier under Tuthmosis I, and Hapuseneb served as a vizier for some period under Hatshepsut, but whether they were related is not known.⁴¹⁸ However, it does not seem that Imhotep’s father was Khonsemhab, so perhaps this was Userhet’s father?⁴¹⁹ The ultimate importance of these named figures is Userhet’s inclusion of them as part of his lineage, which adds to his status and that of his family and also provides an interesting relationship with his professional life, as Imhotep was the vizier under the king in whose mortuary cult Userhet is employed.

On the opposing short wall 7), the upper register takes up almost the entire height of the wall, reminiscent of the stela that dominated the short walls of transverse halls in the 18th Dynasty. The painting in this scene is one of the most beautiful in the tomb. Here Userhet sits with his wife, Hatshepsut, and his mother (or possibly her mother), Chantress of Montu, Tewosret (Fig. 89). Both women are called “justified” and are possibly

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

⁴¹⁸ Davies 1933, 21-22.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid.

deceased. Enveloped by a beautifully rendered tree, with leaves and fruit cascading around them, these three sit before a standing image of the tree goddess, who holds one arm up to pour water into their waiting cups and offers a tray of food to them with her other hand. Userhet reaches forward to take a fig or date from the tray. Between the goddess and the seated family is a small T-shaped pool, from which two *ba* birds drink, presumably representing the *bas* of Userhet and his wife. Above the seated women fly two more birds with human heads, perhaps a second representation of the *bas* of those assembled. Below the ladies' chairs are broad collars and garlands. The lines blocked out for text above the tree goddess are blank but perhaps would have been filled with text from Chapter 59 of the *Book of the Dead*. Here the threesome is shown enjoying the bounty of the afterlife, and perhaps this can be viewed as a parallel to the fishing scene directly opposite it on wall 4).

Below the tree-goddess scene is a short register with a mirrored scene depicting the journey to and from Abydos. On the left, figures of Userhet and his wife appear facing left on a boat with a covered deck. They are then represented standing and offering praise before the enthroned Osiris.⁴²⁰ On the right is a mirrored scene with the couple in a boat facing to the right, while the next image shows them standing before an enthroned figure of Anubis. The text that accompanies this scene is very similar to that on the left.⁴²¹

The south focal wall of TT 51 is PM wall 5). The wall is divided into three registers of similar height, with the upper two depicting if not one event then at least

⁴²⁰ For the translation of their speech, see Kitchen 1993, v. I, 275.

⁴²¹ For the translation of the speech, see Ibid., 276.

related subject matter, and that in the lowest register being discrete from the upper two. The lowest register has suffered the most damage, but it is likely that a figure of Userhet, perhaps seated and accompanied by his wife, was once found in the left corner. Still extant are leftward-facing male figures with offerings. Perhaps the object of their adoration was Userhet. Behind these figures are rows of funerary goods, including coffins, masks, food, liquids, and jewelry.⁴²²

The upper two registers on this wall depict an event or events in Userhet's professional life as a priest in the mortuary cult of Tuthmosis I. In the upper register, Userhet stands before the temple gate adoring a bark that held the cult statue of the deified king Tuthmosis I. Several attendants aid Userhet while a row of offering bringers stands waiting beside the temple gate or just beyond it. In this scene, the bark of the king faces right, and Userhet faces left. This scene coupled with that below suggests that these two registers depict a festival for the king and likely not the Userhet's daily activities in the temple. The middle register shows two more scenes likely from the same festival. On the left is a ceremonial lake, with fish and water plants, across which the bark of the king, with his statue inside, is pulled to the right by figures. On either side of the lake are trees and booths manned by figures with offerings. Though the sequence is debatable, the scene seemingly continues on the right half of the register. Here, a number of standing male nobles, followed by servants or priests, greet the bark of the king.⁴²³ Behind them a large statue of the king is censed, mourned, and fanned. A large male figure stands

⁴²² For the fragmentary text above those confronting Userhet, see *Ibid.*, 274.

⁴²³ Several of the nobles are named: "Hereditary noble, [...]; [...] Ahmose; Chief of the Treasury, Nebmeh[yt] (?); Superintendent of Chamberlains (?) of His [Majesty?], Amenhotep; Lieutenant of the A[rmy], Mai-em-heqa, justified." There was a later addition of a name in plaster as well. Kitchen 1993, v. I, 274.

behind the statue of the king, and, although this part of the scene is lost, it may well have been the figure of Userhet. Here Userhet chose to emphasize his official duties, particularly those that put him in direct contact with the statue of the deified king. That this was a central element of his projected identity is clear not only from the placement of the scenes on this focal wall but also the coordinating material found on the other focal wall 9) in register II.

The north (right) focal wall is given two numbers in PM because its right and left sides have different subject matter in both registers (Fig. 93). The central part of the focal (that closest to the central axis of the tomb and most visible to visitors walking toward the shrine) is 9). The material in each register at 9) takes up the majority of the wall. The entire wall is divided into two registers. In the upper register at 9), a large figure of Osiris is enthroned in an elaborate kiosk. The god faces right and has his back to the doorway into the inner room. Before him is a large table of offerings with the figures of Userhet, his wife Hatshepsut, a second wife identified as “His Sister, Lady of the house, Chantress of Amun, [plastered out],” and his son, “High Priest of Akheperkare, Tuthmose.”⁴²⁴ They all stand before Osiris, offering on Userhet’s behalf. As has been shown, this scene is almost a constant on focal walls and almost always appears in the upper register. The orientation of Osiris, with his back to the door to the inner room, can also indicate his location in the westernmost part of the tomb, where the shrine and the entrance to the afterlife are found. In the register below at 9) is a compositionally very similar scene, but, instead of Osiris, here the seated figure in the kiosk is that of Tuthmosis I, with Queen Ahmose standing behind him. Once again, Userhet stands before the kiosk and a table of

⁴²⁴ Kitchen 1933, v. I, p. 277.

offerings with two women, and, this time, also a small girl. The female figures here are identified as: “His mother, Lady of the house, Chantress of Amen-re, King of the Gods, Henttawy, justified; His sister, Lady of the House, Chantress of [...plastered over...].”⁴²⁵ The identification of the first female figure behind Userhet as his mother, Henttawy, is strange because his mother was identified elsewhere in the tomb as a Chantress of Montu names Tausert. Perhaps Henttawy is the mother of his wife, Hatshepsut? The woman whose name has been plastered over is likely Userhet’s wife, Hatshepsut; the identity of the small girl with her is unknown. The parallels between this scene and the one above it are clear, but furthermore the scene of the adoration of Tuthmosis I relates to the others (on opposing focal wall 5)) showing Userhet’s involvement in this king’s mortuary cult. The emphasis given to Userhet’s role in this royal cult is clear.

On the right end of the north focal wall are the four stacked scenes found at 8). The wall is divided into two registers by a band of pale blue flower petals here and at 9), as well as on walls 3), 6), and part of 5). However, each register has been split again into two sub-registers, creating four similar stacked scenes. In each a couple sits on the right end of the wall before a table of offerings. On the other side of each table are officiants and kneeling mourning women. The couples in the top three scenes are identified as Userhet and his wife Hatshepsut, but the in bottom scene the man of couple is identified as “High Priest of the Royal Spirit of Ankheperkare, Nebmehyt,” while the woman is unidentified.⁴²⁶ The same Nebmehyt appears on wall 6) offering to Montu and Meretseger with Userhet, but his relationship to the tomb owner is not given. These scenes, while somewhat awkwardly placed at the end of the wall, provide a nice depiction

⁴²⁵ Ibid.

⁴²⁶ Kitchen 1933, v. I 276.

of the relationships between those represented and therefore also the ideal relationships between deities and individuals in Egyptian society. In the upper register on this focal wall, Userhet adores one of the seminal gods of ancient Egypt who controls the afterlife: that Osiris would take the place of highest status on the wall is entirely sensible. Often in the register below such a scene on a focal wall the tomb owner will appear receiving offerings in Osiris's position. In this case, Userhet instead shows a person of status secondary to Osiris but still quite a bit higher than himself: Tuthmosis I, the deified king in whose temple he works. Not wanting to leave himself entirely unrepresented as the recipient of offerings, however, Userhet uses the end of the wall to show himself in this role. The hierarchical nature of the relationships is reinforced not only by their placement but also in the relative size of the figures; Osiris and Tuthmosis are larger than the images of Userhet, even when Userhet is represented as the one honored.

Tomb: TT 111

Name of Tomb Owner: Amenwahsu

Known Title(s): Scribe of the Sacred Books in the House of Amun; Scribe in the House of Life⁴²⁷

Date: 2nd half of the reign of Ramesses II⁴²⁸

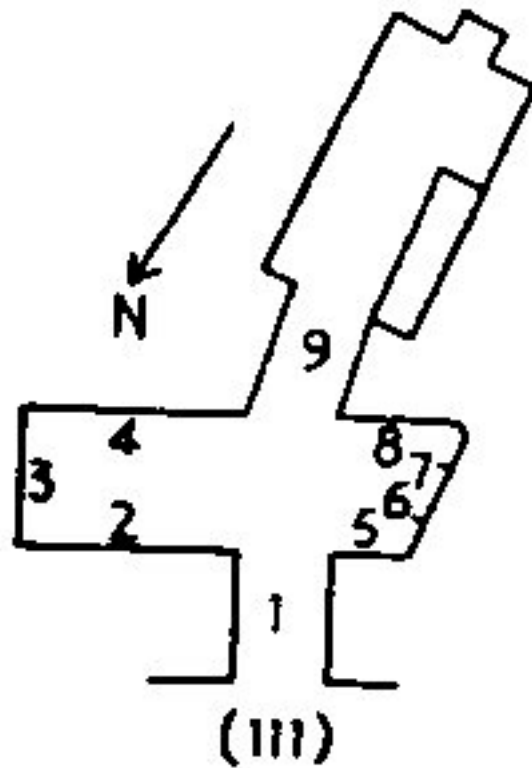
Area: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Medium: painting

Sources: Porter and Moss 2004; Kitchen 1993

⁴²⁷ For titles see Kitchen 1993, v. III, p. 217-219.

⁴²⁸ Dated to second half of reign of Ramesses II based on the fact that the father of the tomb owner was already working in the mortuary temple of Ramesses II.



The tomb of Amenwahsu is a T-shaped tomb with a bent inner room and attenuated right wing of the transverse hall. There is no extant decoration in the inner room or the shrine area of the tomb, but decoration remains at the entrance to the tomb (PM 1), all walls of the transverse hall (PM walls 2-8), and the thicknesses of the entrance to the inner room (PM 9). The tomb records a number of titles for Amenwahsu: “leader in the House of Amun,” “wa’b priest of Sekhmet, [who purifies the offering table,...],” “Festival-leader of all the gods in their annual feasts,” “[...], guide of the (god’s) Barque in safety, with spells of glorification from his mouth.”⁴²⁹ The most

⁴²⁹ This series of titles is found on wall 4); see Kitchen 1993, v. III, 219.

frequently recorded title of the deceased, both in the tomb and on stelae mentioning him, is “scribe of the sacred book(s) in the House of Amun,” and therefore it is reasonable to suggest that this was his main title. The aforementioned stelae, one in Tübingen and one in the Louvre, mention Amenwahsu, but the only addition or perhaps alteration of his title is found on the Louvre piece: scribe of tracking of the House of Life.⁴³⁰

Upon entering the tomb, the visitor encounters decoration on both thicknesses of the entrance. On the left (south) thickness, the surface is divided into two registers. In the upper register, the deceased and his wife are represented in adoration and are accompanied by a hymn to the sun. Although there are no images or further information about this scene, it is likely that the figures of the deceased and his wife face out of the tomb, as the hymn to the sun is generally recorded with figures oriented toward its rising in the east. In the second register, a [man?] offers to Amenwahsu and his wife. On the right thickness, the tomb owner, accompanied by his wife and daughter, is also seen adoring. Whether there was a hymn to Osiris or any other text at this location is not recorded.

The published information regarding the exact placement and content of the scenes is not very detailed, but it seems that all the walls in the outer room are divided into two registers. While it is unclear if they have the strong “picture-strip” divisions, which facilitate continuous reading of scenes across walls in each register, the nature of the scenes suggests that perhaps they do. A second clue to the possible relationship between scenes on contiguous walls comes from Kitchen, where he describes one scene

⁴³⁰ Louvre Stela C. 210. For text found on these two stelae, see Kitchen 1993, v. III, p. 219-221.

on multiple walls.⁴³¹ The content on the walls is described by PM as “Book of Gates,” but PM usually use this title for Chapter 146 of the *Book of the Dead* which is misleading because the *Book of the Dead* and the *Book of Gates* are two different funerary books, with the latter appearing almost exclusively in the context of royal tombs. In this case, the “Book of Gates” is taken to mean scenes from the *Book of the Dead*. Much of the content in the upper register is unknown, with PM only saying it contains “Scenes” from the *Book of the Dead* and Kitchen giving brief descriptions in order to clarify the meaning of the associated text.

In register II on wall 2), Amenwahsu recites the negative confession in the presence of the assessors, a scene corresponding to the *Book of the Dead* Chapter 125. Two women apparently accompany Amenwahsu in the scene. Their identities are not entirely clear, but one bears the name Suemopet.⁴³² On the short south wall 3), Amenwahsu and his wife, accompanied by two rows of his children, offer to his parents. Here the text associated with Amenwahsu’s father dates the tomb. It identifies him, Simut, as “The Osiris, Chief Draughtsman of the Lord of Both Lands in every monument of Amun in Karnak--who inscribes the mighty name of the goodly god in the Temple of Usimare Setepenre in the Estate of Amun on the West Bank of Thebes.”⁴³³ The two rows of Amenwahsu’s children, all with names, emphasize the role of the tomb as a family

⁴³¹ Kitchen 1993, v. III, p. 219.

⁴³² Before the negative confessions is the scribal “colophon”: “Words spoken by the Osiris, Scribe of the Sacred Book(s) in the House of Amun, Amenwahsu, justified, when he adores the Horizon-god; (even) the God’s Father of Re-Atum, wa’b priest of Sekhmet, who purifies the offering table; Scribe of the Sacred Book(s). The text was inscribed in his tomb by the Scribe of the House of Life, Amenwahsu, with his own hand.” Kitchen 1993, v. III, p. 218.

⁴³³ Ibid.

monument.⁴³⁴ On the southern focal wall, 4), the weighing of the heart scene before the Ogdoad is represented, as is the presentation before Osiris. The latter is a scene frequently found on focal walls, and the composition is expected to be much like those found in papyrus copies of the *Book of the Dead* and other tomb walls, with Osiris enthroned in a kiosk as the deceased and others face him. In all likelihood Osiris is on the right end of this wall, flanking the door to the inner room on the left side, and Amenwahsu and other figures approach him from the left end of the wall. This scene is unusual in its placement in the lower register. It is typically expected in the upper register, but because of the scanty understanding of the placement and condition of this tomb, this must be left as an unknown for the time being.

Very little information is available for the north focal wall, 8), except that in the upper register there is a figure of a man adoring deities apparently from the *Book of the Dead* and accompanied by the text: “For the spirit of the Osiris, Servant of the House of Amun, King of the Gods, Pa-iabty, justified.”⁴³⁵ In the lower register, apparently also moving onto wall 7), is an image of the man from register I and his wife adoring deities again, with the identifying text: “For the spirit of the Osiris, Servant of the House of Amun, Pa-iabty, justified; and his Sister, his dear daughter, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun, Hepet, [...rest lost...].”⁴³⁶ The relationship between Pa-ibty, Hepet and Amenwahsu is unclear, as neither is mentioned in the genealogies recorded in the tomb or on other stelae.

⁴³⁴ For names of children, see *Ibid.*, 218-219.

⁴³⁵ Kitchen 1993, v. III, 219.

⁴³⁶ *Ibid.*

According to PM, the Fields of Iaru are represented in the lower register on northeastern wall 5).

Tomb: TT 133

Name of Tomb Owner: Neferrenpet

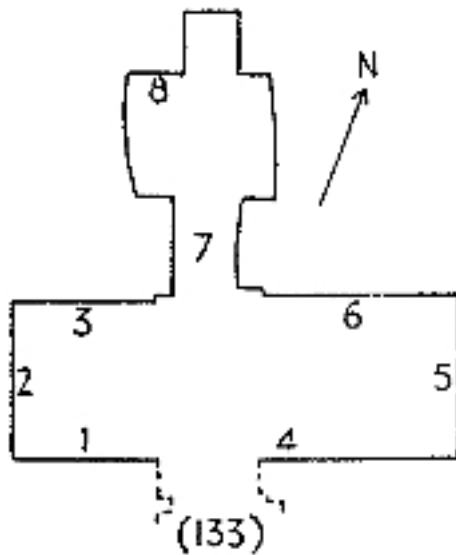
Known Title(s): Chief of the Weavers of the Ramesseum in the Estate of Amun on the West Bank of Thebes; Chief of Weavers of the Lord of Both Lands⁴³⁷

Date: 2nd half of the reign of Ramesses II⁴³⁸

Area: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Medium: painting

Sources: Porter and Moss 2004; Kitchen 1993; Davies 1948; Author Photos



The tomb of Neferrenpet is a small T-shaped tomb that has suffered heavy loss.⁴³⁹

Much of the original plaster has fallen off the walls, and, during fieldwork undertaken in

⁴³⁷ Ibid. 275-276.

⁴³⁸ Dated to the second half of the reign of Ramesses II based on style, Hofmann 2004, p. 26.

⁴³⁹ The transverse hall is about 14 x 5 feet and the inner room 4.5 x 4 feet. Davies 1948, 49.

2010, that which is left was found to be heavily abraded and dirty. There is more decoration extant in the transverse hall than in the inner room and shrine, and it seems that, while the inner room did have mud wall preparation on most surfaces, not all of them were painted. The tomb owner, Neferrenpet, has one main title that is repeated several times in the tomb's extant texts: chief of the weavers in the temple of Usimare Setepenre in the estate of Amun on the west bank of Thebes.⁴⁴⁰

In the outer room, it is clear that a thick, blue line divided the walls into two registers. The blue line and register divisions are clearly visible on walls 1), 3), and 6), and, although there has been too much loss on walls 2), 4), and 5) to see the register division, the scale of the figures and the continuous organization of scenes across walls (see corner between walls 1) and 2) etc.) support the idea that the blue register division once ran across all walls. Register II on walls 1), 2), and 3) contained the funeral procession. It begins on wall 1) with a barge carrying the mummy towed by two boats toward the right end of the wall (Fig. 94).⁴⁴¹ Register II on wall 2) is lost, but it can be assumed that the representation of the procession continued on this wall because its resolution is shown in a continuous fashion in register II on wall 3), the south focal wall. Here, two mummies are shown standing before their tomb undergoing the final internment rituals.

⁴⁴⁰ This title or a similar one ("chief of the weavers of the Lord of Both Lands") appears in the tomb six times for Neferrenpet. Another title that may have been associated with Neferrenpet is seen, but due to the damage and loss it is not clear and could refer to another figure. The title, "Chief of the Carrying-Chair(s) of the Kings of Southern and the Kings of Northern [Egypt...]" is found on wall 2). Kitchen 1993, v. III, 275.

⁴⁴¹ A partially legible text above this scene reads: "[Said by those in] the great bark of the West, 'Come, cross in peace to the West, you who have (?) given bread to the hungry. Water to the thirsty, and a loin-cloth to the naked.'" Davies 1948, 51.

The upper registers on the south side of the transverse room are not quite as linear as those in the lower register. The scene in the upper register on wall 1) is perhaps the most unusual in the tomb, and Davies identifies it as the principal reason he took the time to publish the tomb, albeit in five pages.⁴⁴² The upper register on wall 1) relates directly to Neferenpet's title as head of the weavers of the Ramesseum. The upper register is broken into three smaller registers that are divided by thin black lines rather than the thick blue one that divides the principal registers. In these three sub-registers, the activities of the weavers in the Ramesseum are depicted (Fig. 95). In the upper two sub-registers, men and women, accompanied by a child in the uppermost sub-register, move from left to right on the wall, bringing fibers toward the weaving shed depicted in the lowest sub-register. In the middle sub-register Davies identifies part of a balance on which fiber is being weighed, although it is very difficult to confirm this reading with the extant material. The most extant decoration is found in the lowest sub-register, which shows the weaving shed. A man holding a stick sits at the door and seems to be raising his arms in exclamation; two children are seen above him, perhaps having been ejected from the weaving shed. Inside, male and female figures are involved in the production of cloth, stretching fibers, cleaning, and preparing them for the four upright looms that are depicted. While the scene contains no clear identification of Neferrenpet, the feet of a slightly larger figure appear next to the scale in the middle sub-register. This may have been the tomb owner overseeing the work, or he may have been depicted in another now lost part of the scene. Here the care with which Neferrenpet decided to depict his work clearly relates to his official identity.

⁴⁴² Ibid., 49.

The upper registers on wall 2) and 3) relate to one another but not directly to the material in register I on wall 1). The upper register on wall 2), though fragmentary, shows Neferrenpet and his wife adoring a baboon-headed guardian at a gate. This scene is part of Chapter 146 of *the Book of the Dead*, in which the deceased must, by use of specialized knowledge, pass each guardian by giving their name. Another gate is shown next, but the figure in the gate is lost. Beyond this scene is an attenuated image of the deceased and his wife adoring the Hathor cow coming out of the western hills (Fig. 96). The upper register on wall 3) features the resolution to Neferrenpet's journey to the afterlife. Here, Neferrenpet and his wife stand before the enthroned Osiris in his kiosk accompanied by the goddess Hathor and another goddess. As seen before, the kiosk of Osiris flanks the entrance to the inner room and becomes the major image on focal wall 3).

The north side of the transverse hall has suffered perhaps a bit more than its southern counterpart. Wall 4) is almost completely gone, but in the left corner near the doorway to the courtyard remains a fragment of the upper register showing the head of Neferrenpet, likely offering. Another small fragment, unmentioned in Davies or Porer and Moss, shows a part of the lower register on the right. Here, three seated figures face to the left; perhaps they were once part of an offering or banquet scene. On wall 5) only the upper part of the top register is extant, but its subject matter is clear: Neferrenpet and his wife are depicted twice at either end of the wall, facing the tree goddess and drinking. On the right, Neferrenpet holds his *ba* in his hand and cups his hands to his mouth to drink from the tree. This scene is also part of the *Book of the Dead* (Chapter 59), and text above the scene confirms that the figures are Neferrenpet and his wife depicted twice and

records the tree goddess's speech: "Words spoken by Nut: 'Receive for yourself, (food)-offerings and cool water.'"⁴⁴³

On the northern focal wall 6), the lower register features two scenes, with that on the right being badly damaged but (according to Davies) similar to that on the left. Here the deceased and his wife are seated, receiving offerings from a priest clad in a leopard skin, perhaps a son or other male relation (Fig. 97). The scene in the upper register here is similar to that found in the upper register on focal wall 3). At the left end of the wall, Osiris, enthroned in his kiosk and accompanied by Isis and Nephthys, receives offerings and adoration from Neferrenpet, who is followed by four women and a girl. It is interesting that the scene would be so similar to that on focal wall 3), as it might instead be expected that here would be found either the deceased interacting with a king (deified or living) or even an image of the tomb owner receiving offerings, like the one seen below it in register II on wall 6). Perhaps this scene was chosen because Neferrenpet's profession did not put him in direct contact with images of deified kings or the king himself, so instead he represented his professional life on wall 1). Despite this, placement of the figures of Neferrenpet and his wife receiving offerings directly below those of Osiris and his sisters receiving offering draws a clear parallel between the tomb owner and the god whose role he aspires to mimic.

The kiosk scenes that flank either side of the entrance to the inner room herald the sacred nature of the space within and present a symmetrical composition to the visitor along the main axis of the tomb. Furthermore, figures of the deceased as mummies before their tomb in register II on focal wall 3) also connect to the image of the deceased

⁴⁴³ Kitchen 1993, v. III, p. 275.

receiving offerings in register II on focal wall 6). In these two scenes, the process by which the deceased attains an afterlife (successful performance of funerary rituals and offerings) are both represented, and their successful conclusion is seen above in the tomb owner's direct interaction with Osiris.

The entrance to the inner room is framed by two texts on the jambs, which begin at the center of the lintel and move down the jambs on either side. They are offering texts to the gods, on the south to “Amun, king of the gods, Atum, lord of Karnak, [Mont], lord of On of Upper Egypt, and Hathor over Thebes that they may give a good burial after old age, my mouth healthful (?). . .”⁴⁴⁴ On the north jamb, the text makes offerings to “Harakhti-Atum, the lord of the Two Lands of Heliopolis, the lord of sun-beams who makes brightness, and when he arises the gods adore him. . .”⁴⁴⁵ The two thicknesses both featured images of Neferrenpet and his wife facing out of the tomb, with a hymn to Osiris on the south and a hymn to Re in his eastern horizon on the north. As noted, the decoration in the inner room was likely never completed, and the only area of extant decoration is found to the left of the shrine in wall 8). The scene is essentially unreadable now, but Davies records that there was once a figure of a man adoring Osiris Khentamentet.⁴⁴⁶ Such content is not unusual for this part of the tomb. There is also significant extant text on the ceiling of the transverse halls, as well as a grape arbor

⁴⁴⁴ Davies 1948, 52.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid., 49.

depicted in the passage into the inner room at 7). The ceiling text features offering formulae for various deities.⁴⁴⁷

Tomb: TT 138

Name of Tomb Owner: Nedjemger

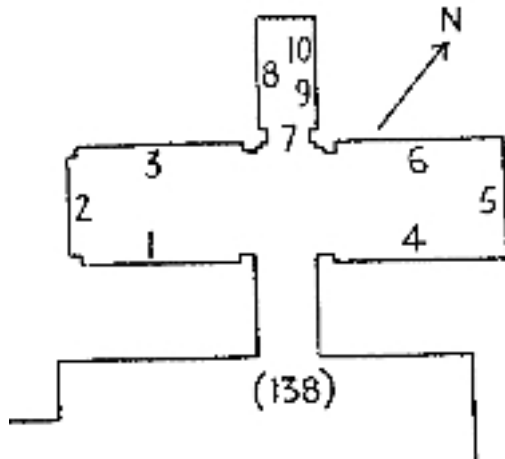
Known Title(s): Superintendent in the Garden in the Ramesseum in the Estate of Amun⁴⁴⁸

Date: 2nd half of the reign of Ramesses II⁴⁴⁹

Area: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Medium: painting

Sources: Porter and Moss 2004; Kitchen 1993; Feucht 2006



TT 138 is a T-shaped tomb with a small inner space that seems more like a niche than an inner room on account of its scale and the raised pedestal at the back (Fig. 98).

The tomb owner, Nedjemger, has only one title recorded in the tomb, although repeated

⁴⁴⁷ For translation of these ceiling texts, see Kitchen 1993, v. III, p. 276.

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 279-281.

⁴⁴⁹ Dated to the second half of the reign of Ramesses II based on style and his role in the Ramesseum, Hofmann 2004, 26.

several times: superintendent of garden(s) of the temple of Usimare Setepenre (Ramesseum) in the estate of Amun. The decoration on the walls has suffered significant damage, but the content of the scenes remains legible.

The southern or left half of the transverse room features a continuous narrative in each of its three registers. Each of the narratives begins on the eastern wall 1), moves over onto the short wall 2), and ends on focal wall 3). An unusual feature found in this half of the tomb is engaged pilasters, which divide the walls horizontally. On the east wall 1), two slender pilasters are extant; one runs down the center of the wall, and another is found in the corner.⁴⁵⁰ The west wall 3) also has a pilaster running down its center, but this has been damaged and does not extend to the top of the wall. These pilasters are not found in the northern wing of the hall or in the niche. The northern side of the transverse hall features a different type of wall organization, with the material on each wall being discrete.

As previously noted, the walls in the southern half of the transverse hall are each divided into three registers. Because each register features a continuous scene that is discrete from the other two, the decoration in each register will be described in turn and not by individual wall. All scenes begin on east wall 1), continue on wall 2), and end on focal wall 3). In each case the principal movement of figures is from the left to right. In the lowest register on wall 1), a pilaster and the orientation of the figures divide two scenes. The first, though damaged, shows Nedjemger in the garden of the Ramesseum (Fig. 99). On the left are the gates to the Ramesseum, in the center there are fragments of

⁴⁵⁰ Feucht measured the width of the pilasters on wall 1) at around 21 cm. Feucht 2006, 4.

a central pool or canal with shadufs flanked by trees, and on the right stands a figure of Nedjemger overseeing the men before him, with text giving his name and title and his words: “What does (it) mean, your judging my utterance in the open court of Nile-land.”⁴⁵¹

In the next scene on wall 1), there is at the right a seated figure of Nedjemger receiving flowers brought from the garden by male attendants who approach him from the left (Fig. 100). The attendants are accompanied by text:

We make the bouquets; see we make [...several groups lost...]
 Amun, the one (for whom?) you make [beautiful things??] greatly
 (??). He will cause you to flourish in the <King>'s Residence, you
 being in the favor of Pharaoh, L.P.H., your good Lord.⁴⁵²

Nedjemger responds:

The great ones [are for?] Re-Harakhti, Lord of Truth; may you take
 care in taking (these), (when) coming and bringing them daily for
 Amen-Re, King of the Gods, and his Conclave of Gods, to do (it),
 he being exceedingly good in... [... all else lost...]⁴⁵³

These two scenes clearly highlight Nedjemger's professional life as overseer of the garden of the Ramesseum.

⁴⁵¹ Kitchen 1993, v. III, p. 279.

⁴⁵² Kitchen 1993, v. III, 279.

⁴⁵³ Ibid.

On short wall 2), in the third register, one scene represents the funeral banquet (Fig. 101). The material on wall 1) and 2) is divided by another slender pilaster in the corner between them. Here, Nedjemger and his wife are seated on the right side of the scene, receiving garlands and vegetables from attendants. On the left, more seated guests are being served. While this scene is not directly related to those on wall 1), the prominence of the representation of the garlands and vegetables seen here does connect visually to those seen on wall 1).

Moving onto focal wall 3) in the lowest register, one again finds two scenes divided, as on wall 1), both by a pilaster and by the orientation of figures. The two scenes are almost identical, with Nedjemger and his wife seated on the right side receiving offerings from a priest wearing a leopard skin, who is followed by four kneeling figures (Fig. 102). In each case text names Nedjemger and his wife Naushat, but the priest and the figures who kneel behind him are not identified. Although lines for text are blocked out, they were never filled in. It seems reasonable, however, to suggest that they are family members. The text does give the priest's speech:

Consecrating the sacred offerings of bread, beer, and [...],
 everything good and pure, all on which a god may live, they being
 [very] pure, for your spirit, O Osiris, Superintendent of Garden(s)
 in the Temple of Usimare Setepenre in the Estate of Amun,
 Nedjemger;--may [you] live [in] strength, may you be justified.⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁵⁴ Kitchen 1993, v. III, p. 280.

In register II in the south wing, the scenes are continuous and show the different stages of the funeral procession and ritual. Beginning with the first of the two scenes on wall 1), while Nedjemger and his wife sit at the left side of the scene, receiving offerings, on the right side a boat carries the sarcophagus to the west bank (i.e., to the right in the tomb space) (Fig. 103). On the boat a priest recites prayers for the deceased while others raise their arms in mourning. The next scene on wall 1), which is divided from the last by the pilaster, shows the next moment in the procession, in which a sailed boat that tows the craft carrying the sarcophagus arrives on the west bank and is greeted by at least five mourning men (Fig. 104). The middle register of wall 2) is seriously damaged, but it remains clear that this area showed the procession of the mourners, family, and offering bringers toward the tomb.

Finally, moving onto focal wall 3) in register II, one sees two scenes, again divided by a pilaster. In the scene on the left is the breaking of the red pots, the “Nine Friends,” and the mutilated calf and his mother (Fig. 105). The scene on the right side of wall 3) shows the end of the funeral ritual, with the rites before the tomb (Fig. 106). In this scene, the tomb is represented at the right end (or, in terms of the tomb space, the westernmost point) with the red hills of the west bank depicted. The tomb projects out of the hills, and the mummies stand before the door while figures offer, mourn, and perform the final rites before them. It is common to depict the rites before the tomb on the focal wall not only because it represents the end of the funeral procession frequently depicted but also because it represents the moment of transition that occurs at the tomb. In this case, the subject matter that wraps around the top register of the south wing comes after this transition, on the way to the afterlife. Beginning again on wall 1), the deceased and

his wife move through the gates to the afterlife. This content comes from Chapter 146 of the *Book of the Dead*, in which the deceased moves through each gate by using special knowledge. There are six gates represented along the three walls: three on wall 1), two on wall 2), and one on focal wall 3) (Fig. 107).⁴⁵⁵ In each scene the deceased and his wife approach from the left (or the east) the gate, whose guardian faces them from the west. These scenes culminate in the final scene in this register, found on focal wall 3), depicting the couple's introduction to the god Osiris, who is seated in his kiosk at the right end of the wall (Fig. 108).

In the southern half of the transverse hall, the registers are organized vertically according to relative sacredness. The least sacred material--that which deals with Nedjemger's daily life and some of his funerary rites--is found on the bottom register. The material that continues Nedjemger's funerary rituals continues in the middle register, because, while sacred, these events occur in the profane world. The top register is reserved in this case for events that occur in the beyond, Nedjemger's navigation and successful mastery of the gates to the afterlife.

The organization of the scenes is linear and thoughtful, but the composition of the final scenes in each register comes together on focal wall 3) to make clear statements about the way to the afterlife. When looking at focal wall 3), the visitor notes that each of the three registers ends with one or two central figures on the right of the wall, all receiving praise or offering from figures facing right. In the top register, this figure is Osiris in his kiosk, with Nedjemger and his wife before them. In the middle register, the main focus of the scene is again Nedjemger, whose mummy stands before his tomb, an

⁴⁵⁵ See Feucht 2006, Farbtaf. II, III, Sz. 7.1-7.3; Farbtaf. IV, Sz. 7.4-7.5; Farbtaf. VI, Sz. 7.6.

architectural figure that has some parallels with Osiris' kiosk in register I. In the bottom register, the central figures are again Nedjemger and his wife, seated like Osiris in I, receiving offerings. The visual parallels made here between Osiris and Nedjemger and his wife clearly express the couple's aspiration to be like the rejuvenated god. The scenes that come before these final ones in each register confirm the couple's worthiness of this end by emphasizing Nedjemger's position in life, the successful completion of proper funeral rites, and their privileged knowledge to help them navigate to the afterlife.

The northern wing of the transverse hall does not feature the linear organization of scenes across walls that appear in the southern wing. Because the decoration of each wall is self-contained, the walls, rather than the registers, will be described individually. East wall 4) is divided into two registers. The lower has two very similar scenes side by side. On the left side, Nedjemger and his wife Naushat sit on the right and receive offerings from their son, Tjauenhuy (Fig. 109).⁴⁵⁶ In the scene on the right, the couple again is seen sitting on the right receiving offerings behind a table, but this time they are being offered to by their son Tjauenhuy and their daughter, the chantress of Amun, Baketmut.⁴⁵⁷ In the upper register on wall 4), there is only one scene, that of the adoration of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris and Nefertem (Fig. 110). At the right end of the wall, the deities sit either enthroned or standing in a kiosk, and a large table of offering stands before them. Nedjemger, his wife, and other family members face the deities to worship them. Above the officiants, the text clarifies their purpose:

⁴⁵⁶ Feucht, 2006, 46.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 44. For translation of offering text above couple and officiants, see Kitchen 1993, v. III, 280-281.

[An offer]ing [which the king gives], (to) Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, residing in the Shetayet-shrine, that he may grant entry and exit in the necropolis, and receipt of offerings that appear in the (divine) presence, for the spirit of the Osiris, Superintendent of Garden(s), Nedjemger, justified; and the Lady of the house, Chantress of Amun, Naushat, justified; his dear son, Tjauenhuy, justified in peace.⁴⁵⁸

The parallel made between Nedjemger giving offering to deities in the upper register and receiving offering from family members in the lower register reinforces the hierarchical nature of the Egyptian worldview and also makes a connection between Nedjemger and the gods in the beyond. The short wall in the north wing, PM 5, features a scene from Chapter 59 of the *Book of the Dead*, with Nedjemger and his wife receiving food and water from the tree goddess (Fig. 111).⁴⁵⁹ This scene has been found on short walls elsewhere in the corpus, perhaps because it is a singular, contained scene that allows the artist to create quite beautiful effects in the tree, drapery of the figures, etc.

The north focal wall 6) is also divided into two registers. The lower has two scenes, mirroring those in the lower register of the opposing focal wall 3) and those in the lower register of east wall 4). Once again these are two scenes of the tomb owner and his wife seated behind a table of offerings. In both cases they sit on the left and are censured by figures on the right.⁴⁶⁰ On the left, one male figure censes before the couple; the lines

⁴⁵⁸ Kitchen 1993, v. III, p. 280.

⁴⁵⁹ For translation of the offering text found in this scene, see *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁰ See Feucht 2006, Farbtaf. XXII, Sz. 14 and Farbtaf. XIII, Sz. 15.

blocked out for text in this scene are left empty, so his identity is unknown. However, it seems fair to suggest that he was likely intended to be one of Nedjemger's sons. In the scene on the right, the couple is censured by and receives offering from two figures, a man and a woman. As at left, the areas blocked out for text in the scene are not filled in, but again it might be suggested that the figures are Nedjemger's son and daughter or perhaps other family members.

The upper register contains only one scene. Here, as is to be expected on focal walls, Osiris sits enthroned in his kiosk on the left end of the wall, flanking the door to the niche. In front of his kiosk is a large table of offerings, and on the other side stands Nedjemger, his wife, and presumably other members of his family coming to offer the god praise (Fig. 112). The text here is very light in areas and unfinished in others but almost certainly would have recorded the standard offering formula and the names of Nedjemger's family. The connection between the upper and lower registers on focal wall 6) is the same as that outlined for wall 3). The parallel is made between the tomb owner and the god, the most important scene occurs in the top register, and the use of the kiosk helps to emphasize the focal point of the scene. If one were to envision the focal walls of the tomb collapsed so that the left end of the wall became the west end of the tomb, the location of the images of Osiris (on walls 3) and 6)), those of the tomb owner (on walls 3) and 6)), and the image of the tomb owner before his tomb (on 3)), would give a picture of what one would expect to find in the western part of the tomb in reality (sculpture of the tomb owner and perhaps Osiris), as well as its ideological meaning (i.e., the entrance to the afterlife). The orientation of all the figures facing into the tomb to make prayers and

offerings on the behalf of the deceased mimicked the actual events in the tomb and preserved them if the actual offerings ever came to an end.

The jambs around the door to the niche are inscribed, but much of their inscription has been lost. Based on what remains, however, it is evident that Nedjemger's name and title were repeated twice on the right part of the jamb.⁴⁶¹ The niche has a raised pedestal at its western end, and there is decoration on both the southern and northern walls. The southern wall, referred to as 8) by PM, has a single scene. In the westernmost part are Osiris, Isis, Hathor, and Anubis in a kiosk; they face east and encounter Nedjemger, his wife, Naushat, his daughter, Baketamun, and his son, Hori, who are represented facing the gods in the west.⁴⁶² They worship Osiris and ask for offerings for the deceased.⁴⁶³ On the north wall, identified by PM as 9) 10), Osiris is seated in a kiosk accompanied by a winged female figure on the westernmost side of the wall. Before him sit members of the Ogdoad, who face him. Behind the Ogdoad is an image of Nedjemger and his wife approaching the scales of judgment. Anubis is perched below the scales, and Thoth stands poised with writing materials to record.⁴⁶⁴ Above the scene, the negative confessions are recorded coming from *Book of the Dead* Spell 125.⁴⁶⁵ The orientation of all the figures in the scenes confirm the ritual orientation of the tomb, and, if a sculpture of the deceased was installed, it would form a parallel between the figure of Nedjemger

⁴⁶¹ For transcription of hieroglyphs on jamb, including the illegible text on the left jamb, see Feucht 2006, 36.

⁴⁶² See Feucht 2006, Farbtaf. IXd.

⁴⁶³ For text of their speech, see Kitchen 1993, v. III, 280.

⁴⁶⁴ See Feucht 2006, Farbtaf. IXa-c.

⁴⁶⁵ For the transcription of the negative confession found in TT 138, see Feucht 2006, 36-38.

and Osiris, seated in the same position on both of the side walls. The orientation of Nedjemger and his family on the right and of Nedjemger and his wife on the left would mirror the orientation and the activities of visitors, who would also make prayers of offering for the deceased in the tomb.

Tomb: TT 159

Name of Tomb Owner: Raya

Known Title(s): Fourth Prophet of Amun⁴⁶⁶

Date: 2nd half of the reign of Ramesses II⁴⁶⁷

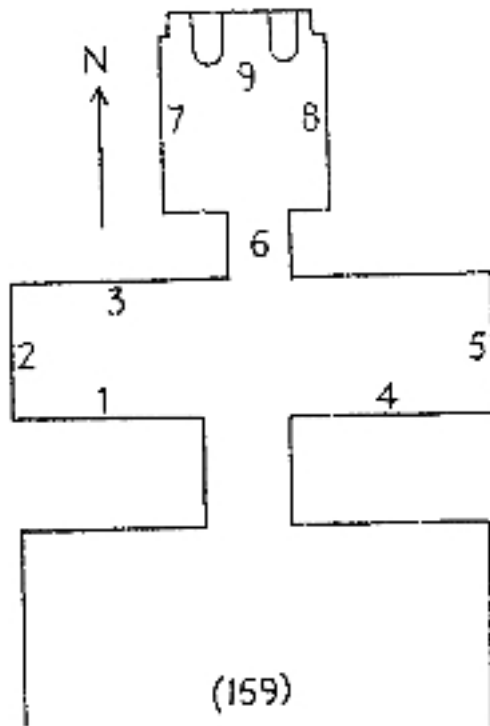
Area: Dra Abu el Naga

Medium: painting

Sources: Porter and Moss 2004; Kitchen 2003; Author Photos

⁴⁶⁶ Kitchen 2003, v. IV, 102.

⁴⁶⁷ Dated to second half of reign of Ramesses II based on style and the fact that the alignment and orientation of TT 286 confirms that TT 159 is earlier than TT 286, which dates to the end of the 19th Dynasty; Hofmann 2004, 26.



TT 159 is a T-shaped tomb with partial decoration extant on five of the six walls in the transverse room, on the thicknesses leading into the inner room, and on the three walls of the inner room. At the west end of the inner room are two engaged seated sculptures depicting Raya on the left and his wife Mutemwia on the right (Fig. 113). Unfortunately, the walls of the tomb have suffered significant loss, and the decoration that remains is dirty. Some of the most cohesive decoration is found on the ceiling of the first room.⁴⁶⁸ The only extant title for the tomb owner is that of “fourth prophet of Amun,” but, based on the amount of loss, it is possible that other titles were mentioned. Because of the amount of loss in this tomb, it is difficult to see the connections between

⁴⁶⁸ While the ceiling is not discussed as part of this study, it is worth noting that it features painted ducks, pigeons, and lotuses, as well as several geometric designs.

subject matter on adjoining walls, but there does seem to be decoration that runs over the corner of walls in several locations.

In the case of both walls 1) and 2) on the south side of the transverse hall, the walls are divided into two registers. On wall 1) in register II, the funeral procession of the deceased begins on the left end and moves to the right (Fig. 114). The procession shows mourning nobles following the coffin of the deceased, which is being dragged on a bark. A priest leads the procession. On wall 2) in the lower register, the scene continues with an image of the rites before the tomb (Fig. 115). On the right side of the scene, the two mummies stand before their tomb in the red western hills. They are faced by priests who offer to them and by female mourners who kneel at their feet. This scene, the end of the funeral procession, often occurs on the focal wall, but in this case the scenes on the focal wall are separate from those on 1) and 2). In the upper register of wall 1) and 2), the material is again continuous, only here appear scenes from the *Book of the Dead*, Chapter 146, which deals with the deceased's passage through the gates to the afterlife. Here, Raya and his wife face right and encounter the guardians of the gate in the "west" or on the right side of the wall.

As seen on walls 1) and 2) in the southern end of the transverse hall, the content on walls 4) and 5) on the northern side of the transverse hall are connected. Both walls 4) and 5) are divided into three registers, and in each register the content is related on both walls. As with the content on walls 1) and 2), the lowest registers on walls 4) and 5) depict the funeral procession, including oxen dragging shrines and mourners, but while the procession moved to the right on walls 1) and 2), on wall 4) and 5), it moves to the

left (i.e. into the tomb).⁴⁶⁹ This orientation is important because if all the figures moved one way in the procession around the walls it might be tempting to read walls 5), 4), 1), and 2) continuously. However, because of the different orientations, and the fact that walls 1) and 2) are split into two registers and walls 4) and 5) are split into three, it seems reasonable to read them separately. Figures in the funeral procession moving into the tomb on both sides of the visitor, who also moves into the tomb, could contribute to a sense that the visitor has become part of the funeral procession itself, with fellow mourners and offerants on both sides.

In the middle registers are scenes of Raya and Mutemwia, seated and receiving offerings. Wall 4) has two scenes. On the right, the two are seated on a platform receiving offerings with text identifying them both and clarifying that the figure who faces them is “Making/presenting [...] vegetables (?) for your spirit...”⁴⁷⁰ The figure who offers to the couple is lost. On the left, a figure pours a libation and censes in front of two triangular candles wrapped in red bands, which sit before the couple. In the middle register on wall 5) appears another image of the seated couple receiving offerings from a *sem* priest. In all of the offering scenes discussed on the north side of the tomb, the couple faces right (or out of the tomb), while the offerants face in. Behind the seated couple is a musician sitting on the ground and playing a stringed instrument (Fig. 116). Behind and above the musician is a large block of text, which is heavily damaged and dirty, making it difficult to read. As seen in the top register on walls 1) and 2), the top registers on walls 4) and 5) have a series of gates deriving from Chapter 146 of the *Book of the Dead*. In each scene,

⁴⁶⁹ For translation of text found above oxen dragging funerary shrines at 4), see Kitchen 2003, v. IV, 102.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid.

Raya and his wife Mutemwia face gates manned by guardians. Raya and Mutemwia face left, moving into the tomb and closer to the west and the afterlife as they pass through each gate.

The only remaining focal wall in this tomb is found in the southern part of the tomb, wall 3). No decoration remains on the northern focal wall. Because wall 3) has suffered significant loss, only a few of the scenes that once populated its three registers are discernable. In the top register on the left side are the remains of a figure standing adoring two barks, which stand to the right of an offering table. Could this scene relate to Raya's work as fourth prophet of Amun? Could it relate somehow to content from *Book of the Dead*? Usually Chapter 74 is accompanied by a figure of the deceased kneeling before the bark of Sokar, but neither of these barks looks like a bark of Sokar or has a shrine atop it (and there are *two* barks). Instead they have what appears to be a throne with a red cloth draped over its back. Below this scene, on the left side of the wall in register II, are the remnants of two scenes, with a male and female couple facing back to back. On the left, the pair raise their arms in adoration; on the right, only their feet are visible. In the lowest register, on the left side, is an image of Raya and his wife seated facing left, receiving offerings from a lost figure on the left. On the right end of the focal wall 3), in the lowest register, is just the bottom of a scene familiar in this location: figures of Raya and Mutemwia (presumably) sit with their backs to the door into the inner room, with an offering table before them. The pair faces left and encounters two (or more) figures that approach with offerings. Although there is no other information about the content of the focal wall, it seems that in the registers above there might have been an image of Osiris enthroned in his kiosk, receiving offerings from Raya and Mutemwia, in

order to draw a visual parallel between the deceased and the god of the dead. There are many other examples of such a scenario. With the possible exception of the scene with the barks in the upper left hand corner of focal wall 3), this tomb has not preserved any images that relate clearly to Raya's professional life.

As previously noted, at the western end of the small inner room are engaged statues of the seated couple. To the right of the figure of Muemwia, painted on the front of her seat, is the small figure of a man. The figure faces Mutemwia's legs and holds one arm up in offering or adoration. There is faded text in front of the man, but it is difficult to read. The figure could be a son or other male relative. On north wall 8, a large figure of the couple's son holding libation jars faces the sculpture. On south wall 7), this image is repeated, and, although more damaged than the painting at 8), the male figure again faces the couple and is likely another image of their son coming to offer to them. An image of the son approaching his parents' shrine is not unusual and would recall not only the ongoing cult of the deceased carried out by family members but also the moment of internment, in which sons often served as priests in their parents' last rites.

Tomb: TT 178

Name of Tomb Owner: Neferrenpet, called Kenro

Known Title(s): Scribe of the Treasury in the Estate of Amun⁴⁷¹

Date: 2nd half of the reign of Ramesses II⁴⁷²

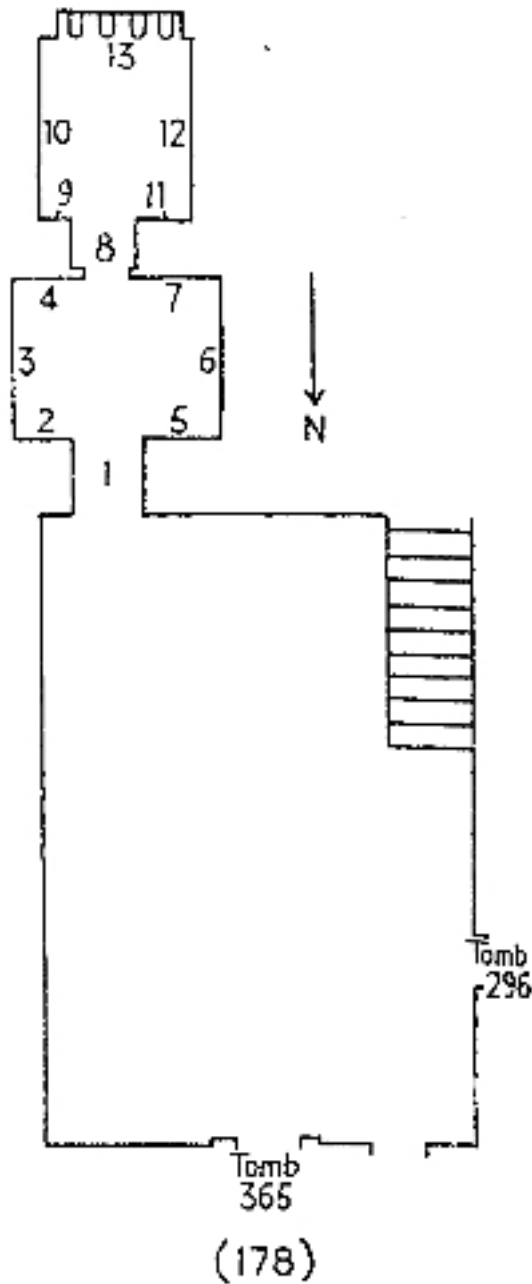
⁴⁷¹ The other titles of Kenro seem to refer to the same office as scribe of the treasury and include: "Scribe of the God's Seal/Treasures (?)," "Scribe of the Sacred Offerings in the House of Amun." "Treasury Scribe of the Lord of Both Lands and the Estate of Amun," "Royal Treasury Scribe in the Estate of Amun," and "Scribe of the Mansion of Gold of Amun." Kitchen, v. III, p. 231-238. For transcription of each title variation and their frequency in the tomb, see Hofmann 1995, 93.

Area: Khokha

Medium: painting

Sources: Porter and Moss 2004; Kitchen 1993; Hofmann 1995

⁴⁷² Dated to second half of reign of Ramesses II based on style, Hofmann 2004, 26.



TT 178 is one of the most complete and best-preserved Theban tombs from the Ramesside period. It has a fully decorated outer room with somewhat attenuated north and south wings, but all the necessary walls are there, and their orientation is such that it will be referred to as the transverse hall. The inner room, longer than it is wide, features

at its west end a highly decorated shrine with four engaged painted sculptures. This tomb is often held up as the ideal Ramesside Theban tomb in part because of its preservation; as will be seen, many facets of the tomb conform to the expectations of a tomb from this period. However, it is important to note that even in this “ideal” tomb there are departures from expectation, reinforcing the fact that there is no such thing as a canonical Theban tomb.

Neferrhenpet called Kenro was a scribe of the treasury in the estate of Amun-Re, a title repeated eleven times in the tomb. The other titles of Kenro seem to refer to the same or a similar position.⁴⁷³

The jambs and lintels around the doorway into the tomb are damaged, but two cartouches of Ramesses II are carved at the center of the lintel, and at least three lines of text ran down the jambs.⁴⁷⁴ On the left thickness, figures of Kenro and Mutemwia face out of the tomb with their arms raised in adoration, accompanied by a hymn to Re-Horakhti in the eastern horizon.⁴⁷⁵ On the right thickness, the figures of Mutemwia and Kenro face into the tomb and are accompanied by a hymn to Re, but the text of this hymn makes mention of “Khepri, who is in the Night Bark.”⁴⁷⁶ The orientation of the figures leaving the tomb and praying to the sun in the east (confirming the ritual orientation of

⁴⁷³ See footnote 470.

⁴⁷⁴ See Hofmann 1995, Taf. II, Abb. 3.

⁴⁷⁵ For translation of hymn, see Kitchen 1993, v. III, 231-232; For image see, Hofmann 1995, Taf. XI, Abb. 13.

⁴⁷⁶ For translation of hymn, see Kitchen 1993, v. III, 232; For image, see Hofmann, 1995, Taf. XI, Abb. 14.

the tomb) on the left thickness is paired with the figures of the two returning to their tomb and their place in the west on the right.

TT 178 is often noted for its use of the “picture strip” wall organization that becomes more common in the Ramesside era. In this scenario, the material runs continuously across walls but is divided vertically by registers. Therefore, the material in each register is read horizontally and continues across separate walls. In the case of TT 178, the walls in both the inner and outer rooms are divided into two registers, divided by thick bands of text.⁴⁷⁷ In the outer room, the material in each register runs continuously along the left walls 2), 3) and 4) and then continuously on the right walls 5), 6), and 7). On the left side of the outer room, the action moves from left to right, while on the right side it moves from right to left. The two focal walls in the tomb are 4) and 7) and, though somewhat shorter than those seen in other tombs, adhere closely to the composition and subject matter expected at these locations. The decoration in the inner room is organized in a similar manner, with left walls 9) and 10) having continuous scenes in each register and scenes on walls 11) and 12) being likewise continuous. As with the outer rooms, the action in the scenes on the left side of the room moves from left to right, and the action on the right side of the room moves from right to left. The orientation of the movement of figures in the scene emphasizes the westward movement of the deceased as they progress toward the afterlife.

⁴⁷⁷ The texts found in these bands are various offering texts for the deceased; for the translation of the texts in the bandeaus in both inner and outer rooms, see Kitchen 1993, v. III, 232-237.

Beginning with the lower register on the left side of the outer room or wall 2), there is a scene that comes from Chapter 62 of the *Book of the Dead*.⁴⁷⁸ Here Kenro and Mutemwia face right and drink from an L-shaped pool surrounded by trees (Fig. 117). Chapter 62 is known as the “Spell for Drinking Water in the Realm of the Dead,” and the accompanying text says:

The Osiris, Scribe of the [Sacred] Offerings in the Estate of Amun, Kenro, justified. May you drink water as one justified upon earth when you are addressed (?). His Sister, Lady of the house, Chantress of Amun, Mutemwia, justified.⁴⁷⁹

The next scene on wall 2) shows the seated figure of Kenro facing right receiving offerings from a man named Bakenwer, who is identified as Kenro’s “Lector-upon-earth.”⁴⁸⁰ Crossing over to wall 3), one finds three successive scenes of Kenro and Mutemwia seated on the left, facing right and receiving offerings.⁴⁸¹ The identities of the offerants are lost except in the case of the first scene on the wall, where the offerant is again identified as Bakenwer, who appeared on wall 2) as Kenro’s lector.⁴⁸² The final scene on wall 3) depicts Kenro and Mutemwia, this time facing left and playing a game

⁴⁷⁸ Saleh 1984, 33.

⁴⁷⁹ Kitchen 1993, v. III, 234.

⁴⁸⁰ Kitchen 1993, v. III, 234; For image, see Hofmann 1995, Taf. XVI, Abb. 22.

⁴⁸¹ See Hofmann 1995, Taf. XVII and XVIII, Abb. 23-25

⁴⁸² Ibid.

of senet, while before them kneels a harp-player (Fig. 118). This scene is associated with *Book of the Dead* Chapter 17.⁴⁸³ Here the text above the couple reads:

[May you sit in the] hall, and may you pl[ay] the senet-game/draughts. May you partake of wine, may you partake of beer, [O Osiris, the Scribe of the] Sacred [Offerings] of [the House of Amun] Ken[ro, justified]; and his dear sister, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun, Mutemwia justified in the necropolis.⁴⁸⁴

The harper is accompanied by the text:

Said by the Singer... “May you call out to heaven, may your voice be heard, may Atum answer you; may you give voice as a divine phoenix; (when) Hidden-of-Name addresses <you>, turn yourself on your right side, set yourself on your left side, and settle yourself in your place [of...] mouth.”⁴⁸⁵

On focal wall 4), in the lower register, Kenro censes and libates on a table of offerings set before Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari, who are enthroned in a kiosk (Fig. 119). Moving on to the material in the upper register on the left side of the outer hall, beginning on wall 2) and extending onto wall 3), brings the visitor to four images of Kenro and Mutemwia encountering guardians of the gates.⁴⁸⁶ The subject matter moves

⁴⁸³ Saleh 1984, 16.

⁴⁸⁴ Kitchen 1993, v. III, 233.

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 233-234.

⁴⁸⁶ See Hofmann 1995, Taf. III-IV, Abb. 5-6.

seamlessly between walls, so that in the case of the second gate Kenro and Mutemwia are found on wall 2) with arms raised toward the guardians in the gate found on wall 3). In each of the scenes, Kenro and Mutemwia face rightward, into the tomb. These scenes and their accompanying text come from Chapter 145/146 of the *Book of the Dead*. As the next image, on the right part of wall 3), the couple stand before a heap of offerings, and the final scene on wall 3) shows Kenro and his wife led by Anubis into the hall of judgment depicted on wall 4). In the upper register of focal wall 4), Osiris sits enthroned in his kiosk with Nephthys and Isis behind him and, in front of him, the scales of judgment, overseen by Horus and Thoth (Fig. 120). Above the scale are three figures of seated gods of the tribunal. The connection between the scenes in the upper and lower register on focal wall 4) is familiar: In the upper register, Osiris and the goddesses are positioned in the same manner as Amenhotep and his mother in the lower. The relative sacredness of the images is clear from the figure of Osiris sitting above and the deified king below. Furthermore, Kenro is shown interacting with both deities, albeit in the case of Osiris at a bit of a remove.

The right side of the outer room, as previously noted, is organized similarly to the left. The three walls are divided into two registers, and the upper one is meant to be read continuously beginning on wall 5), continuing on wall 6) and resolving on focal wall 7). Beginning with the lower register on wall 5), one finds the first of two scenes of the couple with the tree goddess. (The others can be found on damaged wall 12) in the inner room.) This scene, popular in Theban tombs of the period, comes from Chapter 59 of the *Book of the Dead*. Kenro and his wife sit at the right end of the wall, holding their cupped hands to their mouths to drink water poured from the goddess in her tree (Fig. 121). Just

to the left of this scene begins the funeral procession, which is the subject of the rest of material in the lower register on walls 6) and 7). Here the lower register on wall 5) is split into two sub-registers in order to show more elements of the funeral procession. In the upper sub-register, the coffin of the deceased is dragged in a bark on a sledge, and a priest censes toward the coffin while another figure drives the oxen that drag the craft.⁴⁸⁷ In the lower sub-register are the Nine Friends who accompany the deceased; while many of their names are lost or not filled in, the second, third, and fourth men are partially identifiable.⁴⁸⁸ The scene continues on wall 6), where the register initially remains split into two sub-registers. In the upper, men drag the shrine, with women mourning in the lower sub-register (Fig. 122). To the left are two rows of offering bringers and servants with food tables.⁴⁸⁹ On the left side of wall 6) the funeral procession and rituals continue, but the two sub-registers stop, and the entire height of the register is taken up by mourning women, a lector priest, and another priest who pours offerings onto an already overflowing offering table.⁴⁹⁰ This scene continues with the figure of a man pouring libation on the mummies standing before the tomb on focal wall 7). The two mummies stand in front of a large bouquet, a stela, and a tomb with a pyramidion (Fig. 123). Four women mourn the deceased and two clutch the feet of the mummies. Returning to wall 5) but moving on to the upper register, the register begins with an image of Kenro adoring a

⁴⁸⁷ See Hofmann 1995, Taf. XXVI, Abb. 33.

⁴⁸⁸ Second man: [...] Ray (?), justified; third: [...] of the Estate of Amun, Panehsy, justified; fourth: His brother, [x of y] of the Estate of Amun, Huy, justified. Kitchen 1993, v. III, 235.

⁴⁸⁹ See Hofmann 1995, Taf. VI, Abb. 8.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid., Taf. XXVIII, Abb. 35.

gate.⁴⁹¹ While this scene is not dissimilar to those in the upper register on wall 2) and 3), here Kenro is by himself and faces left into the tomb. The next scene on wall 5) shows two rows of male figures adoring a sun disk held aloft by a personified *djed* pillar and supported by the arms of Nut (?) that emerge from the western hills. A black line divides the western hills from the scenes on wall 6) at the corner between wall 5) and 6). On wall 6) are three successive scenes in which Kenro or Kenro and Mutemwia face enthroned deities in kiosks with offering tables. In each case Kenro and Mutemwia face left and the deities face right out of the tomb. Beginning on the right, the first enthroned deities are Thoth and Maat, followed by Atum and Sekhmet, and finally Ptah and Isis on the left end of the wall.⁴⁹² On focal wall 7), another offering scene appears, similar to the ones that preceded it on wall 6). Here a figure of Re-Harakhti accompanied by Maat is enthroned in a kiosk, receiving offerings from Kenro and his wife (Fig. 124). This coordinates with the kiosk scenes seen on focal wall 4).

The decorative program in the outer room of TT 178 in many ways resembles others from the same period. The funeral procession and final rituals are represented in the lower registers and resolve on one of the focal walls (in this case, wall 7). Also, the focal walls feature emblematic kiosk scenes, with those that involve events in the living world occurring in the lower registers (i.e. Kenro and Mutemwia's worship of Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari on wall 4), and the conclusion of the pair's funeral rites on wall 7)). One of the focal walls almost always features a figure of the enthroned Osiris, which appears here on focal wall 4). What do not appear in the outer room, but

⁴⁹¹ See Hofmann 1995, Taf. XXI, Abb. 28.

⁴⁹² Ibid., Taf. XXII-XXIV, Abb. 29-31.

which do in other tombs, are scenes relating to the tomb owner's professional life. In the case of Kenro, the inner room holds this content.

The doorway into the inner room at 8) features mirrored scenes on the lintel, with Kenro and Mutemwia facing right on the left side and offering to a seated figure of Osiris with Isis, and, on the right side, the couple facing left to offer to a figure of Re-Horakhti accompanied by Maat. The jambs of the doorway each have two lines of text.⁴⁹³ All the texts are *htp-dj-nswt* formulae: on the right inner part of the jamb to Amun-Re-Harakhti-Atum; on the right outer frame of the jamb, to Ptah-Sokar; on the left inner frame, to Osiris; and, on the left outer frame, to Isis, Harendotes (Horus), Hathor, and Anubis.⁴⁹⁴ The right thickness of the entrance into the inner room is lost, but on the left is an image of Kenro and his wife facing out of the tomb, which coordinates with the pair's orientation on the left thickness of the entrance to the tomb at 1). The two are accompanied by a text venerating Osiris.⁴⁹⁵

The east, north, and south walls of the inner room are organized in a manner similar to those in the outer. The content runs across walls and is read continuously in each register, and each of the walls are divided into two registers. The shrine takes up the entirety of the west wall. Beginning on the left side of the room, walls 9) and 10) in the upper register, the first scene on wall 9) depicts Kenro facing right, offering to a mummiform Anubis.⁴⁹⁶ The next scene, found at the left end of wall 10), shows Kenro,

⁴⁹³ For image, see Hofmann 1995, Farbt. IIa.

⁴⁹⁴ For transcription and translation of these texts, see, Hofmann 1995, 56-57.

⁴⁹⁵ For transcription and translation of this text, see, Hofmann 1995, 59 (text 110).

⁴⁹⁶ See Hofmann 1995, Taf. XXXI, Abb. 38.

Mutemwia, and another women worshipping a mummiform Re with a falcon head and a figure of Maat.⁴⁹⁷ This scene is followed by another worship scene, in which Kenro and Mutemwia stand before two rows of braziers venerating Taweret/Ipet.⁴⁹⁸ The final scene on wall 10), in the westernmost space before the shrine, comes from *Book of the Dead* Chapter 186. In it, Kenro and Mutemwia worship and offer to the Hathor cow emerging from the western hills.⁴⁹⁹ There is a stela on the face of the hill.

The lower register on the left side of the inner room (walls 9) and 10)) features scenes related to the funerary rituals for the deceased. In the first scene, found on wall 9), depicts two men performing the offering-list ritual.⁵⁰⁰ In this scene, a figure identified as “Treasury-Scribe, Niay” libates before the list found on wall 10) while a figure of the “Treasury-Scribe of the estate of Amun, Bakamun” kneels before it.⁵⁰¹ On the left side of wall 10) there is the offering list with Kenro and Mutemwia facing left on the right side.⁵⁰² The next scene on wall 10) shows the couple seated on the right side in front of a table of offerings, with a priest censuring on the left. The last two scenes on the wall show a priest performing the opening of the mouth on statues of Kenro and Mutemwia, and a priest purifying statues of the couple.⁵⁰³

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid., Taf. XXXII, Abb. 40.

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid., Taf. XXXII, Abb. 41.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid., Taf. XXXIII, Abb. 42.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid., Taf. XXXI, Abb. 39.

⁵⁰¹ Kitchen 1993, v. III, 236.

⁵⁰² See Hofmann 1995, Taf. XXXIII, Abb. 43.

⁵⁰³ See Hofmann 1995, Taf. XXXIV and XXXV.

In the upper register on wall 11), on the right side of the inner room, is a scene that extends onto wall 12).⁵⁰⁴ On the right, Kenro and Mutemwia stand worshipping with a table of offerings before a dressed *djed* pillar on a bark supported by a figure of Anubis.⁵⁰⁵ The bark has an ibis-standard of Thoth and the standard of Wepwawet on its bow. In the next scene, the couple offers to Sokar-Osiris in the form of a hawk on a shrine. In the final image of wall 12), at the westernmost end of the wall, there is another offering scene similar to those that preceded it in the register, but in this case Kenro alone offers to the bark of Re-Osiris.⁵⁰⁶

The scenes that appear in the lower register on walls 11) and 12) are particularly interesting. While there has been a doorway cut through the final two scenes in the lowest register, which occur in the westernmost part of the wall, the scenes that preceded the loss all deal with Kenro's professional life as scribe of the treasury in the estate of Amun. On the first scene next to the door on wall 11)), Kenro is shown recording the work of bead workers, sculptors, goldsmiths, and potters (?) as they work for the estate of Amun (Fig. 125).⁵⁰⁷ Kenro appears on the left as a large figure with his scribal kit out and his stylus poised to write. Behind Kenro is the interior of a workshop where other figures paint statues and carry materials. A grove of trees can be seen on the left side of this workshop. Moving onto wall 12), one finds that similar subject matter is depicted. In this scene, a large figure of Kenro sits before scales inside what must be the treasury of the

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid., Taf. XXXVI.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid., Taf. XXXVII.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid., Taf. XXXVIII.

⁵⁰⁷ Kitchen 1993, v III, p. 238.

temple of Amun (the architectural setting being confirmed by a gate and the rendering of rooms) (Fig. 126). In front of Kenro is a set of scales, and, as he oversees the weighing of the resources, both in front of and behind him figures rush to bring goods around the storehouses. The majority of the figures in the scene are identified only by titles and not names, with the exception of a few.⁵⁰⁸ The text accompanying Kenro explains his purpose: he “receives the work of the servants of the Estate of Amun.”⁵⁰⁹ These scenes clearly represent the importance of Kenro’s position in the estate of Amun to his identity, but again these scenes more frequently appear in the outer room of a tomb. Were they added here when it became clear that Kenro would have more time or resources to finish the inner room, or might there be some other explanation for their placement?

Even though the final two scenes in the lower register on wall 12) are mostly lost, the upper portions remain, and it is possible to identify their original content.⁵¹⁰ To the left of the scene of Kenro in the estate of the Amun was another scene of Kenro and his wife with the tree goddess (the other of which occurs in the first room on wall 5)). The final scene on wall 12) is that of the seated couple facing right (or out of the tomb), receiving offerings from a male figure. This scene mimics the orientation and purpose of the sculptures behind it in the shrine at 13) and could serve as a signal for the visitor, reminding them of the hoped for behavior in the space, but it could also serve as a perpetual source of offering in front of the cult statues at 13).

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁹ Kitchen 1993, v. III, 238.

⁵¹⁰ See Hofmann 1995, Taf. X, Abb. 12.

The four engaged seated sculptures in the shrine are framed by an ornate painted jamb and lintel, with ceremonial bouquets forming the jambs and an extension of the couchant jackal/*khekher*-frieze forming the lintel. Within the frame, the sides and back of the niche are embellished with geometric patterns and flowers. The four figures are sumptuously dressed with ornate wigs, garlands, and cones on their heads and are identified by text. The female figure on the left is “Lady of the house, Chantress of Amun, Wiay,” the male figure next to her is “Priest of Amun, [Pi]ay,” and the other central male figure is Kenro, although the text identifying him on his skirt is now lost.⁵¹¹ Finally, the female figure on the right is Kenro’s wife, “Lady of the house, Chantress of Amun, Mutemwia.”⁵¹² Piay and Wiay are Kenro’s parents, and therefore their inclusion in the shrine makes the tomb functional for their funerary cult as well.⁵¹³

Tomb: TT 189

Name of Tomb Owner: Nekhtdhout

Known Title(s): Chief Craftsman, Chief Goldsmith, Chief of Carpenters in the Estate of Amun; Chief Craftsman of the North Lake of Amun⁵¹⁴

Date: end of the reign of Ramesses II⁵¹⁵

Area: Asasif

⁵¹¹ Kitchen 1993, v. III, 238.

⁵¹² Ibid.

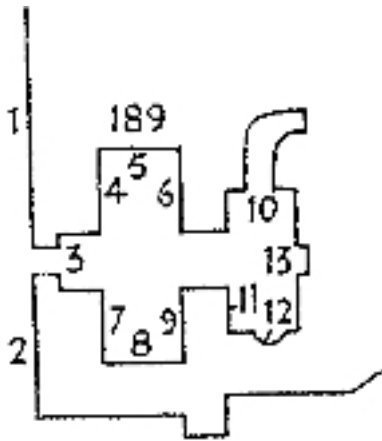
⁵¹³ Piay is identified as Kenro’s father in an upper bandeau text on the right-hand side of the inner room, Kitchen, v. III, 237. Seyfried suggests that Wiay is Kenro’s mother, even though no existing text specifically says so, because no other wife of Kenro is mentioned in the tomb, and he furthermore argues that the “role” of wife was already satisfied in the cult statue by the presence of Mutemwia, Hofmann 1995, 98.

⁵¹⁴ Kitchen, v. III, p. 252-254.

⁵¹⁵ Dated to the end of the reign of Ramesses II based on the mention of years 55 and 58 of the reign of Ramesses II in the text of tomb. Hofmann 2004, 27.

Medium: relief

Sources: Porter and Moss 2004; Kitchen 1993



TT 189 is a T-shaped tomb with an extended inner room shaped like the first transverse room. Furthermore, there is an extended side room off the left side of the inner room at 10). TT 189 differs from many tombs of the period found in this study not only because its decoration is done in relief but also because it incorporates unusual content on its façade. There are no available images from the tomb at the time of this study, so the understanding of the decoration is somewhat limited.

To the left of the doorway at 1), the façade of the tomb features a figure of Nekhtdhouit consecrating with an address to the living, the text of which is unpublished. However, the location of such a text on the façade of the tomb emphasizes the importance of the visitor to the function of the tomb space. To the right of the doorway at 2), four registers depict barks and doors presumably made under Nekhtdhouit's direction for various religious purposes. In the lowest register are 13 doors with captions identifying them: the doors are gold and have captions such as “[Door] of gold for the workshop of the [domain (?) of Amun],” “[Door of] [...] for the House of Gold of Amun [-Re],” or

“Second door of gold for the forecourt of Amun.”⁵¹⁶ In the second lowest register are images of nine doors (the images of others are likely lost) identified as doors of Khonsu and Mut.⁵¹⁷ A series of portable barks appears in the register above; three remain but more have been lost, and they have names of craftsmen and a priest in the line of text running below them.⁵¹⁸ The uppermost register has suffered the most loss, but the images of three more portable barks are extant, although the accompanying text is not. The emphasis here on Nekhtdhout’s artistic production in his professional life confronts the viewer even before one enters the tomb and is clearly an important part of the identity he wished to project, so much so that, in order to depict it, he forewent the stela with funerary imagery often found on the façade of tombs.

The outer jambs of the doorway into the tomb at 3) feature Nekhtdhout’s titles running vertically, with an image of him at their base.⁵¹⁹ The stepped nature of the entrance hall means that there are two separate thicknesses in this tomb at 3), an inner and an outer. Remnants of the text that once adorned the right outer thickness remains, but there are no such remnants on the left outer thickness. Each of the inner thicknesses is divided into two registers. On the left side, in the upper register, Nekhtdhout and his wife Netemhab adore with a hymn, while the lower register depicts the couple seated.⁵²⁰ In the

⁵¹⁶ Frood 2007, 138.

⁵¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 139.

⁵¹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵¹⁹ For translation, see Kitchen 1993, v. III, 252.

⁵²⁰ Although fragmentary, it seems the hymn that accompanied the couple on the left side is to the sun. *Ibid.*

upper register of the right inner thickness is the same scene, with the couple adoring with a hymn, this time to Osiris, and, in the lower, an image of the pair seated.⁵²¹

In the outer room all the walls are divided into three registers, and, though it is difficult to say too much about the register organization because of the lack of published images of the tomb, it seems that the registers may be at least partially continuous. On the left side of the room (walls 4), 5) and 6)), the upper two registers contain images of the tomb owner encountering the gates to the afterlife, which comes from *Book of the Dead* Chapter 146. The weighing scene, associated with *Book of the Dead* Chapter 125, is said to be found in register II on short wall 5). In the lowest register on the left side of the tomb is another familiar scene, that of the funeral procession, which so frequently runs along the lower registers in outer rooms. The principal content on part of wall 5) and most of wall 6) seems to be a long “autobiography,” of which only upper portions remain; “underworld scenes” seem to be found in the same register, and it can only be assumed that these are a continuation of the gate scenes from Chapter 146.⁵²² The biography relates the high points of Nekhtdout’s career and, though fragmentary, seems to be a textual parallel to the display of barks and doors found on the façade at 2):

[For] the ka of the Osiris of the wab-priest, lector priest [of] Amun
 [over three-quarters of the column lost] They will come in order to
 walk about... [I was appointed] as overseer of craftsmen, chief of
 gold workers, (for) I had understanding (as) one who is skilled (?).
 No [craftsmen was ignorant] concerning [my] speech, ...of gold,

⁵²¹ For the translation of the hymn to Osiris on the right inner thickness, see Kitchen 1993, v. III, 254.

⁵²² My assessment of this situation is based on PM and Froot’s descriptions of the wall, which is very scanty; see Froot 2007, 137.

great doors in the [...] of Karnak, barques... achieving perfect craftsmanship as one devoured to his [skills]. [...] of his causing me to flourish on earth, as one [favored]...for his lord. I am skilled in craftsmanship, without their giving (me) instruction, [I] guided [work (?)...]... their [...] in gold, silver, real lapis lazuli, [turquoise], [...] [I performed service for the barque of Isis [*ca. 10 columns lost*]

The text goes on to list his work on barks for other deities.⁵²³

On the right side of the room (walls 7, 8), and 9)), the walls are again divided into three registers, with the majority of the content in all seemingly deriving from Chapter 146 of the *Book of the Dead*. On east wall 7), there is at least one scene with Nekhtdhout and another wife, Tentpa..., standing before the Western Goddess, who makes the *nini* gesture in the lowest register. In the lowest register of short wall 8) is an image of Nekhtdhout's son, Khensemhab, who is given the title "Chief of the Goldsmiths of the Estate of Amun."⁵²⁴ Unfortunately, besides the autobiographical text found on focal wall 6), little information about the other material found on these walls exists. Regardless, the fact that a focal wall was chosen as the site for an autobiographical text highlights the importance of the representation of the tomb owner's career in the decorative program.

Moving into the inner room, the visitor encounters a door to a side room on the left at 10). Here on the lintel is a mirrored scene, with Nekhtdhout kneeling before Osiris

⁵²³ Froot 2007, 137-138.

⁵²⁴ Kitchen 1993, v. III, 252.

and Isis on one side and before Osiris and Nephthys on the other. The jambs have offering texts with an image of Nekhtdhout embraced by the Western Goddess on the left and an image of Nekhtdhout carrying a scepter on the right. The right walls of the inner room (walls 11) and 12)) are divided into three registers, all of which depict the funerary banquet. In the top register, two priests stand before an altar and a bouquet, offering to the deceased. In the lower two registers are male and female banquet guests. In the shrine area of the inner room at 13) is a false door instead of the expected sculptures or statue niche. The false door has an image of Khensemhab offering to Nekhtdhout and a wife on the bottom. On either side of the false door, the wall is divided into two registers. On the left are offering scenes to the deceased. In one case, Nekhdhout's other son, Amenemwia, priest of Mut of Asher, serves as the offerant. On the right side are still more scenes of the deceased receiving offering.

Tomb: TT 233

Name of Tomb Owner(s): Saroy and Amenhotep/Huy⁵²⁵

Known Title(s): Saroy: Royal Scribe of the Offering Table of the Lord of the Two Lands; Royal Scribe of the King's Repast; Keeper of the Royal Documents in the Presence (of the king); Royal Scribe and Guardian of the Mansion of the Lord of the Two Lands; Royal Scribe, Scribe of the *Smꜣ.y* of the Lord of the Two Lands; Royal Scribe, Scribe of the *Smꜣ.y*⁵²⁶; Butler of Bread; Leader of the Festival; Cattle Counter in the Estate of Amun; Royal Messenger to the Hill Country; Overseer of the Hunters of Amun. Amenhotep called Huy: Scribe of the Offering Table of the Lord of the Two Lands in the Estate of Amun⁵²⁷

⁵²⁵ Ockinga argues that the tomb was built for two people, principally Saroy, but also his assistant Amenhotep called Huy. Ockinga 2000, 107-109.

⁵²⁶ It seems likely that *smꜣ.y* relates somehow to the offering table or the bread that went on it; for a larger discussion of the question, see Seyfried 1990, 300.

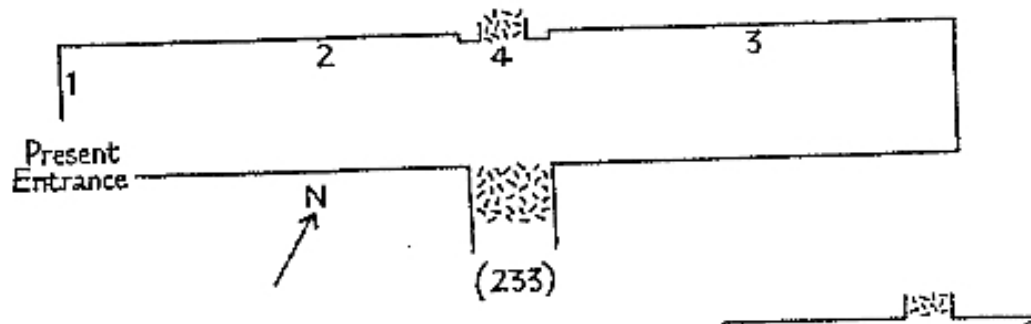
⁵²⁷ Ockinga 2000, 109-111.

Date: end of the reign of Ramesses II⁵²⁸

Area: Dra Abu el Naga

Medium: relief and painting

Sources: Porter and Moss 2004; Kampp 1996; Ockinga 2000



The tomb of Saroy is a one-room tomb with a transverse shape. It was apparently intended to be larger, as there is the beginning of a passage in the western part of the tomb, but perhaps the tomb owner died before the tomb could be fully cut or some other event changed the course of the construction. There is relatively little information about the tomb, but there seems to be extant decoration on the left short wall (1), the left focal wall (2), the lintel of the doorway into the incomplete inner room (4), and the right focal wall (3). The tomb owner lived at the end of the reign of Ramesses II and has titles that suggest he was favored by the king.⁵²⁹ The tomb is unusual in that the wall decoration on the left side is rendered in relief while the decoration on the right is painted.⁵³⁰

⁵²⁸ Dated to the end of the reign of Ramesses II based on style. Hofmann 2004, 27. This date is confirmed by two sculptures of Saroy found in the Karnak cachette now housed in Cairo (*Catalogue Général* 42167 and 42168). The pronomen of Ramesses II is found on CG 42167.

⁵²⁹ The existence of the two sculptures of Saroy found in the Karnak cachette also suggests the king's favor. Ockinga 2000, 112.

⁵³⁰ Kampp suggests that perhaps the painting on the right side of the room relates to a subsequent occupant of the tomb and notes that there is Coptic graffiti found on the right side of the tomb. Without further information, this suggestion cannot be confirmed. Kampp 1996, 512.

Originally a visitor entered the tomb on the east side of the transverse hall through a passage that lined up with the intended door to the inner room on the west wall at 4).⁵³¹ Above the doorway at 4), the lintel was decorated with a double scene, likely (based on parallels in other tombs) depicting the tomb owner, and perhaps his wife, adoring a seated Osiris and another deity (?).

The decoration on the left side of the tomb at 1) and 2) is divided into three registers. It seems, based on Porter and Moss's description, that the material on the two walls is not continuous, but without further information it is difficult to be certain. The upper two registers on wall 1) depict the funeral procession. In the top register is the scene of the mummies before the tomb with mourners. Based again on parallels from other tombs, it is assumed that the action in the scene moves from left to right, with the tomb appearing on the western part of the wall. To the right of the scene of the mummies before the tomb is one of Saroy and Amenhotep called Huy being received by Hathor and the Western Goddess.⁵³² The funeral procession is also represented in the middle register, with oxen dragging the sarcophagus of the deceased and mourners. In the lowest register on this wall is the text of Chapter 1 of the *Book of the Dead*. While the location of the scenes is not known, opening of the mouth and adoration of the statue scenes were originally found in the first room, and it is suggested that they belong on wall 1).⁵³³

⁵³¹ Porter and Moss notes that the present entrance is in the southwestern corner of the tomb. Whether this is still the case or was only true at the time of Porter and Moss's publication is unclear. Porter and Moss 2004, 329.

⁵³² Porter and Moss identified the figure with Saroy in this scene as "his wife," but Ockinga's work shows that the figure is, in fact, Amenhotep called Huy. Ockinga 2000, 109.

⁵³³ The existence of these scenes is attested by Schiaparelli 1882-1890, 306.

Focal wall 2) is also divided into three registers. The uppermost depicts Chapter 18 of the *Book of the Dead*.⁵³⁴ The middle register has an image of Saroy before Osiris, accompanied by a prayer to the deity.⁵³⁵ The lowest register begins with the “Litany of the Names of Osiris” from Chapter 142 of the *Book of the Dead*, which is followed by Chapter 130. This content is not as common on focal walls, but it is difficult to say more without knowing more about the composition of the scenes. However, it is known that at the end of register III on wall 2) (presumably directly to the left of the doorway at 4)) is a scene of Horus reporting to Osiris. The image of Osiris enthroned in a kiosk on at the end of a focal wall is almost universal and appears here.

The content recorded by PM for right focal wall 3) is difficult to envision. PM records the decoration on the wall as: “Long text, and lotus in center with priest offering incense, libation, and food, to bull on each side.”⁵³⁶ However, Ockinga’s more recent work in the tomb gives slightly more information, recording a fragmentary copy of Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead* and a “Declaration of Innocence.”⁵³⁷ Finally, Ockinga mentions the text of the opening of the mouth ritual recorded in red ink on the southern end of the wall.⁵³⁸ This tomb is made more complex by the fragmentary information about the decoration, and it is interesting that three of the chapters from the

⁵³⁴ Ockinga 2000, 111.

⁵³⁵ Part of this prayer is also found accompanying the Sokar Festival reliefs in the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. Epigraphic Survey 1940, pl. 196 D top register and pl. 226.

⁵³⁶ Porter and Moss 2004, 329.

⁵³⁷ Ockinga 2000, 111-112.

⁵³⁸ *Ibid.*, 112.

Book of the Dead found in this tomb (Chapters 1, 18, and 130) are recorded in none of the other tombs included in this study.

Tomb: TT 254

Name of Tomb Owner: Amenmose called Mesu (referred to as Mosi/Mose in many publications)

Known Title(s): Supervisor of the Estate of Tiye in the Estate of Amun; Senior Supervisor of the Treasury of Amun; Scribe of the treasury of Amun; Scribe of the God's Father(s) of Amun.⁵³⁹

Date: reign of Ay⁵⁴⁰

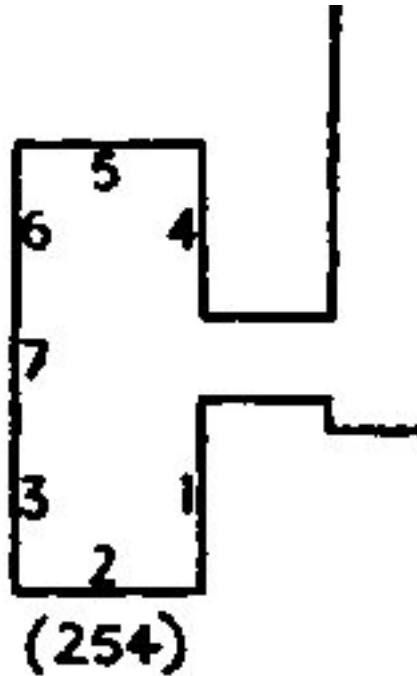
Area: Khokha

Medium: painting

Sources: Porter and Moss 2004; Strudwick 1996; MMA Archive Photos

⁵³⁹ Other titles, which likely refer to the same offices, are also preserved in the tomb: "Supervisor of the Treasury" and "Scribe of the Treasury of Amun." For a complete list of the extant titles, their transcription, and locations in the tomb, see Strudwick 1996, 57.

⁵⁴⁰ Dated to the end of the reign of Ay based on style. Hofmann, 25. For full explanation of stylistic indicators of this date, see *Ibid.*, 59-60.



TT 254 is a one-room tomb chapel with a transverse shape. The room is relatively small, measuring only 5.03 x 2.09 m.⁵⁴¹ The rock is not particularly high quality, as evidenced by the breakage seen in the tomb today, but the artists built up the surface of the wall where it was not smooth before plastering in order to create a suitable surface for painted decoration.⁵⁴² Instead of a statue niche or shrine as its focal point in the west end, the tomb has a stela in a painted doorframe (Fig. 127).

The entrance to the tomb once featured a limestone lintel and jambs, but only the left jamb, inscribed with a *htp-dj-nswt* formula to Mesu,⁵⁴³ remains. There is no extant decoration on the thicknesses of the entrance into the tomb. The decoration does not

⁵⁴¹ Strudwick 1996, p. 61. There are also three underground rooms (Strudwick's A,B,C), but these are not part of the chapel and therefore are not discussed here, Ibid. 62.

⁵⁴² Ibid.

⁵⁴³ For translation of the text, see, Ibid., 67.

extend over several walls; instead the content is restricted to single walls, an organization generally associated more strongly with 18th Dynasty tombs. Another decorative tendency associated with Theban tombs of the 18th Dynasty seen in this tomb is the manner in which the registers are divided. Rather than a strong horizontal division between upper and lower registers, the walls of TT 254 feature registers with internal partial sub-registers, and, while there are still horizontal divisions between registers, they are not the thick, text-filled bands seen in some 19th Dynasty tombs. Given the organization of the scenes in the tomb, the material on each wall will be discussed individually.

On east wall 1), the wall is divided into two principal registers, both having an image of a couple on the right end (Fig. 128). Each of the principal registers is then again subdivided into partial registers on the left side. In the upper register, an image of the couple--in this case Mesu and his wife--takes up the entire register at right, and they receive and inspect a series of priests with offerings in the upper partial register and the grain harvest in the lower. Text accompanies the couple, identifying them and giving their titles, and text above the priests identify three as their sons.⁵⁴⁴

In the lower principal register, the couple found at right may represent the tomb owner's parents or some other ancestors. Strudwick notes that the two are depicted in a style that differs from that of the couple above, showing stronger mid-18th Dynasty influence.⁵⁴⁵ He suggests that the representation of the couple in an older style is meant to

⁵⁴⁴ Strudwick 1996, 67-68. This tomb depicts 56 named individuals, a high number particularly for the size of the tomb. Among those identified, at least five sons and three daughters are mentioned, *Ibid.*, 58.

⁵⁴⁵ Strudwick 1996, 58.

show that they are members of an earlier generation, unless they were simply drawn by another artist. The fragmentary text accompanying the figures reads: “The senior supervisor of the treasury of Amun, Amenyotef/Amennebef, justified, the lady of the house, the singer... justified.”⁵⁴⁶ Regardless of the identity of the couple, as in the register above, they face left, watching two partial registers before them; these depict the flax harvest in the upper sub-register and the cultivation of soil in the lower. Badly damaged wall 2) is divided into three registers (Fig. 129). In the upper left corner of the top register are three seated cobras wearing large broad collars and cones on their heads. Their purpose here is unclear but Strudwick suggests that they are depicted as though they are guests at the funerary banquet, which is the content of the rest of the register.⁵⁴⁷ In the middle register the funerary procession is depicted with figures bringing funerary goods toward the western or right end of the wall. Funerary boats appear in the lowest register.

The material on east wall 4) is divided into two registers, with the upper being shorter than the lower (Fig. 130). The left corner of the upper register features a scene of Amenhotep I, Ahmose Nefertari, and Mesu (?) before a standing Osiris accompanied by a female deity. As there has been heavy loss in the area of the offerants, the identity of the figures may have been unknown except for the detail of the black female feet of the second figure, a characteristic of Ahmose Nefertari, who is almost always seen in the company of her son, Amenhotep I. The identity of Ahmose as the third figure is assumption. This scene is very unusual. Stranger still is the scene that appears behind it to

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid., 70.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid., 71.

the right. Departing from the content on the left, the right upper register shows the weighing of goods and storerooms. Usually scenes of adoration of deities are not found in the same register as more profane scenes related to the professional responsibilities of the tomb owner. The register below continues the theme of the tomb owner's profession, with large figures of Mesu and his wife at left inspecting the storerooms as part of his position in the estate of Amun.

The right short wall 5) has at its center a stela surrounded by offering scenes. This phenomenon is common for short walls in Theban tombs of the 18th Dynasty. In the case of TT 254, the stela is unfinished, with the composition only drawn in black outline (Fig. 131). In the upper part of the stela, Mesu offers to Osiris at left. In the lower part, the outline shows four figures seated on block thrones. The second figure from the right appears to have had the head of a baboon, suggesting that the four figures were intended to be the Sons of Horus. On either side of the stela the wall is divided into three registers. On the left, in the top register, Mesu and his wife are seated on the right receiving an offering from their daughter, Mutemwia. In the middle register a man offers to the seated couple as above. And, in the lowest register, an offering table appears at right, next to the stela, while a man censes above it; behind him are female mourners. On the right side of the stela, in the top register a man offers to the couple, who are seated on the left, next to the stela. In the middle register, as in the upper, a man offers to the seated couple. In the lowest, two men stand before an offering table, followed by a female mourner. The orientation of the figures and the painted offering tables on either side of the stela help to establish wall 5) as a secondary place of offering, with the figures on either side modeling the behavior expected at the site. The connection between this site of offering and the

main site at 7) is stronger in this tomb than in some others, as the primary, which is usually marked with a cult statue, is here marked by a stela as well.

Left focal wall 3) is divided into two registers and unfortunately has suffered more damage than any other part of the tomb (Fig. 132). The upper register depicts Mesu and his wife before the enthroned figures of Osiris in his kiosk on the right, accompanied by a damaged Western Goddess. Behind the couple on the left, the register is further divided into two partial registers. In the upper of these, six male figures, many identified as sons of the couple, follow them in adoration of Osiris.⁵⁴⁸ In the lower partial register is a series of female figures, whose number and names are unknown due to loss. Very little of the scene remains in the lower register of wall 3). One of the most interesting aspects of the scene is the fact that the series of figures in procession faces left, as opposed to the series of figures in the upper register who adore Osiris and face right. Usually the orientation of figures is the same in upper and lower registers, but this wall is different. Strudwick sees the structure on the left side of the lower registers as a temple or shrine and therefore suggests that the scene is one of a procession in front of a temple.⁵⁴⁹ This reading is possible but cannot be confirmed because of the extent of the damage.

In the center of the western wall is the stela, which serves TT 254 as its shrine (Fig. 127). The stela is carved inside a frame with *htp-dj-nswt* formulae inscribed on the jambs and lintel.⁵⁵⁰ The scene that dominates the upper part of the stela depicts Mesu

⁵⁴⁸ Strudwick 1996, 77.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁰ For translation of formulae, see Strudwick 1996, 78.

standing before an offering table, offering to an enthroned Osiris, behind whom stands Maat. The stela features further offering texts below the scene.

The right focal wall (6) is divided into two principal registers (Fig. 133). In the upper register at left, Mesu is seated with his wife and another female figure before a table, enjoying a banquet while figures serve on the other side. On the right side of the upper register, the scene is divided into two partial registers. In the upper one, two female musicians face Mesu and the women. Behind them is another seated couple being served by an attendant. In the lower partial register are still more banquet guests and servants. The lower principal register features a large figure of Mesu standing at left, accompanied by a small male figure. Mesu hands his wife a bouquet as she stands before their house.⁵⁵¹ The house is either two or three stories, with trees represented either outside the house or perhaps evoking a garden courtyard within. Interestingly, faint text in the center of the doorway to the house is another */htp-dj-nswt* formula, perhaps associating the house in life with the tomb.⁵⁵² Behind and to the right of the house, the register splits into two partial registers. In the left side of each of the partial registers are male figures with food; these may be associated with the household depicted on the left. On the right side of the upper partial register is a scene of a butcher's workshop, while in the lower is a bakery. Whether these scenes represent work within Mesu's household or events that he oversaw in his professional life is unknown, but it is likely that they are related to the banquet in the register above.

⁵⁵¹ While the text that accompanies the figures identified the woman as "the lady of the house, the singer of Amun in Karnak, Duaneftret, justified, perfect in rest," the text identifying Mesu is more fragmentary, enough remains to identify the figure as Mesu. Ibid., 82.

⁵⁵² For translation of text, see Ibid., 83.

Tomb: TT 263

Name of Tomb Owner: Piay

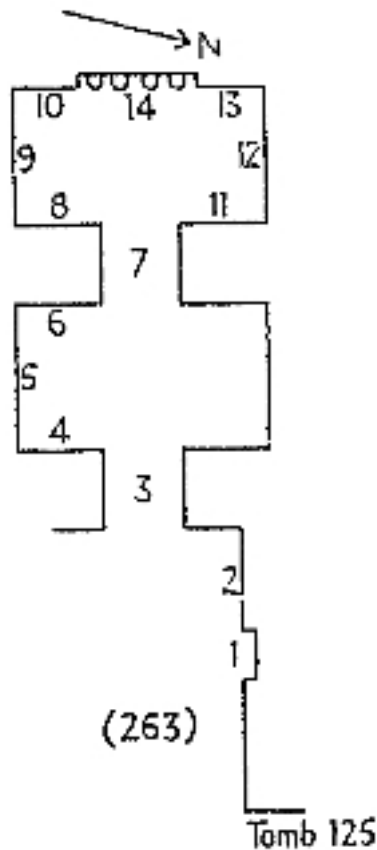
Known Title(s): Scribe of the Workshop in the Estate of Amun; Scribe of the Workshop in the Temple of Usimare Setepenre in the Estate of Amun; Scribe of the Workshop of Amun; Scribe of the Workshop of Amun in “United-with-Thebes”⁵⁵³

Date: 1st half of the reign of Ramesses II⁵⁵⁴

Area: Sheikh Abd el Qurna

Medium: painting

Sources: Porter and Moss 2004; Kitchen 1993; MMA Archive Photos; Author Photos



TT 263 is a two-room tomb with a transverse first room and a similarly shaped inner room with four engaged statues in the shrine. Because the tomb has suffered heavy

⁵⁵³ Kitchen 1993, v. III, 276-279.

⁵⁵⁴ Dated to the first half of the reign of Ramesses II based on a writing of Ramesses II's name with "mss" and the name of Piay in TT 19, Hofmann 2004, 27.

damage, the remaining decoration is heavily abraded and dirty. Two stelae are associated with the tomb at 1) and 2). At 1) there is a depression in the rock and a striding figure of the goddess Hathor. At 2) is a stela divided into two registers. The upper register contains a double scene with Piay adoring Amen-Re-Harakhti on the left and Osiris on the right. In the lower register, priests and mourners are before the mummies standing in front of the tomb. The mummies and the tomb are on the left side of the register, closer to the tomb itself where perhaps the mummies of Piay and his wife once stood for their final rites.

The lintel of the doorway is damaged on the right, but the left jamb has three lines of text, each with *hṭp-dj-nswt* for Piay.⁵⁵⁵ At the bottom of the lintel is a seated figure of Piay, and at the top are three damaged figures, likely once depicting Piay, his wife, and a male relative. The right lintel had similar decoration, but most is now lost. The left thickness of the entrance at 3) is divided into two registers, the upper being larger than the lower. In the former, Piay and his wife are represented adoring, facing out of the tomb accompanied by a hymn to Re.⁵⁵⁶ On the left of the lower register is an image of the couple playing draughts, while on the right the couple's son officiates before them (Fig. 134). The playing of draughts comes from Chapter 17 of the *Book of the Dead*.⁵⁵⁷ On the right thickness the wall is divided similarly. In the upper register, Piay and his wife, facing into the tomb, raise their arms in adoration. In the register below, on the right, is

⁵⁵⁵ For translation of text on left lintel, see Kitchen 1993, v. III, 277.

⁵⁵⁶ For translation of the hymn, see Ibid.

⁵⁵⁷ Saleh 1984, 17.

an image of a harper who plays before what may have been a statue of the deceased on the left. The text of the harper's song is recorded:

Awake in peace in your tomb,--your petitions have been heard, you[r so]n is praised, [...] is your house upon earth; (May) you follow your god in the District of Poqer, in his beautiful festival of the Neshmet-barque. There is made for you a great oblation at the door of your tomb, your soul comes forth at the voice of your spirit (*ka*), to receive the things set out for it, according to every word [...]. You hear the petitions (uttered) by (your) children, at the door (?) of your abode, (namely) seeing Re at dawn. You propitiate Atum at his setting [in Manu?]; [you dwell ?? in] the Field of Reeds with the Spirits of the Gods. You mingle with the Followers of Horus, (for) you are one of them, You hear every (?) [...] on this day, O Scribe Piay.⁵⁵⁸

The only extant decoration in the outer room is found on the three walls of the southern wing. All of the walls are divided into two registers. On eastern wall 4), the upper register has a row of male figures with arms held aloft in adoration. All the figures face left, perhaps once adoring a deity in that direction. Usually a row of figures on this wall would be part of a funeral procession, but because their arms are held aloft and they face out of the tomb as opposed to in it seems more likely that they are part of a scene of adoration of a deity. Furthermore, such a scene would make sense given the scene found in register II on wall 4). In the lower register, though now heavily damaged, was a scene

⁵⁵⁸ Kitchen 1993, v. III, 276-277.

of a male figure on the right offering to a seated male figure on the left. In all probability the seated male figure was that of Piay and the figure offering was a male family member. As has been seen in other examples, compositional parallels often exist between upper and lower registers on a given wall. However, usually the material in the upper register deals with more sacred material. This said, it would make sense for a scene of a deity receiving offerings to appear in the upper register of wall 4), with a compositionally similar image of the tomb owner receiving offerings in the register below.

On “short” wall 5), only the material in the upper register is legible; it depicts Piay and his wife facing to the right, moving through the gates to the afterlife. This material is associated with Chapter 145/146 in the *Book of the Dead*. To the right of the gates is another scene that derives from the *Book of the Dead*, but in this case it is the weighing scene from Chapter 125. Moving on to focal wall 6), one again finds that one register is illegible: on wall 6), only the fragmentary material in the lower is legible. Here two large seated figures (likely the tomb owner and his wife) are represented on the right, with a standing male figure offering before them, followed by a series of smaller figures. The orientation of the couple on the wall in the lower register and the fact that this is a focal wall leads to the suggestion that perhaps there was an image of the tomb owner encountering the enthroned Osiris in the register above. The scene might have been one of the tomb owner presented to the enthroned Osiris, given the fact that the weighing is depicted in the upper register on wall 5). These are only suggestions, but, given the many parallels found on focal walls, they are legitimate.

The jambs and lintel of the door leading into the inner room at 7) have inscribed on them fragmentary texts that include hymns to Amen-Re and Re. On the left jamb there

is mention of the Valley Festival. The thicknesses at 7) have no extant decoration, and that which remains in the rest of the inner room is fragmentary and very dirty. The walls are all divided into two registers. On the left walls 8) and 9), the material in each register may have been continuous. In the upper register, three scenes begin at the left on wall 8): in the first, a man offers to Piay and his wife; in the second, Piay and his wife stand before divinities; and, in the third, a god leads Piay and his wife to the right, toward the Western Goddess. In the lower register beginning on wall 8) are two extant scenes. In the first two men cense before Piay and his wife, and in the second a man libates before the couple. On the short wall 10), to the left of the shrine, the wall is again divided into two registers, with the scene in the upper register depicting Piay and his wife offering to Osiris, Hathor, and the Hathor cow in the mountain. In the lower register, a man and a priest offer to Piay and his wife. In general, the scenes on this side of the inner room depict rituals before and for the deceased and his wife in the lower registers and scenes of the deceased interacting with deities in the upper. On the right side of the inner room, the material on walls 11), 12), and 13) seems to have been continuous, although almost nothing is left at this point. It seems these walls feature scenes of various rites before the statues.⁵⁵⁹ In the shrine in the western end of the inner room are four engaged, seated sculptures representing two couples (Fig. 135). Any text that would have identified them is now lost, but it is likely that at least one couple represents the tomb owner and his wife.

Tomb: TT 296

Name of Tomb Owner: Nefersekheru

⁵⁵⁹ Porter and Moss 2004, 345.

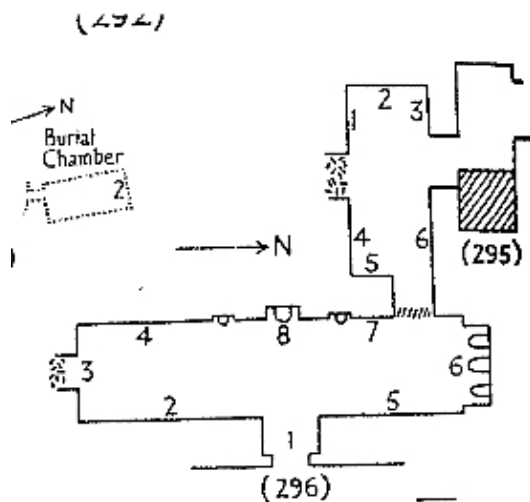
Known Title(s): Deputy Administrator of the Treasury; Deputy Administrator of the Royal Treasury; Scribe of the Divine Offerings of All the Gods; Real Scribe of the King, Whom He Preferred; Highly Praised by the Great God (i.e. the King)⁵⁶⁰

Date: 2nd half of the reign of Ramesses II⁵⁶¹

Area: Khokha

Medium: painting

Sources: Porter and Moss 2004; Kitchen 1993; Feucht 1985; MMA Archive Photos; Author Photos



TT 296 is a one-room tomb with a transverse shape and an unusually large amount of sculpture for a tomb of its size. Directly opposite the entrance to the tomb, at 8), is a large mummiform engaged sculpture of Osiris, of which only the bottom half remains.⁵⁶² On either side of the figure of Osiris are two engaged sculptures of the tomb owner in elaborate daily life dress. The figure on the left appears to be a younger image of the deceased, while that on the right represents the tomb owner as a more established man. The northern short wall 6) features a statue niche with three seated, engaged

⁵⁶⁰ The first three titles are likely closely related and the two final titles are honorary titles. Feucht 1985, 97.

⁵⁶¹ Dated to the second half of the reign of Ramesses II based on style, Hofmann 2004, 27.

⁵⁶² See Feucht 1985, Taf. XX.

sculptures, with Nefersekheru in the middle flanked by two women, one of whom is his wife, Nedjemut (Fig. 136).⁵⁶³ The identity of the other woman is unknown due to the damaged text on her skirt, but it is possible that she was another wife who is mentioned several times in the tomb, Nofretere.⁵⁶⁴

The jambs on either side of the entrance to the tomb are carved with *htp-dj-nswt* formulae, while any decoration that might have once existed on the lintel is now gone.⁵⁶⁵ Each thicknesses of the entrance has large images of the tomb owner and an unnamed woman, presumably his wife, accompanied by text. On the left (south) thickness, the pair faces out of the tomb. Nefersekheru's arms are raised in adoration, and the woman who follows him holds a sistrum and menat.⁵⁶⁶ The pair is accompanied by a hymn to the sun.⁵⁶⁷ The orientation of the figures, facing out of the tomb to the rising sun, is appropriate to the text that accompanies them. On the opposite (right or north) thickness, the figures face into the tomb, Nefersekheru again with his hands raised, and this time the woman who follows him holds one hand up in adoration while the other grasps a

⁵⁶³ For transcription and translation of identifying texts on the garments of the central male figure and the female figure on the right on wall 6), see Feucht 1985, 90.

⁵⁶⁴ Nofretere accompanies Nefersekheru in scenes on wall 2) and 4), while Nedjemut appears in scenes on walls 5) and 7). Ibid., 99.

⁵⁶⁵ For transcription and translation of these formulae, see Feucht 1985, 16-17.

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid., Taf. VI.

⁵⁶⁷ For transcription and translation of the sun hymn found here, see Ibid. 18-20.

menat.⁵⁶⁸ Here they are accompanied by a hymn to Osiris, again appropriate given their orientation toward the west, the direction of the afterlife.⁵⁶⁹

The organization of the decoration on the walls of the tomb is such that the long walls of the chapel (2), (4), (7), and (5) are each divided into two registers by a band of text surrounded by decorative elements, and at their top, below the *khekher* frieze, is another band of text. The material on each of these walls is discrete in that the narratives do not extend across walls. The short walls (3) and (6) do not have the bipartite register division of the long walls. A doorway dominates wall (3), and, as noted earlier, three engaged figural sculptures occupy wall (6). Because of this, the content of each wall will be discussed in turn. Walls will be grouped based on their location in the tomb (east, short, focal), as the scenes on each can be more clearly understood when their relationship to the viewer is considered.

A *htp-dj-nswt* formula is found in the band at the top of wall (2), below the *khekher* frieze, and a band of text with a hymn to Osiris divides the two registers of this wall.⁵⁷⁰ The scenes on this wall move from left to right. First, next to the doorway to the tomb in the upper register, are two scenes of Nefersekeru and Nofretere encountering the gates to the afterlife as part of Chapter 145/146 of the *Book of the Dead* (Fig. 137).⁵⁷¹

⁵⁶⁸ See Feucht 1985, Taf. VII.

⁵⁶⁹ For transcription and translation of the Osiris hymn found here, see Feucht *Ibid.*, 20-21.

⁵⁷⁰ For transcription and translation of both the *htp-dj-nswt* formula and the hymn to Osiris on wall (2), see *Ibid.* 8-9.

⁵⁷¹ Saleh 1984, 77.

The first gate is gate six and the second represents gate three.⁵⁷² In both cases the tomb owner and his wife face right, and the guardians in their gates face left; in this manner the tomb owner and his wife are shown moving toward the afterlife in the west. In the next scene in register I, Nefersekeru and Nofretere once again face right and stand before a large offering table, accompanied by a hymn to Osiris.⁵⁷³ The next scene shows the god Anubis leading the couple into the hall of judgment (Fig. 138).⁵⁷⁴ At the top of the scene are seated deities who form the tribunal. Below these, Horus holds the scale of judgment with a small figure of Maat on one pan and a faded image of the tomb owner's heart on the other. Ammit sits next to the balance, waiting to devour the heart in the event that Nefersekeru's bid for an afterlife should prove unsuccessful. Thoth stands poised to record the outcome of the proceeding. All the figures, with the exception of the deities at the top, face right and look to the enthroned figure of Osiris in his kiosk at right. Osiris, accompanied by Isis and Nephthys, faces left and oversees the proceedings. The scenes in the upper register of wall 2) follow a clear narrative that occurs during the tomb owner's transition to the afterlife. While all the scenes can be found in the *Book of the Dead*, here they are condensed to their most salient moments. In the first scenes, the tomb owner and his wife move through two of the many gates to the afterlife; next, they make offerings to Osiris; and they eventually move into the hall of judgment, where their worthiness of an afterlife is confirmed. The constant motion of the tomb owner and his wife from left to

⁵⁷² For the text accompanying the gate scenes, see Feucht 1985, 22-23.

⁵⁷³ For transcription and translation of Hymn to Osiris, see Feucht 1985, 24-25.

⁵⁷⁴ For translation of the texts found in the Judgement scene, see *Ibid.*, 25-30.

right confirms their path from the land of the living in the east toward the land of the dead in the west.

In register II, the action in the scenes represented also moves from left to right. Beginning near the door at left is a scene from Chapter 62 from the *Book of the Dead*.⁵⁷⁵ In it, Nefersekeru and Nofretere face right and bring their cupped hands to their mouths to drink water from a T-shaped pool with fish swimming in it; beside it are trees with birds and a nest with eggs (Fig. 139).⁵⁷⁶ Moving to the right on the wall are two more scenes. In each, Nefersekeru and Nofretere sit at left, presented with a ceremonial bouquet and food offerings. In the first scene they are accompanied by a small girl who stands behind Nofretere and by a priest wearing a leopard-skin cloak, who libates and holds a taper beside the large pile of ceremonial bouquets and offerings.⁵⁷⁷ A kneeling female mourner accompanies the priest. In the second offering scene, the couple receives their food offerings from a similarly dressed priest who libates and censes before the offerings.⁵⁷⁸ In the next scene, Nefersekeru and Nofretere are seated, facing left, while playing draughts in a kiosk-like structure; this scene comes from Chapter 17 from the *Book of the Dead* and is associated with the transition to the afterlife.⁵⁷⁹ The final scene in register II on the right on wall 2) depicts Nefersekeru standing (facing right) in front

⁵⁷⁵ Saleh 1984, 33.

⁵⁷⁶ For the accompanying text, see Feucht 1985, 30.

⁵⁷⁷ For the offering text found in this scene, see *Ibid.*, 31-34.

⁵⁷⁸ For the offering text found in this scene, see *Ibid.*, 34-35.

⁵⁷⁹ For the text accompanying the scene, see *Ibid.*, 35-36.

of a large offering table before figures of Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari enthroned in a kiosk (Fig. 140).⁵⁸⁰

While the scenes found in the upper registers on wall 2) all seem to present a basically linear series of events that take place in the Duat during the transition to the afterlife, those in register II are less straightforward. The scenes of the couple drinking by a pool and playing draughts come from the *Book of the Dead* and relate to the transition to the afterlife but could also signal to visitors meanings of elite homes with gardens and games played in life. The scenes of the couple receiving offerings occur in the living world and emphasize the tomb owner's need for continuous offering in the tomb space. The final scene of Nefersekeru adoring Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari, while sometimes a reference to the professional life of the tomb owner when he is involved in the cults of these divinized royals, does not directly relate to any of Nefersekeru's recorded titles. However, the scene of a tomb owner adoring Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari in a kiosk below the scene of Osiris receiving adoration in his kiosk, which appears above this scene in register I, is relatively common. Oftentimes, found on focal walls, here these stacked scenes occur on an east wall. In addition, there is a visual resonance established by the repetition of the figures of Osiris, Nephthys, and Isis in a kiosk in register I, Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari in a kiosk in register II, and the figures of Nefersekeru and Nofretere in a kiosk-like pavilion in register II. The visual parallels between all three sets of left-facing figures seated in structures would signal a viewer to form a connection among them.

⁵⁸⁰ For the fragmentary offering text that accompanies this scene, see Feucht 1985, 36-38.

The bands of text found in both the upper and middle parts of wall 5) are *htp-dj-nswt* formulae.⁵⁸¹ In the upper register, beginning on the right (next to the doorway), is a figure of Nefersekheru followed by his wife Nedjemut standing before an offering table. The couple faces left and stands before a long text with seated deities and negative confessions (Fig. 141).⁵⁸² The text, while somewhat difficult to read, comes from Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead* and affirms the tomb owner's righteous behavior in life and his worthiness of an afterlife.⁵⁸³ The text takes up the majority of the upper registers, but to its left is one more scene in which Nefersekheru is introduced by the god Thoth to Osiris enthroned in his kiosk with Maat.⁵⁸⁴ In both scenes in this register Nefersekheru faces left, and the two scenes can be read as continuous in that, after the tomb owner's successful statement of the negative confessions, he may be welcomed into the afterlife and the presence of Osiris. However, unlike the scenes found on the other east wall 2), the scenes here are not as linear. In register II on wall 5) there is a long continuous scene that begins on at the right end of the wall and ends on the left. The right half shows the funeral procession with servants, priests, mourners, and family members bringing burial goods to the tomb, and four oxen dragging the sarcophagus of the deceased on a sledge.⁵⁸⁵ The procession is greeted by a group of female mourners who kneel, weep, and hold their heads in mourning. The scene resolves on the left side of the wall, where the

⁵⁸¹ For transcription and translation of the *htp-dj-nswt* formulae found on wall 5), see Feucht 1985, 11-12.

⁵⁸² For transcription and transliteration of the negative confessions found here, see Ibid., 38-42.

⁵⁸³ Saleh 1984, 66.

⁵⁸⁴ For translation of the texts found in the introduction to Osiris scene, see Feucht 1985, 42-45.

⁵⁸⁵ See Ibid., Taf. XIX.

mummy of the tomb owner is set up before the tomb (Fig. 142).⁵⁸⁶ The tomb stands in front of the western hills, from which emerges the head of the Hathor cow. A woman kneels in mourning before the mummy's feet, and a large pile of offerings is censured and libated by priests. A lector priest stands just to the right of the others and performs the final rites before the tomb. On this wall the division between the living world and the beyond appears in the two registers: the events in the upper register occur in the Duat, where the deceased is in transition to the afterlife, while the lower register records the funerary offerings and rituals performed in the living world. Furthermore, parallels made between the scenes in the upper and lower registers encourage the viewer to connect the successful performance of rituals on earth with their efficacy for the deceased in the beyond. In both registers, the action in the scenes move from right to left. In the upper, the negative confessions parallel the funeral procession and mourners before the tomb because both are necessary prerequisites to the culminating scenes they introduce. In the upper register, the resolution takes place when the deceased is introduced to Osiris at the left end of the wall, while in the lower register a similar resolution occurs but in the living world, when the deceased is finally deposited in his tomb in the west, where he can begin the transition to the afterlife. The placement of scenes in separate registers on a single wall can inform the viewer's reading of both.

As noted previously, south wall 3) is dominated by a much-damaged doorway.⁵⁸⁷ A long band of text that runs the height of the wall flanks the doorway on each side. Each

⁵⁸⁶ For the text accompanying the scene found in register II on wall 5), see Feucht 1985, 46-54.

⁵⁸⁷ See Feucht 1985, Taf. XXXII.

features a *htp-dj-nswt* formula.⁵⁸⁸ The lintel and jambs of the door itself have been damaged, but on the left jamb are the remnants of three vertical bands of text, each of which have a *htp-dj-nswt* formula. The band closest to the doorway is for Amun-Re, the middle band for Osiris, and the outer band for Isis.⁵⁸⁹ At the bottom of the left jamb is an image of the seated Nefersekeru. Nothing remains of the text on the right jamb. The lintel has two mirrored scenes: on the left the tomb owner and a woman (perhaps Nofretere?) offer before an enthroned figure of Osiris accompanied by an offering text;⁵⁹⁰ on the right, Nefersekeru and his wife Nedjemut offer to an enthroned figure of Anubis with an offering text.⁵⁹¹

It has already been noted that northern wall 6) is taken up entirely by three engaged seated figures in a niche.⁵⁹² The identity of the female figure on the left is unknown, as very little of the identifying text that once ran down the center of her skirt is extant, but, as noted earlier, perhaps this figure represents Nefersekeru's other wife, Nofretere. The male figure in the center is Nefersekeru and the named female figure on the right is his wife Nedjemut, who is given the titles lady of the house, and singer of Amun, Mut and Khons.⁵⁹³ On the right and left ends of the niche are single vertical lines

⁵⁸⁸ For transcription and translation of the *htp-dj-nswt* formulae found on the right and left sides of wall 3), see *Ibid.*, 85-86.

⁵⁸⁹ For transcription and translation of these fragmentary texts, see *Ibid.*, 88-89.

⁵⁹⁰ For transcription and translation of the text, see *Ibid.*, 89. The name of the woman in this scene is not extant.

⁵⁹¹ For transcription and translation of offering text to Anubis, see *Ibid.*, 88.

⁵⁹² See Feucht 1985, Farbtaf. IVa.

⁵⁹³ For transcription and translation of these identifying texts, see *Ibid.*, 90.

of text adoring Osiris.⁵⁹⁴ Between each of the figures, as well as on the jambs of the niche, are large ceremonial bouquets. The roof of the niche is decorated with a checkerboard pattern in which alternating boxes hold bunches of grapes and grape leaves. The lintel of the niche is decorated with a *khekher* frieze with couchant jackals on shrines and Hathor heads. The location of these sculptures, which are clearly shrine sculptures, on the northern short wall of the transverse room--rather than their usual location along the central western axis of the tomb chapel space--is unusual for a tomb of this size.⁵⁹⁵ The location of this sculpture can possibly be related to the damaged door opposite it on wall 3). If at some point this door was intended to be the entrance to the tomb, then the location of the shrine sculpture at 6) would make sense. Alternatively, it is possible to see the sculptures at 6) in the manner of the stelae or false doors that often appear on the short walls of transverse rooms, particularly in the 18th Dynasty. Regardless, the location and amount of sculpture found in this tomb set it apart from others of its size and date.

Wall 4) is the left focal wall of TT 296, and both bands of text found in the upper and middle parts of wall 4) have hymns to Osiris.⁵⁹⁶ The upper register of wall 4) has two scenes. On the left is an image of Nefersekeru, followed by his wife Nofretere and another male figure adoring an enthroned Osiris in an elaborate kiosk (Fig. 143). In this

⁵⁹⁴ For transcription and translation of these texts, see Feucht 1985, 91.

⁵⁹⁵ In some of the very large relief-cut tombs excluded in this study but listed in the appendix as #8, there is often large-scale sculpture of the seated tomb owner and his wife on one or two ends of the transverse hall. However, these sculptures usually are found in addition to the traditional shrine sculpture of the tomb owner on the western end of the central axis. In some cases, the shrine sculpture of the deceased in these tombs represents the tomb owner seated and accompanied by a seated image of Osiris. It is possible that this tomb represents a similar phenomenon but on a smaller scale in a painted tomb, considering the mummiform sculpture of Osiris flanked by sculptures of the tomb owner found in the center of the western wall in this tomb.

⁵⁹⁶ For transcription and translation of the hymns to Osiris found on wall 4), see Feucht 1985, 10-11.

scene the figures are accompanied by a text honoring Osiris.⁵⁹⁷ In the next, Nefersekheru stands before an offering table adoring another image of the enthroned Osiris in his kiosk, but this time Osiris is accompanied by standing mummiform figures of Isis and Horus.⁵⁹⁸ In this scene the text accompanying the tomb owner is a hymn to Osiris.⁵⁹⁹ The lower register on wall 4) has three scenes, the first of which (on the left) depicts Nefersekheru and Nofretere seated with two smaller female figures who may be their daughters behind them. The group sits before an offering table facing right while a priest in a leopard-skin cloak libates and holds a container of incense on the other side.⁶⁰⁰ The scene also features an offering text for the couple.⁶⁰¹ In the next scene Nefersekheru and Nofretere sit facing left before a table of offerings as a priest lights a taper beside it.⁶⁰² Once again the scene is accompanied by offering texts for the couple.⁶⁰³ The final full height scene on the right side of the lower register is another offering scene.⁶⁰⁴ This time, however, Nefersekheru and a woman are seated at right, facing left, with another small female figure seated beneath the woman's chair. Three other small male figures sit facing left behind the woman beneath the chair, each seated in front of a table of offerings and holding a lotus to their noses. These smaller figures occupy the space below the feet of the engaged

⁵⁹⁷ For transcription and translation of the text, see Feucht 1985, 61-64.

⁵⁹⁸ See *Ibid.*, XXV.

⁵⁹⁹ For transcription and translation of the text, see *Ibid.*, 64-67.

⁶⁰⁰ See *Ibid.*, Taf. XXVI, Sz. 21.

⁶⁰¹ For transcription and translation of the text, see *Ibid.*, 68-69.

⁶⁰² See *Ibid.*, Taf. XXVI, Sz. 22.

⁶⁰³ For transcription and translation of the text, see *Ibid.*, 69-72.

⁶⁰⁴ See Feucht 1985, Taf. XXVII.

sculpture of Nefersekheru on the left of the central sculpture of Osiris in between wall 4) and 7). The text is too damaged to identify the women or the smaller male figure. Before them, facing right, is a priest who censens and libates before them and a large offering table. A harper playing his instrument kneels at the feet of the priest. The fragmentary text that remains in the scene accompanying the priest is an offering text for the deceased.⁶⁰⁵

Such images of the tomb owner offering to/in the presence of Osiris in a kiosk in the upper register are almost ubiquitous on focal walls in this period. In addition, as seen here, they are frequently paired, in the lower register, with images of the tomb owner in a parallel position, receiving offerings. Here the parallel between Osiris and the tomb owner is made clear and directly expresses the tomb owner's desire to become an Osiris. Details of these scenes are not necessarily common. For instance, the scene of the priest lighting tapers, while not unique, is uncommon (Register II wall 4). The same is true for the arrangement of the figures of the seated Osiris in his kiosk with a mummiform Horus and Isis facing him seen on wall 4) register I. Even so, the general subject matter and composition is quite familiar.

As noted earlier, the central part of the west wall features a large engaged sculpture of the standing mummiform Osiris at its center, with smaller flanking images of Nefersekheru to its left and right.⁶⁰⁶ These features take the place of a traditional shrine statue in niche or an entrance to the inner room of a tomb. Between the image of Osiris and the sculptures of the tomb owners is a painted image of a personified Isis-Hathor

⁶⁰⁵ For transcription and translation of the text, see *Ibid.*, 72-75.

⁶⁰⁶ Feucht 1985, Taf. XX.

knot at left and of a personified *djed* pillar at right. The image of Osiris occupies a shallow niche with a cornice. The cornice has a thin band of text at its top, which features two *htp-dj-nswt* formulae.⁶⁰⁷ Below this text is a mirrored scene with a *djed* pillar at its center flanked by Isis knots, *nfrw nb*, and the *wedjat* eye atop a *neb* basket. On each end, the tomb owner is depicted kneeling before an image of the cow goddess Hathor emerging from the western hills.

Wall 7) is the right focal wall of TT 296, and its upper band of text is one in which the tomb owner asserts his worthiness of an afterlife, venerates Osiris, and affirms his commitment to Maat.⁶⁰⁸ The band of text that runs along the middle of the wall is yet another *htp-dj-nswt* formula.⁶⁰⁹ In the upper register on the left, next to the right image of the tomb owner, Nefersekeru and Nedjemut offer before an enthroned image of Osiris in his kiosk accompanied by Isis and Nephthys (Fig. 144). The pair is accompanied by a hymn to Osiris.⁶¹⁰ The arrangement of two kiosk scenes, in which the figures sit enthroned with their backs to the central niche shrine or the entrance to an inner room, is common and can be seen here in the arrangement of this scene on focal wall 7) register I on the right and in the two compositionally similar scenes on focal wall 4) in both registers I and II. The scene that follows it, on the right side of focal wall 7), register II, is unusual, however. Here, Nefersekeru stands on the left with arms raised in adoration,

⁶⁰⁷ For transcription and translation of the *htp-dj-nswt* formulae found here, see *Ibid.*, 54-56.

⁶⁰⁸ For transcription and translation of this justification text, see *Ibid.*, 12-13.

⁶⁰⁹ For transcription and translation of the text found in the middle band on wall 7), see *Ibid.*, 13-14.

⁶¹⁰ For transcription and translation of the hymn to Osiris, see *Ibid.*, 76-77.

accompanied by a hymn to the sun (Fig. 145).⁶¹¹ He faces rightward toward the arms of the goddess Nut receiving the sun disk from the arms of an ankh on top of a personified, dressed *djed* pillar. The red hills of the west are depicted on either side of the scene, and baboons, Isis and Nephthys, and *ba* birds adore on either side. On the right of the scene, in an upper sub-register two gods and the kneeling souls of Pe and Nekhen adore the scene, facing left. Below these figures, in another sub-register, another figure of Nefersekheru kneels adoring the scene on the right. These figures are accompanied by an adoration text.⁶¹²

Unfortunately, the majority of the lower register on wall 7) is lost because of a door made to connect TT 296 to TT 295. However, the first scene in the lower register at the left remains. It depicts Nefersekheru and Nedjemut kneeling with their *ba* birds, along with five smaller figures behind them, all receiving water from the tree goddess.⁶¹³ The scene and the accompanying text comes from Chapter 59 of the *Book of the Dead*.⁶¹⁴ The only other extant decoration in the second register of wall 7) is the head of Nedjemut in the right-hand corner, but not enough remains to identify the scene.⁶¹⁵

Tomb: TT 324

Name of Tomb Owner: Hatiay

⁶¹¹ For transcription and translation of hymn to the Sun, see Feucht, p. 82-83.

⁶¹² For transliteration and translation of the text, see Feucht 1985, 79-82.

⁶¹³ See Feucht 1985, Taf. XXX.

⁶¹⁴ Saleh 1984, 29. For full transcription and transliteration of the text, see Feucht 1985, 84-85.

⁶¹⁵ See Feucht 1985, Taf. XXXI.

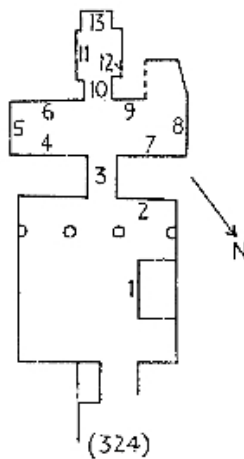
Known Title(s): Overseer of the Prophets of All the Gods; High Priest of Mont; High Priest of Sobek; Scribe of the Temple of Montu; High Priest of Horus, Sobek, Anubis, and Khons.⁶¹⁶

Date: post-Amarna, Ay-Seti I⁶¹⁷

Area: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Medium: painting

Sources: Porter and Moss 2004; Davies and Gardiner 1948



TT 324 is a T-shaped tomb with a pillared portico in the court. A blank stela with a platform is located in the court at 1).⁶¹⁸ While any framing elements that once existed on the façade of the tomb are gone, there is at 2) the figure of a seated man (almost certainly Hatiay) receiving offering from a series of figures.⁶¹⁹ The transverse hall leads to a small inner room with a niche at its western end. While no longer in situ, the niche once housed a sculpture of Hatiay seated and flanked by his wife, the house-

⁶¹⁶ Davies and Gardiner 1948, 47-48.

⁶¹⁷ Dated to the post-Amarna period based on style, Hofmann 2004, 25.

⁶¹⁸ Davies and Gardiner 1948, 42.

⁶¹⁹ Ibid.

mistress and chantress of Amun, Iuy, on the right, and, on the left, another woman, the house-mistress and chantress of Amun, favored of Hathor, Nofretari.⁶²⁰ While Iuy is mentioned as Hatiay's wife in another instance in the tomb, Nofretari is not mentioned in the extant text. She could be another wife, a mother, or a daughter.

The thicknesses of the entrance to the tomb at 3) have been damaged, but on the left side there is a partial figure of Hatiay facing out of the tomb behind three stands of food.⁶²¹ There is no extant text on this side, but it is reasonable to assume, given the outward orientation of the figure, that there was once a hymn to the sun. On the right side is another image of the tomb owner, this time facing into the tomb with fragmentary text that can be identified as a hymn to the sun.⁶²² Often, when the tomb owner is facing into the tomb, he is expected to be accompanied by a hymn to Osiris, but there are other examples of an inward-facing figure with a hymn to the sun.

The scenes on the walls of the transverse hall are restricted to individual walls and do not have the continuous, "picture strip" organization seen in some other tombs, so the walls of the tomb will be discussed by their location (east, short, and west).

Wall 4) has suffered significant damage, especially in its upper half, leaving only fragmentary decoration on the lower. To judge by the height of the wall that is now lost, there was probably an upper register. In the lower register, at left, is a seated couple

⁶²⁰ Davies and Gardiner 1948, 43, pl. XLI.

⁶²¹ Ibid.

⁶²² Ibid.

facing right, with two figures facing them.⁶²³ It seems likely that the pair is Hatiay and his wife, but there is no extant text to confirm this. In front of the couple, the scene is divided into two partial registers. In the upper one, laden donkeys bring grain to the right, and, in the lower, cattle plow fields. On the right end of the wall is a standing figure of a man (likely Hatiay) who looks over the two partial registers, perhaps overseeing the agricultural activities. As noted earlier, “agricultural scenes” such as these are less common in tombs of the post-Amarna period than in tombs of the pre-Amarna 18th Dynasty, but, as seen in other tombs in this study, they do sometimes appear. Interestingly, none of Hatiay’s titles directly relate to him managing estates, as is sometimes the case in other tombs where agriculture is depicted, but it is possible that the scene depicts an unknown aspect of his professional life or that the purpose of these scenes is to provide Hatiay with an ongoing source of food in the afterlife.

The other east wall, 7), is divided into three registers. In the topmost there is a scene of two viziers seated facing each other across an offering table piled with food.⁶²⁴ The text that accompanies the figures is damaged, but the figure on the right seems to be named Nebamun, and, on the left, Usermont.⁶²⁵ The two may be connected with historical viziers, a Nebamun who served under Seti I and an Usermont who served under Tutankhamun or Ay, but whether the figures represented in this tomb are those men is not known.⁶²⁶ Furthermore, it is not known why these two figures would be represented in

⁶²³ See Davies 1948, pl. XXXI.

⁶²⁴ See Davies 1948, pl. XXXIII.

⁶²⁵ The reading of the name “Nebamun” is not certain. Davies and Gardiner 1948, 46.

⁶²⁶ Ibid.

the tomb. Perhaps Hatiay was making a statement about the two as his ancestors? But no kinship terms remain in the text to clarify this issue. The second register has an image from Chapter 59 of the *Book of the Dead*, with Hatiay and a woman and their *ba* birds receiving water to drink from the tree goddess.⁶²⁷ This scene occurs beside a pool that is filled with fish and has a boat on its surface. A large date palm stands beside the pool. In the lowest register occurs yet another scene from the *Book of the Dead*, this time Chapter 110, with the deceased represented plowing in the Fields of Iaru.⁶²⁸

The left short wall of the transverse hall at 5) is divided into two registers. In the upper register, Hatiay and his wife sit beside a pool with fish. A dog sits beneath Hatiay's stool as he holds one fishing pole in the water and hands the other back to his wife.⁶²⁹ In the lower register, the couple sits trapping birds in a clap net. Fishing and fowling scenes such as the ones seen here generally decrease in frequency in the post-Amarna period; however, as has been described in other tombs, scenes that take place in gardens and/or near pools, such as Chapter 59 from the *Book of the Dead*, do appear on the short walls of Ramesside Theban tombs. Perhaps the placement of these fishing and fowling scenes can be associated with that tendency.

The right short wall of the transverse hall at 8) has only one in situ scene at the bottom of the wall, but another fragment can likely be placed here as well. The in situ section of the wall has a scene of a boat without a sail on the water, carrying a chariot,

⁶²⁷ Saleh 1984, 30; Davies 1948, pl. XXXIV.

⁶²⁸ *Ibid.*, 60.

⁶²⁹ See *Ibid.*, pl. XXXII.

presumably as part of the trip to Abydos.⁶³⁰ Another fragment of a boat with a sail likely once belonged on this wall as well.⁶³¹

The two focal walls (6) and (9) have suffered considerable damage. Because no images are available, descriptions from Porter and Moss and Davies and Gardiner must be relied on. Wall (6) was divided into three registers, and, based on fragments of seated figures and that of a *sem* priest, it has been suggested this wall once had a banquet scene.⁶³² One fragment bears the text “His son the wab-prest Penne,” which likely refers to the son of Hatiay, the owner of TT 331 who also, like Hatiay, bears the title “high priest of Mont” and therefore probably inherited it from his father.⁶³³ Davies records that focal wall (9)--which is now totally lost--once included a figure of the Western Goddess, but with no further information this figure cannot be placed in a larger scene.⁶³⁴ The fact that neither of the focal walls has preserved an image of Osiris in his kiosk departs from the expectations of post-Amarna tombs, but, considering the amount of loss on these walls, more cannot be said about the decoration here.

The entrance to the inner room at (10) features an image of Hatiay facing out of the tomb on the left thickness, but any images on the right thickness are now lost. The decoration in the inner room is blackened and difficult to read, but Davies records a funeral procession and the deceased with offerings on the left wall (11) and the figure of a

⁶³⁰ Ibid.

⁶³¹ Ibid., pl. XXXIII.

⁶³² Davies and Gardiner 1948, 45; Porter and Moss 2004, 395.

⁶³³ Davies and Gardiner 1948, 45.

⁶³⁴ Ibid.

sem priest libating before the deceased and relatives on right wall 12).⁶³⁵ The interior of the niche is painted. The rear wall depicts the tomb owner adoring an Osiris emblem and the Hathor cow in a mountain, while the decoration on the left side of the niche has a painted image of a mummiform figure of the deceased.

TT 324's blend of scenes more common in 18th Dynasty tombs (agriculture, fishing and fowling) with those that derive from the *Book of the Dead* more commonly found in 19th Dynasty tombs places it in the transitional period between the two eras.

Tomb: TT 344

Name of Tomb Owner: Piay

Known Title(s): Overseer of the Herds of Amen-Re in the Southern City; Royal Scribe of the Herds of Amenhotep I⁶³⁶

Date: 19th Dynasty⁶³⁷

Area: Dra Abu el-Naga

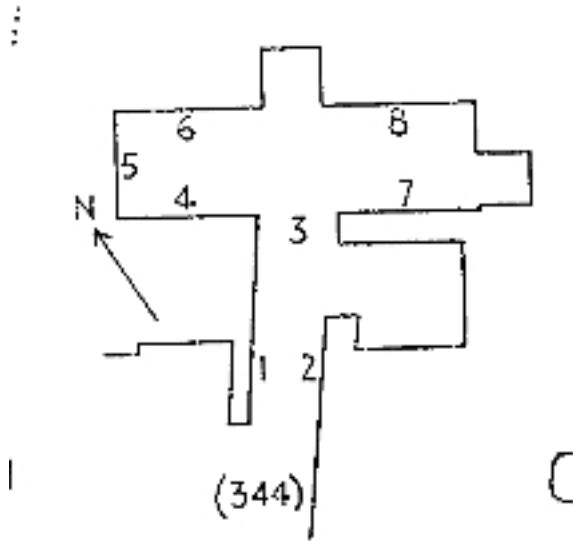
Medium: painting

Sources: Porter and Moss 2004; Kampp 1996

⁶³⁵ Davies and Gardiner 1948, 47.

⁶³⁶ Porter and Moss 2004, 412.

⁶³⁷ Dated to the 19th Dynasty based on style, Hofmann 2004, 27.



TT 344 is a T-shaped tomb with an extended passage into the transverse hall. At its west end is a small shrine. There is little information about this tomb, but there is enough to identify the scenes on those walls with extant decoration. The passage to the transverse hall has some of the type of decoration that might be expected on the thicknesses of the entrance into a transverse hall. On the left at 1) is an image of Piay and his wife adoring a divine figure with baboons above.⁶³⁸ On the right at 2) is a hymn to Re-Harakhti, a feature often seen on the thicknesses of entrances into tomb chapels.⁶³⁹

On the lintel at 3) is a double scene with the deceased kneeling with a hymn to Amun-Re on the left and to Re-Harakhti on the right. In the center is a winged god holding a *t3w* hieroglyph.⁶⁴⁰

⁶³⁸ Porter and Moss 2004, 412.

⁶³⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid. In this case *t3w* can be defined as “wind, breath, or “air” referring to the breath of life. Faulkner 2002, 303.

East wall 4) is divided into two registers. In the upper are four scenes that begin on the left end. The first depicts Piay and his wife adoring a god. The next scene is a couple adoring a serpent on a stand. The next scene depicts the couple adoring Khnum, and the final scene (on the right) depicts the couple in adoration.⁶⁴¹ The lower register has two scenes beginning on the left end of the wall. In the first, Piay, accompanied by members of his family, is installed before offerings. In the second scene on the right, a man offers to Piay and members of his family.⁶⁴² In general, the organization of scenes that occur in the afterlife or celestial world are depicted in the upper register, and those that occur in the living world in the lower, a pattern that seems to hold true for the scenes found on this wall.

The opposite east wall at 7) is divided into two registers. In the upper, two scenes begin on the right, where first Piay adores Osiris and Isis and, in the second scene, Piay accompanied by relatives adores Osiris-Onnophris with a hymn to Osiris.⁶⁴³ Their exact composition is not recorded, but it seems likely that these are kiosk scenes. In the lower register, there are two scenes, beginning at right, with the adoration Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari by the deceased. This scene is almost certainly a kiosk scene and likely parallels that above it, in which Piay adores Osiris and Isis. The next scene at left shows the deceased adoring an offering list.⁶⁴⁴

⁶⁴¹ Porter and Moss 2004, 412.

⁶⁴² Ibid.

⁶⁴³ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid., 413.

The short wall at 5) has an image of a personified *djed* pillar at its center adored by Piay and his wife on either side.

The focal walls of the tomb are 6) and 8). The left focal wall at 6) is divided into two registers. The upper has three scenes that form a continuous narrative, beginning on the left side of the wall with one from Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead*.⁶⁴⁵ The first scene represents Piay and his wife led into the hall of judgment by Anubis. In the second scene, the weighing and the 10 assessors are depicted. In the final scene, Horus presents Piay and his wife to Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys on the right end of the wall. The lower register has two scenes, beginning on the left. The first depicts Piay and his wife standing before divinities. In the second, Piay and members of his family adore Re-Harakhti and a goddess.⁶⁴⁶ The scenes found on this focal wall are fairly typical. As demonstrated in several other tombs, a kiosk scene with Osiris often flanks the door to the inner room or the niche. Sometimes this scene is part of Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead*, and at other times it is a stand-alone kiosk scene. On wall 8) there are fragmentary remains of priests carrying a palanquin bearing statues of Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari.⁶⁴⁷ This clearly represents the Piay's involvement in the temple administration as royal scribe of the herds of Amenhotep I.⁶⁴⁸ This scene's placement on the focal wall suggests the importance of the representation of professional identity in the tomb space.

⁶⁴⁵ Saleh 1984, 68.

⁶⁴⁶ Porter and Moss 2004, 413.

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁸ Ibid.

Tomb: TT 387

Name of Tomb Owner: Meryptah

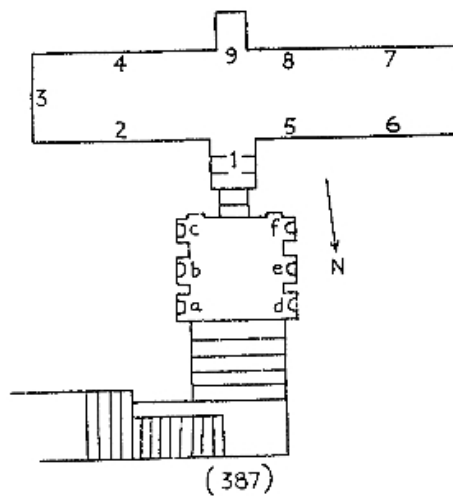
Known Title(s): Royal Table-Scribe of the Lord of Both Lands in the Estate of Amun; Real King's Scribe; Governor of Desert-lands for the Southern Deserts⁶⁴⁹

Date: 2nd half of the reign of Ramesses II⁶⁵⁰

Area: Asasif

Medium: relief

Sources: Porter and Moss 2004; Kitchen 1993; Author Photos



TT 387 is relief-cut tomb with a transverse hall and niche at its western end. Its plan departs from those of other tombs because of the stairways and passage that lead to the transverse hall.

⁶⁴⁹ Tomb owner's title "Royal Table-Scribe of the Lord of Both Lands" or its seemingly associated title "Royal Table Scribe of the Lord of Both Lands in the Estate of Amun" is repeated five times in recorded texts from the tomb, while his titles "Real King's Scribe" and "Governor of Desert-lands for the Southern Deserts" each only appear once. Kitchen 1993, v. III, 230-231.

⁶⁵⁰ Dated to the second half of the reign of Ramesses II based on style and a cartouche with the name *Ramessu*, Hofmann 2004, 27.

The passage features six engaged sculptures. Instead of treating this space as part of the tomb chapel and its decoration as part of the decorative program of the tomb chapel itself, it is best to view the space more as a subterranean courtyard. There are four engaged mummiform figures at a), b), d), e). These are identified by PM as “Osiride royal statues,” likely because of their beards and wigs, but, notwithstanding the absence of text to clarify the issue, more likely they represent the tomb owner. A number of tombs feature engaged sculptures of the deceased in the transverse hall, particularly those which have been excluded by caveat no. 8. The sculpture at c) is a mummiform figure of Osiris wearing an *atef* crown. There are other examples of figures such as this, again more frequently found in the excluded tombs, but an example does appear in TT 296. Finally, the sculpture found at f) is a striding figure of the cow goddess Hathor with a figure of the king between her forelegs; the figure is mostly gone but the outline is clear, and TT 324 has a parallel for a figure like this one in the courtyard and in a similar location. Generally this much sculpture coupled with relief-cut decoration would suggest that this tomb has more in common with those that have been excluded from this study, but its scale and the decoration make it much more similar to those included.

The doorway into the tomb has two carved jambs and lintel. The center of the lintel has two cartouches of Ramesses II.⁶⁵¹ On either side are figures of Meryptah adoring central seated figures. Each of the jambs has four vertical lines of text, each with a *htp-dj-nswt* formulae.⁶⁵² An image of the seated tomb owner occupies the bottom of the

⁶⁵¹ Kitchen 1993, v. III, 230.

⁶⁵² For the translation of the texts found on the left jamb, see Kitchen 1993, v. III, 387.

left jamb, and, while no longer extant, it seems likely that there was another image of the tomb owner at the bottom of the right jamb.

The thicknesses of the entrance at 1) feature decoration on both sides. On the left, a figure of the tomb owner faces out of the tomb and is accompanied by a hymn to Amen-Re-Harakhti. On the right, the figure of the tomb owner faced into the tomb, accompanied by a fragmentary text. The entirety of the text does not remain, but it is an adoration text, likely for Osiris.

The east walls of the tomb, 2) and 5)-6) are each divided into two registers. All of the walls of the tomb have suffered damage, and there is virtually no paint left to clarify details of the scenes. On wall 2), the upper register has three scenes. Beginning on the left is an image of Meryptah presented by Thoth to Osiris and the Western Goddess; this scene may come from Chapter 125 from the *Book of the Dead*.⁶⁵³ In the next scene, Anubis and Hathor lead Meryptah, perhaps accompanied by his wife, to the right. The final scene in the upper register depicts Meryptah followed by two people, accompanied by the negative confessions (?).⁶⁵⁴ In the lower register, there are again three scenes. On the left there is an image of a priest with incense offering before three seated figures, two men and a woman. The seated figures face right, and the priest faces left. In the second scene, two priests purify Meryptah. The final scene on the right end of the wall in register II comes from Chapter 59 of the *Book of the Dead* and depicts the tree goddess giving water to Meryptah and his wife, who are accompanied by their *ba* birds.

⁶⁵³ Given the amount of damage on the wall, Saleh cannot confirm this identification, Saleh, 1984, 70.

⁶⁵⁴ Due to damage, it is not certain that the negative confessions are written here, Porter and Moss 2004, 439.

The other east wall, 5)-6), has suffered heavy damage but once had scenes in two registers. In the upper register, beginning on the right at 5), is a scene of Meryptah libating over offerings, followed by another male figure. At 6) in the upper part of the wall only fragments of another offering scene remain. In the lower register, at 5), the register is divided into two sub-registers populated with offering bringers. It seems reasonable to suggest that these offering bringers are associated with the funeral procession, but again there is too much damage to confirm this.

There is no decoration extant on the north short wall of the tomb chapel, and only the feet of a male figure perhaps before a deity remain on the south short wall 3). The left focal wall 4) has the remains of an image of Meryptah adoring Osiris in a kiosk in the upper register and a partial scene in the lower of a figure offering to a seated figure, likely Meryptah. Though the scenes are heavily damaged, the arrangement of an adoration scene with Osiris in his kiosk in the upper register and a seated figure in a parallel position in the lower register (often the tomb owner) is ubiquitous in the Theban tombs studied here.

The right focal wall 8)-7) is divided into two registers. Beside the niche on the left on wall 8), the upper one begins with a scene of Meryptah, accompanied by another man and an offering bringer, adoring a seated Re-Hartakhti with a goddess and a group of seven seated deities. The lower register has two scenes of a priest offering to a figure of Meryptah with an offering list. On the right end of the wall 7) there are remnants of offering scenes, but the wall is too damaged to be more precise.

The niche in the center of the west wall had a double scene on its lintel and texts on the jambs, with a figure of the tomb owner before a table of offerings on the right jamb. The damage in the tomb makes it difficult to access the construction of identity of the tomb owner, but the heavy use of sculpture and fact that the tomb was rendered in relief must have made an impression on the visitors.

Tomb: TT 409

Name of Tomb Owner: Simut called Kyky

Known Title(s): Scribe Who Reckons the Cattle of Amun; Scribe of Sacred Offerings; Scribe Who Reckons the Cattle of Amun in the Southern City; Scribe Who Reckons the Cattle of the Gods of the South and North; Scribe Who Reckons the Cattle of All Gods; Royal Scribe Who Reckons the Cattle of the Lord of Thebes; Scribe Who Reckons the Cattle of the Estate of Amun; Chief Accountant of the Cattle for Amun, Mut, and Khons; Scribe of Accounts of the Estate of Amen-Re⁶⁵⁵

Date: 2nd half of the reign of Ramesses II⁶⁵⁶

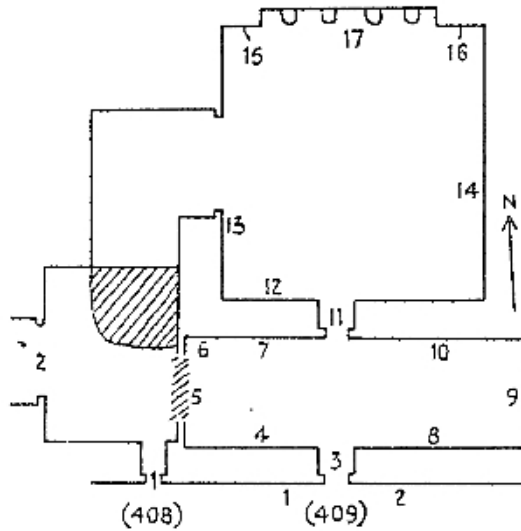
Area: Asasif

Medium: painting

Sources: Porter and Moss 2004; Ngem 1997; Muhammed 1966; Kitchen 1993; Wilson 1970

⁶⁵⁵ Clearly most of Simut's titles refer to his role in the management of cattle as part of the temple administration; the two titles that do not directly mention cattle, that of "Scribe of Sacred Offerings" and "Scribe of the Accounts of the Estate of Amen-Re," each occurs only once in the tomb. Kitchen 1993, v. III, 238-249.

⁶⁵⁶ Dated to the second half of the reign of Ramesses II based on style, Hofmann 2004, 27.



TT 409 was discovered in 1959, later than most of the tombs in this study. It is a T-shaped tomb with a transverse outer room and a more square inner room. The west wall of the inner room has a statue niche with four engaged sculptures of seated figures.⁶⁵⁷ Beginning on the left, the first figure has the following inscription: “Osiris, the Lady of the House, Chantress of Mut, Lady of the House, Raiay.”⁶⁵⁸ The second figure’s label is more damaged but reads: “[...] of Amun, Kyky, justified.”⁶⁵⁹ The third figure is “The Scribe, the Counter of the Cattle of all the Gods of Thebes, Mery-re,” and the final sculpture, on the right is that of “[The Lady of the House] Chantress of Amun, Tutuia, [justified.]”⁶⁶⁰ On either side of the statue niche are large images of *djed* pillars.⁶⁶¹

⁶⁵⁷ See Negm 1997, pl. 35b.

⁶⁵⁸ Raiay is represented elsewhere in the tomb where she is identified as one of Kyky’s two wives. The other wife, named Tasement, is not represented in the niche. *Ibid.*, 32.

⁶⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶⁰ The relationship between these figures and the tomb owner is unknown. The only relation of the tomb owner depicted in the tomb is that of his sister Taweret-hetepi, and there is no mention of any children of Kyky. Perhaps Mery-re and Tutia are Kyky’s parents, but without further information this is only speculation. Negm 1997, 33.

A visitor enters the tomb via a courtyard. The door to the tomb is flanked by two round-topped stelae in rectangular frames. The stela found at 1) on the left has a scene of Kyky facing right and adoring a seated figure of Re-Harakhti, who is accompanied by a standing figure of Maat behind him.⁶⁶² Below is a hymn to Amen-Re-Harakhti.⁶⁶³ The stela on the right side at 2) has a scene of Kyky accompanied by his wife Raiay facing right adoring a seated figure of Osiris, who is accompanied by a standing figure of Isis.⁶⁶⁴ The text below this scene is a damaged hymn to Amun-Re-Harakhti.⁶⁶⁵ The doorway to the tomb has a decorated lintel with a double scene: on the left Kyky and Tasemnet adore a seated figure of Osiris, behind whom stands a figure of Isis;⁶⁶⁶ on the right Kyky and Raiay adore Re-Harakhti and Maat.⁶⁶⁷ The jambs of the doorway each have three vertical lines of text with *hnp-dj-nswt* formulae.⁶⁶⁸ The thicknesses of the entrance are also decorated in relief. On the left is a large figure of Kyky facing out of the tomb, accompanied by a hymn to Re-Harakhti, whom he faces at his rising in the east.⁶⁶⁹ Below the large figure of Kyky is a small image of him and his wife Raiay seated on the right end of the thickness, facing left. The two face a kneeling harper whose song is recorded:

⁶⁶¹ Porter and Moss 2004, 462.

⁶⁶² Negm 1997, pl. 5b.

⁶⁶³ For transliteration and translation of the hymn found here, see Negm 1997, 11-12.

⁶⁶⁴ Ibid., pl. 5a.

⁶⁶⁵ For transliteration and translation of the fragmentary hymn found here, see Ibid., 10-11.

⁶⁶⁶ For the texts accompanying this scene, see Ibid., 7.

⁶⁶⁷ For texts accompanying this scene, see Ibid., 8.

⁶⁶⁸ For transliteration and translation of these texts, see Ibid., 8-9.

⁶⁶⁹ For transliteration and translation of the text, see Ibid., 12-13.

What the harper says, who is in the funerary chapel of the Scribe and the Counter of the Cattle, Kyky, justified, a great day has come. Pay attention to it. You are fixed, being established in your eternal city.⁶⁷⁰

On the right thickness is another large image of Kyky adoring, but this time he faces into the tomb chapel accompanied by a hymn to Osiris.⁶⁷¹

The walls in the left wing of the transverse hall, 4)-7), are divided into three registers. The long texts for which the tomb is known wrap around walls 4), 5), and 6) in the upper two registers. It seems that the material in the lowest registers of all three walls may be related, with wall 4) depicting an agricultural scene, wall 5) showing a priest offering to the couple, and wall 6)-7) featuring three scenes of a priest before Kyky and his wife. These scenes all depict events that would have occurred in the living world and therefore can be read as related, even if not as a continuous narrative. Given the connections between the walls, the content in each register on the right side will be discussed continuously, as opposed to discussing all registers on each wall in turn.

As noted, the upper two registers of much of the left side of the transverse hall are decorated with two long texts. These texts are unparalleled in other Theban tombs and have led to significant discussion of the tomb.⁶⁷² They begin on the left end of wall 4) of the wall with a figure of Kyky who stands with arms raised in adoration, facing right

⁶⁷⁰ Negm 1997, 13.

⁶⁷¹ For transliteration and translation of the hymn to Osiris found here, see *Ibid.*, 14.

⁶⁷² For discussion of the texts, see Wilson 1970; Kitchen 1993, v. III, 243-247; Assmann 1999, 374-378; Vernus 1978.

before a long hymn to the goddess Mut.⁶⁷³ In the middle register, another figure of Kyky stands before an offering stand with another long text in front of him. Both texts discuss Mut's benevolent presence in Kyky's life, her power, Kyky's hope for her support in his bid for an afterlife, and the fact that he has left all his property to her.⁶⁷⁴ The texts end about one third of the way down the focal wall in area 6); here in both register I and II are figures of Mut, facing left, enthroned in a kiosk of facing receiving the praise offered by Kyky.⁶⁷⁵

The lower register on wall 4) carries two scenes: the first at left was an offering scene, and the one at right, an agricultural scene.⁶⁷⁶ Beginning on the left, the first scene is one of Kyky and his wife sitting on the left, facing right, receiving offerings from a man who faces them on the right.⁶⁷⁷ In the next, Kyky faces right with one of his officials facing him to report on the products of the fields that extend before them. The details of the scene are lost, but an image of bulls plowing, trees, and shrubs are evident.⁶⁷⁸

On wall 5), despite the severe damage to the lower register, Negm identifies at least two offering scenes, with the recipients likely being Kyky and his wife.⁶⁷⁹ Negm relates these offering scenes to the scenes found in the lowest register on focal wall 6)-7),

⁶⁷³ Negm 1997, pl. 45.

⁶⁷⁴ For the transliteration and translation of both texts, see Negm 1997, 40-46.

⁶⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. 53.

⁶⁷⁶ See Negm 1997, pl. 9.

⁶⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁶⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pl. 8.

⁶⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 16.

suggesting that they represent the beginning of funerary offering rituals, which are continued on wall 6)-7).⁶⁸⁰ Three scenes appear in the lowest register on wall 6)-7).⁶⁸¹ Beginning at left, the first depicts a priest standing in front of an offering table, facing right. The priest burns incense over the offering table and faces Kyky and his wife, who are seated on the right facing left. The second scene in the middle of the register is similar, only here the priest at left stands before a conical taper with red bands and a pile of offerings while the couple sits on the right. The final scene on the wall is again reminiscent of those before it, with a priest holding a vessel and a censor before an offering bouquet that stands before the seated couple on the right. It seems reasonable to assume that these couples represent Kyky and his wife, but they may also represent others, given the fact that the text that would have accompanied the scene was never filled in. In all cases, the male figure holds a *sekhem* scepter.

The upper two registers of the right two thirds of the left focal wall at 7) are separate from those discussed earlier. At 6), the upper two registers are dominated by the two figures of Mut and the end of the long texts that wrap around much of the left wing of the transverse hall. Behind the figures of Mut are separate scenes at 7). The top register has one scene that relates to Kyky's title as the accountant of the cattle of Amun.⁶⁸² Here Kyky stands at left, facing right. He carries two jars over his shoulders and drives four cattle in front of him. In front of the cattle are three offering tables and, at the right of the register, the object of his adoration, the shrine of Amun. The shrine itself has an image of

⁶⁸⁰ Negm 1997, 16.

⁶⁸¹ Ibid., pl. 15.

⁶⁸² Ibid., pl. 11.

Ramesses II offering an image of Maat to Amun-Re and then offering two jars to the deity. In these scenes Ramesses II faces right, in the same way that Kyky does as he approaches the shrine of Amun, creating a parallel between the king and the figure of Kyky. The shrine is adorned with the ram head of Amun surmounted by a solar disk. The scale and decoration of the shrine is similar to those of kiosks, an element frequently found on focal walls. Twelve lines of text that accompany Kyky in this scene articulate his praise of Amun-Re both on his part and on the part of his wife.⁶⁸³ In the middle register at 7), there are two scenes behind the kiosk of Mut at 6). In the first on the left, Kyky kneels before a shrine housing the bark of Ptah-Sokar. The text accompanying this scene identifies both Kyky and the god.⁶⁸⁴ In the second, which ends the content at the right of the wall, is an image of Kyky and Raiay standing before a table of offerings and facing right. They hold their hands up in adoration of a figure of Osiris enthroned in a kiosk at right; the god is accompanied by a standing, winged figure of Isis. The text that accompanies this scene is one of praise for Osiris.⁶⁸⁵

The arrangement of stacked kiosk scenes in which higher status individuals (deities, kings) appear in upper registers and the tomb owner is depicted as the object of offering in the lower scenes is common for focal walls of Theban tombs of this period. There are also other examples of tomb owners using a focal wall to depict their professional life and status. This focal wall presents a mix of both elements. Here Kyky depicts himself driving cattle toward a shrine of Amun, clearly indicating his role in the

⁶⁸³ For transliteration and translation of the text, see Negm 1997, 16-17.

⁶⁸⁴ For transliteration and translation of the text, see Ibid., 17.

⁶⁸⁵ For transliteration and translation of text, see Ibid., 17-18.

god's cult. However, the scene incorporates a shrine that mimics the shape, scale, and placement of kiosks usually seen on focal walls. Below, this connection is emphasized with an image of Osiris in a kiosk in the middle register, and, below that, an image of Kyky and his wife as the objects of an offering cult in the lowest register. The compositional similarities between the three scenes, coupled with the stacked placement of the offerants and recipients in each, enjoins the viewer to make connections between Amun and Kyky, between Amun and Osiris, and between Osiris and Kyky.

The walls of the right wing of the transverse hall are divided into two registers, and, while all the scenes in upper and lower registers are not entirely continuous in their content, each register has some elements of a continuous narrative, so the content will be discussed by register rather than by wall.⁶⁸⁶ Beginning on the right end of wall 8), there are three consecutive scenes of Kyky and his wife Raiay facing left and encountering the gates to the afterlife, accompanied by the text of the speech necessary for them to pass through.⁶⁸⁷ These scenes come from Chapter 145 of the *Book of the Dead*.⁶⁸⁸ The orientation of Kyky and his wife (facing into the tomb space) is appropriate as they seek to enter the afterlife in the west and therefore move toward that cardinal direction while they move through the netherworldly gates. In the upper register on wall 9), there are the remains of a banquet scene.⁶⁸⁹ On the left end of the wall, Kyky and his wife sit facing

⁶⁸⁶ An elaborate frieze runs along the top of walls 8)-9) with a series of scenes of Kyky and his two wives kneeling before a couchant jackal on a shrines interspersed with Hathor heads; for a description of the frieze as well as a transliteration and translation of its texts, see Negm 1997, 22-23, 27-28.

⁶⁸⁷ For transliteration and translation of the texts accompanying these scenes, see *Ibid.*, 20-21; pl. 17.

⁶⁸⁸ Saleh 1984, 78.

⁶⁸⁹ See Negm 1997, pl. 21.

right and receive offerings from a male figure who faces them. On the right end of the wall, the register is divided into two sub-registers, with male and female figures seated in chairs facing left. The only name that remains is that of Taweret-hetep-ti, who is seen in the upper sub-register.⁶⁹⁰ The upper register on focal wall 10) features a continuous narrative from Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead*.⁶⁹¹ Beginning at the right end of the wall, Kyky, followed by his wife, face left and encounter a goddess, likely Isis, but her identifying attribute has been lost. The next scene in the center of the wall shows the pair again, still facing left, with Thoth in front of them poised to record the outcome of the weighing of the heart. The scales stand before Thoth, and Anubis and Ammit stand between the pans. The final part of the narrative appears next on the left end of the register, where the couple, having successfully passed the weighing, are led into the presence of Osiris by Horus. Osiris is enthroned in his kiosk in much the same manner as on the opposing focal wall 7) in register II. This scene depicts the tomb owner's successful transfer to the afterlife, and the text that accompanies it again comes from Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead*.⁶⁹² As noted earlier, the progression of scenes in the upper register of the right wing of the transverse hall is not clearly linear. While Chapter 145/146 is often represented before that of 125, the intervening scene of the banquet on wall 9) is not usually found; however this does not suggest that something is out of order, simply that the arrangement of scenes in the tomb is flexible and the result of a number of considerations. For instance, scenes such as those found with Chapter

⁶⁹⁰ For transliteration and translation of this label, see *Ibid.*, 23.

⁶⁹¹ Saleh 1984, 68; Negm 1997, pl. 27.

⁶⁹² For transliteration and translation, see, Negm 1997, 29.

145/146 often lend themselves to a long wall. Chapter 125, while also appropriate to a long wall, often occurs on a focal wall, perhaps because of its parallels with other kiosk scenes often found there or because the image of the tomb owner's successful transition to the afterlife is appropriate next to the doorway to the inner room or shrine at the western end of the tomb.

The lower register on wall 8) seems to be discrete, while the lower registers on wall 9) and 10) are certainly continuous. The lower register on wall 8) has one scene, which parallels the agricultural scene found in the lowest register on the other east wall 4). In this scene, Kyky is shown at right facing left, apparently accompanied by a scribe.⁶⁹³ Two male figures face him and, though damaged, likely represent his subordinates. Two sub-registers make up the rest of the register and are filled with cattle. The animals face right and are being inspected as part of Kyky's professional duties. At left in the upper sub-register is another figure of Kyky, shown holding scribal equipment recording the number of cattle; in the lower sub register is a male figure who drives the cattle. Very little text is left in this area, but above one of the oxen in the upper register is, "Cattle of the stall of the sacred offerings," while a text above an ox in the lower register reads, "Cattle of the Opet Festival." This scene depicts Kyky managing the cattle for different purposes and therefore is connected thematically with the agricultural scene found in the lowest register of wall 4) and that of Kyky bringing cattle to the shrine of Amun in the upper register of wall 7). The composition of this scene is such that it suggests that it should be considered separate from the other scenes in the lower register on walls 9)-10). The figures of Kyky and the cattle driver on the left end of the wall

⁶⁹³ Negm 1997, pl. 19.

where wall 8) meets wall 9) face right, while the figures on wall 9) face left. This is a more subtle way to divide the content on walls without the use of a band or line to demarcate scenes that were common in the 18th Dynasty but also appeared in the 19th Dynasty.

In the lower register on wall 9), the funeral procession moves to the left.⁶⁹⁴ Beginning on the right end of the wall, servants carry offerings leftward. Three boats are represented, one large one bearing Kyky's sarcophagus while the two smaller boats, crowded with rowers and other figures, tow it. In the center of the wall is a group of female mourners following five men who carry a large chest, likely Kyky's canopic chest. Below the chest are two boys who accompany it while mourning. On the left end of the wall are five noblemen acclaiming Kyky.⁶⁹⁵ The scene continues without interruption over the corner onto the lowest register of focal wall 10).⁶⁹⁶ Beginning at the right end, a group of men carry the boat with Kyky's sarcophagus to the left, and cattle are driven toward the left in front of it in a lower sub-register. In the upper sub-register are female mourners who follow the cow and calf for the foreleg ritual.⁶⁹⁷ The scene is unfinished, but the sketch is complete and the conclusion of the funeral can be seen represented on the left end of the wall, with mummy of Kyky standing in front of this tomb with a lector priest, table of offerings, and another priest censuring and libating before him. The pairing of Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead* with that of the resolution of the

⁶⁹⁴ Ibid., pl. 23.

⁶⁹⁵ For text accompanying noblemen, see Negm 1997, 25.

⁶⁹⁶ See Ibid., pl. 25.

⁶⁹⁷ For the text accompanying this scene, see Ibid., 26.

funerary rituals often appears on focal walls and encourages the viewer to see the connection between the rituals performed for the dead in this life and his successful transfer to the afterlife.

The lintel and the upper part of the jambs of the entrance to the inner room have been lost. However, the extant sections of the jambs show that each had two vertical bands of text, each with *htp-di-nswt* formulae.⁶⁹⁸ At the bottom of each jamb is a seated figure of *Kyky* facing into the inner room.⁶⁹⁹ The left thickness of the doorway at 11) depicts *Kyky* facing a mummiform figure of *Osiris* and offering a bouquet; here he is accompanied by a text of adoration dedicated to the god.⁷⁰⁰ Below the large image of *Osiris* is a small image of the seated *Kyky* facing the same direction as *Osiris*; he is accompanied by a text in which *Kyky* asks that *Osiris* allow him to come and go in the necropolis without being repelled from the gates of the underworld.⁷⁰¹ The right thickness has suffered heavier damage but features another image of the standing *Kyky* offering a bouquet to the standing mummiform figure of *Osiris*.⁷⁰² The text that accompanies the scene is a text in which *Kyky* asks that *Osiris* allow him to go in and out of the necropolis without his *ba* being repelled.⁷⁰³

⁶⁹⁸ For transliteration and translation of the *htp-dj-nswt* formulae found on the lintels, see Negm 1997, 29-31.

⁶⁹⁹ Negm 1997, pl. 29.

⁷⁰⁰ The orientation of the figures is unfortunately not recorded. For the transliteration and translation of the text, see *Ibid.*, 30-31; pl. 31b.

⁷⁰¹ For transliteration and translation of the text, see *Ibid.*, 31.

⁷⁰² *Ibid.*, pl. 31a.

⁷⁰³ For transliteration and translation of text, see *Ibid.*, 30.

The decoration on the walls of the inner room was never completed. With the exception of those found on wall 14), the scenes are only sketched in red ink. Wall 12) is divided into two registers with the upper register showing the figures of a man and woman (likely Kyky and his wife) raising a *djed* pillar with a rope.⁷⁰⁴ There is no text that accompanies this scene. In the lower register, the couple accompanied by their *ba* birds receive water from the tree-goddess; while there is no text for this scene, it clearly derives from Chapter 59 of the *Book of the Dead*. On wall 13) is a sketched scene of a mummy carried by four men: one is falcon-headed, and Negm identifies the other as Thoth-headed, but the outline is unclear and the head could be that of a jackal.⁷⁰⁵ Six women follow the men carrying the mummy, and the entire scene is led by a male jackal-headed figure. This scene is unparalleled in the Theban necropolis, and it is possible that those represented with animal heads are priests in masks taking part in a funerary ritual.

The final wall in this room that has decoration, with the exception of the west wall (which has already been discussed), is 14). Here the wall is divided into two registers, and, although the scene is partially painted, no text was filled in and it remains unfinished.⁷⁰⁶ In the upper register, Re-Harakhti is enthroned in a kiosk at left, accompanied by the standing figure of Isis; both face right. Before the kiosk is an offering table, and on the other side at right is a male figure followed by four female figures, all of whom face the god in his kiosk. In all likelihood the male figure is Kyky and the women accompanying him are family members, but without texts to confirm this identifications are speculative. Below this scene, in the lower register, is another image of

⁷⁰⁴ Ibid., pl. 32a.

⁷⁰⁵ Negm 1997, pl. 32b.

⁷⁰⁶ Negm 1997, pl. 35b.

a kiosk at left, but the figure inside it is lost. Standing before the kiosk is a hawk-headed figure wearing a double crown and facing left, followed by a man and three women.

These may be same man and three women seen above, but, as there again is no text, this remains unknown.

Part III: Interpretation and Conclusion

The 24 tombs included in this study are only a sub-section of the elite tombs that date to the 19th Dynasty. They were selected because their level of extant decoration, coupled with information about their owners and their somewhat uniform plans, allowed for the clear identification of trends in their decoration that in the future could help in the understanding of contemporary tombs with more fragmentary decoration or unusual plans. While the diversity of tomb decoration must always be remembered, this study has identified a number useful trends in tomb chapel scene selection and placement that aid in understanding the tomb chapel of the 19th Dynasty on the level of the individual tomb owners and the construction and projection of their identity.

At the outset of this study, the question of the relationship between the better-studied 18th Dynasty Theban tombs and their 19th Dynasty counterparts was paramount. Tomb chapels of the 18th Dynasty have long been more attractive to researchers and laypeople alike because the scenes selected to decorate them seem more legible and immediate. A modern visitor can look at an image of the tomb owner fishing and fowling in the marshes, overseeing agricultural production, or interacting with the enthroned king and make direct connections between the experience of the tomb owner and what is represented.⁷⁰⁷ In the 19th Dynasty, these much-beloved scenes become less frequent and are often replaced with enigmatic images from the *Book of the Dead* or images of the

⁷⁰⁷ This preference is noted in the earliest western description of the tombs, in the early 1800s in *Description de L'Égypte*: “The greater part of tomb painting take, as their subject, scenes from domestic life. These subjects are most interesting and it is to these that I [Jomard] attach my preference.” Russell 2001, 165.

tomb owner engaged in complex temple rituals.⁷⁰⁸ In many cases these shifts were read as signs of increased personal piety on the part of tomb owners, reflecting a larger religious trend in Egypt in the Ramesside period. The shifts also facilitated the reading of the decoration in the tomb chapel as basically functioning to conduct the deceased to the afterlife and as a mortuary temple similar in conception to those made for kings at the time. It has been the present author's assertion that, while the decoration may reflect personal piety, certainly helped the deceased to enter the afterlife, and does have parallels with the decoration of mortuary temples, these readings of the space largely ignore its ongoing role to construct and project the identity of the tomb owner, especially with respect to his professional life. The individual's professional life played a role in his worthiness to have an afterlife and therefore was not in contradiction to the model of tomb decoration as functioning to conduct the deceased to the afterlife. In short, it has long been established that the open tomb chapel associated with elite Egyptian burials functioned as a site of self-presentation for the tomb owner and his family. Why would this function become any less important in the 19th Dynasty? Are scholars simply focusing so much on the changes that occurred in decoration that they forget to observe the similarities in scene selection, placement, and function? The focal walls of tombs provide a good platform from which to look at these questions, and the work done by Melinda Hartwig on popular "icons" found on focal walls in a group of 18th Dynasty tombs (with dates of 1419 BCE-1372 BCE) gives an understanding of how they

⁷⁰⁸ This notion is seen in Gardiner's assessment of two tombs that date to the reign of Horemheb: "Tombs 50 and 255 embody the decision that personal piety, ritual and sacrament are the proper subject of sepulchral decoration, but one is made to feel that the decision was regretted and was devoid of any enthusiasm." Davies and Gardiner 1926, 3.

functioned in that era.⁷⁰⁹ In tombs of the post-Amarna period, some trends are clear and make statements about the construction of identity of the tomb owner and the use of scene selection and placement in general during this period. In addition, the tendency for scholars to look at scenes from tomb chapels in isolation does not always allow for the understanding of the scenes in context and therefore neglects the importance of a holistic treatment of tomb decoration, which would bring an awareness of how scenes are “in conversation” and of how their placement has an impact on the visitors’ reading of them, aspects vital for identifying trends in meaning.

Osiris in a Kiosk and the Adoration of Other Deities on Focal walls

The scene most frequently found on focal walls in the tombs of this study is that of Osiris enthroned in a kiosk, and it appears in one of two contexts: either as an independent scene depicting the tomb owner with or without members of his family adoring the god, or at the end of the scene of Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead*, with the deceased in the hall of judgment. These scenes are counted together here because they are similar in content and composition, and it seems that, whether the enthroned Osiris comes at the end of a judgment scene or in an independent adoration scene, the resonance is the same. When Osiris is adored independently from Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead*, he still represents the ultimate goal of acceptance into the afterlife that is depicted in a more linear way when he is found at the end of the judgment hall. Furthermore, it is likely that the figure of Osiris in a kiosk was selected to be placed on the focal walls first,

⁷⁰⁹ Hartwig 2004.

and then the assessment was made as to whether there was space for (or the desire to show) him as part of Chapter 125 on the preceding walls. In both cases, Osiris is seated in a kiosk with his back to the doorway into the inner room (in the case of a multi-room tomb) or the frame of the shrine (in the case of a one-room tomb). In 19 of the 24 tombs included in the study, Osiris in his kiosk appears at least once on a focal wall (TT 13, TT 14, TT 16, TT 25, TT 26, TT 31, TT 40, TT 49, TT 51, TT 111, TT 133, TT 138, TT 178, TT 233, TT 254, TT 296, TT 344, TT 387, TT 409). In four examples, he is enthroned in a kiosk on both focal walls (TT 133, TT 138, TT 296, and TT 409), so that the scene appears a total of 23 times in the corpus. The instances of this scene are relatively equally divided between the right and left focal wall (with 13 appearing on the left and 10 on the right). They are more usually found in the top registers (14 out of 23 cases, a number that, when one adds the two examples in which the scene takes up the entire wall and there are no registers--that is, TT 31 and TT 49--becomes 16 out of 22 cases.) Furthermore, in two cases (TT 26 and TT 111) the register locations of the scenes are unknown.

Considering the tendency for more sacred material or that which is understood to be occurring in the divine sphere to appear on the upper parts of the wall in Egyptian tombs, temples, and palaces, the location of the scenes of Osiris in a kiosk are not surprising. Osiris is, in some cases, accompanied in the kiosk by smaller standing goddesses: Isis and Nephthys or Hathor. The arrangement of Osiris on the “western” wall of the tomb is also appropriate, as he is the main deity of the afterlife, which is associated with the west. Furthermore, the depiction of Osiris on the focal wall immediately confronts the viewer with an image of the deceased’s successful transition to the afterlife and, given the Egyptian belief in the power of images, helps to realize that goal.

There are examples of scenes of the worship of Osiris on some of the focal walls in Melinda Hartwig's study, but relatively few, only two out of 30, and only two of those are in the central location flanking the door encountered in the 19th Dynasty examples (TT 181 and TT 249).⁷¹⁰ Interestingly, in the two cases (TT 181, TT 249) where the worship of Osiris appears on focal walls in the tombs in Hartwig's study, the other most common icon does not: the royal kiosk. The Royal Kiosk Icon is the most common, appearing in 17 of the 30 tombs in her study, often multiple times in one tomb.⁷¹¹ This is a scene in which the king, enthroned in a kiosk, interacts with figures before him.⁷¹² Hartwig reads this trend as indicative of the tomb owners' wish to construct their identity in relationship to the reigning king, an appropriate desire given that so many tomb owners in her study held titles in the palace, military, and civil administrations, which would have put them in contact with the king or at least in his service.⁷¹³ While there are also in Hartwig's study examples of temple administrators who have the Royal Kiosk Icon on their focal walls, the two examples in which the worship of Osiris appears are both of temple personnel; perhaps they chose to have the worship of Osiris scene on their focal walls because they did not have a direct professional connection to the reigning king.⁷¹⁴ In the case of the tombs in this present study, almost all tomb owners are

⁷¹⁰ Hartwig 2004, 112-113.

⁷¹¹ *Ibid.*, 202-203.

⁷¹² *Ibid.*, 54.

⁷¹³ However, Hartwig also notes that the royal kiosk icon, like all scenes in the tomb space, is multivalent, having apotropaic functions and funerary meaning, with the king acting as intercessor for the deceased with the gods, *Ibid.*, 66-72, 202-203.

⁷¹⁴ TT 181, Nebamun and Ipuky were "chief sculptors in the *Dsrt-Ist*"; TT 249, Neferrenpet was "deliverer of sweets for the temple of Amun-Re." *Ibid.*, 201.

involved in temple administration, most in the temple of Amun and many in the mortuary temples of deceased kings. Therefore, one of the reasons for the frequency of scenes showing the worship of Osiris on focal walls could be that it provided for those who had no direct connection to the reigning king a compositionally similar alternative to the royal kiosk scene so frequently found on 18th Dynasty focal walls. As previously noted, in the 19th Dynasty the diversity of professional affiliations of those interred at Thebes decreased, likely due to the Ramesside focus on Lower Egypt.⁷¹⁵ Therefore, the shift in representations on focal walls of the tomb owner interacting with the king in kiosk seen in the 18th Dynasty to scenes of the tomb owner interacting with Osiris in the 19th Dynasty could be reflective not so much of an increase in personal piety but rather of the professional reality that these individuals had limited access to the king or that their professional focus lay elsewhere than the palace.⁷¹⁶ Furthermore, taking an emblematic, legible composition, such as figures interacting with an enthroned figure in a kiosk, and changing the actors in it tailored the scene to reflect the interests of the tomb owner while maintaining a continuity with earlier monuments adjacent to the 19th Dynasty tombs in this study. By maintaining a visual continuity between focal wall scenes in the 18th and 19th Dynasties, the scenes in the tomb maintained a legibility for viewers, a fact that will be important in the discussion of the second trend found in focal wall decoration in 19th Dynasty tombs: scenes that represent the professional identity of the tomb owner.

⁷¹⁵ The shift to focus on the north can be seen in the construction of Pi-Ramesses and the continued engagement with cultures in the Near East. O'Connor 1984, 231.

⁷¹⁶ Barthelmess and others have seen the change in content in outer room, i.e. increased depiction of the tomb owner interacting with gods to be a sign of increasing personal piety and a decreasing role of the king as intercessor in the Ramesside. Barthelmess states that the tomb in the Ramesside is no longer a site for the interaction between the living and the dead as it had been; instead the focus of the space is the interaction between the tomb owner and the gods. Barthelmess 1992, 2.

There are other instances of enthroned deities receiving adoration in compositions similar to that of the Osiris Kiosk scenes. In TT 16, the tomb owner and his wife adore Anubis in one of two kiosks seen in the lower register on the right focal wall. In TT 409, the tomb owner, Simut, whose tomb includes two long adoration texts dedicated to the goddess Mut, is twice represented adoring the goddess on the left focal wall. Simut's special devotion to the goddess may be partially traced to his title "chief accountant of the cattle of Amun, Mut, and Khons," but, because the texts coupled with the kiosk scenes are not paralleled in other tombs in the study, it is hard to say more about this case. TT 409 also features, on the left focal wall, an image of Simut kneeling before the god Ptah-Sokar without indication that he served the cult of this god. The most common deity found adored on focal walls in the tombs in this study, apart from Osiris, is Re-Harakhti, appearing either with or without Maat or the Western Goddess (TT 25, TT 26, TT 178, and TT 387.) In all cases the enthroned Re-Harakhti appears in the upper register (or in the case of TT 26, the only register) and is parallel to the Osiris kiosk image on the opposing focal wall. In one way the pairing of the two kiosk scenes parallels the pairing often found on entrance thicknesses, where one side features the tomb owner adoring the god of the dead, Osiris, in the west, while the other depicts the tomb owner adoring the god of the sun, Re, rising in the east.⁷¹⁷ This pairing is also often found on lintels. In pairing these two elements on thicknesses and in the case of these four focal walls, the entire solar cycle--and therefore cycle of the deceased's transition to and rebirth in the afterlife--is referenced.

⁷¹⁷ Tombs in this study that feature similar decoration on at least one thickness are: TT 13, TT 25, TT 26, TT 31, TT 49, TT 51, TT 111, TT 178, TT 189, TT 263, TT 296, TT 324, TT 344, TT 387, TT 409.

In two cases, the focal walls incorporate scenes of the adoration of the Hathor cow emerging from the mountains (TT 13 and TT 25). In the case of TT 25 the scene is combined with that of the rites before the mummy, while the scene in TT 13 stands alone and is not part of a larger composition. While these are not kiosk scenes, they do represent the adoration of a deity with local and funerary significance, and once again the placement of this scene on the focal wall reinforced the “western” orientation of the tomb.⁷¹⁸ There are also four other examples of the deceased adoring the Hathor cow emerging from the mountain in other parts of the transverse room (TT 16, TT 49, TT 133, and TT 296). Hathor was the patron deity of the Theban necropolis, and therefore her representation in tombs in the necropolis was both appropriate and an image with local significance.⁷¹⁹

The representation of the tomb owner interacting with Osiris in the tomb space shows his adherence to *maat* and the successful transition into the afterlife after passing the weighing of the heart; therefore the image functions as an icon, signaling the tomb owner’s acceptance into the afterlife even if the weighing of the heart and the steps preceding it in Chapter 125 are not depicted explicitly. Scenes of the tomb owner interacting with other deities can relate to the tomb owner’s professional life, personal devotion to deities, and perhaps engagement in high culture and state religion, all of which contributed to the deceased’s status and to the construction of his identity.

⁷¹⁸ For more on cult of Hathor in New Kingdom Thebes, see Sadek 1987.

⁷¹⁹ Wilkinson 2003, 143.

Tomb owner receiving offerings

Another common scene found on focal walls in this study is that of the tomb owner, either with or without family members, seated and receiving offerings. In 10 of the 24 tombs, the scene is extant at least once on a focal wall (TT 49, TT 51, TT 133, TT 138, TT 254, TT 263, TT 296, TT 324, TT 387, TT 409), and there are an additional four examples that likely had an offering scene but are now damaged or there is too little information about them to confirm this (TT 13, TT 51 left focal, TT 159, TT 387). Furthermore in six tombs the scene is depicted more than once, be it on both focal walls or multiple times on only one (TT 133, TT 138, TT 254, TT 296, TT 387, TT 409).⁷²⁰ In the majority of cases these images appear in the lower registers, which is appropriate, given the hierarchical arrangement of scenes on walls (TT 49, TT 51, TT 133, TT 138, TT 159?, TT 154 left focal, TT 296, TT 387, and TT 409.) The prominence of offering scenes in which the deceased is the recipient meets one of the primary functions of the tomb space in three ways: first, through the image of the tomb owner receiving offerings, the visitor to the tomb is reminded of the role of the tomb as a site of the deceased's offering cult; secondly, the image itself provides sustenance for the deceased in perpetuity; and finally, because of the frequent placement of this scene (below an image of Osiris enthroned or another deity or deified king in a kiosk), the visitor makes a visual connection between the deceased and these exalted figures, associating the tomb owner with the god he seeks to emulate, Osiris. The same mechanism is at work when images of the tomb owner are paired with kings or other deities: the visual connection between the

⁷²⁰ If one were to include those tombs with questionable offering scenes, TT 51 and TT 387 might be added to the list of tombs with offering scenes on both focal walls, but without further investigation, these cannot be confirmed.

two figures forges a conceptual relationship between high-status or divine figures and the tomb owner.

Offering scenes also provide an opportunity to depict family members or friends and by extension commemorate them in the tomb space. In several cases the figures offering to the deceased are named sons of the tomb owners or other associates. By naming such persons, the monument shows the tomb owner's successful investment in family or community and also serves to promote the memory of those depicted. The inclusion of named family members or friends of the tomb owner is seen not only in offering contexts but also in funeral processions, professional scenes, and almost any other scene that occurs in the living world. Furthermore, there are instances of the deceased choosing to name secondary figures or ancestors who were not alive during the event depicted, suggesting that scenes in the tomb were seen as opportunities to meet several of the tomb owner's needs, including family commemoration that could honor either the individual represented and/or the tomb owner for his relationship to these other figures.

Professional Scenes

Scenes that relate to the tomb owner's professional life had been a familiar element in the decorative program of 18th Dynasty Theban tombs and were a central tool in the creation and projection of the tomb owner's identity within the tomb space. As has been shown in the holistic readings of the tomb chapels in this study, the tomb owner continued to use such imagery to construct his identity and communicate it to those who

visited the tomb. Of the 24 tombs in this study, 10 feature on a focal wall at least one scene directly connected to the extant professional titles of the owner (TT 14, TT 15, TT 19, TT 31, TT 40, TT 49, TT 51, TT 189, TT 344, TT 409.) Six of these 10 occur in tombs belonging to men involved in the cults of 18th Dynasty kings (TT 14, TT 15, TT 19, TT 31, TT 51, TT 344). Four of these tombs belong to men involved in the cult of Amenhotep I (TT 14, TT 15, TT 19, TT 344), and the other two examples belong to priests involved in the cult of Tuthmosis III and Tuthmosis I (TT 31 and TT 51, respectively.) The other four instances of these professional scenes on focal walls belong to men who are involved in the temple of Amun (TT 49, TT 189, TT 409) and, in the case of the Tutankhamun-era tomb of Huy (TT 40), in the administration of Kush. TT 40 is unusual among the tombs represented in this study in that its transverse room is given over almost entirely to the depiction of Huy's professional life and his interaction with the reigning king. Scenes of the adoration of funerary deities (Anubis and Osiris) or funerary rituals are found mostly on the short walls that have stelae as their central elements, an 18th Dynasty tendency. However, the right side of the right focal wall features a scene of Huy adoring Osiris. In general, the decoration of the transverse room in TT 40 is more similar to that in other 18th Dynasty tombs than it is to that of the other tombs treated in this study.

Furthermore, tombs in this study present 11 more examples of images of the tomb owner carrying out his professional life, including several that are found in addition to those on the focal walls (TT 14?, TT 19, TT 31, TT 40, TT 189, TT 344, TT 409), and several that lack scenes of the tomb owner's profession on focal walls but do have them in other parts of the tomb chapel (TT 16, TT 133, TT 138, TT178). In the cases of the

four tombs with images of the tomb owner carrying out one or more of his professional duties not found on focal walls, there is only one example of a tomb owner involved in the cult of Amenhotep I (TT 16): Panehesi has scenes representing both his veneration of Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari, but he is also shown performing his role as a prophet of Amun in a scene in which he participates in a procession with the Great Vase of Amun. In the cases of the other three tombs (TT 133, TT 138, TT 178), the tomb owners work in various capacities in the Ramesseum and the estate of Amun-Re (chief of weavers in the Ramesseum, superintendent of the garden in the Ramesseum, and scribe of the treasury of the estate of Amun-Re).

The images of the adoration of Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari found in Theban tombs have been of interest to several scholars. Looking at scenes of the two in Theban tombs dating to the Ramesside period, including those in Deir el-Medina, Gabi Hollender traces the development of the scenes and the cult of these two figures chronologically and sees the increase in the image of their veneration as a sign of the growing interest in the past that began with the reign of Amenhotep III.⁷²¹ In the Ramesside period, she sees the role of the cult and its popularity as a mechanism for the legitimation of Ramesside kings, as evidenced by reliefs found in the temple of Seti I at Qurnah, the Ramesseum, and Karnak; the scenes found in elite tombs are signs of the importance of the cult.⁷²² In her thesis on royal images in Theban tombs of the early Ramesside period, Gabrielle Heffernan has considered the images of Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari, which are the most numerous in her study by far, through the lens of

⁷²¹ Hollender 2009, 153.

⁷²² *Ibid.*, 153-155.

cultural memory.⁷²³ She argues that scenes of Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari, in addition to reinforcing traditional ideas about kingship, also caused the viewers to recall the role of the king in their everyday life and to use that experience to understand the past.⁷²⁴ While not all the assertions made by Heffernan seem tenable, her work and that of Hollender show that a number of meanings can be derived from one image. Although a reference to the flourishing cult of Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari is understandably intended by the presentation of their images in tombs, and perhaps they can also be interpreted as agents of cultural memory, this present study argues that their primary purpose is to represent the tomb owner in his professional life. In the six cases in which Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari occur on focal walls, five tomb owners have a demonstrable connection to the cult in their titles (TT 14, TT 16, TT 19 and TT 344). In only one case, that of TT 178, do the two appear on the focal wall without the tomb owner's titles demonstrating such a connection. There are three other cases of the veneration of Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari on other walls of the transverse room (TT 296, TT 344, and TT 19), and in all but one of those cases (TT 296) the tomb owners again have positions in the cults of Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari. Therefore, the prominence of Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari can be traced most directly to the importance of the representation of the tomb owner's profession within the tomb space, although the popularity of the cult itself in the area of course contributes to this. Furthermore, the fact that images of Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari often are

⁷²³ In her thesis, Heffernan counts 47 of 75 scenes of royals in her corpus (which includes Deir el-Medina) to have Amenhotep I in them and 44 of 75 to have Ahmose Nefertari. Only a handful of other kings appear more than three times in the corpus, and all image occur in the upper areas of the tomb. Heffernan 2010, 4.

⁷²⁴ Ibid.

compositionally similar to others found on focal walls (kiosk scenes) makes their location even more appropriate, a topic that will be returned to momentarily in the treatment of stacked and mirrored kiosk scenes.

Whether representing their priestly role in a temple or their administrative or artistic work, depiction of the tomb owner in his professional life is a popular subject in the tomb chapel and communicates the importance of his professional life in his construction of identity. This visual tendency finds textual parallels in the repetition of tomb owner's titles found within tombs and the role of one's professional life in biographies from the period.⁷²⁵

Tree Goddess Scene and Chapter 59

Several scenes associated with chapters from the *Book of the Dead* are repeated in the decorative program of Ramesside tombs in the corpus: Chapters 125, 145/146, and 30. These will be discussed in turn but have direct and clear relationship to the transition to the afterlife and, while they may include only parts or even none of the associated text, they still function as would their complete textual version. Another scene associated with a chapter in the *Book of the Dead* that is quite common in tombs in this corpus is that of the Tree Goddess giving water to the deceased, who is often accompanied by his wife and their *bas*.⁷²⁶ This vignette accompanies Chapter 59, known as "Chapter for Breathing Air

⁷²⁵ See Froot 2007.

⁷²⁶ While not part of the scene related to Chapter 59, the tree goddess also appears with Osiris in a kiosk scene on wall 1) in TT 14.

and Having Power over Water in the Gods' Domain," which enables the deceased to be active and have sustenance in the afterlife. The scene occurs in 11 of the 24 tombs studied (TT 16, TT 19, TT 49, TT 51, TT 133, TT 138, TT 178, TT 296, TT 324, TT 387, TT 409) and in one case occurs twice in the same tomb (TT 178). In nine of these 11 cases, the image appears in the transverse room (TT 16, TT 19, TT 51, TT 133, TT 138, TT 178, TT 296, TT 324, TT 387); in two cases, in the inner room (TT 178, TT 409); and once, on the thickness leading to the inner room (TT 49). In eight out of nine cases of the image of the tomb in the transverse hall, the scene occurs in the right wing of the tomb, and in four of the nine, on the right short wall. There is a clear tendency for this scene to be found on the right side of the tomb chapel, but perhaps more interesting is its occurrence on short walls. Unlike other scenes from the *Book of the Dead* found in the corpus, such as Chapter 125 or 145/146, which are longer and depict several successive events, Chapter 59 is a contained composition that lends itself well to the limited space on short walls. Furthermore, its placement on the short walls could relate to the offering stelae and false doors often found likewise positioned in 18th Dynasty Theban Tombs: both are related to the ongoing provision of the deceased and are restricted to a single wall. Chapter 59 also provided artists with the opportunity to create garden scenes similar in environment to many of the fishing and fowling scenes that drop out of the canon in 19th Dynasty tomb chapel decoration. The beauty of these scenes could be intended to entice visitors into the tomb and perhaps draw them toward an area traditionally related to offering.

There are two additional related scenes. The first of these depicts the tomb owner and his wife seated beside a pool, which appears once in the corpus (TT 14) in register III

on the left east wall.⁷²⁷ The second is that of the tomb owner and his wife seated fishing beside a pool; it appears in two tombs in the corpus (TT 51 and TT 324), in both cases on the left short wall. As in the scene from Chapter 59, the deceased and his wife appear in a verdant, garden-like environment. These scenes are most analogous to those of fishing and fowling popular in 18th Dynasty Theban tombs.⁷²⁸ As with all images in tombs, fishing and fowling had multivalent meaning, which carry through to the group discussed here.⁷²⁹ While they represent the deceased's ongoing access to food and drink in the afterlife, they also depict a fertile environment with regenerative symbolism that promotes rebirth in the next life. It seems relevant that, in the majority of the cases in this study, these scenes appear on the short walls, likely because, once again, they are contained compositions that fit nicely on the walls and also because they relate to the provisioning of the dead; in the 18th Dynasty, short walls were often established as secondary sites of offering. The continuity between the function of the decoration on these walls increased legibility for viewers.

An additional significant element in these scenes are the pools themselves. Pools were usually fed by ground water and thus rose and fell with the water table in time with the rise and fall of the Nile and possessed all of the regenerative meaning of the Nun.⁷³⁰

⁷²⁷ There are two other examples of the deceased next to a pool in the corpus (TT 19 and TT 51), but in both cases the tomb owner is participating in festivals to honor deceased kings and therefore the scenes are related to their professional life, while the pool and garden scenes discussed here are not related to professional representation.

⁷²⁸ Some 18th Dynasty Theban tombs with fishing and fowling scenes: Nakht TT 161, Menna TT 69, Nebamun TT 181.

⁷²⁹ Miller and Parkinson, 2001; Manniche 2003; Hartwig 2004.

⁷³⁰ Germer 2001.

In representing a pool in one's tomb, the tomb owner accessed this level of meaning, which contributed to the functioning of the tomb.

Funeral Procession and Spell 145/146

The final part of the funeral procession, the rites before the tomb, appear at least once on the focal walls in five of the 24 tombs (TT 13, TT 19, TT 25, TT 138, TT 178).⁷³¹ In all but one of these cases (TT 13), the scenes appear in the lower registers. With one exception, the scenes represent the conclusion to funerary rituals that begin on another wall and move continuously to their resolution on the focal wall.⁷³² The tendency of Ramesside artists to continue scenes across walls has been noted, an arrangement sometimes described as “picture strip.” In 24 of the tombs in this study, 11 have at least one example of scenes going across wall divisions (TT 13, TT 14, TT 16, TT 19, TT 31, TT 133, TT 159, TT 178, TT 189, TT 409). In six of the 24, the nature of the decoration is unknown (TT 25, TT 26, TT 111, TT 233, TT 263, TT 387) and in seven of them decoration never continues across walls (TT 40, TT 49, TT 51, TT 254, TT 296, TT 324, TT 344.). The tombs with continuous organization of scenes across walls do not employ this scenario in every case; instead, scenes that are contained on one wall are often combined with those that seemingly ignore wall divisions. Generally the continuous model is employed for funeral or festival processions, Chapter 145/146 (in which the

⁷³¹ In the case of TT 19, the scene appears twice, once on each focal wall.

⁷³² TT 25 is the exception, although due to loss on the left short wall that precedes focal wall 3), it is possible that there were once scenes of the funeral procession preceding the scene of the rites before the tomb on the focal wall, but of course there is no way to know.

deceased passes through the gates to the afterlife) and Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead*. It could be that the continuous model is employed with scenes that derive from the *Book of the Dead* in order to mimic the horizontal arrangement of scenes facilitated by the papyrus scrolls on which they were originally painted, but this model also seems simply better suited to longer narrative scenes: the festival processions that employ this model have no precursor in the *Book of the Dead*. Therefore the use of the continuous model in Ramesside tombs can be seen as a byproduct of scene types that were better served by it, which were infrequently used in the 18th Dynasty, and, when they did occur (e.g., for scenes of the funeral procession), appeared in the longer inner hall, which provided sufficient space for the scenes on a single wall without encountering corners (TT 69, TT 78, TT 343).

The funeral procession is another common scene in transverse rooms, even when the narrative does not end with the rites before the tomb on a focal wall. This scene, in various iterations, appears in 17 of the 24 tombs in the study (TT 13, TT 14, TT 16, TT 19, TT 25, TT 31, TT 49, TT 51, TT 133, TT 138, TT 159, TT 178, TT 189, TT 233, TT 254, TT 296, TT 409).⁷³³ Elements of the scene are often found on multiple walls in the continuous narrative outlined above but occur two times in the cases of TT 14, TT 49, and TT 159 in both right and left wings of the transverse room, meaning that the scene occurs a total of 20 times in 24 tombs. In the majority (12) of these 20 cases, the scenes are found on the left side of the tomb (TT 13, TT 14, TT 16, TT 19, TT 25, TT 49, TT 51, TT 133, TT 159, TT 189, TT 233, TT 254), while in the remaining (eight) cases they are found in the right (TT 14, TT 31, TT 49, TT 138, TT 159, TT 178, TT 296, TT 409).

⁷³³ It may be possible to add TT 324 to the group, but only the voyage to Abydos scene, one part of the funeral rituals, is depicted (on right short wall 8)).

Generally, funeral procession scenes are found in lower registers, again conforming to the tendency to keep material that occurs in this life on the lower parts of the wall and that which occurs in the beyond in the upper. In all cases the movement of the funeral procession is into the tomb, mimicking the actual movement of a funeral toward the west and drawing the visitor into the tomb space. Images of the funeral may have particularly resonated with visitors because they may have themselves seen or participated in a funeral, an interesting idea to keep in mind when looking at the accompanying scenes in the upper register, which occur in the beyond and thus cannot have been experienced by the visitor. The connection made between events that the visitor likely experienced and those that occur in the beyond help them to understand events outside their own experience.

There is a strong tendency (in tombs in this study) for scenes of the funeral procession in lower registers to be matched in the upper by those from Chapters 125 and 145/146 of the *Book of the Dead*.⁷³⁴ The reason for this connection is both formal and ideological. In 10 of the 24 tombs, the funeral procession and either Chapter 125 and/or 145/146 appear together (TT 14, TT 16, TT 19, TT 31, TT 51, TT 138, TT 159, TT 189, TT 296, TT 409).⁷³⁵ In all of these tombs, the *Book of the Dead* chapters appear in the upper register, and the scenes of the funeral procession and rituals, below it. These two types of scenes made good pairings: both are continuous narratives with the principal

⁷³⁴ While the text of the spells may or may not occur in these examples, they each have visual elements associated with the funeral procession and rituals and the relevant *Book of the Dead* chapters.

⁷³⁵ The material in the lower register of wall 2) in TT 133 is lost, but possibly it once had a continuation of the material found in the lower register on the preceding wall 1), at which point it would also be added to the corpus. In addition, if one were to widen the definition of the funerary procession and ritual scenes to include the purification of the deceased (and not only the classical presentation of procession and rituals) then TT 387 could also be included.

movement going into the tomb, but perhaps more importantly they clarified each other's reading. In both Chapter 125 and 145/146, the deceased moves through successive trials in his journey to the afterlife, while the funeral procession and rituals before interment were both the prerequisite for and the earthly parallel of the journey shown above. When looking at the paired scenes the visitor thus saw the parallels between this world and the next, and also saw the efficacy of the rituals performed on earth in the beyond.

Stacked and mirrored scenes on focal walls

This study has shown how the pairing of the funeral procession and ritual scenes with those from the *Book of the Dead* had an impact on meaning in Ramesside Theban tombs, but another example can be seen in the “stacked” and “mirrored” relationship of scenes on the tomb chapel focal walls. Stacked scenes are those that appear in successive registers on a single wall and encourage the viewer to make connections between the individuals or events depicted. In many cases the composition of the scenes reinforces these connections, with figures in kiosks placed directly above one another and the orientation of the figures being the same.⁷³⁶ In 13 of the 24 tombs treated here there is a clear use of stacking on at least one focal wall (TT 16, TT 19, TT 25, TT 49, TT 51, TT 133, TT 138, TTT 178, TT 254, TT 296, TT 344, TT 387, TT 409).⁷³⁷ In several cases, a

⁷³⁶ “Stacking” here refers to instances of two different scenes between which a connection is made due to their placement. There are also instances in which the same subject matter is represented in several registers, but this is not considered stacking because this does not forge a new relationship between the images depicted in the registers (for example the focal walls in TT 40 and the left focal wall in TT 49).

⁷³⁷ It may be possible to add the right focal wall of TT 13, because in the upper register is the report to Osiris from Chapter 125 and the lower register features a very fragmentary image of a man censuring and libating before a pile of offerings. It seems likely that the object of the offerings was either the tomb owner

scene of Horus reporting to Osiris in the kiosk or of Osiris receiving offerings in his kiosk appears in the upper registers, and a similar image of the deceased receiving offerings appears below it (TT 49, TT 133, TT 138, TT 296, TT 254?, TT 387?). Such an arrangement draws parallels between Osiris and the tomb owner who aspires to be like Osiris in the afterlife. Furthermore, one of the methods to realize that aspiration is represented in the depiction of offering. For the deceased to become like Osiris represented above him, he must receive offerings and venerate the god. In addition, the hierarchical relationship between the living and the dead, and between the dead and the gods, is reinforced in their placement and repetition. The right focal wall of TT 409 is similar in that the upper register represents Chapter 125, while beneath it is the funeral procession. Like the images of Osiris in the upper register and the deceased receiving offerings below, this scenario makes a connection between the rituals performed on earth and their efficacy in the afterlife. In the case of TT 25, which uses both stacking and mirroring, the left focal wall 3) features a scene of the tomb owner and his wife adoring Re-Harakhti in the upper register and another in which they receive rites before the tomb with the Hathor cow in the mountain below. In these scenes the same relationships are represented as in those in which Osiris is above and the deceased receiving offerings is below; the appropriate hierarchical relationships--and therefore a commitment to *maat*--are displayed. In the remaining two cases of focal wall stacking (TT 178 and TT 344), the stacking serves to connect the deceased's behavior in life with worthiness of an afterlife. In the case of TT 178, the left focal wall has an image of Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead* in the upper register ending with Horus reporting to Osiris, while in the lower

or a deity, which would make TT 13 a tomb with stacking on a focal wall, but, without more information on the scene, this cannot be determined.

register the tomb owner censes and libates before Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari. On the right focal wall, the upper register shows the tomb owner adoring Re-Harakti and Maat, and the lower register shows the tomb owner receiving his final rites before the tomb. In both cases parallels are made between actions that occur on earth and their result in the afterlife. In the case of TT 344, the left focal wall again has an image of the resolution of Chapter 125 before Osiris in his kiosk in the upper register and, below, a scene of the tomb owner venerating Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari; but here the tomb owner's title of "scribe of the royal herds of Amenhotep I" makes the scene a clear reference to his professional life. In carrying out his professional duties in the lowest register, the deceased is displaying his worthiness for acceptance into the afterlife, depicted above in the scene of Chapter 125. The situation is similar in the case of TT 16, only here the tomb owner libates before the temple of Amun in the upper register of the left focal wall as part of his role as "prophet of Amun" and "prophet of Amenhotep of the Forecourt," and in the lower register Horus reports to Osiris at the end of Chapter 125.⁷³⁸ Although the physical relationship between the scenes is the opposite of what would usually be expected, the connection remains clear: adherence to one's duties in one's professional life is related to acceptance in the afterlife. In TT 19, the similar pylon gates stacked in the upper two registers on the left focal wall encourage association between the scenes of the veneration of Amenhotep I, Tuthmosis III, and Ahmose Nefertari. The material on the left focal wall again emphasizes the connection between the tomb owner's role in the cult of Amenhotep I depicted in register I and his funerary rituals depicted in register II. A similar situation occurs on the left focal wall of TT 51, in which

⁷³⁸ See description in Holistic Reading section.

the tomb owner, a priest in the mortuary cult of Tuthmosis I, is shown partaking in the festival procession for the king in the upper registers and receiving funerary goods in the lowest.

Mirrored scenes are those scenes or compositions that repeat on opposite focal walls. Mirroring and stacking can be used together to make connections between content and frequently involve kiosk scenes, which were popular on focal walls. Mirroring is evident on focal walls in 14 of the 24 tombs (TT 13, TT 14, TT 16, TT 25, TT 26, TT 31, TT 49, TT 51, TT 138, TT 178, TT 254, TT 344, TT 387, TT 409).⁷³⁹ The connections between scenes on opposing focal walls break into three general groups. In the first, the material on one wall depicts the tomb owner in his professional life and, on the other, his acceptance into the afterlife, either as part of Chapter 125 or simply in his veneration of Osiris (TT 14, TT 16, TT 31, TT 49, TT 51, TT 138, TT 344, TT 409). The same associations made between these scenes when stacked function here: on one side the tomb owner represents his appropriate behavior and status in this world, and, on the other, its repercussions in the beyond. In the second scenario, the deceased adores or is presented to Osiris on one wall and Re-Harakhti on the opposing wall (TT 25, TT 26, TT 178, TT 387). Here, as in the case of the hymns to the two deities on opposing thicknesses, the entire cycle of the sun is represented with all its regenerative meaning. In the final two cases, mirroring is used in a manner similar to stacking. In the case of TT 13, the upper register on the left focal wall depicts the rites before the mummy, and the upper register of the right focal wall depicts the resolution of Chapter 125, again

⁷³⁹ In the case of TT 111, TT 133, the scenes on opposing focal walls represent essentially the same material but do not make new connections between the scenes.

paralleling the rituals undertaken on earth as part of the funeral with their results in the afterlife. In the case of TT 254, the left wall features an image of the tomb owner offering to Osiris; the right focal wall has a similar image of the deceased as the recipient of offerings, thus emphasizing the parallel between the tomb owner and Osiris.

Stacking and mirroring can occur on any wall of the tomb chapel, but their use on focal walls is particularly effective because of the prominence of these surfaces in the tomb space. When scenes end on focal walls, the visitor encounters their conclusion first and then is drawn back to the short and east walls to see the span of the narrative.

Stacking and mirroring as visual mechanisms do not originate in the Ramesside period. Stacking is seen in Theban tombs during the reign of Amenhotep III, and mirroring is evident even before that, during the reign of Tuthmosis III. However, it was not as developed as it came to be in the 19th Dynasty. In the 18th Dynasty, mirroring of kiosk scenes on focal walls on either side of the door to the inner room or shrine first occurs in the reign of Tuthmosis III (TT 85, TT 86) and continues during the reigns of Tuthmosis IV, Amenhotep III, and others (TT 63, TT 64, TT 66?, TT 74, TT 75?, TT 78, TT 90, TT 91, TT 120, TT 201?).⁷⁴⁰ However, when mirroring is used in 18th Dynasty Theban tombs, both focal walls tend to represent the same king in kiosks. In the case of 18th Dynasty tombs, both the content and the composition are similar, creating visual symmetry in the tomb space and therefore promoting *maat* and emphasizing the importance of the king and by extension the tomb owner, who is usually shown interacting with him. But in the 19th Dynasty this visual trope is used to create new

⁷⁴⁰ For tombs dating to the reign of Tuthmosis III, see Porter and Moss 2004, 170-178. For tombs dating to the reign of Tuthmosis IV and Amenhotep III, see Hartwig 2004, 202-203.

connections between subject matter. There appears to be a shift toward analogy, where similar composition is used to draw parallels between different content.

Stacking is used in a number of contexts to craft connections between different subject matter through location and composition. For example, in the tomb of Nakht (TT 161), which dates to the reign of Amenhotep III, wall 6) features an image of the deceased accompanied by his wife adoring and offering to Osiris enthroned in a kiosk in the upper register, while below in the lower register the couple's son [and Nakht's parents] offer to seated figures of Nakht and his wife.⁷⁴¹ In this scenario, the stacking of the figures of Osiris in a kiosk in the upper register and Nakht and his wife in the lower, coupled with the similarity in composition of the two scenes, facilitates an identification between the two recipients of offerings. In the tomb of Pairi (TT 139), also dating to the reign of Amenhotep III, the location of scenes in the upper and lower registers facilitates connections between events that occur in this world and their efficacy in the next: on short right wall 4), the uppermost register represents Pairi and his wife adoring Osiris in his kiosk, while the three registers below depict the funeral procession, the rites before the statues, the opening of the mouth before the mummies, and the Abydos pilgrimage.⁷⁴² By pairing rituals undertaken on earth in the lower registers with their effect in the afterlife (i.e. the deceased's acceptance by Osiris), visitors to the tomb recognize the importance of their participation in the offering cult of the deceased, as that action too has direct effect in the afterlife, sustaining the deceased.

⁷⁴¹ Porter and Moss 2004, 275.

⁷⁴² *Ibid.*, 253.

Meaning for self-presentation in 19th Dynasty tomb chapels

The scenes in any tomb chapel are multivalent. A scene of the deceased receiving offerings signaled expected behavior for visitors to the tomb, served to magically replenish the deceased in the afterlife, and often depicted the deceased as the head of a family or other community and therefore as worthy of offerings. Each meaning reinforces the other. Such is the case for the popular scenes found in tombs of the post-Amarna period and 19th Dynasty. The tomb owner used culturally validated visual language or decorum to communicate important aspects of his identity in the tomb chapel, and these statements would have been legible to visitors.

The most important statement for a tomb owner to make in his tomb was his adherence to the all-encompassing value of *maat*. In doing so, he confirmed his acceptance into the afterlife. As discussed earlier, *maat* had several meanings and played a role in both family and professional life. The scene of the deceased interacting with Osiris confirms that he was righteous in this life. The frequent pairing of scenes of the deceased in his professional life with those showing his acceptance into the netherworld reveal the connection between the successful completion of professional duties and worthiness of an afterlife. But the scenes of the tomb owner's professional accomplishments and titles served another purpose, namely, to commemorate his position in a community and a wish that he become part of a community again in the afterlife. In addition, scenes of the deceased's status in life conferred status upon his family and promoted the tomb owner's goal of having his name repeated.

These tombs represented a large investment of time and resources on the part of the tomb owner; it therefore behooved him to select for the tomb space images that could serve multiple purposes. A visitor to the place, when confronted with an image of the tomb owner involved in a temple ritual as part of his role in the mortuary cult of a dead king, would be aware that the deceased had access to restricted areas of the temple and cult statues, that he was literate and likely from a high-status family, and that these characteristics made him worthy of receiving offering, commemoration, and an afterlife. The adjacent scenes of the tomb owner interacting with Osiris confirmed this assertion.

The frequently paired scenes of the funeral and the transition into the afterlife in Chapters 125 and 145/146 from the *Book of the Dead* reinforced the notion that what occurs in the living world has effect in the celestial. Not only is the deceased's adherence to *maat* effective in his bid for an afterlife, but also the rituals undertaken at his death, an idea that is both comforting and empowering to the living. Furthermore, the connection between actions undertaken on earth and those in the celestial realm encourages visitors to say prayers and to offer on the deceased's behalf when visiting the tomb.

Clearly, there are changes in trends in the decorative program of tombs between the 18th and 19th Dynasties, but the major purposes of the tomb--and even many of the visual mechanisms used to meet them--remain the same: the stacking and mirroring of scenes, the use of emblematic kiosk scenes to represent correct hierarchical relationships and status, and the depictions of the tomb owner in his professional life.

Areas for Further Work

The trends identified in the 19th Dynasty Theban tombs treated here provide many opportunities for expansion. Initially, the corpus for this study included a number of 20th Dynasty tombs that met those criteria established for their 19th Dynasty counterparts: significant extant decoration, transverse shape plan, and extant tomb owner titles, but they were removed in the interest of time and clarity. They provide a fertile ground to consider many of the trends established in this study as the Ramesside era suffered decline and dissolution.⁷⁴³ A second particularly interesting group in the necropolis are those large tombs often cut in relief and decorated with large-scale sculpture, removed from this study because their scale suggests a different relationship between the visitor and the images found within. In the tombs treated here, the scale of the rooms is such that the decoration on the upper part of the walls in the tomb chapels are at the visitor's eye level, and the tombs are relatively small, creating an intimate viewing experience. In the case of the large tombs, the decoration at the eye level is usually in the lower areas of the wall and is difficult to read due to the scale of the room and the subtlety of the relief carving.⁷⁴⁴ In addition, these tombs feature more text, more complex scene types and sculpture, and, due to their size, are difficult to read even with the aid of outside light.⁷⁴⁵ The common use of high-quality relief in these tombs may also signal a different group of craftsmen or a more direct royal connection. These tombs usually belong to elite men with high offices. In the case of TT 23, one of the most complex tombs in the necropolis,

⁷⁴³ Tombs of the 20th Dynasty that could be included are: TT 30, TT 44, TT 113, TT 134, TT 135, TT 148, TT 158, TT 195, TT 222, TT 259, TT 272, TT 273, TT 277, TT 278, TT 384, TT 305, TT 341, TT 362.

⁷⁴⁴ The tombs removed due to their size and decoration are found under #8 in the exclusion list in the appendixes. They are: TT 23, TT 32, TT 35, TT 41, TT 106, TT 157, TT 183, TT 194, TT 264, TT 373.

⁷⁴⁵ Hofmann has looked at the type of sculpture found in Ramesside tombs; for more, see Hofmann 1995.

the owner Thay was the “royal scribe of the dispatches of the Lord of the Two Lands” under Merenptah. In the case of TT 32, the owner Dhutmosi was the “chief steward of Amun” and “overseer of the granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt,” and the owner of TT 35, Bekenkhons is the “first prophet of Amun.” There are clearly similarities between the tombs in this group and those studied here. One can be seen in the importance of the focal wall, because of the frequent use of sculpture and stelae to define that space and draw the visitors’ attention (TT 23, TT 32, TT 35, TT 157, TT 183, TT 194, TT 264, and TT 373). The use of sculpture and stelae in these locations may serve an emblematic purpose similar to that of the kiosk images in the tombs treated in this study, drawing the viewer toward important scenes and content; however, further study is required to understand the decoration in these tombs and how their programs conform to or depart from trends established for their smaller, usually painted counterparts. There are fewer of these tombs in the necropolis, but they would benefit from a study of their decorative programs and the ways their owner’s identity is constructed through image and text, and whether or not the transverse room serves a function similar to those in the other tombs studied.

Another group of tombs removed from this study that may benefit from an assessment using the trends established in this study are those that have unusual plans departing from the common T-shape.⁷⁴⁶ As discussed, images in the tomb help to define the space in which they are found, and if one were to look at the placement of scenes commonly found on focal walls (for example kiosk scenes including Osiris), or scenes

⁷⁴⁶ These tombs are listed under #6 in the exclusion list in the appendixes: TT 141, TT 184, TT 192, TT 255, TT 271, TT 286, TT 289, TT 408.

representing the tomb owner's profession, this might lead to an understanding of which spaces were thought of as focal walls when these are not spatially defined by the plan.

As noted in the course of this study, during the Ramesside period the prominence of Thebes waned somewhat, and many government and military officials chose to be buried in Lower Egypt, closer to Memphis and the seat of Ramesside government. Some of the professional diversity seen in 18th Dynasty Theban tomb owners therefore declines in the 19th. Considering the importance of profession and title in the decorative program of tombs in Thebes, it may be fruitful to consider the role played by the tomb owner's profession in the decoration of elite tombs in Lower Egypt. There are, however pitfalls when considering these tombs. First, tomb chapels in Memphis and Saqqara were not carved into the cliffs as at Thebes; they were built up from the ground and therefore have often broken down into fragments that make a study of scene selection and location within a space difficult. A related concern is that not as many of these tombs survive and have been excavated, although in the future more information may come to light and allow for the possibility of a larger study of trends in their decoration.⁷⁴⁷

Another geographical extension of this study could be undertaken by looking at tombs beyond the Memphite and Theban burial centers. The 20th Dynasty tomb of Setou

⁷⁴⁷ Some tombs in the Memphite area from the period have been studied and published and could provide a good starting point for an investigation of the tomb chapels in the area. They include: the Memphite tombs of Ramose which dates to the reign of Horemheb and two Ramesside tombs owned by Khay and Pabes, see Geoffrey, Van Dijk, and Raven et. al. 2001; a tomb dating to the reign of Ramesses II, see Gaballa. 1977; two tomb chapels at Saqqara that date to the reign of Ramesses II, see Martin 1985; and the tomb chapel of a couple dating to the reign of Tutankhamun, Maya and Merit, see Martin 2012.

at El-Kab and the middle Egyptian tombs Ramesside of Anhurmosé and Imiseba at El-Mashayikh would provide good starting points.⁷⁴⁸

Conclusion

The study of Ramesside-era tombs is dominated by the notion of difference between and disconnection with their 18th Dynasty counterparts, and, while tombs from the 18th and 19th Dynasties sit side by side in the Theban hills and feature similar plans, their decoration does initially seem dissimilar. In fact, style in the post-Amarna period is markedly different from that of the pre-Amarna era, and scene types that were once standard (i.e., fishing and fowling, agriculture) almost disappear, while scenes from the *Book of the Dead* increase in frequency. The 18th Dynasty tendency to keep scenes of this world in the transverse hall and to place those that occur in the beyond in the inner room gives way to a more integrated treatment of subject matter, in which the division between scenes of this world and those of the next are divided not by room but by register. However, the function of the tomb chapel as an open space dedicated to the funerary cult of the deceased that, in order to function, demanded the engagement of visitors and their belief in the deceased's worthiness of their offerings and prayers meant that the self-presentation of the tomb owner remained paramount even as some of the scenes used to construct it in the 18th Dynasty shifted. As demonstrated in this study, the depiction of the tomb owner's professional identity remained a major means by which he not only asserted his adherence to his professional duties but also affirmed his role in a hierarchy

⁷⁴⁸ Kruchten and Delvaux 2010; Ockinga and al-Masri 1988, 1990.

that upheld *maat*. The formal mechanisms used in the 18th Dynasty to signal status and hierarchical relationships, particularly that of the exalted figure in a kiosk, remained in play in the 19th Dynasty; only some of the participants changed to conform to the realities of the shifting population of the necropolis.

Richer meaning of images, which developed out of the purposeful pairing of scenes in the decorative program, were derived from mechanisms that, while already in play in 18th Dynasty, were employed in a more sophisticated manner in the 19th Dynasty. The use of mirrored and stacked kiosk scenes on focal walls made the visitor's initial view into the tomb immediately legible. The view through the doorway led directly to the cult statue of the deceased in the shrine at the western end of the central axis. The cult statue immediately identified the primary purpose of the space as the site of an offering cult and therefore the expectation that the visitor would make a prayer or physical offering to the deceased. Images on the focal walls flanking this view related to the cult statue in that they often displayed the owner's worthiness to receive offerings and veneration: carrying out his professional responsibilities on one wall and venerating the Osiris or another deity on the other. The scene of Osiris's veneration, so common on focal walls, also reinforced the role of the visitor to the tomb: even as the tomb owner was depicted giving offering to Osiris, the visitor was expected to offer to the tomb owner, who was becoming like Osiris.

The Ramesside tendency for scenes to wrap around walls encouraged the visitor to move from the emblematic, legible scenes on the focal walls to their more narrative predecessors, which often appeared on the two short walls and the east walls. In the case of focal walls that depict the adoration of Osiris at the close of Chapter 125 of the *Book of*

the Dead, the viewer's attention would be drawn back to witness the journey of the deceased in the afterlife that preceded his introduction to the god. And below this narrative or that of Chapter 145/146 of the *Book of the Dead* he may see a depiction of the funeral procession and rituals that may call to mind his own participation in such events, serving as a reminder that rituals undertaken in the living world had meaning in the realm of the dead, an idea that again would encourage offering and prayers.

The selection of scenes from the *Book of the Dead* frequently found in tombs are some of the most legible but also signal the deceased's access to restricted knowledge that enabled him to make the transition to the afterlife. The narrative nature of the successive parts of the Chapter 145/146 and Chapter 125 make them relatively easy to follow, while other popular selections (such as Chapter 59, with the deceased receiving sustenance from the Tree Goddess) are also immediately legible even to someone unfamiliar with text of the *Book of the Dead*. It is suggested here that these scenes were selected for their legibility and because they provided artists the opportunity to create visually interesting compositions.

In the event that the visitor was a family member of the deceased, he could remember that individual and others he knew who are shown in the chapel, and perhaps even see an image of himself. The depiction of multiple generations within the chapel helped to extend the relevance of the imagery. If the offering cult continued in a family for several generations, members of the younger generations of the family may not have known the initial tomb owner but might be able to remember his son or other family members depicted and relate personally to such images. Furthermore, the monument then

served as a site of memory and commemoration for others depicted, even if they were not the tomb owner.

The fact that women and children visited the tombs of their forebearers, if only during festivals, helped to reinforce societal values of family fealty and the hope that, once they died, their descendants would serve the same role. Offering scenes, and the somewhat infrequent banqueting scenes, would call to mind memories of the annual festivals celebrated in the tombs and would fulfill the deceased's desire to remain part of the living community.

The aesthetic beauty of the scenes may have encouraged even more visitors to enter the tomb, whether they were artists or tomb owners in search of inspiration for their own monuments or simply interested viewers, a supposition supported by graffiti. The decorative program of the tomb in the post-Amarna period and 19th Dynasty was constructed with an awareness not only of the tomb owner's needs in the beyond but also of those needs being met by members of the living world. Thus a major orientation of the decoration was toward the living.

The tombs in this study are only a fraction of those in the Theban necropolis--let alone in the larger Egyptian state--in the 19th Dynasty, but they show that many of the traditional functions of the tomb remain; they are met in some cases by new scenes but in many others by familiar scenes with small alterations. When all the scenes in a tomb are viewed only through the lens of "personal piety" and "increasing sacralization," meanings that do not fit into that narrative are ignored. Given the multivalence of scenes

in the tomb space, it behooves the modern scholar to consider all the meanings that would have been implicit to ancient viewers.

APPENDIX

Tombs Removed from Dissertation

The Theban tombs included in this study date to the 19th Dynasty and the transitional period between the end of the Amarna period and the beginning of the Ramesside. The numbers without dashes used below are those used by Porter and Moss in the second edition of their *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings, I, The Theban Necropolis, Part One: Private Tombs*. The numbers with dashes are those added to the corpus by Friederike Kampp in her 1996 publication *Die thebanische Nekropole: zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie*. Most of those tombs identified by Kampp featured little or no extant decoration. Not all tombs identified in these sources are appropriate to be included in the current study and were removed for the following reasons:

1. Tombs that were reused- While these tombs may provide interesting case studies when considering the way decoration from earlier periods (usually the 18th Dynasty) were altered to conform to Ramesside trends, in order to establish those trends I deemed it necessary to exclude any tombs that were not entirely decorated in the Ramesside. In addition, it is not always clear from the available material, which decoration is earlier and which is later. It is usually possible to ascertain this when one has good photos of the tomb but this is unfortunately, often not the case. The tombs excluded because of usurpation are: TT 45, TT 54, TT 112, TT 127, TT 152, TT 190, TT 257, TT 285, TT 294, TT 337, TT 346, TT -58-, TT -127-, TT -145-, TT -160-, TT -166-, TT -202-, TT -225-. TT 50 was removed because its content suggests a transitional date during the reign of Haremheb, but stylistically it appears to belong to a later period. It has been suggested

that it was decorated later in the Ramesside era or had significant restoration during this period.⁷⁴⁹ This difficulty in dating removes it from the present corpus for the same reason that usurped tombs present a problem when considering the tomb program as cohesive unit.

2. Tombs from Deir el Medina- Tombs from Deir el Medina have been excluded for the time being because they often feature decorated burial chambers that are not seen in tombs from the other Theban areas and therefore suggest a different interaction with the tomb space than the painted chapels of the other areas. In addition, they are generally created for a slightly different socio economic group (that of craftsman who worked in the Valley of the Kings) than those tombs in the other areas (Dra Abu el Naga, Khokha, Asasid, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, and Qurnet Murai) and while it would be interesting to investigate questions of self representation among this group, it will have to be considered apart from that of the priests and government officials who are buried in the other areas and in Memphis. The tombs excluded due to their location at Deir el Medina are: TT 1-7, TT 9, TT 10, TT 212, TT 214-220, TT 250, TT 265, TT 266, TT 268, TT 290-292, TT 298, TT 299, TT 321-323, TT 326, TT 327, TT 329, TT 330, TT 335-339, TT 356, TT 357, TT 360, TT 361.

3. Tombs with very little extant decoration- The following tombs have very little extant decoration, often only pieces of the frieze or part of one or two scenes. The reason for excluding this material is that the tomb decoration was created as part of a program, with scenes interacting with each other and therefore a holistic reading of the tomb is necessary in order to try to understand the visitors reading of the space: TT 28, TT 105,

⁷⁴⁹Kampp 1996, 254.

TT 115, TT 136, TT 137, TT149, TT 150, TT 153, TT156, TT 174, TT 177, TT 180, TT187, TT 198, TT 206, TT 221, TT 232, TT 234, TT 244, TT 264, TT 275, TT 282, TT 283, TT 288, TT 300, TT 331, TT 347, TT 363, TT364, TT 368, TT 369, TT 375, TT 378, TT 384, TT 385, TT 394, TT 395, TT 406, TT -23-, TT -48-, TT -52-, TT -54-, TT -61-, TT -86-, TT -95-, TT -96-, TT -101-, TT -103-, TT -106-, TT -108-, TT -109-, TT -116-, TT -151-, TT -162-, TT -163-, TT -167-, TT -215-, TT -217-, TT -223-, TT -225-, TT -227-, TT -233-, TT -249-, TT -263-, TT -265-, TT -268-, TT -269-, TT -270-, TT -272-, TT -276-, TT -277-, TT -280-, TT -281-, TT -289-, TT -290-, TT -295-, TT -296-, TT -297-, TT -298-, TT -299-, TT -300-, TT -301-, TT -302-, TT -303-, TT -304-, TT -305-, TT -307-, TT -312-, TT -317-, TT -318-, TT -319-, TT -320-, TT -322-, TT -325-, TT -327-, TT -329-, TT -332-, TT -335-, TT -336-, TT -337-, TT -343-, TT -347-, TT -348-, TT -350-, TT -352-, TT -354-, TT -361-, TT -367-, TT -368-, TT -375-, TT -392-, TT -395-, TT -397-, TT -418-, TT -433-, TT -434-.

4. A fourth excluded group of tombs are those whose location are not known, are inaccessible, and/or have no plan available: TT 163, TT 168, TT 170, TT 173, TT 202, TT 203, TT 207, TT 236, TT 237, TT 269, TT 270, TT 274, TT 287, TT 301, TT 303, TT 304, TT 351, TT 352, TT 374, TT 381, TT 382, A.8, A.12, A.14, A.15, A.16, A.18, A.23, A.26, C.7, C.8.

5. TT 193 is excluded because although it is numbered like a Theban tomb, it is a stela.

6. The following tombs are excluded because their unusual plans do not have a spatially defined focal wall. They may have focal walls in the sense that the material traditionally represented on focal walls has migrated to another wall and therefore serves a similar purpose to that of a focal wall, but in order to identify these scenes one must first look at

focal walls that are defined spatially in a transverse hall: TT 141, TT 184, TT 192, TT 255, TT 271, TT 286, TT 289, TT 408.

7. Tombs where the tomb owners name and title have not been preserved: TT 371, TT 377, TT 379, TT 399.

8. Remove the tombs that are very large and incorporate sculpture, TT 23 (relief), TT 32 (relief), TT 35 (painting with small amounts of relief to define real and fictive architectural elements and as is usually expected, on thicknesses), TT 41 (relief and painting), TT 106 (relief and painting), TT 157 (relief and painting), TT 183 (relief and painting), TT 194 (relief, although not large the decoration has much more in common with this group especially considering the use of carved stelae on focal walls), TT 264 (relief), TT 373 (relief).

9. TT 208, TT 302, TT 332 were removed because there is too little information to date them more specifically than “Ramesside” and it is likely that TT 208 dates to the 20th Dynasty.

Tombs arranged by date

Post-Amarna 18th:

TT 40, Amenhotep called Huy, reign of Tutankhamun, Viceroy of Kush, Governor of the South lands; King's envoy in every land; Fan bearer to the right of the King; Overseer of the cattle of Amun in the Land of Kush; Prince, Qurnet Murai

TT 49, Neferhotep, reign of Ay, chief scribe of Amun; Superintendent of the oxen and heifers of Amun, Khokha

TT 254, Mosi, reign of Ay, Supervisor of the Estate of Tiye in the Estate of Amun; Senior Supervisor of the Treasury of Amun; Scribe of the treasury of Amun; Scribe of the god's father(s) of Amun, Khokha

Post-Amarna/19th?:

TT 324, Hatiay, post-Amarna, 19th, Aye-SetiI (?), overseer of the prophets of all the gods; Chief prophet of Sobk; Scribe in the temple of Montu; High Priest of Horus, Sobk, Anubis, and Khons, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

19th:

TT 263, Piay, first half of the reign of Ramesses I, Scribe of the workshop in the Estate of Amun; Scribe of the workshop in the Temple of Usimare Setepenre in the Estate of Amun; Scribe of the workshop of Amun; Scribe of the workshop of Amun in 'United-with-Thebes', Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

TT 51, Userhet called Neferhabef, reign of Seti I, High Priest of Tuthmosis I, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

TT 31, Khons called To, beginning of the reign of Ramesses II, first prophet of Mekheperre (Tuthmosis III); Overseer of the Cattle of Tuthmosis IV; High Priest of Mont, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

TT 19, Amenmosi, beginning of the reign of Ramesses II, first prophet of Amenhotep of the forecourt; High Priest of Amenhotep I, Dra Abu el-Naga

TT 25, Amenemhab, second half of the reign of Ramesses II, High Priest of Khons, Asasif

TT 111, Amenwahsu, second half of the reign of Ramesses II, Scribe of the Sacred Books in the House of Amun; Scribe in the House of Life, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

TT 133, Neferronpet, second half of the reign of Ramesses II, Chief of the weavers of the Ramesseum in the estate of Amun on the West Bank of Thebes, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

TT 138, Nedjemger, second half of the reign of Ramesses II, Superintendent in the garden in the Ramesseum in the estate of Amun, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

TT 159, Raya, second half of the reign of Ramesses II, Fourth prophet of Amun, Dra Abu el-Naga

TT 178, Neferronpet called Kenro, second half of the reign of Ramesses II, scribe of the treasury in the estate of Amun-re, Khokha

TT 296, Nefersekheru, second half of the reign of Ramesses II, Deputy Administrator of the Treasury; Deputy Administrator of the Royal Treasury; Scribe of the Divine Offerings of all gods; Real Scribe of the King, Khokha

TT 387, Meryptah, second half of the reign of Ramesses II, Royal table scribe of the Lord of Both Lands in the Estate of Amun; Real King's Scribe; Governor of the Desert Lands for the Southern Deserts, Asasif

TT 409, Simut called Kyky, second half of the reign of Ramesses II, Scribe who reckons the cattle of Amun; Scribe of the Sacred Offerings; Scribe who reckons the cattle of Amun in the Southern City; Scribe who reckons the Cattle of the gods of the South and North; Scribe who reckons the Cattle of all gods; Royal Scribe who reckons the Cattle of the Lord of Thebes, Scribe who reckons the cattle of the Estate of Amun; Chief accountant of the Cattle of the Cattle for Amun, Mut, and Khons; Scribe of Accounts of the Estate of Amen-Re, Asasif

TT 189, Nekhtdhout, end of the reign of Ramesses II, Chief craftsman; Chief goldsmith; Chief of the carpenters in the Estate of Amun, Chief of the craftsman of the North Lake of Amun, Asasif

TT 233, Saroy, end of the reign of Ramesses II, Royal scribe of the Lord of the Two Lands, Dra Abu el-Naga

TT 344, Piay, 19th Dynasty, overseer of the herds of Amen-re, in the southern city, royal scribe of the herds of Amenhotep I, Dra Abu el-Naga

TT 25, Amenemhab, second half of the reign of Ramesses II, High Priest of Khons, Asasif

TT 13, Shuroy, end of 19th, head of brazier bearers of Amun, Dra Abu el-Naga

TT 14, Huy, end of 19th, wab priest of Amenhotep I "the image of Amun", Dra Abu el-Naga

TT 16, Panehesi, end of 19th, prophet of Amenhotep of the Forecourt; Chief of the Attendants of the offering Table, Prophet of Amun, Dra Abu el-Naga

Tombs by AreaDra Abu el-Naga:

TT 13, Shuroy, end of 19th, head of brazier bearers of Amun

TT 14, Huy, end of 19th, wab priest of Amenhotep I “the image of Amun”

TT 16, Panehesi, end of 19th, prophet of Amenhotep of the Forecourt; Chief of the Attendants of the offering Table, Prophet of Amun

TT 19, Amenmosi, beginning of the reign of Ramesses II, first prophet of Amenhotep of the forecourt; High Priest of Amenhotep I

TT 159, Raya, second half of the reign of Ramesses II, Fourth prophet of Amun

TT 233, Saroy, end of the reign of Ramesses II, Royal scribe of the Lord of the Two Lands

TT 344, Piay, 19th Dynasty, overseer of the herds of Amen-re, in the southern city, royal scribe of the herds of Amenhotep I

Asasif:

TT 25, Amenemhab, second half of the reign of Ramesses II, High Priest of Khons

TT 26, Khnememhab, end of the 19th, overseer of the treasury in the Ramesseum in the estate of Amun; Overseer of the expeditionary force/ army of the Lord of the Two Lands

TT 189, Nekhtdout, end of the reign of Ramesses II, Chief craftsman; Chief goldsmith; Chief of the carpenters in the Estate of Amun, Chief of the craftsman of the North Lake of Amun

TT 387, Meryptah, second half of the reign of Ramesses II, Royal table scribe of the Lord of Both Lands in the Estate of Amun; Real King's Scribe; Governor of the Desert Lands for the Southern Deserts.

TT 409, Simut called Kyky, second half of the reign of Ramesses II, Scribe who reckons the cattle of Amun; Scribe of the Sacred Offerings; Scribe who reckons the cattle of Amun in the Southern City; Scribe who reckons the Cattle of the gods of the South and North; Scribe who reckons the Cattle of all gods; Royal Scribe who reckons the Cattle of the Lord of Thebes, Scribe who reckons the cattle of the Estate of Amun; Chief accountant of the Cattle of the Cattle for Amun, Mut, and Khons; Scribe of Accounts of the Estate of Amen-Re.

Khokha:

TT 49, Neferhotep, reign of Ay, chief scribe of Amun; Superintendent of the oxen and heifers of Amun

TT 178, Neferronpet called Kenro, second half of the reign of Ramesses II, scribe of the treasury in the estate of Amun-re

TT 254, Mosi, reign of Ay, Supervisor of the Estate of Tiye in the Estate of Amun; Senior Supervisor of the Treasury of Amun; Scribe of the treasury of Amun; Scribe of the god's father(s) of Amun

TT 296, Nefersekeru, second half of the reign of Ramesses II, Deputy Administrator of the Treasury; Deputy Administrator of the Royal Treasury; Scribe of the Divine Offerings of all gods; Real Scribe of the King.

Sheikh Abd el-Qurna:

TT 31, Khons called To, beginning of the reign of Ramesses II, first prophet of Mekheperre (Tuthmosis III); Overseer of the Cattle of Tuthmosis IV; High Priest of Mont

TT 51, Userhet called Neferhabef, reign of Seti I, High Priest of Tuthmosis I

TT 111, Amenwahsu, second half of the reign of Ramesses II, Scribe of the Sacred Books in the House of Amun; Scribe in the House of Life

TT 133, Neferronpet, second half of the reign of Ramesses II, Chief of the weavers of the Ramesseum in the estate of Amun on the West Bank of Thebes

TT 138, Nedjemger, second half of the reign of Ramesses II, Superintendent in the garden in the Ramesseum in the estate of Amun

TT 263, Piay, first half of the reign of Ramesses I, Scribe of the workshop in the Estate of Amun; Scribe of the workshop in the Temple of Usimare Setepenre in the Estate of Amun; Scribe of the workshop of Amun; Scribe of the workshop of Amun in 'United-with-Thebes'

TT 324, Hatiay, post-Amarna, 19th, Aye-SetiI (?), overseer of the prophets of all the gods; Chief prophet of Sobk; Scribe in the temple of Montu; High Priest of Horus, Sobk, Anubis, and Khons

Qurnet Murai:

TT 40, Amenhotep called Huy, reign of Tutankhamun, Viceroy of Kush, Governor of the South lands; King's envoy in every land; Fan bearer to the right of the King; Overseer of the cattle of Amun in the Land of Kush; Prince

Book of the Dead Spells found in Theban Tombs⁷⁵⁰

(in the dissertation)

1

Here begin the spells for going out in the day, the praises and recitations for going to and fro in the realm of the dead which are beneficial in the beautiful West, and which are to be spoken out on the day of burial and of going in after coming out

Hail to you, Bull of the West- so says Thoth, the King of Eternity, of me. I am the Great God, the protector. I have fought for you, for I am one of those gods for the tribunal which vindicated Osiris against his foes on that day of judgment. I belong to your company, O Osiris, for I am one of those gods who fashioned the Children of Nut, who slew the foes of Osiris and who imprisoned those who rebelled against him.

I belong to your company, O Horus, I have fought for you and have watched over your name; I am Thoth who vindicated Osiris against his foes on that day of judgment in the great Mansion of the Prince which is in Heliopolis. I am a Busirite, the son of a Busirite, I was conceived in Busiris, I was born in Busiris when I was with the men who lamented and the women who mourned Osiris on the Shores of Rekhty and who vindicated Osiris against his foes- so they say. O Re, Thoth has vindicated Osiris against his foes- so men say. Thoth has helped me so that I might be with Horus on the day of the clothing of the Dismembered One and of the opening of the caverns for the washing of the Inert One and the throwing open of the door of the secret things in Rosetjau; so that I might be with Horus as the protector of the left arm of Osiris who is in Letopolis. I go

⁷⁵⁰ Translation of the chapters of the Book of the Dead are by Faulkner, see Faulkner 1990.

in and out among those who are there on the day of crushing the rebels in Letopolis so that I may be with Horus on the day of the Festival of Osiris offerings are made on the days of the Sixth-day Festival and the Seventh-day Festival in Heliopolis.

I am the priest in Busiris for the Lion-god in the House of Osiris with those who raise up earth; I am he who sees the mysteries in Rosetjau; I am he who reads the ritual book for the Soul in Busiris; I am the Sem-priest at this duties; I am the Master Craftsman on the day of the placing the Bark of Sokar on its sledge; I am he who take the hoe on the day of breaking up the earth in Heracleopolis.

O you who cause the perfected souls to draw near to the House of Osiris, may you cause the excellent soul of N to draw near with you to the House of Osiris. May he hear as you hear, may he see as you see, may he stand as you stand, may he sit as you sit.

O you who give bread and beer to the perfected souls in the House of Osiris, may you give bread and beer at all seasons to the soul of N, who is vindicated with all the gods of the Thinite nome, and who is vindicated with you.

O you who open a path and open up roads for the perfected souls in the House of Osiris, open a path for him, open up roads for the soul of N in company with you. May he come in freely, may he go out in peace from the House of Osiris, without being repelled or turned back. May he go in favoured, may he come out loved, may he be vindicated, may his commands be done in the House of Osiris, may he go and speak with you, may he be a spirit with you, may no fault be found in him, for the balance is voided of his misdoings.

Here begin praises and recitations, going in and out of the realm of the dead, having benefit in the beautiful West, being in the suite of Osiris, resting at the food-table of Wennefer, going out into the day, taking any shape in which he desires to be, playing at draughts, sitting in a booth, and going forth as a living soul by the Osiris N after he has died. It is beneficial to him who does it on earth.

Now come into being all the words of the Lord of All: I was Atum when I was alone in the Abyss; I was Re in his glorious appearings when he began to rule what he had made.

What does it mean? It means Re when he began to rule what he has made, when he began to appear as king, before the Supports of Shu had come into being, when he was upon the hill which is in Hermopolis, when he destroyed the Children of Impotence on the hill which was in Hermopolis.

I am the Great God, the self-created.

Who is it? The Great God, the self-created, is water, he is Nun, father of the gods.

Otherwise said: He is Re. He who created his names, Lord of the Ennead.

Who is he? It is Re who created his names and his members, it means the coming into existence of those gods who are in his suite.

I am he who is not opposed among the gods.

Who is he? He is Atum who is in his sun-disk. *Otherwise said:* He is Re when he rises in the eastern horizon of the sky.

To me belongs yesterday, I know tomorrow.

What does it mean? As for yesterday, that is Osiris. As for tomorrow, that is Re on that day in which the foes of the Lord of All were destroyed and his son Horus was

made to rule. *Otherwise said:* That is the day of the 'We-remain' festival, when the burial of Osiris was ordered by his father Re.

The battle-ground of the gods was made in accordance with my command.

What does it mean? It is the West. It was made for the souls of the gods in accordance with the command of Osiris, Lord of the Western Desert. *Otherwise said:* It means that this is the West, to which Re made every god descend, and he fought the Two for it.

I know that Great God who is in it.

Who is he? He is Osiris. *Otherwise said:* His name is Re, his name is Praise-of-Re, he is the soul of Re, with whom he himself copulated.

I am that great phoenix which is in Heliopolis, the supervisor of what exists.

Who is he? He is Osiris. As for what exists, that means his injury. *Otherwise said:* This means his corpse. *Otherwise said:* It means eternity and everlasting. As for eternity, it means daytime; as for everlasting, it means night.

I am Min in his going forth, I have set the plumes on my head.

What does it mean? As for Min, he is Horus who protected his father. As for his going forth, it means his birth. As for his plumes on his head, it means that Isis and Nephthys went and put themselves on his head when they were the Two Kites, and they were firm on his head. *Otherwise said:* They are the two great the mighty uraei which are on the brow of his father Atum.

Otherwise said: The plumes on his head are his eyes. When I was in my land, I came into my city.

What was it? It is the horizon of my father Atum. I destroy what was done wrongly against me, I dispel what was done evilly against me.

What does it mean? It means that the navel-string of N will be cut.

All the ill which was on me has been removed.

What does it mean? It means that I was cleansed on the day of my birth in the two great and noble marshes which are in Heracleopolis on the day of the oblation y the common folk to the Great God who is in them. *What are they?* ‘Chaos-god’ is the name of one; ‘Sea’ is the name of the other. They are the Lake of Natron and the Lake of Maet. *Otherwise said:* ‘The Chaos-god governs’ is the name of one; ‘Sea’ is the name of the other. *Otherwise said:* ‘Seed of the Chaos-god’ is the name of one; ‘Sea’ is the name of the other. As for that Great God who is in them, he is Re himself.

I go on the road which I know in front of the Island of the Just.

What is it? It is Rosetjau. The southern gate is in Naref, the northern gate is in the Mound of Osiris; as for the Island of the Just, it is Abydos. *Otherwise said:* It is the road on which my father Atum went when he proceeded to the Field of Reeds.

I arrive at the Island of the Horizon-dwellers, I go out from the holy gate.

What is it? It is in the Field of Reeds, which produced the provisions for the gods who are rounds about the shrine. As for that holy gate, it is the gate of the Supports of Shu. *Otherwise said:* It is the gate of the Duat. *Otherwise said:* It is the door through which my father Atum passed when he proceeded to the eastern horizon of the sky.

O you who are in my presence, give me your hands, for indeed I am he who grew up among you.

What does it mean? It means the blood which fell from the phallus of Re when he took to cutting himself. Then there came into being the gods who are the in presence of Re, who are Authority and Intelligence, while I followed after my father Atum daily.

I restored the Sacred Eye after it had been injured on that day when the Rivals fought.

What does it mean? It means the day when Horus fought with Seth when he inflicted injury on Horus's face and when Horus took away Seth's testicles. It was Thoth who did this with his fingers.

I lifted up the hair from the Second Eye at its time of wrath.

What does it mean? It means the right Eye of Re when it raged against him after he had sent it out. It was Thoth who lifted up the hair from it when he fetched it in good condition without its having suffered any harm. *Otherwise said:* It means that his Eye was sick when it wept a second time, and then Thoth spat on it.

I have seen this sun-god who was born yesterday from the buttocks of the Celestial Cow; if he be well, then will I be well, and vice versa.

What does it mean? It means these waters of the sky. *Otherwise said:* It is the image of the Eye of Re on the morning of its daily birth. As for the Celestial Cow, she is the Sacred Eye of Re.

Because I am one of those gods who are in the suite of Horus, who spoke before him all that my lord desired.

Who are they? They are Imsety, Hapy, Duamutef and Qebehseuef.

Hail to you, Lords of Justice, tribunal which is behind Osiris, who put terror into the doers of wrong, who are in the suite of Her who makes content and protects. Here am

I; I have come to you that you may drive out all the evil which is on me just as you did for those seven spirits who are the in the suite of the Lord of Sepa, whose places Anubis made ready on that day of ‘Come thence.’

Who are they? As for those gods the Lords of Justice, they are Seth and Isdes, Lord of the West. Ad for the tribunal which is behind Osiris, Imsety, Hapy, Duamutef and Qebehseuef, it is these who are behind the Great Bear in the northern sky. As for those who put terror into the doers of wrong, who are in the suite of Her who makes content and protects, they are Sobk and those who are in the waters. As for her who makes content and protects, she is the Eye of Re. *Otherwise said:* She is a flame which follows after Osiris, burning up his enemies. As for all the evil which is on me, it is what I have done among the lords of eternity ever since I came down from my mother’s womb. Ad for these seven spirits, Imsety, Hapy, Duamutef, Qebehseuef, He who sees his father, He who is under the moringa-tree, and Horus the Eyeless, it is they who were set by Anubis as a protection for the burial of Osiris. *Otherwise said:* Behind the embalming place of Osiris. *Otherwise said:* As for these seven spirits, they are Nedjehnedjeh, Iakedked, Bull whose flame was set for him in front of his burning, He who entered into him who is in his hour, the Red-eyed who is the Mansion of Red Linen, the Radiant One who comes out after having turned back, He who sees in the night what shall bring by day. As for the head of this tribunal, his name is He who subdued the Great One. As for the day of ‘Come to me’, it means that Osiris said to Re, ‘Come to me that I may see you’ - so said he in the West.

I am his twin souls which are within the Two Fledglings.

Who is he? He is Osiris when he entered into Mendes. He found the soul of Re there and they embraced each other. Then his twin souls came into being.

Now as for the Two Fledglings, they are Horus the Protector of his father and Horus the Eyeless. *Otherwise said:* As for the twin souls which are within the Two Fledglings, they are the soul of Re, the soul of Osiris, the soul which is in Shu, the soul which is in Nut, his twin souls which are in Mendes.

I am that great Cat who split the ished-tree on its side in Heliopolis on that night of making war on behalf of those who warded off the rebels and on that day which were destroyed the enemies of the Lord of All.

What does it mean? As for that Cat, he is Re himself, who was called 'Cat' when Sia spoke about him; he was cat-like in what he did, and that is how his name of 'Cat' came into being. *Otherwise said:* He will be Shu making an inventory for Geb and for Osiris. As for the splitting of the ished-tree on its side in Heliopolis, it was when the Children of Impotence carried out what they did. As for that night of making war, it means they entered into the east of the sky, and war broke out in the entire sky and earth.

O Re who are in your Egg, shining in your disk, rising in your horizon, swimming over your firmament, having no equal among the gods, sailing over the Supports of Shy, giving air with the breath of your mouth, illuminating the Two Lands with your sunshine, may you save me from that god whose shape is secret, whose eyebrows are the arms of the balance, on that night of reckoning up the robbers.

Who is he? It is he who uses his hand on that night of reckoning up the robbers, on that night of the flame against the fallen, when the lasso was put on the wrongdoers at the slaughterhouse for killing souls.

Who is he? He is Shesmu, he is the mutilator of Osiris. *Otherwise said:* He is Apophis, he has only one head which bears righteousness. *Otherwise said:* He is Horus, he has two heads, one bearing right and one bearing wrong he gives wrong to whoever does it and right to whoever comes with it. *Otherwise said:* He is Horus the Great, preeminent in Letopolis. *Otherwise said:* He is Thoth. *Otherwise said:* He is Nefertem, son of Bastet. These are the tribunal who take action against the enemies of the Lord of All.

Save me from those who deal wounds, the slayers whose fingers are sharp, who deal out pain, who decapitate those who follow after Osiris; they shall not have power over me, and I will not fall into their cauldrons.

Who is he? He is Anubis, he is Horus the Eyeless. *Otherwise said:* It is the tribunal who took action against the foes of the Lord of All. *Otherwise said:* He is the master-physician of the Court. Their knives shall not have power over me, I will not fall into their cauldrons, because I know them, I know their names, I know the name of that smiter among them who belongs to the Horus of Osiris, who shoots with his eye, et is unseen. The sky is encircled with the fiery blast of his mouth and Hapi makes report, yet he is unseen.

I was the one who was hale on earth with Re and who died happily with Osiris; your offerings will not come into being through me, O you who are in charge of your braziers, because I am in the suite of the Lord of All at the edict of Khepri. I fly up as a falcon, I cackle as a goose, I pass eternity like Nehebkau.

What does it mean? It means that as for those who are in charge of their braziers, they are the likeness of the Eye of Horus.

O Re-Atum, Lord of the Great Mansion, Sovereign of all the gods, save me from that god whose face is that of a hound but whose skin is human, who lives by butchery, who is in charge of the windings of the Lake of Fire, who swallows corpses, who controls hears, who inflicts injury unseen.

Who is he? ‘Swallower of Myriads’ is his name, and he dwells in the Lake of Wenet. Now as for the Lake of Fire, it is what is between Naref and the House of the Entourage. As for anyone who treads on it, beware lest he fall to the knives. *Otherwise said:* ‘He of the Sharp Knife’ is his name, and he is door-keeper of the West. *Otherwise said:* Babai is his name, and he is the guardian of this interior of the West. *Otherwise said:* ‘He who is over his affairs’ is his name.

O Lord of Terror who is at the head of the Two Lands, O Lord of Blood whose slaughter-blocks are flourishing, who lives on entrails.

Who is he? He is the heart of Osiris, and he devours all kinds of slaughtering.

To whom was given the Wereret-crown and joy in Heracleopolis.

Who is he? As for him to whom was given the Wereret-crown and joy in Heracleopolis, he is Osiris.

To whom was entrusted rulership among the gods on that day when the Two Lands were united in the presence of the Lord of All.

Who is he? As for him to whom was entrusted the rulership among the gods, he is Horus son of Isis, who was made ruler in the place of his father Osiris on that day when the Two Lands were united. It means the union of the Two Lands at the burial of Osiris.

Potent Ram who is in Heracleopolis, who gives good fortune and drives off wrong-doers, to whom the way of eternity is shown.

Who is he? He is Re himself.

Save me from that god who steals souls, who laps up corruption, who lives on what is putrid, who is in charge of darkness, who is immersed in gloom, of whom those who are among the languid ones are afraid.

Who is he? He is Seth. *Otherwise said:* He is the great Wild Bull, he is the soul of Geb.

O Khepri in the midst of your Sacred Bark, primeval one whose body is eternity, save me from those who are I charge of those who are to be examined, to whom the Lord of All has given power to guard against his enemies, who puts knives into the slaughterhouses, who do not leave their guardianship; their knives shall not cut into me, I shall not enter into their slaughterhouses, I shall not fall victim to their slaughter-blocks, I shall not sit down in their fish-traps, no harm shall be done to me from those whom the gods detest, because I have passed on, having bathed in the Milky Way, one to whom has been given a meal of the faience which is in the Tjenenet-shrine.

What does it mean? As for Khepri in the midst of his bark, he is Re himself. As for those who are in charge of those who are to be examined, they are the two sun-apes, Isis and Nephthys. As for those things which the gods detest, they are feces and falsehood. As for him who passed on, having bathed in the Milky Way, he is Anubis who is behind the chest which contains the entrails of Osiris. As for him to whom has been given a meal of faience which is in the Tjenenet-shrine, he is Osiris. As for the meal of faience which is in the Tjenenet-shrine, it is sky and earth.

Otherwise said: It means that Shu hammered out the Two Lands of Heracleopolis. As for faience, it is the Eye of Horus. As for the Tjenenet-shrine, it is the tomb of Osiris.

How well built is your house, O Atum! How well founded is your mansion, O Double Lion! Run, run to this! If Horus be respected, Seth will be divine, and vice versa. I have come into this land, I have made use of my feet for I am Atum, I am in my city. Get back, O Lion, bright of mouth and shining of head; retreat because of my strength, take care, O you who are invisible, do not await me, for I am Isis. You found me when I had disarranged the hair of my face and my scalp was disordered. I have become pregnant as Isis, I have conceived as Nephthys. Isis drives out those who would await me, Nephthys drives off those who would disturb me. The dread of me follows after me, my dignity is before me, millions bend their arms to me, the common folk serve me, the associates of my enemies are destroyed for me, the Grey-haired ones uncover their arms for me, those who are in Kheraha and those who are in Heliopolis create things for me. Every god is afraid because so great and mighty is my protection of the god from him who would vilify him. Malachite glitters for me, I live according to my will. As to Wadjet, Lady of the Devouring Flame, she is Re.

What does it mean? ‘Secret of shape, the arms of Hemen’ is the name of the fish-trap. ‘He who sees what he brings by hand’ is the name of the storm-cloud. *Otherwise said:* The name of the slaughter-block. As for the Lion whose mouth is bring and whose head is shining, he is the phallus of Osiris. *Otherwise said:* He is the phallus of Re. As for my having disarranged the hair of my face and having disordered my scalp, it means that Isis was I the shrine of Sokar and she rubbed her hair. As for Wadjet, Lady of the Devouring Flame, she is the Eye of Re. As for those few who approach her, it means that the confederacy of Seth are near her, because what is near her is burning.

If a man speaks this chapter when he is in a state of purity, it means going forth after death into the day and assuming whatever shape he desires. As for anyone who shall read it daily for his own benefit, it means being hale and hearty on earth; he shall come forth from every fire and nothing shall reach him. It is a matter a million times true; I have seen it and it has indeed come to pass through me.

18

Introduction

The praising of Osiris, Lord of Rosetjau, the Great Ennead which is in the God's Domain by the Osiris scribe N. *He says:* Hail to you, O Foremost of the Westerners, Wennenefer-dwelling-in-Abydos, I have come before you, my heart bearing truth, without wrongdoing in my body, without saying falsehood knowingly. I have not done a misdeed- (repeat) twice. May you give me bread which comes forth upon the altar of the Possessors of Truth. May I enter into and go forth from the God's Domain, without my Ba being hindered. May I see the dun and may I behold the moon everyday.

Words spoken by the Pillar-of-his-Mother Priest, *he says:* I have come before you, O Great Councilors who are in the sky, earth, and the God's Domain, I have brought you Osiris N who is blameless before all gods, let him be with you everyday.

The praising of Osiris, Lord of Eternity, and all the Councilors of Rosetjau by the Osiris N, the vindicated. *He says:* Hail to you, King of the God's Domain, Ruler of the land of Silence, I have come before you, I know your ways, I am equipped with your forms in the Underworld. May you give me a place in the God's Domain in the presence

of the Lords of Truth, and a permanent endowment in the Field of Offerings. May I receive offerings in your presence.

Words spoken by the Son-Whom-He-Loves Priest, I have come before you, O Great Councilors who are in Rosetjau, I have brought you the Osiris N. May you give him bread, water and air, and an endowment in the Field of Offerings, like a Follower of Horus.

O Thoth, who vindicated Osiris against his enemies, vindicate the Osiris N, the vindicated, against his enemies in the presence of the council which is with Re and Osiris, and which is in Heliopolis, on that night of the Evening Meal, on that night of battle, at the moment of guarding the rebels, and on that day of destroying the enemies of the Lord of All.

As to 'the Great Council which is in Heliopolis': they are Atum, Shu, and Tefnut.

As to 'the guarding of the rebels': it means the destruction of the gang of Seth when he repeated his offenses.

O Thoth, who vindicated Osiris against his enemies, vindicate the Osiris N, the vindicated, against his enemies in the presence of the council which is in Busiris, on that night of erecting the Djed-pillar which is in Busiris.

As to 'the Great Council which is Busiris': they are Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, and Horus-Avenger-of-his-Father.

As to 'the raising of the Djed-pillar in Busiris': it is the shoulder of Horus-Preeminent-of-Letopolis. They were behind Osiris in binding and cloth.

O Thoth, who vindicated Osiris against his enemies, vindicate the Osiris N, the vindicated, against his enemies in the presence of the council which is in Letopolis, on the night of the Evening Meal which is in Letopolis.

As to 'the Great Council which is in Letopolis': they are Horus-with-no-Eyes-in-his-Forehead and Thoth who is with the Council of Naref.

As to 'that night of the Evening Meal': it is the dawn at the burial of Osiris.

O Thoth, who vindicated Osiris against his enemies, vindicate the Osiris N, the vindicated, against his enemies in the presence of the Great Council which is in Pe and Dep, on that night of erecting the Snake Shrine of Horus which was erected for him as an inheritance from the property of his father Osiris.

As to 'the Great Council which is in Pe and Dep': they are Horus, Isis, Imsety, Hapy.

As to 'the erecting of the Snake Shrine of Horus': it means when Seth said to his entourage, 'erect a Snake Shrine for it.'

O Thoth, who vindicated Osiris against his enemies, vindicate the Osiris N, the vindicated, against his enemies in the presence of the Great Council which is on the Banks of the Washerman on the night of Isis spending the night awake, mourning over her brother Osiris.

As to 'the Great Council which is on the Banks of the Washerman': they are Isis, Horus, Imsety

O Thoth, who vindicated Osiris against his enemies, vindicate the Osiris N, the vindicated in peace, against his enemies in the presence of the Great Council which is in

Abydos on that night of the Haker-festival when the dead are counted and the Blessed Spirits are chosen, when dancing happens in Thinis.

As to 'the Great Council which is in Abydos': they are Osiris, Isis, and Wepwawet.

O Thoth, who vindicated Osiris against his enemies, vindicate the Osiris N, the vindicated, against his enemies in the presence of the Council who judge the dead on that night of making an accounting of their dead.

As to 'the Great Council which is at the judging of the dead': they are Thoth, Osiris, Anubis, and Isdes.

As to 'accounting their dead': it means when the offerings were shut off from the souls of the Children of Weakness.

O Thoth, who vindicated Osiris against his enemies, vindicate the Osiris N, the vindicated, against his enemies in the presence of the Great Council which is hacking up the earth of Busiris on that night of hacking of the earth with their blood and vindicating Osiris against his enemies.

As to 'the Great Council which is in the hacking up of the earth of Busiris': it means the arrival of the Gang of Seth when they made their transformation as goats and when they were sacrificed in the presence of these gods, and the blood which dropped from them was captured and given to those who are counted among the ones of Busiris.

O Thoth, who vindicated Osiris against his enemies, vindicate the Osiris N, the vindicated, against his enemies in the presence of the Great Council which is in Naref on the night of secreting of forms.

As to 'the Great Council which is in Naref': they are Re, Shu, and Babai.

As to 'that night of the secreting of forms': it was when there was the burial of the forearm, the flanks, and thighs of Osiris.

O Thoth, who vindicated Osiris against his enemies, vindicate the Osiris N, the vindicated, against his enemies in the presence of the Great Council which is in Rosetjau on that night when Anubis spent the night with his hands upon the offerings about Osiris and Horus was vindicated against his enemies.

As to 'the Great Council which is in Rosetjau': they are Horus, Osiris, Isis, and Osiris. The heart of Osiris was pleased, the heart of Horus was gladdened, the Double Gateway was satisfied with it.

O Thoth, who vindicated Osiris against his enemies, vindicate the Osiris N, the vindicated, against his enemies in the presence of the Ten Great Councils which is with Re and which is with Osiris, and which is with every god and goddess before the Lord of All when he drives off his enemies and when he drives off every evil which pertains to him.

If one says this Chapter, while pure, it means going forth by day after he has been buried and the assumption of which of his forms he desires. Now as to anyone over whom this incantation is recited, it means being prosperous upon earth; he shall emerge from every fire; nothing evil shall encircle him. A matter a million times true.

30b

Chapter for not letting N's heart create opposition against him in the God's Domain

O my heart which I had from my mother! O my heart which I had from my mother! O my heart of my different ages! Do not stand up as a witness against me, do not be opposed to me in the tribunal, do not be hostile to me in the presence of the Keeper of the Balance, for you are my Ka which was in my body, the protector who made my members hale. Go forth to the happy place whereto we speed; do not make my name stink to Entourage who make men. Do not tell lies about me in the presence of the god; it is indeed well that you should hear!

Thus says Thoth, judge of truth, to the Great Ennead which is in the presence of Osiris: Hear this word of very truth. I have judged the heart of the deceased, and his soul stands as a witness for him. His deeds are righteous in the great balance, and no sin has been found in him. He did not diminish the offerings in the temples, he did not destroy what has been made, he did not go about with deceitful speech while he was on earth.

Thus says the Great Ennead to Thoth who is in Hermopolis: This utterance of yours is true. The vindicated Osiris N is straightforward, he has no sin, there is no accusation against him before us, Ammit shall not be permitted to have power over him. Let there be given to him the offerings which are issued in the presence of Osirsi, and may a grand of land be established in the Fields of Offerings as for the Followers of Horus.

Thus says Horus son of Isis: I have come to you, O Wennefer and I bring N to you. His heart is true, having gone forth from the balance, and he has not sinned against any god or any goddess. Thoth has judged him in writing which has been told to the Ennead, and Maat the great has witnessed. Let there be given to him bread and beer

which have been issued in the presence of Osiris, and he will be forever like the Followers of Horus.

Thus says N: Here I am in your presence, O Lord of the West. There is no wrongdoing in my body, I have not wittingly told lies, there has been no second fault. Grant that I may be like the favored ones who are in your suite, O Osiris, one greatly favored by the good god, one loved of Lord of the Two Lands, N, vindicated before Osiris.

A RUBRIC FOR SPELL 30 A,B

To be inscribed on a scarab made from nephrite, mounted in fine gold, with a ring of silver, and placed at the throat of the deceased. This spell was found at Hermopolis, under the feet of this god. It was written on a block of mineral of Upper Egypt in the writing of the god himself and was discovered in the time of the Majesty of the vindicated King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menkaure. It was the king's son Hordedef who found it while he was going around making an inspection of the temples.

59

Spell for breathing air and having power over water in the God's Domain

O you sycamore of the sky, may there be given to me the air which is in it, for I am he who sought out that throne in the middle of Wenu and I have guarded this Egg of the Great Cackler. If it grows, I will grow; if it lives, I will live; if it breathes the air, I will breath the air.

62

Spell for drinking water in the realm of the dead

May the great water be opened for Osiris, may the cool water of Thoth and the water of Hapi be thrown open for the Lord of the Horizon in this my name of Pedsu. May I be granted power over the waters like the limbs of Seth, for I am he who crosses the sky, I am the Lion of Re, I am the Slayer who eats the foreleg, the leg of beef is extended to me, the pools of the Field of Rushes serve me, limitless eternity is given to me, for I am he who inherited eternity, to whom everlasting was given.

74

Chapter for being swift-footed when going out from the earth

May you do what you are wont to do, O Sokar who are in your Mansion, possessing a foot in the God's Domain. I shine in the sky, I ascend to the sky; though I am inert, I climb on the sunshine; though I am inert, I walk on the river-banks...in the realm of the dead.

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N worships the Ennead which is in the Field of Offerings, and he says: Hail to you, you owners of kas! I have come in peace to your fields in order to receive the provisions which you give; I have come to the Great God in order that I may receive the provisions which is goodwill grants of bread and beer, oxen and fowl. Giving praise to the Ennead, doing homage to the Great God by N.

A boon which the King grants to Osiris and the Ennead which is the Field of Offerings, that they may give invocation-offerings of bread and beer, oxen and fowl and all things good, and clothing and incense daily, which rest upon the altar every day; to receive senu-bread and khenef-bread, persen-bread, milk, wine and the provisions of one who follows the god in his procession in his Festival of Rosetjau, bearing the water-jars of the Great God, for the benefit of N.

Here begin the spells of the Fields of Offerings and spells of going forth into the day; of coming and going in the realm of the dead; of being provided for in the Field of Rushes which is in the Field of Offerings, the abode of the Great Goddess, the Mistress of Winds; having strength thereby, having power thereby, ploughing therein, reaping and eating therein, drinking therein, copulating therein, and doing everything that used to be done on earth by N.

He says: The Falcon has been taken by Seth, and I have seen the damage in the Field of Offerings; I have released the Falcon from Seth, I opened the paths of Re on the day when the sky was choked and stifled, when the Rejected One panted for breath in vivifying Him who was in the Egg and took Him who was in the womb from the Silent Ones.

Now it befell that I rowed in the bark in the Lake of Offerings; I took it from the Limbs of Shu, and his northern stars, his Limbs, were set in due order; I rowed and arrived at its waterways and towns, I fared southward to the god who is in it, because I am he who would rest in his fields. I control the two Enneads whom he loves, I pacify the Combatants on behalf of those who are in the West; I create what is good, I bring peace, I pacify the Combatants on behalf of those who belong to them, I drive away

mourning from their elders, I remove turmoil from their young; I wipe away harm of all kinds from Isis, I wipe away harm of all kinds from the gods. I remove turmoil from the Rivals, I separate the Authoritative One from his light, and I give abundance to souls and spirits; I have power over them.

I am one whom Hotep knows, I row on its water ways, I arrive at its towns. My utterance is mighty I am more acute than the spirits and they shall not have power over me. O Hotep, I acquire this field of yours which you love, the Lady of Air. I eat and carouse in it, I drink and plough in it, I reap in it, I copulate in it, I make love in it, I do not perish in it, for my magic is powerful in it. I will not be aroused in it, my happy heart is not apprehensive in it, for I know the wooden post of Hotep, which is called Bequetet; it was made firm on the blood of Shu and it was lashed with the Bowstring of Years on that day when the years were divided; my mouth is hidden and his mouth is silent. I say something mysterious, I bring eternity to an end and I take possession of everlasting.

ALL RUBRICS HEREAFTER REFER TO THE FIELD OF OFFERINGS (SEKHET-HOTEP) OR TO PARTS OF IT. HOTEPE ALONE IS USED EITHER FOR THE FIELD OR OF ITS PERSONIFICATION AS A DEITY.

Being in Hotep, Lord of the Field of Offerings. This is Horus; he is a falcon a thousand cubits long, life and dominion are in his hand, he comes and goes at will in its waterways and towns, he rises and sets in Qenqenet, the birth-place of the god. He does everything in it as it is done in the Island of Fire; there is no shouting in it, there is nothing evil in it.

This is Hotep who walks throughout this field of his; he partakes of a meal in the birth-place of the god. If he rests in Qenqenet, he will do everything in it as it is done in the Island of Fire; there is no shouting in it, there is nothing evil in it.

I live in Hotep, my bag and my bowl are on me, which I have filled from baskets, being one whom the spirits of the Lord of Plenty guide. I depart and ascend to Him who bring it, and I have power through him, he accepts on my behalf, for I am equipped and content. This great magic of mine is powerful in this body of mine, in these seats of mine; I am one who recalls to himself that of which I have been forgetful. I plough and I reap, and I am content in the City of God. I know the names of districts, towns and waterways which are in the Field of Offerings and of those who are in them; I am strong in them and I am a spirit in them; I eat in them and travel about in them. I plough and reap in the Field; I rise early in it and go to rest in it. I am a spirit in it as Hotep; I shoot and travel about in it; at my word I row on its waterways and I arrive at its towns as Hotep. My horns are sharp, I give abundance to the souls and spirits, I allot authoritative utterance to him who can use it. I arrive at its towns, I row on its waterways, I traverse the Field of Offerings as Re who is in the sky, and it is Hotep who satisfies them. I have gone down to the earth, I have made Re content; I have gone up on high and I have caused joy to be made, I have taken power, I have promised peace.

Being in Hotep. O Field, I have come into you, my soul behind me and authority before me. O Lady of the Two Lands, establish my magic power for me, that by means of it I may recall what I had forgotten. I am alive without hard of any kind, and joy is given to me, peace is mine, I create seed, I have received air.

Being in Hotep, Lord of Breezes. I have come into you, having opened up my head and having aroused my body. I close my eye, yet I shine on the day of the Milk-goddess; I have slept by night, I have restored the milk to its proper level, and I am in my town.

O Town of the Great Goddess, I have come into you that I may allot abundance and cause vegetation to flourish; I am the bull of lapis-lazuli, unique and exalted, Lord of the Field, Bull of the Gods. Sothis speaks to me in her good time.

O Swamp-land, I have come into you, I have taken the Grey-haired One to the roof, for I am the moon, I have swallowed the darkness.

O Town of Fair Offerings, I have come into you, I eat my meal, I have power over fowl and flesh, and the poultry of Shu which attend on my ka have been given to me.

O Provision-town, I have come into you, I have woven the eight-weave cloth, I have donned the fringed cloak as Re in the sky whom the gods who are in the sky serve.

Being in Hotep, Lady of the Two Lands: I have come into you, I have immersed the waterways as Osiris, Lord of Putridity, Lord of the Swamp-lands; as the Oldest One, Bull of vultures, I am a flamingo, which has eaten the like.

O Qenqenet, I have come into you, I have seen my father, I have recognized my mother, I have risen early, I have caught fish. I know the deep holes of the snakes, and I am saved, I know the name of this god; He whose mouth is put together, Lord of Holiness, whose hair is in good order, whose horns are sharp. If he reaps, I will plough and I will reap.

O Town of the Milk-goddess, I have come into you; those who would oppose me and drive me off and who would follow after me are those who would follow after Horus;

heads have been given to me, and I tie on the Head of Horus the blue-eyed, acting according to his desire.

O Town of Union, I have come into you; my head is whole my heart is awake beneath the White Crown; I am guided above and I am hale below, I give joy to the bulls who are in charge of the Enneads, for I am a bull, Lord of the Gods, who proceeds into the place of turquoise.

O Mighty Woman, I have come into you, I have taken the Grey-haired One to the roof, I have fashioned Authority, I am in the middle of my Eye.

O barley and emmer of the District of the God, I have come into you, I fare upstream, I sail on the Waterway of Horns, Lady of Pure Things, I drive in the mooring-post in the upper waterways, I have borne aloft the storm of the Disturber and I have upheld the Supports of the Old One.

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INTRODUCTION

What should be said when arriving at this Hall of Justice, purging N of all the evil which he has done, and beholding the faces of the gods.

Hail to you, great god, Lord of Justice! I have come to you my lord that you may bring me so that I may see your beauty, for I know the names of the forty-two gods of those who are with you in this Hall of Justice, who live on those who cherish evil and who gulp down their blood on that day of reckoning of characters in the presence of Wennefer.

Behold the double son of the Songstresses; Lord of Truth is your name. Behold, I have come to you. I have brought your truth, I have repelled falsehood for you. I have not done

falsehood against men, I have not impoverished my associates, I have done no wrong in the Place of Truth, I have no learnt that which is not, I have done no evil, I have not daily made labor in excess of what was due to be done for me, my name has not reached the offices of those who controls slaves, I have not deprived the orphan of his property, I have not done what the gods detest, I have not calumniated a servant to his master, I have not caused pain, I have not made hungry, I have not made to weep, I have not killed, I have not commanded to kill, I have not made suffering for anyone, I have not lessened the food-offering in the temples, I have not destroyed the loaves of the gods, I have not taken away the food of the spirits, I have not copulated, I have not misbehaved, I have not lessened food supplies, I have not diminished the aroura, I have not encroached upon fields, I have no laid anything upon the weights of the hand-balance, I have not taken anything from the plummet of the standing scales, I have not taken milk from the mouths of children, I have not deprived the birds from the preserves of the gods, I have not caught fish of their marshlands, I have not diverted water at its season, I have not build a dam on flowing water, I have not quenched a fire when it is burning, I have not neglected the dates for offering choice meats, I have not withheld cattle from the god's-offering, I have not opposed a god in his procession.

I am pure, pure, pure, pure! My purity is the purity of the great phoenix which is in Heracleopolis, because I am indeed the nose of the Lord of the Wind who made all the men live on that day of completing the Sacred Eye in Heliopolis *in the 2nd month of winter last day*, in the presence of the lord of this land. I am he who say the completion of the Sacred Eye in Heliopolis, and nothing evil shall come into being against me in this land in this Hall of Justice, because I know the names of these gods who are in it.

THE DECLARATION OF INNOCENCE BEFORE THE GODS OF THE TRIBUNAL

- O Far-strider who came forth from Heliopolis, I have done no falsehood.
- O Fire-embracer who came forth from Kheraha, I have not robbed.
- O Nosey who came forth from Hermopolis, I have not been rapacious.
- O Swallower of shades who came forth from the cavern, I have not stolen.
- O Dangerous One who came forth from Rosetjau, I have not killed men.
- O Double Lion who came forth from the sky, I have not destroyed food-supplies.
- O Firey Eyes who came forth from Letopolis, I have done no crookedness.
- O Flame which came forth backwards, I have not stolen the god's offerings.
- O Bone-breaker who came forth from Heracleopolis, I have told no lies.
- O Green of flame who came forth from Memphis, I have not taken food.
- O You of the cavern who came forth from the West, I have been sullen.
- O White of teeth who came forth from the Faiyum, I have no transgressed.
- O Blood-eater who came forth from the shambles, I have not killed a sacred bull.
- O Eater of entrails who came forth from the House of Thirty, I have not committed perjury.
- O Lord of Truth who came forth from Maaty, I have not stolen bread.
- O Wanderer who came forth from Bubastis, I have not eavesdropped.
- O Pale One who came forth from Heliopolis, I have not babbled.
- O Doubly evil who came forth from Andjet, I have not disputed except as concerned my own property.
- O Wememty-snake who came forth from the place of execution, I have not committed homosexuality.

- O You who see whom you bring who came forth from the House of Min, I have not misbehaved.
- O You who are over the Old One who came forth from Imau, I have not made terror.
- O Demolisher who came forth from Xoïs, I have not transgressed.
- O Disturber who came forth from Weryt, I have not been hot-tempered.
- O Youth who came forth from the Heliopolitan nome, I have not been deaf to the words of truth.
- O Foreteller who came forth from Wenes, I have not made disturbance.
- O You of the altar who came forth from the secret place, I have not hoodwinked.
- O You whose face is behind him who came forth from the Cavern of Wrong, I have neither misconducted myself or copulated with a boy.
- O Hot-foot who came forth from the dusk, I have not been neglectful.
- O You of darkness who came forth from the darkness, I have not been quarrelsome.
- O Bringer of your offering who came forth from Sais, I have not been unduly active.
- O Owner of faces who came forth from Nedjefet, I have not been impatient.
- O Accuser who came forth from Wetjenet, I have not transgressed my nature, I have not washed out (the picture of) a god.
- O Owner of horns who came forth from Asyut, I have not been voluble in speech.
- O Nefertum who came forth from Memphis, I have done no wrong, I have seen no evil.
- O Temsep who came forth from Busiris, I have no made conjuration against the king.
- O You who acted according to your will, who came forth from Tjebu, I have not waded in water.
- O Water-smiter who came forth from the Abyss, I have not been loud voiced.

O Commander of mankind who came forth from your house, I have not reviled God.

O Bestower of powers who came forth from the City, I have no made distinctions for myself.

O Serpent with raised head who came forth from the cavern, I am not wealthy except with my own property.

O Serpent who brings and gives, who came forth from the Silent Land, I have not blasphemed God in my city.

ADDRESS TO THE GOD OF THE HALL OF JUSTICE

Thus says N: Hail to you, you gods who are in this Hall of Justice! I know you and I know your named, I will not fall to your knives; you shall not bring the evil in me to this god in whose suite you are, no fault of mine concerning you shall come out, you shall tell the truth about me in the presence of the Lord of All, because I have done what was right in Egypt, I have not reviled God, and no fault of mine has come out regarding the reigning king.

Hail to you, O you who are in the Hall of Justice, who have no lies in your bodies, who live on truth and gulp down truth in the presence of Horus who is in his disc. Save me from Babai, who lives on the entrails of the old ones on that day of great reckoning. Behold, I have come to you without falsehood of mine, without crime of mine, without evil of mine, and there is no one who testifies against me, for I have done nothing against him. I live on truth, I gulp down truth, I have done what men say and with which the gods are pleased. I have propitiated God with what he desires; I have given bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, clothes to the naked and a boat to him who was boatless, I

have given god's-offerings to the gods and invocation-offerings to the spirits. Save me, protect me, without your making report against me in the Presence, for I am pure of mouth and pure of hands, one to whom is said 'Twice welcome!' by those who see him, because I have heard that great word which the noble dead spoke with the Cat in the House of Him whose mouth gapes. He who testifies of me is He whose face is behind him, and he who gives the cry. I have seen the dividing of the ished-tree in Rosetjau, I am he who succours the gods, who knows the affairs of their bodies. I have come to bear witness to truth and to set the balance in its proper place within the Silent Land.

O You who are uplifted on your standard, Lord of the Atef-crown, who made your name as Lord of the Wind, save me from your messengers who short forth harm and create punishments and who show no indulgence, because I have done what is right for the Lord of Right. I am pure, my brow is clean, my hinder-parts are cleansed, and my middle is in the Pool of Truth, there is no member in me devoid of truth. I have bathed in the Southern Pool, I have rested in the Northern City, in the pure Field of Grasshoppers, in which is the crew of Re, in this second hour of the night and the third hour of the day, and the gods are calmed when they pass by it and by night or by day.

THE DEAD MAN IS QUESTIONED

'You have caused him to come,' say they about me.

'Who are you?' they say to me. 'What is your name?' they say to me.

'I am the lower part of the papyrus-plant; "He who is on his moringa-tree" is my name.'

'What have you passed by?' they say to me.

‘I have passed by the city north of the moringa-tree.’

‘What did you see there?’

‘They were the calf and the thigh.’

‘What did you say to them?’

‘I have seen the rejoicings in these lands of the Fenkhu.’

‘What did they give you?’

‘A fire-brand and a pillar of faience.’

‘What did you do with them?’

‘I buried them on the river-bank of Maat with the night-ritual.’

‘What did you find on it, the river-bank of Maat?’

‘It was a staff of flint called “Giver of Breath”.’

‘What did you do with the fire-brand and the pillar of faience after you had buried them?’

‘I called out over them, I dug them up, I quenched the fire, I broke the pillar and threw it into the canal.’

‘Come and enter by this door of the Hall of Justice, for you know us.’

‘We will not let you enter by us,’ say the door-posts of this door, ‘unless you tell our name.’

‘“Plummet of Truth” is your name.’

‘I will not let you enter by me,’ says the right-handed leaf of this door, ‘unless you tell my name.’

‘“Scale-pan which weighs Truth” is your name.’

‘I will not let you enter by me,’ says the left-handed leaf of this door, ‘unless you tell my name.’

‘“Scale-pan of wine” is your name.’

‘I will not let your pass by me,’ says the floor of this door, ‘unless you tell my name.’

‘“Ox of Geb” is your name.’

‘I will not open to you,’ says the door-bolt of this door, ‘unless you tell my name.’

‘“Toe of this mother” is your name.’

‘I will not let you enter by me,’ says the hasp of this door, ‘unless you tell my name.’

‘“Living Eye of Sobk, Lord of Bakhu” is your name.’

‘I will not open to you,’ says this door, ‘unless you tell my name.’

‘“Breast of Shu which he placed as a protection for Osiris” is your name.’

‘We will not let you enter by us,’ say the cross timbers, ‘unless you tell our names.’

‘“Children of uraei” are your names.’

‘I will not open to you or let you enter by me,’ says the door-keeper of this door, ‘unless you tell my name.’

‘“Ox of Geb” is your name’

‘You know us; pass by us.’

‘I will not let you tread on me,’ says the floor of this Hall of Justice.

‘Why not? I am pure.’

‘Because I do not know the names of your feet with which you tread on me. Tell them to me.’

‘“Secret image of Ha” is the name of my right foot; “Flower of Hathor” is the name of my left foot.’

‘You know us; enter by us.’

‘I will not announce you,’ says the door-keeper of this Hall of Justice, ‘unless you tell my name.’

‘“Knower of hearts, searcher-out of bodies” is your name.’

‘To which god shall I announce you?’

‘To him who is now present. Tell it to the Dragoman of the Two Lands.’

‘Who is the Dragoman of the Two Lands?’

‘He is Thoth.’

‘Come!’ says Thoth. ‘What have you come for?’

‘I have come here to report.’

‘What is your condition?’

‘I am pure from evil, I have excluded myself from the quarrels of those who are now living, I am not among them.’

‘To whom shall I announce you?’

‘You shall announce me to Him whose roof is fire, whose walls are living uraei, the floor of whose house is the waters.’

‘Who is he?’

‘He is Osiris.’

‘Proceed; behold you are announced. Your bread is the Sacred Eye, your beer is the Sacred Eye; what goes forth at the voice for you upon earth is the Sacred Eye.’

RUBRIC TO THE PRECEEDING SPELL

The correct procedure in this Hall of Justice. One shall utter this spell pure and clean and clad in white garments and sandals, painted with black eye-paint and anointed with myrrh. There shall be offered to him meat and poultry, incense, bread, beer, and herbs when you have put this written procedure on a clean floor of ochre overlaid with earth upon which no swine or small cattle have trodden. As for him who makes this writing, he shall flourish and his children shall flourish, she shall not be in need, he shall be in the confidence of the king and his entourage, and there shall be given to him a shens-cake, a jug of beer, a persen-cake and a portion of meat from upon the altar of the Great God; he shall not be turned back from any gateway of the West, but shall be ushered in with the kings of Upper Egypt and the kings of Lower Egypt, and he shall be in the suite of Osiris. A matter a million times true.

130

Another spell for making a spirit worthy on the birthday of Osiris and for making a soul to live forever

May the sky be opened, may the earth be opened, may the West be opened, may the East be opened, may the chapel of Upper Egypt be opened, may the chapel of Lower Egypt be opened, may the doors be opened, may the eastern portals be thrown open for Re when he ascends from the horizon. May the doors of the Night-bark be opened for him, may the

portals of the Day-bark be thrown open for him, may he breath Shu, may he create Tefnut, may those who are in the suite serve him, may they serve me like Re daily.

I am a follower of Re, who receives his firmament; the god occupies his shrine, Horus having approached his lord, whose seats are secret, whose shrine is pure, messenger of the god to him whom he loved. I am on who takes hold of Maat, having presented her before him; I am he who knots the cord and lashes his shrine together. What I detest is storm, and there will be no heaping up of waters in my presence, I will not be turned back because of Re, I will not be driven off by whoever acts with his hands, I will not go into the Valley of Darkness, I will not enter into the Lake of Criminals, I will not be in the weakening of striking-power, I will not fall as plunder, I will not go in among those who are taken before him, behind the slaughter-block of the shambles of Sopd.

Hail to you, you squatting gods! The seclusion of the god is in the secrecy of the arms of Geb at dawn; who is he who will guide the Great One? He will number the children in his good time, while Thoth is in the secret places; he will make purity for Him who counts the myriads who are to be counted, who opens up the firmament and dispels the cloudiness. I have reached him in his place, I grasp the staff, I receive the head-cloth for Re whose fair movements are great. Horus flames up around his eye, and his two Enneads are about his throne; if they remove the sore pain which he suffers, then will I remove the pain, that I may be made comfortable thereby. I will open up the horizon for Re, and I have built his ship 'She who proceeds happily'; the face of Thoth will be made bright for me, and I will worship Re, he will hearken to me, for he has implanted an obstacle on my behalf against my enemies. I will not be left boatless, I will not be turned

back from the horizon, for I am Re. I will not be left boatless in the great crossing by Him whose face is on his knee and whose hand is bent down, because the name of Re is in my body, his dignity in my mouth. So he has told me, and I hear his word.

Praise to you, Re, Lord of the Horizon; hail to you for whom the sun-folk are pure, for whom the sky is controlled in the great moment when the hostile oarsmen pass by. See, I have come among those who make truth known, because I am far away in the West; I have broken up the storm of *Apep*, O Double Lion, as I promised you. See, I have come; O you who are before the Great Throne, hearken to me. I go down into you tribunal, I rescue Re from *Apep* every day, and there is no one who can attack him, for those who are about him are awake. I lay hold the writings, I receive offerings, I equip Thoth with what was made for him, I cause truth to circulate over the Great Bark, I go down vindicated into the tribunal, I establish the Chaos-gods, I lead the Entourage, I grant to them a voyage in utter joy, when the crew of Re goes round about following his beauty. Maat is exalted so that she may reach her lord, and praise is given to the Lord of All.

I take the staff, I sweep the sky with it, and the sun-folk give me praise as to Him who stands and does not tire. I extol Re in what he has made, I dispel cloudiness, I see his beauty, I display the terror of him I make his oarsmen firm when his Bark travels over the sky at dawn. I am the Great One within his Eye, who kneels at the head of the Great Bark of Khepri. I come into being and what I have said comes into being, I am this one who traverses the sky toward the West, and those who heap up the air stand up in joy; they have taken a bow-warp of Re from his crew, and Re traverses the sky happily in peace by my command; I will not be driven away, the fiery breath of your power will not

carry me off, the power of repulsion in your mouth will not go forth against me, I will not walk on the paths of pestilence, for to fall into it is the detestation of my soul; what I detest is the flood, and it shall not attack me. I go aboard your Bark, I occupy your seat, I receive my dignity, I control the paths of Re and the stars, I am he who drives off the Destructive One who comes at the flame of your Bark upon the great plateau. I know them by their names, and they will not attack your Bark, for I am in it, and I am he who prepares the offerings.

To be said over a Bark of Re drawn in ochre on a clean place. When you have placed a likeness of this spirit in front of it, you shall draw a Night-bark on its right side and a Day-bark on its left side. There shall be offered to them in their presence bread and beer and all good things on the birthday of Osiris. If this is done for him, his soul will live for ever and he will not die again.

145⁷⁵¹/146

Here begin the chapters for entering the mysterious portals of the House of Osiris in the Field of Reeds.

What is to be said when arriving at the first portal. *Words spoken by* the Osiris N, the vindicated: ‘O Mistress of trembling, lofty of enclosure wall, chieftainess and Mistress of Destruction, the one who proclaims words which repel storms, the one who rescues the plundered one who has arrived.’ The name of its gatekeeper is ‘Terror.’

What is to be said when arriving at the second portal. *Words spoken by* the Osiris N, the vindicated: ‘O Mistress of the Sky, Lady of the Two Lands, the one who licks, the

⁷⁵¹ What Saleh identifies as Spell 145 is the beginning of what is spell 146. Saleh 1994, 76.

mistress of mankind, the one who distinguishes everyone.’ The name of its gatekeeper is ‘Child of the Fashioner.’

What is to be said when arriving at the third portal of the temple of Osiris. *Words spoken by the Osiris N, the vindicated:* ‘O Mistress of Altars, the One Great of Offerings, the one who refreshes every god, who sails south to Abydos.’ The name of its gatekeeper is ‘Splendid.’

What is to be said when arriving at the fourth portal. *Words spoken by the Osiris N, the vindicated:* ‘O Mighty of Knives, Lady of the Two Lands, the one who smashes the enemies of the Weary-hearted One, the one who does what is wise, the one free of wrong.’ The name of its gatekeeper is ‘Long-Horned Bull.’

What is to be said when arriving at the fifth portal. *Words spoken by the Osiris N, the vindicated:* ‘O Firey One, Mistress of Heat, the joyful one, the one to whom the entreaties of the bald-headed do not descend, the one who asks that something be given to her without the swift of glance entering into her.’ The name of its gatekeeper is ‘One who Spears the Disaffected.’

What is to be said when arriving at the sixth portal. *Words spoken by the Osiris N, the vindicated:* ‘O Mistress of Darkness, Loud of Shouting, whose length and breadth cannot be known, whose nature has not been understood since her beginning. There are snakes in it whose number is not known, who were fashioned before the Weary-hearted One.’ The name of its gatekeeper is ‘United One.’

What is to be said when arriving at the seventh portal. *Words spoken by the Osiris N, the vindicated:* ‘O Veiling which clothes the Weary One, One who wishes to conceal the (body).’ The name of its gatekeeper is ‘Ikety.’

What is to be said when arriving at the eighth portal. *Words spoken by the Osiris N, the vindicated:* ‘O Heat of Flames, the one who quenches embers, sharp of flames, swift of hand, the one who kills without warning, the one whom no one passes because of the fear of her pain.’ The name of its gatekeeper is ‘One Who Protects Himself.’

What is to be said when arriving at the ninth portal. *Words spoken by the Osiris N, the vindicated:* ‘O Foremost One, Mistress of Power, contented of heart, one who bore her own lord whose girth is 350 rods, one strewn with Upper Egyptian malachite the one who lifts up her secret image, who clothes the Weary One, the devourer, the mistress of everyone.’ The name of its gatekeeper is ‘One who Made Himself.’

What is to be said when arriving at the tenth portal. *Words spoken by the Osiris N, the vindicated:* ‘O She of Loud Voice, the one whose cries awake, Laughter, Fearsome of Nobility, but whom the one who is in it does not fear.’ The name of its gatekeeper is ‘Great Embracer.’

What is to be said by N when arriving at the eleventh portal of Osiris. Make a way for me, for I know you, I know your name and I know who is within you. ‘She who always bears knives, who burns up the rebellious; Mistress of every portal, to whom acclamation is made on the day of darkness’ is your name. She is under the supervision of him who veils the Limp One.

What is to be said by N when arriving at the twelfth portal of Osiris. Make a way for me, for I know you, I know your name, and I know who is within you. ‘She who summons her Two Lands, who destroys those who come at dawn; Bright One; Mistress of spirits, who hears the voice of her lord’ is your name. She is under the supervision of Him who veils the Limp One.

What is to be said by N when arriving at the thirteenth portal of Osiris. Make way for me, for I know you, I know your name, I know who is within you. ‘She on whom Osiris has extended his hands, who illumines Hapi in his abode’ is your name. She is under the supervision of Him who veils the Limp One.

What is to be said by N when arriving at the fourteenth portal of Osiris. Make a way for me, for I know you, I know your name, and I know who is within you. ‘Mistress of wrath, who dances in blood, for whom the Haker-festival is celebrated on the day of Her who hears sins’ is your name. She is under the supervision of Him who veils the Limp One.

The fifteenth portal. ‘She who has a soul, red of plaited hair, dim-eyed when going out by night, who grasps the rebel by his belly, who giver her hand to the Inert One at this critical moment, who makes her coming and goings.’ She is under the supervision of Him who veils the Limp One.

The sixteenth portal. ‘The terrible One, Lady of Pestilence who casts away thousands of human souls, who hacks up human dead, who decapitates him who would go out, who creates terror.’ She is under the supervision of Him who veils the Limp One.

The seventeenth portal. ‘She who dances in blood...Mistress of Fire.’ She is under the supervision of Him who veils the Limp One.

What is to be said by N when arriving at the eighteenth portal. ‘Lover of hear, clean of brand-mark, who loves to cut off heads; the venerated Mistress of the Castle, who quells rebels in the evening.’ She is under the supervision of Him who veils the Limp One.

What is to be said by N when arriving at the nineteenth portal. ‘She who announces the dawn in her time, flaming hot, Mistress of the powers of the writings of Thoth himself.’ She is under the supervision of the veiled ones of the treasury.

What is to be said by N when arriving at the twentieth portal. ‘She who is within the cavern of her lord; She whose name is hidden; Mysterious of shape, who takes hearts for food.’ She is under the supervision of the veiled ones of the treasury.

What is to be said by N when arriving at the twenty-first portal. ‘Sharp of knife against the talker, who acts the slayer, who descends in her own flame.’ She is under secret governance.

148

Spell for making provision for a spirit in the realm of the dead

Hail to you, You who shine in your disc, a living soul who goes up from the horizon! I know you and I know your name; I know the names of the seven cows and their bull who give bread and beer, who are beneficial to souls and who provide daily portions; may you give bread and beer and make provision for me, so that I may serve you, and may I come unto being under your hinder-parts.

THE NAMES OF THE CATTLE ARE:

Mansion of Kas, Mistress of All.

Silent One who dwells in her place.

She of Chemmis whom the god ennobled.

The Much Beloved, red of hair.

She who protects in life, the particoloured.

She whose name has power in her craft.

Storm in the sky which wafts the god aloft.

The Bull, husband of the cows.

May you grant bread and beer, offering and provisions which shall provide for my spirit,
for I am a worthy spirit who is in the realm of the dead.

THE NAMES OF THE FOUR STEERING-OARS OF THE SKY:

O Good Power, the good steering-oar of the northern sky;

O Wanderer who guides the Two Lands, good steering-oar of the western sky;

O Shining One who dwells in the Mansion of Images, good steering-oar of the eastern
sky;

O Pre-eminent who dwells in the Mansion of the Red Ones, good steering-oar of the
southern sky;

May you grant bread and beer, offering and provisions which are beneficial to my
spirit, may you grant me life, prosperity, health, joy, and long duration on earth; may you
grant to me sky and earth and what is beneficial in Heliopolis and the Netherworld, for I
know them all; may you do the like for me.

O fathers of the gods and mothers of the gods who are over sky and earth and who
are in the realm of the dead, save me from all kinds of harm and injury, from the trap
with painful knives and from all things bad and harmful which may be said or done
against me by men, gods, spirits of the dead, by day, by night, in the monthly festival, in
the half-monthly festival, in the year or in what appertains to it.

To be spoken by a man, when Re manifests himself, over these gods depicted in paint on a writing-board. There shall be given to them offerings and provisions before them, consisting of bread, beer, meat, poultry, and incense. The invocation-offering for this spirit shall be made to them in the presence of Re; it means that this soul will have provision in the realm of the dead; it means that a man will be saved from anything evil. Do nothing of behalf of anyone except your own self, for it is the Book of Wennefer. As for him for whom this is done, Re will be his helmsman and his protection, and none of his enemies will know him in the realm of the dead, in the sky, on earth, or in any place where he may walk; it means that this spirit will be provisioned in very deed. A true mater.

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TEXT ACCOMPANYING A PICTURE OF THE GODDESS HATHOR

Hathor, Lady of the West; She of the West; Lady of the Sacred Land; Eye of Re which is on his forehead; kindly of countenance in the Bark of Millions of Years; a resting place for him who has done right within the boat of the blessed; who built the Great Bark of Osiris in order to cross the water of truth.

FOCAL WALLS, TRANSVERSE HALL⁷⁵²

Tomb #	Owner, Title, Date, Area, and Decoration Medium	Left Focal Wall	Right Focal Wall
TT 13	Shuroy, Head of brazier bearers of Amun, <i>end of 19th</i> Dra Abu el-Naga, painting.	(10) 2 registers. I, priest with Opening of the Mouth instruments and lector, and female mourner before mummy. II, deceased kneeling with braziers before Hathor cow in mountain	(12) 2 registers. I, Thoth with [deceased] reports to Osiris with Isis and Nephys. II, man censuring and libating before offerings
TT 14	Huy, Wab priest of Amenhotep I “the image of Amun, <i>end of 19th</i> , Dra Abu el-Naga, painting.	(4) Horus reports to Osiris;	(5) Priest censes before Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari in Palanquin, carried by priests with mourners below (Mortuary Cult Kiosk)
TT 16	Panehesi, Prophet of Amenhotep of the forecourt, Chief of the attendants of the offering table, Prophet of Amun, <i>end of 19th</i> , Dra Abu el-Naga, painting.	(3) 2 registers: I, d. libates before temple of the Amun Re, II, Horus reports to Osiris	(6) 2 registers: I, 2 scenes, 1, d. and wife adore bark of Sokari, 2, d. and wife cense and libate with offerings and bouquet before a statue of A I in palanquin with bouquet. II, two scenes, 1, deceased and wife adore Anubis,. 2. Deceased and wife with bouquet adore AI and Ahmose Nefertari. (Mortuary Cult Kiosk)
TT 19	Amenmosi, Prophet of Amenhotep of the forecourt, High priest of Amenhotep I,	(4) 3 registers. Festival of Amenhotep I and funeral procession. I, 2 scenes, 1, [bark of A I, on lake with female mourners and men dragging royal statue, 2,	(7) 2 registers. I, Statue of A I in palanquin carried from his temple and acclaimed by priests and priestesses with sistra and tambourines and small scenes of servants with food in booths

⁷⁵² Descriptions and location of scenes come from Porter and Moss and are augmented by my observations during fieldwork. Porter and Moss 2004.

	<i>beginning of reign of Ramesses II, Dra Abu el-Naga, painting.</i>	single stick wrestling and bark with statue T III before his temple. II, 2 scenes, 1 [deceased and priest before two rows of seated kings and queens] 2, bark of Ahmose Nefertari towed on lake with trees, heaps of offerings, and fem, mourners and two statues of A I in palanquins with priests in front of temple. III, [Butchers] and cow with [mutilated calf, male relatives, lector with opening the Mouth instruments and three priests] pouring libation before mummies and stela at pyramid tomb and dead with son Beknay and wife adore Hathor cow in mountain protecting King	above. II, 2 scenes, each before deceased and wife seated in front of pyramid tomb, 1, priest lector and female mourners, 2, son Beknay man with bouquet and man with vase
TT 25	Amenemhab, High Priest of Khons, <i>second half of the reign of Ramesses II, Asasif, painting.</i>	(3) 2 registers. I, deceased and wife before Re Harakhti. II, Mummies at pyramid tomb with Hathor in mountain	(6) People before Osiris and two goddesses
TT 26	Khmememhab, Overseer of the treasury in the Ramesseum in the estate of Amun, Overseer of the expeditionary force/army of the Lord of the Two Lands, <i>end of 19th, Asasif, relief.</i>	(6) Dead and wife adoring and dead and with before Osiris, Isis and Nephtys	(9) Deceased and wife adore Re-Harakhti, Maat, and western goddess

TT 31	Khons, called To, First prophet of Menkheperre (Tuthmosis III), Overseer of the Cattle of Tuthmosis IV, High Priest of Mont, <i>beginning of the reign of Ramesses II</i> , Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, painting.	(6) Festival of Monthu: Arrival of bark of Monthu carried by priests at Temple of Armant (showing statue of hawk protecting the king) deceased libating to bark in shrine	(9) Deceased and family before Osiris
TT 40	Amenhotep called Huy, Viceroy of Kush, Governor of the South Lands, King's envoy in every land, the fan bearer to the right of the king, Overseer of the cattle of Amun in the Land of Kush, Prince, <i>reign of Tut</i> , Qurnet Murai, painting.	(5, 6, 7) [d.] arrives from Nubia, and 6 registers, I-VI, each with a transport ship; d. as fan-bearer receives 4 registers of Nubian tribute; 2 scenes, I, d. kneeling and Nubian tribute, 2, deceased before Tut, subscene, offering bringers	(11, 10) d. offers precious stones etc. to Tut and two registers. I, d. followed by 2 chiefs of Retenu, and two rows of Syrians with tribute, II, floral vases with bull and ibex heads and deceased receiving Syrians, subscene offering bringers; deceased offers to Osiris
TT 49	Neferhotep, Chief scribe of Amun, Superintendent of the oxen and heifers of Amun Ay, Khokha, painting.	(6, 7) 2 registers, I, two scenes, 1, servant with gifts and wife returning, 2 wife with attendants in garden receives rewards from Queen in royal harem, II, d. in chariot returning and attendants with gifts at house. Sub scene, two rows, banquet, with servants in garden bringing food, guests, and preparation of drink in upper rows, banquet with servants in garden bringing food, guests, and preparation of drink, in upper row, and men bringing provisions to	(11, 10) Osiris and Hathor with deceased offering flowers to them and 3 registers, I, men with flowers and garlanded bull and offering bringers, II, blind singers and priestesses of Hathor, III, offering bringers with figs, sub-scene, libation priest with offering list ritual and offering bringers; 3 registers, I-III, Offering bringers with priest libating to deceased and wife in III. Sub-scene, female mourners;

		house, and female dancers and tambourine players, in lower-row; 2 registers, servants with gifts, courtiers, and fan bearers, and deceased rewarded with attendants, before Ay (?) and Queen (name lost in balcony with [captives] on base	
TT 51	Userhet, called Neferhabef, High Priest of Tuthmosis I, <i>Seti I</i> , Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, painting.	(5) Three registers, festival procession of Tuthmosis I, men bringing supplies, and deceased leaving temple adores the royal bark. II, royal statue dragged and bark on lake. III, deceased receives funeral outfits with masks and c.	(9, 8) Two registers. I, deceased with 2 wives and son pours ointment on offerings before Osiris with two goddesses. II, deceased with mother (-in law?) Henuttaui wife and daughter, offers on braziers to Tuthmosis I and Ahmosi Nefertere; Four registers. I-III, priests libating with female mourners and offerings to deceased and wife in each, including torches and candles in III. IV, similar scene before Nebmehyt and wife
TT 111	Amenwahsu, Scribe of the Sacred Books in the House of Amun, Scribe in the House of Life, <i>second half of the reign of Ramesses II</i> , Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, painting.	(4) 2)-8) Two registers, I and II, Book of the Dead. I, Scenes. II, Scenes, including negative Confession with assessors at 2), deceased with family offers to parents at 3), weighing before Ogdoad and presentation scene at 4), Fields of Iaru at 6)	(8) 2)-8) Two registers, I and II, Book of the Dead. I, Scenes. II, Scenes, including negative Confession with assessors at 2), deceased with family offers to parents at 3), weighing before Ogdoad and presentation scene at 4), Fields of Iaru at 6)
TT 133	Neferronpet, Chief of the weavers in the Ramesseum in the estate of Amun on the West of Thebes, <i>second half of the reign of Ramesses II</i> , Sheikh Abd el-	(3) Two registers. I, deceased and family before Osiris-Onnophris and Hathor. II, two women;	(6) Two registers. I, deceased and family adore Osiris with Isis and Nephtys. II, two scenes (right one destroyed), priest offers incense and libation to deceased and wife Ceiling-text and decorative patterns

	Qurna, painting.		
TT 138	Nedjemger, Superintendent in the garden in the Ramesseum in the estate of Amun, <i>second half of the reign of Ramesses II</i> , Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, painting.	(3) 3 registers. I, Book of the Dead vignettes, I, deceased and wife adore Osiris in kiosk, II, End of funeral procession and rites before the tomb, III, deceased and wife receive offerings.	(6) 2 registers, I, deceased and family before Osiris, two goddesses and a god (?), II, 2 scenes, priest offers, and priest and wife offer to deceased and wife
TT 159	Raya, Fourth Prophet of Amun, <i>second half of the reign of Ramesses II</i> , Dra Abu el-Naga, painting.	(3) Three registers, I, deceased adores two barks. II and III, offering scenes with couples	No decoration
TT 178	Neferronpet, called Kenro, Scribe of the treasury in the estate of Amen-re, <i>second half of the reign of Ramesses II</i> , Khokha, painting.	(4) 2 registers, I-II, Book of the Dead, I, weighing scene with assessors above and Horus and Thoth reporting to Osiris with Isis and Nephthys in kiosk. II, deceased censes and libates before Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertere in kiosk with offering table before them	(7) 2 registers, I, deceased and wife adore Re-Harakhti and Maat in kiosk with offering table before them. II, ceremonies before mummies, tall bouquet, and stela at pyramid-tomb (with frieze of cones) and portico
TT 189	Nekhtdhout, Chief craftsman, Chief goldsmith, Chief of the carpenters in the Estate of Amun, Chief craftsman of the North Lake of Amun, <i>end of the reign of Ramesses II</i> , Asasif, relief.	(6) Focal wall is 6); 4)-6) 3 registers. I-II, Book of the Dead, including autobiographical text giving date, year 55, at 5)-6).	(9) Focal wall is 9); 7)-9) Three registers. Book of the Dead
TT 233	Saroy, Royal scribe of the Lord of the Two Lands, <i>end of the reign of Ramesses II</i> , Dra	(2) 3 registers, Book of the Dead, with Horus reporting to Osiris at right end of III	(3) Long text, and lotus in center with priest offering incense, libation, and food, to bull on each side

	Abu el-Naga, painting and relief.		
TT 254 *	Mosi, Supervisor of the Estate of Tiye in the Estate of Amun, Senior Supervisor of the Treasury of Amun, Scribe of the treasury of Amun, Scribe of the god's father(s) of Amun, <i>reign of Ay</i> , Khokha, painting.	(3) 2 registers. I, deceased with family before Osiris and Western goddess. II, People before couple	(6) 2 registers. I, deceased and two women with man offering to them, and two rows of female musicians (harp, lyre, lute, and flute), dancers, and guests. II, Deceased receives bouquet of Amun from wife at house, with dyeing and cooking beyond
TT 263	Piay, Scribe of the workshop in the Estate of Amun, Scribe of the Workshop in the Temple of Usimare Setepenre in the Estate of Amun, Scribe of the Workshop of Amun, Scribe of the Workshop of Amun in 'United-with-Thebes', <i>first half of the reign of Ramesses II</i> , Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, painting.	(6) Deceased, wife, and daughter with man censuring and libating to them and seated relatives	No decoration
TT 296	Nefersekeru, Deputy Administrator of the Treasury, Deputy Administrator of the Royal Treasury, Scribe of the Divine Offerings of all the gods, Real Scribe of the King,	(4) Two registers, I, 2 scenes, 1, deceased, Nefertere, and man adore Osiris and Isis, 2, deceased adores Osiris seated between mummiform Isis <i>on left</i> and Harsiesi <i>on right</i> . II, 3 scenes, each before deceased, Nefertere, with daughters (in 1 and 3), 1, priest offering incense, 2, priest lighting lamp with	(7) Two registers. I, 2 scenes, 1, disk held by arms of Nut on dressed djed pillar adored by baboons, goddesses, and bas, and also adored by two gods with kneeling souls of Pe and Nekhen, and deceased kneeling on right and by deceased standing on left. 2, deceased and Maatmut adore Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys. II, woman on right end and tree-goddess scene on left

	<i>second half of the reign of Ramesses II, Khokha, painting.</i>	tapers, 3, priest with harpist censuring offerings.	with deceased and Sekhmui drinking
TT 324	Hatiay, Overseer of the prophets of all the gods, High priest of Mont, High priest of Sobek, Scribe of the Temple of Montu, High Priest of Horus, Sobek, Anubis, and Khons, <i>post-Amarna, Aye-Seti I, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, painting.</i>	(6) 3 registers. I-III, remains of banquet, with sem priest before deceased, and relatives including son Penne (tomb 331)	(9) [Western goddess]
TT 344	Piay, Overseer of the herds of Amen-re in the Southern City; Royal scribe of the herds of Amenhotep I, <i>19th Dynasty, Dra Abu el-Naga, painting.</i>	(6) 2 registers. I, 3 scenes, Book of the Dead, 1, deceased and wife led by Anubis, 2, weighing-scene with ten assessors, 3, Horus presenting deceased to Osiris with Isis and Nephthys. II, 2 scenes, 1, deceased adore Amenhotep I and Ahmose Neferepere, 2, deceased adores offering list (unfinished)	(8) Remains of scene, [statues of Amenhotep I and Ahmose Neferepere] in palanquins carried by priests
TT 387	Meryptah, Royal table scribe of the Lord of Both Lands in the Estate of Amun, Real King's Scribe, Governor of the Desert Lands for the Southern Deserts, <i>second half of the reign of Ramesses II, Asasif, relief.</i>	(4) Offering bringers, deceased adoring Osiris, and seated man below and man pouring libation before deceased (?)	(8, 7) Two registers. I, deceased followed by man and offering bringer, adores Re-Harakhti with goddess (<i>Maat?</i>) and group of seven divinities, all seated. II, two scenes, each with priest offering to deceased seated with kherp-scepter with offering list beyond; Remains of offering scenes

TT 409	Simut called Kyky, Scribe who reckons the Cattle of Amun, Scribe of the Sacred Offerings, Scribe who reckons the Cattle of Amun in the Southern City, Scribe who reckons the Cattle of the gods of the South and North, Scribe who reckons the Cattle of all gods, Royal Scribe who reckons the Cattle of the Lord of Thebes, Scribe who reckons the Cattle of the Estate of Amun, Chief accountant of the Cattle for Amun, Mut, and Khons, Scribe of Accounts of the Estate of Amen-Re, <i>second half of the reign of Ramesses II</i> , Asasif, painting.	(6, 7) Focal walls are 6 and 7; 4)-6) 3 registers. I-II, deceased adores Mut with long hymn in each. III, Agricultural scenes at 4), priest offering to couple and men and women facing in, at 5) 3 offering scenes, 1-3, priest before deceased and wife (with candle in 2) at 6), continued at 7); 7) 3 registers, I, deceased offers four calves to Amen-re, with two scenes of Ramesses III adoring Amen re on sides of kiosk. II, 2 scenes, 1, deceased kneeling before Ptah-Sokari, 2, deceased and wife before Osiris and Isis. III, continued from 6)	(10) 2 registers. I, Judgment scene including 'Ammet, and deceased and wife before Osiris. II, continued from 9)
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“EAST” WALLS, TRANSVERSE HALL⁷⁵³

Tomb #	Owner, Title, Date, Area, and Decoration Medium	Left “East” Wall of Transverse	Right “East” Wall of Transverse
TT 13	Shuroy, Head of brazier bearers of Amun, <i>end of 19th</i> Dra Abu el-Naga, painting.	Because focal walls are in inner room, “east walls” are hard to define. But if we call the “east” walls of the inner transverse room the “east walls”, which I am inclined to do, then the decoration is as follows: (9) 4 registers, I, offering bringers with vegetables, II, deceased and relatives in the garden, III-IV, Funeral procession including servants with food tables (some resting) and child dancers	Because focal walls are in inner room, “east walls” are hard to define. But if we call the “east” walls of the inner transverse room the “east walls”, which I am inclined to do, then the decoration is as follows: (11) 2 registers, I, offering bringers before deceased and wife and banquet with clappers, II, deceased and wife with couple seated with bouquets and man drinking from a siphon.
TT 14	Huy, Wab priest of Amenhotep I “the image of Amun”, <i>End of 19th</i> , Dra Abu el-Naga, painting.	(1), (2) 3 registers, I, priest before royal statues (2 in palanquins), II, Female mourners and priest before royal statues. III, Deceased and wife seated, pool with trees and man with offerins before Osiris and the tree goddess.	(6) 2 registers, I, 2 scenes, 1, deceased and man, 2, decaesd and wife adore ram head of Amun in shrine with [two offering bringers]. II, Remains of funeral procession with sarcophagus and boat.
TT 16	Panehesi, Prophet of Amenhotep of the forecourt, Chief of the attendants of the offering table, Prophet of Amun, <i>End of 19th</i> Dra	(1) Material on wall (1) continues onto wall (2) . 2 registers. I, Book of the Dead, 5 scenes, deceased and wife adore guardians and Ennead. II, Funeral Procession.	(4) 2 registers (ending on wall (5)). I, Priest and two squatting women before deceased and wife’s with bas and tree goddess scene with ba. II, Agriculture, including laden donkey, deceased seated under tree and tree felling

⁷⁵³ Descriptions and location of scenes come from Porter and Moss and are augmented by my observations during fieldwork. Porter and Moss 2004.

	Abu el-Naga, painting.		
TT 19	Amenmosi, Prophet of Amenhotep of the forecourt, High Priest of Amenhotep I, <i>beginning of reign of Ramesses II</i> , Dra Abu el-Naga, painting.	(2) Wife seated	(5) 2 registers. Book of the Dead and funeral ceremonies . I, weighing scene and Horus with assessors leading deceased and wife reports to Osiris and winged Isis. II, 3 scenes, 1 [priest] libates to deceased and wife, 2, female mourner, 3, two priests before deceased ad wife at pyramid tomb
TT 25	Amenemhab, High Priest of Khons, <i>second half of the reign of Ramesses II</i> , Asasif, painting.	(2) 2 registers. I, deceased led by Thoth and Horus to Anubis and western goddess and two pools with divinities. II, priest before Osiris	(4) 2 registers. I, Book of the Dead, deceased kneeling before divinities, deceased and wife led, weighing scene, and Thoth reporting to Osiris and Isis. II, 3 scenes, each with deceased and wife, 1, kneeling before [divinity?], 2, before house and garden with pool, 3, seated.
TT 26	Khnememhab, Overseer of the treasury in the Ramesseum in the estate of Amun, Overseer of the expeditionary force/army of the Lord of the Two Lands, <i>end of 19th</i> Asasif, relief.	(4) deceased, wife, and couple before Osiris and Anubis	(7) Inmutef priest before Horus (?) and Anubis (unfinished). (8) 2 registers, I, deceased offers to Re-Harakhti, Atum, Shu, and a god. II, seated couple and man censuring and libating to deceased and wife
TT 31	Khons, called To, First prophet of Menkheperre (Tuthmosis III), Overseer of the Cattle of Tuthmosis IV, High priest of Mont, <i>beginning of the reign of</i>	(4) 4), 5), 6) Festival of Monthu, four scenes, 1, at 4) Usermontu, vizier and his brother Huy, prophet of Monthu offer to bark of Monthu as they stand in the bark towed by two military boats abreast (single-stick contest on deck) with father of deceased and three sons	(7) Two registers. I, deceased, mother, Usermontu in weighing scene, with assessors above and deceased and mother (?) led by Harsiesi to Osiris, Isis, and Nepthys. II, Funeral procession including priests, Usermontu as lector, Opening of Mouth instruments, mourners, including priests, and cows with mutilated

	<i>Ramesses II</i> , Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, painting.	censing and libating above. 2, at 4) deceased offers to bark of Tuthmosis III in kiosk. Sub-scene (<i>I would have called this register II</i>) at 4) and 5) lector followed by four women censing and libating with torches and candle to deceased and mother (?) and priest before deceased with May, Tausert, and her daughter at 4)	calf, before mummies at pyramid tomb with stela.
TT 40	Amenhotep called Huy, Viceroy of Kush, Governor of the South Lands, King's envoy in every land, Fan bearer to the right of the King, Overseer of the cattle of Amun (in the land of Kush), Prince, Divine Father, <i>reign of Tut</i> , Qurnet Murai, painting.	(3), (2), (1) At (3) deceased inspects 5 registers, transport of produce, I-IV freight ships, V, recording freight. (2) deceased inspects 5 registers of Nubian tribute, including women and children, I-V, bringing, weighing, and recording gold etc. (1) 2 registers, I, deceased with two rows of family (including mother and sons) returns to barge (twice represented) received by three rows of officials with produce. II, officials, sailors, female dancers, and musicians (2 with tambourines) sub-scene bringing produce	(8) 3 scenes. 1, three registers, I-III, appointment of deceased as viceroy before Tut in kiosk, I, chief treasurer announces appointment. II, deceased receives seal of office, III, courtiers, sailors, officials. 2, deceased holding bouquets with two sons and men acclaiming. 3, deceased with [wife] and offering bearers below, pours myhr on altar, followed by offering bearers, soldiers, clappers, lutists, and dancers. Sub-scene, remains of 3 registers before deceased, I, recording horse, cattle, geese, with fort and farms beyond, II, branding cattle, goats, donkeys, III, branding and female harpist
TT 49	Neferhotep, Chief scribe of Amun, Superintendent of the oxen and heifers of Amun Ay, Khokha, painting.	(4) 2 registers, funeral procession. I, Coffin dragged, teknu, and c. and deceased embraced by Western goddess. II, four of the 'Nine friends', mourners, and men in booths with food-tables, before Hathor-cow in mountain	(8) 3 registers, funeral procession. I, Boats with mourners, provisions, & c., and priests before mummies at pyramid-tomb. II, Deceased and wife inspect funeral outfit. III, deceased and wife inspect making of coffin

TT 51	Userhet, called Neferhabef, High Priest of Tuthmosis I, <i>Seti I</i> , Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, painting.	(3) 3 registers. I, four scenes, 1, deceased led by Anubis, 2, weighing scene with deceased in scales and monster, 3, deceased kneeling before Osiris and Western goddess, 4, deceased kneeling, souls of Pe and Nekhen, and baboons, adore Re-Harakhti as hawk on Western emblem and Isis making nini. II, funeral procession with ceremonies before mummies, and deceased (name changed to Amenmosi) before Western goddess in front of pyramid-tomb with bouquets. III, Waiting chariot and stands of food, and wife with attendants acclaiming deceased rewarded before Temple (?)	(6) 2 registers. I, 4 scenes, 1, deceased adoring, 2, ‘Akheperkaresonb kneeling purified by 8 priests, 3, deceased kneels before three Ogdoads, 4, Thoth reports to Osiris with Anubis. II, deceased with ‘Akheperkaresonb and Nemehyt as priests, and three priestesses, pours ointment on offerings before Monthu and Meretseger
TT 111	Amenwahsu, Scribe of the Sacred Books in the House of Amun, Scribe in the House of Life, <i>second half of the reign of Ramesses II</i> , Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, painting.	(2) (2)-(8), 2 registers, I and II, Book of the Dead, I, Scenes, II, Scenes including Negative Confession with assessors at (2)	(5) (2)-(8), 2 registers, I and II, Book of the Dead, I, Scenes, II, Scenes
TT 133	Neferronpet, Chief of the weavers in the Ramesseum in the estate of Amun on the west of Thebes, Chief of weavers of the Lord of Both Lands, <i>Ramesses II, second half</i> , Sheikh Abd el –	(1) Four registers. I and II, remains of women and men bringing material. III, weaving shed with door keeper, women stretching warp and four looms. IV, Boat with mummy and two tugs in funeral procession.	(4) Remains of deceased offering <i>in corner near doorway. There is also some of the wall left at the bottom of the wall but it is not mentioned by PM. It could have been part of a register II or III. The fragment shows three figures seated in chairs facing out of the tomb and could be part of a banquet scene but it is</i>

	Qurna, painting.		<i>possible it was an offering scene.</i>
TT 138	Nedjemger, Superintendent in the Garden in the Ramesseum in the estate of Amun, <i>second half of the reign of Ramesses II</i> , Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, painting.	(1) 3 registers. I, Book of the Dead vignettes, deceased and wife adore divinities. II, Funeral procession, including two boats with mourners, [sarcophagus] dragged, female mourners, servants, III, Garden of the Ramesseum with shadufs and temple pylon, people selling bouquets before deceased and wife.	(4) 2 registers. I, deceased and family offer to King and Horus (?). II, 2 scenes, priest offers, and priest and wife offer, to deceased and wife.
TT 159	Raya, Fourth Prophet of Amun, <i>second half of the reign of Ramesses II</i> , Dra Abu el-Naga, painting.	(1) 1) 2 registers. I, Book of the Dead, deceased and wife before personified djed-pillar and other emblems in shrines. II, Funeral procession with late graffito of Simut. Below scenes, sketch of boat with coffin.	(4) 4) 3 registers. I, Book of the Dead, remains of deceased and wife before divinities. II, 2 scenes, 1, [son], followed by people kneeling with offerings, offers [bundle of onions] to d. and wife, with cat and monkey under chairs, 2, priest censuring and libating offers two candles. III, Oxen dragging shrines in funeral procession.
TT 178	Neferronpet, called Kenro, Scribe of the Treasury in the estate of Amen-re, <i>second half of the reign of Ramesses II</i> , Khokha, painting.	(2) 2 registers, Book of the Dead, I, 2 scenes of deceased and wife adoring guardians in shrines, the second of these scenes goes on to wall (3). II, deceased and wife drinking from pool, and one offering scene.	(5) 2 registers, I, 2 scenes, 1, deceased adores gate with large bouquet and heap of offerings, 2, men adore personified djed pillar supporting sun-disk with arms of Nut in mountain. II, 2 scenes, 1, deceased and wife in tree goddess scene, 2, funeral procession, dragging of the sarcophagus including 'Nine Friends'
TT 189	Nekhtdhout, Chief Craftsman, Chief Goldsmith, Chief of Carpenters in the Estate of Amun, Chief Craftsmen of the	(4) (4)-(6) 3 registers. I-II, Book of the Dead, Remains of funeral procession with oxen dragging shrines and mourners at 4).	(7) 7)-9) 3 registers. Book of the Dead including deceased and Tentpa... before Western goddess making nini in III at 7), and son Khensemhab, head of gold workers in the estate of Amun, before deceased with

	North Lake of Amun, <i>end of the reign of Ramesses II</i> , Asasif, relief.		scepter beyond on right
TT 233	Saroy, Royal Scribe of the Lord of the Two Lands, <i>End of the reign of Ramesses II</i> , Dra Abu el-Naga, painting and relief.	No decoration	No decoration
TT 254	Mosi, Supervisor of the Estate of Tiye in the Estate of Amun, Senior Supervisor in the Treasury of Amun, Scribe in the treasury of Amun, Scribe of the god's father(s) of Amun, <i>reign of Ay</i> , Khokha, painting.	(1) 4 registers, I-II in front of deceased and wife standing, III-IV in front of deceased and wife seated. I, priest libating candle and three men each censuring and libating offerings. II, Reaping grain and laden donkey with foal. III and IV, Man under tree, flax pulling, tree-felling and plowing, etc.	(4) 2 registers. I, man before granary, produce weighed, and [three people] offering bouquet to Osiris and goddess. II, Storehouse, men bringing chests and weighing with scales, and men heaping incense below before deceased and wife.
TT 263	Piay, Scribe of the Workshop in the Estate of Amun, Scribe in the Workshop in the Temple of Usimare Setepenre in the Estate of Amun, Scribe of the Workshop of Amun, Scribe of the Workshop of Amun in 'United-with-Thebes', <i>first half of the reign of Ramesses II</i> , Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, painting.	(4) 2 registers. I, remains of people, II, man offers to seated [man]	No decoration
TT 296	Nefersekeru, Deputy	(2) 2 registers, Book of the Dead. I, 5 scenes, deceased	(5) 2 registers. I, Book of the Dead, 2 scenes, 1, deceased and

	Administrator of the Treasury, Administrator of the Royal Treasury, Scribe for the Divine offerings of all the gods, Real Scribe of the King, <i>second half of the reign of Ramesses II</i> , Khokha, painting.	and Nefertere, 1 and 2, before guardians, 3, with offerings, 4, led by Anubis, and 5, weighing scene with four assessors seated and tables of offering above, before Osiris, Isis and Nephthys. II, 5 scenes, deceased and wife, 1, drinking from a pool with fish, beside trees with birds and nest, 2 and 3, with priest libating bouquets (with female mourner) and censuring to them, 4, playing draughts, 5 (wife omitted), with offerings before Amenophis I and Ahmose Nefertere in kiosk.	wife adoring before negative confessions, 2, deceased presented by Thoth holding emblems to Osiris and Maat. II, 2 rows, funeral procession (including cow and calf) with priests before mummy at pyramid tomb and Hathor cow in mountain.
TT 324	Hatiay, Overseer of the prophets of all the gods, High Priest of Mont, High priest of Sobek, Scribe of the Temple of Montu, high priest of Horus, Sobek, Anubis, and Khons <i>post-Amarna</i> , <i>Aye-Seti I</i> , Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, painting.	(4) Remains of 2 registers. I, Donkeys bringing grain to granary. II, deceased and wife with two men offering to them and plowing and pulling flax before [deceased]	(7) 2 registers. I, Viziers Usermontu and Nebamun (?) seated with table of offerings between them. II, 2 scenes, 1, deceased and wife in tree goddess scene with bas drinking and boat on pool, 2, Fields of Iaru
TT 344	Piay, Overseer of the herds of Amen-re in the Southern City; Royal scribe of the herds of Amenhotep I, <i>19th Dynasty</i> , Dra Abu el-Naga, painting.	(4) 2 registers. I, 4 scenes, deceased and wife, 1, adoring a god, 2, adoring serpent on stand, 3, adoring Khnum, 4, adoring. II, 2 scenes, 1, deceased and family before offerings, 2, man offers incense to deceased and family.	(7) 2 registers. I, 2 scenes, 1, [deceased] adores Osiris and Isis, 2, deceased and relatives with hymn adore Osiris-Onnophris. II, 2 scenes, 1, deceased adores Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertere, 2, deceased adores offering-list (unfinished)
TT 387	Meryptah, Royal Table-Scribe of the Lord of Both	(2) Two registers. I, three scenes, Book of the Dead, 1, deceased presented by	(5) and (6) 5) Two registers. I, deceased libating offerings followed by man, II, offering

	Lands in the Estate of Amun, Real King's Scribe, Governor of Desert-lands for the Southern Deserts, <i>second half of the reign of Ramesses II</i> , Asasif, relief.	Thoth to Osiris and Western goddess. 2, deceased [and wife (?)] led by Anubis and Hathor, 3, Negative confession (?) with deceased followed by two people (?). II, three scenes, 4, priest with incense and offerings before two men and a woman, 5, deceased purified by two priests, 6, tree goddess scene (with bas on knees of deceased and wife)	bringers <i>in two half registers which equal the height of register I</i> . 6) and 7) Remains of offering scenes.
TT 409	Simut called Kyky, Scribe who reckons the Cattle of Amun, Scribe of the Sacred Offerings, Scribe who reckons the Cattle of Amun in the Southern City, Scribe who reckons the Cattle of the gods of the South and North, Scribe who reckons the cattle of all the gods, Royal Scribe who reckons the Cattle of the Lord of Thebes, Scribe who reckons the Cattle of the Estate of Amun, Chief Accountant of the Cattle for Amun, Mut, and Khons, Scribe of Accounts of the Estate of Amen-Re, <i>second half of the reign of Ramesses II</i> ,	(4) 4)-6) 3 registers, I and II, deceased adores Mut with long hymn in each. III, Agricultural scenes at (4)	(8) 2 registers. I, Book of the Dead, with deceased and wife before gates, II, deceased inspects two rows of cattle.

	Asasif, painting.		
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SHORT WALLS, TRANSVERSE HALL⁷⁵⁴

Tomb #	Owner, Title, Date, Area, and Decoration Medium	Left Short Wall	Right Short Wall
TT 13	Shuroy, Head of brazier bearers of Amun, <i>end of 19th</i> , Dra Abu el-Naga, painting.	Because focal walls are in inner room, short walls are hard to define. But if we call the short walls of the inner transverse room the “short walls”, which I am inclined to do, there is no extant decoration.	Because focal walls are in inner room, short walls are hard to define. But if we call the short walls of the inner transverse room the “short walls”, which I am inclined to do, there is no extant decoration.
TT 14	Huy, Wab priest of Amenhotep I “the image of Amun”, <i>end of 19th</i> , Dra Abu el-Naga, painting.	(3) 2 registers. I, female mourner and [boat] at pyramid tomb, assessors, and weighing scene. II, Priests and mourners before mummy at tomb.	no decoration
TT 16	Panehesi, Prophet of Amenhotep of the forecourt, Chief of the attendants of the offering table, Prophet of Amun, <i>end of 19th</i> , Dra Abu el-Naga, painting.	(2) The material on the short wall and the “east” wall (1) are continuous with register II destroyed on wall (2) . 2 registers, I, Book of the Dead, 5 scenes, deceased and wife adore guardians. II (destroyed at (2)) Funeral Procession	(5) 2 registers. I, deceased and wife with bouquet adore [Hathor-cow] in mountain with stelae. II, two rows of procession carrying Great Vase of Amun from Temple, upper row headed by Nebsumenu (TT 183) with braziers before tree, lower row by deceased and brother Pahesi, singer of the altar of Amun, before palisade.
TT 19	Amenmosi, Prophet of Amenhotep of the forecourt, High priest of Amenhotep I,	(3) 3 registers. Valley Festival and funeral procession (left part destroyed). I, [Bark of Amen-re and Mut] and bark of Amen-re towed on canal	(6) 2 registers. I, double scene, right half [deceased with son Beknay and wife], censers and libates to Re-Harakhti-Amun, Amenhotep I, Hathor and Western goddess, left half,

⁷⁵⁴ Descriptions and location of scenes come from Porter and Moss and are augmented by my observations during fieldwork. Porter and Moss 2004.

	<i>beginning of reign of Ramesses II, Dra Abu el-Naga, painting.</i>	[statue of “Amenhotep of the forecourt” in palanquin carried by priests] and men acclaiming. II, Bark with statue of Ahmose Nefertari dragged from temple. III, [9 friends, sarcophagus dragged by men and oxen, with female mourners, and men with funeral outfit.]	[deceased, mother, and daughter?] before three divinities and king. II, 2 scenes, 1, priest, lector, and female mourners before deceased and wife at pyramid tomb. 2, son Bekenay, followed by priest, son Panefernekhu as lector and female mourners offer bouquet to deceased and wife and tree goddess scene with bas drinking and Benu bird behind them.
TT 25	Amenemhab, First prophet of Khons, <i>second half of the reign of Ramesses II, Asasif, painting.</i>	no decoration	(5) 2 registers, offering scenes
TT 26	Khnememhab, Overseer of the treasury in the Ramesseum in the estate of Amun, <i>end of 19th, Asasif, relief.</i>	(5) 2 registers. I, scenes in Book of the Dead, II, deceased adores bull and 7 cows with sacred oars	no decoration
TT 31	Khons, called To, First prophet of Menkheperre (Tuthmosis III), Overseer of the Cattle of Tuthmosis IV, High Priest of Mont, <i>beginning of the reign of Ramesses II, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, painting.</i>	(5) 4), 5), 6) Festival of Monthu, four scenes, 3 at 5) Arrival of bark of Monthu with Usermonthu and Huy and two tugs (with single stick combat contest), followed by priests and priestesses, including Userhet, steward of Queen Teye. Sub-scene (<i>I would have called this register II</i>) at 4) and 5) lector followed by four women censuring and libating with torches and candle to deceased and mother (?) and priest before deceased with May, Tausert, and her daughter at 4), remains of rites on the	(8) Three registers. I and II, Festival of Tuthmosis III with royal bark in procession before temple, received by priests and priestesses (songstress of Monthu). III, Herdsman with dogs bringing cows and goats before deceased, Ruia, and family with standard of the estate of Tuthmosis III in front

		island and priests, censuring, and libating to relatives at 5).	
TT 40	Amenhotep called Huy, Viceroy of Kush, Governor of the South Lands, King's envoy in every land, the fan bearer to the right of the king, Overseer of the cattle of Amun in the Land of Kush, Prince, <i>reign of Tut</i> , Qurnet Murai, painting.	(4) 2 registers. I, double-scene, deceased with libation and offerings before Anubis, and before Osiris. II, Stela (blank) with deceased seated and offerings at each side. Sub scene remains of bakers (2 female)	(9) space for stela left blank at each side, 4 registers, I-IV priests perform rites before deceased including presentation of ka in I on left and purification of deceased in II on right.
TT 49	Neferhotep, Chief scribe of Amun, Superintendent of the oxen and heifers of Amun, <i>Ay, Khokha</i> , painting.	(5) Stela, Osiris, and Western goddess facing Anubis. At sides, two registers. I, grandfather, II, wife on left. I, deceased, II, [man?] on right	(9) Above [stela], double-scene, deceased adores Anubis, and deceased with brazier before Osiris. At sides, deceased seated with food-table (destroyed on left.)
TT 51	Userhet, called Neferhabef, High Priest of Tuthmosis I, <i>Seti I</i> , Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, painting.	(4) 2 registers, I, Ancestors (Imhotep, Vizier, Hepusonb, and Khensemhab) adore Monthu. II, deceased and wife angling beneath a vine	(7) Deceased with wife and mother in tree-goddess scene with bas drinking, sub-scene, double-scene, Abydos pilgrimage, with deceased and wife before Osiris, and before Anubis
TT 111	Amenwahsu, Scribe of the Sacred Books in the House of Amun, <i>second half of the reign of Ramesses II</i> , Sheikh Abd el-	(3) , (2)-(8), 2 Registers, I and II, Book of the Dead, I, Scenes, II, Scenes including deceased and family offers to parents at (3)	(7) and (6) , (2)-(8), 2 Registers, I and II, Book of the Dead, I, Scenes, II, Scenes including Fields of Iaru at (6)

	Qurna, painting.		
TT 133	Neferronpet, Chief of the weavers in the Ramesseum in the estate of Amun on the west of Thebes, Chief of the weavers of the Lord of Both Lands, <i>second half of the reign of Ramesses II</i> , Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, painting.	(2) Book of the Dead, deceased and [wife] adore baboon headed guardian with gate and adore Hathor-cow in mountain. <i>Remnants of bouquet is visible in Register II but nothing else is legible</i>	(5) Tree goddess double scene, including ba (on hand of deceased) drinking.
TT 138	Nedjemger, Superintendent in the garden in the Ramesseum in the Estate of Amun, <i>second half of the reign of Ramesses II</i> , Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, painting.	(2) 3 registers. I, Book of the Dead vignettes, deceased and wife adore divinities. II, Funeral procession, including female mourners, servants, with food in booths, cow and mutilated calf. III, funeral banquet.	(5) Tree-goddess scene with deceased and wife seated
TT 159	Ra'ya, Fourth Prophet of Amun, <i>second half of the reign of Ramesses II</i> , Dra Abu el-Naga, painting.	(2) 2) Two registers. I, Book of the Dead [deceased and wife] before guardians with knives. II, scribe, priests, female mourners before mummies at pyramid tomb (w/frieze of funerary cones) in mountain.	(5) 5) Three registers. I, Book of the Dead, deceased and wife before [divinities in shrines]. II, sem priest offers to deceased and wife. III, Group of female mourners and officials. Sub-scene, servants with food tables.
TT 178	Neferronpet, called Kenro, Scribe of the treasury in the estate of Amen-re, <i>second half of the reign of Ramesses II</i> , Khokha, painting.	(3) 2 registers, I-II, Book of the Dead, 4 scenes of deceased and wife adoring shrines with guardians (half of first scene is on "east" wall), 5 th scene, deceased and wife led by Anubis. II, 3 (?) offering scenes, harpist with song before deceased and wife playing draughts with cat eating bone under	(6) 2 registers, I, deceased and wife adore Thoth and Maat, deceased and wife adore Atum and Sakhmet, deceased and wife adore Ptah and Isis. II, funeral procession including dragging of the sarcophagus, servants with provisions and with food tables (first part of ceremonies before the mummies which goes on to wall (7)

		wife's chair.	
TT 189	Nekhtdhout, Chief Craftsman, Chief Goldsmith, Chief of Carpenters in the Estate of Amun, Chief Craftsman of the North Lake of Amun, <i>end of the reign of Ramesses II</i> , Asasif, relief.	(5) (4)-(6) 3 registers. I-II, Book of the Dead including weighing scene in II at 5) and autobiographical text giving date, year 55 at 5)-6). III, Remains of funeral procession with oxen dragging shrines and mourners at 4).	(8) 7)-9) 3 registers. Book of the Dead including deceased and Tentpa... before Western goddess making nini in III at 7), and son Khensemhab, head of gold workers in the estate of Amun, before deceased with scepter beyond on right.
TT 233	Saroy, Royal scribe of the Lord of the Two Lands, <i>end of the reign of Ramesses II</i> , Dra Abu el-Naga, painting and relief.	(1) 3 registers, funeral procession. I, deceased with relatives and mourners before mummies at pyramid tomb, and deceased and wife received by Hathor and Western goddess. II, Man with staff, oxen dragging sarcophagus, and remains of procession and mourners. III, text.	No decoration
TT 254	Mosi, Supervisor of the Estate of Tiye in the Estate of Amun, Senior Supervisor to the Treasury of Amun, Scribe of the treasury of Amun, Scribe of the god's father(s) of Amun, <i>reign of Ay</i> , Khokha, painting.	(2) 3 registers. I, Banquet, with offerings to three cobras and guests with attendants. II-III, Funeral procession, with female mourners, and men bringing food in II and boats in III	(5) Stela, with deceased adoring Osiris, Anubis, and Western goddess at top. At sides, 3 registers, I and II, people offering to seated couples, III, priest censuring offerings with offering-bringer and female mourners
TT 263	Piay, Scribe of the Workshop in the Estate of Amun, Scribe of the Workshop in the Temple of Usimare Setepenre	(5) Book of the Dead, deceased and wife before shrine (?), and weighing-scene between Thoth and Maat.	No decoration

	in the Estate of Amun, Scribe of the Workshop of Amun, Scribe of the Workshop of Amun in 'United-with-Thebes', <i>first half of the reign of Ramesses II</i> , Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, painting.		
TT 296	Nefersekheru, Deputy Administrator of the Treasury, Deputy Administrator of the Royal Treasury, Scribe of the Divine Offerings of all the gods, Real Scribe of the King, <i>second half of the reign of Ramesses II</i> , Khokha, painting.	(3) Doorway, lintel with double scene, deceased and wife adore Osiris and Western Hathor <i>on left</i> , 2, deceased adores Anubis and Isis <i>on right</i> . Jambs, remains of texts with deceased seated at bottom <i>on left</i> .	(6) Niche with seated statues of deceased flanked by two wives (?). Lintel, Anubis jackal and Hathor heads. Jambs with bouquets on each. Ceiling of niche has grape decoration. 7) Two registers. I, 2 scenes, 1, disk held by arms of Nut on dressed djed pillar adored by
TT 324	Hatiay, Overseer of the prophets of all the gods, High priest of Mont, High priest of Sobek, Scribe of the Temple of Montu, High priest of Horus, Sobek, Anubis, and Khons, <i>post-Amarna, Aye-Seti I</i> , Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, painting.	(5) 2 registers. I, deceased and wife angling with dog under chair. II, deceased and family netting fowl	(8) Abydos pilgrimage, with chariot on board

TT 344	Piay, Overseer of the herds of Amen-re in the Southern City; Royal scribe of the herds of Amenhotep I, 19 th Dynasty, Dra Abu el-Naga, painting.	(5) Personified djed-pillar adored by deceased and wife kneeling on each side	No decoration
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TT 409	Simut called Kyky, Scribe who reckons the Cattle of Amun, Scribe of Sacred Offerings, Scribe who reckons the Cattle of Amun in the Southern City, Scribe who reckons the Cattle of the gods of the South and North, Scribe who reckons the Cattle of all gods, Royal Scribe who reckons the Cattle of the Lord of Thebes, Scribe who reckons the Cattle of the Estate of Amun, Chief	(5) 4)-6) 3 registers, I and II, deceased adores Mut with long hymn in each. III, Agricultural scenes at (4), priest offering to couple and men and women facing in at (5), three offering scenes, 1-3, priest before deceased and wife (with candle in 2) at (6) continued at (7)	(9) 2 registers. I, remains of banquet. II, funeral procession, continued at (10)

	Accountant of the Cattle for Amun, Mut, and Khons, Scribe of Accounts of the Estate of Amen-re, <i>second half of the reign of Ramesses II</i> , Asasif, painting.		
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Hofmann 1995, Taf. XXV, Abb. 3

Figure 125: TT 178, Kenro overseeing workhops in estate of Amun
Hofmann 1995, Taf. XXXIX, Abb. 49

Figure 126: TT 178, Kenro before scales of the treasury
Hofmann 1995, Taf. XL, Abb. 50)

Figure 127: TT 254, Stela at 7)
MMA T 3539

Figure 128: TT 254, Wall 1)
MMA T 3543

Figure 129: TT 254, Wall 2)
MMA T 3537

Figure 130: TT 254, Wall 4)
MMA T 3542

Figure 131: TT 254, Wall 5)
MMA T 3541

Figure 132: TT 254, Wall 3)
MMA T 3538

Figure 133: TT 254, Wall 6)
MMA T 3540

Figure 134: TT 263, Left thickness
MMA T 3486

Figure 135: TT 263, View into shrine
MMA T 3489

Figure 136: TT 296, Wall 6)
Feucht 1985, Taf. XV

Figure 137: TT 296, Wall 2), Reg. I, Spell 145/146
Feucht 1985, Taf. VIII

Figure 138: TT 296, Wall 2), Reg. I, Hall of Judgment
Feucht 1985, Taf. X

Figure 139: TT 296, Wall 2), Reg. II, Chapter 62
Feucht 1985, Taf. XI

Figure 140: TT 296, Wall 2), Reg. II, offering before Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari
Feucht 1985, Taf. XIV

Figure 141: TT 296, Wall 5), Reg. I, Negative confessions
Feucht 1985, Taf. XVII

Figure 142: TT 296, Wall 5), Reg. II, Rites before the tomb
Feucht 1985, Taf. XVIII

Figure 143: TT 296, Wall 4, adoration of Osiris
Feucht 1985, Taf. XXIII

Figure 144: TT 296, Wall 7), adoration of Osiris
Feucht 1985, Taf. XXVIII

Figure 145: TT 296, Wall 7), Tomb owner adores sun disk being received by Nut
Feucht 1985, Taf. XXIX

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