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Hungarian Archaeological Mission in Thebes

Front cover  
Stela on the facade of TT-400- (Photo: Balázs Tihanyi)

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## Foreword

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The present yearbook is the first one of a hopefully longer series entitled *Publications of the Hungarian Cultural Institute in Cairo*. With the launching of the series the Institute aspires to present an impression of the work carried out in Egypt or in relation with Egypt by Hungarian academics, scholars and artists.

This inaugural volume is dedicated to the current Egyptological work of the *Hungarian Archaeological Mission in Thebes* (est. 1983) and its three archaeological projects presently doing field-work in the ancient necropoleis of Thebes. The last occasion highlighting their research and its presentation to the general public came in 2009 within the framework of a temporary exhibition mounted in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. The exhibition, organized in cooperation with the *Ministry of State for Antiquities and Heritage* (then SCA) and the Museum, also celebrated the more than hundred-year involvement of Hungarians in Egyptian archaeology.

Our aim with this volume then is to offer a glimpse of the most recent researches of Tamás A. Bács in the Funerary Complex of Hapuseneb (*TT 65 Project*), of Zoltán I. Fábrián into an Eighteenth Dynasty Mud Brick Mortuary Chapel (*TT 184 Project*), and of Gábor Schreiber in the tombs of Khamin and Nebamun (*TT -400- South Khokha Project*).

It is my pleasure as the coordinator of the Hungarian Cultural Institute to write this brief prologue to the reports given by the three internationally recognized Hungarian scholars.

Last but not least, I would like to recognize the valuable financial support of the National Cultural Fund of Hungary (NKA, Nemzeti Kulturális Alap) it lent to the publication of the current volume.

Renáta Kovács  
*Cultural Counsellor in Cairo*

# Researches in the Funerary Complex of Hapuseneb, High Priest of Amun at Thebes (TT 67): An Interim Report<sup>1</sup>

Tamás A. Bács

## 1 INTRODUCTION

Lined up, one beside the other on the west bank of the Nile at Gebel el-Silsila at a height where they would have only been accessible at the time of the flood is a group of shrines or chapels.<sup>2</sup> Of the altogether thirty-two such shrines cut into the living rock here that date to the Eighteenth Dynasty, the six closely clustering together present a virtual assembly of the most influential grandees of the reign of Hatshepsut (**Fig. 1**).<sup>3</sup> They were incidentally also the highest-ranking officials most directly involved with designing, supervising or financing the Queen's imposing building projects.<sup>4</sup> Appropriately then, those benefiting from the expression of royal favour of possessing a shrine here were the overseer of the granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt Minnakht (No. 12), the south-



**Fig. 1** Gebel el-Silsila – Shrines 12–17 (Courtesy of the Gebel el Silsila Survey Project. Photo by Scott A. Roberts)

ern overseer of the seal Senneferi (No. 13), the northern overseer of the seal Nehesy (No. 14), the high priest of Amun Hapuseneb (No. 15), the royal steward and steward of Amun Senenmut (No. 16), and finally the southern vizier Useramun (No. 17).<sup>5</sup> With the exception of Nehesy, whose tomb-complex was prepared in the Memphite necropolis,<sup>6</sup> these individuals were also creating some of the most spectacular funerary monuments in the Theban necropolis and concurrently reshaping its mortuary landscape. Some as Senenmut or Useramun were in effect dominating it.<sup>7</sup>

Among them albeit unlike them, the high priest of Amun, Hapuseneb, coming into office in the early coregency period

<sup>1</sup> The fieldwork and research of the *TT 65 Project of the Hungarian Archaeological Mission at Thebes* of the Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest has been made possible by the continuous support of the *National Scientific Research Fund of Hungary (OTKA)* and the *National Cultural Fund of Hungary (NKA)*.

<sup>2</sup> In general, R. CAMINOS: "Gebel es-Silsile" *LÄ II*, 441–447; also DELVAUX 1998.

<sup>3</sup> I would like to express my gratitude here to Dr. Maria Nilsson, Mission Director Gebel el Silsila Survey Project, who provided me with a number of excellent photographs of the shrines.

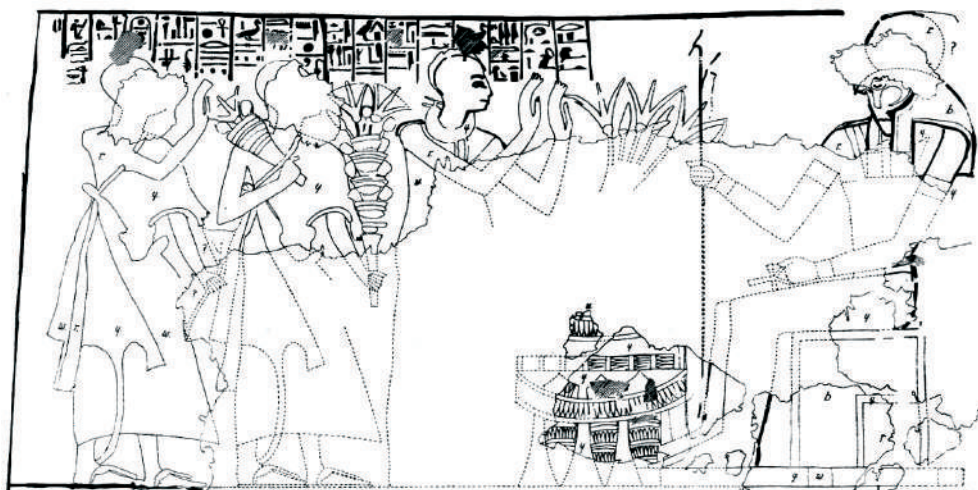
<sup>4</sup> On the elite of Hatshepsut's reign, see now the exhaustive analysis of SHIRLEY 2014.

<sup>5</sup> For the shrines, CAMINOS – JAMES 1963; KUCHARÉK 2012, 6–9; for an intriguing albeit problematic interpretation of their functioning, BOMMAS 2003; see also earlier KUCHARÉK 2000.

<sup>6</sup> For tomb I.6 at the later Bubasteion, see ZIVIE 1984; also ZIVIE 2003, 22.

<sup>7</sup> For the tomb/s of Senenmut (TT 71/353), DORMAN 1991; for that/those of Useramun (TT 131/61), DZIOBEK 1994; for those of Minnakht (TT 87) and Senneferi (TT 99), GUKSCH 1995; STRUDWICK 2005.

of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, was promoted from within the Amun domain.<sup>8</sup> His father Hapu had been a third lector-priest of Amun,<sup>9</sup> while his mother Ahhotep, a “royal



**Fig. 2** The figure of Hapuseneb (second from left) in TT 51 (After DAVIES 1927, pl. XV)

ornament”, bearer of an ancient title going back to the Old Kingdom and designating a courtier.<sup>10</sup> He may also have been able to claim more illustrious ancestry, if a scene dating from centuries later can be credited with any reliability. The scene in question found in the tomb of the high priest of the royal *ka* of Thutmose I, Userhat (TT 51), from the reign of Sety I presents Hapuseneb as a descendant (grandson?) of Imhotep, the first known vizier of the Eighteenth Dynasty from the reign of Thutmose I (**Fig. 2**).<sup>11</sup> His brother, Siamun, served as a mid-level treasury official at Karnak, as a scribe of the “God’s treasure” and was able to have a mortuary monument (TT 227) cut near his brother’s on Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (**Fig. 3**).<sup>12</sup> Of his four daughters, one Seniseneb rose to the post of divine adoratrice of Amun and became the wife of yet another prominent figure of the age, the second prophet of Amun, Puyemre (**Fig. 4**).<sup>13</sup>

Wielding wide-ranging executive power under Hatshepsut, one of Hapuseneb’s most intriguing involvement in royal building projects was the cutting and preparation of the royal tomb for the Queen.<sup>14</sup> Identified by most as KV 20, the tomb is but one of the works

<sup>8</sup> Hapuseneb’s career is most recently summarized in SHIRLEY 2014, 198–200.

<sup>9</sup> See EICHLER 2000, 306 Kat. no. 430.

<sup>10</sup> On the family of Hapuseneb, see HELCK 1958, 435; for Ahhotep’s title, DRENKHAN 1976. A small limestone statue base fragment of hers was recovered from the memorial temple of Thutmose III by WEIGALL in 1906, see WEIGALL 1906, 134 n. 21; also PERNIGOTTI 1981.

<sup>11</sup> The caption literally names him the “son” of Imhotep, see DAVIES 1927, 20–22, pl. XV; on the possible genealogical links, see e.g. DELVAUX 1988, 65.

<sup>12</sup> For Siamun, EICHLER 2000, 312 Kat. no. 471; for the title, EICHLER 2000, 135–137. The description of TT 227 identified by K. J. SEYFRIED (SEYFRIED 1991) as the tomb of Siamun is in KAMPP 1996, 504–505.

<sup>13</sup> See with references BRYAN 2006, 109–110. Hapuseneb had three sons and besides Seniseneb three other daughters on the evidence of Shrine 15 at Gebel el-Silsila, CAMINOS – JAMES 1963, 45, pls. 37–38. His wife, Amenhotep is also depicted in one of the scenes in Shrine 15, CAMINOS – JAMES 1963, 44, pl. 37, as well as mentioned in an ostrakon as a donor of offerings to the cult at Deir el-Bahari, HAYES 1960, 36–37, pl. XI-XIa.

<sup>14</sup> The identification of the rock-tomb has generated a substantial amount of debate. The royal tomb of the inscription is accepted by most as that of Hatshepsut, i.e. KV 20, based on the assumption that the cartouche of Thutmose II was later superimposed on that of hers. DELVAUX 1988, 61 n. u noted, however, that there is no sign of such manipulation within the text and indeed the tomb of Thutmose II was meant, which, on the other hand,



**Fig. 4** Three of Hapuseneb’s children in Shrine 15 – the divine adoratrice Seniseneb is the second figure from the right (Courtesy of the Gebel el-Silsila Survey Project. Photo by Scott A. Roberts)

**Fig. 3** TT 227 with its partly exposed shaft in the court of the later TT 68

enumerated on a block statue (Louvre A 134) erected by him at Karnak by the Queen’s favour.<sup>15</sup> As also overseer of all works of the king, he claimed to have supervised the building of a temple of Hatshepsut called ‘Aakheperenre-Divine-of-Monuments’, the original form and location of which in Karnak is still much in dispute.<sup>16</sup> Be that as it may, his other works included, besides an ebony shrine, a portico, a gate, door leaves, and various objects of temple furniture, the riverine bark of the god Amun, the so-called ‘Amun-Userhat’ bark (**Fig. 5**).<sup>17</sup>

Amid this architectural flurry and as befitting of his social status, Hapuseneb also proceeded to cut for himself a mortuary monument in the elite necropolis of Thebes on the West Bank that in splendour and size was second only to Senenmut’s.<sup>18</sup> As in so many cases, however, the rock-cut tomb-chapel was not finished till his demise sometime before Hatshepsut’s own death.<sup>19</sup> And as no burial apartment has been identified

he equates with KV 42, an identification mostly rejected today (see more recently POLZ 2007, 217–219). GABOLDE, on the other hand, has convincingly shown in his unpublished doctoral thesis (1987, 5189–192, 283) that the whole inscription on the front of the statue was re-inscribed and that originally the text indeed held the cartouche of Hatshepsut (I wish to thank here Luc GABOLDE for allowing me to cite his thesis). On the diverse interpretations of the history of KV 20, see ROMER 1974; JOHNSON 1992–93, and now POLZ 2007, 211–217. Add also that although most opt for an unknown location for Thutmose II’s burial place today, ROEHRIG has argued for KV 20, more recently in ROEHRIG 2007, 122.

<sup>15</sup> See DELVAUX 1988 with earlier literature.

<sup>16</sup> The temple’s suggested locations include eastern Karnak, LABOURY 1998, 552–556; and again LABOURY 2014, 63–67, partly the site of the later Akhmenu, GABOLDE 2005, 26; BLYTH 2006, 65. An alternative interpretation, namely the southern rooms of Hatshepsut’s ‘Palace of Maat’ has been advocated now in LASKOWSKI 2006, 184–189, with reference to WALLET-LEBRUN 1994, 235–236.

<sup>17</sup> See Urk. IV, 473–476; for the ‘Userhat’ bark, GABOLDE 2003, 424–425.

<sup>18</sup> On the size categories of the period’s elite tomb-chapels, as reflective of status, see ENGELMANN-VON CARNAP 1999, 64–90.

<sup>19</sup> Several statues of Hapuseneb, or statues commissioned by him are known: 1) Louvre (A 134) statue from Karnak, DELVAUX 1988; 2) Mut temple statue, BENSON – GOURLAY 1899, 312–315; 3) Bologna statue, PERNIGOTTI 1980, 33–36, pls. IV–VI, XXXIV–XXXVIII; 4) Karnak statue (JdE 39392), LEGRAIN 1908, No. 86 p. 53; 5) Statue for father (Turin 3061), NEWBERRY 1900b, 149–150; statue base fragment of mother, WEIGALL 1906, 134 n. 21; PERNIGOTTI 1981.

as such, the location of Hapuseneb's final resting place still presents somewhat of an enigma today.<sup>20</sup>



Fig. 5 The 'Amun-Userhat' riverine bark of Amun shown on the Red Chapel of Hatshepsut

## 2 SITE DESCRIPTION

The monumental tomb-chapel is situated on the lower north-eastern flank of the hill of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, in a location that despite being near to the hill's foot would have been significantly more visible in Hapuseneb's time (Fig. 6). Spoilheaps created during the subsequent building of mortuary monuments in its vicinity have done much to



Fig. 6 The tomb-chapel of Hapuseneb (TT 67)

obscure the view. Fronted by a forecourt the eastward extent of which remains unknown for the moment, it represents one of the earliest and largest New Kingdom chapels to be cut in this area.

Scholarly opinion is still divided on the issue of whether Hapuseneb took over and transformed a Middle Kingdom *saff*-tomb for himself or if, what seems more plausible today, he initiated the cutting of a new one from the outset.<sup>21</sup> This latter contention is strengthened

alongside other indications by the simple fact that Hapuseneb's predecessors in the high priestly office both constructed new *saff*-tombs, no doubt in emulation of Middle

<sup>20</sup> A canopic jar of Hapuseneb is in the collection of the Museo Egizio di Torino (N. 19002 = cat. 3304) today, but as it originates from the DROVETTI collection, its provenance remains, regrettably enough, unknown, see DOLZANI 1982, 17.

<sup>21</sup> The architectural history of the tomb with a preference for the earlier viewpoint is discussed briefly in DZIOBEK 1987, 78–79. A more reserved opinion tentatively dating the tomb to the early Eighteenth Dynasty is voiced in KAMPP 1996, 289–292; also ENGELMANN-VON CARNAP 1999, 71. More recently POLZ argues for the tomb being an entirely new construction, see POLZ 2007, 290–291.

Kingdom elite taste, thus Djehuty sometime in the reign of Ahmose in the Assasif ("Winlock Tomb 1")<sup>22</sup>, while his successor Minmonth-Senires preferably under Amenhotep I at Dra Abu el-Naga (TT 232).<sup>23</sup>

The tomb-chapel suffered extensive damage, especially to its decorated plaster wall surfaces, a feature mostly responsible for the indifference shown by modern scholarship towards it.<sup>24</sup> According to Percy E. Newberry it was "found" by him in 1895, the year in which he started various works in the Theban necropolis as an independent specialist.<sup>25</sup> He also added that "many funeral cones from it are known", referring to pieces published by Georges Daressy already in 1893.<sup>26</sup> The fact, however, that the text naming Hapuseneb's parents on the northern wall of the chapel's axial corridor is already featured in the Lepsius *Denkmäler* apparently contradicts this and effectively confirms that it has lain open at least since the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>27</sup>

During the large-scale excavations of the Mond expedition in their 1904/5 and 1905/6 seasons as part of their "area 3" the forecourt was cleared yielding a limestone statue fragment and over a hundred funerary cones.<sup>28</sup> Interestingly enough, however, the excavation failed to find a shaft in this area that would have served as a venue for Hapuseneb's burial,<sup>29</sup> leaving the question of where he was finally laid to rest open to speculation till the present.<sup>30</sup>

Collecting texts in the necropolis between 1904 and 1905, Kurt Sethe copied and in 1906 published some of the few surviving text fragments from the tomb together with other inscriptions associated with Hapuseneb.<sup>31</sup> Around the same time, during his tenure as Chief Inspector of Upper Egypt, Arthur Weigall worked inside the tomb-chapel reporting that: "The paintings are almost entirely gone, and I only cleared the tomb, without putting on a door".<sup>32</sup> Eventually, this same condition was described some half a century later by Nina Davies, when she published her drawings of the only two scene fragments of any significant size to survive in the chapel's transverse hall.<sup>33</sup>

In 2003 then, within the framework of the *TT 65 Project of the Hungarian Archaeological Mission in Thebes*' work a long needed architectural and epigraphic study of the tomb-chapel was launched.<sup>34</sup> This entailed, besides the architectural survey itself, surface brushing in case of certain structural features, partial clearance of others, and an initial

<sup>22</sup> "Winlock Tomb 1", see POLZ 2007, 145–55.

<sup>23</sup> For the truly grandiose tomb, see PM I, 1<sup>2</sup>, 328–29; KAMPP 1996, 507–511; and POLZ 2007, 280–82.

<sup>24</sup> See the description in *PM*<sup>2</sup> I:1, 133.

<sup>25</sup> See NEWBERRY 1900a, 36; on his career between the years 1895 to 1901 briefly, DAWSON 1950, 101.

<sup>26</sup> DARESSY 1893.

<sup>27</sup> *LD* Text iii, 262, where the tomb, however, is wrongly attributed to Hapuseneb's father, Hapu.

<sup>28</sup> The fragment was thought by MOND to belong to a statue depicting Hapuseneb according to COLLINS; 3 cones were of DM 21 type, while the remaining 113 were of DM 517, see COLLINS 1976, 36.

<sup>29</sup> Their findings and the absence of a shaft in this area have been since confirmed by the clearance done during the autumn of 2014.

<sup>30</sup> One of the most intriguing albeit untenable suggestion was already voiced by WINLOCK, namely that as Senenmut, Hapuseneb may have also had his burial in the Assasif. Later retracting this view, he first proposed that originally the Bab el-Gusus may have been cut for him, see with references THOMAS 1966, 175.

<sup>31</sup> See *Urk.* IV, 469–489.

<sup>32</sup> WEIGALL 1908, 129. See also HANKEY 2007, 75–81. The surviving decoration probably suffered a considerable degree of further damage during the period it served as a stall as recently as the 1980ies, see the description in KAMPP 1996, 291 n. 1.

<sup>33</sup> Others were only described briefly or noted in passing by her, see DAVIES 1961, 19–23.

<sup>34</sup> For the work of the *Hungarian Archaeological Mission in Thebes* in general, see e.g. BÁCS – FÁBIÁN – SCHREIBER – TÖRÖK 2009.

investigation and photographic documentation of its wall surfaces to locate still existing remains of its poorly preserved decoration in advance of recording them in detail.<sup>35</sup>

### 3 THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE TOMB

Like all contemporary elite tomb-chapels, that of Hapuseneb would also have had a forecourt open towards the east and bound by steadily sloping side-walls. As it was not cut too deep, to achieve this as well as compensate for any faults or irregularities in the natural bedrock, these side-walls had to be augmented with mud brick. So far only a patch of such a mud-brick wall has been observed and (re-)excavated midway along the court's southern wall (Fig. 7).

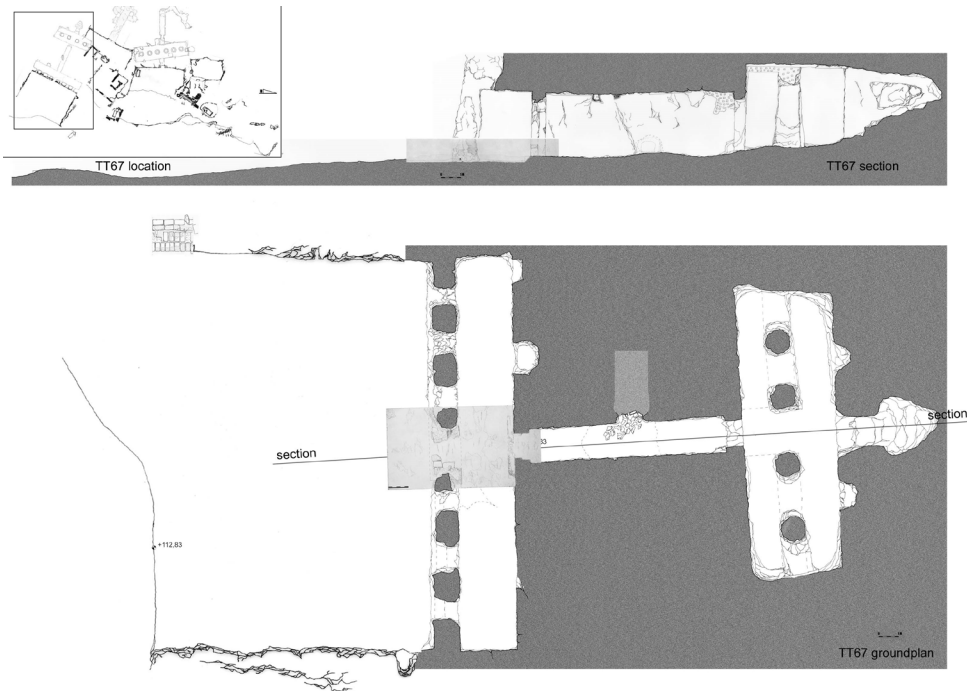


Fig. 7 Ground plan and section of TT 67 (Drawing by M. Nagy and F. Pfeffer)

Externally, the battered façade that would have ultimately received a plaster finish was in part cut from the living rock then built up in part to an unknown height from fieldstones, a feature almost entirely gone today. However, despite the large number of funerary cones carrying three different stamp-types belonging to Hapuseneb that have been unearthed or collected by previous excavators in the wider area, their original position on the façade remains uncertain (Fig. 8).<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> This article was written before the 2014 field season that was entirely dedicated to work on TT 67. Its results have only been included where absolutely necessary. Before 2014 work in TT 67 had been limited to three seasons. In 2003 the architectural recording and survey was started as well as the opening of a small test-trench (1.2m x 1.1m) with the aim of establishing the width and building technique of the mud-brick section of the forecourt's southern wall. In 2007 a 4m x 6m trench was excavated including the area of the entrance to the transverse hall and that to the axial corridor in order to determine and record the original layout and building technique of these parts. In 2011 a systematic photographic survey of the walls and ceilings was started.

<sup>36</sup> Equally problematic is the attribution of MMA Stamped Brick 559385 to TT 67 and its original position.

The interior of the chapel is made up of a transverse hall and a long axial corridor leading back to a further, inner transverse hall of quite an ambitious design. The outer transverse hall, originally cut as a portico of six pillars and two pilasters although never



Fig. 8 A funerary cone of Hapuseneb (DM 518)

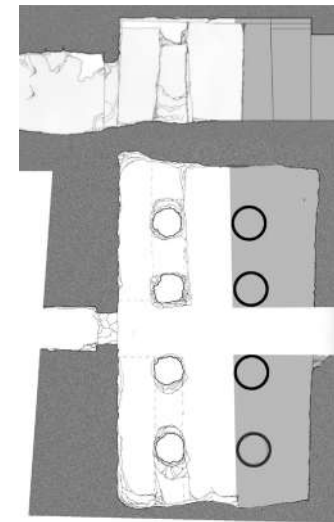


Fig. 9 The originally planned form off the inner transverse hall (Drawing by M. Nagy)

finished to its planned final dimension, was recast at one point by the partial walling up of the intercolumnia with fieldstones. The result was that this formerly open space was transformed into a closed hall lit by windows.<sup>37</sup> With a slightly higher floor level, the narrow axial corridor gave access by way of a carved doorway to a second, inner transverse hall. Representing the arrested progress of the work here caused in all probability by the death of Hapuseneb, is the sharp contrast between what was achieved in the eastern in comparison to the western aisles of this hall. While in the former areas the walls and ceilings received their finer surface dressing and partly their painted decoration, in the latter these stages of work were never reached. Indeed, it only progressed till the course cutting of four columns out of the eight intended, while the walls and floor were left rough cut without making them run true and supplied only partially with plastering.<sup>38</sup> More tellingly, what now appears to be a short corridor leading up to a roughly hewn niche-like space at the western end on closer inspection reveals itself to be the initial cutting of the two central columns separating the third, westernmost aisles from the central one (Fig. 9). Significantly enough and taken together with the different ceiling levels of the eastern and the projected central, now western aisles, it also shows that the original ambition of the architect here was to create a hypostyle-like hall of imposing dimensions comprising four aisles with lower ceiling lines flanking two higher central ones.<sup>39</sup>

Significantly enough, a stamped brick fragment analogous to the MMA one has been now found during the 2014 season, unfortunately with similarly illegible stamps. For the types, see now ZENIHIRO 2009, 54, 202; besides "normal" cones, Hapuseneb also had so-called "short" cones, basically stamped clay pieces with the stamp on one face and rounded off on the other. So far fragments of four of such pieces with stamp type DM 518 have been recovered during excavation. On funerary cones in general, POLZ 2007, 272–279, 297–299; more recently also KRUCK 2012, 19–40.

<sup>37</sup> For the same architectural solution used by Ineni in his tomb-chapel (TT 81) albeit with mud bricks, see DZIOBEK 1992, 17–18, pls. 35–36, 45.

<sup>38</sup> As indicated by the missing column bases, to cut these out of the bedrock, the floor level would have been cut down a further ca. 20 cm.

<sup>39</sup> When the plan was abandoned, the patches of the first-stage cutting of the columns in the western face of the rock were filled with chips and plastered over in order to hide them.

#### 4 THE DECORATIVE PROGRAMME OF THE TOMB

The decoration of Hapuseneb's tomb-chapel was, with one exception, done in paint for which the walls were prepared with lime or gypsum-plaster. Where necessary, chips of limestone were inserted into the base plaster to fill in flaws or smaller fissures in the rock to produce a fine, even finish.<sup>40</sup>

The type of damage suffered by the walls and the near-complete disappearance of its paintings show a remarkable similarity to that found in Senenmut's mortuary chapel (TT 71) higher up the hill. This correspondence in scale and nature of the destruction between the two indicate that rather than intentional human agency, for which there do exist indications otherwise, most of it can be ascribed to the above-described technique used in both tombs that in the long run proved to be unstable and unenduring.<sup>41</sup>

Despite the extensive damage, the basic layout and design of the walls and ceilings can be established nevertheless based on the few remaining traces and evidence provided by other elite mortuary chapels. The rear walls of the transverse hall, thus, would have held parallel scenes depicting the large-scale figure of the tomb-owner Hapuseneb before Hatshepsut (and/or perhaps Thutmose III) seated under a baldachin.<sup>42</sup> This would have been preceded by scenes and images related to Hapuseneb's activities and status. Significantly enough, the only surviving detail on the southern rear wall preserved part of a larger composition that without a doubt presented scenes recounting the famous 'Punt' expedition of Hatshepsut with reference to Hapuseneb's role in it (Fig. 10a-b).<sup>43</sup> Incidentally, the scene also indicates that in and after the year of the expedition – Year 9 of the joint reign – work on the tomb-chapel was still in progress.



Fig. 10a Fragment of the 'Punt scene'

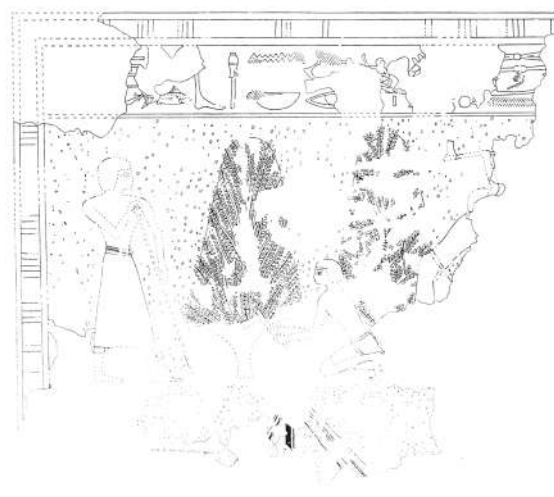


Fig. 10b Drawing of the same (After DAVIES 1961, pl. IV)

<sup>40</sup> A technique extensively used for example in the chapel of Senenmut (TT 71), DORMAN 1991, 26.

<sup>41</sup> For a detailed description, see DORMAN 1991, 66–69. Of the damage inflicted undoubtedly by humans the most conspicuous today are where looters cut or attempted to cut out the heads of the figures of Hapuseneb in two of the inner transverse hall's scenes.

<sup>42</sup> For the scene type, see ENGELMANN-VON CARNAP 1999, 245–246 with Abb. 146; HARTWIG 2004, 54–73; also BÁCS 2006.

<sup>43</sup> DAVIES 1961, 19–20, and pl. IV.

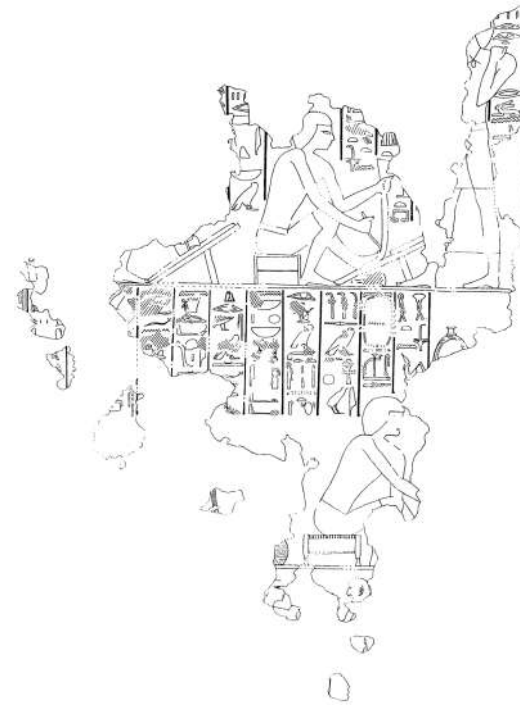


Fig. 11 Sub-scenes of a "Workshop scene" (After DAVIES 1961, pl. V)

On both end walls stelae were carved from the lime-plaster with their incised hieroglyphic texts painted in blue on a white background with the biographical inscriptions of Hapuseneb.<sup>44</sup> From these historically no doubt invaluable texts lamentably all that remain are a mere nine text fragments from the northern stela.

As in the mayor of Thebes Ineni's mortuary chapel (TT 81) that it shared the feature of having walled up intercolumnia with, TT 67 decoration seems to have been restricted to the back of the pillars. Of the original eight, only one fragmentary scene sequence has been preserved on one of these (Fig. 11).<sup>45</sup> Arranged into registers one above the other, and yet again representative of a scene type meant to express the status of Hapuseneb as high priest, it preserves sub-scenes from what is known

as a 'workshop-scene', showing, in this case, craftsmen employed with chariot making.<sup>46</sup>

For most of the axial corridor, plaster only remains in a few patches mostly near the top of the walls. The only fragment of decoration of any significant size to survive in this part of the tomb is to be found at the western end of the northern wall. No more than the head of Hapuseneb's father and its accompanying caption remain here today from a scene that would have shown the seated parents, the third lector-priest of Amun of Karnak, Hapu ("(pure of hands), who does what this noble God (Amun) praises") and the courtier, Ahhotep. The figures were once part of a larger composition, an offering scene, revealing that just as in his Gebel el-Silsila chapel, Hapuseneb integrated the mortuary cult of his parents into his own here as well (Fig. 12). Moreover, as small painted plaster fragments in comparable positions on the opposite southern wall indicate, he may have commemorated them in more than one offering scene here as well, the two scenes then forming also an obverse pair.<sup>47</sup>

The inner transverse hall, as already described, received only a limited amount of final decoration before work eventually stopped in the tomb. Besides a larger part of the ceilings, such were the inner side of the doorway leading into the hall, the eastern wall of the south-eastern aisle, and the inner faces of the abaci of the two central columns.

The doorway's decoration originally would have presented the well-attested genre scene of the royal titulary being offered to on each side by two figures of Hapuseneb.

<sup>44</sup> Originally they would have been perhaps made up of 22 2.5 m long lines each; for SETHE's copies of the fragments, see Urk. IV, 487–488. An analogous scheme is in Ineni's tomb, DZIOBEK 1992, 45, 57.

<sup>45</sup> See Urk. IV, 488–489.

<sup>46</sup> DAVIES 1961, 20–21, pl. V. On the scene type (as her Segment VI 2 in her typology) see conveniently, in ENGELMANN-VON CARNAP 1999, 258–260.

<sup>47</sup> As at Gebel el-Silsila, see CAMINOS – JAMES 1963, pls. 37–38.

The extant traces, however, only preserve enough of the upper part of the scene merely to allow for its identification. Of the south-eastern aisle's wall decoration even less has remained in place, as nothing is preserved below the text band, itself conserved only in sections that served as an upper border to the main wall area.

On the other hand, the two identical scenes on the unusually large abaci of the two central columns have suffered relatively less damage. These show the kneeling and adoring Hapuseneb behind an offering-table facing outward and according to the preserved caption of the northern column, "offering all sweet things" (Fig. 13). The texts of the praise recited by the high priest on each side (addressed to Amun-Re-Harakhti on the preserved northern one) were painted on what were given the appearance of rock-cut architraves.<sup>48</sup>

Finally, as expected, throughout the chapel the ceilings were provided with decoration comprising geometric patterns and bands of hieroglyphs (blue-on-yellow). Drawing on a pool of commonly used patterns for such chapels<sup>49</sup>, some of rather ancient pedigree, some more rarer, six different ones were employed by Hapuseneb's draughtsman and colourist/s (Fig. 14).

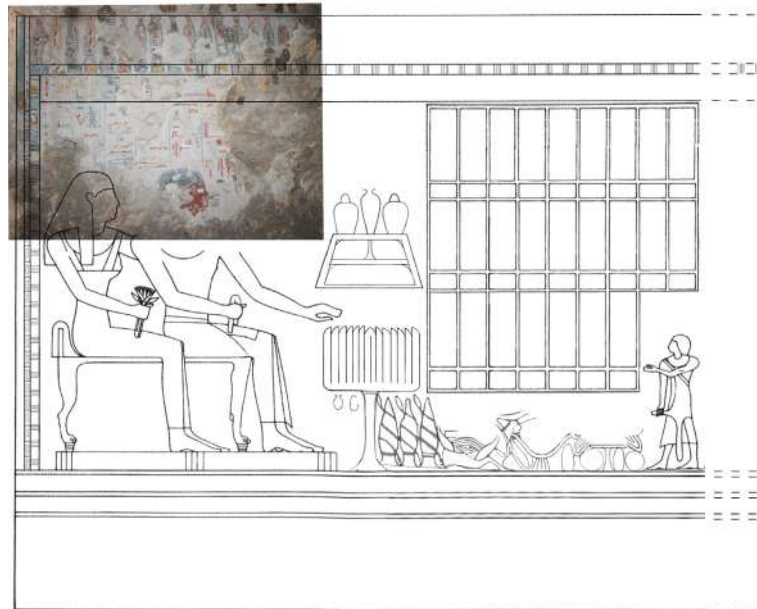


Fig. 12 The offering-scene on the northern wall of the axial corridor (Drawing by M. Nagy)



Fig. 13 The figure of Hapuseneb on the southern central column, inner transverse hall



Fig. 14 Ceiling pattern detail: checkerboard design of alternating rosettes and "labyrinth"-motifs

<sup>48</sup> Actually, these were narrow wall strips resulting from the difference in height between the central ceiling line and those of the aisles.

<sup>49</sup> See, in general FOŘTOVÁ-ŠÁMALOVÁ – VILÍMKOVÁ 1963.

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## Attempts of Reconstruction of an Eighteenth Dynasty Mud Brick Mortuary Chapel in the Theban Necropolis

Zoltán Imre Fábián



**Fig. 1-2** Aerial views of the central part of the Theban necropoleis in 1989 and in 2013 (*Photos by György Csáki and Marianna Fa*). El-Khokha hillock is in the middle of the pictures.

The remains of the mud brick chapel were exposed on the south slope of the el-Khokha hillock in the Theban necropolis in 2008 by the Hungarian Archaeological Mission.<sup>1</sup>

El-Khokha is in the central part of the necropolis, halfway between Deir el-Bahari and the Ramesseum, a quarter of an hour walk from each, somewhat north-east of the Eighteenth Dynasty memorial temple of Thutmosis III, south-east of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, it is in fact the southern slope of el-Assasif (**Fig. 1**).

Hungarian excavations have been carried out in this area since 1983. In the upper rows of the rock cut tombs, research was begun in 1995 with the epigraphic recording of TT 184, a Nineteenth Dynasty monument of Nefermenu, governor of Thebes.<sup>2</sup>

Since then, the landscape has changed a lot (**Fig. 2**), and the research area has also been enlarged (**Fig. 3**). Now, the history of a whole section of the necropolis is being investigated. This section is about 50 m wide, and comprises most of the ancient (and “modern”) monuments in the upper part of the slope (**Figs. 4-5**), which were constructed in all the major periods of ancient Egyptian history.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The excavation and research would have been impossible without the support of the National Cultural Fund (NKA) and the National Scientific Research Fund of Hungary (OTKA), as well as joint scholarships granted by the Hungarian Scholarship Board Office and the Egyptian Ministry of Higher Education. For earlier publications concerning the chapel, see FÁBIÁN 2009 27–30; FÁBIÁN 2010a; FÁBIÁN 2010b; FÁBIÁN 2011a 57–58; FÁBIÁN 2011b 46–47.

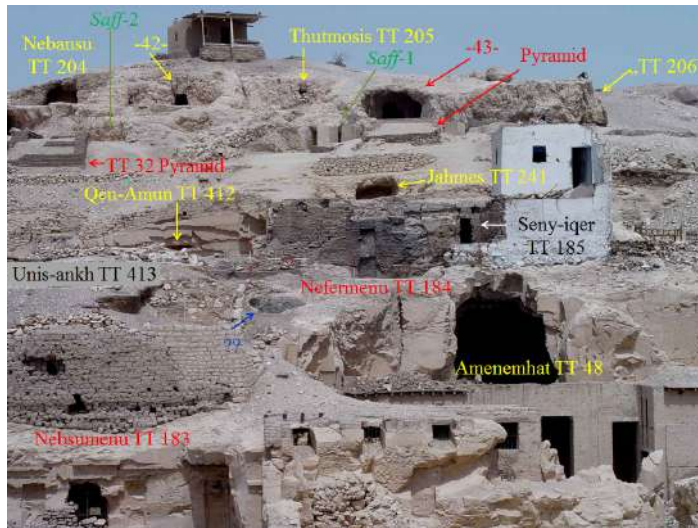
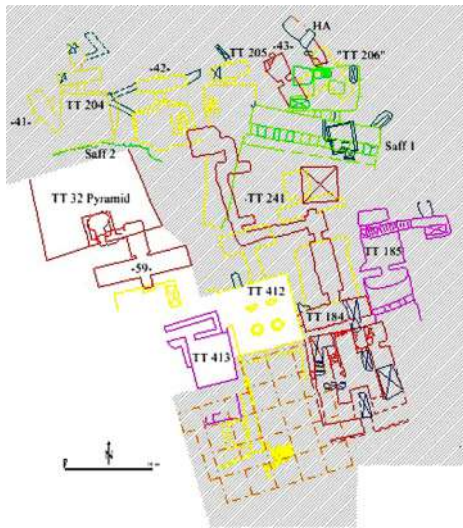
<sup>2</sup> For the general description of the site and the rock tombs previously identified, see PORTER–MOSS 1960; as well as KAMPP 1996.

<sup>3</sup> For my publications on the earlier research at the site, see FÁBIÁN 1997; FÁBIÁN 1999; FÁBIÁN 2000; FÁBIÁN 2002; FÁBIÁN 2005; FÁBIÁN 2005b; FÁBIÁN 2005c; FÁBIÁN 2006; FÁBIÁN 2007; FÁBIÁN 2008; FÁBIÁN 2009; FÁBIÁN 2011a; FÁBIÁN 2011c; FÁBIÁN 2011d.

► **Fig. 3** The south slope of El-Khokha in 2013 (Photo by Marianna Fa). The remains of the mud brick chapel are in the centre, west (left) of the whitewashed modern house.



▼ **Fig. 4-5** Sketch plan and view of the researched area on the south slope of El-Khokha. Colours mark the different periods of the monuments. Black/lilac: Old Kingdom; Green: First Intermediate Period or Middle Kingdom; Yellow: Eighteenth Dynasty; Red: Nineteenth Dynasty.



The architectural layout of the site with the decorated rock cut tombs and subsequent reuses is rather complex. This is the place where Dr. Mohamed Saleh (later the director of the Cairo Museum, then in the 1960's, a local inspector) excavated in the most ancient known decorated Theban tombs, which had been created in the late Old Kingdom, among others, TT 413 of Unis-ankh. However, he could expose and publish only a part of this tomb.<sup>4</sup>

As in 2008, it was possible to dig around the forecourt of Unis-ankh's tomb, there was some hope to expose its unknown parts.

Though the modern building called Bet Boghdady was still standing there, we began our work in 3 x 3 m squares in order to learn more about this Theban Old Kingdom monument. Soon, however, near the surface, the remains of the small mud brick edifice were exposed (Figs. 6-7).

It was indeed built in the forecourt of Unis-ankh's monument, but on high debris, with a south-north orientation (Figs. 8-9), considering its painted decoration, during the Eighteenth Dynasty, in the 15<sup>th</sup> century B.C, some seven centuries later than Unis-ankh's tomb. It

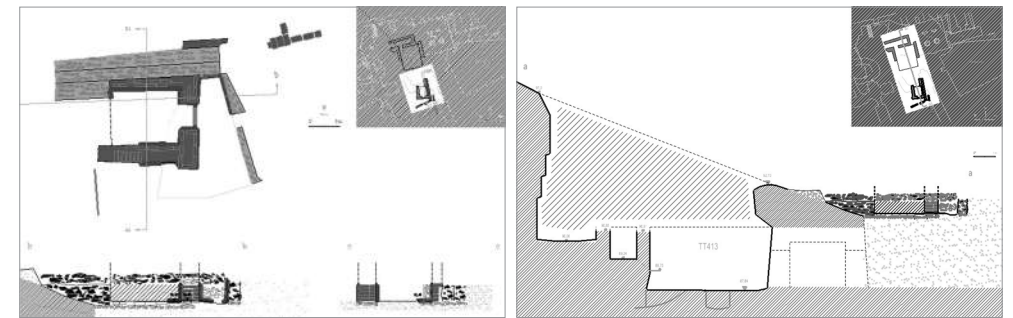
<sup>4</sup> SALEH 1970; SALEH 1977; besides the adjacent TT 412 (Qen-Amun): SALEH 1983.



**Fig. 6-7** Remains of the painted mud brick chapel in the forecourt of TT 413 (Unis-ankh), and a closer view, both from the north.

seems to be contemporary with TT 412, Qen-Amun's tomb, Unis-ankh's eastern neighbour.<sup>5</sup>

In front of the small building, a low stone wall supported the debris. Only the inner side of this wall was plastered, as well as the pavement around the building (Figs. 10-11). In front of the entrance, a small hole can be observed in the plastering. The entrance of the chapel on its southern side could probably be approached from the west.



**Fig. 8** Plan and sections of the mud brick chapel (Survey and drawing by Katalin Wéberné Jánossy).

**Fig. 9** N-S section of the mud brick chapel as related to TT 413 (Unis-ankh). (Survey and drawing by Katalin Wéberné Jánossy).



**Fig. 10-11** The mud brick chapel from south and north-west with the surrounding plastered pavement and the low stone wall supporting the debris in front of the entrance.

<sup>5</sup> For the dating of the chapel considering its paintings, see FÁBIÁN 2010a = FÁBIÁN 2010b, with further literature.

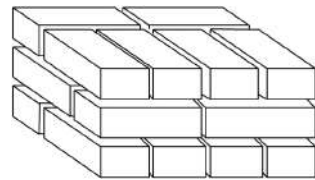
The façade of the building was formed pylon-like. The eastern and northern walls of the edifice are joined to the sidewall of Unis-ankh's forecourt and to the upper part of its façade. The bricks of the rear part show that this part of the building was burnt down (Fig. 12).

The forecourt of Unis-ankh's tomb must have been covered by high debris during the Eighteenth Dynasty, the floor of the mud brick building is at a 3.5 m higher level than that of Unis-ankh's inner room.

The façade and the sidewalls of the chapel have survived about 1 m high, consisting of mostly nine rows of bricks. The mud bricks are of different sizes; most of them are, however, 36 x 16 x 10 cm. The western wall is one and a half brick-length in thickness (52–53 cm = probably an intended 1 cubit), with a regular bonding technique providing a combination of a longitudinal row and a diagonally laid row of bricks<sup>6</sup> (Figs. 13–14). The bonding in the other surviving walls is more irregular. Of the northern, rear wall only traces survive, but both the inner and outer corners can be identified. The inside measurements of the small building are 1.80 x 2.25 m (perhaps an intended 24 x appr. 30 palms). For the bonding, as well as for the plastering of the walls, only white *muna* (*hibe*) was applied. The floor was plastered in the height of the first brick row of the wall, on a base of small stones.



**Fig. 12** The north-eastern corner of the chapel joined on to the façade of TT 413 (Unis-ankh). The bricks obviously indicate that this part of the edifice was once burnt down.

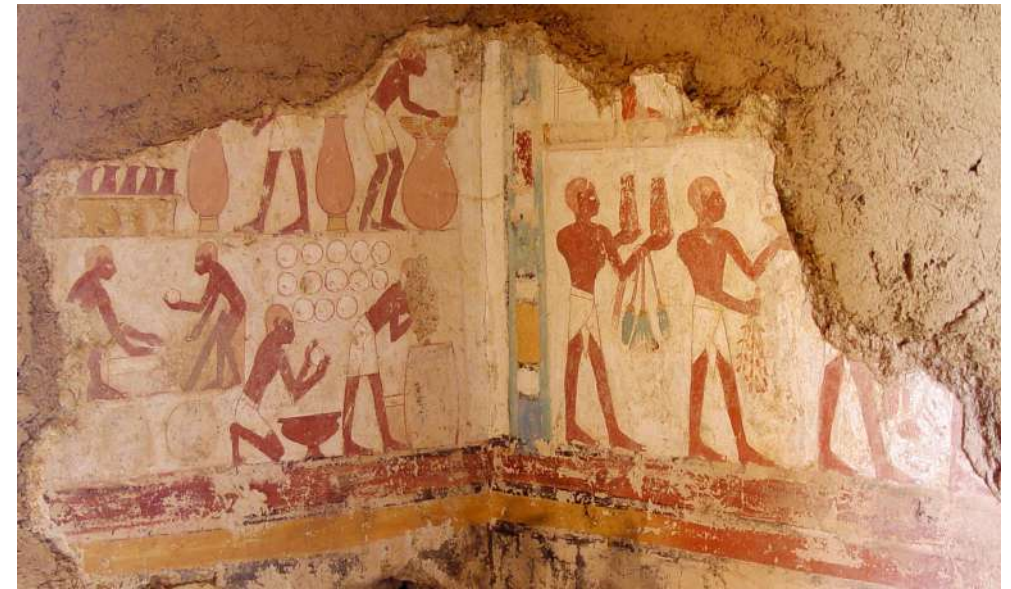


**Fig. 13–14** The western wall of the chapel showing the bonding technique of the bricks.

As opposed to the external surfaces of the walls, inside, they were decorated with paintings. These were arranged above a black plinth and a red-yellow *dado* (Fig. 15).

The mud brick building decorated with paintings similar to those in rock cut monuments, can put forward the question of its function. No burial place that could possibly be interpreted as belonging to this edifice has been found as yet, but it may have been part, perhaps the superstructure of a nearby rock cut monument.<sup>7</sup> Its mortuary character is however obvious on the basis of the painted decoration.

It was urgent to protect this small monument and its paintings, so the paintings were cleaned. Then another row of bricks was added to the walls, and the unpainted surfaces



**Fig. 15** Paintings in the south-west corner of the chapel.



**Fig. 16–17** The chapel after the cleaning of the paintings and partial reconstruction, and its actual outlook, protected with a plywood cover.



▲ **Fig. 19a-b** Remains of paintings on the western thickness in the entrance.

◄ **Fig. 18** The entrance of the chapel with the threshold and the eastern thickness.

were plastered with light *muna* following the original technique (Fig. 16). Now, the edifice is covered with plywood (Fig. 17).

For the planning of later restoration and reconstruction it has to be taken into account, however, that the original purpose of the excavation in this place was the forecourt and

<sup>6</sup> See SPENCER 1979 Pl. 1: type A2.

<sup>7</sup> The decorated mud brick chapel is in the axis of (Kampp) -64- of Amenhotep, which is situated between TT 32 (Djehutimes) and TT 183 (Nebsumenu), in the lowest row of tombs on the southern slope of el-Khoka; their relationship cannot be ruled out.

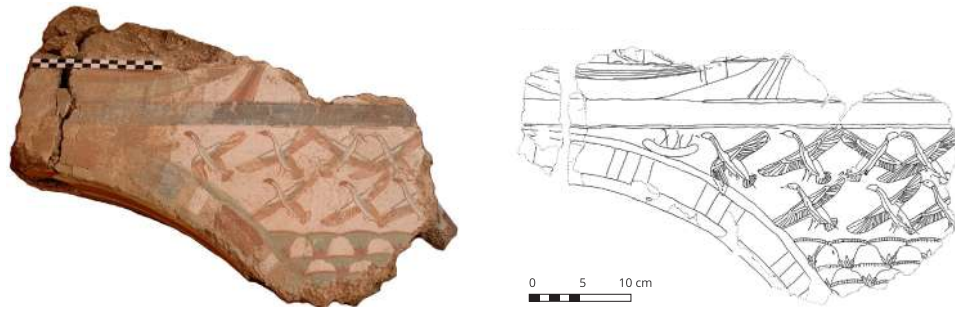


Fig. 20a-b Remains of the decorated surface above the entrance on a larger fragment.



Fig. 21 Red and white striped decoration of the vaulted ceiling in the entrance on the larger fragment.

Fig. 22 Curved bricks probably from the ceiling.

the façade of Unis-ankh's tomb, which is certainly hindered by the fact that this small monument was exposed here.

As for further architectural characters, in the entrance, the characteristic features of the threshold and the jambs can mostly be understood (Fig. 18). They must have been inserted wooden or perhaps sandstone elements, but only their nests survive. These were carved in the brick walls after the brick rows were laid. There must have been a wooden door, opening inside, to the left; the groove can be seen behind the threshold. On the western thickness of the entrance, the painting of the owner's figure can be seen as he is stepping out of the chapel (Figs. 19a-b). On the other side, a parallel representation was probably depicted with the owner's figure stepping inside.

A larger fragment, containing whole bricks too (Figs. 20a-b), suggests that the entrance was vaulted. The ceiling of the entrance was decorated with red and white stripes (Fig. 21). The ceiling of the building was probably similarly vaulted; among the fallen bricks, there are several curved ones (Fig. 22).

## PAINTINGS

As for the paintings, smaller or larger parts of them have remained to us on all the four walls, and as we have just seen, even from the entrance. During the excavation, however, several further painting fragments were found, partly fallen from the sidewalls, and from the collapsed ceiling too.

On both sides of the entrance wall, a part of the so-called workmen's scenes has survived, where the preparation of beer is depicted<sup>8</sup> (Figs. 23a-b and 24a-b).

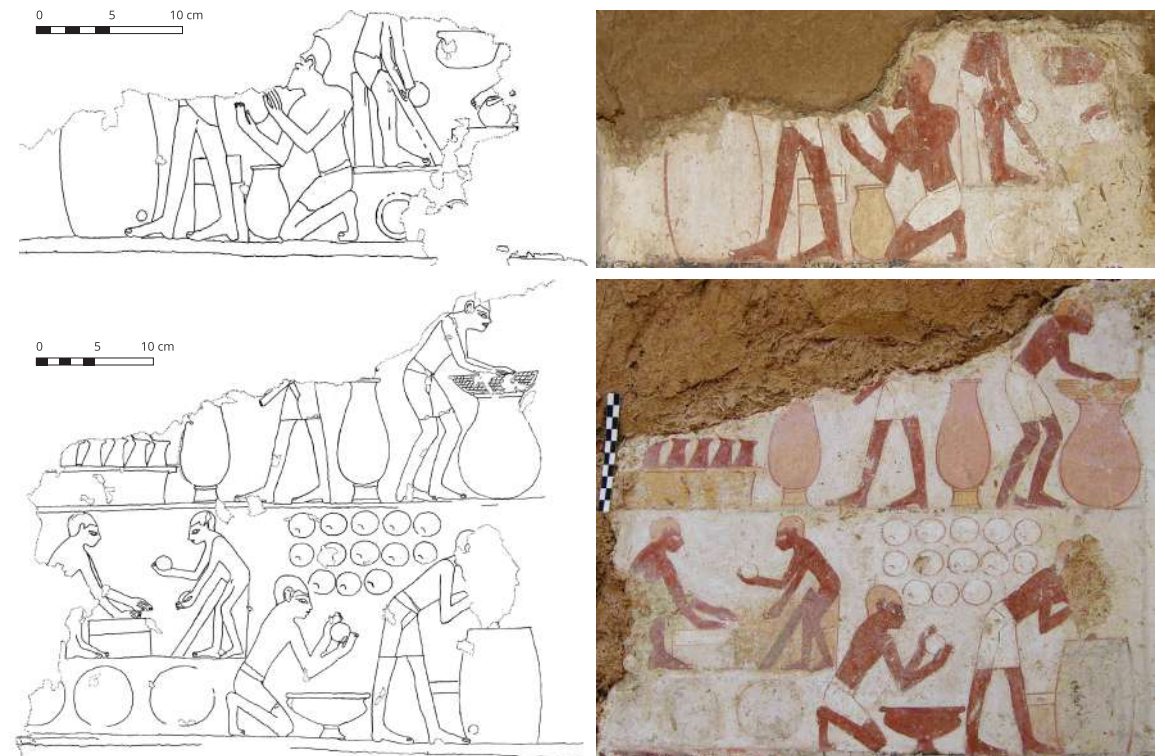
<sup>8</sup> For the rather ample and near contemporary representation of beer brewing, see TT 93 (Qen-Amun, Amenhotep II). For the explanations of the working process, see DAVIES 1930, I, 51, and Pl. LVIII. A further representation of the same topic also frequently cited is in TT 17 (Neb-Amun, Amenhotep II) published by ŠAVE-SÖDERBERGH 24,

On the western side of the entrance, two lower registers (h: 39 cm, w: 54 cm) have remained to us, on the eastern side only one register (h: 16 cm, w: 50 cm). On the basis of the surviving lower registers, we can suppose that the same scenes were depicted on each side, the same phases of the working process in beer brewing were shown mirrored. The scenes are not identical in every detail though, the vessels and the movements of the workmen are different in certain places.

The persons depicted in the beer brewing scenes are all men. Their skin is brownish red, their nails are white, they wear a short kilt, and a further character of their representation is that their hair was not painted black, it is pink. The reading direction of the details in the beer brewing scenes seems to be from the inside towards the corners.

A group of fragments found nearby must be supposed to have belonged to the decoration of the entrance wall. Some fit in the thematic group of beer brewing, and on two pieces the remains of the block border can also be recognized.<sup>9</sup> This decoration element is not present in the outer corners of the entrance wall. The two fragments could, thus, originally be on the western wall surface, directly beside the entrance. For the position of the other fragments only some hypothetical propositions can be put forward for the moment (Fig. 25).

Besides the beer brewers, there are other fragments that may also have been on the entrance wall. The larger fragment mentioned above (Figs. 20a-b), with elaborately painted details could be part of the vault of the entrance, and the entrance wall. Here, above the door, at least two boats were represented. The fowls and the plants depicted here



▲▲ Fig. 23a-b Beer brewers on the eastern part of the entrance wall.

▲ Fig. 24a-b Beer brewers on the western part of the entrance wall.

Pl. XXII; otherwise: WRESZINSKI 1926.

<sup>9</sup> For the origins and types of the decoration element, see MACKAY 1916.



**Fig. 25** Beer brewer fragments with their possible arrangement on both sides of the entrance. The green line indicates the probable position of the block border.

make it probable that above and beside the upper part of the entrance, above the beer brewing scenes, marshland fishing and hunting scenes were represented.

The vaulted edge was framed with a block border. The presence of this element in this position can confirm our earlier observation regarding the two fragments of beer brewing, that block borders framed the entrance.

In the upper part of the fragment, above a blue stripe of water, the prow part of a boat and two red feet survive. On the right, a detail of a further boat can be seen. Both these boats seem to proceed in the same direction, to the right.

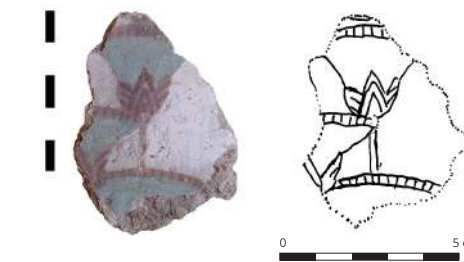
Below the blue stripe of water, above some rows of papyrus flowers, precisely finished water birds are flying in two rows, in an artistic arrangement.

Some further, smaller fragments may also have belonged to this composition. One represents papyrus flowers (**Figs. 26a-b**).

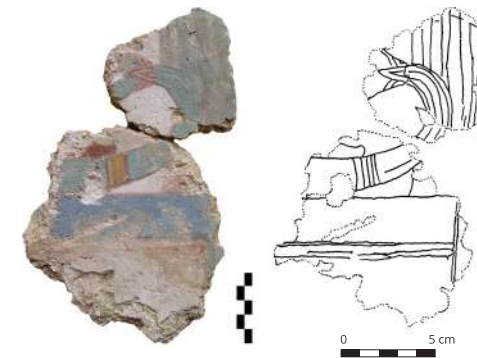
Another fragment group could be joined from two pieces. Here, above the blue stripe of water, the prow of a papyrus boat is depicted, which proceeds in the marsh, and a part of the red foot of the man on the boat is also preserved (**Figs. 27a-b**).

Another unit of fragments joined from four pieces represents a man with a harpoon and a lady, who tenderly touches him (**Figs. 28a-b**). The couple is turning to the left, where their boat may have proceeded.

It is difficult to locate these fragments in the composition (**Figs. 29a-b**), but perhaps the blue stripe above the harpooning man can give us some basis for the approximate position of this detail. It could be either below the blue stripe of the water of the two-boat register, in that of the birds and the papyri, or the blue stripe may have marked the sky and not the water. Its position was in any case on the right side of the composition, as the slightly curved line on its right, partly covered by the harpooner's hand must have been



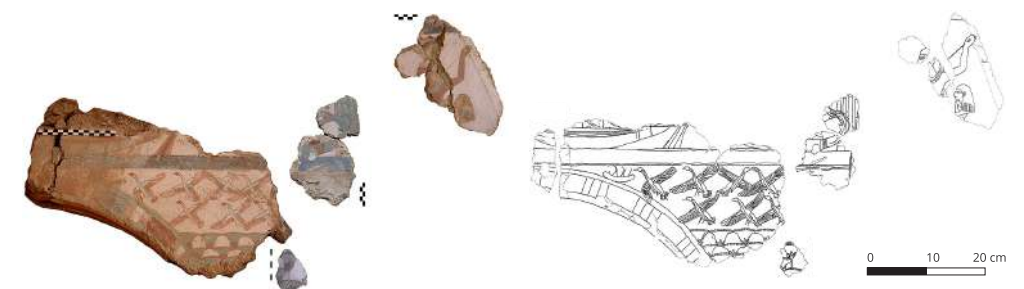
**Fig. 26a-b** Papyrus flowers probably from the entrance wall.



**Fig. 27a-b** Prow part of a papyrus boat proceeding in the marsh, with remains of the red foot of a man in the boat.



**Fig. 28a-b** The harpooner fragments probably from the upper part of the entrance wall.



**Fig. 29a-b** A possible reconstruction of the positions of the painted fragments in the upper part of the entrance wall.

a borderline in the corner of the painting and the vaulted ceiling.

The painting remains of the eastern sidewall are very fragmentary (**Fig. 30**). Above the lower *dado*, merely three smaller fragments have survived. In the corner of the rear wall, a yellow lady can be identified seated on a throne, probably a goddess, and in front of her, an adoring man's red feet (**Figs. 31a-b**).

The fragment in the middle of the wall surface has preserved a man's two legs and feet going left, towards the entrance (**Figs. 32a-b**). The third fragment is in the corner of the entrance wall (**Figs. 33a-b**). Above the *dado*, the detail of the vertical block border can be seen and beside this, a sort of a grating pattern, which was probably a detail of an offering list.

On the rear wall of the chapel, only some remains of the north-eastern corner



Fig. 30 Remains of paintings on the eastern wall.



Fig. 31a-b Yellow lady, probably a goddess, seated on a throne in the corner of the eastern wall; in front of her: an adoring man's red feet.

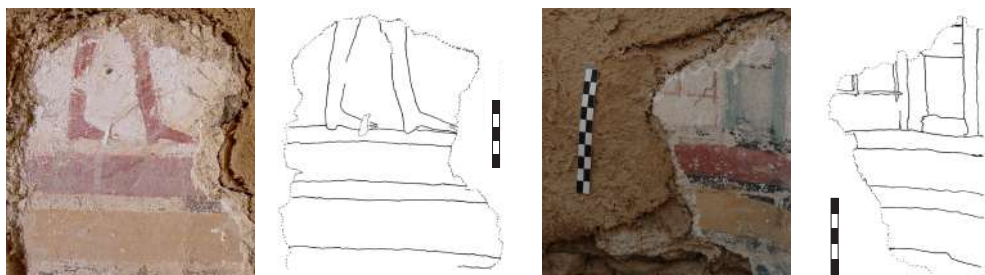


Fig. 32a-b Red feet of an offering bearer (?) in the middle of the eastern wall.



Fig. 33a-b Remains of the vertical block border and the grating pattern, on the eastern wall, at the corner of the entrance wall.

have remained to us. With these however the inner measurements of the edifice can be reconstructed. Here, above the *dado*, which apparently ran all around below the decorated surfaces, in the corner, the remains of the vertical block border element can be recognized (Figs. 34a-b).

The western wall has preserved a larger section of paintings in the corner (Figs. 35a-b). Above the *dado*, the vertical block border can be reconstructed. In front of this, in the lower register (h: 28 cm), offering bearers proceed towards the inside of the chapel.

The painted details of these men are similar to the beer brewers; all of them, however, wear the kilt type with the pointed middle part.

In the register above the offering bearers, the legs of a man's chair and his red feet can be seen, and another man's foot stepping in front of him. This was perhaps a part of a banquet scene?

From a number of fragmentary pieces, we could reassemble an almost one meter wide part of a painting (Figs. 36a-b), but only virtually. The paintings were traced on transparent paper by fragment-pairs, and then the drawings reassembled. Then the photos were placed below the drawings on computer, and finally the drawings removed.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Marianna Fa and Zsuzsanna Köllő assisted in the adjusting of the fragments and their tracings, and in the graphic solutions necessary for the publication, for which I am grateful.



Fig. 34a-b The only remains of the decoration of the rear wall: dado and vertical block border in the north-east corner.

This part of the painting represents two registers of offering bearers (h: 25 cm) and an offering person who occupies the height of both the upper two registers. In front of this man, there are a large jar, an offering table with a dead bird, and then the empty chart of the usual offering list.

Below the row of the offering bearers, there must have been a further register probably with other offering bearers and offerings. Here, even some signs of a hieroglyphic inscription survive in a horizontal line (*šsp in wdn [...]* and after a long *lacuna*, a human figure, probably a determinative). The text may have referred to the receiving of offerings.



Fig. 35a-b Painted remains of the western wall: offering bearers in the lower register and a seated man with the red foot of an offering person above them.

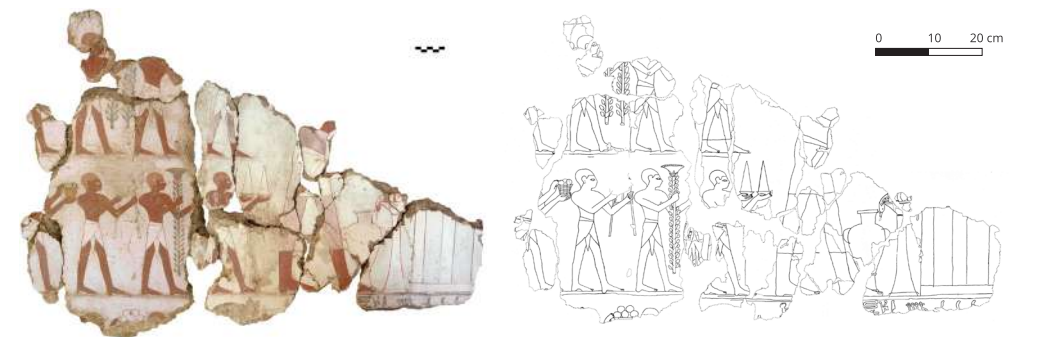


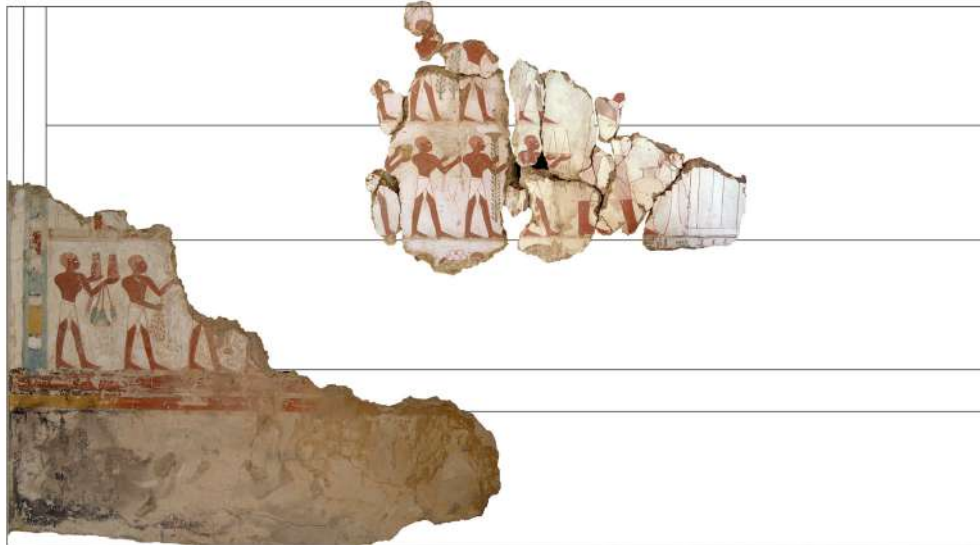
Fig. 36a-b Offering bearers reconstructed from several fragments.

It is tempting to position this large painting part on the western wall, around its offering bearers, but a part of these fragments also contained larger wall-remains, even whole bricks, and the western wall has survived around a metre in height. If we still insist on the west wall, the reassembled fragments could only be above this height (Fig. 37).

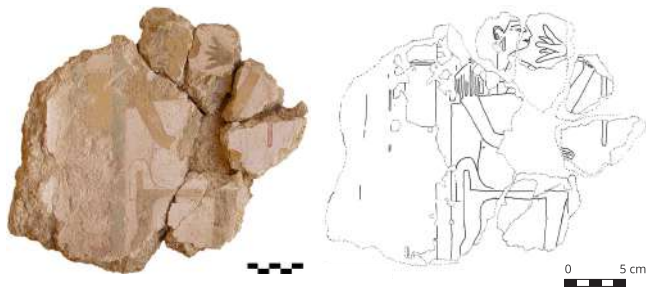
If we were able to place it accurately on-to this wall, even the exact height of the wall could be defined, because above one of the offering bearers in the upper row, remains of

a horizontal block border can also be observed, and this cannot be anything else but the upper edge of the decoration of the sidewall.

What can be considered most certain, however, is that this reassembled part of the paintings comes from the uppermost registers of one of the sidewalls. Nevertheless, it is possible that we should take in consideration four registers with the reconstruction and not three as is shown in the reconstructed picture.



▲ Fig. 37 A possible position of the offering bearers fragments on the western wall.



◀ Fig. 38a-b The yellow lady fragments from one of the corners.

Some further groups of painted fragments can also expand our knowledge on the rich decoration program of the chapel. I would like to demonstrate two groups now. One has been reassembled from six fragments and represents a yellow lady, who is enjoying the odour of a lotus flower (Figs. 38a-b). This can be a characteristic element of a banquet scene, and it was without doubt in one of the corners of the walls, for the vertical block border is clearly visible behind the lady.

Another group of fragments proves the presence of at least one sailboat in the decoration program. The nine fragments depict the details of the vessel sailing to the right, and those of the crew.

The picture has been reconstructed on the basis of available near contemporary parallel boat representations, and one of Menna's (TT 69) famous boats has proved to be the best parallel. The photo of Menna's boat has been mirrored, as in the original painting it is sailing to the left; and our fragments are projected on this picture (Fig. 39). The arrangement of the two paintings seems to be so identical that it is rather probable that the artist of the mud brick chapel and that of Menna's tomb had one and the same model or

"sample book", and it cannot even be ruled out that the artist of the two paintings was one and the same person.

No significant hieroglyphic inscription has remained to us on the walls or in the fragments. The owner's name is still unknown. However, a lot of fragments also contain text



Fig. 39 Reconstruction of the sailing boat fragments on the mirrored image of Menna's boat (TT 69).

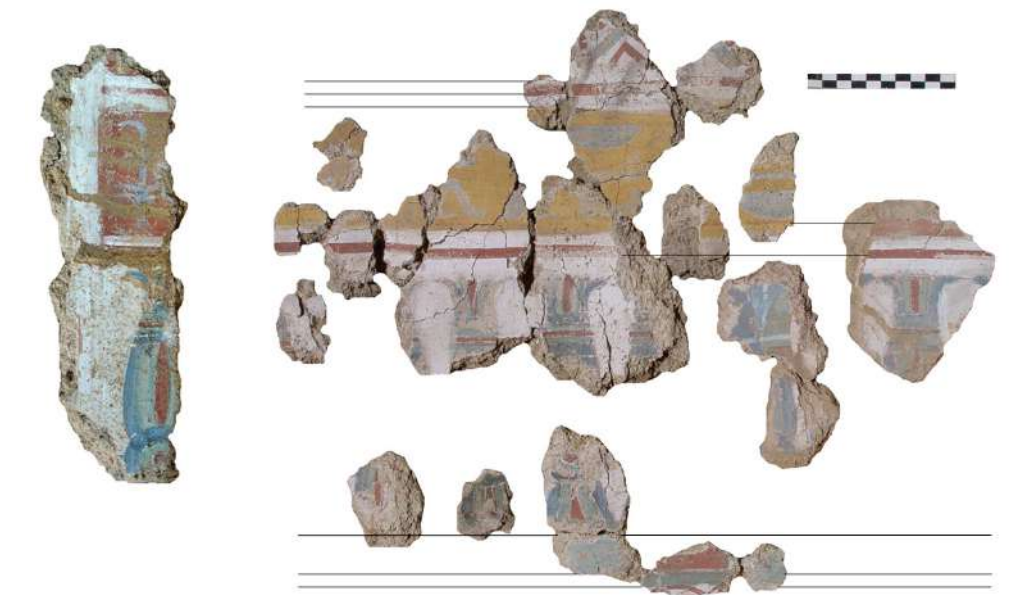


Fig. 40 Fragments of the heker frieze and the horizontal line of the hieroglyphic inscription above it and below the carpet pattern of the ceiling.

remains, proving that the pictorial representations were accompanied by inscriptions. One of these fragment groups clearly proves that above the pictorial registers, above the horizontal block border, one of the most frequent bordering element, the *heker*-frieze was depicted (Fig. 40).

Above the *heker-s*, between red lines, remains of a horizontal line of a hieroglyphic inscription can be read. The original place of the upper left fragment was surely one of the corners. The text began here, it was to be read from left to right, and probably the first sign of the most frequent offering formula (*hṯp dj nswt*) can be seen painted in blue; while the background colour appears to be red.

Several other fragments with also blue hieroglyphic signs may indicate that their background colour was yellow. As we could observe during the excavation that the rear part, especially the north-western corner of the chapel had been burnt down, we can presume that the yellow ochre background of the fragment with the initial sign of the formula must have become red in the fire, and that the fragment came from this part of the building.

The case may be similar with another fragment, which was probably part of the same text (Figs. 41a-b). It probably contains a part of the owner's title, two hieroglyphs painted in blue: [...] *sš n* [...]. Now, at last we know something about this person: he was a scribe, perhaps a royal scribe.

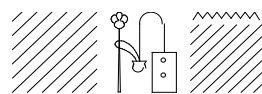


Fig. 41a-b The scribe fragment, probably a part of the owner's title.

In the fragment group which appears above the *heker-frieze* and depicts blue hieroglyphs on a yellow background, the reconstruction of the text is not yet possible. It is clear however, that it is to be read from right to left, as opposed to the hieroglyphs on red background on the other two fragments. The two groups were thus parts of different texts, and the yellow ones come from another part of the wall.

As below the *heker-s*, there are the remains of the horizontal block border closing the pictorial registers of a wall, and above the text-line, those of the carpet pattern of the ceiling, we can reconstruct the height of these decoration elements, which were above the pictorial registers. This can be 26–27 cm, similar to the height of the pictorial registers.

This result can be significant, because, as on the top part of the large fragment group depicting the two registers of the offering bearers, we could identify the horizontal block border, it seems to be possible to reconstruct the overall height of the sidewalls, too. For the moment, however, let us return to the fragments with hieroglyphic inscriptions, possibly from the ceiling.

On a further fragment group, we can see once again blue hieroglyphs on red background, with a red separating line on white background, and on the other side of this, once again a red background (Fig. 42). One can again presume that the background was originally yellow, and the plaster indeed indicates burning. Again, the remains of the text are not sufficient for the reconstruction of the inscription, but it is enough to understand that the text was written in a vertical column. The text could be written either in one of the corners, or perhaps framing a niche (?), but what is much more probable is that the text columns ran along the ceiling somewhere, but not at the edge of the carpet pattern, rather in the middle of the ceiling, in the axis of the vault.

From the decoration of the ceiling, fragments of only one single pattern type have come to light during the excavation.<sup>11</sup> It is a characteristic composition found in several Eight-

<sup>11</sup> For the rich material and types of carpet patterns, see FOŘTOVÁ-ŠÁMALOVÁ-VILÍMKOVÁ 1963.

eenth Dynasty Theban (and non-Theban) tombs, – among others, in Menna's TT 69 (Fig. 44), whose sailing-bark representation has just helped us in the reconstruction of our bark and its crew.



Fig. 42 Fragment group with blue hieroglyphs actually on red background probably from the ceiling.

Fig. 43 Ceiling fragments with carpet pattern above the heker-frieze and the text bandeau.

Fig. 44 Menna's carpet pattern of the ceiling in TT 69.

## ARCHITECTURAL RECONSTRUCTION

As for the architectural reconstruction, I do not know any other, essentially free-standing, at least near contemporary edifice similar to our chapel, which was built of mud bricks and decorated with paintings of funerary character.<sup>12</sup>

Closer parallels in measurements and architectural elements are perhaps the Middle Kingdom memorial chapels in Abydos.<sup>13</sup>

After all, for an architectural reconstruction, the pieces of information collected during the excavation could be applied. The starting points of my constructions and drawings are, thus, frequently, almost in the case of each step, uncertain and hypothetical.

For the reconstruction of the height of the sidewalls, as we have seen, the starting point can be the overall height of the painting remains on the western wall, the reassembled pieces of the fragment group with the offering bearers, and the *heker-frieze* with the horizontal line of the hieroglyphic inscription above it. While preparing the following constructions (Fig. 45), drawings and models, a three-registered sidewall was taken as a starting point. In case there were four pictorial registers, the height of the sidewall may have been 25–30 cm more than the here constructed figures.

Whether the jump of the ceiling was right above the *heker-frieze* or only above the yellow text band cannot be clearly understood from the surfaces of the fragments.

<sup>12</sup> The mud brick constructions of the Theban necropoleis are rarely published, those of later periods are better documented: EIGNER 1984; SCHREIBER-VASÁROS 2005, with the possible parallels of the reconstruction.

<sup>13</sup> O'CONNOR 2009, 92–96, esp. Figs. 45–47; O'CONNOR 1979.

The ceiling must have started very steeply. In my drawing, I have attempted to represent the inscription stripe as already part of the ceiling. Thus the height of the sidewalls in the relatively small edifice seems to have been 1.5 m, which perhaps seems to be too low.

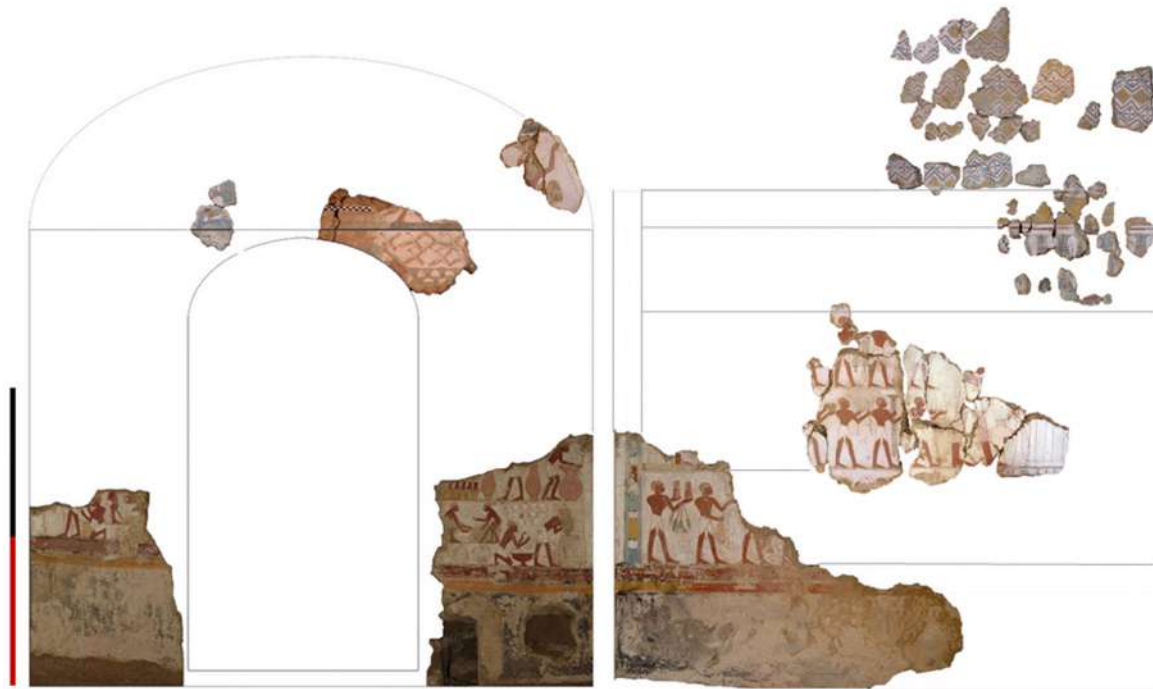


Fig. 45 Reconstruction of the front and western walls with painted fragments.

The reconstruction of the vault of the ceiling has been based on two presumptions. One is that one of the characteristic lines of the entrance wall could be in the same height as the jump of the ceiling at the sidewalls. The other is that the architect may have followed a similar line while constructing the ceiling of the room and that of the entrance.

Such a characteristic line can be the blue water-stripe separating the boats and the birds on the entrance wall, perhaps its lower line. If the fragment is placed on the entrance wall, its arch can be applied for the construction of the ceiling line.

The result is that the height of the entrance cannot have been more than 1.5 m, and the maximum inner height of the small edifice was around 2.20 m. I have to emphasize, however, that the four-pictorial-register reconstruction of the sidewalls is also to be taken into account. In this case, another 25–30 cm should be added to the reconstructed height. Perhaps this is a more realistic, and more probable possibility, and the proportions may change somewhat.

After the inner space of the building, we can turn our attention now to the external architectural elements. Here, our starting point can be that the thickness of the vaulted roof must have been similar to that of the sidewalls, which supported it (i.e. 52–53 cm = 1 cubit). The height of the building could be, thus, around 2.7–2.8 m; in the case of four-registered sidewalls, around 3 m.

With the external reconstruction, the most problems can be caused by the understanding of the pylon-like façade in the context of the arched roofing. In the following, I would like to show three models that I have prepared. In the first one (Figs. 46a-b), the arched roof is simply placed on the sidewalls. The outlines of the façade thus follow those

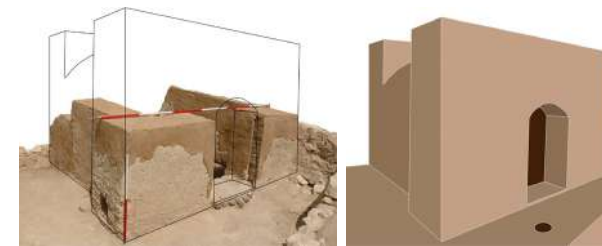
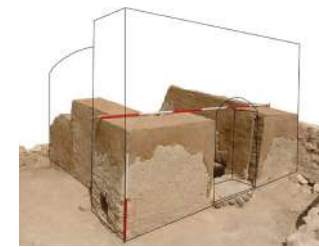
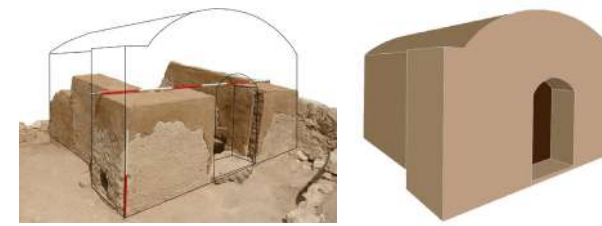


Fig. 46a-b, 47a-b, 48a-b Possible models for the architectural reconstruction of the chapel.

of the arched roofing of the building, similarly to the Abydos memorial chapels, but there is a buttress on the side. However, this model seems to be rather clumsy and not very functional.

In the second model (Figs. 47a-b) the pylon-like character of the façade can prevail. The façade wall is raised to the height of the arched roof, and this had some role in the stability of the building, too. This seems to be a more realistic possibility.

The third model (Figs. 48a-b) also takes into consideration the stability problem of the arched roofing, and besides the façade, also in the rear, a revetment wall is proposed in the height of the arched roof.

In its model, I have marked the low stone wall in front of the entrance and the sidewall of Unis-ankh's forecourt, too, as well as the small hole that can be seen at the entrance in the plastered floor.

No significant find referring to its function has come to light from this hole, but the reconstruction drawings of the memorial chapels in Abydos show that in the little court, a plant was growing. Perhaps our little hole is the trace of a similar feature.

In the vicinity of the painted mud brick chapel, further excavation is not possible at the moment. Earlier digging on its western side, however, pointed out that below it, a further edifice had also been built on the level of Unis-ankh's forecourt.

In order to explore this as well as the unknown parts of Unis-ankh's Old Kingdom tomb, while preserving what has remained to us from the painted chapel too, rather difficult procedures are to be taken.

The attempts of the reconstruction of the painted chapel, however, even if only in a virtual form at the moment, will hopefully help its physical reconstruction – in the proper place and in the proper time.

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## From Tuthmosis III to Antoninus Pius Glimpses into the History of Theban Tomb -400-

Gábor Schreiber

The concession area of the Hungarian Archaeological Mission's South Khokha Project extends in a broad tier from the base to the top of the el-Khokha hillock with such tombs as Theban Tomb (henceforth TT) 32 (Djehutymes), TT -64- (Amenhotep), TT -400- (Khamin), TT 179 (Nebamun), TT -59- (Bakenamun), and TT -61- (Amenhotep). The study of this area, remarkably rich in history due to its central location within the Theban necropolis, encompasses a programme of combined archaeological, architectural, epigraphic and physical anthropological investigations. Having completed the excavation of TT 32 and TT -61- by 2006, the focus of archaeological fieldwork shifted in 2007 onto TT -400-, a Ramesside rock-cut tomb formerly unknown to Egyptology.<sup>1</sup>

This tomb, situated in the first necropolis-street of el-Khokha directly to the west of the tomb of Djehutymes (TT 32), was discovered during the 1984 field campaign of the Hungarian Archaeological Mission through a secondary burial chamber which connects the sloping passages of TT -400- and 32. A sketch map of the tomb, based on the observations of E. Egyed, then surveyor of the mission, was published by László Kákosy in one of his preliminary reports on TT 32.<sup>2</sup> The international scholarly community recognized the existence of the tomb after the map was re-published in the acts of the conference *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen*.<sup>3</sup> In 1996 the tomb was listed by the German Egyptologist Friederike Kampp as No. -400-,<sup>4</sup> but its date, layout, iconographic programme, owners and history remained cloaked in mystery until excavation of the monument began in 2007. In that year we excavated the heap of rubble 5-6 metres in height covering the entire forecourt of the tomb, and cleared the entrance to the transverse hall.



**Fig. 1** Entrance scene. Western thickness of the entrance to TT -400- (Drawing: F. Tortoriello)

<sup>1</sup> The excavation project has received financial support from the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund (OTKA Grant No. K 105313).

<sup>2</sup> KÁKOSY 1994, 22.

<sup>3</sup> KÁKOSY 1995a, 50.

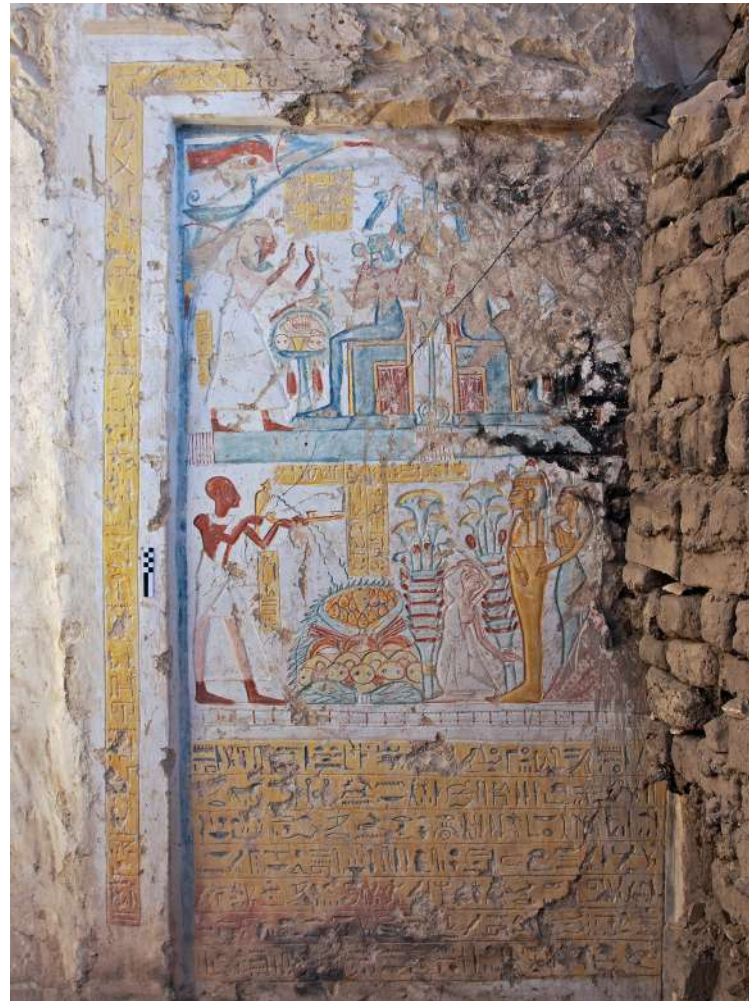
<sup>4</sup> KAMPP 1996, 223, 769, fig. 126.



**Fig. 2** Detail of a scene in the transverse hall of TT -400- with the name of Khamin (Photo: L. Mátyus)

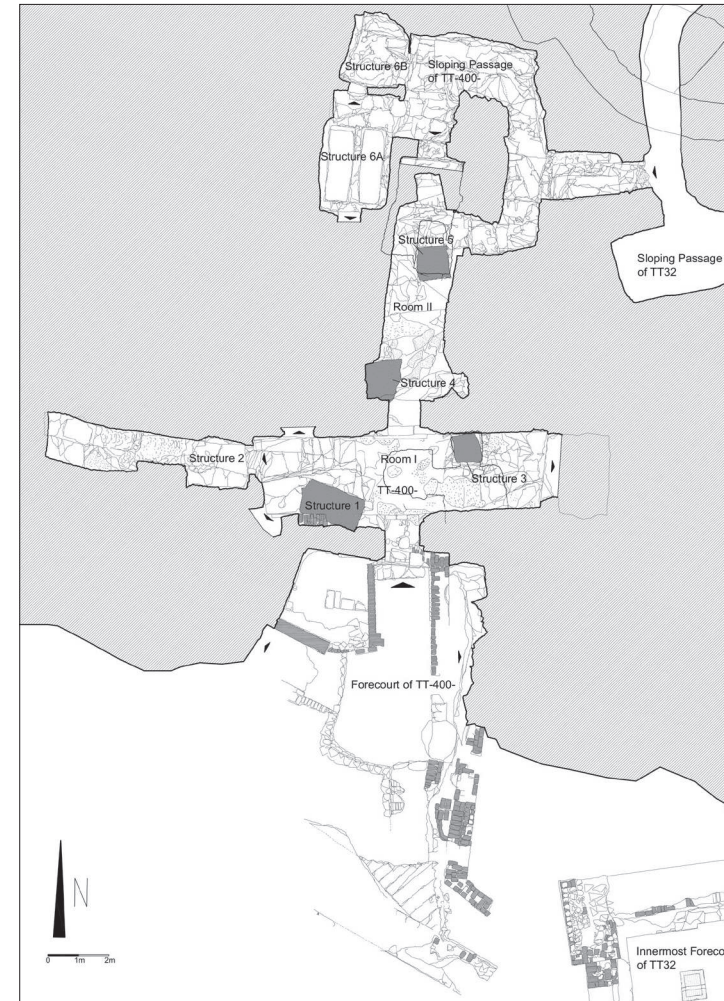


**Fig. 3** Fragment of a doorjamb with the titles and name of Khamin (Photo: G. Schreiber)



**Fig. 4** Stela on the façade of TT -400- (Photo: G. Schreiber)

In the text of the solar hymn accompanying one of the “entrance scenes” carved onto the western thickness of the tomb’s doorway (**Fig. 1**) the owner’s main title (Scribe of the Treasury in the Domain of Amun) was also identified. Other inscriptions preserved in the tomb also call him Scribe of the Divine Offering in the Domain of Amun and Prophet of Maat, signifying that he was a mid-ranking official in the immense temple economy of the estates of Amun and, at the same time, also bore an exalted status and priestly office in the clergy of Maat. The owner’s name, Khamin, was identified in 2009 in one of the inscriptions of the transverse hall (**Fig. 2**) as well as in several loose fragments originating from lintels and doorjamb (Fig. 3). Khamin’s name is also preserved on his funerary stela on the façade of the tomb (**Fig. 4**), in front of which a large funerary deposit consisting of well over 200 ceramic vessels was found. Between 2007 and 2014, the mission excavated most parts of the mortuary monument, which consists of a deep forecourt also shared by two other, thus-far-unknown New Kingdom tombs, a cult chapel of the traditional T-shaped plan, a short sloping passage and a complex of earlier burial chambers reused by Khamin and his wife Raia for their own interments (**Fig. 5**). The dating of the tomb may slightly shift on the time scale, but based on the style of the murals which show close resemblance to the



**Fig. 5** Plan of TT -400- (Survey and drawing: Zs. Vasáros)

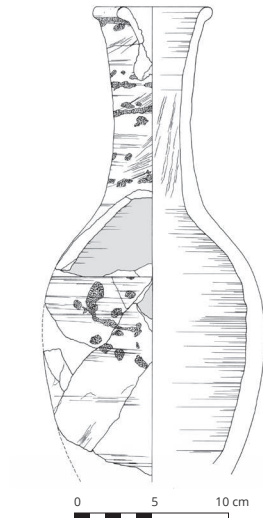
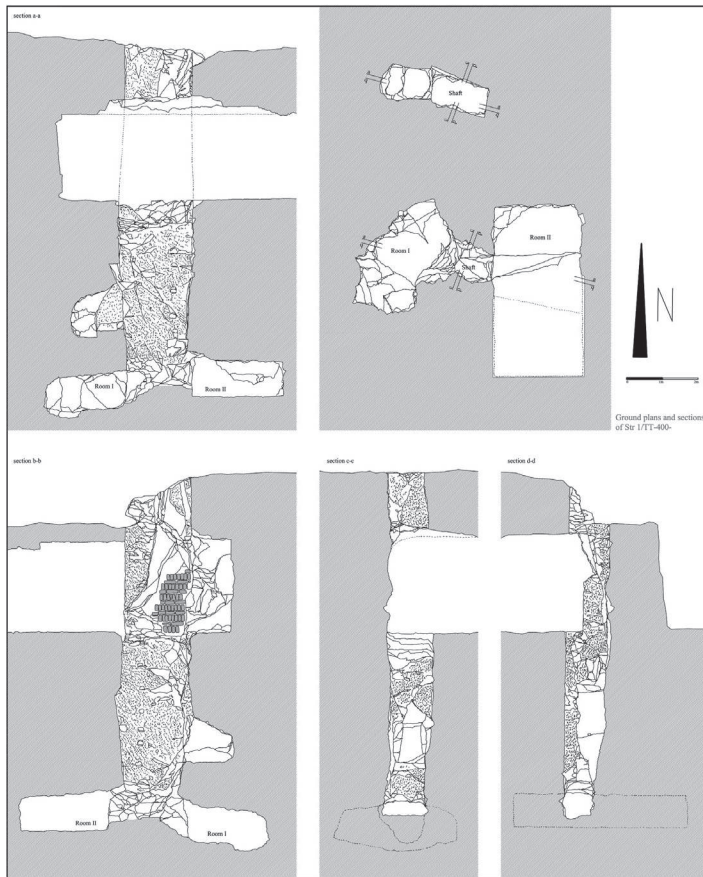
tombs (Structures 3-5) and a corridor tomb (Structure 2) were added to the original, Ramesseid, complex. Since a thorough discussion of all subsequent phases of occupation would be evidently beyond the scope of this study, I now will only focus on the New Kingdom burials, with some concluding remarks on the Graeco-Roman phase of the tomb.

## NEW KINGDOM BURIALS

As noted above, TT -400- was built sometime in the Nineteenth Dynasty, most probably during the reign of Ramesses II. By this time the southern slope of el-Khokha had been densely dotted by funerary monuments, most of which date to the reign of Tuthmosis III.<sup>6</sup> The existence of this early New Kingdom cemetery owes much to the proximity to the mortuary temple of that king, situated at the base of el-Khokha. It is thus no surprise that TT -400- is in direct physical contact with several Eighteenth Dynasty tombs. The situation is

<sup>5</sup> On the Khokha Tomb Group, see FÁBIÁN 2008. Cf. FÁBIÁN in BÁCS-FÁBIÁN-SCHREIBER-TÖRÖK 2009, 67-68.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. SCHREIBER 2008, 17.



▲ **Fig. 7** Bottle with red splash decoration from Structure 1 (Drawing: B. Tihanyi)

◀ **Fig. 6** Plan and sections of Structure 1 (Survey and drawing: Zs. Vasáros)

nically illustrated by an early New Kingdom tomb shaft that we call Structure 1. This shaft has its opening above TT -400- and it cuts through the western aisle of the transverse hall of Khamin's tomb, reaching to a depth of -9.5 m (Fig. 6). Since this was an already-existing shaft at the time of building TT -400-, the architect of the tomb made an effort to conceal the traces of former ownership. To be sure, the builders backfilled the shaft to the floor level of the transverse hall, filled the cracks in the southern wall with mud bricks and constructed a half-vault to conceal the gap in the ceiling. The finds excavated in the shaft can be dated to the reign of Tuthmosis III, based on the pottery, especially a handsome bottle with red splash decoration (Fig. 7) which is typical of this period.<sup>7</sup>

Structure 1 was, however, not the single obstacle Khamin had to overcome while constructing his mortuary monument. Since there is a bend in the axis of the sloping passage at Sector 11, it is rather evident that the builders of the Ramesside monument originally intended to continue hewing the sloping passage to a western direction, when, accidentally broke through into an earlier burial complex that we now term Structure 6. This unexpected circumstance naturally foreclosed any attempts at sticking to the original plan and necessitated an alteration in the design of the sloping passage and the burial chamber. Thus, instead of cutting a newly made burial chamber, Khamin had to be content with occupying the antechamber of this Eighteenth Dynasty burial complex. It is apparent that at this time the said antechamber (Structure 6/A) was enlarged along the western side wall in order to allow space for hewing two rectangular floor niches for the new

<sup>7</sup> See ASTON 2006.

proprietor and his wife. The floor of the chamber was also re-carved and levelled flat, while the Eighteenth Dynasty equipment found therein was probably deposited in the inner chamber of Structure 6.

The original, Eighteenth Dynasty, owner of this funerary apartment must have been one Paser and his wife. Of their equipment, terracotta canopic jars (Fig. 8) and Paser's canopic chest (Fig. 9), all inscribed with short formulae taken from Book of the Dead chapter 151, could be reconstructed. A pottery assemblage of the early New Kingdom evidently belong-



▲ **Fig. 8** Canopic jars of Paser (Photo: L. Mátyus)

▶ **Fig. 9** Canopic chest of Paser (Photo: L. Mátyus)



ing with these interments has also been uncovered, of which a small jug bearing decoration in the "brown- and red-painted style" (Fig. 10) and juglets with decoration in imitation of stone and glass prototypes are to be noted.

As mentioned above, the burial equipment of Khamin and Raia deposited in the antechamber of Structure 6 suffered a bad fate by later intruders and illicit modern looters to such an extent that no objects unequivocally belonging with their interments feature in the archaeological record. Excavations in Structure 6/A made absolutely clear on the other hand that the builders of TT -400- were not the only ones that had been laid to rest here in the New Kingdom. Judging by the number of mummy boards inscribed with the Nut formula and the shabtis discovered here, we may infer that at least eight persons were interred in this complex during the Ramesside Period. One of them was a certain Paenrenut,<sup>8</sup> whose funerary figurines



**Fig. 10** Jug decorated in the "brown- and red-painted" style from Structure 6 (Photo: L. Mátyus)

<sup>8</sup> Probably an abbreviation for Paenrenenutet (PN I, 109.17). Three further funerary figurines from the same shabti gang are known from the Czartoryski Museum, Cracow: SCHLÖGL 2000, 51–53. One Paenrenut was Guardian of the Temple of Million Years (of Merenptah) in the later Nineteenth Dynasty (KRI IV, 137), while another like-named man is known from his shabti box now in Berlin that is dated by style to the Twentieth Dynasty (ASTON 1994, 26).



Fig. 11 Shabtis and lid of the shabti box of Paenrenut (Photo: L. Mátyus; Drawing: E. Tóth)

and one of the transverse lids of his shabti box (Fig. 11) have been excavated in the mixed fill of Structure 6/A, together with the lid and fragments of another box inscribed for a man named Khaemwaset (Fig. 12). A third male surely buried in Structure 6/A was one Suty, who is attested in the archaeological material by two transverse lids of his shabti box (Fig. 13). The title written on the lids, Priest of Maat, is very telling in that Suty, as a regular priest, must have performed a service in the same temple of the goddess Maat situated in Karnak North where the tomb owner, Khamin, occupied the post of a prophet as member of the high clergy.

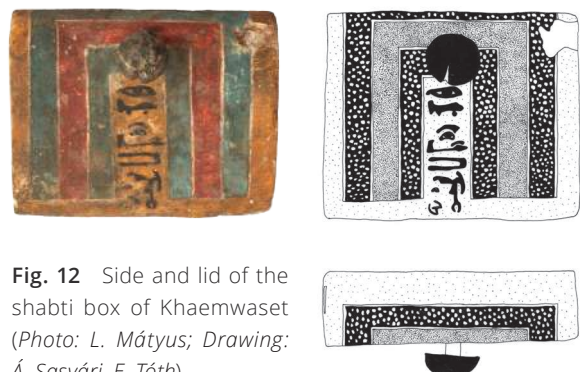


Fig. 12 Side and lid of the shabti box of Khaemwaset (Photo: L. Mátyus; Drawing: Á. Sasvári, E. Tóth)



Fig. 13 Lids of the shabti box of Suty (Photo: L. Mátyus; Drawing: E. Tóth)

Another New Kingdom group burial has been found in a secondary shaft tomb termed Structure 5. This funerary complex of two burial chambers has its opening in the axial hall of TT -400- but it is also accessible from the sloping passage through a crack in the back wall of the upper burial chamber (Chamber 1). Of the two burial chambers opening from the shaft, Chamber 1 is apparently a later addition, constructed in the late Third Intermediate Period. The Ramesside group burial has been found in the lower burial chamber (Chamber 2) accessible from the slanting bottom of the shaft -4.85 m in depth. Judging from its dimensions, it is rather evident that Chamber 2 was intentionally

designed to accommodate multiple burials. The chamber is indeed large enough to house well over 10 burials that must have been deposited here in several layers, one above the other. Based on the titles attested, this funerary apartment was the burial place of low to mid-ranking officials, their consorts and offspring. Socially, the most elevated member of this group was one Amenmes, Chief Guardian of the Treasury in the Domain of Amun, of whose burial equipment 20 complete funerary figurines and three fragmentary shabti jars survive. Since by far the largest lot of these objects has been uncovered in Structure 5, there can be little

doubt that Amenmes' final resting place was the lower burial chamber of this intrusive shaft tomb. The figurines are all made of wood and employ the same colour scheme, but the workman and overseer figurines are distinguished, and there are two main sub-types within the workman gang as well (Fig. 14). Remarkably, other figurines from the same set have been reported from several European collections, including Amsterdam,<sup>9</sup> Berlin,<sup>10</sup> Brussels,<sup>11</sup> Cracow,<sup>12</sup> Moscow,<sup>13</sup> Norwich,<sup>14</sup> and the Warrington Museum.<sup>15</sup> Four further examples were offered for sale at the art market, of which one represents the overseer type.<sup>16</sup> Taken together, we have evidence for at least 32 complete figurines, to which one may add a significant collection of fragmentary examples excavated in TT -400-. This figure, together with the appearance of the overseer type within the set strongly suggest that Amenmes' shabti gang might have been close to what was regarded as an ideal set comprising 401 figurines – one workman for each day of the year and one overseer for each gang of ten.

The owner of this shabti set is also known from a block statue dedicated in Karnak.<sup>17</sup> Yet another mention of one Amenmes, Chief Guardian of the Treasury, occurs in P. BM 10068, an investigation file concerning the Theban tomb robberies.<sup>18</sup> In this document

<sup>9</sup> VAN HAARLEM 1990, 39–40.

<sup>10</sup> ROEDER 1924, 512.

<sup>11</sup> DE MEULENAERE – LIMME 1981, 85–87.

<sup>12</sup> SCHLÖGL 1999, 7–10; 2000, 54–55.

<sup>13</sup> HODJASH 2002, 111.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. JANES 2011, 3.

<sup>15</sup> JANES 2011, 1–3.

<sup>16</sup> CHARLES EDE LTD. 1995, No. 53.

<sup>17</sup> DE MEULENAERE – DE STOOPER 1998, 244–251.

<sup>18</sup> PEET 1930, 90, PL. XI, 22–23; KRI VI, 503. One Amenmes, Guardian of the Treasury, probably identical with the like-named person in P. BM 10068, is referenced in a document dating to Year 6 of Ramesses VI: KRI VI, 338–339.

dating to Year 17 of Ramesses IX, Amenmes is listed among the citizens of the Town, i.e. Thebes, from whom gold and silver stolen from the royal tombs had been recovered. A dating for Amenmes' burial to the second half of the Twentieth Dynasty which emerges from this picture is also in keeping with the number and style of his shabti figurines. Since the possibility that two like-named men with the same non-priestly title officiated in the Treasury within a fairly short period of time is unlikely, the date of P. BM 10068, Year 17 of Ramesses IX, presents a chronological anchor for the second Ramesside group burial of TT -400-.

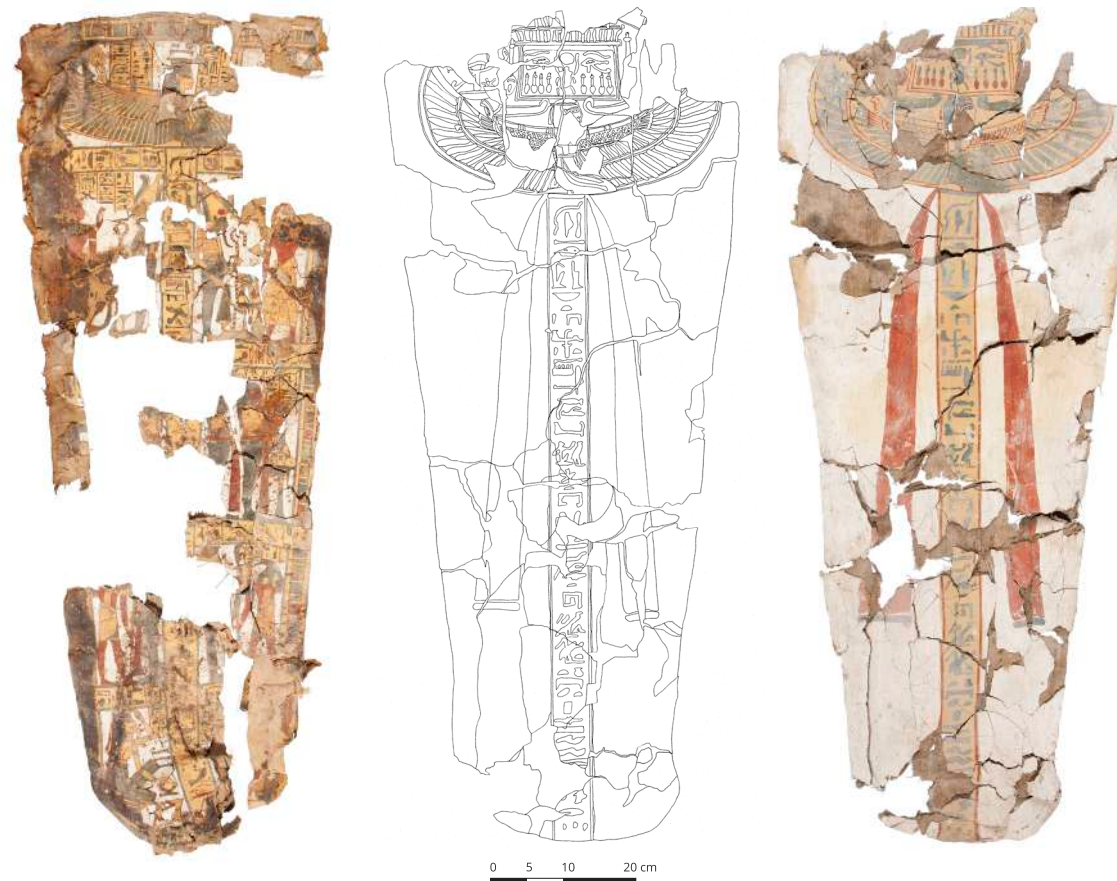
Another person, one Pa-[...]-shepes-[...], can also be shown to have officiated in the Treasury. This man, a treasury-scribe, was the owner of a cartonnage mummy board excavated in Chamber 2 of Structure 5. Two other males from the same group burial bear the title Chief workman in the Domain of Amun, meaning they were a kind of gang leaders (*rais*) but, to be sure, low-ranking officials, subordinated to the aforementioned ones. The women buried here are styled in the inscriptions as songstresses of Amun, Amonrasonther or Amun, Mut and Khonsu. These titles, occurring in all strata of the contemporary Theban society in connection with married women, seem honorific in character.

In contrast to the interments in Structure 6/A provided with wooden mummy boards, the late Ramesside burials in Structure 5 are distinguished by the use of cartonnage mummy boards. Some of these boards exhibit figured compositions in compartments evoking the early Ramesside style (Fig. 15), while others are painted white with or without a red stola hanging down from the chest in imitation of the white robe of the transfigured dead (Fig. 16). Of anthropoid wooden coffins once deposited in Chamber 2 only small non-joining fragments have been found. Other recurrent elements of the burial equipment, including pottery vessels, were also few in number, perhaps signifying that most individuals buried in Chamber 2 had been laid to rest here in a modest funerary outfit, without carrying valuable goods to the afterlife.

Since, as is typical of Ramesside coffin and cartonnage inscriptions, the filiation of the dead is not featured in the texts, the genealogy of those buried in the two Ramesside group burials in TT -400- remains unknown. Given, moreover, that the women bear invariably the honorific title Songstress in the inscriptions, only the men's titles can provide



Fig. 14 Shabti of Amenmes from Chamber 2 of Structure 5 (Photo: L. Mátyus)



▲ Fig. 15 Mummy board of Pa-nakht-[...] (Photo: L. Mátyus)

▲▲ Fig. 16 Mummy board of Shedwyduat (Photo: L. Mátyus; Drawing: N. Seres)

a solid basis for any inquiry into the social standing of these individuals. These titles, as seen, are almost exclusively connected with either the Treasury of Amun or the Maat temple, i.e. two institutions where Khamin, builder and original owner of TT -400- held the office of a scribe and a prophet, respectively. The first New Kingdom Treasury of Amun had been constructed by Tuthmosis I in Karnak North.<sup>19</sup> Although this building was dismantled by Ramesses II,<sup>20</sup> there is evidence suggesting that the Treasury remained located in the same general area also during the Twentieth Dynasty<sup>21</sup> and the Third Intermediate Period,<sup>22</sup> well down until the construction of yet another treasury building by Shabaqo to the east of the temple of Ptah.<sup>23</sup> The main local temple of Maat stood in the vicinity of the Treasury in Karnak North,<sup>24</sup> in the maintenance of which, as shown by the titles of Khamin, the priests of the deity played a key role. The other males buried in TT -400- were lower-ranking officials holding non-priestly posts such as chief guardian or chief workman, or an ordinary priest such as Suty buried in Structure 6/A. Taken together, the evidence available

<sup>19</sup> JACQUET 1983; JACQUET-GORDON 1988.

<sup>20</sup> JACQUET 1994, 150; JACQUET-GORDON 2009, 123.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. e.g. *KRI V*, 231; GRANDET 1993, 235-236, 253-254.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. e.g. a stela dating to Year 48 of Menkheperre commemorating the building of a girdle wall in the northern part of Karnak. This wall ran to the „northern Treasury of the Domain of Amun“: BARGUET 1962, 36-38, PL. XXXIIB; THIERS 1995, 495-497; JANSEN-WINKELN 2007, 74 (6.2).

<sup>23</sup> LICITRA - THIERS - ZIGNANI 2014, 557-560.

<sup>24</sup> GRANDET 1993, 253-254.

from Structures 5 and 6/A militates in favour of thinking that the two Ramesside group burials in TT -400- accommodated the interments of officials affiliated to institutions in the northern part of Karnak.

## GRAECO-ROMAN BURIALS

Although the most important historical phase of the tomb was clearly the Ramesside Period, the way TT -400- was reused during the last centuries of paganism is no less interesting to the archaeologist. During the middle Ptolemaic Period the entrance of the tomb was restored to secure the burials of its new owners, who lived and happened to die in Thebes, then called the Great Diospolis in Greek, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.<sup>25</sup> It seems that the mummies were deposited piled up in the transverse hall without any built construction which may have sheltered them. The bandaged corpses were ornamented with cartonnage trappings, such as collars (**Fig. 17**), aprons, and footcases, and some of them were given amulets to be hung on a torque or wire or to be attached to a bead-netting shroud. Finds associated with these burials also included linen amulets (**Fig. 18**), linen strips with short extracts from the Book of the Dead which the priests could still read and reproduce at the time, offering tables on which the water pourers could perform their service, and pottery vessels, some of which were decorated in the so-called "Lotus-flower and crosslined-band style".

Still later, in the Roman Period, probably under Trajan, the tomb was again reused for group burials.<sup>26</sup> At this time an intrusive hypogeum-type tomb (Structure 2) was cut into the western wall of the transverse hall, which consists of a small antechamber with a bench-like construction and a burial chamber with a floor niche. It is to be noted that while the construction methods applied were purely traditional Egyptian, the basic length unit employed for creating the geometric coherence was the Roman foot. The burials associated with this phase of occupation were provided with linen strips to be tied around the arms of the mummies and inscribed in demotic with the *May your soul live* formula. The individuals buried there bore alternating Egyptian and Greek names, and at least one of them, Dionysios had strips inscribed in both demotic and Greek (**Fig. 19**). The interments seem to have continued until the middle



**Fig. 17** Fragments of Ptolemaic cartonnage collars from the transverse hall of TT -400- (Photo: L. Mátyus)

**Fig. 18** Ptolemaic linen amulet from TT -400- (Photo: L. Mátyus)



**Fig. 19** Roman linen strip with the name of Dionysios (Photo: L. Mátyus)

of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, based on contemporary lamp types and an Alexandrian coin of Antoninus Pius. The most important finds associated with these burials were painted linen shrouds depicting the deceased in the guise of Osiris (**Fig. 20**) which may be compared to the famous Soter shrouds, now dispersed among many European museums, that we believe originate from nearby TT 32.<sup>27</sup> The Soter family burials are dated by textual evidence to between the reigns of Trajan and Antoninus Pius, and we may now confirm that this local dialect of funerary art indeed continued until Antoninus Pius, if not slightly beyond. The lower frame of this chronology gains prominence when one recalls that Antoninus Pius was actually the last great temple builder in Thebes, who commissioned the festival court in front of the Small Amun temple at Medinet Habu, the Deir er-Rumi temple at the Queens' Valley, and the mysterious circular structure beside Deir er-Rumi. All these projects are quite telling in that the theologians under Antoninus Pius were still competent to understand and re-work the age-old doctrines of the local theology, and looking at

the contemporary finds from TT -400-, one may recognise a similar thoughtful interest in Pharaonic funerary beliefs.



**Fig. 20** Roman Osiris shroud from TT -400- (Photo: L. Mátyus)

<sup>25</sup> On the middle Ptolemaic Theban burial equipment, see SCHREIBER 2011, 126–132.

<sup>26</sup> On the Roman phase of the tomb, see SCHREIBER – VASÁROS – ALMÁSY forthcoming.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. KÁKOSY 1995b.

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