

Hungarian Excavations in the Theban Necropolis
A Celebration of 102 Years of Fieldwork in Egypt



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Hungarian Excavations in the Theban Necropolis
A Celebration of 102 Years of Fieldwork in Egypt

Catalogue for the Temporary Exhibition in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo
November 6, 2009 – January 15, 2010

Edited by T.A. Bács, Z.I. Fábrián, G. Schreiber, and L. Török

Budapest 2009

Hungarian Excavations in the Theban Necropolis
A Celebration of 102 Years of Fieldwork in Egypt

EGYPTIAN MUSEUM, CAIRO. NOVEMBER 6, 2009 - JANUARY 15, 2010

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ISBN 978-963-284-103-8

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Contents

- 9 Forewords by
ISTVÁN HILLER · ZAHÍ HAWASS
- 13 Editorial Foreword
- 15 Introduction: The Hungarian Discovery of Ancient Egypt
in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries – **L. TÖRÖK**
- 21 The Excavation at Gamhud – **G. SCHREIBER**
23 Cat. No. 1
- 31 Current Research in the Theban Necropolis – **T. A. BÁCS,**
Z. I. FÁBIÁN, G. SCHREIBER
37 Cat. Nos 2-13
- 55 The Middle Kingdom on el-Khokha: *Saff*-tombs – **Z. I. FÁBIÁN**
57 Cat. Nos 14-15
- 61 The Early New Kingdom on Sheikh Abd el-Gurna and el-Khokha
T. A. BÁCS, G. SCHREIBER
- 65 The Early Ramesside Period on el-Khokha – **Z. I. FÁBIÁN, G. SCHREIBER**
70 The Late Ramesside Period on Sheikh Abd el-Gurna and el-Khokha
T. A. BÁCS, G. SCHREIBER
73 Cat. Nos 16-36
- 95 The Third Intermediate Period on el-Khokha and Sheikh Abd el-Gurna
T. A. BÁCS, Z. I. FÁBIÁN, G. SCHREIBER
99 The Late Period on el-Khokha – **Z. I. FÁBIÁN, G. SCHREIBER**
101 Cat. Nos 37-54
- 121 The Hellenistic and Roman Periods on el-Khokha – **G. SCHREIBER**
124 Cat. Nos 55-69
- 147 The Late Antique Period on Sheikh Abd el-Gurna – **T. A. BÁCS**
150 Cat. Nos. 70-76
- 159 Figured ostraca from Sheikh Abd el-Gurna and el-Khokha – **T. A. BÁCS**
160 Cat. Nos. 77-82
- 167 Bibliography



Foreword

The Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Hungary is proud to cooperate with the Supreme Council of Antiquities of the Arab Republic of Egypt in the organization of the exhibition on Hungarian archaeological fieldwork carried out since 1983 in Western Thebes. This exhibition, generously initiated by the Supreme Council of Antiquities, which also granted us the privilege to have it mounted in the Egyptian Museum, the greatest and most prestigious of all Egyptological collections, focuses on the results of the complex study of five New Kingdom elite tombs and their surroundings, and is restricted, with one single exception, on objects from the Theban tombs TT 32, -61-, -64-, 65 and 184. The exception is a splendid coffin, which comes from the first Hungarian excavation in Egypt sponsored by Fülöp Back, an enthusiastic amateur, in 1907–1908.

The investigations at the Ptolemaic cemetery of Gamhud were followed in 1910 by the appointment of Ede Mahler as Professor of Egyptology, and the foundation of the Chair of Ancient Oriental [Near Eastern] History later in the same year. With shorter intervals, Egyptology remained part of the university curriculum in Budapest ever since, and Hungarian academics continued to participate in international Egyptological research. The fascination of ancient Egyptian history and culture is manifested by the over fifty MA degrees in Egyptology obtained up to now at the Chair of Egyptology in

Budapest. The visitor numbers of the permanent exhibition of Egyptian antiquities in the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts and temporary exhibitions of ancient Egyptian art from Egyptian and other foreign collections testify to the increasing interest of the Hungarian general public. The number of Hungarian tourists visiting the ancient monuments and museums of Egypt is also ever growing, strengthening thus the ties between our countries and constantly renewing the presence of ancient Egypt in Hungarian culture.

The relationship between the authorities safeguarding Egypt's antiquities and the Hungarian Egyptologists is especially close since 1964, the excavations of the Archaeological Mission of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences at Abdallah Nirqi in the framework of the UNESCO International Campaign to Save the Monuments of Nubia. The Theban project, of which the present exhibition gives an account, currently enjoys the support of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, as also did in the recent past the exhibition of Egyptian late antique art mounted in 2005 under the title "Beyond the Pharaohs. Treasures of Coptic Art from

Egyptian Collections" in the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts. It is thanks to Dr. Zahi Hawass, General Secretary of the Supreme Council, that the Hungarian organizers of this exhibition were granted ideal working conditions in Cairo and at Thebes West. We are also deeply grateful for the cooperation of the venue of the exhibition, the Egyptian Museum in Cairo and to Dr. Wafaa el-Saddek, General Director.

Brought to light in the course of painstaking field work and interpreted on the basis of a knowledge of ancient Egyptian culture amassed by experts from all nations, among them many Egyptians and Hungarians, may the objects displayed in the venerated halls of the Egyptian Museum and discussed in this catalogue not only enrich Egyptology but also contribute to the friendly and fruitful connections between Egypt and Hungary.

DR. ISTVÁN HILLER

Minister of Education and Culture







Foreword

I am very delighted to see that Hungary is celebrating one hundred years of their archaeological work in Egypt. It is very important to note that year 2008–2009 is the year in which many countries are celebrating their work in Egypt. Foreign countries are working on conservation and restoration projects, as well as excavations and recording texts. In my opinion the most important work being conducted is the epigraphical work and conservation. This is what Egypt truly needs. This is why in 2002 we made the decision to stop any new excavation in Upper Egypt and concentrate most of the work in the Delta. However, in Upper Egypt it is still very important to record and publish the monuments. When I took my position as the Secretary General of the Supreme Council of Antiquities I found that most of our monuments are not recorded, and also that most museums have no database of their artifacts, so I now strongly encourage the development of these projects.

The Hungarian expeditions have concentrated their work in the Theban tombs and we are happy to see the result of this work at the Cairo Museum, the museum that witnessed the arrival of great Egyptologists from all over the world. When I examined the objects of the exhibition with Dr. István Hiller, the Minister of Education and Culture of Hungary, I could see that many of these objects will touch the hearts of the audience. These especially include the canopic jar of Sitamun, the fragment of a Book of the Dead text from Theban Tomb 32 and also some finely crafted funerary scarabs. My personal favourite, the most beautiful piece, is the canopic jar of Penre from Theban Tomb 65. This exhibition will enrich the Cairo Museum with these important objects and it will show the world how Egypt has cooperated with countries all over the world to preserve these monuments and display them to the public. I appreciate any country that gives this kind of support and contribute to the knowledge of the field, as these Hungarian scholars.

The Hungarian Cultural Week in Cairo will be celebrated this November, with events held at the Ahmed Basha Kamal hall at the Supreme Council of Antiquities in Zamalek, which will also be very important to the field of Egyptology. On this occasion I cannot forget to mention the name of the great Hungarian scholar, the late László Kákosy. I met him once at Giza, and he also became good friends with many Egyptian archaeologists. I would also like to emphasize the conviction that Egyptian monuments do not belong to Egypt only, but belong to the world.

DR. ZAHİ HAWASS

Secretary General of the Supreme Council of Antiquities
Cairo, September 2009



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Editorial foreword

Besides a Ptolemaic coffin referring to the first Hungarian excavation in the cemetery of Gamhud, and two superb statues that have formed part of the Cairo Museum's collection for more than a century, the present temporary exhibition highlights selected objects from the ongoing Hungarian excavations in the Theban necropolis. With the exception of the said statues and another example of New Kingdom statuary from Theban Tomb 32 that was displayed at the exhibition *Europe and Egypt – Cooperation in Archaeology* in 1994, the artefacts of the present exhibition have never been shown to the public and have thus far been known to specialists only. The exhibits come from the excavations of the Eötvös Loránd University in two distinct areas of the Theban necropolis, and range in time from the Middle Kingdom to Late Antiquity, spanning more than two millennia. Although there have been a special focus, also emphasized in the present exhibition, on Ramesside tomb art ever since the Theban research program began in 1983, the main goal was always and still is to gain a full understanding of the investigated areas, from their first phase of occupation down to modern times. Thus, the inclusion of finds postdating the New Kingdom not only serves to illustrate the subsequent historical phases of the Theban necropolis but it also advocates the view that these finds, often neglected or only cursorily studied in the past, form an integral and equally important part of the excavation corpora as the remains dating to the tombs' original period of use. Since the preparatory works for this exhibition started in December 2007 the curators had the privilege to enjoy the generous help and assistance of several colleagues, both in Egypt and Hungary. We would like to thank in particular Dr. Zahi Hawass, Secretary General of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, for the invitation to organize the exhibition and for his support throughout the entire project. We are indebted to Dr. Wafaa el-Saddik, Director of the Egyptian Museum, for hosting this event and for generously putting the facilities of the museum at our disposal. Special thanks are due to Hisham el-Leithy, coordinator of the event on behalf of the SCA, for kindly facilitating all stages of our work, and to Sabah Abdel Razek Seddik, Chief Curator of the Egyptian Museum, for her immense help in mounting the exhibition in Room 44 of the Museum.

We wish to extend our gratitude to Dr. István Hiller, Minister of Education and Culture, without whose special interest in and support for the exhibition from its inception it could not have been brought to fruition. We also express our thanks here to Dr. Márta Schneider, Secretary of State, Ministry of Education and Culture, to Dr. Annamária Vígh, Head of Department, Ministry of Education and Culture, to Dr. Rita Mayer, Ministry of Education and Culture, to Dr. Péter Kveck, Ambassador of the Republic of Hungary in Egypt, and to Dr. István Zimonyi, Counsellor of the Hungarian Cultural Office in Cairo, for their support during the organisation of the exhibition.

For their help in various respects a debt of gratitude is owed to Mohamed Abdel Fattah (Head of Museum Sector, SCA), Dr. Mohamed Ismail (Director of Foreign Missions Affairs, SCA), Magdy el-Ghandour (former Director of Foreign Missions Affairs, SCA), Dr. Hoda Abdel Hamid (Director of the Restoration Department, Egyptian Museum), Ibrahim Abdel Gawad (Chief Curator of the New Kingdom Section, Egyptian Museum), Mostafa Wazery (Director of Antiquities, Thebes-West), Ali el-Asfar (former Director of Antiquities, Thebes-West), Fathy Yassin (Director of the Middle Area in Thebes-West and Director of the Carter Magazine), Yehya Abdel Aleem (Director of the Study Magazine, Thebes-West), Abdulrahman Ahmed Hassan and Ramadan Ahmed Ali (Chief Inspectors, Thebes-West), Mohamed Khalil, Ahmed Hassan Abeed and Hassan Ali Ahmed (Inspectors, Thebes-West), Khaled Ahmed Sadek, Mohamed Mokhtar, Ahmed el-Sayed and Mohamed Afifi (Curators of the National Museum of Egyptian Civilisation, Cairo-Fustat), Safaa Abdel Moneim Ibrahim (SCA, Cairo), Dr. Ute Rummel (German Archaeological Institute, Cairo), Dr. Laure Pantalacci (IFAO, Cairo), Dr. Zbigniew E. Szafranski (Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, Cairo), Dr. Tamás Dezső (Dean of the Faculty of Humanities, Eötvös Loránd University), Erzsébet Répássy Kenyeres (Balassi Institute, Budapest), Bertalan Simkó (Cairo), Kamal Refaat (Station Manager, Egyptair, Budapest), Tünde Kiss (Nürnberg), Mrs. Ernő Somogyi (Érd), Eszter Tóth (Budapest), Elena Mora Ruedas (Madrid), Tsubasa Sakamoto (Japan), Árpád M. Nagy (Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest), and Gamal Ahmed Tawfik (Gurna).

This exhibition was supported by a grant from the Hungarian Ministry of Culture and Education.

The bibliographical abbreviations follow the system of the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*.

Introduction: The Hungarian Discovery of Ancient Egypt in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

L. T Ö R Ö K

Jean-François Champollion delivered his *Lettre à M. Dacier* on the 22nd of September 1822. Even before the end of the year, educated readers of the Hungarian weekly *Hasznos Mulatságok* (Useful Entertainments), many of whom had had their interest in ancient Egypt awakened by Samuel Decsy's *Egyiptom ország rövid Historiája* (A Concise History of Egypt, Vienna 1803), could read a timely and enthusiastic piece of information about the decipherment of the hieroglyphs "used by the Egyptians to write the titles, names and surnames of their Greek and Roman sovereigns in their inscriptions." The weekly continued to follow Champollion's activities; in 1828, the *Hasznos Mulatságok*, like the daily *Magyar Kurir* (Hungarian Courier), published Hungarian translations of excerpts from his *Lettres écrites d'Égypte et de Nubie*.

By 1825 the collection of the Hungarian National Museum contained more than one hundred antiquities from Egypt, mostly small objects brought back by aristocratic travelers from the Grand Tour. From the 1830s, Gábor Fejérváry, the greatest early 19th-century Hungarian collector of Classical art, also acquired Egyptian objects from French and Italian dealers, among them a remarkably fine Late Period bronze statuette of Imhotep (now in the Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts, Egyptian Collection Inv. No. 51.2313). Until c. 1794, this statuette was in the treasury of the Abbey of St. Denis, the burial place of the kings and queens of France, which it seems to have entered as early as in the 11th or 12th century. Fejérváry's interest in Egyptian art objects was rooted in the special sympathy of 18th-century connoisseurs for Egyptian bronzes and in their attempts to interpret these objects as monuments of Egyptian religion rather than through Romantic universalism or the "modern" Egyptology unfolding in the 1830s. The enlightened interest, especially the ardent curiosity about the meaning of Egyptian images, emerged from the 17th-century beginnings of "Egyptology" and was reinforced by the positive opinion of the aesthetic value of Egyptian art propounded by Johann Joachim Winckelmann, the founding father of Classical archaeology. The interest in Egyptian objects shown by Fejérváry and contemporary Hungarian amateurs developed during the second third of the 19th century from collecting curiosities into collecting aesthetically appreciated monuments of the culture which they considered "the cradle of our civilization" and reached full antiquarian maturity in the wake of the decipherment of the hieroglyphs and the unfolding of Egyptology.

While Egyptian objects continued to enter museum and private collections after the middle of the 19th century (in 1877 the newly founded Museum of Applied Arts received 300 pieces from the National Museum), the history and culture of ancient Egypt became part of the university curriculum only in the 1870s. From 1874 onward, I. Goldziher lectured at the university in Budapest (today Eötvös Loránd University) on Egyptian religion, J. Berger on the newer discoveries of Egyptology and Assyriology, I. Henszlmann on art, and R. Frölich on Herodotus' Egyptian *logos*. The interest of the general public is indicated by the translation into Hungarian of Maspero's *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient* (1869), Brugsch's *Geschichte Ägyptens* (1888) and Ebers's *Cicerone durch das Alte und Neue Ägypten* (1893). The first actual steps in the long process of establishing Egyptology as an academic discipline were, however, the habilitation of the Egyptologist Ede Mahler at the university in Budapest in 1898, his appointment as professor of Egyptology in 1910, and the foundation of the Chair of Ancient Oriental [Near Eastern] History later in the same year. Though the creation of an academic post specifically in Egyptology occurred in Budapest many decades after Göttingen (1868), Heidelberg (1872) or Leipzig (1875), it did not lag much behind London (1892), Oxford (1901), or Liverpool (1906).



An all-round Egyptologist in the style of the late 19th and early 20th century, Mahler published on and taught Egyptian history as well as language, religion, art history, and archaeology. Before studying Egyptology, Mahler had obtained a degree in mathematics and astronomy, which determined the main currents of his research. As one of the principal concerns of late 19th-century Egyptology was astronomical chronology, Mahler's works in this field, including the *Handbuch der jüdischen Chronologie* (Leipzig 1916, 2nd ed. Hildesheim 1967) and the *Wüstenfeld-Mahler'sche Vergleichungstabellen* (Leipzig 1926, 2nd ed. Wiesbaden 1961), were highly valued by colleagues such as Gaston Maspero, Georg Ebers, Adolf Erman, and Georg Steindorff. Though Mahler retired as a full professor in 1928, he continued teaching Egyptology at the university. His best pupils, Vilmos Wessetzky and Aladár Dobrovits, graduated in the 1930s; the task of preserving Egyptology as an academic discipline in Hungary fell on them after the Second World War.

During the three decades of his tenure, Mahler did not initiate any fieldwork in Egypt. The principal reason for his apparent disinterest may be sought in the financial situation of the university as well as in the negative attitude of Hungarian cultural policy in the years before the Great War and the period following it. The initiative for archaeological excavations in Egypt came from other quarters: in 1907, Fülöp Back, co-owner of a prosperous commercial house in Cairo, commissioned first the Polish Egyptologist, Tadeusz Smolenski, and in 1908, after Smolenski's untimely death, the pioneering Egyptian scholar Ahmed (Bey) Kamal, to direct excavations at two nearby Middle Egyptian sites: a Ptolemaic cemetery at Gamhud and a Ptolemaic temple site at Sharouna. At the latter site fine early Ptolemaic temple reliefs were recovered, but the temple itself was not found. Following the example of the German Archaeological Institute, established in 1907, Back also made efforts to found an Austro-Hungarian Archaeological Institute in Cairo. Just as Back's effort could not break through the disinterest of Austro-Hungarian cultural policy, all later efforts to create a Hungarian institute of Egyptology and

Arabic studies in Cairo were also defeated by the indifference of the successive governments in power.

The finds from the two seasons of fieldwork at Gamhud and Sharouna went to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (about half of the reliefs from Sharouna and 50% of the coffins from Gamhud), the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (a relief from Sharouna and five coffins from Gamhud), the Museum of the Academy of Science (now the National Museum) in Cracow, Poland (three coffins from Gamhud), and the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest (reliefs from Sharouna and about thirty coffins from Gamhud). From 1912 to 1922 and 1927 to 1931 the material Back donated to the Hungarian National Museum was on permanent display in the museum's Ethnographic Collection. Its placing in this particular collection reveals that, just like their early 19th-century predecessors, the early 20th-century curators of the National Museum also considered Egyptian antiquities spectacles in a way that Classical antiquities were not. The objects from Sharouna and Gamhud were transferred to the Museum of Fine Arts in 1934, where they joined a remarkable collection of Egyptian Late



The Hungarian Egyptologist Aladár Dobrovits at the opening of the Gamhud coffins in the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest in 1936 (after GYÖRY 1990, fig. 5)

Period, Ptolemaic, and Roman terracottas acquired in 1914. Back's archaeological venture remained an isolated episode, and, for lack of records, the excavations he sponsored remained unpublished, with the exception of some short preliminary reports by Smolenski and Ahmed Kamal and the presentation of individual find objects in various exhibition catalogues.

While the Egyptian collection of the National Museum was not developed further after Back's donation, two remarkable private collections were amassed in the early 20th century. The wealthy merchant Miksa Déri, a notable connoisseur, acquired his Egyptian collection from the distinguished German Egyptologist Heinrich Brugsch. It contains objects originating from Brugsch's various excavations. Among other items of considerable interest, it includes a number of fine Third Intermediate and Late Period sculptures and is permanently exhibited in the special museum built by Miksa Déri in Debrecen in eastern Hungary to house his art collections.

The extensive collection of the literary historian Zsolt Beöthy was acquired mainly on the Egyptian art market; it was catalogued by Mahler. When Beöthy died, his collection was lent to the university in Budapest. It was on display there from 1911 until 1936, when Beöthy's heirs sold it to the University of Uppsala.

After a period of apparent discontinuation that started in the mid-1930s when Mahler withdrew completely, Vilmos Wessetzky and Aladár Dobrovits resumed the education of Egyptologists at the university in Budapest at the end of the 1940s. Both of them served at the same time as keeper of Egyptian antiquities in the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts. The post-war reorganization of the collecting areas of the museums in Hungary resulted in the transfer of all objects of Egyptian provenance to the Museum of Fine Arts, whose Egyptian Department (separated from the Department of Ancient Art in 1957) was also enriched with a representative collection of antiquities originating from Lower Nubia.

The Lower Nubian objects came from Abdallah Nirqi, a site 3 km north of Abu Simbel. They represent the complete small-find material unearthed in 1964 by the Nubian Mission of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences directed by László Castiglione. The transfer of the small finds in their entirety was granted to Hungary as a special gesture by the predecessor of today's Supreme Council of Antiquities. The mission arrived in Lower Nubia in the terminal phase of the great UNESCO Nubian Rescue Campaign and excavated a small urban settlement inhabited between the 5th and 13th centuries. Besides Egyptologists, Classical archaeologists, and architects, the team that worked at the site and prepared the publication of the excavation also included natural scientists, thus contributing to the impact of the Nubian campaign on the modernization of the methods and attitudes of Egyptian archaeology. The persistence of Hungarian participation in shaping the new historical discipline of Nubian Studies actually started with the rescue excavation conducted at Abdallah Nirqi.

The first generation of Egyptologists educated by Aladár Dobrovits and Vilmos Wessetzky graduated from Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest in the 1950s. This generation included László Castiglione, a pioneer who changed prevailing mid-twentieth-century trends in the study of Graeco-Roman art in Egypt. Long before the publication of Klaus Parlasca's and Günther Grimm's seminal works on mummy portraits and masks, Castiglione argued for a combination of the competences of the Egyptologist and Classical archaeologist and demonstrated in his work the relevance of problem-oriented iconographical and style-critical investigations in the wider context of political, social, and intellectual history. The resoluteness



László Kákósy (1932–2003) at the helm of a Nile cruiser in 2002

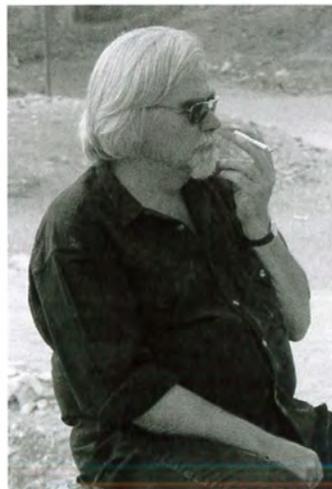


and scholarly reputation of László Kákosy, another member of the same generation and leading historian of Egyptian religion, led to the foundation of an independent Chair of Egyptology at the university in Budapest in 1982 and to constantly expanding Hungarian field activity in Egypt. The first Hungarian excavation after Abdallah Nirqi was started by Kákosy in 1983 in Western Thebes at TT 32, the tomb of Djehutymes. Participation in the archaeological work at TT 32 became an essential part of the education of Kákosy's pupils during the subsequent decades. At the same time, the prolonged complex study of this particularly interesting tomb initiated the formation of a large-scale research program embracing work, among others, at TT 65 (from 1995), TT 184 (from 1995), TT -59- (from 1996), TT -61- (from 1999), and TT -400- (from 2007) carried on by Kákosy's former students Ernő Gaál, Tamás Bács, Zoltán Fábrián, and Gábor Schreiber. On account of the coherence and perspectives of this research program investigating the mortuary landscape of a significant region of

Western Thebes, the exhibition described in the present catalogue is restricted to objects from the tombs listed above. In homage to Fülöp Back, however, a coffin from his 1907–1908 excavations at Gamhud is also included, thanks to the generosity of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Finds from other Hungarian excavations and surveys conducted at Egyptian sites in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, among them Ulrich Luft's survey in the Eastern Desert, await display in future exhibitions.



Excavating TT 32 in the 1980s



Consolidation of the murals in the transverse hall of TT 32 by Egyptian specialists in the 1980s

Ernő Gaál (1941–2005), field director of the excavations in TT -59- and TT -61- between 1995 and 2005, at the site in 2003

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The excavation at Gamhud

G. S C H R E I B E R

The first Hungarian archaeological expedition to Egypt, led by the Polish Egyptologist Tadeusz Smolenski, started working on January 1, 1907, at Sharuna in Middle Egypt. After discovering a thus-far-unknown Pharaonic tomb and uncovering relief blocks from a temple of Ptolemy I, Smolenski was about to dismiss his labourers and return to Cairo around the end of February when news reached his camp that an intact cemetery had been discovered some weeks earlier by illicit diggers at nearby Gamhud.¹ This small village is situated in the area of modern el-Fashn, on the other side of el-Hibe (ancient Teudjoi, Graeco-roman Ankyronpolis), on the West Bank of the Nile. The cemetery was discovered by a local villager who soon made contact with an antiquity dealer from Bibeh, Farag Tawdros, offering him a share of the material in exchange for help in looting the site. The two men hired labourers and progressed with pillaging quite swiftly and efficiently, cleaning two or three tombs in just a few days, when two of their workmen denounced them to the police for unknown reasons. It is unclear how Smolenski and his Hungarian mentor, Fülöp (Philip) Back, learned about the discovery. In a report on his work at Sharuna and Gamud submitted to the embassy of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in Cairo, Back claimed to have been informed by local villagers,² while Ahmed Bey Kamal writes that after being denounced it was Farag Tawdros who approached Smolenski with a plan of collaboration.³ Immediately afterwards, Back and Smolenski applied for and gained a concession from Gaston Maspero, director of the *Service des Antiquité*, to carry out a scientific excavation at Gamhud. After moving his camp to Gamhud, Smolenski worked in the cemetery for 23 days, from March 1 to 26, discovering 47 coffins, 20 cartonnage masks, four of which were gilded, a vessel with a hieratic inscription, an inscribed stela, 70 face masks from coffins, 11 wooden chests, and 4 Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statues. The finds and especially the demotic texts found by the mission aroused immediate interest in scholarly circles; the eminent British Egyptologist, A. Blackmann, also visited the site to see the papyri.⁴ Smolenski's rapidly deteriorating health prevented him from completing the excavation, forcing him to return to Cairo before the end of the month. The pioneering Egyptian archaeologist, Ahmed Bey Kamal, took over direction of the campaign; in a few weeks' time he excavated another 23 coffins, a stela, some wooden chests, cartonnages with demotic inscriptions, and other small finds. Besides the digs at Gamhud, Kamal also discovered three other cemeteries;⁵ an Old Kingdom burial site at a place called Minqar near Gamhud, a Coptic cemetery near Gafadon, and tombs from the Late Antique Period at Shinaro. After transporting the finds to Cairo, the material uncovered by Smolenski was divided among the Egyptian Museum and three museums in the monarchy – Vienna, Cracow, and Budapest. The largest lot came to Budapest, where Fülöp Back intended to form the core of a future Egyptian collection in the Hungarian National Museum.⁶

1 KAMAL 1908, 8.

2 Published in: GYÓRY 1997, 9-11.

3 KAMAL 1908, 9.

4 GYÓRY 1997, 10.

5 KAMAL 1908, 11-12.6

6 Fülöp Back's career and the history of the excavations at Sharuna and Gamhud have been researched by V. Wessetzky (WESSETZKY 1967; 1979) and H. Győry (GYÓRY 1990; 1997; 2007). For documents from Back's inheritance, see: VÖRÖS 2008. On T. Smolenski's career and work in Egypt, see: SZYMAŃSKA 2001, 25-31 and SLIWA 2002, 435-442.



Since Kamal's excavation report is restricted to a brief presentation of the site and the description of the most important objects, little is known of the layout of the cemetery, the tomb type(s) and the find contexts. Kamal hints that the central area of the cemetery, which remained largely unexcavated, contained low-status burials, with some of the mummies buried in pits.⁷ The richer burials were clustered around the two extremities of the area, 480 metres in length, where shaft tombs with two chambers were typical. The bulk of the material uncovered by Smolenski and Kamal comes from these tombs. It seems that a typical burial was provided with a modest set of funerary goods. Although objects considered uninformative and unattractive were often discarded from excavations at that time, the lack of reference in Kamal's report to objects otherwise typical in burials at other contemporary sites suggests that only a wooden coffin and a multiple-piece cartonnage set were held mandatory elements. *Naos*-shaped wooden chests, which can probably be equated with Aston's Type C canopic chests,⁸ were also frequently given to the dead and some burials also contained Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statues. Stelae and pottery vessels were sporadic. The coffins can be divided into three categories. A relatively rare



type is represented by rectangular coffins with four corner posts.⁹ The coffin floor in these examples is raised from the ground and they have a vaulted or gabled lid. Another type is the so-called "belly"¹⁰ or "swollen" type,¹¹ an anthropoid coffin common from the Late Dynastic Period, characterised by a disproportionately large head and wide shoulder.¹² These coffins stand on a high plinth and have a low case with a tall and robust lid. The third type is angular, the so-called rhomboid coffins,¹³ which seem to have been especially typical of el-Hibe and surroundings.¹⁴ These coffins were constructed from flat wooden laths joined together by means of dowels and glue. All the coffins have a gesso coat of a characteristically cream to buff hue, onto which the decoration was applied in polychrome.

⁷ KAMAL 1908, 8.

⁸ ASTON 2000, 165-177.

⁹ Cf. e.g. GYÓRY 1997, 18-19, fig. 21.

¹⁰ NIWIŃSKI 1984a, 455-456.

¹¹ JÖRGENSEN 2001, 18.

¹² On the coffins in Budapest, see: GYÓRY 1997, 20-24, figs. 2-3, 5, 24, 28. On the coffins in Cracow, see: BABRAJ-SZYMAŃSKA 2000, 104-115; NIWIŃSKI 2001, 33-38.

¹³ On the coffins in Budapest, see: GYÓRY 1997, 24-28, figs. 4, 6, 10

¹⁴ BOTTI 1958, Nos. 3, 27, 32-34, 42, 44-47.

1. Coffin of Tasenet

Ptolemaic Period, probably 2nd century BC

Wood, pigment, gold foil

Ht. 214 cm, W. 84 cm, Ht. of base 55.5 cm, W. of base 60 cm, Th. of coffin lid 24.5-25 cm

From the Graeco-roman cemetery at Gamhud, found by T. Smolenski in 1907

Serial No. 275

Collection of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo

The coffin on display was found by Smolenski and represents the so-called "swollen" type. It was made for a woman, Tasenet, born of the mistress of the house Tadiiset. Although titles are not mentioned in the texts, the relatively elevated social status of the owner is indicated by the gilding which occurs on the face of the coffin, the cartonnage mask, and the text-panels on the cartonnage pectoral and apron. The texts on the coffin, taken from age-old funerary formulae and label texts, are corrupted, written with several mistakes and inconsistencies in orthography. Pseudo-inscriptions also occur, especially on the right side panels of the lid. These features suggest that the artist producing the decoration did not have a firm grasp of the hieroglyphic writing system; he could not read the ancient texts and was working from faulty pattern-books. The occurrence of inconsistencies and spelling mistakes in the texts are typical to a greater or lesser extent of all Ptolemaic coffins from Gamhud and the area of el-Hibe.¹

The decoration of the coffin, which is restricted to the exterior, follows a standardized pattern. The deceased is shown with a gilded face, wearing a tripartite wig. On the neck a necklace with a *wedjat*-eye is painted, followed by ten rows of pattern-work. The chest is covered by an enormous collar topped by two falcon's heads with sun-disks. Further down, a kneeling goddess with outstretched wings holding a *maat*-feather in each hand can be seen. The two label texts, each arranged in four short columns over the wings, identify her as Isis. The next scene depicts the mummification of the deceased by Anubis, with the mummy lying on a bier with lion-headed capitals and the four canopic jars beneath. Directly under this is an inscription panel flanked by the figures of the Sons of Horus, protective deities of the internal organs. Here, the Gamhud coffins usually feature an offering formula, a Nut formula or a combination of the two. The main text on Tasenet's coffin seems to represent a combination, with the first four columns containing an offering formula, and the fifth containing a corrupted passage from the Nut text.

The sides of the coffin lid exhibit symmetrically arranged panels, with a winged goddess wearing a sun-disk in the first register and a standing man with a sceptre in the second on either side of the coffin. The standing man was meant to represent the deceased, irrespective of her sex. The third register portrays Hapy and Qebehsenuf on the left and Amset and Duamutef on the right side, accompanied by label texts in which they guarantee protection for the deceased. In accordance with the established conventions, the last register displays the kneeling figures of Isis and Nephthys. The archaizing flavour of the entire coffin decoration is also mirrored by the image of two recumbent jackals at the feet, which is reminiscent of a Pharaonic design. The plinth of the coffin is coloured pink with a broad green stripe.

According to the aforementioned report by Fülöp Back, the coffins were not opened at the site and were transported to the museum as found.² This must have taken place later; Kamal's excavation report does not describe the contents

¹ KAMAL 1908, 13-25. Cf. the coffin of Asetirikhetes from Gamhud: NIWIŃSKI 2001, 35-36; or the coffin of Djedhor held to be from Abusir el-Melek, but probably from the area between Ihnasiya el-Medina and el-Hibe: DILS 1991, 251-253.

² GYÖRY 1997, 10.



of the coffins. The coffin of Tasetet was certainly opened sometime in or after 1965, based on a page of an Arabic diary of that year found inside the wrappings when the coffin lid was removed on May 10, 2009. Tasetet's bandaged mummy is covered by a multiple-piece cartonnage set, consisting of a gilded mask, a collar joined to the openwork figure of the sky goddess, an openwork apron topped by a winged sun-disk, a footcase with a chequered pattern on the underside, and independent cartonnage figures of the Four Sons of Horus, Isis, and Nephthys on the sides of the legs. The cartonnage ornaments were fixed in position by linen strips tied around the body and reinforced at certain spots by a resinous adhesive. The painting style, the careful application of gold foil, and the grammatically correct texts incised into the gilded text columns of the pectoral and the apron indicate that the cartonnage ornaments were made by a different artist than the coffin. The apron deserves particular attention. The text incised into its tall gilded text column is not the usual offering formula or the Nut formula, but a short hymn addressed to the winged sky goddess shown on the pectoral, who is called here Great of Sky. The text mentions a number of rare epithets, such as She-who-repels-*rage*, Mistress of Colours and Numerous of Ornaments, which have parallels in Ptolemaic hymnology.

Due to the lack of contextual data, the dating of the Gamhud finds depends to a large extent on the style-critical interpretation of the objects, especially the coffins and cartonnages. The "swollen"– or "belly"– type coffins first appeared after the Twenty-sixth Dynasty and remained in use at least until the middle Ptolemaic Period.³ The multiple-piece cartonnages became frequent at Thebes from the later 3rd century BC.⁴ If this pattern also applies to the Gamhud cemetery, then a dating to the middle to late Ptolemaic Period seems likely for the burials where this element occurs. Finally, an independent means of refining the chronology is provided by Greek and demotic papyri extracted from several cartonnage ornaments in Budapest. From the Ptolemaic Period on, not only linen but discarded papyri were also used as raw material for cartonnages. The papyrus fragments in Budapest are from official documents, such as labour contracts, name lists, receipts, and shipping invoices that can be dated to the Ptolemaic Period.⁵ The occurrence in the texts of nearby toponyms such as Tholthis (modern Talt) and Oxyrinchos (modern Bahnasa) indicate that the documents were written in the vicinity and, after being discarded, they were reused by a local workshop producing cartonnages for the Gamhud cemetery. An important anchor for chronology is offered by a papyrus written in Greek, datable to between the 30th and 39th years of Ptolemy VIII (140-131 BC).⁶ Since the demotic papyri studied by U. Luft also date to the 31st

to 34th year of a Ptolemy, it seems logical to suggest that the same ruler is involved.⁷

³ JØRGENSEN 2001, 18.

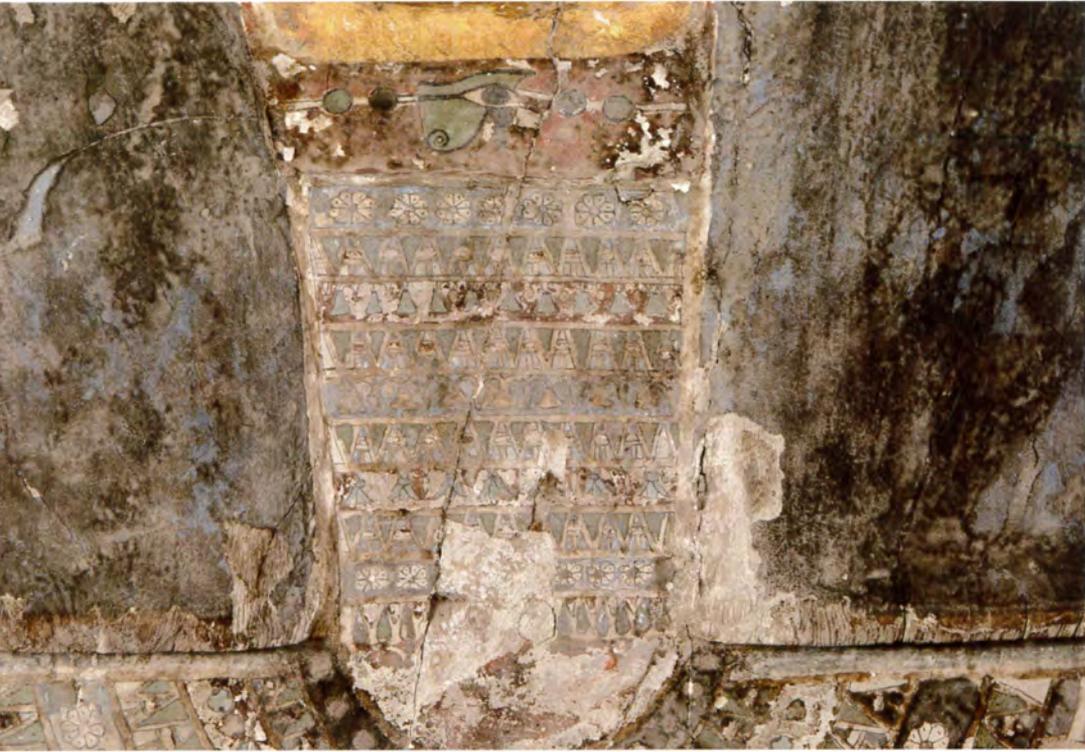
⁴ SCHREIBER 2006a, 237-238.

⁵ LUFT 1994, 191-195.

⁶ LUFT 1994, 193.

⁷ LUFT 1994, 193.

The dating to the second half of the 2nd century BC which emerges from this picture is in keeping with the observation that the height of popularity of multiple-piece cartonnages, from which these papyri were extracted, was the 2nd century BC. Although the cemetery was certainly used for a longer period of time than a decade, a dating to the 2nd century with a possible extension into the early 1st is also feasible for the burial of Tasetet.













Current Research in the Theban Necropolis

T. A. B Á C S - Z. I. F Á B I Á N - G. S C H R E I B E R

Hungary was part of the international salvage campaign for Nubian monuments in advance of the Aswan dam construction and a team of archaeologists and Egyptologists from Budapest excavated the Late Antique settlement of Abdallah Nirqi. Nineteen years later, in 1983, Hungarian archaeological fieldwork was resumed when László Kákósy obtained permission to excavate Theban Tomb (henceforth TT) 32, the mortuary monument of Djehutymes. Kákósy's choice of TT 32 was motivated not only by the outstanding quality of the mural decoration in TT 32, but also because it dated to the second half of the New Kingdom, a period which had previously been loosely defined in terms of non-royal funerary art. Although Heidelberg University's *Theben* project had already been in operation for three years, knowledge about the architectural layout of Ramesside tombs, their iconographic programme, and funerary furniture was limited. In addition, the immediate vicinity of TT 32, the southern slope of el-Khokha hillock, had also received little attention previously. The excavation of TT 32, carried out between 1983 and 2006, revealed the entire tomb complex, while the epigraphic study of the mural decoration established a basis for studying the sophisticated iconographic programme of the tomb and outlining the career of its owner. During the excavation of the forecourts, the mission also discovered a representative sample of an Eighteenth Dynasty cemetery consisting of shaft tombs and excavated two hypogeum-type tombs of the late Third Intermediate and Saite Periods. The archaeological material retrieved from these tombs and the inner rooms of TT 32 indicate that the area was reused for interments in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods as well.

The necessity of finding parallels in other tombs for the architectural, iconographic, and stylistic innovations in TT 32, the discovery of a large corpus of funerary goods ranging in time from the early New Kingdom to the Ottoman Period, and the wish to gain a better understanding of the physical and cultural environment of TT 32 in general all contributed to expanding the scope of the work in the 1990s. To meet these requirements and to get adequate answers to the questions formulated while working on TT 32, the study of two other nearby Ramesside tombs (TT 184 and TT -59-) began in 1995 and 1996, respectively.

At the same time, systematic excavation and documentation of TT 65 started at Sheikh abd el-Gurna. The integration of this tomb, dating from the reign of Ramesses IX, into the research programme expanded the chronological range of the Ramesside tombs investigated by the Hungarian Missions to the end of the New Kingdom, thus providing a chance to study Ramesside tomb art from the beginning to its last representative. Three years later, Ernő Gaál began the excavation of another Twentieth Dynasty tomb (TT -61-) on el-Khokha. The documentation of this tomb, decorated during the reign of Ramesses III, was concluded in 2008. Since 2004 a large-scale excavation has also been carried out by Z. I. Fábrián in the upper necropolis streets of el-Khokha. This work includes the study of TT 204, 205, "206" -42-, -43-, -343-, -344-, and two *Saff*-tombs dating from the Middle Kingdom. Finally, the excavation and documentation of TT -400-, a thus far unknown Ramesside tomb in the first necropolis street of el-Khokha, also started in 2007.



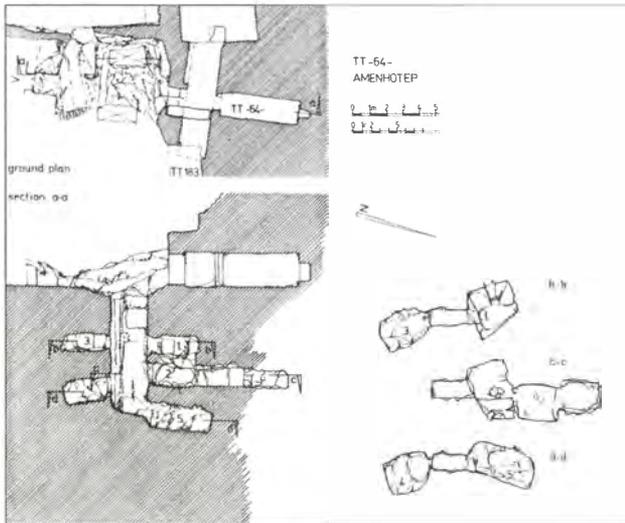
László Kákósy with a local workman in the 1980s



View of TT 32 from the pyramid of the tomb in 2007 (photo: G. Schreiber)



The Hungarian research programme now includes the study of four concession areas in two distinct parts of the Theban cemetery and associated research that relates to all major historic periods of ancient Egypt and embraces the study of sacred architecture, the artistic, religious, and technical aspects of elite burials, and the religio-historical and philological analyses of mortuary literature. At the same time, a diachronic framework developed in the research of four study areas in two larger sections of the cemetery allows not only for the study of individual tombs, but also for a better understanding of and a broader perspective on the development of the necropolis and the changes in funerary customs. The four main concessions are as follows:



Ground plan and sections of TT -64- (survey and drawing: Zs. Vasáros)

TT 32, -64- AND -400- IN THE FIRST NECROPOLIS STREET OF EL-KHOKHA

The already-excavated section of the first necropolis street of el-Khokha includes, from east to west, the tombs of Amenemhat Surero (TT 48), Nebsumenu (TT 183), Amenhotep (TT -64-), Djehutymes (TT 32), Khamenu (TT -400-), Amenemhat (TT 182), and two so-far-unexcavated tombs (without numbers) flanking TT -400-. The monumental tomb complex of TT 32, constructed for Djehutymes and his wife, Iset, provides an interesting and in some ways unique example of Ramesside tomb architecture. The complex consists of three forecourts, a decorated cult chapel with five rock-cut shrines, a long sloping passage, a burial chamber accessible through a shaft, and a mud brick pyramid. The stylistic characteristics of the tomb decoration suggest that Djehutymes lived during the reign of Ramesses II and his tomb was prepared during the second half of this reign. Djehutymes was born to a family with an elevated social status in Esna, inheriting a number of honorific and administrative

titles from his father, who acted as the governor of that town. In his active career Djehutymes held high-ranking economic offices in temple service, such as High Steward of Amun, Overseer of the Granaries of Amun, and Overseer of the Arable Fields of Amun. Later, he was promoted to the high post Overseer of the Granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt.

The appreciation of his administrative service is also mirrored in the titles Royal Envoy to All Foreign Lands and Chief Stablemaster of his Majesty, conferred on him by the royal court. The tomb was reused for interments in the later Pharaonic periods down to the Roman Period, and in medieval times the tomb interior served as a dwelling.

TT -64- is a small Eighteenth Dynasty tomb wedged between TT 32 and TT 183. The mural decoration in the cult chapel of this tomb has been almost completely destroyed. Based on a preserved bandeau-text, it was made for Amenhotep, whose only title preserved in the text identifies him as Overseer of the First Phyle. The excavation in the burial shaft of the tomb brought to light objects from the interment of Amenhotep's wife, Baket, and numerous funerary goods which postdate the original burials and range in time from the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty to the early Ramesside Period.



Detail of the western entrance scene in TT -400- (photo: L. Mátyus)

The excavations in TT -400-, a Ramesside tomb to the west of TT 32, produced evidence to suggest that this tomb was built for Khamenu, Scribe of the Treasury. Ongoing fieldwork in the forecourt and cult chapel of this tomb has also yielded material which indicates that TT -400- was reused for secondary burials during the 1st millennium BC and the Roman Period.



The axial hall of TT -59- viewed from the transverse hall of the tomb (photo: K. Kozma)

-59-, when the tomb was usurped by Bakenamun, Wab-priest of Mut. The lower rooms of TT -61- also housed multiple burials from the Third Intermediate Period, and Saite material appears in both TT -59- and TT -61-.

TT -59- AND TT -61- IN THE THIRD NECROPOLIS STREET OF EL-KHOKHA

The two neighbouring tombs, cleaned between 1996 and 2008 under the guidance of E. Gaál and G. Schreiber, are located to the west of the tombs of Nefermenu (TT 184) and Kenamun (TT 412). The history of TT -59- and TT -61- is similar. Both were constructed in the Eighteenth Dynasty, probably in the reign of Tuthmosis III, and were reused by new owners in the Twentieth Dynasty. The decoration in TT -61- is datable to the reign of Ramesses III, and the same dating is also likely for the second phase of TT



The forecourt and façade of TT -61-, with the entrance to TT -59- on the right (photo: L. Mátyus)

TT 184 IN THE THIRD NECROPOLIS STREET AND EXCAVATIONS IN THE FOURTH, FIFTH, AND SIXTH NECROPOLIS STREETS OF EL-KHOKHA

The most ancient decorated tombs of the Theban necropolis can be identified on el-Khokha at the height of TT -59- and -61-. They were created for the highest dignitaries of Thebes towards the end of the Old Kingdom and discovered in the 1960s together with New Kingdom monuments such as TT 412, the tomb of Qen-Amun. This latter and the tomb of Nefermenu (TT 184) were prepared between two of the oldest tombs, the monuments of Unis-ankh (TT 413) and Seny-iker (TT 185). Nefermenu was the governor (mayor) of Thebes in the second half of the Nineteenth Dynasty, and his career seems to have followed that of other New Kingdom governors of Thebes. He supervised Amun's granaries and was the steward in Amun's estates. Civil administration also made use of Nefermenu's services, employing him as the head of the treasury and as chief taxing master. Like some other governors, he held the steward's office on the estates attached to the western Theban mortuary monument of Amenhotep I, who was considered one of the divine protectors of the necropolis.

The monument of Nefermenu was included in the research framework of the Hungarian Archaeological Missions because its architectural and iconographic layout, reflecting an innovative religious background, represented a variant apparent in TT 32 (Djehutymes). The decoration in Nefermenu's mortuary shrines shows even more similarities to that in Nebsumenu's (TT 183), Djehutymes' neighbour, where the latter is also depicted in a relief. The relationship of these Theban dignitaries is also reflected in the fact that Nebsumenu's brother, Khaunefer, also bore the title of Governor of the Southern City. On the south slope of el-Khokha there are at least three Nineteenth Dynasty monuments applying the new mature canon of post-Amarna Theban tombs (TT 32, 183, and 184), and other monuments in the vicinity have the same or very similar features (TT 23, 264, 296, 370). Their comparative study is going on parallel with the research into Nefermenu's mortuary monument and we now call them the "el-Khokha tomb group."



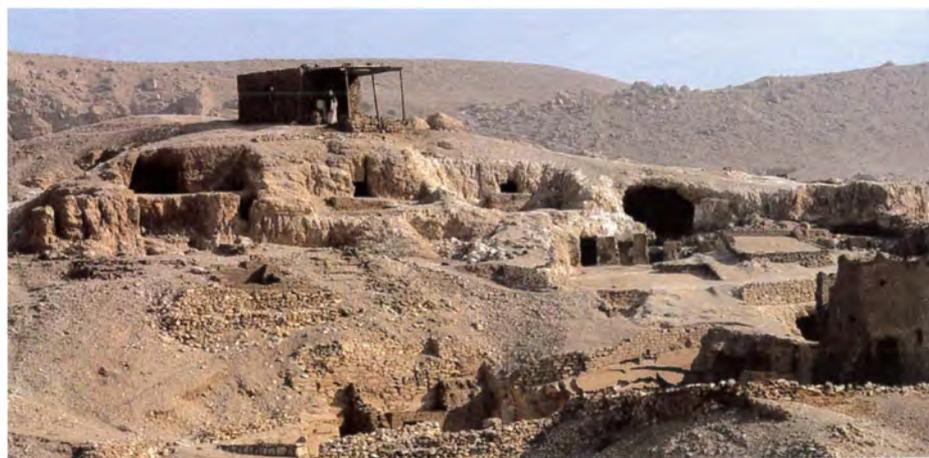


Preparing beer in the painting from the Eighteenth Dynasty free-standing mud brick chapel constructed in the forecourt of the Old Kingdom TT 412 (photo: Z. I. Fábíán)

While excavating the pyramids of Djehutymes and Nefermenu the pillared façades of two so-called *Saff*-tombs were discovered, which are characteristic of the Middle Kingdom. These now supplement the chronological layout of the south slope of el-Khokha, and it can be concluded that tomb-making in this part of the cemetery continued above the most ancient monuments. The eastern *Saff*-tomb has been excavated; it was prepared in *tafl* between two limestone layers and consisted of a forecourt with slanting walls, the eight-pillared façade of a portico room followed by a short axial corridor, two side rooms, and two burial chambers. The contemporary material found in this monument [Cat. Nos. 14, 15a, 15b] indicates that it was already plundered in ancient times. The pottery vessels were left in the tomb, evidently because they were not considered valuable.

Both Nefermenu's monument and the *Saff*-tomb were reused as secondary burial places in later periods. Third Intermediate Period material prevails, but material from a shaft tomb prepared in and beneath the portico of the *Saff*-tomb, ranging in time through the Twenty-fifth Dynasty down to the 6th century BC, proves that it was used for quite a long time [Cat. Nos. 37, 38, 46, 47]. The oldest tombs in the area were also occupied in later periods. In front of the façade of Unis-ankh's monument a free standing mud-brick burial chapel was discovered recently. It was created in the Eighteenth Dynasty and bright paintings have been preserved depicting funerary processions and the preparation of beer. In the uppermost row of monuments on el-Khokha, small, exclusively New Kingdom tombs, were cut in the rock (from the east: TT "206", -43-, 205: Tuthmosis, -42-, 204: Nebanensu, and -41-). They consist of only small open forecourts and one or two cult chapels. The painted decoration has only been preserved on small surfaces. TT -43- is the only Ramesside monument in the upper row of tombs where the burial chamber can be approached through

The excavation of Nefermenu's tomb was long delayed by a large modern mud brick house, part of which was only removed in March 2009, but the rock cut rooms, including three subsequent shrines, a sloping passage, and the burial chamber, have been identified and excavated. Above Nefermenu's tomb shrine, the remains of what was once probably a pyramid-like superstructure were also exposed. The number of published superstructures of this kind in the Theban necropolis, including Djehutymes', is gradually increasing and a tradition of pyramid building in New Kingdom elite tombs now seems to be evident beyond Dra Abu'l-Naga, Deir el-Medina, and depictions in wall paintings and reliefs.

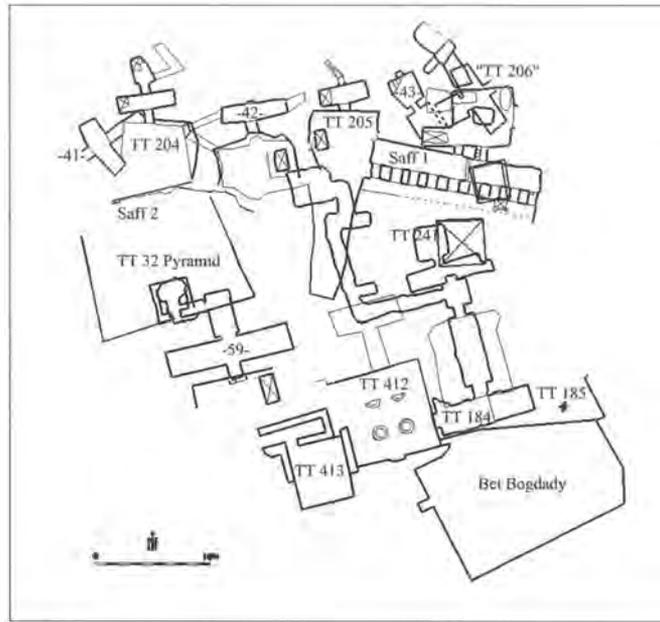


The upper part of the south slope of el-Khokha. Nefermenu's monument (TT 184) is below the large mud brick building on the right. The remains of the two pyramid-shaped superstructures are below the uppermost row of New Kingdom tombs (from the east, TT "206", TT -43-, TT 205: Tuthmosis, TT -42-, TT 204: Nebanensu, and TT -41- (photo: Z. I. Fábíán)

a long sloping passage. A candidate for its owner is Neferronpet, who was in the service of Amun and whose reddish sandstone statue has been found in several fragments. The other, Eighteenth Dynasty, tombs used burial shafts in front of the façades, in open courts. All these small tombs were occupied in later Pharaonic periods, when additional burial shafts and secondary burial chambers were prepared in them.

The tomb now known as "TT 206" has proved to be different from the one registered under that number, for it is not identical with the decorated monument of Inpuemheb, prepared in Ramesside times and described in earlier studies, but is an Eighteenth Dynasty tomb. The funerary cones which once adorned the façade and were found in the area bear the name of a certain Neb-mehyt, a harem official. The entrance to the real TT 206 is still to be located as it seems to be covered by debris at present.

The excavation of the forecourts in the upper row of tombs has also led to the conclusion that the tombs in the uppermost row on el-Khokha were once approached by ramps. TT -42- and 205 (Tuthmosis) were surely constructed so that their axes were slightly shifted in relation to the much earlier *Saff*-tombs beneath them and the side walls of the forecourts of the *Saff*-tombs were used as ramps.

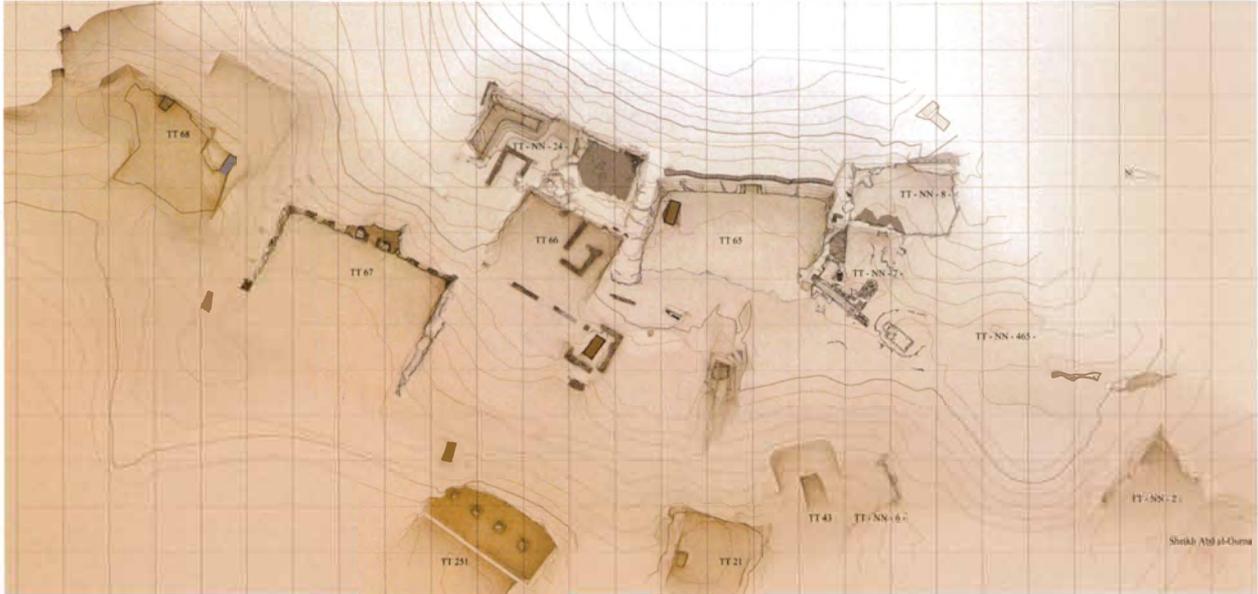


Plans of the tombs in the upper part of the south slope of el-Khokha (survey and drawing: Gy. Csáki)

TT 65 AND EXCAVATION ON SHEIKH ABD EL-GURNA

The complexity of the site of Theban Tomb 65 and its environs on the hill of Sheikh Abd el-Gurna has necessitated a long-term research design accommodating the tombs in the immediate vicinity of TT 65. Systematic research in and around Theban Tomb 65 was started in 1995 and has continued annually ever since. It is essential to emphasize that one of the most significant factors that has defined the research and fieldwork so far and which marks out future avenues of investigation is the historical trajectory of the archaeological site itself. Not surprisingly, this has created a complex site with an intriguing set of archaeological and epigraphic data. This long trajectory, setting aside here the site's modern history, extends from the early Eighteenth Dynasty through the late New Kingdom to Late Antique and early Islamic times. Thus, TT 65 was initially designed as a mortuary complex in the early Eighteenth Dynasty for a certain Nebamun and later reused during the late Ramesside period by a member of the priestly elite, Imiseba. In the post-New Kingdom era, like most such complexes in the Theban necropolis, it was changed into an area for multiple burials, probably in use until the Hellenistic period. Finally, in the sixth to eighth centuries, it formed part of an anchorite establishment, the so-called "Monastery of Cyriacus". The territory of this monastic establishment, however, extended beyond TT 65 and incorporated several neighbouring tomb-chapels, thus TT-NN-7-, TT-NN-8-, and possibly TT-NN-2- on the north and TT-NN-24-, TT 66 (Hapu), and TT 67 (Hapuseneb) on the south. The excavation of the Late Antique phase of TT 65 and the need to reassess the information related to it therefore led naturally to the inclusion of these in our field of interest. The research into these tomb-chapels along that of TT 65 relates, however, not only to the Late Antique period, but affords us with the unique





The north-eastern slope of Sheikh Abd el-Gurna (map and drawing: M. Nagy and F. Pfeffer)

potential of pursuing a more complex and much needed diachronic study of one of the central areas of the Theban elite necropolis in the context of a tightly defined necropolis area. Accordingly, ongoing research work includes the completion of the area's topographic survey and the mapping and architectural study of all the tombs located within it. The archaeological exploration of the site has and will concentrate on completing the systematic excavation of TT 65, the clearance of TT-NN-7-, TT-NN-8-, and TT 67, and the surface clearance of surviving Late Antique features. One unexpected result so far has been the discovery of the burial apartment of a previously unknown King's Son and Overseer of Southern Foreign Countries, Penre, at the edge of TT 65's forecourt, which dates to the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III. Also to be pursued and completed are the epigraphic documentation of the unique and complex decoration programme of TT 65 together with those of TT-NN-7-, TT-NN-8-, and TT 67 (although the latter three have little preserved or no interior decoration at all), as well as the continuous study of the textual sources left behind by the inhabitants of the Monastery of Cyriacus. Within the framework of the project, moreover, all essential and necessary conservation and restoration work is undertaken continuously.



Aerial view of Sheikh Abd el-Gurna – 2006 (photo: F. Pfeffer)

2. Shabti of Djehutymes

Nineteenth Dynasty, reign of Ramesses II (1279–1213 BC)

Faience, white glaze, pigment

Ht. 12.2 cm

From TT 32, Room XV (burial chamber)

Without Register Number, Inv. No. 84/336

Collection of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo

This shabti is the best preserved of the three funerary figurines, all made of the same mould, which remained preserved in TT 32 from the equipment of the tomb owner, Djehutymes.¹ Another, complete, example of the same set is kept in Berlin.² The figurine is mummiform with the hands crossed over the chest, implements held in the hands, and a tripartite wig on the head. The figurine as a whole seems to be an average product of its time, characterised by careful modelling of the human body and a professional glazing technique.

A rather unusual feature of Djehutymes' set, however, is that the figurines exhibit two variants in colouring. While the present example was covered with white glaze with the wig and the inscription in black and the hands red, another example excavated in TT 32 is covered with a greenish-blue glaze. This kind of differentiation was probably purely decorative and does not reflect a functional difference. Since Djehutymes had two shabti boxes, each containing at least three figurines in three compartments, his shabti set must have included at least six figurines, even though a higher number between twelve and twenty would be more realistic. The inscription on the trunk of the figurine, now faint and illegible, was still visible at the time of its discovery (1985). Hence we know that the short text, arranged in a single column, contained the name and main title of the owner. The same text is preserved on the two other shabtis excavated in TT 32 and on the complete example in Berlin: *The illuminated one, the Osiris Steward of Amun, Djehutymes, the justified.*

Bibliography: KÁKOSY 1989a, 52, fig. 57 [photos]; SCHREIBER 2008, 23, 28 (No. 1.1.2.4), pl. X, photo pl. III [description, commentary, translation of text, line drawings and photos].

[G.S.]

¹ SCHREIBER 2008, 23, 28 (Nos. 1.1.2.4-6), pl. X, photo pl. III.

² Berlin 10810; KITCHEN 1980, 318; KITCHEN 2000, 229.



3. Shabti of Amenhotep

Twentieth Dynasty, reign of Ramesses III
(1184–1153 BC)

Wood, pigment

Ht. 20.3 cm, W. 5.8 cm, Th. 4 cm (base)

From TT -61-, Room IX (Burial Chamber)

Reg. No. 413, Inv. No. AMN.U.001

This funerary figurine, restored from two fragments, is the single complete example from the shabti set constructed for Amenhotep, owner of TT -61-. Judging from other fragments excavated from the tomb, Amenhotep's set comprised at least ten figurines, possibly even a higher number. This complete example is representative of the workman type, characterised by a mummiform appearance, a tripartite wig, and the hands, holding implements, crossed over the chest. On the back a sandbag is drawn in red. The figurine is coloured yellow, with the face, hands, and implements in red and the wig blue. Two texts are painted on the trunk of the figurine in black on a yellow background. The arrangement of these texts in three registers spanning the circumference of the trunk and in a column extending from the hands to the feet evokes contemporary coffin design. The horizontally



rendered text gives the starting lines of the Book of the Dead, chapter 6, the so-called shabti spell, whose function was to animate the figurine so that it could obey its master and work in his place in the hereafter. The vertical text features the name and titles of Amenhotep:

The illuminated one, the Osiris wab-priest of Mut, chief physician in the estate of Amun, Amenhotep, the justified.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

[G.S.]



4. Uninscribed shabti

Twentieth Dynasty, probably the reign of Ramesses III (1184–1153 BC)

Wood, pigment

Ht. 20.4 cm, W. 5.2, Th. 2.5 (base)

From TT -61-, Room VII

Reg. No. 384

Collection of the National Museum of Egyptian Civilization, Cairo-Fustat

This shabti comes from a set of which two mummiform figurines and one depicting the deceased in festive dress were retrieved from Room VII of TT -61-. This figurine is of the mummiform type, with the hands folded over the chest, and a tripartite wig. The shabti is coloured white, with a collar in polychrome; the face is painted red. The facial features suggest that the figurine was made for a female. The stylistic characteristics are in keeping with the dating of the New Kingdom burials in Rooms VII-IX to the Twentieth Dynasty. Since no shabtis inscribed for Mutemheb, wife of the tomb owner, Amenhotep, were discovered in TT -61-, it is not unlikely that the three extant examples of this uninscribed shabti set belonged to her burial equipment.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

[G.S.]



5. Uninscribed shabti

Twentieth Dynasty, probably

the reign of Ramesses III (1184–1153 BC)

Wood, pigment

Ht. 19.8 cm, W. 5.5 cm, Th. 3.5 cm (base)

From TT -61-, Room VII

Reg. No. 383, Inv. No. AMN.U.014

Collection of the National Museum
of Egyptian Civilisation, Cairo-Fustat

This shabti wears a tripartite wig, a long white kilt, and a yellow painted collar covering the shoulders and part of the chest. The face, hands, and feet are coloured red. The kilt as well as the posture of the figurine, with the legs closed and the hands resting on the thighs, indicates that the shabti is of the overseer (*reis*) type. The colour scheme, identical to Cat. No. 4, is furthermore suggestive that they belonged to the same set.

Bibliography: GAÁL 2004, 60 (photo).

[G.S.]



6. Shabti of Menmaatre-her-sekheper

Nineteenth Dynasty, reign of Sethi I or Ramesses II (1294–1213 BC)

Wood, pigment

Ht. 20 cm, W. 5.5 cm, Th. 4.2 cm (base)

From the burial shaft of TT -64-, Chamber 4

Reg. No. 376

Collection of the National Museum

of Egyptian Civilization, Cairo-Fustat



This finely modelled shabti is of the workman type, characterized by a mummiform appearance, tripartite wig, and the hands, holding hoes, crossed over the chest. The figurine is coloured yellow, except for the feet and the back, which are painted white. The wig, the eyes, the inscription, and the hoes are painted black. The shabti wears a collar elaborated with red and black painted details. On the back a sandbag is outlined in red. The trunk of the figurine bears an incomplete version of Book of the Dead, chapter 6. The owner of the shabti was Menmaatre-her-sekheper, who held the title Doorkeeper, a not-too-elevated, non-priestly, post in Theban temple hierarchy.¹ The name, containing the *praenomen* of Sethi I as the first component, is indicative of a dating to the reign of Sethi I or the early years of Ramesses II. The shabti text gives an abbreviated form of the *basilophorus* name (Menmaatre-sekheper), while the full name is preserved on the lid of the shabti box which held the funerary figurines. The figurine as a whole finds parallels dated to the late Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasty, and so does the shabti text, which seems to be close to Schneider's Type IIIB.² An unusual feature of this text is that it contains the title and filiation of the owner inserted in the list of duties and not directly after the summons. The generic obstacle clause is also missing here, while the second half of the shabti spell, including the call and the closing *nw*-clause is completely omitted. The text begins in the six horizontal lines spanning the circumference of the trunk (1-6), then continues in the column on the back (7) and ends with vertically rendered signs on the feet (8): (1) *The illuminated one, the Osiris doorkeeper Menmaatre-* (2) *<her>-sekheper, the justified. He says: O these shabtis,* (3) *if one counts off, if* (4) *one reckons to do all the works* (5) *which are wont to be done in the god's land <by> the Osiris* (6) *<door-> keeper, born of Ipu-aba- (7) rol(?), the justified;* to make arable a field, to irrigate (8) *the riparian lands.*

Bibliography: KÁKOSY 2002a, 258-260, figs. 7-8 (description without translation of the text and photos). [G.S.]

¹ On this title, see: ČERNÝ 2001, 161; SCHREIBER 2008, 55.

² SCHNEIDER 1977, 94-96; fig. 3.



7. Shabti of Imiseba

Late Twentieth Dynasty, reign of Ramesses IX (1126-1108 BC)

Wood, pigment

Ht. 16.4 cm, W. 5.2 cm, Th. 3 cm

From TT 65 – Shaft '1' (Burial Chamber)

Reg. No. 420, Inv. No. 01/IA/04

This shabti, now unfortunately heavily damaged, probably belonged to Imiseba, the second owner of TT 65, who, as a high ranking member of the Theban clergy, was Chief of the Temple Archives of the Estate of Amen-Re and Chief of the Altar-chamber (also of Amun) at Karnak temple. Found at the bottom of Shaft '1' in the forecourt of his tomb-chapel in a clearly secondary context, the statuette's style and the partially preserved official title warrant its attribution to him. Save for a wooden box fragment and splinters from another wooden *shabti* recovered from the same find spot, albeit of a different type, it is Imiseba's only known funerary object to date.



The painted wooden shabti representing Imiseba in the Osiride pose is lacking a face, left arm, and legs that are broken off below the knees. He is shown wearing a black lappet (tripartite) wig and the slender mummiform body is painted white, imitating the linen shroud enveloping the dead. Whereas the crossed arms were skilfully modelled by carving, the two hands holding hoes were only painted on in dark ochre.¹ The same colour was used to render the seed basket with its netting worn on the back. On a yellow background framed in dark ochre, with the top line accentuated in black, a single column of inscription in black was added on the front. The preserved portion introduces the owner's name by *sehedj* (a term variously translated as "Illuminating the Osiris...", "Illumine the Osiris...", or the one preferred here, "the illuminated one, the Osiris..."), followed by Imiseba's main title: *The illumined one, the Osiris, chief of the temple archives [of the estate of Amen-Re, King of the Gods, Imiseba, the justified]*.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

[T.A.B.]

¹ Munsell 7.5R 4/6

8. Shabti of Nefermenu (?)

Late Nineteenth Dynasty

Terracotta, pigments

Ht. 17.5 cm, W. 5.3 cm, Th. 4 cm

From TT 184 – Burial Chamber

Reg. No. 454. Inv. No. 2000.158.a



Fragments of several shabti statuettes were found in Nefermenu's tomb. This example, reassembled from three pieces, is one of a set that can be dated to the New Kingdom. These small, mummiform statuettes, common grave goods over a long period, were usually placed in tombs to serve the deceased in the afterlife, mainly with field labour.

The terracotta shabtis found in Nefermenu's tomb (TT 184) bear no inscriptions identifying the owner. Nevertheless, they can only be related to Nefermenu, the owner of the tomb, for they were all discovered in the burial chamber. The stylistic features of these statuettes indicate Ramesside origins. They are relatively large, around 18 cm in length. They wear tripartite wigs and have accentuated ears and a somewhat portrait-like shaping of the face. The facial features, eyes, brows, nose, and mouth, are rather well formed and clearly visible. The arms are crossed above the chest, in the classic position, with the right arm over the left one, each holding agricultural tools. Although the surface of the statuettes is rather weathered, the white base on which the coloured painting was executed can be seen. The dominant colour was red and some painted details survive in small patches, especially on the front of the body. The hoes in the hands were never realised in relief, but were painted in black. The broad collar is detailed with blue and dark red. Red stripes on a white background indicate the mummy bandages on the legs of some fragmentary pieces. Although all these pieces found in the debris of the burial chamber represent one main type, they can be classified into six different groups. The members of each group were prepared in different moulds and the details executed on the members of each group varied slightly. At least 32 pieces can be distinguished in this set. The number of shabtis in a set had increased by the Ramesside period, parallel with the use of cheaper materials, terracotta and faience. Even so, the items found in Nefermenu's burial chamber outnumber the usual sets of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Archaeological evidence shows that in most cases the number of shabtis per burial did not exceed ten in the early Nineteenth Dynasty. During the later Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties the number of shabtis increased considerably, though first it varied from a few dozens to hundreds.¹ This example of a set of at least 32 specimens with similar features in Nefermenu's tomb may thus bear witness to the early rise in the number of shabtis.

Bibliography: FÁBIÁN 2007.

[Z.I.F.]

¹ SCHNEIDER 1977, I, 266-267, and 308, n. 43; ASTON 1994, 21. A further example of Princess Henutmehyt, whose set contained 40 shabtis, is mentioned by QUIRKE-SPENCER 1994, 86; see also TAYLOR 2001, 124.



9. Statue group of Djehutymes and his parents

Nineteenth Dynasty, reign of Ramesses II (1279–1213 BC)

Limestone, pigment

Ht. 112 cm, W. 105 cm, Th. 59 cm, Ht. of base 23 cm

From Gurna, TT 32

CGC 549

Collection of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo

The statue group portraying Djehutymes and his parents has been part of the Egyptian Museum's collection since it opened in 1902. The Museum's *Catalogue Général* states only that the statue was found in Gurna (Thebes-West),¹ but there can be no doubt that the original find spot was the offering room of Theban Tomb 32. This innermost room of Djehutymes' cult chapel boasted three statue groups, each depicting a family triad, with arrangements reflecting one another. The cult centre of the offer-

ing room is occupied by a divine triad, Osiris, Isis, and Horus, whose rock-cut effigies appear in a niche on the axis of the cult chapel.² Reminiscent of the model of the divine family, the Cairo statue depicts Djehutymes with his parents, while another freestanding statue group preserved in the tomb portrays Djehutymes and his wife, Iset, with their son, Amenmose, standing between them.³ In accordance with the standards of Ramesside tomb art, in which pride of place was given to the gods while the dead were relegated to a subordinate position, the two freestanding statues were turned at right angles to the central statue group so that they faced each other. The triangular arrangement of the three statue-groups with the Osiride triad in the middle was to express the similarities between the divine family and the Djehutymes' families and to emphasise the apotheosis of the latter. Despite the apparent parallelisms, Djehutymes and his family appear as followers of Osiris, rather than deities substantially identical with the divine family. The nuances of this symbolism are conveyed not only by the subordinate position of the freestanding

statues but also by the appearance of the adoring figures of Djehutymes on the sides of the niche sheltering the Osiride triad.

The Cairo statue shows the seated figure of Djehutymes in the middle, flanked by his mother, Henutwedjebu, on his right, and his father, Amenmose, on his left.⁴ The two males wear duplex wigs and long pleated festive dresses, and both sit with their right hands resting on their thighs and their left hands grasping pieces of linen strips. Djehutymes' mother is shown in a tripartite wig and long unpleated robe; she puts her left arm on Djehutymes' shoulder. Interestingly, her left hand is not indicated. The texts carved on the legs of the figures and on the sides of the throne list some of the



Statue group representing Djehutymes with his wife Iset, and his son Amenmose as found in the offering room of TT 32 in 1984





men's extensive titles. Hence, we know that Djehutymes' hometown was Esna, since his father is called the Mayor (Governor) of that town, while his mother appears as the Chantress of Nebtu, a local goddess. Djehutymes' elevated social status, which might have superseded that of his father, is demonstrated by the list of his administrative and honorific titles, including Real King's Scribe, his beloved, High Steward and Superintendent of Granaries of Amun, Royal Envoy to All Foreign Lands, and Chief Stablemaster of His Majesty. The back surface of the statue group features a long offering formula for the well-being of Djehutymes and his wife, Iset, in the hereafter:⁵

An offering which the king gives (to) Amen-Re-Harakhti-Atum, living by truth, (most) august god of the Conclave of the Gods, chief of all gods, (to) Osiris, Chief of the West, Wenenufer, Ruler of the living, (to) Isis the mighty, Mother of the god, Lady of heaven, (to) Anubis, Chief of the God's Booth, (to) Horus, Champion of his father, (to) all the gods of the necropolis, (and to) the Conclave of the gods of the Sacred [Territory],

that they may give glory in heaven, power on earth, justification in the necropolis; smelling the sweet [breeze] of the North Wind; coming forth as a living soul; and making all transformations that he wishes with the great god, Lord of the West; entry and exit without hindrance at the portals of the Netherworld; receipt of food offerings that appear in the (divine) presence upon the altar of the Lords of Thebes; and [following] Sokar in Ro-Setjau and Osiris in Busiris, – for the spirit of the one greatly favoured by the [Good god], Real King's Scribe, beloved of him, High Steward of Amun, Djehutymes, justified, son of the Dignitary, Superintendent of Field[s], Amenmose, justified, and born of the Lady of the house, Henutwedjebu, justified; and his Sister, Lady of the house, Iset.



Bibliography: DARESSY 1893, 26-27 (No. XXXIII) [publication of texts]; BORCHARDT 1925, 94-96 (No. 549) [description, publication of texts, photo]; KITCHEN 1980, 316-317 [publication of texts]; KÁKOSY 1989a, 49, fig. 52 (photo); KITCHEN 2000, 228-229 (translation of texts).

[G. S.]



- 1 BORCHARDT 1925, 94.
- 2 KÁKOSY *et al.* 2004, 314-316, pl. LXXI.
- 3 Reproduced in a photo in: KÁKOSY *et al.* 2004, pl. LXXII.
- 4 On the family of Djehutymes, see: KÁKOSY *et al.* 2004, 355-356.
- 5 Translation by Kenneth A. Kitchen: KITCHEN 2000, 228-229.

In order to preserve consistency in the spelling of the names, the name forms Thutmose and Isis in Kitchen's translation have been changed to Djehutymes and Iset, respectively.



10. Kneeling Statue of Djehutymes holding Ram-headed Aegis of Amun

Early Nineteenth Dynasty, reign of Ramesses II (1279-1213 BC)

Grey granite

Ht. 74 cm, W. 29.8 cm, Th. 36 cm, Ht. of back pillar 55 cm, Ht. of base 10.5 cm

From Karnak – cachette

CGC 42180

Collection of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo



This votive statue of Djehutymes was discovered in 1904 among several hundred others by Georges Legrain in the “Karnak cachette”, a vast deposit of statues and temple objects buried during the Ptolemaic period in the courtyard of the VIIIth Pylon of Karnak temple.¹ As a so-called emblematophorous statue it is a variant of a general type of New Kingdom non-royal temple statuary that represents a person holding an image or emblem of the deity in whose temple it was to be deposited. Such statues ensured the donor of the represented deity’s protection and secured his eternal rejuvenation and his hoped-for participation in the offerings of both daily ritual and feasts.²

The figure of Djehutymes is shown kneeling on a rectangular base, supported by a back pillar, holding the emblem of Amun before him.³ Sculpted from grey granite, the stone’s surface is relatively weathered, indicating that it originally stood in an open-air location and was, as a result, exposed to the elements. Appearing accidental in antiquity rather than intentional, the only perceptible damage it has suffered is to its nose.

Not highly polished, the statue presents a somewhat squat impression due to the very stubby neck of the figure and the fairly short, albeit bulky, waved wig that is parted in the center. Djehutymes’ triangular face has rounded contours with a markedly slanting forehead plainly visible in profile view. He has modelled eyebrows and large arching eyes that lack the cosmetic eye extensions that may have been added in paint. Despite the damage to the nose, the outlines indicate that it was long, straight, and wide at the root. The rather unconvincing modelling of the mouth with pronounced lips gives it a pursed look. Many of the facial features bear a certain resemblance to those of the preserved “Osiride statue” heads from the tomb’s courtyard [Cat. No. 13], suggesting that it may have been the work of the same sculpture workshop that produced the tomb statuary.

With a rather summary modelling of his lower body especially, Djehutymes' figure displays rounded shoulders, moderately lean arms, and schematic hands with angular parallel fingers with the nails indicated by incisions. As befitted his status, Djehutymes is shown wearing the typical elite costume of the Nineteenth Dynasty comprising a shirt with wide and floppy sleeves and a long pleated kilt.

The emblem held between his hands is a version of the standard of Amun with the stem reduced here to a short thick block that carries the ram-aegis of Amun. This consists of a ram-headed protome wearing a tripartite wig, crowned by a solar disk with a uraeus, and an aegis or broad collar.

The inscriptions written on the emblem's stem, the front of the base, and the back pillar contain two short offering formulae for the benefit of Djehutymes:

Front: *An offering which the king gives (to) Amen-Re, King of the Gods, greatly renowned, august god, beloved/who loves⁴ [... ...]*

Base: [... ...][High Steward of] Amun, Djehuty[mes][...]

Back pillar: *An offering which the king gives (to) Amun, greatly renowned, so that he may give a happy lifetime in his temple to the High Steward of Amun, Djehutymes, the justified.*

Bibliography: LEGRAIN 1909, 45-46, pl. 43.

[T. A. B.]

¹ 8 March 1904, LEGRAIN 1909, 45-46; on the cachette in general,

TRAUNECKER – GOLVIN 1984, 169-174.

² VAN DIJK 1983, 49-60.

³ RADWAN 2005, 216 Fig. 9.

⁴ See thus also KITCHEN 2000, 229.



11. Stelophorous statue

Nineteenth Dynasty, probably the reign of Ramesses II (1279–1213 BC)

Sandstone

Ht. 34.5 cm, W. 17 cm, Th. 22 cm

From TT 32 Trench O (torso with stela) and Trench H (head)

Reg. No. 459, Inv. No. 2004.S.006 (torso with stela), Reg. No. 375 (head)

This statue portrays a kneeling figure with his hands raised and rested on the back of a round-topped stela. The kneeling figure wears a duplex wig exposing the ears and a long unpleated skirt; the hands are raised in an attitude of worship. The statue as a whole finds ready parallels in a number of post-Amarna *stelophorous* statues, but it is unusual in that it was made of sandstone and not limestone or granite, of which most of its *comparanda* were manufactured. As demonstrated, furthermore, by the lack of inscriptions on the stela as well as by the rough-and-ready modelling of the hands, feet, and soles, the statue is unfinished. The lack of the multicoloured painting which was usually applied to Egyptian sandstone statues also supports this interpretation.



Stelophorous statues exhibiting the combination of a kneeling figure and a stela inscribed with a hymn to the sun god became frequent in the Theban necropolis from the early Eighteenth Dynasty.¹ The prayers address the sun god at his rising or at his setting, and also express the wish of the deceased to be in the train of the god through his perpetual celestial journey.² Based on the representations of tomb façades in Eighteenth Dynasty Theban tombs,³ *stelophorous* statues originally must have stood in the chapels of brick pyramids which usually formed part of the superstructure of Theban tombs. The placement of the statue in the pyramid, which itself was also an age-old solar symbol, emphasised the solar aspects of the tomb, thus presenting a counterpoint to the decoration of the cult chapel where chthonic connotations



predominated. Although the original meaning of such statues was comprehensively retained during the later Pharaonic periods, their form altered during the course of time. The statue from TT 32 represents Stewart's Type IV, in which the stela is articulated as a separate element standing on the ground and merging only partly with the knees and hands of the human figure.⁴ This kind of rendering first appeared in the reigns of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II, increasing in frequency soon afterwards. The placement of the statue was also subject to change during the late New Kingdom. In TT 32 fragments of at least four limestone *stelophorous* statues inscribed for Djehutymes were discovered. Since all the fragments were excavated in the innermost portico of TT 32, one may suggest that the statues in question stood in the *intercolumnnia* of the portico, immediately in front of the façade of the tomb. It is unknown whether the pyramid chapel of TT 32 housed another

statue (probably it did), but nothing similar was found there during the excavation. The statue shown in the exhibit was reconstructed in 2009 from two fragments (a head and a body with stela). The head was excavated near the entrance to Tomb G in 2001 and the larger lower fragment, with the body and the stela, was discovered in 2004 immediately atop the ruins of the eastern pylon tower of the first gateway to the tomb. Although the statue is unfinished, it is likely that it formed part of the iconographic programme of TT 32 and was placed in a niche, oriented to the east, in the entrance zone of the tomb.

Bibliography: Unpublished. For the head, see: KÁKOSY 2002b, 327, fig. 11 (description and photo).

[G.S.]

1 STEWART 1964, 165-166.

2 On the texts and related New Kingdom hymns, see in general: STEWART 1967a. Cf. STEWART 1967b.

3 DAVIES 1938, 25ff.

4 STEWART 1964, 168-170.



12. Effigy of Isis from a statue group representing the Osiride triad

Twentieth Dynasty, reign of Ramesses III (1184–1153 BC)

Sandstone, pigment, with gilded cartonnage added to the wig

Ht. 45.5 cm, W. 27 cm, Th. 23.5 cm

From TT -61-, Room II

Reg. No. 419, Inv. No. 2005.S.001

This fragmentary effigy of Isis comes from a cult statue group representing the Osiride triad, with Osiris in the middle, Isis on his right, and Horus on his left. The divine family is depicted seated on a common throne, the front of which is decorated with alternating blue, green, and red bands. The figures are arranged so that their legs rest on a common plinth, which forms a base for the statue. The goddess sits in a static posture, with the legs closed and her right arm resting on her right leg. The relation between wife and husband is expressed in Isis' gesture of resting her left arm on Osiris' right thigh. The head of the goddess is missing, but a part preserved from the left lappet of her wig makes it clear that she wore a tripartite wig. She is dressed in a long red robe fastened above the waist by the triangle-shaped knot of a long sash, the two lappets of which hang over the legs. Her bare skin is coloured yellow; she wears bracelets on her arms. Interestingly, the head of the statue shows traces of reworking. After it was finished by painting, a layer of gessoed linen was applied to the already-painted left lappet of the wig, which was then gilded.

In accordance with Ramesside traditions, this statue group must have stood in the innermost room of the cult chapel of TT -61-, probably leaning against the rear wall. The statue group of the gods was paralleled by a dyad representing the tomb owners, Amenhotep and his wife, Mutemheb. The latter was put on a separate base and probably placed directly in front of the effigy of the gods. Both statue groups were moved out of position when a secondary shaft tomb was cut to the floor of the statue room in the 6th century BC.



Reconstruction of the statue group representing the Osiride triad from TT -61- (photo: L. Mátyus)



Bibliography: Unpublished.

[G.S.]



13. Head of a half-statue of Djehutymes

Nineteenth Dynasty, reign of Ramesses II (1279–1213 BC)

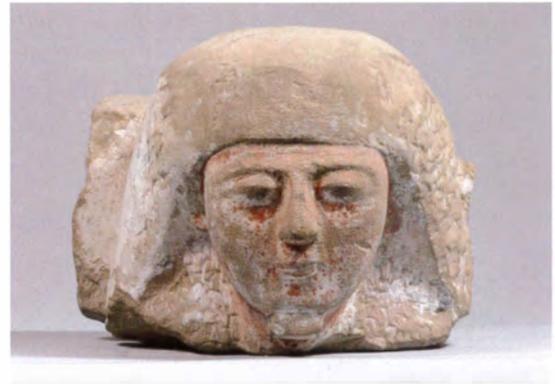
Sandstone, pigment

Ht. 33.5 cm, W. 44.5 cm, Th. 53 cm

From TT 32, Innermost Forecourt

JE 98659

Collection of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo



During the excavation of the innermost forecourt of TT 32 a remarkable sandstone head, originating from a larger-than-life-size standing half-statue of the tomb-owner, Djehutymes, came to light in 1991. The statue shows the tomb owner wearing a false beard and a duplex wig which partially conceals his ears. The almond-shaped eyes, eyebrows, and ears are summarily carved. These features, along with the broad nose, the close-set eyes, the prominent brow, and the absence of clearly defined cheekbones are all typical of private Ramesside sculpture.¹ The eyebrows, which turn up at the corners, were deeply incised and coloured with black pigment. The head shows a wing-shaped mouth and a remarkably square jaw set in a triangular-shaped face with a small chin. The mouth is extremely narrow, especially when compared to the width of the nose. It is not integrated harmonically into the structure of the face although the edges of the lips are softly marked. The portrait is enhanced by rich coloring. The skin and lips are orange-brown, the lappets of the wig, the eyebrows, the irises, and the eyeliner are black, and the upper part of the wig and the eyeballs are white. Stylistically, the restrained sensitivity and the melancholic expression of the face are close to works created in the post-Amarna Period. In scale, material, and function the statue closely resembles the Osiride pillars at the Ramesseum, which perhaps served as prototypes for the sculptor. The statue on display forms part of a larger collection of sandstone half-statues which originally stood in the innermost forecourt of TT 32, decorating the pillars of the portico.² Out of the sixteen pillars, the bases of thirteen have been preserved.³ The study of the fragments originating from these half-statues allows a theoretical reconstruction of fifteen statues of Djehutymes and one probably made for Iset, the wife of the tomb owner.

Open forecourts were a mandatory architectural element of Theban private tombs during the New Kingdom, which high-ranking personalities constructed in large sizes.⁴ Tombs with two forecourts, however, seem to have been much less typical in this period, while the presence of a third forecourt, such as the one discovered in TT 32 in 2004, stands without parallels so far in the Theban archaeological record.⁵ The enormous structure of TT 32, composed of three forecourts, a large pyramid, and rock-cut rooms, thus exemplifies a monumental and extravagant architectural solution which also sheds light on a stage of Theban tomb architecture not well-known at this time.

Bibliography: *Europe and Egypt* 1995 (photo); KÁKOSY 1992b, 194, 201 (report on discovery and photos); KÁKOSY *et al.* 2004, 15, pls. XIX, CII-CIII, CVI-CVII (description, photos and reconstructions); LECLANT-CLERC 1991, 225, fig. 62 (report on discovery and photo)

[Zs.V.]



¹ For private tomb sculptures, see: FAZZINI *et al.* 1989, Cat. no. 59; *Luxor Museum* 1978,

94; SILVERMAN 1997, 144-145, Cat. No. 44. For the Memphite examples, see: MARTIN 1987.

² LEBLANC *et al.* 1980, 64-66.

³ See: KÁKOSY *et al.* 2004, 9-17.

⁴ For typology, see: KAMPP 1996, 12-41; SEYFRIED 1987b, 219-253.

⁵ SCHREIBER 2008, 12. Cf. ground plan by Zs. Vasáros: *Ibid.*, pl. LXXXIII.

The Middle Kingdom on el-Khokha: *Saff*-tombs

Z. I. FÁBIÁN

The most ancient decorated tombs that we know of in the Theban cemetery were prepared in the middle heights of the southern slope of el-Khokha towards the end of the Old Kingdom.¹ They look towards the Nile and the east bank settlement. The occupation of this section of the cemetery now seems to have been continuous until the Roman Period.

The characteristic Theban cemetery of the end of the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom is el-Tarif, the northernmost area of the necropolis.² Here, huge royal tombs with rows of pillars constituting their façades, so-called *Saff*-tombs, are found surrounded by numerous elite burials imitating them in smaller size. There are similar funerary monuments in the other Theban necropolis sections, also in the vicinity of el-Khokha hillock,³ but until recently no burial place of the period was known on the southern side of the hillock, looking towards the Nile.⁴ The research of the Hungarian Archaeological Missions was primarily aimed at the funerary monuments of the Nineteenth Dynasty on this site, but during the excavations of the New Kingdom monuments *Saff*-tombs were also discovered on the slope. Above the mortuary monument of Nefermenu (TT 184), who was the governor of Thebes during the Nineteenth Dynasty, behind the remains of the once presumably pyramid-like superstructure, a *Saff*-tomb with an eight-pillared façade was

1 TT 413 (Unis-ankh), TT 185 (Seny-iqer), TT 186 (Ihy), TT 405 (Khenty), TT -60- (?). SALEH 1970; SALEH 1977; FISCHER 1968, 97-99, 131, n. 578; GOMAA 1980, 13, 43-44; HELCK 1954, 102; JAROŠ-DECKERT 1984, 102-106; KAMPP 1996, II, 662; KANAWATI 1980, 132-142; NEWBERRY 1903; SCHENKEL 1962, 11, 40, 49-51, 107; SEIDLMAYER 1990, 70 ff; SMITH W. ST. 1978, 226; STRUDWICK 1985, 253; WINLOCK 1947, 1.

2 ARNOLD 1976.

3 ARNOLD 1971.

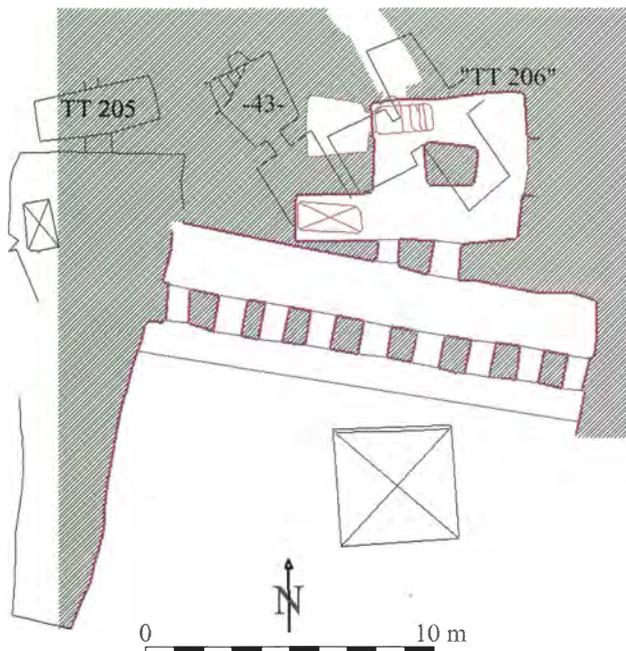
4 SEYFRIED 1990, 10, 13, publishing the area of a Ramesside tomb, refers to the possible remains of a *Saff*-tomb.



The pillared façade of the *Saff 1* tomb on el-Khokha behind the remains of the once pyramid-shaped New Kingdom superstructure in its court. The cave-like hole in the centre is the collapsed part of TT -43- above the *Saff 1* tomb. In the upper left corner, in the uppermost row of tombs, is the forecourt and entrance of the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Tuthmosis (TT 205) (photo: Z. I. Fábíán)

discovered (*Saff* 1).⁵ On the same level, at the western side of the hillock, behind the similar superstructure of Djehutymes (TT 32, also Nineteenth Dynasty), were the façade remains of another *Saff*-tomb, with five pillars (*Saff* 2). In both cases superstructures of the New Kingdom had been constructed in the forecourts of the tombs with pillared façades. These courts were hewn in such a manner that the floor level of the court was deepened in front of the façade but the rock of the sloping side walls was not, and, as can be seen in *Saff* 1, they were even increased in height with stones and then plastered in the same manner as the façade and the inner walls of the tomb.

Now that the *Saff* 1 tomb has been completely cleared of debris, it is clear that it is of a characteristic Middle Kingdom type or an even earlier construction. Neither doorjambs nor architraves and lintels were present; the height of the ceilings continues to the entrances. Epigraphic material to identify the owner or give a more precise dating is unfortunately not available. It is now clear, however, that the occupation of the slope was continuous after the Old Kingdom and the *Saff*-tombs with pillared façades were constructed above the level of earlier monuments.



Plan of the *Saff* 1 tomb with the adjacent New Kingdom monuments above it in the uppermost row of tombs on the south slope of el-Khokha (drawing: Gy. Csáki)

Some of the numerous, mostly well preserved, pottery vessels [Cat. No. 15a] from this tomb were found in the burial chamber that can be approached from the end of the axis of the tomb, although the majority came from the floor of the axial corridor. These vessels as well as clay offering trays [Cat. No. 15b] and wooden models [Cat. No. 14] are contemporaneous with the *Saff*-tomb and may have been thrown out of the burial chamber when it was plundered in ancient times. This chamber was also reused as a burial place in the Third Intermediate Period.

The vessels resemble those of the earlier period of the Middle Kingdom. Among the fragments of models the human figures are characteristic; smaller wooden fragments belonged almost without exception to boat models and not to those of workshop or house models.

The plan and further architectural features of the *Saff* 1 tomb are also characteristic: the eight-pillared portico is followed by a short axial corridor. On the right, eastern, side, another room is supported by a solid pillar, and still another smaller room was cut to the left of the axial corridor. Besides the several burial places prepared in the *Saff*-tomb in later periods, two burial chambers may have belonged to the original, earliest, phase of the tomb. One is approached from the western room by descending a flight of stairs, where the finds, however, rather indicate a secondary, intrusive burial of Third Intermediate Period character. The other burial chamber opens from another shaft-like stairway at the end of the axis.

The finds throughout the excavated area usually come from mixed and disturbed contexts; modern 20th century finds abound even in the lower strata.⁶ The dating of certain find groups such as carnelian, shell, and faience jewellery, beads, ear and finger rings is uncertain. They may originate from the nearby burials, especially the secondary ones prepared in the New Kingdom tombs above the *Saff*-

⁵ FÁBIÁN 2005a, 44; FÁBIÁN 2006, 46-50; FÁBIÁN 2007, 6.

⁶ FÁBIÁN 2007.

14. Wooden model figures

First Intermediate Period or Middle Kingdom

Wood, pigments

a. 2008.890: Ht. 10, W. 3–3.5, Th. 1.5/2.2 cm

b. 2006.656+2007.847: Ht. 11.5, W. 3.7, Th. 2.5/3.2 cm (at head); arm: Ht. 3.6, W. 5, Th. 1.1 cm

c. 2006.628+2006.630: Ht. 12.8, W. 3.8, Th. 2.4/3.5 cm (at head); arm: 7, W. 1.5 Th. 0.7 cm

d. 2006.629+2006.807: Ht. 9.5, W. 3.7, Th. 2.4 cm; arm: Ht. 7.5, W. 0.9, Th. 0.8 cm

e. 2007.812: Ht. 6.8, W. 3.2, Th. 1.8 cm

From *Saff* 1 tomb, south slope of el-Khokha, Thebes

Reg. No. 438, Inv. Nos. 2008.890, 2006.656 + 2007.847, 2006.628 + 2006.630, 2006.629 + 2006.807, 2007.812



Wooden figurines were types of funerary equipment whose function was principally the provisioning of the deceased. The wooden servant statues made in the First Intermediate Period replaced stone predecessors of the Old Kingdom. Gradually more and more sophisticated scenes populated by these figurines were installed in the tombs and cult places of the elite. These included groups of offering bearers, agricultural scenes, butcheries, bakeries, and other workshops, and various types of boats. The wooden figurines exhibited here were found together with very fragmentary boat components, masts, spars, rudders or oars, and even cordage, as well as a painted wooden model of a stairway. They were mostly spread about on the floor in the axis of the *Saff* 1 tomb on el-Khokha, beside a large number of pottery vessels [Cat. No. 15].

The figurines on display cannot compare in quality or in preservation with the most famous Theban set of models, found in the tomb of Meketre,¹ but they prove that this group of models was also a part of the funerary equipment in the *Saff* 1 tomb on el-Khokha. The human figures vary a great deal in size, but their simple and coarse workmanship is very similar. The painting of the red bodies and white kilts has been preserved on large surfaces. The arms were found in different places from the figures. They had been prepared separately and attached to the bodies with pegs. No feet were carved; the model figurines were attached to the bases of the models or boats with pegs. The best preserved piece shows a rather characteristic fashioning of the head and the face. A rectangular face is surrounded by a short black wig, the lower edges of which are joined on the chin with a black line depicting a beard. Peculiar, rounded, looking-glass-like eyes were painted on the face. The same feature appears on the other figure where the painting of the eye has been preserved. Small drilled holes can be seen on the neck, shoulder, left waist, and right thigh of another figure. This figure probably carried or held something which was also attached to the body with pegs. It is difficult to say if the figures belonged to some workshop model or the crew of a boat. The other wooden fragments found in the *Saff* 1 tomb, however, include no other elements but boat components, perhaps even including the small stairway.²



Bibliography: Unpublished.

[Z.I.F.]

¹ WINLOCK 1955, HAYES 1953, 262 ff, ARNOLD Do. 1991; for models, BREASTED 1948, GARSTANG 1907, REISNER 1913, TOOLEY 1995.

² Apart from boats, tomb models ceased to appear after the reign of Sesostris II, at least in the Memphis-Fayum region, cf. BOURRIAU 1991, 11.

15a. Pottery vessels

First Intermediate Period or Middle Kingdom

Fired clay

Measurements: various

From *Saff* 1, south slope of el-Khokha, Thebes

Reg. Nos. 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452; Inv. Nos. 2006.790.a, b, g, j, k, l, p, 2006.791.a, b, c, d, e, f, s, 2006.792.h, m, 2006.794.a, b, d, 2006.795.a, 2006.796.a, b, 2006.797.a, 2006.798, 2006.799.a, c, f, g, j, 2006.800.b, 2006.801.b, 2006.802.d, f, o, r,



2006.803.p, s, 2006.804.c, 2007.842.a, 2007.843, 2007.849, 2006.604.

The excavation of the *Saff* 1 tomb on the south slope of el-Khokha produced a large number of pottery vessels, the majority of which (more than 180 pieces) can be related to the original phase of the tomb. These vessel types are usually dated to the early Middle Kingdom or even earlier. Most of the vessels found in the *Saff* 1 tomb were either preserved in rather good condition or in fragments that made it possible to restore them.

Most of the vessels were on the floor of the tomb. Some of them, however, including the larger well-preserved pieces, were found in the supposedly original burial chamber. This small rock-cut room can be approached through the stairway cut across the axis of the tomb. The other finds from this chamber are rather fragmentary and come from different periods. The chamber was probably reused as a burial place in the Third Intermediate Period. The pottery vessels seem to have been thrown all over the floor of the *Saff* 1 tomb when it was plundered.

The vessels on display represent the most characteristic types found in the tomb.¹ They are:

1. Small, cup-like vessels with pointed bases can be classified into two subtypes and may have served as bread moulds. In all, 57 such vessels were found.
2. Open vessels with similarly pointed bases probably also served as bread moulds. Four vessels were found.
3. Larger and smaller drop-shaped jars were identified; sixteen fragments were found.
4. At least three sets of cups of various measurements were recovered, including sixteen items in all.
5. Wavy-rimmed jars are considered to be a very characteristic type of the period, although in the *Saff 1* tomb only three pieces were found.
6. Twenty-two rounded, hemispherical bowls or cups were found and 36 flat-bottomed items of more plate-like appearance.
7. Three pieces of small plates were found.
8. So-called Hes-vases in both larger and smaller variants were recovered. The bigger Hes-vases (three ones were found) have wide feet, angled shoulders, and narrow necks, while the smaller ones (2 pieces found) have narrower feet, wider necks, and similarly angled shoulders.
9. One vessel stand was found with pierced holes, rather with arched upper lines than triangular form.
10. Two incense burners were found.²

Some of the vessels were not thrown on a potter's wheel, but were hand shaped. The fabric also shows variations and some items are better fired than others. Several items, especially the bowls but even the bread moulds, have preserved the remains of painted decoration. The bread moulds have yellow wash on the exteriors, and the wavy-rimmed jars have whitewash. Otherwise, red slip or painting is rather characteristic, especially on the outside surfaces. The bowls and plates were painted red inside, but a wide red stripe also adorned the rims on the outside. The incense burner shows traces of fire in the bowl, indicating that it was used. A considerable number of the vessels, such as the bowls, the items with pointed bases, and the plates contain food models prepared of mud and grain, even cake forms, as provisions for the deceased person.³

Bibliography: Unpublished.

[Z.I.F.]

1 Most of these types are found in Brunton's rich collection from Qau, which are dated to the Ninth to the Eleventh Dynasties, BRUNTON 1927, 6 and pls. LXXXIX-XCII. Otherwise GARSTANG 1907, pls. XII-XVI.

2 For the shapes and frequency of the vessel types, besides BRUNTON 1927, see: GUIDOTTI 1991, Nos 131-133 (hemispherical bowls), No 134 (for small plates), Nos 138 and 140-141 (flat-bottomed plates), Nos 146-147 (wavy-rimmed jars), No 148 (for cups), No 150 (for drop-shaped jars), Nos 157, 166-173 (Hes vases), Nos 176, 178-183, 185 (bread moulds); ARNOLD Do. 1968, Nos 3-4, 54-76, figs. 1, 7-8 (drop-shaped jars), No 30, fig. 5 (flat-bottomed plates), No 34, fig. 5 (hemispherical bowl), No 47, fig. 6 (pointed-bottomed open bread moulds), No 84, fig. 9 (cups); ARNOLD Do. 1972, fig. 2, pl. XIXa. (hemispherical bowls) and pl. XIX.c (bread moulds), fig. 3, pl. XIX.b (drop-shaped jars); fig. 4 (cups), pl. XIX.d (wavy-rimmed jars), fig. 5/12 (Hes vases); wooden models in ARNOLD Do. 1981, pls. 33.e-f (Hes vases); ARNOLD, Do. 1988, 115, figs. 61, 73 (incense burners), 128, fig. 65 (hemispherical bowls); JACQUET-GORDON, 1981, esp. 11-24, fig. 4, Nos 1-2 (for bread moulds); GRAEFE 2003, 221 and GUKSCH 1995, Nos 21.a, 22.a, pl. II.1,3 (for bread moulds); PETRIE 1909, pls. XIII (for incense burners), XIII, XIV (drop-shaped jars), XV-XIX (wavy-rimmed jars), XX (for Hes vases).

3 For model food, see: PETRIE 1909, pl. XXV. For an attempt to interpret this feature as the predecessor of the later Osiris beds, see: ARNOLD Do. - HOPF 1981.

15b. Two clay offering trays

First Intermediate Period or Middle Kingdom

Nile silt, red wash

A: 27.5 x 20.5 x 2 cm; B: 27.5 x 23.5 x 2.8 cm

From *Saff* 1, south slope of el-Khokha

Reg. Nos. 439.a-b; Inv. Nos. 2006.770, 2006.771

The two clay offering trays or tablets on display were found along the axis of the *Saff* 1 tomb, near the floor, on the south slope of el-Khokha. Some other smaller fragments of similar pieces were also found nearby. They, as well as the wooden servant model figurines [Cat. No. 14] and the large number of various clay vessels [Cat. Nos. 15a] belonged to the original funerary equipment of the *Saff* 1 tomb.¹ The measurements and the modelling of the trays are very similar. On three sides a ca. 2-cm-high rim surrounds the grooves and round depressions, which were modelled by hand. Fingerprints can be seen on the surfaces of both the tops and the flat undersides. Remains of red pigment survive on the top of piece B, but not on its underside.



Similar clay offering trays appeared during the Eleventh Dynasty. Subsequently they became characteristic of the period between the reigns of Sesostris I and Amenemhat III. Clay tablets were simple variants of more elegant pieces made of stone. They spread south of the northern centre of Ity-Tawy, but only sporadically south of Edfu. The Egyptian soldiers in the Nubian military garrisons also used them. The local types became simpler in shape. Sedment seems to be the northernmost centre where clay came to be used for offering trays and here they imitated the rectangular forms sculpted of stone. In the southern centres, the corners were gradually rounded. The pieces in Dendara were made in a horseshoe shape, where one of the sides was cut straight and food offerings, also made of clay, were modelled on top. The Theban clay tablets are regularly oval with one of the sides cut straight, model offerings, however, are almost completely absent from their surface. On the oval and round tablets typical of Armant, offerings were frequently displayed. Thus, the two clay offering trays found in the *Saff* 1 tomb display the characteristics of the Theban type.²

Bibliography: Unpublished.

[Z.I.F.]

¹ For parallels, see: PETRIE 1907; PETRIE 1896, pl. XLIV; PETRIE 1909, Nos 612–613, Pl. XXI; ARNOLD 1972, 30, pls. XIII, XVI; HÖLZL 2002; MOSTAFA 1982.

² For the typology and development of clay offering tables, see: NIWIŃSKI 1975; NIWIŃSKI 1984b, 806–813.

The Early New Kingdom on Sheikh Abd el-Gurna and el-Khokha

T. A. BÁCS – G. SCHREIBER



The Eighteenth Dynasty façade of TT 65 (photo: F. Pfeffer)

ileged few,² and distinctively royal mortuary texts, such as the *Book of the Hidden Chamber* (Amduat), the *Litany of Re* or *Book of the Dead* texts,³ were allowed to be featured only in a tightly restricted number of burial chambers. The early Eighteenth-Dynasty elite initially continued the architectural tradition of the Seventeenth Dynasty on the now-central hill of Sheikh Abd el-Gurna by designing portico (or *Saff*-) tombs for themselves.⁴ The formative years encompassing the reigns of Tuthmosis I and Hatshepsut, however, witnessed much experimentation with this form, which generated individual and elaborate variants, at least at the level of the highest courtiers, apparently also influenced by contemporary royal temple architecture. In this process, the inverted 'T'-shaped ground plan typical of the following

SHEIKH ABD EL-GURNA

The transfer of the royal burial ground from Dra Abu el-Naga to the Valley of the Kings, at the latest in the reign of Hatshepsut, and her establishment of the royal memorial temple at Deir el-Bahari had a profound effect on the development of private tombs in the early New Kingdom.¹ As tombs of the courtiers could no longer cluster directly around the royal tomb, they came to occupy a larger area within the Theban necropolis and expanded the non-royal mortuary precinct to form a half-circle around the Deir el-Bahari area from Dra Abu el-Naga on the north to Qurnet Murei on the south. Within this geographical setting, social hierarchy was overtly expressed by the placement of individual tomb-chapels, as members of the high elite chose prominent sites high up on the hills of the necropolis, while the tombs of those of lesser rank were confined to lower-lying areas. Size, of course, was also an indicator of social standing, as clearly indicated by the monumental size of the mortuary structures of viziers, high priests of Amun or favoured courtiers compared to those of their lower-ranking contemporaries. A certain distance was also kept between these groups in terms of how tomb-chapels were decorated. Certain scenes, such as the king shown in audience, were reserved only for the priv-

1 For a brief overview, KAMPP-SEYFRIED 2003.

2 BÁCS 2006.

3 E.g., in TT 61 (Useramun), DZIÖBEK 1998; or in TT 353 (Senenmut), DORMAN 1991.

4 POLZ 2007, 251-302.

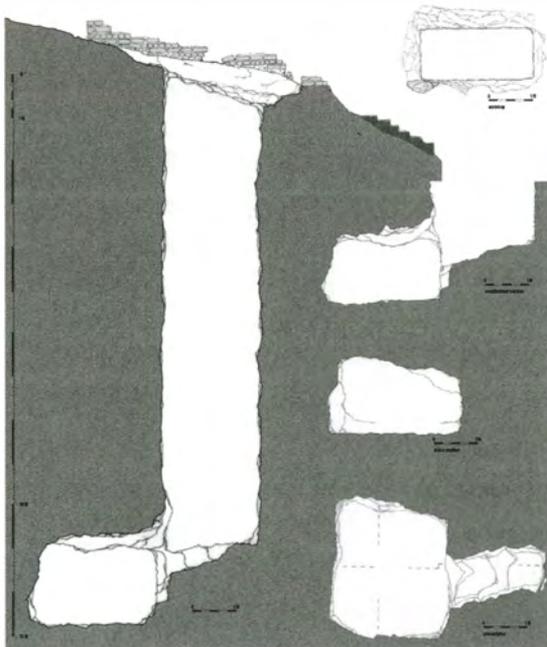


generations of Theban New Kingdom tomb-chapels was created. By the sole reign of Tuthmosis III the higher elite standardised it further by overwhelmingly adopting a more closed layout in which the hitherto open or partly open portico was replaced by a closed transverse hall.

Many of the most lavish mortuary monuments from the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III are situated on the north-eastern slope of Sheikh Abd el-Gurna, foremost among them the tomb-chapel (TT 71) of Hatshepsut's famous steward, Senenmut, near the crown of the hill and the equally imposing structure (TT 67) of the high priest Hapuseneb at mid-slope. In close proximity to the latter lies what started out to be the comparably monumental tomb-chapel of Nebamun, an Overseer of the Granary, Sealbearer of the King of Lower Egypt, and Scribe of the Royal Accounts (TT 65). The cutting and decorating of the tomb, however, never proceeded beyond an early stage and it was subsequently reused in the late Twentieth Dynasty by Imiseba, a member of the priestly elite of Karnak temple.⁵ Neighbouring TT 65 on the south is TT-NN-24-, of unknown ownership, yet another unfinished tomb-chapel of the period here, which, if completed, would have rivalled the others in proportions.⁶ One elite burial apartment (Shaft '3') in the vicinity of TT 65 apparently lacked an associated rock-cut tomb-chapel, although the possibility cannot be ruled out entirely that originally TT-NN-24- was intended to serve as such. The deep vertical



Nebamun – the Eighteenth Dynasty owner of TT 65 (photo: F. Pfeffer)



Cross section of Shaft '3' (drawing: M. Nagy)

shaft with a small chamber at the bottom proved to be the burial place of a previously unrecorded King's Son, and Overseer of Southern Foreign Countries called Penre. Mud-brick architectural remains and funerary cone fragments excavated here [Cat. No. 22] nevertheless suggest that a vaulted single-room cult-chapel may have once stood above the shaft that would have served Penre's mortuary cult.

Despite being severely plundered and fragmented, the mummified human remains recovered (five individuals) and the high quality and large variety of the grave furniture all indicate a high-status burial assemblage.⁷ The grave goods, with a chronological range extending from the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III to that of Amenophis II, however, have not furnished enough evidence so far to show whether those interred here represent several generations of one family or belong to unrelated individuals moved here after the initial burial of Penre.

5 BÁCŠ 1998.

6 KAMPP 1996, 636, 637 fig. 531.

7 In general, see: SMITH 1992.

EL-KHOKHA

By the Twelfth Dynasty the southern slope of el-Khokha, at least the middle and upper section, was dotted by a number of rock-cut tombs. The history of the site between the late Middle Kingdom and the early New Kingdom is still cloaked in mystery. Individual burials in undecorated rectangular coffins, equipped with ceramic vessels of the early Eighteenth Dynasty, sunk into the *Nekropolenschutt* at the base of the hill indicate that the area was again used for interments by no later than the beginning of the New Kingdom.⁸ During the reigns of Tuthmosis III and his two successors, tomb shafts also appeared at the base of the hill.⁹ This cemetery, of which a representative sample has been excavated in the area of TT 32, owes its existence to the proximity to the mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III, investigated currently by a Spanish mission. The shafts in this cemetery usually have two chambers, which housed multiple, probably family, burials. Judging from the



Plan of the Eighteenth Dynasty shaft tombs and the late Third Intermediate Period hypogeum-tombs in the first two forecourts of TT 32 (survey and drawing: Zs. Vasáros)



Excavating the burial shaft of TT -64- in 2000 (photo: Zs. Vasáros)

equipment, the individuals interred here were members of the middle class, such as military scribes and other, rather lower-ranking, officials. The construction of the earliest New Kingdom rock-cut tombs in the area (TT 179 – Nebamun, TT 182 – Amenemhat, TT 241 – Ahmose, TT 412 – Kenamun) is datable to the reigns of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III.¹⁰ The small tomb of Amenhotep (TT -64-), wedged between TT 32 and TT 183, also dates to the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty.¹¹ Since the original burial chamber of this tomb also yielded fragments from a white-background coffin, a type that disappeared during the reign of Tuthmosis III, the earliest burials are datable to this reign at the latest. Interestingly, however, the burial shaft of TT -64- remained in use continuously until the beginning of the Ramesside Period, as demonstrated by black- and yellow-background coffins as well as pottery of the later Eighteenth Dynasty. Another shaft, situated in the innermost forecourt of TT 32 close to the shaft of TT -64-,

also dates from around the reign of Tuthmosis III.¹² Since this shaft is located directly in front of the façade of the cult chapel of TT 32, the Eighteenth Dynasty material retrieved from its chambers provides evidence for suggesting that Djehutymes, for whom TT 32 was constructed in the reign of Ramesses II, was but the second owner of this piece of land. The extensive building operations which can be detected during the reign of Tuthmosis III on the southern slope of el-Khokha were not restricted to the lower-most row of tombs only. In the third necropolis street the tomb of Kenamun was constructed at this time and two other tombs excavated by the Hungarian mission in the vicinity were also cut out of the bedrock. One of these is TT -59-, in which the original wall paintings were covered by the murals of the second owner of the tomb, Bakenamun, in the Ramesside Period.¹³ The underlying decoration was

8 SCHREIBER 2008, 41-42.

9 SCHREIBER 2008, 32-37.

10 PM I.1², 285-286, 289, 331-332. For TT 241, see: SHORTER 1930. For TT 412, see: SALEH 1983.

11 KAMPP 1996, 666.

12 SCHREIBER 2008, 37-41.

13 KAMPP 1996, 660-662. For a short description of TT -59-, see: GAÁL 2004, 55-59.



made for a certain Menkheperre-soneb, who, based on his *basilophorous* name, may have lived during the reign of Tuthmosis III or his two immediate successors. This dating is confirmed by finds, especially pottery, retrieved in the burial shaft in the forecourt of TT -59-. A similar chronology can also be suggested for TT -61-, situated immediately west of TT -59-.¹⁴ Although the cult chapel of this tomb did not receive painted decoration until the second owner, Amenhotep, occupied it in the reign of Ramesses III, the presence of an Eighteenth Dynasty burial shaft in the forecourt indicates that this tomb, too, was begun well before the Ramesside era. The two northern burial chambers of this shaft yielded no less than the remains of twenty-three humans, suggesting that it was a family burial place over a considerable period of time. The coffin fragments and pottery from the burial equipment indicate a dating for this phase of TT -61- to between the reigns of Tuthmosis III and Tuthmosis IV. The presence of three Eighteenth Dynasty tombs (TT 412, TT -59-, TT -61-) in the third necropolis street, situated one beside the other and all dating from around the reign of Tuthmosis III, suggests strongly that the southern slope of el-Khokha facing the king's mortuary temple had already been parcelled out and allocated to owners by the reign of Tuthmosis III. Four tombs of the same period in the upper necropolis streets of el-Khokha (TT -41,

-42-, 204 and 205) are currently under investigation by Z. I. Fábrián. After this period burials decreased in number on el-Khokha, but the area retained its prestige as a central burial place within the Theban necropolis. This is indicated, e.g., by the construction in the first necropolis street of a monumental tomb for Amenemhat Surero (TT 48) during the reign of Amenophis III¹⁵ and by the presence of a number of smaller tombs (TT 181 – Nebamun/Ipuky, TT 253 – Khnummose, TT 294 – Amenhotep) in the vicinity also dating from the same reign.¹⁶

¹⁴ KAMPP 1996, 662-664. For an interim report, see: GAÁL 2004, 59-62.

¹⁵ PM I.1², 87-91. SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH 1957.

¹⁶ PM I.1², 286-289, 337-338, 376. For TT 181, see: DAVIES 1925. For TT 253 and 294, see: STRUDWICK 1996.



The forecourt of TT -61- looking south, with the opening of the original, Eighteenth Dynasty, burial shaft, and the opening of another, Twenty-sixth Dynasty, shaft (photo: L. Mátyus)

The Early Ramesside Period on el-Khokha

Z. I. FÁBIÁN – G. SCHREIBER



Aerial view of el-Khokha in the late 1980s, with the 3D reconstruction of the forecourts and pyramid of TT 32 (photo: Gy. Csáki; 3D rendering: Á. Pásztor, Zs. Vasáros)

The largest tomb in the area was constructed for Djehutymes and his wife, Iset (TT 32). This enormous structure consists of three large forecourts, five rock-cut shrines in the cult chapel, a 62-meter-long spiral-shaped sloping passage, a 6.2-meter-deep shaft with a burial chamber opening from the bottom, and a large mud-brick pyramid built on the steep hillside high above the burial chamber. The foundation of TT 32 required precise planning and the utmost skill from the architect of Djehutymes' monument. By the time of Ramesses II, the southern slope of el-Khokha was so densely populated by the dead that there was no other choice than to reorganise the area, incorporating the already existing constructions in the plan but eliminating as many traces as possible of former ownership. Djehutymes filled the numerous Eighteenth Dynasty shaft tombs which dotted the area and levelled the ground, thus concealing the openings of the shafts. The superstructure erected in this area is unique in more ways than one. The discovery of a third forecourt of TT 32 (the third counting from the tomb interior) in 2004 was, for example, something of a surprise, since no New Kingdom private tombs with three forecourts had ever been found at Thebes.⁷ The architect of Djehutymes' monument probably borrowed this idea from Saqqara, where special emphasis was laid on the articulation of the forecourts of contemporary tomb chapels, some of which, like the tomb of Horemheb, were provided with three forecourts.

Following the reign of Amenophis III, the next great phase of tomb building on el-Khokha occurred during the reign of Ramesses II. The tombs of Djehutymes (TT 32),¹ Noferronpet called Kenro (TT 178),² Nebsumenu (TT 183),³ Nefermenu (TT184),⁴ and Nofersekeru (TT 296),⁵ all situated on the south slope of the hill, date to this period. The burial shaft of TT -64- originally dating from the Eighteenth Dynasty, was also reused in the early Ramesside Period, when two additional chambers were hollowed out of the bedrock.⁶ The burials were provided with anthropoid wooden coffins with yellow backgrounds and overlying decoration in polychrome, shabtis exhibiting the same decorative style, and pottery characteristic of the early Ramesside Period. A more precise dating to the reign of Sethi I or Ramesses II is supported by a *basilophorous* name – the *praenomen* of Sethi I – preserved on a shabti [Cat.No. 6] and the lid of a shabti box. The transverse hall of TT -64- fell victim to the building of TT 183 during the reign of Ramesses II, when Nebsumenu, the owner of TT 183, demolished the eastern part of the tomb's broad hall in order to make a place for his inner forecourt. Nebsumenu also intruded on the forecourt of TT -64-, as is indicated by a long inscription he had carved on the eastern pylon of the tomb.

¹ PM I.1², 49-50; KÁKOSY *et al.* 2004.

² PM I.1², 283-285; FEUCHT 1985, 102-121; HOFMANN 1995; HOFMANN 2004, 26.

³ PM I.1², 289-290; ASSMANN 2003b; HOFMANN 2004, 41-44.

⁴ See *infra*.

⁵ PM I.1², 377-379; FEUCHT 1985; HOFMANN 2004, 41.

⁶ Cf. KÁKOSY 2001, 223-226; KÁKOSY 2002a, 255-263.

⁷ SCHREIBER 2008, 18.





Detail of the *Opening of the Mouth* Ritual in Djehutymes' tomb (TT 32) (photo: Z. I. Fábrián)

The concepts around the nature of the afterlife were fundamentally modified after the Amarna period, which also resulted in essential changes in the fashioning of elite burials. In Theban tombs, the formation of a new architectural and decoration layout appropriate to the new concepts seems to have been the result of several decades' experiments. What we call tombs were in fact cult places as well and the open courts and rock-cut shrines served this function, forming a complex mortuary monument which naturally included the burial place. Earlier compositional elements emphasising the cult of the deceased survived after the Amarna period, but appeared in a subordinate position. Hence a new overall interpretation of the monument prevailed, whereby the departed returning to this world could also take part in the cult of the deities.

Architecturally, this can be seen in that the corpse was no longer

hidden in the burial chamber of the forecourt shaft, blocked for eternity; instead, a sloping passage – separated by doors similar to those of the shrine-rooms – leads down to it or, in some cases, to the shaft where it is situated.⁸ The markers separating the architectural space of the subsequent shrines became more and more refined over time. The application

⁸ ASSMANN 1984; SEYFRIED 1987a;

SEYFRIED 1987b; SEYFRIED 1998.



Djehutymes and his wife receiving offerings. Detail of the decoration in the transverse hall of TT 32 (photo: L. Mátyus)

of possible solutions was evidently based on an abstraction which resulted in the rather stereotypical mural decoration of some monuments. This pattern became almost uniform towards the end of Ramesses II's reign and in the last part of the Nineteenth Dynasty.

One group of monuments, referred to as the "Khokha tomb group" due to their relative proximity to the area of the Theban el-Khokha hillock, represents the formation of the new system of elements most clearly.⁹ The mortuary monuments of Djehutymes, Chief Steward of Amun (TT 32),¹⁰ and Nefermenu, Governor of Thebes (TT 184), both excavated by the Hungarian Archaeological Mission, belong to this group. The group of Khokha tombs also includes: TT 23 (Tjay), TT 183 (Nebsumenu),¹¹ TT 264 (Ipiy), and TT 296 (Nefersekeru),¹² which associates the significant common elements in a single shrine. TT 370 (Neb-neshem/Neb-shem)¹³ and TT -400-¹⁴ also show a number of the same features as the proper Khokha tombs. Two of these monuments, Nebsumenu's (TT 183) and Nefermenu's (TT 184), are strikingly similar.¹⁵ Open courts usually lead into three subsequent shrines that form the traditional T-shaped plan, with a transverse hall, a long corridor-like shrine, and finally an offering chapel. Here the cultic centre of the monument is marked with a central niche containing sculpted or painted representations, now of deities. Winding sloping passages open from these offering chapels, uniformly on the same side in the Khokha tombs; the cultic "south", as the orientation is considered to follow a westward direction to the netherworld. Evidence is accumulating that a usual constituent of private cult places was a superstructure in the form of a pyramid on the sloping hillside above the subterranean part of the monument.¹⁶ The remains of Djehutymes' mud-brick structure, with painted decoration in its chamber, have been excavated¹⁷, and a similar structure, but built of stone, has been excavated above Nefermenu's monument.¹⁸ It is also a common feature of the Khokha tombs that, similarly to the enshrined standing statues frequent on the façades, the entrance of the second, long, shrine is also flanked by similar statues of the deceased owner, as if it were a further façade created for this shrine in the rear wall of the transverse shrine.¹⁹ In Djehutymes' monument the façades are even tripled by applying a further statue pair of the deceased on pillars in the first, transverse, shrine.

In the shrine rooms the earlier, so-called everyday-life scenes take a subordinate position, then they were gradually moved to positions mostly on the walls of the forecourts. They were replaced in rock-cut shrines by pictures and texts from the *Book of the Dead*²⁰ containing topics related to the otherworld, more precisely, the route to the netherworld and the cult of the dead in this context. Special emphasis is laid upon the representation of a long ritual, the *Opening of the Mouth*, which was executed on the statues in order to vivify them and thus prepared the place for the mortuary cult.²¹

In the earlier, Eighteenth Dynasty system the short side walls of the first, transverse, shrine were the places for a traditional false door and a stela. Two main solutions were applied in contemporary tombs to replace these features. One was changing the position of the usual statue of the deceased and his family sitting together, which earlier was positioned in the central niche of the innermost shrine. In the Khokha-tombs, the side walls are occupied by double false doors, where the deceased is depicted entering and leaving the netherworld on the door leaves and again supporting the *djed* pillar²² on the sides, another feature apparently of Memphite origin, where this appears on real pillars in front of shrines.

9 FÁBIÁN 2008b.

10 KÁKOSY *et al.* 2004; SCHREIBER 2008.

11 ASSMANN 2003b.

12 FEUCHT 1985.

13 HOLTHOER 1984.

14 Being excavated by G. Schreiber.

15 FÁBIÁN 1997a.

16 CURTO 1981; DAVIES 1938; SEYFRIED 1987b; DZIOBEK 1989, 126, fig. 6, and 129, fig. 7; DZIOBEK 1995, 59–60, pls. 47–48, and 67–69;

HABACHI-ANUS 1977; SEYFRIED 1990, 350–353, fig. 1, 6, pls. 59–60; KAMPP 1994, 177–179, figs. 2–3, pl. 24; KAMPP 1996, II, 714, fig. 643; SEELE 1959, 3, pl. 1.A/B; POLZ-SEILER 2003.

17 KÁKOSY *et al.* 2004, I, 27, II, pls. II, XX, XCVII, CXV.

18 FÁBIÁN 2006.

19 KAMPP 1996, I, 50, and pl. 30.

20 SALEH 1984, 96–97; FÁBIÁN 2008a.

21 OTTO 1960; ASSMANN 2003b; FÁBIÁN 2008b; FISCHER-ELFERT 1998.

22 ASSMANN 2003a; MURNANE 1985; ARNOLD 2003, 90. SEYFRIED 1991; SEYFRIED 1995; EL-SAADY 1996, pls. 24–27; MARTIN 1987, 34, No 84, pl. 31, No 84.a; VAN DIJK 1986; BETRÒ 1980.



On the slightly vaulted ceilings, the almost exclusively carpet patterns used earlier were reconfigured in a well-defined system of figurative and inscriptional panels deriving from the repertoire of the *Book of the Dead*, which subtly reflect the architectural design. On the ceilings, thus, the depiction of the celestial world replaced the marking of the earlier architectural form, the ceiling of the funerary tent.²³

In the second, long, shrine of the Khokha-tombs, in a quite unusual manner, the decoration of the side walls separates them from the heavenly world of the ceiling by cavetto-torus formations.²⁴ This variant of the motif inside, otherwise applied on outer surfaces of free-standing shrines, also emphasises that this room is to be considered as a separate shrine. The allusion of the decoration to the interpretation of the second, long, shrine as the route towards the otherworld is also underlined by the fact that the related parts of the *Book of the Dead* appear here, representing the trip towards the tomb and the world of Osiris.

Besides the thematic changes, after the Amarna period significant modifications can be observed in the arrangement of the individual decoration elements. The earlier, basically scattered, composition of larger surfaces, which had also



The enshrined statue group of the Osiride triad in TT 32 (photo: Z. I. Fábíán)



Nefermenu and his wife receiving offerings. Detail of the decoration in the transverse hall of TT 184 (photo: Z. I. Fábíán)

employed inside baselines, was replaced by an arrangement of consistent stripes above each other, with a thematic separation between them. The most substantial change can be seen in the central niche of the innermost shrine. The engaged family statue of the deceased was replaced by divine images, in most instances Osiris, the Osiride triad,²⁵ or, in Nefermenu's monument, the statue of Hathor depicted as a cow goddess, one of the deities of the Theban necropolis.²⁶ The emerging phenomenon whereby the mortuary monument was changed from the place of the mortuary cult into a divine cult place is clearly manifested here. The statues prepared for the purpose of the mortuary cult, earlier placed in the central niche, found their way either onto the side walls of the first, transverse, shrine or seated family statues appear on the sides of the central niche²⁷ or they appear as free-standing statues in the innermost, offering, chapel [Cat. No. 9], and this seems to be characteristic in monuments where double false doors were depicted. Because all the New Kingdom tombs on el-Khokha were reused for secondary burials in the later Pharaonic and Graeco-Roman Periods and

23 FÁBIÁN 2005b.

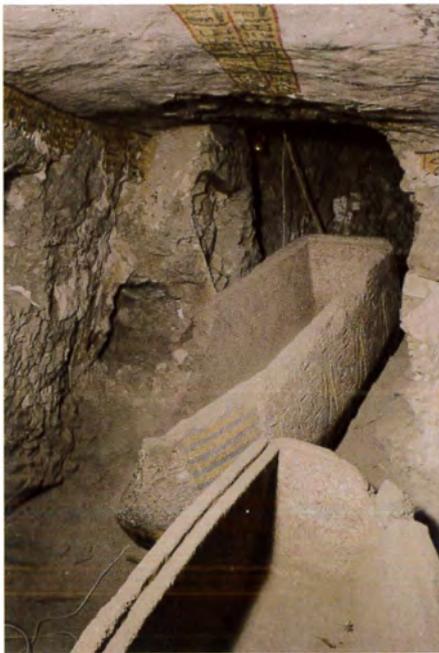
24 FÁBIÁN 2008b, figs. 6-7.

25 KAMPP 1996, I. 51, and pl. 31.

26 FÁBIÁN 2005a, 58, figs. 12-14; FÁBIÁN 2008b, 35, figs. 8-9 vs. 10-14.

27 STRUDWICK 1994.

were targeted periodically by looters from the late New Kingdom on, the original burial equipment usually suffered an unfortunate fate. The owners of TT 32, Djehutymes and Iset, were buried in two large sarcophagi of Aswani granite deposited in the lowermost room of the tomb.²⁸ The chests of the sarcophagi were found in situ in the burial chamber, but the lids had been removed from the tomb earlier and transported to Italy in the 1820s, where they are on permanent display at the Museo Egizio di Torino. Nefermenu's burial chamber in TT 184 contained only one similar sarcophagus; his wife appears to have been buried elsewhere. The walls of the burial chambers in both tombs had small niches to accommodate four magical bricks; all of them were found in Djehutymes' tomb,²⁹ but only fragments in Nefermenu's. Such a magical brick was found in the area of the *Saff* 1 tomb on the top of the el-Khokha hillock, however, where other near-contemporary items, shabtis and fragments of their boxes, were also discovered.



The sarcophagus chests of Djehutymes and Iset in the New Kingdom burial chamber of TT 32 (photo: L. Mátyus)

Djehutymes' burial was also furnished with an openwork mummy board, a set of four canopic jars, faience shabtis [Cat. No. 2] stored in two shabti boxes, wooden furniture, and pottery vessels for the storage of liquid and solid provisions.³⁰ The other elements of his funerary outfit are lost. In Nefermenu's burial chamber, fragments of wooden coffins, ornaments (*ankh*, *tit*, *djed* pillars) and other fragments of boxes have been identified.³¹ The painted terracotta shabti statuettes [Cat. No. 8] found in the burial chamber somewhat outnumber the usual set of the period (at least 32 pieces) and they no longer bear the identifying inscription, but they can only be related to the owner of the tomb.

28 SCHREIBER 2008, 19-22, pls. I-VIII, photo pls. I-II, XXI

29 KÁKOSY 1988, 60-72.

30 SCHREIBER 2008, 22-31.

31 FÁBIÁN 2007, 26-27, figs. 71-74.



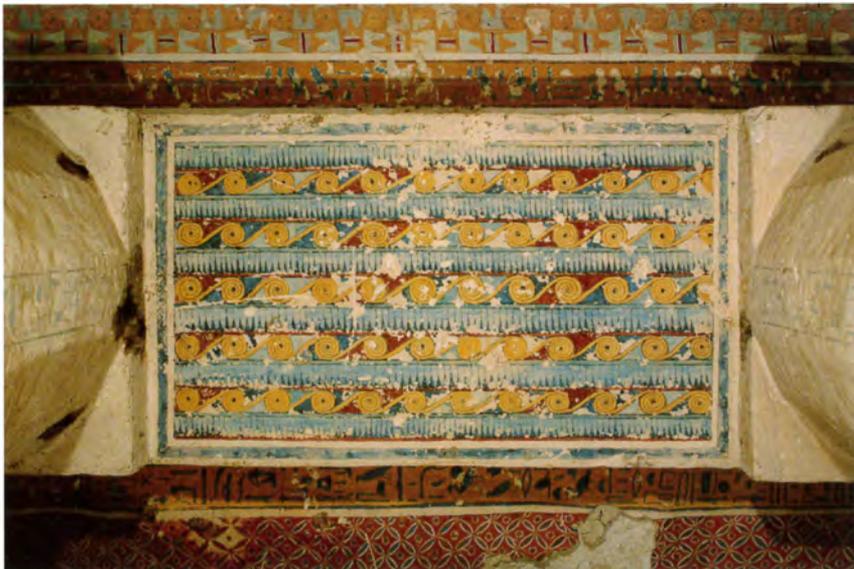
The Late Ramesside Period on Sheikh Abd el-Gurna and el-Khokha

T. A. BÁCS – G. SCHREIBER

The non-royal mortuary landscape of Thebes during the late Ramesside period was essentially defined by the fact that, despite the royal burials in the Valley of the Kings and the Valley of the Queens, it was no longer a true a court cemetery, but in effect the necropolis of the contemporary Theban elite. As the elite of the sacral capital city of Egypt, it comprised first and foremost the members of the priesthoods of the Theban triad and other important deities revered in Thebes, as well as different officials associated with these cults. Accordingly, their mortuary complexes, numbering slightly over sixty tombs of varying sizes,¹ are found in all areas of the necropolis. The most prestigious site, however, where private tombs of the Twentieth Dynasty outnumber any other, was Dra Abu el-Naga, the erstwhile royal cemetery of the Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasty and the traditional burial ground of the high priests of Amun from the post-Amarna period on. In architectural form and decorative scheme, tomb complexes created during the Twentieth Dynasty continued the tradition of the so-called “temple-tomb”² that also originated in the post-Amarna period and which, as a tomb type, in essence imitated contemporary divine (and memorial) temples. Many of these tombs, although their exact number remains unknown, were constructed by reusing older tombs that were either abandoned or never finished.³ Rather than disrespect for the tombs of their predecessors or as a symptom of impoverishment, this reuse by the late Ramessides was driven by the necessity of finding suitable places for their own tombs, since space was seriously lacking within the necropolis by the late New Kingdom. Thus, earlier architectural spaces were reconfigured and redesigned according to the contemporary architectural and decorative idiom by a combination of cutting new features and adding elements built from mud brick and adding new decoration, mostly in paint.

SHEIKH ABD EL-GURNA

Designed early in the reign of Ramesses IX, TT 65, the mortuary establishment of Imiseba, a member of the priestly elite of Karnak temple, Chief of the Altar-chamber and Chief of the Temple Archives of the Estate of Amun, was originally also an unfinished rock-cut tomb of the Eighteenth Dynasty on the north-eastern slope of Sheikh Abd el-Gurna.⁴ Following contemporary practice, Imiseba had a vaulted axial corridor, a “sloping passage,”



Soffit decoration – TT 65

¹ KAMPP 1996, HOFMANN 2004, 49-50.

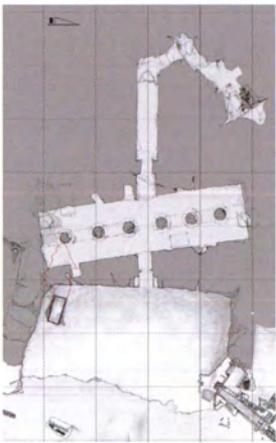
² In general, ASSMANN 2003a.

³ POLZ 1990; GUKSCH 1995.

⁴ BÁCS 1998.



The Vase of Amun, detail from the New Year procession in TT 65



Plan of TT 65 (drawing: M. Nagy)

EL-KHOKHA

The corpus of slightly over sixty funerary monuments known so far to date to the Late Ramesside Period⁷ can be complemented by two neighbouring tombs (TT -59- and TT -61-) excavated and documented on el-Khokha by the Hungarian Mission. Both tombs, situated in the third necropolis street of the hill, had been constructed in the Eighteenth Dynasty and were reused in the early Twentieth Dynasty, during the reign of Ramesses III. TT -61- was occupied this time by Amenhotep, Chief physician in the domain of Amun and *Wab*-priest of Mut, and his wife, Mutemheb, while TT -59- was repainted for Bakenamun, *Wab*-priest of Mut, and his wife, Raia.⁸ Since the title *Wab*-priest of Mut appearing in connection with the tomb owners seems to be a variant of the title of *Wab*-priest of Sakhmet usually borne by physicians, one may presume that both men had careers in medical treatment, practicing as members of the priesthood at Karnak.

and a burial chamber added to the earlier monument and supplied new wall paintings. Employing the leading artists of Deir el-Medina, who were otherwise responsible for the decoration of the royal tombs, Imiseba created a decorative programme that, with the exception of the mortuary complexes of the high priests Ramessesnakht and Amenhotep on Dra Abu el-Naga (K93.11/12),⁵ sets it apart from all other tombs of the Twentieth Dynasty. In a striking and unique fashion, using royal themes such as large-scale festival scenes for which existing temple scenes from Karnak and Medinet Habu served as models and devising pictorial compositions akin to those in royal tombs, Imiseba succeeded

in his aspiration to create for himself what was in effect a royal-style memorial temple and tomb.⁶ Like the high priests Ramessesnakht and Amenhotep, his concept of an elite mortuary complex, embodied by TT 65, went beyond the Ramesside temple-tomb arrangement and represents a key link with the custom of situating burials in actual temple precincts prevalent in the subsequent era. How this concept was carried over to or reflected in the grave goods of Imiseba, however, remains mostly unknown, as only a shabti fragment [Cat. No. 7], another shabti of questionable attribution, and a small piece of a (shabti?) box have been recovered and identified from his mortuary provisions thus far.



The figure of Ramesses IX from TT 65 (drawing: K. Vértés)

⁵ RUMMEL 2009.

⁶ BÁCS 2002b; BÁCS 2004.

⁷ HOFMANN 2004, 49-50.

⁸ For a short description of these tombs, see: GAÁL 2004.





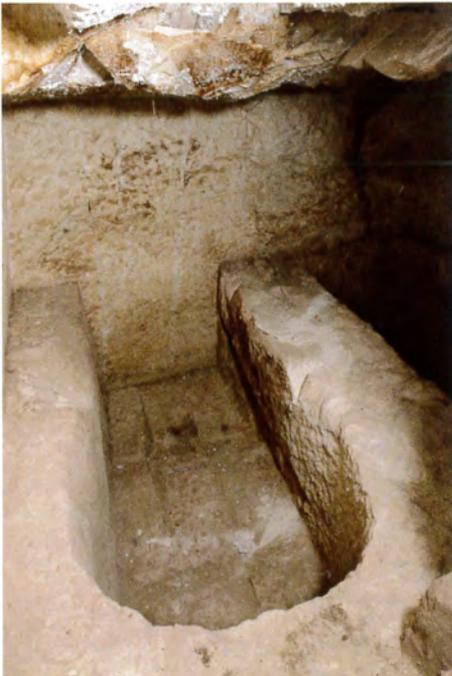
The façade of TT -59- (photo: K. Kozma)

furthermore yielded evidence that other individuals, probably the relatives of Amehotep, were also interred here during the Twentieth Dynasty.⁹ These objects include, among others, a mummy board inscribed for a certain Tashedamun, another mummy board with the name lost, a faience canopic jar, and the pottery coffin of an infant [Cat. No. 18].

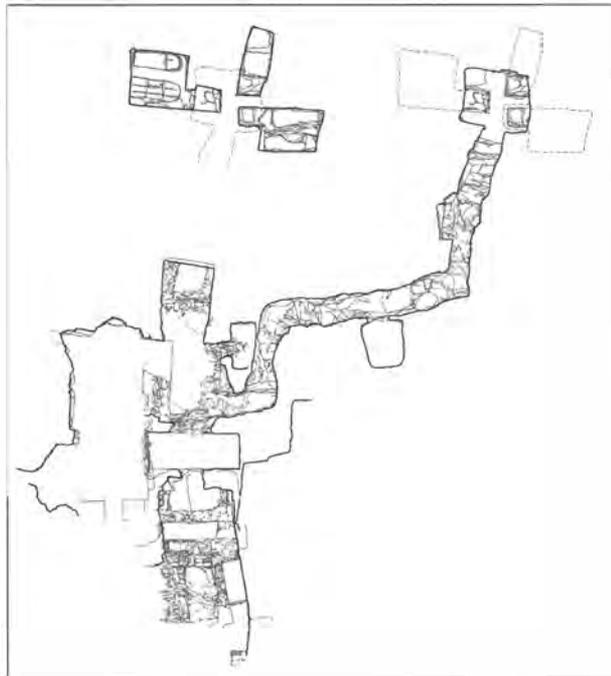
In TT -59- the murals of the first, Eighteenth Dynasty, owner of the tomb, Menkheperra-soneb, were covered by the paintings of Bakenamun. This tomb was also provided with a short sloping passage and a burial chamber that housed the equipment of the Twentieth Dynasty usurper. This roughly cut burial chamber was in turn occupied during the Saite Period, when the remnants of Bakenamun' equipment were destroyed almost completely. A few objects from TT 32 and TT -43- also suggest that these tombs were reused during the Twentieth Dynasty.

⁹ SCHREIBER 2006b, 194.

The cult chapel of TT -61- remained undecorated until Amenhotep occupied the tomb, since no underlying decoration predating the Ramesside murals has been found in the tomb. The cutting of the three subsequent shrines of the cult chapel, however, must have been completed before the Twentieth Dynasty. Such a conclusion may be inferred from the fact that the façade of the tomb was apparently re-carved for Amenhotep and the western side wall of the axial hall was restored with stamped bricks of Ramesses II. In accordance with contemporary standards, Amenhotep also added a sloping passage, 23 meters in length, to the tomb. The Twentieth Dynasty burials were deposited in a chamber accessible through a shallow shaft at the terminus of the sloping passage (Room IX). Out of this equipment, shabtis inscribed for Amenhotep [Cat. No. 3], a set of four canopic coffins, a fragmentary mummy board, and ceramic vessels could be identified. The uninscribed shabtis decorated in polychrome and retrieved from Room VII may have belonged to the equipment of Mutemheb [Cat. Nos. 4-5]. The lower rooms of TT -61- (Rooms VI-IX)



Sarcophagus niches in the burial chamber of Amenhotep, and his wife Mutemheb, owners of TT -61- (photo: L. Mátyus)



Plan of TT -61- (survey and drawing: Zs. Vasáros)

16. Rectangular coffin

Early Eighteenth Dynasty (1550–1425 BC)

Wood, originally cream-coloured paint

Ht. 39.5, W. 39, L. 170

From TT 32 – Trench AT

Reg. No. 457, Inv. No. 2004.W.001

This coffin, carved from a single piece of wood, was found in the lowermost stratum of the fill above the transverse hall of TT 32. The dugout technique evokes the so-called *rishi* coffins of the Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasties, while the shape itself is reminiscent of Middle Kingdom rectangular coffins. The cream paint, which also covered traces of repair on one of the long sides, is confined to the exterior. With its simple design and rough-and-ready style of carving, the coffin exemplifies a rather rare type characteristic of the period between the late Middle Kingdom and the early Eighteenth Dynasty. Late in this period a transition in funerary art occurred when rectangular coffins gradually went out of use and were replaced by the anthropoid type. Although the use of the latter was firmly established in Theban elite burials by the early Eighteenth Dynasty, the older, rectangular type of coffin survived until the reign of Tuthmosis III, especially in non-elite burials.¹ Judging from the lack of painted decoration, the coffin from the area of TT 32, and five other coffins of the same type discovered in the same location were constructed for individuals of relatively low social status. Although similar coffins are usually omitted from exhibitions because they are not decorated, analogous objects excavated in Dra abu el-Naga² and the Ramesseum³ verify that plain rectangular coffins were typical of the Theban burial system in the early Eighteenth Dynasty. A similar dating for the object from TT 32 is suggested by a pottery cache discovered nearby.

Bibliography: SCHREIBER 2008, 42 (No. 1.7.2.1), pl. XXXVI (description, commentary and line drawings).

[G.S.]

1 NIWIŃSKI 1988, 9.

2 GAUTHIER 1908, 27-28, pl. V.

3 JANOT 2001–2002, 73-81.



17. Rectangular coffin

Early Eighteenth Dynasty (1550–1425 BC)

Wood

Ht. 22 cm, W. 22 cm, L. 66 cm

From TT 32, Trench M

Reg. No. 465, Inv. No. 2002.W.100

This undecorated coffin, constructed of wooden laths joined by pegs and glue, served for an infant burial deposited in a fill of stone chips in an area west of TT 32's second forecourt. The coffin was found *in situ*, tied with an encircling linen strip. The intact burial contained the non-mummified remains of a child roughly two years old. The discovery of a small pottery cache in the immediate vicinity suggests that this coffin, too, is datable to the early Eighteenth Dynasty.



Bibliography: KÁKOSY 2003, 430-431, fig. 8a-c [description and photos]; SCHREIBER 2008, 42, pl. XL, photo pl. VIII [description, commentary, line drawings and photo].

[G.S.]

18. Pottery coffin of an infant

Twentieth Dynasty (1186–1069 BC)

Nile C fabric, white wash

Ht. 21 cm, L. 56.5 cm

From TT -61-, Room IX

Reg. No. 460, Inv. No. AMN.V.001

Representing a relatively rare type, this pottery coffin constructed for an infant burial was reassembled from sherd material found in the Twentieth Dynasty burial chamber of TT -61- (Room IX). With its mummiform shape and bipartite articulation characterised by the combination of a low lid and a high case, the overall appearance of the coffin imitates contemporary anthropoid coffins. Unlike wooden coffins, however, the coffin floor

is not flat, but shows a curved profile which is explained by the technique of fabrication. The coffin was not moulded from a matrix or built by hand, as is typical for most Egyptian pottery coffins, but was thrown on a wheel in two separate parts (the head and body). After joining the two parts, when the clay was in a leather-hard state, the object was cut horizontally into a lid and a case. Before firing the coffin was coated with slip and modelled feet applied to the lid. Finally, four pairs of holes were pierced on both sides for the strings which were to bind the lid and the case.



The closest parallels of the technique and the shape are usually dated to the New Kingdom,¹ and it therefore seems safe to suggest a similar dating for this object, with a possible extension to the Third Intermediate Period, when the burial chamber of Amenhotep and Mutemheb was reused by a priestly family. Although pottery coffins appear sporadically in all periods of ancient Egyptian history, the New Kingdom, especially the late Ramesside Period, was not the heyday of their production nor was Thebes a place where pottery coffins were produced and used in great numbers. The infrequent choice of pottery rather than a wooden coffin in this case is probably explained by the fact that the object was made for an infant burial, which frequently differed in style from adult burials throughout the Pharaonic periods.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

[G.S.]

¹ COTELLE-MICHEL 2004, 230-232.



19. Model boat

Early to mid-Eighteenth Dynasty (ca. 1550–1390 BC)

Wood, originally painted

L. 13.2 cm, L. of the cabin 3.6 cm, Ht. of the cabin 1.8 cm

From the burial shaft of TT -64-, Chamber 2

Reg. No. 466

This unusually small model boat was found in association with Eighteenth Dynasty objects in the burial shaft of TT -64-. The symmetrically articulated slender hull of the boat has a pointed bow and the stern is pulled up to the same height. In the middle of the deck is a nicely carved cabin with a cavetto cornice and a door on one side. Behind the cabin is a tall stanchion which formed part of the boat's steering gear, while the tip of the stern has a recess to hold the oar. These features suggest that the boat, like many other Egyptian river craft, was manoeuvred by one tall steering oar, the upper end of which was lashed to the stanchion on the deck. The other, now-missing, elements of the boat are more difficult to reconstruct. There are three more recesses,

one each on top of the cabin and on the bow, and a third, square-shaped, in front of the cabin. By analogy with Eighteenth Dynasty barque scenes and with the model boat provided for Tutankhamun,¹ these were perhaps recesses for the insertion of a mast, the rigging tackle, and an open canopy in front of the cabin.

The occurrence of a model boat in an Eighteenth Dynasty burial set is uncommon. Objects of this category were a regular funerary commodity during the First Intermediate Period and the early Middle Kingdom² but, with the exception of royal tombs, usually absent in burials of the New Kingdom.³ Considering the relatively far distance of TT -64- from the nearest Middle Kingdom tomb at el-Khokha, the possibility that it is a find out of its original context can be excluded. The boat from TT -64-, moreover, differs from Middle Kingdom examples not only in its size but also in that it lacks a representation of the crew propelling the boat. Due to their instrumental role in transportation and food production such as fishing and fowling, boats had manifold connotations in Egyptian religion. Chapters 98 and 99 of the *Book of the Dead* are concerned with the provision of a boat for the deceased to cross the celestial river, while other magical spells (e.g., chapters 100, 102, and 136B) were to assist the deceased in boarding the solar barque. Boats also played a central role during the journey to Abydos, a pilgrimage to the holy site of Osiris' alleged burial place, which all believers were obliged to make from the Middle Kingdom on. The importance of this pilgrimage during the New Kingdom is indicated by the frequent depiction of the journey to Abydos in Theban tomb scenes, which usually show the deceased in a papyrus boat sailing downstream. In reality, wooden boats were likely used,⁴ which, in contrast to papyrus boats, usually had only one steering oar. The representation of this type of boat in *Book of the Dead* vignettes indicates that boats like that from TT -64- were also in use during the New Kingdom. Whether was it a votive object reflecting the accomplishment of a journey to Abydos or the symbolic representation of the boat required by the deceased for his otherworldly travel, this find provides evidence for the survival of model boats in non-royal burials until the early to mid-Eighteenth Dynasty.



Bibliography: KÁKOSY 2001, 226, 228, figs. 6-7 [description and photos].

[G.S.]

1 REEVES 1990, 144.

2 ROEHRIG 1988, 114.

3 On New Kingdom boats, see: JONES 1995, 49-61.

4 LANDSTRÖM 1970, 24.

20. Scribal palette

Eighteenth Dynasty (1550–1295 BC)

Wood

Ht. 1.3 cm, W. 2.7 cm, L. 16 cm

From the burial shaft of TT -64-, Chamber 2

Reg. No. 465

This scribal palette was found associated with objects from Eighteenth Dynasty burials in the shaft of TT -64-. The palette has a rectangular pen slot with one of the reed pens still preserved. Three of the four oval inkwells contain black, red, and yellow pigment. In the fourth hollow, now empty, traces of green paint are visible. The presence of four rather than two inkwells (for black and red pigment only) indicates that the palette was intended for an illustrator scribe. Since the surface of the object does not show signs of wear from long usage, one may presume that the palette was deposited in the tomb when newly made.



Bibliography: KÁKOSY 2001, 2228–229, fig. 8 (description and photo).

[G.S.]



21. Base of a wooden statue

Eighteenth Dynasty (1550–1295 BC)

Wood, pigment

L. 18.6 cm, W. 6 cm, Ht. 2.9 cm

From the burial shaft of TT -64-, Chamber 2

Reg. No. 464

This base originally served as a plinth for a statue which, with the exception of the feet, is now lost. Judging from the position of the feet, it depicted a standing man with his left leg placed forward. Similar small-sized wooden statues portraying members of the elite are especially typical of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The delicate modelling which characterizes these portraits is also apparent on the object from TT -64-. The finesse of the carving is well illustrated by the careful indication of the toe-nails and the hieroglyphic inscription written on the base. Some traces of pigment at the beginning of the text indicate that the hieroglyphs were originally coloured green. The inscription, rendered in two columns (1-2) and six lines (3-8) on the top of the base, is an offering formula for the favour of a certain Senpu:

(1) *An offering which the king gives (to) Osiris, Foremost (2) of the Westerners, great god, Ruler of eternity, Lord of heaven, King of the gods, (3) – that he may give glory in heaven, power on earth, (smelling) the sweet breeze of the north wind, (4) drinking water from the stream (5) of the river, receipt of food-offerings that appear in the presence of [the praised*

one?...] (6) on the holidays and the festivals of heaven and earth upon the altar of Wenenufer, (7) – for the spirit of Senpu, wab-priest of (8) Tjembu, the justified.

This text is complemented by a short dedication written along the side of the base:

(Given) by the hereditary noble, the mayor of Thinis, who perpetuates his name, Amenhotep, and [his] daughter (?), the mistress of the house, Antef, the justified.

As the text elucidates, the statue was dedicated by

Amenhotep, a high-ranking official active in the Thinite district, who is probably no other than the owner of TT -64-. The identity of Senpu, for whom the statue was made, is cloaked in mystery, however. Taking literally his only title mentioned in the text, Senpu was the priest of a certain Tjembu, who might have been a deified woman. It is also possible, however, that the text is corrupted at this point and that the carver of the inscription merged the elements of Senpu's title and matrimony. Thus, emending the text with the relative form *ms.n* or *jr.n*, the name Tjembu may simply refer to Senpu's mother. At any rate, the presence of this statue in TT -64- strongly suggests that Senpu was also buried in the tomb and that he might have been a relative of Amenhotep.



22. Two funerary cones of Penre

Early Eighteenth Dynasty, joint reign of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III (1479 – 1425 BC)

Fired Nile Silt, covered with red wash

Ht. 13.5 cm, D. 6.8 cm

Ht. 14 cm, D. 7.1 cm

From TT 65 – Forecourt, Shaft '3'

Reg. No. 423, Inv. No. 01/IA/29, 01/IA/30

As a characteristic decorative element of Theban tombs, funerary cones are routinely recovered in great numbers during excavation all over the necropolis. In the form of tapering cones of fired clay varying in size, funerary cones were primarily set in imitation of wooden roof beams protruding from dwellings into the façades of tombs. New Kingdom and later pieces were stamped on the flat surface of their broad end, most frequently with the name and title of their owner. They are rarely found, however, in their architectural context *in situ*, in fact, so far only one definitive and a handful of suggestive examples are known where this has been the case.¹

The present funerary cones are two of four fragments recovered from or near Shaft '3', the burial apartment of the King's Son and Overseer of the Southern Foreign Countries, Penre.² Two further examples, one of which was also found in the wider vicinity of Shaft '3', have been known to scholarship for some time (Ashmolean Museum No. 1972.352, UC 37987), but because of their poorly preserved stamps their owner's name and hence their significance remained unrecognised.³ Their concentration around the aperture of Shaft '3' is strongly suggestive of their being incorporated originally into the decoration of a vaulted single-room cult-chapel of mud-brick raised above the shaft that by now has mostly disappeared.

In contrast to most funerary cones, these cones, made of fired Nile Silt covered with red wash, appear to have been wheel-made and have hollow insides with turn marks on both their exterior and interior surfaces. Although their bottom two-thirds are missing, the stamps that consist of six columns with vertical dividers have survived nearly intact. Dividing the stamp into two halves, the text is arranged symmetrically along its vertical axis with the hieroglyphic signs of three-three columns facing inwards. They present two strings of actual and honorific titles of unmistakably early to mid-Eighteenth Dynasty style together with the filiation of Penre:



RIGHT:

- (1) *Confidant of the King, Foremost of the entire land, Penre*
- (2) *First King's Son, Overseer of the Southern Foreign Countries, Penre*
- (3) *sweet of life*

LEFT:

- (1) *Vigilant controller, devoid of negligence, Penre, justified*
- (2) *born of the dignity, Sekheru*
- (3) *[justified (?)]*

Bibliography: BACS 2002a.

[T.A.B.]

¹ More recently, POLZ 2007, 254-279.

² BACS 2002a.

³ DAVIES – MACADAM 1957, No. 134; also STEWART 1986, 79; and VIVÓ – COSTA 1998, 63-64.



23.-24. Two canopic jars of Penre

Early Eighteenth Dynasty, joint reign of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III (1479 - 1425 BC)

Marl clay

Jars: Ht. 26.1 cm, MBD. 19.1 cm, RD. 7.65-7.95 cm;

Lids: Ht. 11.5 cm, D. 12.2-11.2 cm

From TT 65 - Shaft '3' (Shaft, Burial Chamber)

Reg. No. 395a-b, 424a-b, Inv. No. 05/IA/10a-d; 05/IA/04a-b



Designed to hold the internal organs (liver, lungs, stomach, and intestines) made up into packs following their removal from the body in the course of mummification, canopic jars during the Eighteenth Dynasty were frequently made of painted pottery. As the two canopic jars of the King's Son and Overseer of the Southern Foreign Countries, Penre illustrate, these were often painted to imitate vessels made of hard stones,

in this case alabaster.¹ The effect was achieved by first applying wide yellow drafting lines on the white coating of the marl clay vessel, and then punctuated with either flowing or scalloped red veining lines. Finally the text panels of dark blue hieroglyphs and red dividers were added and coated with a yellow varnish. Of the four jars of Penre's canopic set restored from sherds three have flowing veining lines and one scalloped ones, the latter [Cat. No. 23] with a more pronounced tapering of its body also differs slightly in shape from the other three.

The standardised texts² of these two jars contain the expected invocation to the goddesses Isis and Nephthys respectively associated with two of the Four Sons of Horus, Imsety (protecting the liver) and Hapy (responsible for the lungs). The texts of the other two jars invoke Neith paired with Qebhsenuf and Nut with Duamutef. An uncommon feature of the texts, perhaps used as a purely aesthetic device, is that all of the columns begin with the phrase "Words spoken: ..." (*Djed-medu*), whereas it was only needed in the first column to introduce the spell. Another noteworthy element is their use of variant writings for the name of Penre, thus, one canopic jar displays the form P[ae]nre [Cat. No. 23], the other uses Payre [Cat. No. 24]. Texts of the two jars are as follows:





Canopic Jar A [Cat. No. 23]:

- (1) *Words spoken: Isis, unite [your arms around that] which is in you,*
- (2) *Words spoken: delimit your protection about Imsety, [with respect to who is in you];*
- (3) *Words spoken: honoured before < Imsety >, the Osiris, King's Son,*
- (4) *Words spoken: Overseer [of the Southern Countries], Penre, justified,*
- (5) *Words spoken: born of the King's Son, [the dignitary, Sekheru], justified.*

Canopic Jar B [Cat. No. 24]:

- (1) *Words spoken: Nephthys, unite your arms around that which is in you,*
- (2) *Words spoken: delimit your protection about Hapy with respect to who is in you;*
- (3) *Words < spoken >: honoured before Hapy, the Osiris, King's Son, Overseer of the Southern*
- (4) *Words [spoken]: Countries, Payre, justified,*
- (5) *Words spoken: born of [...], [the King's] Son, Sekheru, justified.*

Of the canopic equipment, besides the canopic jar fragments, only two matching lids of Penre's set were found in the burial chamber of Shaft '3', while no remains of a canopic chest were identified. Although the two human-headed lids



were manufactured with the same method³ and painted to look alike, noticeable differences exist between the two, indicating that different craftsmen were responsible for their modelling. To model the faces, in both cases the clay mass was sculpted away with the result that the noses do not protrude beyond the original clay mass. When rendering the faces, however, one achieved a slanting profile resulting in an upward angle of gaze, while the other sculpted a vertical one attaining hence a straight ahead look. The stylistic difference between the two faces is most apparent in their shapes and the modelling of facial features, as one is somewhat narrower, with moderately arching brows and almond shaped eyes, and fleshy lips with a slightly exaggerated smiling, sickle shaped mouth. In contrast, the other lid's face has a certain degree of puffiness of the cheeks, slightly tilted eyes, and a smaller, terse mouth. Despite their distinctiveness, however, the effect of the artistic style and iconography of Tuthmoside royal statuary is unmistakable in both.⁴ The lids then, after firing were gessoed and painted with the wig and short beard blue, the brows, cosmetic lines, and pupils accentuated with black, and the skin together with the wig's striations with yellow.

Bibliography: BACS 2009.

[T.A.B.]

¹ ROSE 1996, 170.

² SETHE'S Type VIII, SETHE 1934, 211-239.

³ DORMAN 2002, 52-55.

⁴ KELLER 2005; LABOURY 1998.



25. Canopic Jar of Sennefer

Early Eighteenth Dynasty, joint reign of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III to reign of Amenophis II (1479 – 1401 BC)

Marl clay

Jar: Ht. 25.5 cm, MBD. 19.5 cm, RD. 10 cm

Lid: Ht. 8.7 cm, D. 10.7 CM

From TT 65 – Shaft '3' (Shaft, Burial Chamber)

Reg. No. 397; 399b, Inv. No. 05/1A/3b; 05/1A/8a



Mixed with the funerary goods of the King's Son and Overseer of the Southern Foreign Countries, Penre in Shaft '3', the fragments of two canopic vessels of an otherwise unknown Sennefer have survived from an original set of four together with one complete and one partially preserved lid. However, neither the textual evidence found on these canopic jars nor fragments of

Sennefer's inscribed mummy shroud [Cat. No. 36] supply enough evidence to establish his relationship with Penre, familial or other. While his mother's name, Tjen, appears on the shroud, albeit only here from the entire burial material of Shaft '3', that of his father remains unknown as do his title or titles.

This wheel-thrown vessel of marl clay has a slightly angular body the surface of which was embellished with pebble-burnishing that left long vertical strokes on the body and horizontal ones on the shoulder. Of the original contents pieces of textile are still stuck in a resinous substance to the bottom of the vessel's interior. The inscription of four columns with spacers and written in black ink is the formulaic spell invoking the tutelary goddess Nephthys:

- (1) *Words spoken: Nephthys, embrace your arms around that which is*
- (2) *in you, delimit your protection about Hapy, with respect to*
- (3) *who is in you; honoured before Hapy,*
- (4) *Sennefer, justified before Osiris.*

The near spherical shape of the lid, actually an inverted bowl with a modelled rim originally, is quite unusual, if not unique among canopic jar lids. Lids of similar design tend to be low-domed and basically of solid clay.¹ The lid's form is offset by the face that was modelled in a quite small scale rather like a relief, obtained first by pinching clay from the lid surface by hand sufficient enough to fashion then the slightly protruding face. On closer examination the face displays an unexpectedly fine quality, due perhaps to the use of a mould rather than being hand crafted, a trait that is now obscured by the black paint added rather summarily to delineate the eyebrows and cosmetic lines.



Bibliography: Unpublished.

[T.A.B.]

¹ E.g. CG 4585, in: DORMAN 2002, pl. 10.

26. Canopic Jar of Sitamun

Early Eighteenth Dynasty, joint reign of Hatshepsut and Tutmosis III to reign of Amenophis II (1479 – 1401 BC)

Marl clay

Ht. 20.4 cm, MBD. 18.5 cm, RD. 6 cm, BD. 6.3 cm

From TT 65 – Shaft '3'

Reg. No. 437, Inv. No. 05/IA/15a



Sherds of all four canopic jars belonging to a certain lady, Sitamun, together with fragments of her *Book of the Dead* papyrus were found scattered in the fill at the bottom of Shaft '3' and its burial chamber. As is the case with Sennefer, her relationship with the burial apartment's primary owner Penre is also obscure, as a result of the lack of relevant evidence.

Of the four canopic jars of Sitamun the one exhibited is a noticeably warped low-shouldered vessel that has a slightly bulging lower body and a disproportionately small base. Its outer surface is stained with the resinous substance used to treat the internal organ (probably the lungs) wrapped in coarse linen and still present in the jar. An interesting feature is that in many places on its surface this resin has also preserved the fingerprints of the embalmer who placed the bundled organ into it and who manifestly also broke the rim of the vessel during inserting it as it proved to be too narrow. The oversized inscription placed in five columns with spacers that were visibly corrected after an initial draft was written with thick black hieroglyphs:

- (1) *Words spoken by Nephthys: Unite your arms*
- (2) *around that which is in you, delimit your protection about*
- (3) *Hapy, who is in you; honoured*
- (4) *before Hapy, the Osiris*
- (5) *Sitamun, the justified.*

Bibliography: Unpublished.

[T.A.B.]



27. Canopic Jar Lid of an unknown woman

Early Eighteenth Dynasty, joint reign of Hatshepsut

and Tuthmosis III (1479 – 1425 BC)

Marl clay

Ht. 14.2 cm, D. 12.1 cm

From TT 65 – Shaft '3'

Reg. No. 398, Inv. No. 05/1A/9b



In comparison to the high quality canopic lids of Penre [Cat. No. 23-24], that of an unknown woman also recovered from Shaft '3' forms a distinct contrast and offers a striking illustration of the range of artistic production present in this object category. Altogether two restorable lids and fragments of a third were found from this set. As the excavated material from Shaft '3' yielded reconstructable vessels

from at least two distinct sets of canopic jars, it is difficult to establish to which of these the lids belonged to. Their number and the fact that they depict female heads strongly argue for regarding them as the stoppers of Sitamun's jars [Cat. No. 26] rather than belonging to that represented by the single jar of unknown ownership [Cat. No. 28].

The lid shown here was made from two parts with the base thrown on a wheel, while the head was hand modelled from at least two solid masses of clay, the wig being added after it was separately formed. The shoulder of the lid with a funnel projecting from its underside shows a design otherwise unusual for canopic lids.

The woman wears an archaic looking blunt-cut wig with a fillet rendered in orange, a broad collar indicated by three black lines, the bottom one with added short vertical strokes. Her face painted dark ochre is broad and dominated by the asymmetrical rendering of the eyes, a heavy nose and thick lips. The eyebrows, eyes and pupils were given emphasis with black, as was in an odd manner the ridge of the nose. Moreover, the eyes and parts of the face were painted over with an orange colour.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

[T.A.B.]

28. Anonymous Canopic Jar

Early Eighteenth Dynasty, joint reign of Hatshepsut
and Tuthmosis III (1479 – 1425 BC)

Marl clay

Ht. 22.2 cm, MBD. 17.5 cm, RD. 9.7 cm

From TT 65 – Shaft 3'

Reg. No. 425, Inv. No. 05/IA/16

The entire outer surface of this originally cream coloured marl clay canopic vessel was coated with a thick layer of a black resinous substance. Together with the inscription in yellow paint, the colour scheme follows that of contemporary black varnished and gilded coffins and canopic chests.¹ The hieroglyphic text was written by a practiced hand partly with cursive hieroglyphic signs. It contains the usual formulaic text, though curiously, the name of the owner was omitted:



(1) *Words spoken by Selket: Unite your arms around that which is*
(2) *in you, delimit your protection about Duamutef, who is*
(3) *in you; honoured before Duamutef, Osiris.*

Bibliography: Unpublished.

[T.A.B.]

¹ DODSON 1998; IKRAM – DODSON 1998, 282-285.



29. Painted jar

Early Eighteenth Dynasty, joint reign of Hatshepsut
and Tuthmosis III (1479 – 1425 BC)

Marl clay

Ht. 27.9 cm, MBD. 18.5 cm, RD. 11 cm

From TT 65 – Shaft '3' (Shaft, Burial Chamber)

Reg. No. 427, Inv. No. 06/IC/10



Reflecting its use as a place for multiple interments, the ceramic assemblage from the fill of the lower section and burial chamber of Shaft '3' shows the presence of a variety of decorated and undecorated vessels that can be dated to the early to mid-Eighteenth Dynasty. These include tablewares and an assortment of storage vessels. This vase of marl clay with a greenish surface colour has a modelled rim, slightly funnel-shaped or concave-sided neck, and a piriform body. Its painted decoration is typical of the Thutmoseid period and was applied to various shapes of the period's ceramic repertoire.¹ The decoration on the shoulder consists of two bands of inverted triangles or stylised foliage motifs between horizontal stripes made up of a red line bordered by two black lines. Lower on the body a row of dots on a black line ("birds-on-a-wire" motif) are set between further black and red lines. Unfortunately, the fading of the colours, especially that of the red, has much diminished the original effect that played on the black and red decoration contrasting with the jar's greenish fabric.



Bibliography: Unpublished.

[T.A.B.]

¹ In general, BOURRIAU 1981, 72.

30. Black burnished juglet

Early Eighteenth Dynasty,

joint reign of Hatshepsut

and Tuthmosis III (1479 – 1425 BC)

Nile Silt

Ht. 8 cm, MBD. 8.4 cm, RD. 6.5 cm

From TT 65 – Shaft '3'

Reg. No. 428, Inv. No. 06/IC/11

This small jar has a modelled, flaring rim, straight neck, carinated body, and a small flat base. To create its compacted lustrous surface it was burnished, leaving visible horizontal polishing marks. Fired black by design, its small size, form and applied burnishing technique suggest that it was meant to imitate comparable vessels in stone.¹ As such, it was intended to be a container for costly substances like imported oils or creams fragranced with such oils.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

[T.A.B.]

¹ ROSE 2007, 17-18.



31. Jug decorated in red and black

Early Eighteenth Dynasty, joint reign of Hatshepsut
and Tuthmosis III (1479 – 1425 BC)

Marl clay

Ht. 18.9 cm, MBD. 15.2 cm, RD. 9.8 cm

From TT 65 – Shaft '3' (Shaft, Burial Chamber)

Reg. No. 429, Inv. No. 06/IC/09



One of the most common vessel types found deposited in tombs and graves of the New Kingdom, this one-handled jug was used for the storage of resinous or oily substances.¹ It would have been sealed with a stopper, covered with a cloth and tied with a string under the rim. By now entirely gone, only a tiny linen fragment and a yellowish substance still adhering to parts of the neck remain of such a sealing.

Wheel-made of marl clay, the jug has a flattened ledge rim, straight neck, a slightly carinated body, a small ring foot, and a single vertical handle. Its surface was compacted with burnishing that has left visible burnishing strokes especially on the body of the vessel. On this burnished surface, decoration was applied with a brush in black and red pigment. The decoration consisting of five vertical stripes start from the base of the neck and breaks up the body into zones. Two stripes of three lines (black-red-black) are placed on either side of the handle; single red lines are on opposing sides of the body, while a row of dots on a black line framed by black and red lines is set opposite the handle.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

[T.A.B.]

¹ See e.g. *Egypt's Golden Age*, 79 No. 55.



32. Canaanite amphora

Early Eighteenth Dynasty, joint reign of Hatshepsut

and Tuthmosis III (1479 – 1425 BC)

Levantine fabric

Ht. 47cm, MBD. 20.6 cm, RD. 12 cm

From TT 65 – Shaft '3' (Shaft, Burial Chamber)

Reg. No. 431, Inv. No. 06/IC/05

Commodities like wine, oil or incense were regularly placed among the provisions deposited in the tombs of the elite. They were placed into tombs in their original containers or transport vessels, like this amphora imported from Syria-Palestine. Although no residue analysis has been done on its contents yet, based on the physical appearance of the substance still filling approximately one-third of the vessel, it may be assumed to have contained a kind of resinous substance (pistachia resin?) rather than oil.¹ The fabric, with its probable origin in the southern Levant, also links the amphora to the trade in this commodity.²

Restored and completed from several sherds, the amphora of an orange surface colour, has a slightly out-turned ribbed rim, rounded shoulder and ovoid body. On the neck of the amphora above one of the handles a hieratic docket can be seen that would have named the commodity the vessel carried. Only the beginning of the very faded two-line docket can be still seen. Significantly enough, however, the legible first signs are that of a date: (1) *Year 10, third month [... ...]* (2) *[... ...]*

Originally belonging to the burial assemblage of the King's Son and Overseer of the Southern Foreign Countries, Penre apparently, the amphora's year-date refers to Year 10 of the joint reign of Hatshepsut and

Tuthmosis III. The date's importance lies in the fact that it not only provides the time after which Penre's burial was sealed, but also the last year in which he would have presumably occupied the office of Viceroy of Kush. More notably, it allows placing Penre into the line of viceroys of the early Eighteenth Dynasty, between one Seni and a certain Inebny/Amenemnekh³ giving him a relatively short, maximum eight-year tenure in office.



Bibliography: Unpublished.

[T.A.B.]

1 SERPICO – WHITE 2000, 434-436.

2 See: BOURRIAU – SMITH – SERPICO 2001.

3 DAVIES 2008.



33. Wavy-necked jar

Early Eighteenth Dynasty, joint reign of Hatshepsut
and Tutmosis III (1479 – 1425 BC)

Marl clay

Ht. 28.8 cm, MBD. 10.8 cm

From TT 65 – Shaft '3'

Reg. No. 430a, Inv. No. 06/IC/14

This vessel type is common to most funerary contexts of the Eighteenth Dynasty, although its exact function remains unidentified. The jar has a wavy neck, the distinct characteristic that gave its name to this vessel type, and a slightly piriform body. The decoration consists of alternating horizontal black and red bands on the neck, a stripe of horizontal black-red-black lines at the base of the neck and a "birds-on-a-wire" motif between two horizontal black and red lines at the transition of the shoulder and body. Now reconstructed, the jar's bottom and lip rim have been lost.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

[T.A.B.]



34. Wavy-necked jar

Early Eighteenth Dynasty, joint reign of Hatshepsut
and Tutmosis III (1479 – 1425 BC)

Marl clay

Ht. 30.7 cm, MBD. 11.8 cm, RD. 4.2 cm

From TT 65 – Shaft '3'

Reg. No. 430b, Inv. No. 06/IC/15

The orange-brown coloured jar of marl clay presents a more elaborate variant of wavy-necked vessels. It has a modelled rim painted red on its exterior, ribbed shoulder, and slightly piriform body. The neck is decorated with alternating black and red bands, while a horizontal band consisting of red-black-red lines were painted just below the shoulder.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

[T.A.B.]



35. Embalmed victual

Early Eighteenth Dynasty, joint reign of Hatshepsut
and Tuthmosis III (1479 – 1425 BC)

Textile and faunal remains

L. 40 cm, W. 16-21 cm

From TT 65 – Shaft '3' (Burial Chamber)

Reg. No. 432, Inv. No. 05/IA/17

This large object looks as if it is made of wadded up linen with a thin covering of skin. It is roughly in the shape of a goose or duck victual mummy designed to feed the deceased in the afterlife. Victual mummies consist of joints of meat or poultry that have been prepared by skinning or plucking, being desiccated using natron (or sometimes salt), and having oils and resins applied to their surface, before being wrapped in linen and then either placed in baskets or wooden coffinetts that often take the shape of their contents.¹ This genre of mummified offering is common in the Eighteenth Dynasty in royal and elite tombs, although a few examples, such as those of Queen Isitemkheb D are known from the Twenty-first Dynasty.²

In this object the linen looks as if it is somehow covered with something resembling a thin layer of skin. This skin is covered with a black substance that looks, in some places, as if it might have been administered with a coarse brush; certain areas sports considerable drips. This black material seems to be a mixture of primarily oil, mixed possibly with a small amount of resin. Similar black substance from other victual (and human) mummies that has been tested tends to be resin, oil, or a mixture of these,³ although a few examples of bitumen have been recorded in human mummies.⁴ There is no evidence for salt or natron on this object, as is commonly found on most victual mummies. Radiographs show no evidence for bones within the bandages. Nonetheless, it is possible that this might be some form of victual mummy as other examples of boneless mummies consisting of pieces of meat have been found.⁵ However, this mysterious object shows evidence for skin on the exterior of the linen, which is curious in the context of victual mummies. It is possible that this package is actually a very elaborately formed internal support for the body cavity of a mummy. Yet, when we tried to fit this object into the bodies of the mummies retrieved from the shaft where it was found, it fit none of these, and thus remains something of an enigma.



Bibliography: Unpublished.

[S.I.]

1 IKRAM 1995 appendix 2.

2 IKRAM 2004, 87-92.

3 BUCKLEY – EVERSHERD 2001, 837-841.

4 HARRELL – LEWAN 2002, 285-294.

5 IKRAM 1995 appendix 2.



36. Shroud Fragment of Sennefer with Book of the Dead spells

Early Eighteenth Dynasty, from joint reign of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III

to reign of Amenophis II (1479 – 1401 BC)

Linen, pigment

Ht. 46.5 cm, W. 26.4 cm

From TT 65 – Shaft '3'

Reg. No. 426, Inv. No. 05/IB/01a



From the Seventeenth Dynasty on mummies of royal burials could be provided with linen shrouds covered with texts comprising certain spells from the *Book of the Dead*.¹ In the early Eighteenth Dynasty their use extended beyond the royal family to members of the high elite as well, resulting in the little above forty exemplars known today.² This fragment of such a funerary shroud belonged to Sennefer, of whose canopic set two reconstructable jars [Cat. No. 25] were also unearthed in Shaft '3'. A further twenty-one recovered fragments of varying sizes, among them joining pieces, belong to the same shroud. It is a piece from the left edge of a shroud that when intact may have been 60 to 80cm high, but with an original length difficult to determine. Of a pale light brown colour, the quality of the textile is very fine with 32 warp and 23 weft threads per centimetre. Darker stains indicate that the shroud came into contact with an unidentified oily or resinous fluid preferably when it was placed on the mummified body lying in its coffin. The shroud has a border averaging 5 cm with a single black line being used to frame the text columns; the text columns vary between 2 cm and 2,5 cm in width in which the tallest signs do not exceed a 2 cm height. The fragment partially preserves eleven columns of cursive hieroglyphic text using retrograde writing (i.e. contrary to the normal direction for reading, the rightward-facing signs are to be read from left to right).³



The text borne by the fragment contains sections of three spells of the *Book of the Dead* written continuously without interruption. It opens with Spell 124 ("Spell for going down to the Council of Osiris") in columns 1–6, and then continues with Spell 83 ("Assuming the form of a phoenix") in columns 7–8 and Spell 84 ("Assuming the form of a heron") in columns 9–11. Joining fragments show furthermore, that as expected, Spell 85 ("[Assuming] the form of a (living) soul and not entering the place of execution") subsequently followed. The sequence of spells is a classical one regularly found in New Kingdom manuscripts of the so-called 'Theban Recension' of the *Book of the Dead* whether written on papyrus or linen.⁴ Introduced by Spell 124 that readies the deceased for the descent to the "Council of Osiris", the sequence is made up of a selection from the larger corpus of transformation spells (Spells 76 to 88) that were written to give the deceased the ability to turn into various animals, a lotus or different gods.⁵

The preserved lengthier text fragment of Spell 124 and the much shorter section from Spell 83 run as follows (of Spell 84 only phrase and word fragments survive)⁶:

Spell 124 (cols. 1 – 6):

- (1) *[Spell for going down to the Council of Osiris.][... ..] Sennefer, the justified, born of the lady of the house, Tjen, the justified. My soul has built a stronghold in Busiris; [... ..]*
- (2) *[...] [...] no harm. I have not touched it with my hands, I have not stepped on it [... ..]*
- (3) *[..] [...] cobras. O doorkeeper of the pacifier of the Two Lands, bring to me these makers of offerings. [... ..]*
- (4) *[...] [...] powerful in the sky among the Hoverers. As for any god or any goddess who may interfere with [... ..]*
- (5) *[...] [...]. The Followers of the gods speak to me, the disk [... ..]*
- (6) *[... ..] I [repeat] to him the words of the gods: "Come to (me), my equipped blessed one, for thou causest truth to [... ..]"*

Spell 83 (cols. 7 – 8):

- (7) *[...] I have soared as the primeval one; I have become Khepri. I have grown as plants [...]*
- (8) *[...] the presider over Letopolis and the souls of Heliopolis, this (god) among the gods. [...]*

Bibliography: Unpublished.

[T.A.B.]



1 See: RONSECCO 1996.

2 MÜLLER-ROTH 2008, 149-153;

KOCKELMANN 2008, 9-11.

3 MUNRO 1988, 193-200.

4 GESTERMANN 2006, 105 n. 19.

5 LÜSCHER 2006.

6 Translation based on

ALLEN 1974, 71-72, 96.





The Third Intermediate Period on el-Khokha and Sheikh Abd el-Gurna

T. A. BÁCS – Z. I. FÁBIÁN – G. SCHREIBER

EL-KHOKHA

From the reign of Ramesses III there was a gradual but dramatic decrease in the number of elite burials in the Theban necropolis. By the advent of the Twenty-first Dynasty, decorated tomb chapels had disappeared from Thebes and the new burials were deposited in unpainted chambers, often cut inside reused tombs. The centre of the necropolis was located in Deir el-Bahari, where members of the elite and upper-middle class of the clergy of Amun were buried.¹ Areas outside the immediate vicinity of Deir el-Bahari yielded only modest amounts of material from this age. Isolated burials were found, e.g., in Deir el-Medina, and some tombs on Sheikh abd el-Gurna and el-Asasif. Interestingly, el-Khokha seems to have been an area held in high esteem during the Twenty-first Dynasty. The monumental tomb of Surero (TT 48) was reused during the late Twenty-first or early Twenty-second Dynasty, as indicated by coffins Davies found there.² The lower rooms of TT 32 and TT -61- in the area of the Hungarian concession were also occupied in the same period and Twenty-first Dynasty material, especially yellow-background coffin fragments, appears frequently, if sporadically, in most of the tombs excavated on el-Khokha.³

During the early Twenty-second Dynasty there was a marked change in the Theban burial practice which affected all elements of the funerary outfit. The most noticeable change was probably the transformation of the coffin ensemble, since the yellow-background coffins of the Twenty-first Dynasty were dropped from the repertory and replaced by a new set consisting of an outer and an intermediary coffin as well as an innermost cartonnage case.⁴ The period between the mid-10th and mid-8th centuries BC also witnessed a considerable expansion of the necropolis. Besides Deir el-Bahari, which was turned into a cemetery for priests,⁵ another cemetery started to grow in the Ramesseum from the reign of Osorkon I.⁶ As time went on, this cemetery also stretched over the neighbouring areas, i.e., the slopes of Sheikh abd el-Gurna and Gurnet Murei. At the same time, the reuse of New Kingdom tombs became a widespread and accepted practice in most parts of the necropolis. The intrusive burials were usually deposited in newly-cut chambers accessible through shafts. The presence of Twenty-second Dynasty material seems to be symptomatic all over the southern slope of el-Khokha. During the 9th century BC the lower rooms of TT 32 were reused by a family whose male members bore the title Chamber manager (in the domain) of Amun, a non-priestly post in Theban temple hierarchy.⁷ At least one member of the family was interred



The vestibule of Tomb B before restoration (photo: G. Schreiber)

1 NIWIŃSKI 1988, 24-29.

2 SÁVE-SÖDERBERGH 1957, 34, pl. 65.

3 SCHREIBER 2008, 34, 51-53.

4 TAYLOR 2003.

5 NIWIŃSKI 1988, 29; BARWIK 2003.

6 ELIAS 1993, 92-107.

7 SCHREIBER 2008, 51; SCHREIBER n.d. 2.

in the burial chamber of Djehutymes, while other burials were deposited in two new side-chambers opening at the terminus of TT 32's sloping passage. The most diagnostic element of this group was cartonnage cases elaborately decorated in the so-called "Two falcons" type.⁸ Somewhat later, in the late 9th or 8th century BC, a burial shaft was dug into the floor of TT 32's axial corridor.⁹ Typically for this period, the shaft has a square opening and accesses a single chamber. The disturbed burials found there were equipped with figurines of the Sons of Horus, dummy canopic jars, and cartonnage coffins. During the terminal phase of the Twenty-second Dynasty a tomb of considerable size was built in the zone of the first and second forecourts of TT 32 (Tomb B).¹⁰ This tomb, provided with an open court, a vaulted vestibule, a vaulted corridor, and subterranean rooms arranged along an L-shaped corridor, has analogues in late Third Intermediate



Fragments of Twenty-second Dynasty cartonnage cases as found in Room 9 of TT -61- (photo: B. Tihanyi)

Theban chapel tombs in the area of the Ramesseum, and el-Asasif. The use of the tomb continued in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, as indicated by coffin fragments with pennant writing of the name Osiris, which gained acceptance only after 730-720 BC. The most remarkable find from this period of Tomb B is a lavishly decorated wooden door [Cat. No. 54] installed at the portal between the vestibule (the offering room) and the vaulted corridor leading to the subterranean parts of the tomb. Recurrent elements of the burial ensembles were also bead nets decorated with funerary scarabs and Sons-of-Horus amulets, coarse Nile silt ushebtis, and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statues. The Twentieth Dynasty burial chamber (Room IX) of TT -61- was also reused during the Twenty-second Dynasty.¹¹ The new occupants were members of a priestly family officiating in the Karnak temple. The two individuals who are known from this family by name bore, among others, the title God's father of Amun. Each was interred in a coffin set consisting of an anthropoid wooden coffin and an innermost cartonnage case and each was provided with a heart scarab made of schist [Cat. No. 43-44].

In the burial chamber of the Nineteenth Dynasty tomb of Nefermenu (TT 184), Third Intermediate Period material was also found.¹² Thirty Nile silt ushebtis indicate that the burial chamber was reoccupied in this era. The "Two falcons" type cartonnage case of a certain Peftjau-ayy-Monthu, son of Hor-[...] could be reconstructed, which may have been the innermost element of his coffin set. Fragments of two wooden coffins once containing the cartonnage case were also found here.

The area of the *Saff* 1 tomb seems to have been a place of burials in continuous use during the Twenty-second Dynasty and the following periods. At least twelve wooden coffins could be identified from reassembled small fragments, and those of cartonnage cases also support this figure.¹³ The material, however, is too fragmentary to identify either the number of burials or individuals by name. The two burial chambers probably



Restoration of the superstructure of Tomb B and consolidation of its surroundings in 2004 (photo: Zs. Vasáros)



Local restorer Ragab Marey Ahmed reassembling potsherds in TT 32 (photo: L. Mátyus)

⁸ SCHREIBER 2008, 53-56, pls. XLIX-LI, photo pls. XI-XII.

⁹ SCHREIBER 2008, 51.

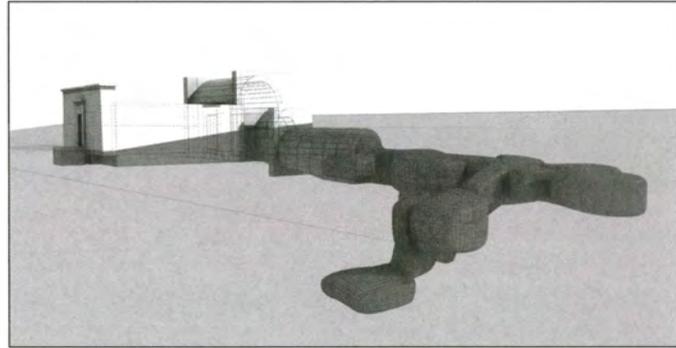
¹⁰ SCHREIBER - VASÁROS 2005; SCHREIBER 2008, 64-77.

¹¹ SCHREIBER n.d. 2.

¹² FÁBIÁN 2007.

¹³ FÁBIÁN 2007.

prepared for the *Saff* tomb were reused during this period and an additional shaft was hewn in the northeastern corner of the tomb. Another burial place in the eastern half of the portico, where several phases of reuse and architectural modifications have been identified, yielded a considerable amount of material. In front of the pillared façade a small shaft, square in plan, was cut giving access to a chamber at the bottom. A room was also created above this burial chamber in the eastern part of the portico of the *Saff* tomb in order to include a cult chapel in its superstructure. Fragments of Twenty-second Dynasty cartonnage cases of the “Two falcons” type and contemporary wooden coffins indicate the earlier phase of the burials, but the occupation of the burial place was continuous at least until the 6th century BC. Burials dated to between the later Twenty-second and Twenty-fifth Dynasties have also been unearthed in the vicinity in TT -43,¹⁴ TT -59,¹⁵ TT 412,¹⁶ TT 257,¹⁷ and TT 373.¹⁸



3D model of Tomb B (survey and plan: Zs. Vasáros, 3D rendering: Á. Pásztor)

SHEIKH ABD EL-GURNA

In the post-New Kingdom era, like most such complexes in the Theban necropolis, the tombs on Sheikh Abd el-Gurna, including TT 65, were transformed into locales for multiple burials. Tracing the pattern of this reuse during the Third Intermediate Period in TT 65, however, is obscured by the tomb having been excavated in 1900/01, which resulted in obliterating all of the original contexts.¹⁹ The most intensively utilised venue for secondary burial places was the forecourt shaft, the tomb-chapel’s transverse hall, and the “sloping passage” together with the burial chamber. As all of these have been cleared and emptied of their original contents and subsequently backfilled by the earlier excavator none of the finds recovered from them can be regarded as in their primary place of deposition. This previous clearance also explains the absence of typical find groups, on the one hand, and the extremely fragmentary nature of the finds, on the other, since the excavator deemed the latter not worth retaining and discarded them accordingly. Interestingly, the pieces disposed of also included four sets of shabtis [Cat. Nos. 40-42] that were left behind in the Eighteenth Dynasty shaft in the forecourt. In the transverse hall seven secondary burial places have been identified that reveal an interesting pattern in respect of their types and choice of location. One type is represented by a niche with more or less enough space to accommodate a single coffin burial cut into the wall of the hall at floor level. A second type is more chamber-like, cut below the floor level and partially under the hall’s wall and accessed by way of a not-too-deep entrance pit that was filled with mud bricks set in mud mortar after the interment. In the case of the first two types it could also be observed that subsequent to burial they were sealed with mud mortar that was then coated with white gypsum plaster. Finally, the third type consists of a vertical shaft at the bottom of which a small chamber opens in a direction away from the hall. Intriguingly, most of these burial places were positioned with conscious consideration of the New Kingdom wall decoration above them. Thus, they chose to cut niches under the most sacred elements depicted in the wall paintings, such as the figure of Osiris or the sacred bark of Amun.

Based on the find material itself, the actual number of burials dating to the Third Intermediate Period is indeterminate. Diagnostic pieces, mostly coffin and cartonnage coffin fragments, indicate no more than that TT 65 was in continuous use as a preferred place of burial from the Twenty-first to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.

14 FÁBIÁN 2007.

15 For an interim report, see: Gaál 2004, 55-59.

16 ASTON 1987, 321-322.

17 MOSTAFA 1995, 79-81, 85-86 (Obj. Nos. 84-86, 122-123, 881.1), pls. XIX-XX, XLI-XLIII, XLVI.

18 SEYFRIED 1990, Obj. Nos. 738, 1287, 1326, 1419, 1615-1620, 1715, 1817, 2355.

19 BÁCS 1998.





The Late Period on el-Khokha

Z. I. FÁBIÁN – G. SCHREIBER

Although the presence of Late Period objects seems to be symptomatic in all the tombs on el-Khokha, the quantity of funerary goods datable to between the Saite and the Nectanebide Periods still remains low compared to what one encounters from late Third Intermediate Period contexts. While this may be due partly to the hazards of the archaeological record and partly to the differences between the funerary assemblages of the two periods, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that burials on el-Khokha radically decreased in number during the Saite Period. Disregarding now the tombs of the God's Wives of Amun and their immediate household in Medinet Habu, the main cemetery of this period was clearly el-Asasif, where newly-built chapel-tombs and "temple tombs" constructed for the highest-ranking officials of the clergy of Amun and the royal administration dotted the landscape by the 6th century BC.¹ The area of el-Asasif and its southern dependency, Birabi, were flanked by two minor cemeteries, i.e., Dra Abu el-Naga and el-Khokha. Judging by the character of the archaeological material and by the fact that in both areas simple shaft tombs predominate, one may suppose that these cemeteries were intended for the interment of the middle class of contemporary society.

On el-Khokha a good number of tombs yielded Saite objects, although they were usually found in mixed and disturbed contexts. As illustrated by pottery, amulets, and a coffin fragment inscribed for Hor, the transverse hall of TT 32 was reused for intrusive burials at that time.² The Saite burials were probably placed in a small secondary chamber cut to the floor of the New Kingdom room. The occupation of the two large late Third Intermediate Period *hypogea* situated in the area of TT 32 (Tombs B and G) probably also continued until the end of the 7th century BC.³ Saite period pottery was unearthed in the mixed fills of TT -61- and TT -400-.⁴ Based on the presence of a number of funerary scarabs and amulets in the shape of the Sons of Horus from bead-nets [Cat. Nos. 48-51], the lower rooms of TT -61- were reused for multiple burials during the Late Period. Another location in TT -61- where Saite burials were discovered is a secondary tomb shaft in the cult chapel of the tomb. Although the contents of this shaft was burnt when TT -61- became looted, it can be inferred from the preserved objects that four individuals had been buried there, each furnished with small, coarse-quality Nile Silt ushebtis and bead-nets with tripartite funerary scarabs and other suspended amulets. The Egyptian pottery as well as a Type D Clazomenian amphora retrieved from the same context point to a dating to the 6th century BC.⁵ The sloping passage of the Nineteenth Dynasty tomb of Nefermenu (TT 184) also bears witness to the Late Period reuse of the tomb. Faience ushebtis in an undecorated side chamber of the sloping passage probably belonged to these burials.⁶



Excavating a Saite burial shaft (Shaft 4) in TT -61- in 2008 (photo: G. Schreiber)

- 1 For an overview of contemporary Theban burials, see: ASTON 2003, 149-155.
- 2 SCHREIBER 2008, 51, 53.
- 3 SCHREIBER 2008, 64-81.
- 4 These materials will be published by G. Schreiber.
- 5 COOK – DUPONT 1998, 155.
- 6 FÁBIÁN 2007, 36-37.



In the upper part of el-Khokha, Late Period material was found concentrated in the shaft tomb created in the Third Intermediate Period in the eastern part of the portico of *Saff* 1 and also to the north in adjacent monuments, originally from the New Kingdom. Small fragments of two coffins found in the shaft tomb can be safely dated to a period not earlier than the Twenty-fifth Dynasty by the pennant writing of Osiris' name⁷ and their technique (wood covered with linen and plaster),⁸ but the presence of the scarab on the head indicates the date as not later than the early 7th century B. C.⁹ Outer and inner coffins were made with the same technique,¹⁰ so it cannot be ruled out that they belonged to one and the same person. The collapse of the ceiling of the shaft chamber and the debris preserved several items of the burial equipment in their original place, in the southwestern corner, which seems to have avoided the attention of looters. Here, two pseudo-canopic jars¹¹ [Cat. Nos. 37-38] and an intact wooden ushebti box containing 184 terracotta statuettes¹² were discovered, accompanied by a large number of faience beads, enough for at least two nets. The finds also included two sets of gilded Sons-of-Horus amulets, one wooden [Cat. No. 47] and another made of faience, and a tripartite faience scarab with gilded wings [Cat. No. 46], which usually adorned such nets. A further faience bead net with the attached figures of the four Sons of Horus and a winged scarab made of tiny coloured beads were found in the plundered part of the shaft chamber. These may mark the transition from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty to the Saite Period; three eastern Greek (Clazomenian) amphorae¹³ used as embalming jars and still containing their contents indicate that the burial place was still in use as late as the 6th



Clazomenian amphora from Shaft 4 in TT -61- (photo: L. Mátyus)

century. The large quantity of faience beads from nets and Sons-of-Horus amulets and funerary scarabs as well as at least one set of faience ushebtis testify that the upper part of the slope of el-Khokha was also used for burials in the Saite Period, both in the area of *Saff* 1 and in the uppermost row of New Kingdom tombs, where, without exception, shafts and chambers were added to earlier constructions.¹⁴

The Saite burials on el-Khokha reveal few of the novelties appearing in contemporary elite burial equipment and testify much more to the continuing use of older established traditions (e.g. Nile Silt shabtis, Silvano's Type A-Ba. bead nets). An interesting feature, however, is the presence of Greek wine amphorae, which appear with remarkable frequency in all excavated contexts, including a Chian amphora in TT 32,¹⁵ an Attic "brush band" amphora in TT -400-, and Clazomenian pottery in TT -61-, -400- and in the shaft tomb prepared in *Saff* 1. Besides the tombs excavated by the Hungarian Missions, Saite objects have also been found in TT 257 and 373. Evidence

for the use of el-Khokha during the Persian Period is scarce and basically restricted to some stray finds, mostly pottery. The revival of the necropolis came in the time of the last native rulers,¹⁶ Numerous tombs in the vicinity of the Hungarian excavations, including TT 41, 296, 373, 405 and 413, were reused during the 4th century BC. Secondary burials were also deposited in the lower rooms of TT -61-, where a large collection of ceramic vessels and amulets characteristic of the 4th century BC and the handle of an embalmer's tool were found.

7 LEAHY 1979.

8 JÖRGENSEN 2001; TAYLOR 1989, 56.

9 TAYLOR 2003, 116.

10 TAYLOR 1989, 56.

11 For the date range, the burial of Taharqa, pharaoh of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, which marks the beginning of the era when the ancient custom of preparing real canopic jars returned, has to be taken into consideration.

12 Both bearded and beardless terracotta figurines belonged to the intact half of the set (FÁBIÁN 2007). The panels of the other wooden box and 32 statuettes of the other half of the set were in the plundered part of the shaft chamber.

13 For the type attested in Saqqara, ASTON-GREENE 2005, 118 (No. 159) and 120, Pl. 131.

14 FÁBIÁN 2007.

15 SCHREIBER 2008, 83 (No. 2.4.2.22), pl. LXXXI.

16 For an overview, see: ASTON 2003, 162-163.



Raïs Ragab el-Amir holding a carinated jar excavated in the lowermost burial chamber of Tomb G in 2001 (photo: Zs. Vasáros)



Two dummy canopic jars [Cat. Nos. 37-38] as found in the shaft tomb opening from *Saff* 1, together with a wooden ushebti box containing 184 clay figurines, and the remains of a faience bead net

37.-38. Two dummy canopic jars (Hapy and Duamutef)

Late Twenty-second Dynasty to Early Twenty-sixth Dynasty

9th to 7th century BC

Limestone

Hapy: Ht. 22.5, D: 7-10 cm, Duamutef: Ht. 27, D. 8-13 cm,

From the secondary shaft tomb in the *Saff* 1 tomb, el-Khokha

Reg. Nos. 440, 405, Inv. Nos. 2006.607.a-b

Canopic jars, which contained and protected the mummified inner organs of the deceased, show a gradual development in shape and material from the Old Kingdom, their earliest attested use.¹ The four jars, usually made of stone, were first prepared with flat or domed lids, later with either human or hawk heads. The lids subsequently seem to have represented the four genii, the Sons of Horus, protecting the viscera. From the Ramesside period, the Sons of Horus were generally represented by human (Imsety), baboon (Hapy), canine (Duamutef), and hawk (Qebehseuf) heads on the lids. Beyond the morphological transformations of the jars, a radical change of function and fashioning of canopic jars also took place. This was the result of the changes in mummifying practices first attested in the Twentieth Dynasty which became widespread from the Twenty-first Dynasty. The mummified organs were not buried separately in the jars beside the dead, but they were placed back in the body. Only Taharqa, the ruler of the Kushite Twenty-fifth Dynasty, returned to the ancient custom of burying the viscera in jars. The number of canopic jars indeed decreased in the period, although the custom of preparing canopic jars survived. During this period, the four jars were prepared in the form of solid statues, and the lids, no longer removable, depicted the traditional head symbols of the four Sons of Horus.² The dummy canopic jars on display³ represent two of the four Sons of Horus, the ape-headed Hapy and the canine-headed Duamutef. Both are solid, one-piece statues of the jars, where only a horizontal incision marks the border between the jar proper and the lid. They are of careful craftsmanship, simple but elegant; the eyes and the brows are detailed in black paint.



They are of careful craftsmanship, simple but elegant; the eyes and the brows are detailed in black paint. These two pseudo-canopic jars were found in the secondary shaft tomb hewn beneath the portico of the Middle Kingdom *Saff* 1 tomb on el-Khokha hillock. The shaft tomb also contained a cult chapel, which was created in the eastern half of the portico of the *Saff*-tomb by walling up the intercolumnia. The ceiling of the burial chamber where the jar statues were found, i.e., the floor of the portico, collapsed. The debris in the southwestern corner protected several items of funerary equipment from robbery when the burials in other



parts of the chamber were destroyed and plundered. Mummy parts, large fragments of wooden and cartonnage coffins and so-called mummification jars, were also left in the chamber, but broken to pieces. The other two canopic jars of the four-piece set have disappeared. The canopic jars were not included in a chest as was otherwise usual in burials. These two dummy jars were found together with an intact wooden box containing 184 terracotta ushebti figurines, two sets of gilded wooden and faience amulets of the four Sons of Horus [Cat. Nos. 46-47], the latter with a tripartite faience scarab whose wings were also covered with gold sheet, and large parts of a bead net such amulets usually adorn. The features of the two pseudo-canopic jars can best be related to similar pieces dated to the 9th to 8th century BC (see also Cat. No. 39) roughly corresponding to the ushebti set and cartonnage fragments, but the amulets rather suggest a later, 7th century BC dating and the pottery is even later.

The statue of the jar with the ape-head of Hapy, as well as the wooden box of ushebtis, fell to pieces soon after it had been unearthed, probably due to the sudden effect of fresh air. The Hapy jar is thus restored from pieces.

Bibliography: Unpublished

[Z.I.F.]

- 1 BROVARSKI 1978, 3-4; IKRAM-DODSON 1998, 276-292.
- 2 SMITH 1912, 90; BROVARSKI 1978, 4; ASTON 1987, 640.
- 3 For similar dummy canopic jars: BROVARSKI 1978, Nos 212813-21.2814; DOLZANI 1982, Nos 19050-19053; HASLAUER 1989, 2,89-2,96; RANNOU 1999, 106, No 145; REISNER 1967, 260-261, pl. XLVIII, Nos 4423-4425, 4427; SCHREIBER 2008, 56-57, and pl. LII (2.1.3.1-2).

39. Dummy canopic jar (Amset)

Late Twenty-second or Early Twenty-fifth Dynasty,

late 9th to 8th century BC

Limestone

Ht. 26.5 cm, D. 12.5 cm

From TT 32, Room I

Reg. No. 3, Inv. No. 83/97

This dummy jar was retrieved from the fill in Room I of TT 32 but it may originally have belonged to one of the burials in the secondary shaft tomb cut to the floor of Room II during the late Third Intermediate Period. Typically for dummy jars, it was carved from a single piece of stone. The carving style is careful but not too detailed, focusing on the modelling of the face. In imitation of real canopic jars, a horizontal incision indicates the border between the lid and the container. As demonstrated by the human-headed lid, it was the Amset jar of a four-piece canopic set.



Bibliography: SCHREIBER 2008, 56-57 (No. 2.1.3.1), pl. LII, photo pl. XIII)

[G. S.]

40. Ushebtis of Isety

Twenty-first Dynasty (1069–945 BC)

Faience

Overseer (type 1):

Ht. 10.7 cm, W. 3.7 cm, Th. 3.2 cm (01/IA/08)

Ht. 10.6 cm, W. 3.5 cm, Th. 3.4 cm (01/IA/34)

Overseer (type 2):

Ht. 11.2 cm, W. 3.7 cm, Th. 3.2 cm (01/IA/10)

Ht. 10.9 cm, W. 3.7 cm, Th. 3.4 cm (01/IA/35)

Worker:

Ht. 10.5 cm, W. 3.9 cm, Th. 3.5 cm (01/IA/36)

Ht. 10.2 cm, W. 3.7 cm, Th. 3.7 cm (01/IA/37)

Ht. 11 cm, W. 3.8 cm, Th. 3.8 cm (01/IA/07)

Ht. 10.9 cm, W. 3.7 cm, Th. 3.5 cm (01/IA/38)

From TT 65 – Shaft '1' (Burial Chamber)

Reg. No. 421a-h, Inv. No. 01/IA/07, 01/IA/08, 01/IA/10,

01/IA/34, 01/IA/35, 01/IA/36, 01/IA/37, 01/IA/38



Having undergone a change in meaning probably as early as the late New Kingdom¹, *ushebtis* (a term supplanting the earlier *shabti* from the Twenty-first Dynasty on²) during the Third Intermediate Period ideally formed a complete set of 401 figures that would have comprised 365 worker and 36 overseer ("the chiefs of ten") figurines.³ Of such an ushebti set 292 complete or reconstructable faience figurines of an otherwise unknown lady Isety were found together with two other sets (for those of Djedkhonsuiusankh see [Cat. No. 42]) left behind by an earlier excavator in the burial chamber of Shaft '1'. Located in the forecourt of TT 65, this shaft was originally intended to hold the burial provisions of the tomb-complex's Eighteenth Dynasty owner, Nebamun. As the shaft and burial chamber was apparently cleared once and subsequently backfilled, it is uncertain if it was used at all for the intrusive burial of Isety or she was rather buried elsewhere within the tomb-complex in one of the unattributable secondary burial places.

Produced in open face clay moulds on a massive scale throughout the period,⁴ the large number of figurines necessary for an ideal set had the result that ushebtis made in different moulds could be assembled to form one such set. As shown by Isety's set this could not only mean having figures of diverse quality included in the same set, but like her two distinct overseer types illustrate also different ushebti types. Among the eight ushebti figures featured here four are overseers, each type being represented by two-two figurines.

The first type of overseer figurine of blue faience is characterised by a plain duplex wig with flat back part and coloured haphazardly with black and poorly defined facial features of which only the eyebrows and eyes were highlighted. The right arm is flexed across his chest and holds a whip⁵ indicated by a black line that runs over the shoulder, while his left arm is extended by his side. In accordance with the iconography of overseers, he wears a short kilt and in a more unusual manner a sash belt painted in black, the two ends of which hang down the front. The legs and feet are indicated by modelling.



The second overseer type is shown wearing a plain lappet (tripartite) wig with the ends of the lappets bluntly cut away and an unpainted flat back part. The arms are crossed before the chest without the hands being shown. Indicative of its overseer status one of the figures moreover grasps a whip represented by a black line extending over the shoulder. The figure wears a kilt with an exaggerated projection as a distinctive feature. On one figure the sash belt knotted at the waist is clearly visible, while on the other the rendering of the same article is quite muddled. In contrast to the first type, the legs and feet are not differentiated by modelling.

Although of the four worker figures at least three were cast in different moulds, they share many common characteristics. They are all mummiform as required of worker ushebtis and wear lappet wigs, have their arms crossed and hold modelled hoes. Where they differ apart from their overall modelling is in the choice of painted details. On two the front of the wigs received painting, but only one of them had its hoes treated in this manner. One

figurine of finer modelling was left unpainted save for its inscription. The fourth one is then distinguished by having had a *seshed* head-band or fillet, eyes, hoes, and a basket on its back daubed on in black. Mass production and the reduced size of the figurines also entailed that instead of the so-called "Shabti spell" (Spell 6 of the *Book of the Dead*), *ushebtis* were only provided with an abbreviated inscription containing the name and in cases the title of the deceased. While only one of her overseer ushebtis bore Isety's name, the worker figures all had her name painted on them in a crude fashion: *The Osiris Isety, the justified*.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

[T.A.B.]



1 SCHNEIDER 1977, 267.

2 TAYLOR 2001, 115.

3 EDWARDS 1971.

4 VANDIVER 1983, 125-128; in general NICHOLSON - PELTENBURG 2000.

5 For ushebti implements, SCHNEIDER 1977, fig. 13; STEWART 1995, 37-39.

41. Three ushebtis of Gautseshen

Twenty-first Dynasty – Twenty-second Dynasty (1069 – 715 BC)

Faience

Overseer: Ht. 11.3 cm, W. 4.4 cm, Th. 3.5 cm

Worker: Ht. 10.5 cm, W. 3.9 cm, Th. 3.1 cm

Worker: Ht. 10.4 cm, W. 3.9 cm, Th. 2.9 cm

From TT 65 – Shaft '1'

Reg. No. 421i-k, Inv. No. 98/IA/32; 98/IA/33; 01/IA/34



These three ushebti figures are from the set of a Chantress of Amun, Gautseshen. Fragments of altogether fifty-five such figures from her set have been found at the bottom of Shaft '1', where they were disposed of after removal from their original place of deposition. As is the case with Isety and Djedkhonsuiusankh, Gautseshen's exact place of burial within TT 65 is also unknown, a situation further obscured by four additional ushebti fragments of hers having been found scattered in several secondary find spots in the transverse hall of the tomb-chapel and the spoil heap fronting the forecourt of TT 65.

The only surviving overseer figure of the set, it is of blue glazed faience and shown wearing the characteristic attire of daily life. He wears a duplex (bipartite) wig adorned with a *seshed* headband with long strands that is knotted at the back. The eyebrows, eyes and pupils have been set off in black in a face

otherwise lacking in modelled detail. He holds a whip in his right hand, while his left arm is extended by his side. His short kilt carries a carefully written unframed inscription: *The Osiris Gautseshen, the justified*.

The two mummiform worker figures wear the common lappet wig with knotted *seshed* headbands. As with the overseer figurine, the eyebrows, eyes and pupils are in black. Their unsleeved hands are crossed left over right and hold hoes that were also painted on. Both figures carry rucksacks on their backs. On their fronts the framed vertical inscriptions painted in black besides identifying the owner also give her title: *The Osiris Chantress of Amun, Gautseshen, the justified*.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

[T.A.B.]



42. Six ushebtis of Djedkhonsuiusankh

Twenty-second Dynasty (945 - 715 BC)

Faience

Overseer (1): Ht. 11.2 cm, W. 2.8 cm, Th. 3.8 cm (01/IA/19)

Overseer (2): Ht. 12.2 cm, W. 3.1 cm, Th. 2.6 cm (01/IA/39)

Worker (1): Ht. 10.5 cm, W. 3 cm, Th. 2.1 cm (01/IA/17)

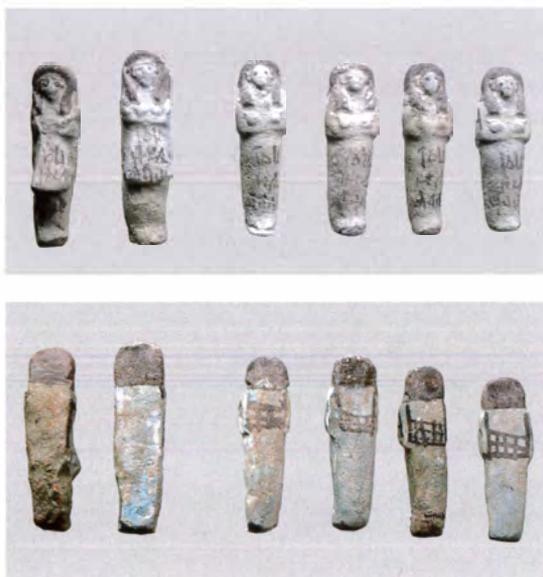
Worker (2): Ht. 11.1 cm, W. 3.3 cm, Th. 2.6 cm (01/IA/40)

Worker (3): Ht. 11.2 cm, W. 3.1 cm, Th. 2.6 cm (01/IA/41)

Worker (4): Ht. 10.5 cm, W. 3.4 cm, Th. 2.1 cm (01/IA/42)

From TT 65 - Shaft '1' (Burial Chamber)

Reg. No. 422a-f, Inv. No. 01/IA/17, 01/IA/19, 01/IA/39, 01/IA/40, 01/IA/41, 01/IA/42



In all periods of their production shabtis and ushebtis varied extensively in quality. They could range from miniature works of art to extremely crude pieces of mass production.¹ The statuettes made for a certain Djedkhonsuiusankh, however, despite their apparently poor quality and grotesque appearance do not belong to the most inexpensive class of ushebtis. They should rather be seen as a pretentious attempt by a clearly mediocre craftsman at reproducing a likeness of contemporary figurines of high quality. Despite their size imitating quality pieces, the figures made of faience and painted a bluish-green were but poorly fired with only sporadic traces of glaze present on them. They also give the impression of being hand-modelled rather than cast in moulds. Their painting follows the conventions used on better quality pieces its level of execution, however, remains commensurate with their modelling. Like those of Isety [Cat. No. 40], all of Djedkhonsuiusankh's 147 figurines were found together in the burial chamber of Shaft '1'. The identical find circumstances also imply that her original burial place is also unidentified. Of the recovered figurines, many of which suffered some degree of damage, 14 are overseers and 133 workers.

These two overseer ushebtis shown in daily-life attire wear lappet wigs that were painted in the manner of short rounded wigs on the back. The eyes on the barely modelled faces were merely indicated by black dots. They hold clumsily painted whips in both hands that are crossed on the chest. As an element not present on the worker figurines, the overseers have modelled breasts identifying thus the owner as female.² Though not unattested, the short inscription of three lines containing the name of Djedkhonsuiusankh displays the rare use of hieratic on ushebtis: *The Osiris Djedkhonsuiusankh, the justified*. The worker *ushebtis* differ from the overseers in only being mummiform and in carrying hoes that were summarily painted on their sides without even an attempt at connecting them with the hands that were supposed to hold them. The rucksacks they wear on their backs were painted in an identically summary fashion. They carry the same hieratic inscription as the overseers.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

[T.A.B.]

¹ Cp. the royal shabtis of Siamun or Psusennes II from Tanis, YOYOTTE *et al.* 1988, 36-37.

² JANES 2002, xvii.

43. Heart scarab of Ankhefenamun

Twenty-second Dynasty (945–715 BC)

Schist

Ht. 4.7 cm, W. 3.4 cm, Th. 1.8 cm

From TT -61-, Room IX

Reg. No. 418, Inv. No. AMN.V.020

By the New Kingdom ancient Egyptian funerary beliefs present an amalgam of solar, astral, and chthonic doctrines, with a multitude of ideas, often complementary or parallel to each other, referring to the theme of resurrection after death. The beliefs in a chthonic (Osirian) afterlife, which came to the fore from the Middle Kingdom, were governed largely by the notion that a man would assume responsibility in the next world for his deeds in this and thus those who lived a life on earth in harmony with the cosmic principle of righteousness would be granted an eternal life while those proved guilty would be condemned to final annihilation. In accordance with this belief, the deceased would undergo a judgement before Osiris, shown in Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead*. The trial included the confession of the deceased and the weighing of his heart in a balance against the symbol of *Maat*, the embodiment of righteousness and cosmic order. The central role the heart plays here and in a number of other spells of the *Book of the Dead* as well as later funerary compositions is explained by the fact that it is was believed to be the seat of emotions, will, and memory. It is in this role that the heart could also be dangerous for the deceased. To avoid an unwanted result at the

judgement, the heart, like other parts of the human body, could be subjected to magical practice. The spell to guarantee its discretion during the weighing constitutes Chapter 30 of the *Book of the Dead*, which frequently appears





on the underside of scarabs placed over the chest of mummies from the Thirteenth Dynasty on.¹ These so-called heart scarabs were usually made of hard stone and are characterised by carefully carved details and the absence of piercing. Occasionally heart scarabs were enclosed in a gold rim with a loop for suspension and from the Nineteenth Dynasty they were also frequently inserted in pectorals made of faience or wood.² As a recurrent element of the elite burial set, heart scarabs also remained in use during the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Dynasties.

The example from TT -61-, inscribed for Ankhefenamun, one of the Twenty-second Dynasty occupants of the tomb, features simply but carefully articulated details. The underside gives an abbreviated version of *Book of the Dead*, chapter 30 B, arranged in six lines:

(1) *Osiris* (2) *God's Father of Amun Ankhef-* (3) *enamun, the justified. He says: < My > heart of < my > mother, (4) my heart of my transformations! Do not give (5) my words (against me) in the presence of the Keeper (6) of the Balance, do not stand up against me!*

Bibliography: SCHREIBER n.d. 2 [report on the discovery, photo]

[G. S.]

¹ On heart scarabs, see: WESSETZKY 1937; MALAISE 1978.

² ANDREWS 1994, 58-59.

44. Uninscribed heart scarab

Twenty-second Dynasty (945–715 BC)

Schist

Ht. 4.5 cm, W. 3.2 cm, Th. 1.4 cm

From TT -61-, Room VII

Reg. No. 382, Inv. No. 2002/4



With its simply but carefully carved details, this heart scarab exhibits the same style as Cat. No. 43. Although the underside is uninscribed, the scarab is likely to have belonged to the burial equipment of Hor, another member of the priestly family which occupied TT -61- in the Twenty-second Dynasty. Hor's cartonnage and other objects were recovered from the lower rooms of the tomb.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

[G.S.]

45. Uninscribed heart scarab

Twenty-second to Twenty-sixth Dynasty (945–525 BC)

Faience, green glaze

Ht. 4.8 cm, W. 3.5 cm, Th. 1.6 cm

From TT -61-, Sloping Passage Sector 17

Reg. No. 381, Inv. No. 2001/27



Although heart scarabs were usually made of stone, examples manufactured from glazed compositions also occur. This uninscribed faience scarab belonged to one of the Late Third Intermediate Period or Saite burials, the scarce and fragmentary remnants of which have been identified in the sloping passage and Room VI of TT -61-. The green glaze which coats this example is frequent on faience heart scarabs, since the glossy verdant colour referred to purity and vitality.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

[G.S.]



46. Set of funerary scarab and Sons-of-Horus amulets

Third Intermediate Period to Late Period

Faience, gold, fragments of original cordage

a. Funerary scarab, body: Ht. 4.7 cm, W. 3.2 cm,

Th. 1.7 cm, wings: Ht. 3 cm, W. 5.4 cm, Th. 0.2-0.4 cm

b. Amset: Ht. 7.8 cm, W. 1.7 cm, Th. 0.3-0.4 cm

c. Hapy: Ht. 7.8 cm, W. 1.7 cm, Th. 0.3-0.5 cm

d. Duamutef: Ht. 8 cm, W. 1.7 cm, Th. 0.3-0.4 cm

e. Qebehsenuf: Ht. 7.5 cm, W. 1.7 cm, Th. 0.2-0.5 cm

From the secondary shaft tomb in the *Saff* 1 tomb, el-Khokha

Reg. Nos. 403, 402.a-d, Inv. Nos. 2006.605, 2006.603.a-d

This set of protective amulets, consisting of a winged funerary scarab and four Sons-of-Horus amulets, was unearthed from the secondary shaft tomb beneath the Middle Kingdom *Saff* 1 tomb on the southern slope of el-Khokha. In the same find spot another set of gilded wooden amulets [Cat. No. 47], two limestone pseudo-canopic jars [Cat. Nos. 37-38], and an intact wooden box containing 184 terracotta ushebti figurines were found among fragments of typical Third Intermediate Period artefacts; also accompanied, however, by objects dated to the Late Period.

The funerary scarab is made of light-blue faience overlaid with dark-blue, almost black, details.¹ The body parts of the beetle are quite well depicted, both in relief and with darker lines overlaid on the surface of its back. It is pierced on the top, bottom, and twice each on the left and right sides; thus, six holes were used

in all to attach the wings to the scarab's body and the amulet itself to the mummy. As is customary with this type of amulet, and contrary to a heart scarab, it bears no inscriptions. Although it stands apart to some extent from its gilded wings and the four Sons-of-Horus amulets, their identical provenance leaves little question that they formed a single set;² the proportions and quality of the scarab make it a strikingly beautiful, yet contrastive, centre point for the whole ensemble.³

All four figures of the Sons-of-Horus amulets and the wings of the scarab are made of light-blue faience with a thin and fragile, in places rather battered, layer of gold-leaf on the upper surfaces, sometimes folded over to the sides of the objects.





The back surfaces are undecorated. Moulds were used to manufacture the faience figures and wings,⁴ which were then covered with sheets of gold. The details of body parts, wigs, and broad collars are mostly detectable from the results of the moulded faience pieces themselves; no additional details seem to have been added, except possibly for the incised lines depicting the rows of feathers on the scarab's wings. These are sometimes emphasised by the gold-leaf, at times hidden by it. Human-headed Amset and baboon-headed Hapy are the most detailed pieces, their faces (Amset without a beard in this case) and collars are emphasized. Hawk-headed Gebehsenuf and jackal-headed Duamutef are in worse condition, with little detail, and the amulets themselves were bent, probably during the course of manufacture.⁵ They have been pierced at the head and the feet to be attached to the mummy's outer coverings; thus, all four Sons-of-Horus figures would have looked towards the left of the mummified body once fastened to it.⁶

These types of amulets formed a set typically found on mummies from the Late Third Intermediate Period onwards.⁷ Their protective role, also enabling the rebirth of the dead, is unmistakably immersed in layers of embedded meaning, symbolism, and belief. The funerary scarab conveys not only the physical characteristics of the beetle itself, but is also strengthened by an extra pair of wings typical not of an insect but of a falcon (yet another deity alluded to), with gold referring to the flesh of the gods as well.⁸ The double reference relating to the scarab surfaces in the representation of the god Khepri (a form of the sun coming into being each day) and the meaning itself of the word *hpr* ("being") on the level of hieroglyphic signs. Moreover, together with the notions expressed by the colours blue and gold (connected to both the sky and the underworld with all their inhabitants; the sun and its rebirth), each enforces the link between detailed observations and meticulous constructs of religious beliefs. These in turn enfold the fully physical aspect of the mummified deceased we encounter on the site.



The four Sons-of-Horus amulets present a manifold and complex solution for the protection of the mummified deceased. Their gradual development from two-dimensional depictions and sculpted heads on the tops of canopic jars to actual statuette-like amulet forms of various materials and shapes runs parallel to changes in their representations from unified hawk or human-headed images to the four uniquely distinguishable forms that are presented here. Each of the four mummified figures was connected to a specific organ they protected, a goddess, and the four cardinal points.⁹ Initially the organs were represented by the canopic jars that contained them; the relevance of the organs surfaced gradually in the placement of the amulets. The change in the function of canopic jars went through different stages which corresponded with the emergence of the amulets themselves.¹⁰ In the Twenty-first Dynasty the packages containing the viscera were placed back into the body cavity and the mummy was accompanied by so-called pseudo-canopic jars, which, as dummy vessels, had lost the practical function of containing the actual organs. Amulets representing the four Sons-of-Horus, usually made of wax, were placed inside the visceral packages containing the separate organs. Amulets, mostly from



faience, wood or cartonnage, were also positioned on the breast of the mummy, usually attached to bead nets, especially from the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, when the use of real canopics was again in vogue. The figurines are generally both depicted and placed on the lower region of the chest.¹¹ This may refer to the body cavity the organs originated from, while the practice also sheds light on the steadfastness of traditional ideas throughout the ages.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

[B.N.]

- 1 Polychrome faience was known from the New Kingdom, but from the Late Period onwards it was used moderately and the various colours were usually overlaid instead of being inlaid, NICHOLSON 1993, 31, 39; and for black glaze, NICHOLSON - PELTENBURG 2000, 185.
- 2 For a similar contrast, see: BRUNTON 1930, 24, where the dark blue of the scarab presumably imitates lapis lazuli.
- 3 For funerary scarabs, see: Robert Steven Bianchi's entry in FRIEDMAN 1998, 247, No. 158; TEETER 2003, 122-123; HÜTTNER 1995, 15-16.
- 4 For the Late Period mould of an Amsel'figure, see: HILDEBRANDT 2007, 48-49 Cat. No. 42.
- 5 For a description of the manufacture of such faience objects with moulds, see: NICHOLSON 2007, 138-140.
- 6 For these types of amulets, see: Florence Dunn Friedman's entry in FRIEDMAN 1998, 246-247, no. 157; HÜTTNER 1995, 7-8; TEETER 2003, 123; IKRAM - DODSON 1998, 18, 127-128, 186-187; VOSS 1980, 52-53.
- 7 ASTON summarises the Theban ensembles of the Third Intermediate Period (Phases I-V, c. 1070-650 BC) containing early wax and wooden forms of the Sons-of-Horus amulets; while dating the earliest bead nets from c. 750 BC onwards (1987, 640-643, 522-523). The funerary scarab first appears in the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, according to ANDREWS 1994, 59, also followed by TEETER 2003, 122. PETRIE 1972, 25 leaves matters somewhat more open with dates between the Twenty-Second to Thirtieth Dynasties. The Sons-of-Horus amulets are dated from the Twenty-Third Dynasty until Roman times by PETRIE (1972, 39); TEETER 2003, 123 mentions their appearance from the Third Intermediate Period onwards with the evolution of the canopic equipment. The dating of the set here may be refined by the finds from its vicinity.

⁸ The symbolism and the application of gold are discussed by COLINART 2001, 1.

⁹ FRIEDMAN 1998, 246-247.

¹⁰ The development of canopic equipment is summarised by IKRAM - DODSON 1998, 276-292, esp. 276-277.

¹¹ A pectoral of possible New Kingdom date, incorporating both the winged scarab and the four Sons-of-Horus, shows perhaps an earlier representation of the ideas conveyed by the set: REISNER 1907, 147, pl. XV., No. 12217.



47. Set of wooden Sons-of-Horus amulets

Late Third Intermediate Period

Wood, gold, fragments of original cordage

a: Duamutef: Ht. 11.5 cm, W. 2.5 cm, Th. 0.2 cm

b: Amset: Ht. 11 cm, W. 2.5 cm, Th. 0.2 cm

c: Qebehsenuf: Ht. 10.4 cm, W. 1.7 cm, Th. 0.2 cm

d: Hapy: Ht. 10.3 cm, W. 1.3 cm, Th. 0.2 cm

From the secondary shaft tomb

in the *Saff* 1 tomb, el-Khokha

Reg. No. 453.a-d, Inv. No. 2006.601.a-d



These amulets are very delicate pieces made of wood and covered with a thin sheet of gold-leaf on the front and sides, at times folding over to the undersides. Incised lines convey the details of the faces and lappets of the wigs. Five lines indicate the broad collars, the last row of which is decorated with small grooves, except in the case of hawk-headed Qebehsenuf where only four plain rows are present. The mummy bandages and straps on the upper parts of the bodies are also engraved, while all details were pre-drawn in black ink underneath the gold-leaf. The sheet of gold may be corroded at parts where it has a reddish hue. Each figurine is pierced at the head and foot to allow for it to be strung onto a bead net or the mummy bandages. A black material is found on the backs of most of the objects, which probably originated from the mummification process. They are mostly in good condition. Jackal-headed Duamutef is the best preserved piece; only the tips of its ears are damaged. Human-headed Amset, with a long Osirian beard, has a crack along the head next to the top hole, and the foot has broken off next to the base, where even the remains of the original cordage have been preserved. Hawk-headed Qebehsenuf's beak and feet have been broken off, and a large part of the gold-leaf is missing from its legs; baboon-headed Hapy's face is totally missing, and the sheet of gold has come away at the legs. When in their original places, Duamutef and Amset would have looked towards the left of the mummified body and Qebehsenuf and Hapy to its right.

This set of four Sons-of-Horus amulets came to light in the chamber of the shaft tomb cut beneath the portico of the *Saff* 1 tomb at el-Khokha. The remains of the secondary burial near the bottom of the chamber were more or less undisturbed, or at least seem to suggest they had not been touched since antiquity. This set of amulets accompanied mummified human remains and several other fragments of typical Third Intermediate Period objects [Cat. 37-38, 46], mixed with Late Period fragments as well. Based on these finds, the elaborate precision of the workmanship of the amulets themselves, and the use of gilded wood, which is quite a rare and refined material,¹ a tentative dating to the late Third Intermediate Period seems most likely.

Bibliography: Unpublished

[B.N.]

¹ ANDREWS 1994, 102, refers to the rarity of wood and its exclusive First Intermediate Period, New Kingdom and Late Period datings, the latter being most appropriate here. For similar wooden parallels see the four Sons-of-Horus amulets displayed at the British Museum (Nos. EA 7022-7024 and 7026); for a gilded cartonnage set see RAVEN - TACONIS 2005, 141, [Cat. 16] from the mummy of Ankhhor, whose ensemble is dated to the early Twenty-sixth Dynasty. HÜTTNER 1995, 77, pls. 58-59, discusses an unprovenanced amulet ensemble comprised of various gilded materials with a rather late dating of 1st to 3rd c. AD proposed.

48. Funerary scarab

Late Dynastic or Early Ptolemaic Period,
6th to early 3rd century BC
Faience, blue glaze
Ht. 4.7 cm, W. 3.6 cm, Th. 1.7 cm
From TT -61-, Sloping Passage Sector 10
Reg. No. 379, Inv. No. 2001/11



This blue-glazed funerary scarab has three holes pierced in the base for suspension. The beetle is modelled naturalistically, with a detailed clypeus and well-defined legs. The back of the scarab is in a worn state.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

[G.S.]

49. Funerary scarab

Late Dynastic or Early Ptolemaic Period,
6th to early 3rd century BC
Faience, blue glaze
Ht. 4.6 cm, W. 3.7 cm, Th. 1.4 cm
From TT -61-, Sloping Passage Sector 14
Reg. No. 380, Inv. No. 2001/21



With its body raised from the base, well-defined legs, and detailed clypeus, this funerary scarab represents the same type as Cat. No. 48. The three holes pierced in the base indicate that it was attached to a bead net. The surface of the elytra and part of the prothorax are worn.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

[G.S.]

50. Funerary scarab

Late Dynastic Period, 6th to 4th century BC
Limestone, blue wash
Ht. 5.6 cm, W. 3.9 cm, Th. 1.6 cm
From TT -61-, Room VII
Reg. No. 417, Inv. No. AMN.V.018



This scarab differs from the rest not only in its poor carving but also in the choice of material (limestone), and finish (blue wash). The scarab is modelled rather non-naturalistically, with only the major details of the back indicated. Since the legs are not shown, the base is not articulated as a separate element. The grooves between the elytra, the prothorax, the head, and the clypeus are indicated by shallow incisions, but other details are omitted. The blue wash, once covering the back, is only preserved in patches, mainly near the sides.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

[G.S.]



51. The Sons of Horus

Late Dynastic or Early Ptolemaic Period, 5th to 3rd century BC

Faïence, blue glaze

Dimensions: (a) Ht. 4.6 cm, W. 1.4 cm (base), Th. 0.5 cm

(b) Ht. 4 cm, W. 1.4 cm (base), Th. 0.5 cm

(c) Ht. 3.4 cm, W. 1.1 cm (base), Th. 0.5 cm

(d) Ht. 4 cm, W. 1.1 cm (base), Th. 0.5 cm

From TT -61-, Sloping Passage Sector 10

Reg. No. 415, Inv. No. AMN.F.018-021



Amuletic images of the Four Sons of Horus, made either in glazed composition or cartonnage, remained a recurrent element on bead-nets down to the Ptolemaic Period. The four amulets from TT -61-, which may have originated from more than one set, are all characterized by the presence of an iconographic element – a piece of mummy linen held in the hand – that first appeared in the late Saite Period at the earliest.¹ As such, the amulets on display are best understood as grave goods of Late Dynastic or early Ptolemaic burials deposited in the lower rooms of TT -61-. The presence of holes drilled in the wigs of the figurines indicates that they were attached to bead-nets covering the mummies' frontal body field.

Bibliography: GAÁL 2004, 59 (photo).

[G.S.]

¹ For parallels, see: HÜTTNER 1995, pls. 9.4-5, 8, 10.2-5; ANDREWS 1994, 46, fig. 51.



52. Four tit amulets

Late Dynastic or Early Ptolemaic Period, 6th to 3rd century BC

Faience, blue glaze

Dimensions of the tallest specimen: Ht. 2.5 cm, W. 0.9 cm, Th. 0.6 cm

From TT -61-, Sloping passage Sector 17

Reg. No. 416, Inv. No. AMN.F.029-032



The *tit* amulet or Isis knot probably represents the schematic rendering of a cloth worn during menstruation. According to the prescription of the *Book of the Dead*, chapter 156, the *tit* was to be placed over the mummy's neck, thus insuring protection for the body. As indicated by amulet lists and mummies found intact, the Isis knot was a mandatory element in Egyptian burials from its first appearance in the Eighteenth Dynasty well down to the Graeco-Roman Period.¹ Although strictly applying the *Book of the Dead* prescription only one amulet of this type was required, it is frequently found that a mummy boasts more than this.² The *tit* amulets were placed loose in the bandaging or, from the late Third Intermediate Period, they were also attached to bead-nets. Since the examples from TT -61- have holes pierces in their dorsal pillars, they originally hung on such nets. With their loops surmounting a long sash with two folds, these amulets follow the classical iconography, but their angular details demonstrate a "late" date.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

[G.S.]

¹ PETRIE 1914, pls. XLVIII.46, L.1-2; ANDREWS 1994, 44-45.

² E.g. PETRIE 1914, pl. LI.9.

53. Pectoral in the shape of a falcon

Third Intermediate Period, Twenty-first – Twenty-second Dynasties (1069–715 BC)

Lead

Ht. 6.2 cm, W. 10.6 cm (complete figurine)

From TT -61-, Room VII

Reg. No. 414, Inv. No. AMN.V.021

Elite burials of the Third Intermediate Period were often provided with a pectoral in the shape of a falcon, placed over the sternum. This falcon, represented with outstretched wings and sometimes with talons grasping *shen* rings, incorporates the solar deity who is also depicted on contemporary coffins and cartonnages. As illustrated by the mummy of Sheshonq II featuring a falcon pectoral in gold with coloured glass inlays, objects of this type also appeared in royal burials.¹ The specimens occurring in elite burials seem to imitate royal prototypes. The Bab el-Gasus tomb in Deir el-Bahari, sheltering the burials of those belonging to the high clergy of Amun in the Twenty-first Dynasty, also yielded falcon pectorals.² One of these objects was reported to have been made of copper and covered in gold foil.³ The pectoral from TT -61- was hammered and cut from a single lead sheet and decorated with incisions. The two holes drilled near the tips of the wings indicate that it was originally suspended on a torque or wire to be hung around the mummy's neck.



Bibliography: Unpublished.

[G.S.]

1 MONTET 1942, pl. XVII; MALAISE 1978, pl. V.

2 MALAISE 1978, 66, pl. pl. VI.

3 CGC 53183: VERNIER 1927, 387, pl. LXXXII.



54. Door of a hypogeum-type tomb

Twenty-fifth Dynasty (747–656 BC)

Wood, pigment

Ht. 128 cm, W. 24 cm

From the area of TT 32, Tomb B

Reg. No. 458, Inv. No. 2002.W.001



The access to ancient Egyptian private tombs, irrespective of whether they were rock-cut tombs, chapel tombs or other types of tombs, was always blocked somehow, usually by one or more wooden doors installed at the portals. In Theban tombs, the presence of thresholds and recesses for the joining the door leaves indicate that doors were installed at the gateways to the forecourts, at the entrance to the cult chapel, at the opening of the sloping passage, and, frequently, at the entrance to the burial chamber. However, while we now have a reliable understanding of Egyptian tomb architecture, little is known of many of its functional elements, including doors and portals. Although a few such genuine objects are known, such as the magnificent door of Sennedjem's Ramesside tomb at Deir el-Medine, our knowledge concerning this category of objects is based on two sources: the representation of tombs, shrines, and temples in two-dimensional art, and objects such as house models, shrines, and canopic chests, which by definition were provided with small doors. We are informed by the investigations documented in Papyrus Abbott that by the reign of Ramesses IX all the private tombs in Theban necropolis had been plundered and heavily looted. During this plundering, which also reoccurred in later periods down to modern times, the doors of Theban tombs were severely damaged at best and completely destroyed at worst. This is why the door of a secondary tomb in the area of TT 32 is of special significance.

The door was found lying on the floor in the doorway between the vestibule and the vaulted corridor of a hypogeum-type tomb termed Tomb B, which was built at the base of el-Khokha hillock in the late Twenty-second Dynasty and remained in use at least until the end of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. The decoration of the door is divided into five main registers. The uppermost register consists of seven strips of pattern-work, followed by a sun disk with uraei. Directly under the disk a figural scene represents Nephthys, Isis, Osiris, and a rearing serpent standing before an offering table. The next broad tier consists of an offering formula arranged in columns:

[1] [...geese, thousand] of [2] incense, thousand of [3] clothes, thousand of all [4] good pure things < to > the servant of the Palace [5] Payom, < son of > Ikhentes, [6] the justified, son of the chief [...].

In the fourth main register a figural scene represents the mummy on the bier with the four canopic jars beneath. Above the mummy, identified as Servant of the Palace, Payom, a winged sun disk is depicted, labelled Behdety. The lowermost decorative tier features an inscription rendered in columns: (1) *Maker of the nesyt plant in the domain of Amun* (2) *Nes-pauttau, the justified. Her mother* (3) *mistress of the house Heriry, the justified.* Since out of the four names mentioned in the inscriptions Ikhentes and Heriry appear only in the filiation of the two remaining persons, we may presume that only Payom and Nes-pauttau were buried in the tomb. Prominence is nevertheless given to Payom, who is mentioned twice with the title Servant of the palace. Since Nes-pauttau might also have been a female name, it is probable that a couple is involved. The arrangement and style of the figural scenes invite comparison with Twenty-fifth Dynasty Theban coffins, while the colouration of inscriptional panels finds parallels in cartonnages, coffins, and shabti boxes produced between the second half of the 8th century BC and the middle of the 7th century BC. It is important to note that the door was installed at a portal which separated the vestibule from the subterranean parts of the tomb. Since the vestibule in the superstructure was the place to perform the liturgies associated with the funerary cult, the door, decorated with a cortege of deities and the image of the deceased and inscribed with an offering formula, must have played a central role during the offering rituals.



Bibliography: KÁKOSY 2003, 431-432 (description and translation of the texts); SCHREIBER - VASÁROS 2005, 10, 12, 16, fig.7 (description and commentary); SCHREIBER 2008, 66, 75-77, pl. LIX, photo pl. XXIV (No. 2.2.2.5.1) (description, translation of the texts and commentary).

[G.S.]





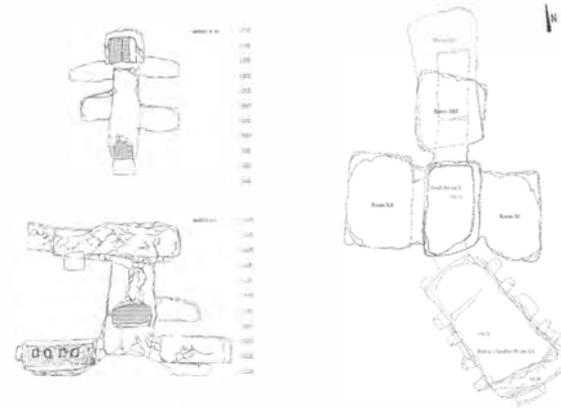
The Hellenistic and Roman Periods on el-Khokha

G. SCHREIBER

Shortly after Egypt came under the sway of Macedonian rule, the Egyptian aristocracy's claim to participation in the administration of the country was raised as an important political issue. In 331, Alexander's symbolic act of appointing the Egyptian Petesius as one of the two governors conveyed the message that the new Macedonian elite would lean more heavily on the Egyptian aristocracy than the Persians had.¹ Although Petesius resigned soon afterwards, and no Egyptian officials seem to have held the highest positions until well into the reign of Ptolemy VIII, the civil administration relied heavily on Egyptians, at least on the local level. The involvement of the native aristocracy in the government of Egypt probably did not follow directly from

the principles of *homonoia* (concord) and *koinonia* (community) which were to serve as foundation stones of the social structure for Alexander's newly conquered empire from the 320s, but from the sober recognition that the Egyptian administration of land tenure, taxation, and other legal matters was based on age-old and complex traditions deeply rooted in Egyptian literacy. Thus, the functioning Egyptian elite were left in office and the posts in local civil administration filled with Egyptian *nomarchs* and *basilikoï grammateis* (Royalesscribes). The rise of a wealthy and influential native aristocracy became especially apparent in the reigns of Ptolemy I Soter and Ptolemy II Philadelphus, when a number of local Egyptian officials bearing relatively high-ranking administrative and priestly titles appear in the records.

The consolidation of the Egyptian aristocracy in the early 3rd century BC is indicated by a growth in the number of elite burials throughout the country; and the Theban necropolis, which had gone into rapid decline in the Persian Period, was no exception. The Ptolemaic Period is heralded in the Theban necropolis by a series of splendid funerary ensembles, such as those of Hornedjitef,² Neswy,³ and the Nesmin family,⁴ all dating from the reigns of the first three Ptolemies. As in the Late Period, the central cemetery was el-Asasif, where members of the elite were buried in reused tombs of the New Kingdom, Kushite, and Saite aristocracy.⁵ The same practice was also followed on el-Khokha. The Hungarian excavations led to the identification of TT 32 as the burial place of the Nesmin family, whose male members bore high-ranking administrative and sacerdotal titles. Some of the family members have long been known from objects scattered in museum collections around the world, but the whereabouts of their tomb had remained unknown until elements of their funerary equipment were discovered in TT 32. The first well-attested male member of this family, Paheb (Greek *Phibis*) functioned as *basilikos grammateus* (Royalesscribe) already in the reign of Ptolemy I (305-284 BC). His office, which also required reading and writing in Greek, was inherited by his son, Nesmin (*Sminis*). Both father and son are known to have been the scribe or the witness of different legal documents.⁶ All family members had elevated sacerdotal titles as well. Thus, Nesmin and his son, Shep-min



Plan and sections of Rooms XI-XV in TT 32 where members of the early Ptolemaic Nesmin family were interred (drawing: Zs. Vasáros)

1 HÖLBL 2001, 12.

2 QUAEGBEUR 1995, 142-144.

3 VAN HOEIJ 1998.

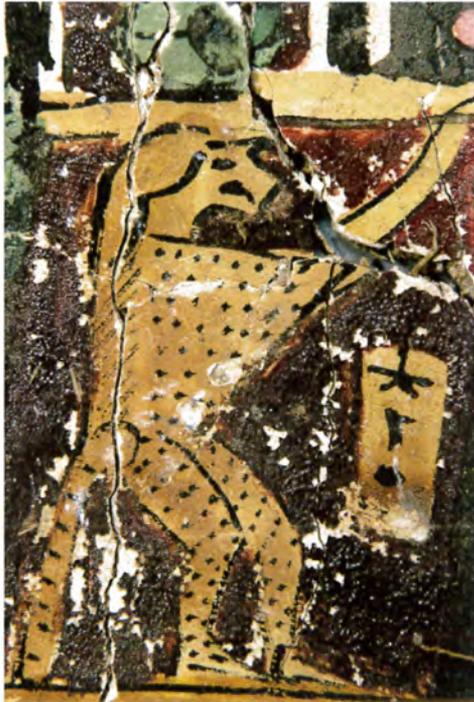
4 The burial equipment of the Nesmin family discovered in TT 32 will be published in *The Mortuary Monument of Djehutymes III*. For an overview of the most important finds, see: KÁKOSY - SCHREIBER 2003, 205-207.

5 For an overview of Ptolemaic burials in Thebes, see: STRUDWICK 2003, 167-188

6 KÁKOSY - SCHREIBER 2003, 206.



[*Spemminis*], were Prophets of Hathor, Harsomtus, and Isis while Nesmin's brother, Hornefer (*Arnouphis*), bore a number of high priestly titles in sanctuaries between Edfu and Diospolis Parva (Hiw).⁷ In their capacity as Prophets of Khonsu, Hornefer and his son, Paheb, must also have been responsible for fostering the cult of this important local god, whose significance in the local cosmogony and religious rituals superseded and obscured that of Amun by the Ptolemaic Period. The members of this family were buried in secondarily cut side-chambers opening from the burial shaft of Djehutymes.



Detail of a Ptolemaic cartonnage from TT 32 (photo: L. Mátyus)

A typical coffin ensemble provided for family members consisted of a large outer coffin of the so-called "swollen type" inscribed with *Book of the Dead* texts in a yellow-on-black style, and an inner coffin which usually features only one longer text on the front of the coffin lid, which is painted with a polychrome treatment. The human remains excavated in this context all showed traces of careful mummification, and at least one mummy had gilded nails in accordance with the prescriptions of the *Ritual of Embalming*.⁸ Amulets of stone, less frequently of gilded faience [Cat. No. 62], were placed loose in the bandaging of the mummies, heavily soaked with resin. The wrapped mummies, once again in keeping with the *Ritual of Embalming*, were also given linen amulets [Cat. Nos. 58-59] and covered in funerary shrouds which displayed the almost life-size image of an Osiris *en face*.⁹ Another recurrent item of these sets was the hypocephalus [Cat. No. 60], a disk-shaped magical object decorated with prophylactic images, which was to bestow magic on the head and assist in the resurrection of the dead. Some of the mummies were covered by cartonnage ornaments such as a mask, collar, apron, and foot-case or were placed in a one-piece cartonnage coffin that completely enveloped the deified corpse.¹⁰ The burials were also equipped with funerary stelae [Cat. No. 55], symbolic figurines of the chthonic deity Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, *Book of the Dead* manuscripts written in hieratic script, "canopic chests" of Aston's Type C, and liquid and solid foodstuffs stored in pottery vessels [Cat. Nos. 65-67]. The last family member who was certainly buried in TT 32, probably in the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes I, was Shepmin, the grandson of Paheb. His atypical burial equipment, consisting of a stone sarcophagus, kept today in the Museo Egizio di Torino,¹¹ and a bronze hypocephalus identified recently in the collection of the Cairo Museum,¹² was deposited in the lowermost side-chamber of TT 32. Although rich elite burials such as those of the Nesmin family became scarce from the reign of Ptolemy IV Philopator, the reuse of old funerary monuments continued well into the 2nd century BC. From the later 3rd century BC, the broad hall of TT 32 was reused for multiple burials.¹³ The new occupants had much less elaborate funerary outfits than the Nesmin family; the mummified corpses were usually embellished with multiple-piece cartonnages [Cat. No. 56] and placed in coffins with black background colour. Tomb B and the unfinished New Kingdom tomb shaft of Tomb B2, connected to the former monument, also housed numerous burials from the later 3rd century BC.¹⁴ A mummy wrapping with the names of Ptolemy IV Philopator and Arsinoe III dates the earliest burials to the later 3rd century BC, but, judging by the archaeological material, the interments must have continued at least until the middle of the 2nd century BC. The occurrence of multiple-piece cartonnages, hypocephali [Cat. No. 57] and *Book of the Dead* manuscripts [Cat. No. 63] indicates that these objects remained recurrent

⁷ WILD 1954, 173-219.

⁸ The human remains from TT 32 will be described by E. Fóthi and Zs. Bernert in the next volume of the Djehutymes series.

⁹ SCHREIBER 2007, 337-342.

¹⁰ SCHREIBER 2006a, 227-246.

¹¹ KÁKOSY 1989b, 202.

¹² MEKIS 2008, 44-46, 67.

¹³ KÁKOSY - SCHREIBER 2003, 207-208.

¹⁴ SCHREIBER - VASÁROS 2005, 24-25.

elements of the burial set even during the middle Ptolemaic Period.¹⁵ Recent excavations also identified Ptolemaic burials, dated tentatively to the 3rd-early 2nd centuries BC, in the broad hall of TT -400- and in the sloping passage of TT -43-. The reigns of the late Ptolemies (Ptolemy IX to Cleopatra VII) were a period that is difficult to define in archaeological terms. The almost complete lack of elite burials must have been connected to the fact that in consequence of the native uprisings which broke out in the Thebaid in 131 and in 89 the prosperity of Thebes was disturbed by the capture and destruction of the town by the invasion troops of the royal court twice in less than forty years. Although a few elite burials are known from the end of the Ptolemaic rule and the reign of Augustus, the history of the Theban necropolis still remains unclear until the middle of the 1st century AD. This period, beginning roughly with the reign of Nero and terminating after Antoninus Pius, marks the last important *floruit* of Pharaonic culture in Thebes before the triumph of Christianity. In the funerary sphere, one sees an increase in the number of elite burials, which testify to the extensive use of late funerary compositions such as the *Books of Breathing*, the *Book of Traversing Eternity*, and the *Ritual of Embalming*, and to a consequent rethinking of Egyptian coffin design, where scenes from astral funerary doctrines predominate. The most important funerary ensemble known from this period is the one made for the Soter family, whose best known member, Soter, officiated as *archon Thebon* under Trajan.¹⁶ It is difficult to say a decisive word concerning the ethnicity of the family, since while some have Egyptian names others bore names of Greek, Latin or Nubian origin. Nevertheless, their funerary assemblage shows that members of the family adapted Egyptian funerary beliefs. Objects of the Soter burials, transported in the 1820s from an unknown Theban location to European museums, became famous through the astronomical representations on the coffins,



The Ptolemaic entrance to TT -400-
(photo: L. Mátyus)



Fragment of a Roman funerary shroud
from TT -400- (photo: L. Mátyus)

which merged old Egyptian themes with the representation of zodiacal signs. Based on circumstantial evidence and the presence in TT 32 of a multicoloured funerary shroud typical of these burials [Cat. No. 69], L. Kákósy suggested that the Soter finds originated from TT 32.¹⁷ Be as it may, it is beyond doubt that the cult chapels of TT 32 housed at least three burials from this period, which were equipped with shrouds of this type. Roman intrusive burials, moreover, occurred not only in TT 32, since the excavations in TT -400- brought to light further objects which fall into the category of *Soternalia*, i.e., objects displaying the same stylistic characteristics as the Soter finds. Given the presence of these Roman finds in two neighbouring tombs at the base of the hill,¹⁸ the conclusion emerges that el-Khokha retained its function as a prestigious burial place into the last centuries of paganism.

¹⁵ On the cartonnages, see: SCHREIBER 2006a, 237-239, 242, pl. 67/2. On the hypocephali, see: SCHREIBER n.d. 1.

On the Book of the Dead papyri, see: ILLÉS 2006a, 121-133; ILLÉS 2006b, 119-127.

¹⁶ On the Soter burials, see: VAN LANDUYT 1995, 69-82; HERBIN 2002; RIGGS 2008, 182-205.

¹⁷ KÁKOSY 1995, 61-67.



55. Funerary stela

Early Ptolemaic Period, first half of the 3rd century BC

Wood, pigment

Ht. 50.5 cm, W. 16.5 cm, Th. 1.9

From TT 32, Room I

Reg. No. 13

Collection of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo



This stela has a rounded top and features four main registers. The decoration was carried out in polychrome over a yellow ground. The lunette featured a winged sun-disk with two uraei, flanked originally by two recumbent jackals representing Wepwawet of Upper Egypt and Wepwawet of Lower Egypt. The second register displays the solar barque with five deities preserved. The sun god appears in his nocturnal form, with a ram's head, encircled by the protective Mehen-serpent. He is followed by three human-headed gods and one with a falcon's head. Further down, a broad register exhibits the figures of Horus-the-son-of-Osiris, Hathor, and Anubis He-of-the-Embalming-Booth, Lord of the Sacred Land. The main text, rendered in seven lines, is featured in the fourth register. The signs are painted in black over an alternating yellow and white background. By analogy with parallels, the fragmentary inscription can be restored as follows.¹

(1) *[Royal command made by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Wenenufer, the justified to the] great gods of the district of Igeret, the akh spirits in the hall of [Osiris,] (2) [the glorified ones in the big hall, the followers who are] sleeping beside Osiris, the vizier and judge in the district of Igeret and < to > the gods [and goddesses] (3) [who are in the Mound of Djeme, the excellent bas in the] West. The command of God announces: O, [all you] gods (4) [keep silent four times! Listen to the voice of Amun-Re, the Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands who is at the head of] the temple of Karnak, Atum, the Lord of the Two Lands and Heliopolis, Ptah, South-of-his-Wall, [Lord of Life-of-the-Two-Lands] (5) [and Nun, the Great, the Father of the Gods when they speak: May Osiris Here]-ret, the justified, the daughter of the scribe of the King and Amun Paheby, the justified, born of [the mistress of the house, Takerheb, the justified ...] (6) [When she enters you, let her enter the] first hall of the West, the secret palace [of the Lord of All.] (7) [Make free a rise to her in] the Realm of the Dead, like Re who ascends over the earth, for ever.*

Wooden stelae, elaborately painted and inscribed with texts for well-being in the hereafter, were recurrent elements in early Ptolemaic elite burials, including those discovered in TT 32. Out of the three examples excavated in the tomb the one shown in the exhibition is in the best state of preservation. All three stelae were retrieved in the cult chapel (Rooms I-III) of the tomb, which signifies that the Ptolemaic occupants understood the function of the New Kingdom rooms and used them accordingly. The examples from TT 32 belong to a relatively rare type of Theban stelae, distinguished by the occurrence of a god's decree as the main text. Stelae of this type (belonging to Munro's Theban Type IV) show a remarkably high degree of standardization in text selection and arrangement of the decoration, indicating that they were made over a fairly short period of time. Most of the nineteen stelae that share the same characteristics seem to date to the 3rd or the early 2nd century BC.² The god's decree in these texts is issued and announced by Wenenufer, the royal hypostasis of Osiris, but it is also hinted that Wenenufer's command is no more than the promulgation of the order given by Amun, Atum, Ptah and Nun. The stela from TT 32 was made for the benefit of a lady, Hereret, whose ancestry is mentioned in the main text. Hence we know she was the daughter of Paheb (Phibis), who had another stela with the same type of text.

Theban stelae of the Ptolemaic Period are often surmounted by an ornament in the round, usually a *ba*-bird attached to the top of the lunette by tenons.³ Another characteristic is that the stelae are usually placed into two triangle-shaped supports.⁴ Since these supports might have intercepted inscribed surfaces at the joining, the painters usually left these square-shaped areas blank. Considering the presence of a blank area at the end of the last two lines in the main inscription, one may presume that the stela from TT 32 was also meant to be inserted into wooden supports.

Bibliography: KÁKOSY 1992a, 311-315 (description, commentary and translation of the text)

[G.S.]

1 Text reconstruction and translation by László Kákósy: KÁKOSY 1992a, 313. The text at the end of line 5 has been emended with the matrimony of Hereret, which is known from an inscribed linen strip found in TT 32.

2 Out of the ten stelae with *Götterdekrete* discussed by Peter Munro two belongs to his Theban Type IVA, one to Type IVB, and seven to Type IVE: MUNRO 1973, 236, 238-240, 243-244, pl. 20, figs. 65, 71-73. This list is complemented by Kákósy, who mentions nineteen stelae with god's decrees: KÁKOSY 1992a, 323-324.

3 Cf. e.g. MUNRO 1973, pl. 17, fig. 61, pl. 20, figs. 70-71.

4 Cf. e.g. MUNRO 1973, pl. 20, fig. 70; VAN HOEIJ 1998, 31-33.



56. Cartonnage collar

Ptolemaic Period, late 3rd-2nd century BC

Gessoed linen, pigment

Ht. 15 cm

From TT 32, Room I

Reg. No. 38, Inv. No. 83/265

Collection of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo



The early Ptolemaic Period saw the revival of mummy cases and boards made of cartonnage, i.e., linen applied in multiple layers with gesso. It seems that more than one type developed concurrently in this period. A relatively rare type is represented by cartonnage cases which completely envelop the bandaged corpse, in a way clearly similar to Twenty-second Dynasty cartonnages. A second type, more common in elite burials of the early 3rd century BC, consists of two parts, a mask and a board, which cover only the front of the body, similarly to New Kingdom and Twenty-first Dynasty mummy boards. As a rule, both types exhibit a light-on-dark painting style or figural decoration executed in gold foil over a dark background, with a face mask, usually gilded.¹

Besides one- and two-piece cartonnages a third type also evolved in the Ptolemaic Period. This type employs several independent cartonnage ornaments placed over the mummy from head to feet. A typical Theban set of this kind consists of a mask, one or more collars over the chest, an apron over the abdomen and the legs, and a foot-case. Small cartonnage plaques representing the protective deities (*cartes à jouer*) may also occur. The decoration of these multiple-piece cartonnages is usually polychrome on a light (yellow or white) background. Although the idea of covering the mummy with several independent ornaments rather than with a single cartonnage case probably goes back to the Late Dynastic Period, multiple-piece cartonnages remained sporadic in Thebes until the Ptolemaic Period and the height of their use only came in the 2nd century BC.

The collar on display comes from a secondary burial in the broad hall of TT 32 and is datable by style to the late 3rd to 2nd century BC. The decoration consists of geometric pattern-work in nine semicircular rows, topped by two falcon's heads and a winged sun-disk with uraei. The centre is occupied by a lotus-flower, which surmounts a *naos*-shaped pectoral with the images of three seated deities.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

[G.S.]

¹ On this subject, see: SCHREIBER 2006a.

57. Hypocephalus

Ptolemaic Period, late 3rd-2nd century BC

Gessoed linen, pigment

Dimensions: 8 cm × 6 cm

From the area of TT 32, Tomb B2

Reg. No. 303, Inv. No. 1992/108

Hypocephali were disk-shaped magical objects usually made of cartonnage, less frequently of bronze or linen, which were placed under the head of the deceased person. The chronology and typology of these objects remain to be fully worked out, but no examples seem to predate the 4th century BC. The major period of their use was clearly the early Ptolemaic Period; during the later 2nd century they gradually decreased in number and vanished well before the advent of Roman rule. Although hypocephali have also been found in association with burials in Ahmim, Hermopolis, Abydos, and even Memphis, the bulk of the known examples originated from Thebes. This fact and the predominance in the decoration of religious representations closely connected to the theology of Amun suggest that hypocephali evolved in a Theban milieu under the reigns of the last native rulers of Egypt. The debut of these objects thus coincided with the appearance of a new type of elite burial ensemble, which included a new coffin set, frequently a one- or two-piece cartonnage, one or two funerary shrouds, linen amulets, amulets of faience and/or hard stones placed loose in the bandaging, a *Book of the Dead* manuscript of the Saite recension, a wooden funerary stela, a canopic chest of Aston's Type C, ushebti, pottery and the personal effects of the deceased. Since only around 130 examples are known at present, one may presume that hypocephali were never in widespread use but restricted to the sphere of elite burials only. Another remarkable feature of hypocephali is that although they were all made over a relatively short period of time, each example is individualised by means of colouring, decoration, and text selection. Hypocephali are thus all unique pieces of art that were highly personal items of funerary equipment. The disks are usually framed by a circular inscription, which in most cases, although not always, gives extracts from *Book of the Dead*, chapter 162. This magical spell, the aim of which according to its title was to provide heat under the head of the deceased, contains an invocation to the creator god, whose real name is not stated. Among his numerous magical appellations that occur in the text the name Serpet-mai-ser written with a trigram also appears in the decoration of hypocephali. The religious representations on hypocephali, though highly complex and difficult to comprehend in their entirety, seem to be concerned with the different forms of this supreme and inconceivable deity who set the process of creation in motion.



The text of *Book of the Dead*, chapter 162, and the images appearing on hypocephali reflect a late phase in the development of ancient Egyptian cosmogonies, when special emphasis was laid on the abstract, inconceivable character of the creator. The impact of Theban doctrines is especially noticeable. In this theological school the priest of Amun went the farthest in harmonising the traditional polytheism with a more abstract notion of the divine, illustrating the process of creation with the different stages of the "coming-into-being" of Amun and crediting him with the creation of the gods regarded merely as his emanations. The Theban Amun theology, which also sought answers for the ontological problem of the creator's origin, assimilated Amun to other creator gods, including Ptah and Atum. A key note in this theology was the stress on the god's inconceivable character with explicit hints that even his supreme visible solar form, Amun-Re, covers but a part of his very essence. In practice, this doctrine meant that the supreme transcendent being, who bears the epithets "Lord of forms", "Numerous of outward appearances" in chapter 162, could only be captured in his entirety by a multitude of names and images. Thus, Amun was believed to have had ten hypostases or *bas*, each symbolising a domain of the cosmic order from the celestial bodies and air to the different groups of the living; as a group these *bas* represented the god's omnipotence and creative force. Although the images on hypocephali are usually not labelled with captions, some of them can be readily identified with the *bas* of Amun.

The hypocephalus on display belongs to a small group on which one or two crocodiles are shown in the main register.¹ The crocodiles refer to Amun-Re and Khonsu or, on another level, to the Sun and the Moon, which were regarded as the first two *bas* of Amun. The hypocephalus from TT 32 depicts only one crocodile, with a falcon's head, ram's horn, and disk. This deity, the representation of the lunar god, Khonsu, is paralleled by the solar god, Amun-Re, depicted seated, with two or four ram's heads that are now lost. The central images were originally flanked by two other genii. The one beside the crocodile is a scarab-headed ram labelled Creator of Life, which is a rare epithet of the procreator, either Amun or Ptah. By analogy with parallels, the missing fourth panel must have depicted a ram-headed scarab, the antithesis of this figure. It seems that the nocturnal and the diurnal forms of the Sun were originally meant here.

Bibliography: KÁKOSY 1994, 28-29, fig. 8 [description and photo];
SCHREIBER n.d. 1 [commentary, line drawing and photo].

[G.S.]

1 On these hypocephali, see: SCHREIBER n.d. 1.



58. Linen amulet with the image of Anubis

Early Ptolemaic Period, 3rd century BC

Linen, black ink

Ht. 41 cm, W. 20 cm

From TT 32

Reg. No. 84, Inv. No. 84/77

Collection of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo

Linen amulets were a type of funerary equipment especially typical of Egyptian elite burials during the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods.¹ The embalmer's manual referred to as the *Ritual of Embalming* and known from two manuscripts of the Roman Period gives detailed instructions on how and which types of these amulets had to be used.² Archaeological finds such as those from TT 32 make it safe to state, however, that linen amulets existed a good deal earlier than the Roman Period and were in widespread use by no later than the early Ptolemaic Period. The function of these objects was no different from amulets made of stone or faience; they were to bestow magical protection on the different body parts of the deceased, thus assuring regeneration after death and well-being in the hereafter. Linen amulets were placed in or onto the bandaging of the mummified corpse in the final phase of mummification, covering the body parts considered the most important to protect, from head to feet. The amuletic images were drawn on rectangular pieces of textile, typically without accompanying texts. Although the *Ritual of Embalming* prescribes the use of different writing materials, the extant linen amulets were drawn in black ink. The known examples exhibit a simple and fast style, which focuses on the main characteristics, with the minor details omitted and usually without any additional colouring. The subject matter ranges from the images of the gods to religious symbols and objects which were believed to have prophylactic power. Some of the types can be clearly traced back to the prescriptions and the vignettes in the *Book of the Dead*.



The amulet from TT 32 displays the full figure image of Anubis holding a piece of mummy linen, drawn in a particularly fresh style. The placement of a linen amulet with the effigy of Anubis over the right leg is prescribed in Chapter 11 of the *Ritual of Embalming*.

Bibliography: KÁKOSY 1985, 304-305, fig. 8 (photo and report on discovery); SCHREIBER 2007, 340, 351, fig. 23 (commentary and line drawing) [G.S.]

¹ On linen amulets in general, see: KOCKELMANN 2008, 309-346; KOCKELMANN 2003, 235-260; SCHREIBER 2007, 337-340.

² For commentary on the prescriptions of the *Ritual of Embalming*, see: SCHREIBER 2007, 337-340.



59. Three linen amulets

Early Ptolemaic Period, 3rd century BC

Linen, black ink

Dimensions: 13 x 13.2 cm

From TT 32

Reg. No. 104, Inv. No. 85/227

Collection of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.



Although the *Ritual of Embalming* mentions only amulets bearing the images of gods, the actual repertoire of linen amulets was in fact much broader, also featuring drawn images of religious symbols and ritual objects. Each of the three amulets from TT 32 displays a single object, i.e., a red crown, a white crown, and a uraeus. The latter is to be understood as an element of the royal headgear symbolizing the goddess Wadjet. Since crowns and headdresses were to bestow magic on the head, these three amulets, which are stuck together, might have been applied to the forehead of one of individuals buried in the lower rooms of TT 32 during the early Ptolemaic Period.¹ This interpretation is reinforced by Chapter 7 of the *Ritual of Embalming*, which refers to Wadjet as a deity protecting the head of the deceased. As the heavy use of resin indicates, the amulets were fixed in position on the required body part by adhesives. The lower

part of the amulets soaked in this material also preserved the impression of a plastic *shuty*-amulet, which provides a graphic illustration of the concurrent use of faience and linen amulets. Since, moreover, the Wadjet amulet covers that with the representation of the white crown, it is clear that linen amulets were occasionally applied in multiple layers.

Bibliography: SCHREIBER 2007, 339, 349, fig. 4 (commentary and line drawing). [G.S.]



¹ SCHREIBER 2007, 339.

60. Linen hypocephalus

Early Ptolemaic Period, 3rd century BC

Linen, black ink

Ht. 23 cm, W. 20.5 cm

From TT 32

Reg. No. 104, Inv. No. 84/359

Collection of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo

Besides being made of cartonnage, hypocephali were also drawn on linen. The Ptolemaic finds excavated in TT 32 suggest that cartonnage and linen hypocephali were not interchangeable and that an ideal elite burial in early Ptolemaic Thebes was provided with both.¹ The different subjects appearing on cartonnage and linen examples also point in the same direction. Placed directly over the bandaging, the linen hypocephali belong to the same stratum of enveloping and embellishing the mummy as the textile amulets. The circular compositions on these objects are drawn in black ink on rectangular pieces of textile, with the details occasionally coloured. Similarly to cartonnage hypocephali, their linen counterparts were placed under the head of the dead person. Out of the four examples excavated from TT 32, the one shown in the exhibition is in the best state of preservation. The central panel of this hypocephalus applies an age-old cosmogonical scene, with a child emerging from a lotus in the middle. The scene refers to the well-known Hermopolitan creation account, according to which the creator god appeared from a lotus drifting on the surface of the primeval ocean. From the late New Kingdom the same motif was adapted in Thebes to explain and illustrate the birth of the solarized Amun, *kosmokrator* of the local theology. In Theban scenes showing the divine birth the god is also depicted as a winged scarab whose emergence is attended by the adoring figures of the Ogdoad, a group of eight gods symbolizing the forces of procreation. The hypocephalus from TT 32 employs instead two goddesses raising their hands in an attitude of worship. Although no captions identify them, there can be little doubt that Isis and Nephthys, or Neith and Selket, deities assisting the resurrection of Osiris, were originally meant here. The integration of the figures of Osirian mythology into the scene was to highlight the similarities between the birth of the solar god and the rebirth of Osiris, whose fate was a model for the Egyptian dead. Since the concepts of birth and rebirth after death were basically synonymous for the Egyptian



mind, allowing for a wide range of theological connotations, similar pastiches of theological notions were far from infrequent in funerary art. The circular frame of the scene, displaying alternating *dwꜣ* and *dwꜣ.t* (“netherworld”) signs, also suggests that the birth scene is taking place in the hereafter. The interpretation that the main scene depicts the birth of the procreator god, Amun, is reinforced by a cartonnage hypocephalus in Mainz, which depicts a ram’s head emerging from a shrine flanked by Selket and Neith,² and by two linen hypocephali in the Petrie Collection which show a similar composition with a hybrid deity in the centre.³

The main scene is complemented by a second register originally featuring five ram’s heads with solar disks. The occurrence of similar friezes, arranged either in a register or in a circular frame, on two other linen hypocephali from TT 32⁴ is indicative of the fact that the ram’s heads have a meaningful role in the context of the main scene. As was mentioned above, the standard iconography of hypocephali, magical objects which evolved in a Theban milieu during the late Dynastic Period, borrowed elements from the Theban Amun theology in order to draw a parallel between the rebirth of the deceased and the rebirth of the god. Amun’s resurrection was believed to have been possible through the god’s unification with his ten *bas* (souls), which symbolized the god’s creative force. The *bas* were in a strict hierarchy, each representing a domain of the cosmos, with the first five *bas* representing the cosmic elements (celestial bodies, air, water) and the second five *bas* referring to the living (humans, animals, birds, watery creatures). Concerning the ram friezes, it is worth noting that the homonymy existing in Egyptian between the words *ba* (spirit) and *ba* (ram) led in Ptolemaic hieroglyphic texts to sportive writings in which the ideograms of the two words could be interchanged. The appearance of ram’s

heads thus also militates in favour of thinking that the decoration of hypocephali owes much to the concept of the *bas* of Amun.⁵ Appearing in conjunction with the aforementioned birth scene, it may refer to the Theban doctrine that the rebirth of Amun, to whom the deceased wishes to assimilate, is made possible by the creator’s cosmic force.

Bibliography: KÁKOSY 1986, 102, fig. 6 (photo); LECLANT-CLERC 1987, pl. XXXIX, fig. 50 (photo); KÁKOSY 1987, 146, 148-149, figs. 3-3a (description, photo and line drawing); KÁKOSY 1989a, fig. 53 (line drawing); VARGA 2002, 122, pl. 28, fig. 9 (description and photo); SCHREIBER 2007, 342, 355, fig. 50 (commentary and line drawing) [G.S.]



1 SCHREIBER 2007, 342.

2 HEIDE 2007, 70 (No. 60).

3 UC 32433, UC 32438.

4 SCHREIBER 2007, 355, figs. 49, 55. A frieze with ram’s heads also appears in the circular frame of a linen hypocephalus in the Petrie Collection (UC 52222). In two further examples (UC 32433, UC 55122) the ram’s heads are replaced by crocodile heads. The crocodile may also have been a symbol of the procreator, either Kematef, Amun or Khonsu, in a Theban context: SCHREIBER n.d. 1.

5 On the connection between hypocephali and the Theban Amun-theology, see: SCHREIBER n.d. 1.

61. Seal impression

Early Ptolemaic Period, 3rd century BC

Unfired clay, linen

Ht. 2.3 cm, W. 2.7 cm

From TT 32, Room X

Reg. No. 111, Inv. No. 85/304

Collection of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo



Seals were usually attached to written documents such as administrative or private letters. In the sphere of the tomb, seals were affixed to tomb doors and, occasionally, to funerary papyri. During the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods mummies were sometimes also sealed after the completion of bandaging in the embalming house. Although few such seals are extant,¹ the practice must have been part of the usual protocol, at least in Thebes. The *Ritual of Embalming* makes mention of three priests working in the embalming house, whose activities complemented each other. The lector priest was responsible for the recitation of the *Ritual*, while most of the actual operations on the corpse were carried out by the divine chancellor in cooperation with the master of the secrets, a specialised priest referred to in Greek texts as *taricheutes*, who was the superintendent of the whole lengthy process. It was in all likelihood the latter who sealed the mummies once the embalming was completed.² Seals of this kind were usually stamped on a clay ball formed around the two ends of the outermost linen strip or cord binding the mummy. Since funerary papyri were sometimes also encased in linen sheaths and bound by linen strips,³ however, seals retrieved as loose finds are not conclusive in themselves as to whether they were attached to the mummy or the funerary papyrus. Since the embalmer's seals usually exhibit only the image of a deity or a religious symbol, the example from TT 32 is rather uncommon in that the inscription on it gives the name and titles of the priest Pihor. As the object was found in the lower section of TT 32 that was reused during the early Ptolemaic Period, it is fairly secure to suggest that Pihor was responsible for the mummification and funeral of one of the individuals of the Nesmin family. The extensive list of his titles also elucidates that Pihor was a relatively high-ranking priest who was not only active in the embalming house but also in the temple service. Preserved inscription: *The Prophet [and God's Father (?)] of Amun, Master of the Secrets [Taricheutes], Setem-priest, Royal Scribe of Hw.t-mrh.t Pihor [Paenhor], son of Psenapathes [Pashery-aapehty].*

Bibliography: KÁKOSY 1989a, 89, fig. 114 (photo); SCHREIBER 2007, 343-345, 356, figs. 56a-b (commentary, line drawing, photo).

[G.S.]

¹ See e.g. DRENKHahn 1991, 87 (No 74); NIWIŃSKI 1993, 356, pl. V.3; ZIEGLER 2007, 374, figs. 4c-d.

² SCHREIBER 2007, 343-345.

³ See e.g. pNew York MMA 24.2.18: MUNRO 2003, 50-51, 54. pBud 51.2183 (Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest): Unpublished.



62. Djed pillar

Early Ptolemaic Period, 3rd century BC

Faience, blue glaze, gilding

Ht. 5.6 cm, W. 2.1 cm, Th. 0.9 cm

From TT 32

Reg. No. 148, Inv. No. 86/4

Collection of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo

Amulets in the shape of the *djed* pillar were still mandatory elements of Egyptian burials in the Ptolemaic Period. As contemporary intact burials and funerary papyri with amulet lists inform us, *djed* pillars were placed over the throat, the chest, and occasionally, the abdomen. The amulet on display represents a late and comparatively rare type, in which the pillar is combined with an *atef* crown, an element stressing the identity of the pillar and Osiris. The fine modelling and the presence of gilding over the glaze suggest that the amulet was made for an elite burial. Since no grooves were drilled in the dorsal pillar, one may presume that the amulet was placed loose in the bandaging.

Bibliography: KÁKOSY 1989a, 55, fig. 65 [photol].

[G.S.]



63. Fragment of a Book of the Dead manuscript

Ptolemaic Period, 2nd century BC

Papyrus, linen, resin, pigment

Ht. 9 cm, W. 6 cm

From the area of TT32, Tomb B

Reg. No. 298, Inv. No. 1992/31



The collection of magical spells entitled *Book of the Dead* began to be written on papyrus rolls and placed in tombs from the reign of Hatshepsut with Tuthmosis III and this funerary custom continued, in spite of a hiatus during the Twenty-second Dynasty, until the late Ptolemaic Period. With regard to text composition, the *Book of the Dead* manuscripts predating the Saite Period show a heterogeneous picture which is commonly designated the Theban Recension. It seems that at that time no established convention existed concerning the number and sequence of the chapters. Both were standardized in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, thus creating the Late Period standard of the *Book of the Dead* known as the Saite Recension.¹ *Book of the Dead* manuscripts from the Ptolemaic Period occur on both linen and papyrus, the latter ones usually either in the form of small papyrus sheets with one or two spells, folded into a small packet,

or as longer rolls featuring different selections of "chapters."

The distinctive feature of the small papyrus fragment on display is not only its fine hieratic handwriting but, more importantly, the resinous linen it adheres to. This characteristic is especially noteworthy as it allows us to answer a question only a few papyri give information about. The position of the manuscript in the burial assemblage can rarely be investigated, since the archaeological context where the papyri in museum collections were originally found is mostly impossible to trace and new excavation finds usually come from disturbed contexts. This tiny fragment precisely answers the question of the original position. As it was stuck into a mummy wrapping which was coated with a black resinous substance, it seems obvious that the papyrus was not rolled but spread out and tied closely to the body of the deceased with the inscribed surfaces facing outward.

The present fragment (Fragment A) was discovered during the 1992 campaign in Tomb B, a secondary tomb built in the outer forecourt of TT 32, which was constructed in the later Twenty-second Dynasty, remained continuously in use in the early decades of Kushite rule, and was reused in the early Ptolemaic Period.² The fragment preserves 12 lines of hieratic text from the *Book of the Dead*, chapters 1, 2 and 3. Line 11 features a fragment of a name, too, which reads as Wer-nofer.



Based on the style and size of the signs and the quite rare way they are integrated into the mummy wrappings, two other small fragments (Fragments B and C) can be associated with the same *Book of the Dead* manuscript. The four lines which are preserved on Fragment B feature a few words from the postscript of chapter 162 of the *Book of the Dead*, while the smallest fragment (C) only preserves the traces of a double line of the sort that usually divides the text from the vignette. This means that, luckily, not only the beginning but also the very end of a once-elaborate manuscript following the Saite Recension have come down to us.

The fact that this manuscript is adhering tightly to mummy linen coated in black resin indicates that the owner of the papyrus preferred to equip his burial with a papyrus tied around his body instead of using a *Book of the Dead* in a rolled format as was otherwise customary. The origin and spectrum of this rarely attested burial custom still needs to be explained. It seems that mainly Ptolemaic-period examples represent this way of using *Book of the Dead* manuscripts. Other examples of the same type are the *Book of the Dead* manuscript of a priest called Nes-shu, now in the museum of Yverdon,³ and pFrankfurt 1652c.⁴ Both papyri originated from Ptolemaic Ahmim, with owners of the title *stolist* (wardrober) of *Min*.⁵ Comparing fragments A, B, and C with these parallels, pYverdon especially suggests not only a tentative dating to the 2nd century BC,⁶ but also another interesting observation. The mummy of Nes-shu is covered with his funerary papyrus from head to feet, but only on the front and the sides of the corpse. Examining the way the text is arranged on the different surfaces of the body, it becomes apparent that the papyrus was not simply a ready-made roll wrapped around the mummy, but an individual document tailored exactly to the proportions of the deceased. The scribe preparing the manuscript must have worked according to a detailed plan, as he knew exactly which chapter(s) would cover a certain body part and took the size of the given surface into consideration when distributing the text.

Thus, these papyrus fragments provide valuable information regarding a rare funerary custom which was so far believed to be a speciality of Ptolemaic Ahmim. As the fragments from TT 32 illustrate, however, the practice of covering the mummified corpse with the funerary papyrus by attaching it to the mummy linen was also used in Thebes in the same period.

Bibliography: ILLÉS 2006b, 119-127, fig.1

[0.1.]



1 For a concise summary on the history of funerary papyri tradition, see: QUIRKE 1993, 15-24.

2 SCHREIBER - VASÁROS 2005, 1-27.

3 *Dossier Nesshou* 1996.

4 Unpublished.

5 Although in the publication of the papyrus of Hor M. Mosher discusses a group of Late Period *Book of the Dead* manuscripts from Ahmim in detail, neither pYverdon or pFrankfurt 1652c are included or mentioned: MOSHER 2001.

6 pYverdon is dated to the 2nd century BC, cf. *Dossier Nesshou* 1996. Such a dating is also likely for the papyrus fragments from Tomb B, since the use of this tomb continued well into the 2nd century BC.

64. *Ba*-bird

Late Dynastic – Early Ptolemaic Period,
4th-3rd century BC
Wood, pigment
Ht. 9.6 cm, W. 3.8 cm
From TT -61-
Reg. No. 412



In the Ptolemaic Period figurines of human-headed birds representing the *ba* (soul) of the transfigured dead were frequently applied atop the lunette of funerary stelae or, sometimes, were used as freestanding statuettes in the burial. Since the figurine from TT -61- has a hole pierced in the base, one may presume that it functioned as a plastic ornament surmounting a stela.

Bibliography: GAÁL 2004, 61 (photo).

[G.S.]



65. Two-handled bag-shaped jar (ballas)

Ptolemaic Period, late 3rd-early 2nd century BC

Late Dynastic/ Ptolemaic (LDP) Marl 1, orange slip, black paint

Ht. 24.2

From TT 32

Reg. No. 463, Inv. No. 1991.C.078

The early Ptolemaic Period marks the beginning of the last great episode of ancient Egyptian vase painting.¹ After the disappearance of New Kingdom painted wares Egyptian pottery rarely exhibited more than simple linear motifs for centuries, and even when it did,² experiments with new styles remained short-lived and marginal.

The immediate antecedents of the Ptolemaic style go back to the Late Dynastic Period, when Egypt came into closer touch with the outside world, especially the Mediterranean. Although the Pharaonic standards were massively retained in genres like statuary and temple architecture, minor arts, especially pottery making and metalwork, proved to be responsive to stimuli from Phoenician, Greek, and Achaemenid art. In this period a new repertoire of vessel shapes came into use and a new style of vase painting was formulated using basically linear motifs. In the late 4th century BC geometric and floral motifs also appeared in the decoration. The new style seems to have been created in Theban workshops, but independent ateliers also appeared relatively soon in Aswan, the Kharga oasis, and the Delta. Both Nile- and Marl-based vessels were decorated and there was a preference for medium- or large-sized closed shapes, which provided suitable surfaces for decoration. The Nile silt vessels were usually white-slipped, whereas those made out of Marl fabrics exhibited a wide range of colours. The decoration was usually monochrome, painted in silhouette in black pigment. Until the early Ptolemaic

Period, the repertoire of painted motifs remained purely Egyptian in character, employing a wide range of linear, geometric, and floral ornaments. During the later 3rd century, however, Hellenistic decorative motifs – e.g., the shark's teeth pattern, tendril motifs, and the leaf kymation – were also adapted through the mediation of Alexandrian art. More significantly, Egyptian painters also started to follow Hellenistic patterns closely in arranging the decoration and in distinguishing between primary and secondary decorative surfaces. Besides Hellenistic relief ceramics, metalwork and Alexandrian faience vessels, Cretan and Alexandrian Hadra vases served as prototypes for the application of new designs. The adaptation of Hellenistic motifs had well-defined characteristics. Logically, Egyptian painters selected chiefly those motifs which had parallels in Egyptian art; in other cases they replaced the Hellenistic motif with a similar Egyptian design, retaining, however, the function of the original. Although the foundation of the iconography remained





Egyptian, the Hellenistic influence is clearly observable on the production post-dating the middle of the 3rd century BC. In the second half of the century there was a tendency, especially on Marl jars, towards covering the vessel surface more completely than ever before. The heyday of the Theban workshops is datable to the later 3rd and early 2nd centuries BC. Although large Nile silt vessels continued to be made into the 1st century BC and beyond, the elaborately painted Marl containers ceased to be produced no later than the early 1st century BC. The two-handled jar from TT 32 represents a vessel shape typical of this production.³ The derivative of this shape is still in use in modern Egypt as a water jar, hence its name, *ballas*.

The painted decoration is a particularly handsome example of the floral style characteristic of these vessels (Floral Style B).⁴ The main decorative register on the shoulder and the upper part of the body exhibits an alternating frieze of foliage motifs, followed by a tier of cross-hatched pattern and a subsidiary register of independent tendril motifs. The preserved handle displays a tall floral motif, which gives the impression of being a native "translation" of the hatched decoration frequently appearing on Cretan and Alexandrian Hadra vases.

Bibliography: SCHREIBER 2002, 414, 419 (No. 3) [description, commentary and line drawing]; SCHREIBER 2003, 81, pls. 12, 28 (No. 138) [description, commentary, line drawing and photos].

[G.S.]

- 1 For Ptolemaic painted pottery in general, see: SCHREIBER 2003.
- 2 For, e.g., early Saite painted pottery, see: FUSCALDO 2006, 111-117.
- 3 SCHREIBER 2003, 30-31.
- 4 SCHREIBER 2003, 50-52.



66. Cylindrical jar

Early Ptolemaic Period, 3rd century BC

Late Dynastic/Ptolemaic (LDP) Marl 1, orange slip

Ht. 31 cm

From TT 32, Rooms X-XI

Reg. No. 462, Inv. No. C/91/38

This jar represents a rare vessel shape which is typical of the 4th and 3rd centuries BC.¹ A similar vessel from the intact burial of Wahibre, found intrusively in the tomb of Ankh-hor, presumably contained mummification material,² while two other comparable jars in the Museo Egizio, Turin, manufactured out of Nile clay, were used as containers of papyri.³ The jar from TT 32 formed part of the burial assemblage of the Nesmin family and it may have contained solid food-stuffs or the refuse of mummification.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

[G.S.]



¹ A comparable vessel has been found recently in a Late Dynastic context in Saqqara; ZIEGLER 2007, 374, figs. 7b, 8c, 13b.

² BIETAK - REISER-HASLAUER 1982, 191, 193, fig. 85 (No. 571).

³ ROCCATI 1991, 74.

67. Four-handed oil jar

Early Ptolemaic Period, 3rd century BC

Late Dynastic/Ptolemaic (LDP) Marl 1,

orange slip, docket in black ink

Ht. 33 cm, D. 28 cm

From TT 32, Rooms X-XV

Reg. No. 461, Inv. No. C/85/27

This jar, reassembled from 57 sherds found in the lower rooms of TT 32 where members of the Nesmin family were interred, is representative of a recurrent type in early Ptolemaic Theban burials. Such jars are characterised by a shouldered to globular body, ring base, and two or, as in this case, four handles attached to the inflexion point between shoulder and body. The earliest examples for the shape are three jars from Saqqara, which belonged to the funerary equipment of Tjai-hap-imu, father of Nectanebos II.¹ This find also reveals that the vessels were deposited in the tomb in sets of four, thus recalling the arrangement of canopic jars, which, in turn, were no longer in use in this epoch. Although it cannot be determined whether this arrangement was strictly applied in all contemporary elite burials (probably not), jars of this type seem to be symptomatic in Late Dynastic and Ptolemaic Period contexts of the Memphite and Theban *necropoleis*.² The jar on display bears a hieratic docket, which elucidates that it was used as a container of *noble oil*. Remarkably, the same material also occurs in the prescriptions of the *Ritual of Embalming* as a substance extensively used throughout the process of mummification. We may thus assume that remainders of this oil were deposited in tombs as a grave good in the early Ptolemaic Period.



Bibliography: KÁKOSY 1993, 6, fig. 3 (photo); SCHREIBER 2007, 342-343, 356, figs. 53a-b. [commentary, line drawing, photo].

[G.S.]

¹ GHALY 1994, 81-84.

² FRENCH – GHALY 1991, 105, figs. 18 a-b; ARNOLD 1966, 88, fig. 4.

In TT 32 eight examples of this type were found.



68. Convex bowl

Early Ptolemaic Period, 3rd century BC

Faience, blue glaze

Ht. 5 cm, D. 11 cm

From TT 32, Trench A

Reg. No. 354, Inv. No. 88/21



This faience bowl, characterized by a simple incurved (convex) rim, represents a type which is well-known in Aegean (Greek) pottery from the late Classical Period (late 5th century BC).¹ The shape was adapted by Alexandrian and Memphite workshops in the early Hellenistic Period and during the 3rd century BC it also appeared in the repertory of Upper Egyptian potters. From the 3rd century BC convex bowls were also produced in blue-glazed composition.² The main workshops for such faience vessels were in the Memphite area and others might have existed in the

Delta, the immediate hinterland of Alexandria. Although a few products of Memphite workshops reached as far as Nubia,³ the presence of such faience vessels is quite uncommon in Theban burials of the Ptolemaic Period. The bowl on display, clearly originating from a Memphite atelier, served one of the elite burials deposited in TT 32 during the 3rd century BC.

Bibliography: KÁKOSY 1989, 61, fig. 78 (photo).

[G.S.]

¹ SCHREIBER 2003, 26.

² NENNA – SEIF EL-DIN 2000, 48, fig. 9.

³ TÖRÖK 1989, No. 178; TÖRÖK 1997, figs. 87, 103, 109, 128.

69. Funerary shroud from the Soter Group

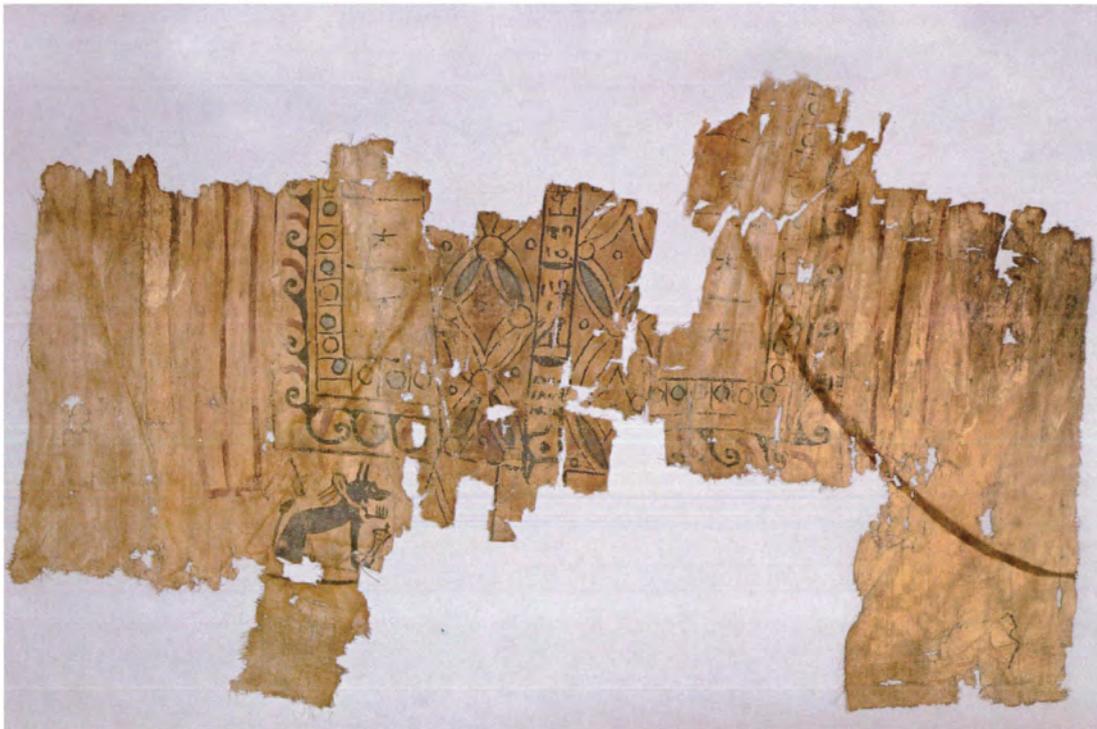
Roman Period, first half of the 2nd century AD

Linen, pigment

Ht. ca. 60 cm, W. ca. 101.5 cm

From TT 32, Room I

Reg. No. 455, Inv. No. 2006.T.001



The largest and most significant tomb group from Roman Thebes, belonging to the relatives of Soter, *arkhon Thebon* under Trajan, was discovered in 1820 at an unknown location in Thebes-West. Based on birth and death dates mentioned in the Greek epitaphs on coffins, the group is datable to between the reigns of Trajan and Antoninus Pius, i.e., from the end of the 1st century to the middle of the 2nd century AD.¹ Using the shroud on display as evidence, László Kákósy argued in 1995 that TT 32 was the original find spot of the Soter finds.² It has been clarified since then that many other Theban burials of the early 2nd century AD share the stylistic characteristics of the Soter finds and thus this group of objects termed *Soternalia* or *Soter Group* originated from more than one tomb³ but TT 32 was certainly one of them. The excavations in the inner rooms of TT 32 yielded fragments from at least three shrouds, one produced for a female and two for males.



The shroud on display was removed from the mummy in 2006, allowing a consolidation and art historical consideration of the preserved fragment. The mummy was carefully bandaged and tied with linen strips before being enveloped in the shroud. Since the Soter shrouds employ different iconography for male and female burials,⁴ it is evident that the wrapping from TT 32 was made for a man. These male shrouds fashion the deceased in the guise of an Osiris *en face*, with an *atef* crown, holding crook and flail, and wearing a bead netting robe and a broad mantle hanging down to the sandals. Of the shroud from TT 32 only the lower third survives, which, however, convincingly proves that it shared the same iconographical features. The Osiris figure wears thong sandals and his frontal body field is covered with a bead net pattern bisected by a vertically rendered inscription. On either side of the body an elaborately decorated mantle flares out. The inner surfaces of this mantle are divided into compartments with star hieroglyphs, framed by a frieze of alternating blue and yellow circles, with another frieze of spiral hooks on the fringe. The standing figure is flanked by two tall floral bouquets, of which only the bound stems of the lotus flowers remain preserved. Typically for the male shrouds of the Soter group, two recumbent jackals with a scarf and key on the neck and a torch between the forelegs are featured on either side of the feet. These jackals are reminiscent of



the Wepwawet figurines on Pharaonic coffins and, at the same time, representatives of Anubis, who acts as a *psychopompos* for the dead person during his otherworldly travel. The meaning of the symbol drawn in the right corner of the shroud is unclear.

Judging by a shroud formerly on loan to the Raleigh collection⁵ and the wrapping of Petamenophis in the Louvre,⁶ the vertical inscription on these shrouds was a standardized formula for well-being in the hereafter, which styles Isis as the giver of the burial and expresses the wish of the deceased to receive libations during Amenemopet's visit to the West Bank at the Decade Festival. The shroud from TT 32 seems to contain a corrupted and abbreviated version of the same text: *[... May you receive libations through Amenemopet] in Djeme every ten days. May your soul live forever(?) and ever.*

Bibliography: KÁKOSY 1989a, 51, 104-105, fig. 55 (commentary, photo); KÁKOSY 1995, 61-67, pl. I (description, commentary and photo); KÁKOSY – SCHREIBER 2003, 208-209 (commentary).

[G.S.]

1 HERBIN 2002, 26; RIGGS 2005, 185.

2 KÁKOSY 1995, 61-67.

3 RIGGS 2005, 184.

4 RIGGS 2005, 194-198.

5 PARLASCA 1985, 99, n. 6, pl. 4a.

6 HERBIN 2002, 5, 39, figs. 3, 33.



The Late Antique Period on Sheikh Abd el-Gurna: The Monastery of Cyriacus

T. A. B Á C S



The Late Antique floor level and bread oven in the court of TT-NN-24- (photo: T. A. Bács)

the once-sacred landscape of the Theban necropolis, referred to as the “necropolis of Djeme,” however, was brought on by the monastic movement in Egypt.³ The topography of the West bank, both physically and spiritually a challenging environment, provided a near-ideal setting for the various types of monastic life.⁴ The desert fringe with its mountains, hills, and *wadis* speckled with rock-cut tombs and decaying pagan temples offered venues that were far enough removed from the settlements of lay society, but not too far as to deter influencing, overseeing, and participating in the life of that same society. Following a pattern discernable in most of the Nile valley,⁵ individual hermits, groups of anchorites or monastic communities occupied elevated desert locations, populating ancient tombs and temples and refashioning them to accommodate their specific form of monastic life. Although the beginnings of both asceticism and monasticism in Egypt reach back to the early fourth century, archaeological and textual sources indicate that they appeared in the Theban area at the earliest in the late fifth to early sixth centuries. From this period on, evidence for a wide variety of habitation sites exists from individual eremitic cells in more distant *wadis* and erstwhile pharaonic quarries to such architecturally complex purpose-built monasteries as the largest of the West Bank, Deir el-Bakhit on Dra Abu el-Naga.⁶ Located centrally and presenting a site full of “abandoned” potential dwelling spaces in the form of pharaonic tombs, the hill of Sheikh Abd el-Gurna was densely settled by monastics. From the north to south these included the Monastery of Epiphanius, built up around the Eleventh Dynasty tomb of the vizier Dagi (TT 103),⁷ the Monastery of Cyriacus,⁸ the monastic settlement occupying TT 85 (Amenemhab) and TT 87 (Nakhtmin) with its church in the forecourt of TT 97 (Amenemhat),⁹ the Monastery of Severus at TT 84 (Iamunedjeh),¹⁰ and the workshop of one

By the Roman Period profound changes had affected the landscape of the Theban West Bank. Administratively separated from the East Bank and governed from the nome capital Hermonthis (Armant), the largest urban settlement was Djeme, situated within and around the enclosure of the memorial temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu.¹ With continuous habitation going back to the beginning of the Twenty-First Dynasty, by Late Antiquity Djeme had become a major town and the economic and financial centre of the neighbouring rural area. Also lying at the edge of cultivation, but of lesser importance to a degree, Djeme’s northern counterpart on the West Bank was Qurna, another late antique settlement that was housed in a New Kingdom memorial temple, namely, that of Sethi I.²

The most extensive impact, as early as the Ptolemaic Period, on

1 HÖLSCHER 1954, 45-58; WILFONG 1989, 96-103; WILFONG 2002, 1-22.

2 MYSLIWIEC 1987, 16 plan 1.

3 BAGNALL 1993, 293-303; TÖRÖK 2005, 73-86; GOEHRING 2007.

4 BROOKS HEDSTROM 2007.

5 BOUTROS - DÉCOBERT 2000.

6 WINLOCK - CRUM 1926; BURKARD - EICHNER 2007.

7 WINLOCK - CRUM 1926.

8 WINLOCK - CRUM 1926; BÁCS 2000.

9 BEHLMER 2007; GROSSMANN 1991.

10 HEURTEL 2002, 31, GNIRS - GROTHE - GUKSCH 1997.



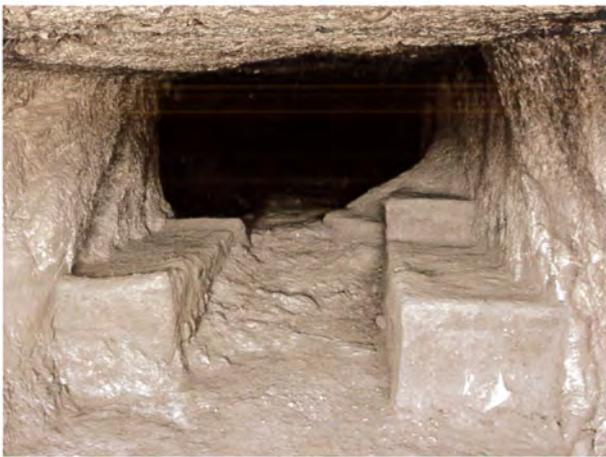
Frangé in the forecourt of TT 29 (Amenemope).¹¹ Although not on the hill itself but in a valley immediately south of Sheikh Abd el-Gurna, hermitages were also established in two former Middle Kingdom tombs (MMA 1151 and MMA 1152).¹² The modern name “Monastery of Cyriacus” was given to the anchorite establishment on the north-eastern slope of the hill after “the anchorite of the Mount of Jême,” Apa Cyriacus, the addressee of a number of letters found here [Cat. No. 70]. Comprising a group of habitations or *lauras*, it spread over an area that incorporated six New Kingdom tombs and their forecourts (TT-NN-7-, TT-NN-8-, TT 65, TT-NN-24-, TT 66, and TT 67).



The anchorite double grave in the forecourt of TT 65 (photo: T. A. Bács)

Most of its standing architecture and archaeological features, however, have fallen victim to the practice of early twentieth century excavators, who commonly showed little or no hesitation in removing post-pharaonic remains (without sufficient documentation) when these obscured earlier structures. Consequently, very little of the monastery’s original layout and internal organisation can be reconstructed. Apparently towers (or keeps) were constructed from mud brick in the courtyard of at least three of the tombs (TT 65, TT 66, and TT-NN-24-), while in one case an earlier structure (the so-called edifice of Paser standing in the courts of TT-NN-7- and TT-NN-8-) was utilised for the same purpose. Serving as dwellings or in

some cases used for storage, the largest of these once stood in the court of TT 65, built against a massive red-painted retaining wall of fired bricks. The clearest evidence for the adaptation of tomb interiors for the same purpose is shown by TT-NN-24-, the walls of which were partly plastered white and where two mud-plastered benches were constructed to serve as beds. Traces of plastering in the transverse hall of TT 66 point to similar reuse. If any such alterations were made in TT 65 they were removed by early excavators and only incised and roughly drawn crosses and the mutilation of the figures on the New Kingdom wall paintings attest to the one-time presence of monks. Besides storage facilities such as a cellar built from mud brick and fragments of typical underground grain bins (*sowama*), areas for food preparation (represented by two bread ovens in the courts of TT-NN-24- and TT-NN-7-, respectively) and textile manufacturing (evidence for loom pits were present in at least three courts, i.e., those of TT-NN-7-,



The interior of TT-NN-24- with two mud-plastered benches (photo: T. A. Bács)

TT 65, and TT-NN-24-)]¹³ have been located and excavated so far. In one case at least, namely, the court of TT-NN-24-, the floor of the area used for cooking and weaving was covered with fired tiles laid in a herring-bone pattern.

As in other monastic establishments of the West Bank such as Deir el-Bakhit, Deir el-Bahari, the Epiphanius monastery, Deir Qurnet Murai, and Deir el-Medina, the monks of the Monastery of Cyriacus were also buried within its territory. Corresponding to

11 TEFNIN, R. 2002; BOUD’HORS – HEURTEL 2002; HEURTEL 2002.

12 GÓRECKI 2004; GÓRECKI 2005; GÓRECKI 2007.

13 BECHTOLD 2007.

these in orientation (SW-NE) and form of deposition, a double anchorite burial in a single rectangular grave was unearthed in the court of TT 65. Of the original two bodies laid to rest in the grave only one has survived in a near-intact state. Wearing a decorated shirt, the body was enveloped in a coarse linen shroud that was strapped in imitation of Roman mummy bandages with linen tapes, ca 2 cm wide, coloured red and white (*keria*).¹⁴ A leather apron was wrapped around the upper body, fastened with a decorated leather belt at the waist.

That the anchorites inhabiting the complex, perhaps two monks, a master and his disciple occupying a unit, pursued a variety of other activities is indicated by fragments of work baskets, textiles, matting, and even fishing nets. The relatively high socio-economic level enjoyed by the monks is well reflected in the range of the ceramic assemblage recovered. Besides coarsewares (some with painted and a few with plastic decoration) and amphorae (in a variety of forms with both resinated and unresinated interiors), a large percentage is made up of finewares (mostly Aswan made ERS 'A'). Different, albeit equally significant and rich, source material for the religious, economic, and social aspects of monastic life is provided by the pottery and limestone ostraca and papyri fragments found scattered all around the site. Most of the texts are sundry letters or letter fragments in Coptic that relate to everyday concerns. Written in local "Theban Sahidic" dialect, these texts are usually difficult to interpret owing not only to their brevity and fragmentary nature, but also because they lack situational contexts. Various individuals, monks and others, appear in these letters, but for the same reason



Remains of a Late Antique cellar near TT-NN-7- (photo: T. A. Bács)

most of these unfortunately remain mere names. As in other monasteries of the West Bank, literary or religious texts form a smaller part of the recovered corpus. That the monastery's "library" once held books written on papyrus and bound in decorated leather covers, parchment codices, ostraca or whole vessels [Cat. No. 76] carrying religious texts is indicated by minor papyrus [Cat. No. 75] and parchment fragments and fragments of leather bindings worked with a blind-tool.

Like Djeme and most of the monastic establishments of the West Bank, the Monastery of Cyriacus was probably abandoned sometime in the late eighth century for reasons still not fully understood.

¹⁴ BECHTOLD 2008.



70. Pottery ostracon with a letter to Cyriacus from Theodorus

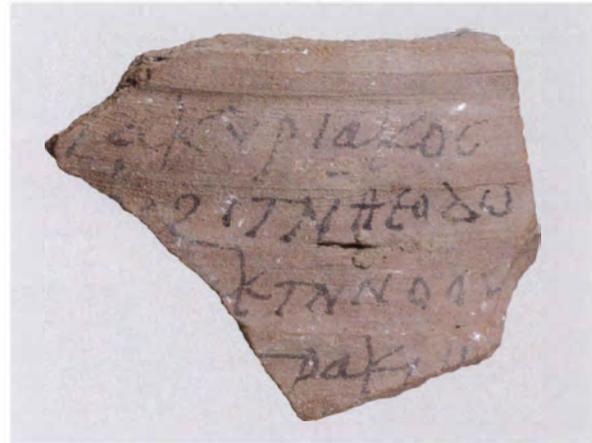
Late Antique, AD 6th – 8th centuries

Nile Silt fabric

Ht. 5.6 cm, W. 7 cm, Th. 1.2 cm

From TT 65 – Forecourt

Reg. No. 434a, Inv. No. 07/ID/08



This ostracon is one of the some 230 ostraca (pottery, limestone, and one wooden piece) and 86 papyrus fragments with Coptic text found so far in recent excavations in and around TT 65. Monks in Late Antique Egypt wrote letters to each other to discuss everyday matters such as sending or exchanging food or raw materials necessary for their clothing or the handiwork they were doing, because working and self-supplying was essential. While working on the loom or making baskets, for example, they

were naturally constantly praying and psalmodizing. They also wrote letters simply to “keep in touch” with brothers in neighbouring communities, in this case the subject matter of the letter is rather short and confines itself to certain greeting formulae; letters written to city officials in certain wordly matters are also found in such excavation materials. Besides literary sources on their life, we gain information about monks from these writings.

This sherd of a Late Roman Amphora 7 (type B) has preserved four fragmentary lines of text. The text was originally a letter from Theodorus to (Apa) Cyriacus. Although the text on this piece is not too long, it is useful because it contains names so it adds to our knowledge about the people living and/or visiting here. Cyriacus was a central figure of this establishment as several letters show, where he appears, he is usually the addressee:¹

[1] ... to] Apa Cyriacus [2] ... from Theodorus [3] ... you sent ... [4] ?

When working on the neighbouring Monastery of Epiphanius in 1911-12 and 1913-14, H. E. Winlock and W. E. Crum also found some Coptic and Greek texts on this site.² Among their finds from TT 65, the Coptic texts are basically letters;³ only one fragmentary piece, text 38, seems to be part of a literary text.⁴ During recent fieldwork, more literary texts were found in and around the tomb. While names are present on the finds, unfortunately no dated Coptic text has been unearthed in TT 65 so far. On palaeographic and linguistic grounds, however, the textual material makes a dating to the 6-8th centuries very probable.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

[A.H.]

¹ Besides Cyriacus and Theodorus, the following names occur on the ostraca and papyri from TT 65: sender: Arsen[ius] priest, Sarapion, Johannes and Enias (*lashanes*), Theodorus; recipient: Apa Abraham, Cyriacus, Apa Cyriacus (the last two are probably one person); included in the subject matter of the letter: Thanael and Onophrius; without any context: Mathias; Isac; Apa Joseph; Phoibam(mon); Apa Athanasius; Abraham, son of Mariam.

² CRUM 1926, texts 38, 121, 151, 236, 242, 257, 266, 387, 413, 457, and 480 are Coptic; texts 583, 594, 617, and 628 are Greek.

³ The Hungarian Mission has found mainly letters to and from monks. The letters found on excavation sites are probably the most challenging textual material because the real context is missing, usually only one side of the correspondence (either the letter or the answer to it) is at hand, and generally both sender and recipient know the topic they are writing about fairly well so they do not include every detail in their letters, which makes the work of interpreting them rather difficult (RICHTER 2008, 739). Also on the difficulties of understanding these letters, cf. CRUM 1926, vi; WILFONG 1989, 108.

⁴ CRUM 1926, 7.

71. Pottery ostracon with a letter

Late Antique, AD 6th – 8th centuries

Nile Silt fabric

Ht. 19.6 cm, W. 17.2 cm, Th. 0.9-1.3 cm

From TT 65 – Secondary Burial 'F'

Reg. No. 434b, Inv. No. 99/ID/17a-b, 1997.4



This ostracon is restored from three fragments of a Late Roman Amphora 7 (type B); eighteen lines of text are written on it with black ink. The text is a letter dealing with a financial matter in which some kind of confinement is referred to and probably relates to the phenomenon of intervention in writing for prisoners. In the letters found in the Monastery of Epiphanius it is never prisoners of war, but persons locked up for debts or the like.¹ In the case of this letter shown here this might also be the case; it is definitely some kind of “confinement” of a person. In monasteries it might have been in separate “lock-ups” or the monk’s own cell.²

[1] *Now, before* [2] *all things, I warmly greet* [3] *your eminence* [4] *and your brotherhood ...* [5] *the young boy, you closed him in.*³ *You did not send to me* [6] *after I had looked after your property whole-heartedly for you.* [7] *I did that and I looked after your money for you; send a man* [8] *to me with my guarantee,⁴ and I will account for* [9] *your five solidi⁵ to you to (your) satisfaction, for I did not* [10] *dare to send them (i.e., the coins) to you by anyone.* [11] *But quite surely you have not yet read the ostracon.* [12] *Send the man with the word of God with him⁶* [13] *until I put him back to* [14] *his place. Surely, if you had written to me* [15] *before you had taken the man,* [16] *you would have found that I have accounted* [17] *(for your money) to you, and also your* [18] *I, who am writing ...*

It should be noted about the language of the texts from TT 65 that it is the same as that of the texts in the Epiphanius Monastery described by W. E. Crum as basically Sahidic, but differing from the standard Sahidic in certain features. Thus, he used the terms “Theban”, “Theban idiom”, and “speech of Thebes” to speak of the language of the texts found in Western Thebes.⁷ A comprehensive and systematic linguistic study of this idiom, however, has not yet been made, however, features of it have been studied.⁸

Bibliography: Unpublished.

[A.H.]

1 WINLOCK – CRUM 1926, 175-176.

2 WINLOCK – CRUM 1926, 176 n. 13.

3 Imprisoned? See: CRUM 1926, texts 163, 5ff; 166, 10[?].

4 Or “undertaking/contract,” cf. CRUM 1926, text 85.

5 *Solidus* in Latin, *holocottinos* in Greek is a gold coin introduced by Diocletian and struck from 286 [BOWMAN *et al.* 2006, 335].

6 The ‘word of God’ is a document with a promissory or protective declaration, a kind of guarantee (usually official; see: CRUM 1926, 176 n.1) given to somebody who would be responsible for illegally leaving his dwelling place – because of not paying his taxes, etc. – so that he can return to his place without punishment, or it is simply a receipt for taxes paid [WINLOCK – CRUM 1926, 177.]. It could be issued for example by the employer or a monastic superior [cf. TILL 1939].

7 WINLOCK – CRUM 1926 esp. 233 and 234.

8 KAHLE 1954; SHISHA-HALEVY 1973 and 1974; Anne Boud’hors also in her paper at the 9th IACS Congress in Cairo in 2008 on “La forme MNTE-en fonction de subordonnée dans les textes documentaires thébaines”.

72. Limestone ostracon with a Greek-Coptic Glossary

Late Antique, AD 6th – 8th centuries

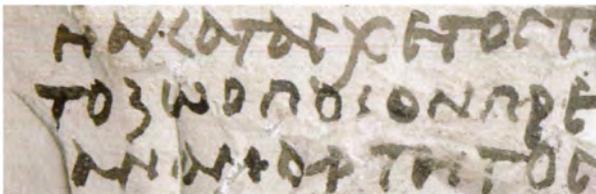
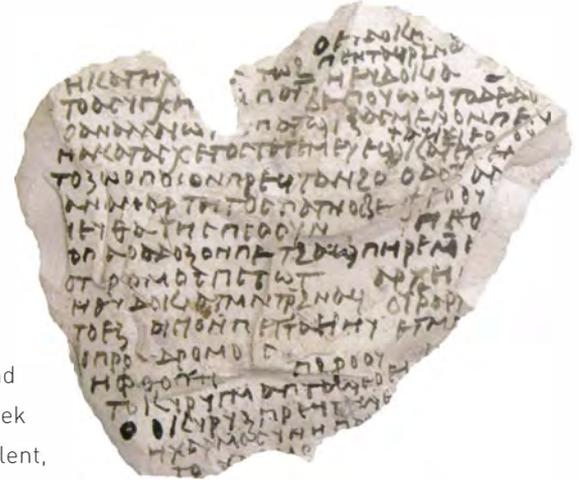
Limestone, pigment

Ht. 10.2 cm, W. 12.4 cm, Th. 1.8 cm

From TT-NN-24- Forecourt

Reg. No. 435a, Inv. No. 07/ID/06

This ostracon is fully written on both sides; in the middle on the upper part a piece has broken off, and the left and right sides are also broken, still, quite a large surface remains with clearly visible letters, although the surface of the sherd is damaged in some places. The letters are black, written in an experienced, majuscule hand with some ligatures; the characters are fairly regularly sized, but the letter 'B' is always larger; *recto* and *verso* were written by one and the same hand. In the glossary, the Greek word comes first with the definite article, followed by the Coptic equivalent, also with the article; the text was designed in four columns: Greek-Coptic / Greek-Coptic, but the second pair of words is less ordered, words are written above rather than next to one another; the *verso* is also the same in the first two columns; when there was not enough space parts of a word were written above the first half of the word:



RECTO

- [1] *instruction, catechesis*
- [2] *what is desired, right*
- [3] *unmixed, unmingled*
- [4] *will, desire*
- [5] *unaltered; unchangeable*
- [6] *something that is glorified*
- [7] *inapprehensible (fem!)*
- [8] *life-giver*
- [9] *glorify?*
- [10] *sinless, innocent*
- [11] *straightness, rightfulness*
- [12] *unexpected, miraculous*
- [13] ?
- [14] *trembling*
- [15] ?
- [16] *leading person*¹
- [17] *willing, desire*
- [18] *honoured, excellent*
- [19] ?
- [20] *forerunner, precursor*²
- [21] *voice*
- [22] *preaching, proclamation*
- [23] *messenger*
- [24] *gladness, joy*
- [25] ?

VERSO

- [1] *baptized person*
- [2] *appreciation*
- [3] *remission; forgiveness*
- [4] ?
- [5] *the one who got light (by baptism?)*³
- [6] *washing, cleansing; baptizing*
- [7] ?
- [8] *place of baptizing*
- [9] *saintness, holiness*
- [10] *rebirth*
- [11] *light, enlightenment*⁴
- [12] *who became young*
- [13] *who became/was worthy of*
- [14] ?
- [15] *heavenly; belonging to the sky*
- [16] *holy; pure*
- [17] *ineffaceable*
- [18] *sealed, stamped*⁵
- [19] *seal; sign*⁶
- [20] *exorcism*

This glossary is of special interest among the Coptic objects, because bilingual glossaries from Thebes are rare.⁷ It clearly shows the importance of knowing Greek even in such anchorite establishments. The use of this language in Late Antique Thebes is further proven by the Greek biblical and liturgical texts found on the site of the Monastery of Epiphanius as well as the four Greek texts found by Winlock and Crum in TT 65. These four texts are different from the Coptic ones found here. Only one of them may be a letter, although the piece is very fragmentary; one, on wood, is a list of the Coptic months, and the other two are literary texts. Text 583, fragments of a former papyrus codex, contains parts of the Gospel of Matthew and the Gospel of John; the codex may have been a lectionary. Text 594 is a hymn to an ascete or martyr. The fact that the language used in private letters is Coptic shows that the language of everyday life was Coptic rather than Greek, which was used to write only official or semi-official letters,⁸ besides the literary texts mentioned above. This is not surprising as Greek was the language of administration in 6th- and 7th-century Egypt,⁹ but in Upper Egypt it probably never replaced the Egyptian tongue as the spoken idiom.¹⁰ In the monastic and anchorite establishments here, the background was basically Coptic, but there were always Greek-speaking monks or visitors and there were monks who could translate.¹¹ Based on the text material from Western Thebes, Greek was used in the liturgical sphere in the 6th through 8th centuries and it was probably part of the education of these communities, as such glossaries may indicate.

It is conspicuous that on both sides of the ostrakon the first word is left without a Coptic equivalent. On the recto it is 'the catechesis, instruction', on the verso 'the baptized person'. It seems probable that these two words indicate the topic of the words to be listed after them in Greek and Coptic; they act as a kind of title, as indeed on the recto the words are related to "catechesis" and on the verso they are all related to "baptism; being baptized." The question of the purpose of such a glossary arises; there are several possibilities: 1. it may be related to translation activity where the translator, working on a Greek text, made a list before translating it into Coptic; in this case, he might have had a text entitled "catechesis" or one in that genre, and another about baptism. Or else he was making the list in general, not about a particular text but arranged the terms according to topic;¹² 2. one or more persons were learning Greek here, and in the course of learning they made word lists to study; 3. one might even imagine a "school" or some kind of educational centre on the site,¹³ where Greek was learnt and certain texts (both Coptic and Greek) were read.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

[A.H.]

1 The word is used to describe "one who directs in the sphere of the holy;" it can refer to angels, bishops, or priests, cf. LAMPE 1961, 668b-669a.

2 According to LAMPE 1961, 1144a-b, the word may refer to John the Baptist, as forerunner of Jesus, also to St. John the Evangelist as a "pioneer of the doctrine of Logos," and also to "Christ as man's precursor into heaven."

3 See CD 481a.

4 In a Christian context also has a strong connection to baptism, cf. CD 481a.

5 The Greek verb 'seal; stamp' may refer to the procedure of baptism, especially to the "baptismal consignation with chrism" (after water), cf. LAMPE 1961, 1355a; here it probably has the meaning "baptized; given the sign of baptism."

6 The Greek noun 'seal; stamp' can also refer to the seal given to Christians in baptism or baptism itself, cf. LAMPE 1961, 1356a-b.

7 WINLOCK - CRUM 1926, 207 mention one small fragment now to be found at the Ferdinandeum at Innsbruck.

8 BUCKING 2007, 23-24.

9 BUCKING 2007, 24.

10 In parts of the country farther to the north, however, Greek may also have been more dominant in everyday use, as the case of the Naqlun Monastery in the Fayum seems to show; here Greek was the dominant language in the earliest stage of the monastery, see: BUCKING 2007, 22.

11 Cf. DUMMER 1968.

12 According to CRUM, there are "three possible ways of arranging a glossary. If a single work or author is being glossed the words may be taken in the order of occurrence. Where the words are taken from various sources this arrangement is impossible but they may be arranged either alphabetically or by classes, according to meaning." BELL - CRUM 1925, 180. A good example of the glossary on certain texts is BELL - THOMPSON 1925.

13 On scribal and "formal educational activities" in the neighbouring Epiphanius Monastery, see: BUCKING 2007 esp. 33.



73. Limestone ostracon with a letter

Late Antique, AD 6th – 8th centuries

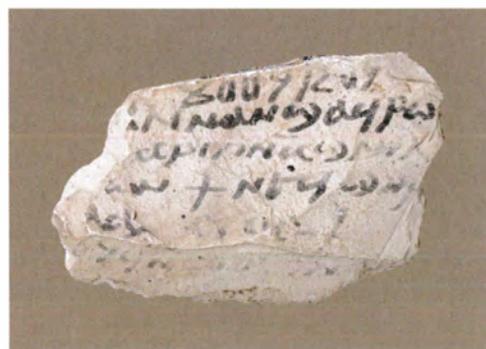
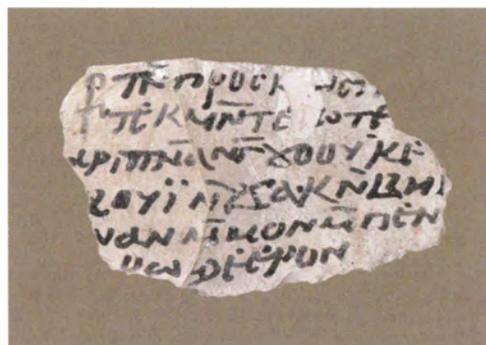
Limestone, pigment

Ht. 4.5 cm, W. 7.3 cm, Th. 1.1 cm

From TT 65 – Forecourt

Reg. No. 435b, Inv. No. 07/ID/07

This limestone ostracon contains six lines on its *recto* and six on its *verso*. It is a letter fragment that relates to the everyday dealings of the monks. The goat's hair mentioned in the text was probably used for weaving, one of the main activities pursued in the monastery; sacks of this material are mentioned in the texts from Western Thebes.¹ The letter's text, missing the name of both the sender and the recipient, runs as follows:



RECTO

[1] *We greet with respect* [2] *your fathership.* [3] *Be so good and send another*
[4] *little bit of goat's hair* [5] *to us, verily, ours was not* [6] *enough for us.*

VERSO

[1] *send [... [2] ...] to us, he usually ...* [3] *be so good and pray*
[4] *for us. + his sons (?)* [5] *... [6] ...*

Bibliography: Unpublished.

[A.H.]

¹ Cf. WINLOCK – CRUM 1926, 157.

74. Papyrus with a letter to Cyriacus from Sarapion

Late Antique, AD 6th-8th centuries

Papyrus, pigment

Ht. 5.5 cm, W. 7.6 cm

Ht. 5.2 cm, W. 9.3 cm

Provenance: TT 65 – Shaft '1'

Reg. No. 436a, Inv. No. 03/ID/31-32

The papyrus fragment partially preserves a letter sent by a certain Sarapion to Cyriacus and consists of two large and one very small piece with seven lines of Coptic writing on the *recto* and two on the *verso*. The right-hand side of the fragment is broken, the left-hand side is in good condition; the beginning of lines can clearly be seen. Some letters are faded/ erased. The upper fibres on the *verso* are mostly missing so only part of the inscription is visible:

RECTO

[1] First, we write to your holy lord fatherhood to know his opinion [2] regarding the matter of the exchange: it is neither purchasing, nor selling; [3] when a man, then, needs his thing, he [4] goes and proceeds in (getting) his thing, however, they are by no means in need. [5] Grant, now, our (lit. the) request¹ and send the [...] through this [6] letter-carrier, because [there is] need. Think of us in the ... [7] which is holy +

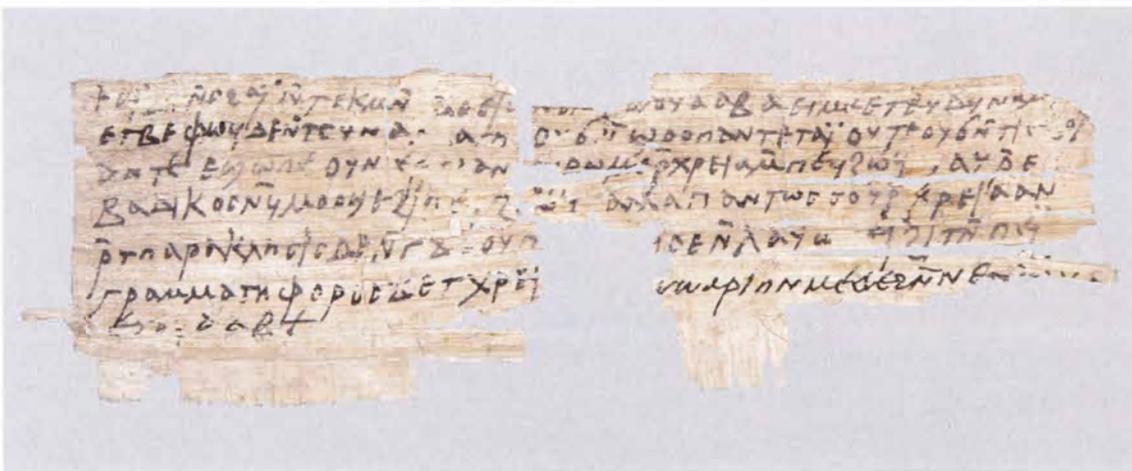
VERSO

[1] Give it to the holy lord fatherhood ... Apa Cyriacus [2] from Sarapion

Bibliography: Unpublished.

[A.H.]

¹ CRUM 1926, 163, 7.



75. Coptic papyrus with Gospel fragment

Late Antique, AD 6th – 8th centuries

Papyrus, pigment

Ht. 4 cm, W. 4.9 cm

From TT 65 - Secondary Burial 'C'

Reg. No. 436b, Inv. No. 03/ID/06-7

This small piece of papyrus with Coptic text on both sides was re-assembled from two fragments. On both the *recto* and the *verso* three lines and part of a fourth can be seen. The writing style is very sophisticated with finely fashioned even letters indicating that it must have been part of a codex originally. It contains an identifiable passage from the *Gospel of John* (*Jn 21, 18 and 21, 21-22*):¹



RECTO

...and went wherever you (1) *wanted, but when* (2) *you are old, you will stretch out* (3) *your hands, and others will* (4) *tie you up [and bring you where you do not want to go.*

VERSO

So when Peter (1) *saw him, he asked* (2) *Jesus, "Lord, (3) what about him?" Jesus replied [...*

In the case of this Gospel piece it is interesting to contemplate that perhaps the book it used to belong to is the subject of a letter found at the Monastery of Epiphanius,² in which the recipient (dwelling in the Epiphanius Monastery) is asked to go to Father Phoibammon and fetch the *Gospel of John*. Sender and recipient are not mentioned in the letter, but it might have arrived from the Monastery of Cyriacus; later, the Gospel book seems to have remained there.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

[A.H.]

¹ *The Net Bible*, New English Translation, Biblical Studies Press, 1996 (www.bible.org).

² CRUM 1926, text 395.

76. Amphora with homily text

Late Antique, AD 6th – 8th centuries

Nile Silt fabric

Ht. 45.5 cm, Shoulder D. 20.5 cm, Base D. 3.5 cm

From TT 65 – Shaft '1'

Reg. No. 434c, Inv. No. 99/IC/13

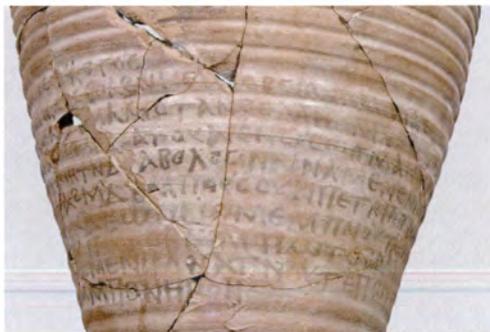
An almost complete Late Roman Amphora 7 (type B) was restored from several fragments. On the vessel's body a Coptic text of ten lines in black ink can be read. The letters are relatively large. The beginning and end of the text can clearly be seen; after the last word of the last line a horizontal stroke indicates the end of the inscription. The text does not go around the whole amphora and the last few letters and probably words are unfortunately not visible in most of the lines because of the incompleteness of the vessel. A layer of whitish paint covers the inscribed part of the amphora, probably to make the text – written in black – more conspicuous:

(1) *A homily by Shenute (Sinuthios). (2) Then it is those who persist in their sins and their pollutions¹ (3) who want them (i.e., sins and pollutions), especially the hellens (i.e., pagans) and the heretics. (4) ... they do not listen to the writings ... (5) the evil bitter-hearted; these are truly the unashamed (6) who are dirty because they did not know the one who does what is good. (7) But you, man of God, run away (8) from these, ... run away from a [trap], (9) of every godless man, run away (10) from the evils!*

The present text is most probably the continuation of a known fragment of a work of Shenoute,² and is an excerpt from the work entitled *Righteous Art Thou, O Lord*.³ This excerpt on the amphora, used independently, might have been a well-known popular piece used on occasion in its own right.

A homily by Shenoute written on a limestone ostracoon was also found in the Monastery of Epiphanius.⁴ This shows that although the text material from TT 65 is – at the moment – not as large as at the Epiphanius Monastery, the literary interest or “compulsory reading” and educational material were similar in anchorite establishments.

Summing up, the Greek-Coptic glossary and the two literary texts – the Coptic fragment of John, and the Shenoute homily – together with the literary texts found by H. E. Winlock and W. E. Crum on the site and in the Epiphanius Monastery build up a literary context for the monastic and anchorite establishments of Western Thebes, or at least provide some significant parts of the mosaic.



Bibliography: HASZNOS 2006–2007.

[A.H.]

1 The *Shenoutiana* British Library Oriental 3581 A [57] published by SHISHA-HALEVY 1975, has the same ending in lines 55–58.

2 SHISHA-HALEVY 1975. Our text corresponds to the unfinished sentence on page 93, personal communication with Stephen Emmel, 2008.

3 Cf. EMMEL 2004.

4 Text 56; also the rather short texts 57 and 58 seem to come from Shenoute-works; texts 65 and 66 may be his.



Figured Ostraca: Trial sketches and preparatory drawings

T. A. BÁCS

Limestone and potsherd ostraca are frequently retrieved from the excavations of tomb-complexes in the Theban necropolis. For the scribes and artists/draughtsmen responsible for their decoration, these smooth white limestone flakes or pieces of broken pottery vessels provided an easily accessible writing or drawing surface that could be just as easily discarded after use. Those containing various kinds of sketches or finished drawings in black or black and red are called "figured ostraca" and have proven to be an invaluable source for the study of ancient Egyptian artistic production.

Many of the figured ostraca were the products of the learning process that draughtsmen had to go through during their training. Such include models drawn up by teachers and copies of them made by the trainees, often with corrections done by the former.¹ Understandably, the workmen's village of Deir el-Medina has yielded the overwhelming majority of student works from Western Thebes, where the artists and craftsmen responsible for the decoration of the royal tombs lived and trained their potential successors, usually their sons.² Often used by the draughtsmen themselves as sketchpads for drawings freer in style, figured ostraca of such type embrace a wide array of themes and styles as a result [see Cat. No. 80].³ The purpose of finished examples, on the other hand, with formalised compositions that could on occasion be fully coloured is more difficult to recognise, as exemplified by the famous group of the so-called satirical ostraca.⁴ The motivation behind the creation of another group of finished figured ostraca, often supplied with dedicatory texts, lies in their use as *ex votos* that were deposited by draughtsmen in such sacred places as the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings.⁵ Three types of figured ostraca are intimately associated with the work of the draughtsmen in the tombs, given that they reflect most revealingly the work process involved in creating the painted decoration of these monuments. These are preliminary drawings, trial sketches, and copies made of existing works of art or details of such.⁶ Serving as visual aids for the draughtsmen that could be conveniently held in hand and consulted when working on the large surfaces of walls, such preliminary sketches and preparatory drawings [Cat. No. 81-83] assisted in composing the layout of wall and ceiling decorations as well as facilitating the proper proportioning and transfer of motifs or whole scenes to the required scales. Then again, copies of existing works of art, not only provided iconographic and stylistic consistency or thematic congruence in any given period, but as models also operated as primary vehicles of transmission.

¹ E.g. PETERSON 1973, 104 and pl. 73.

² VANDIER D'ABBADIE 1936; VANDIER D'ABBADIE 1937;
VANDIER D'ABBADIE 1946; VANDIER D'ABBADIE 1959; GASSE 1986.

³ See e.g. BRUNNER-TRAUT 1956; BRUNNER-TRAUT 1979; HAYES 1942.

⁴ BRUNNER-TRAUT, E. 1968.

⁵ KELLER 1995.

⁶ PECK - ROSS 1978, 31.



77. Figured ostracon of a lion's head

New Kingdom (1550–1069 BC)

Limestone, pigment

Ht. ca. 10 cm, W. ca. 16 cm

From the innermost forecourt of TT 32, Trench BC

Reg. No. 352, Inv. No. 88/19

Collection of the National Museum of Egyptian Civilization, Cairo-Fustat



This sketch ostracon, displaying a lion's head in profile, was discovered in the fill covering the innermost forecourt of TT 32. The head, drawn in a fast style, is characterized by an angular chin and nose, a rounded ear, and oblique striations indicating the beast's mane. Due to the manifold role of the lion motif in Egyptian symbolism, its frequent representation in temple and tomb scenes, and the presence in the hieroglyphic writing system of signs taking the shape of a lion or a part of it, artists' sketch ostraca depicting

the animal or its head are abundant in the Theban necropolis.¹ Since the drawing on the ostracon from TT 32 is larger and more detailed than those produced as models for hieroglyphic signs,² one may presume that it was a sketch for a detail in a tomb scene. A possible candidate may be the head leg of a funerary bier, which was usually drawn with a capital fashioned in the form of a lion's head.

Bibliography: KÁKOSY 1989a, 58, fig. 71 (photo); LECLANT - CLERC 1989, pl. XLV, fig. 46 (photo); KÁKOSY 1991, 12-13, fig. 6 (description and photo). [G.S.]

¹ PETERSON 1973, 18, 21-24, 55, 59, 64, 100 (No. 120), 102 (No. 131), pls. 62, 68.

² Cf. e.g. PETERSON 1973, 107 (Nos. 145-146), pls. 77-78.

78. Ostrakon sketch of bull and hieroglyphs

Eighteenth Dynasty (1550-1295 BC)

Limestone, pigment

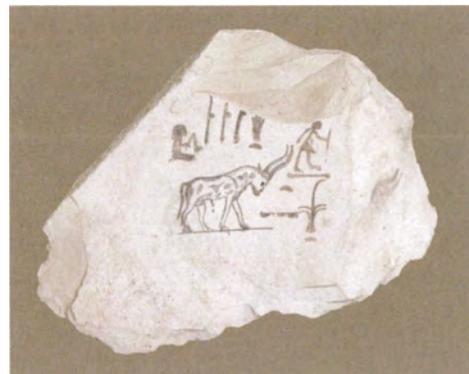
Ht. 20.1 cm, W. 25.5 cm, Th. 3.5 cm

From TT 65 – Secondary Burial 'E'

Reg. No. 433a, Inv. No. 97/ID/01

The drawing of animals inspired some of the most attractive works of Egyptian draughtsmen to have survived on figured ostraca. Among these one of the more frequently depicted animals were bulls as also evinced by the principal figure of this sketch drawn in black ink on a flat limestone flake. In an appealing style and revealing a practiced hand, the draughtsman of this image depicted a striding bull with long horns that arches its neck. Contrary to the most depictions of bulls where the horns are shown in frontal view, the artist opted here to render them in profile. Probably to achieve the desired curvature of the horns, he even drew two such horns as preparation on the proper left side of the ostrakon. As bulls could appear in various formal contexts as well as genre studies, it is difficult to establish the purpose behind the creation of this image. The distinctive pose of the animal, however, may perhaps suggest that it was intended for a scene attested in Eighteenth Dynasty tomb-chapels and also featured on ostraca that shows two bulls fighting.¹

This ostrakon with its upper part now broken off appears otherwise to have served as a true sketchpad, since besides the central figure of the bull that is differentiated from others by standing on a black line signifying the ground, various unrelated hieroglyphic signs or ideograms are featured: a bilateral sign of several meanings "eldest, great, great one" (*wr*), a preposition (*n*), the word for king (*nsw* with a *t* twice), the word for sister/wife (*sn.t*), the plural for "years" (*rnp.wt*), and a determinative of a squatting figure holding a flagellum for personal names.



Bibliography: Unpublished.

[T.A.B.]

¹ GALÁN 1994; ROHRIG 2002, 44 fig. 58.

79. Ostracon sketch of garden scene

Mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, reign of Tuthmosis IV (1400 – 1390 BC)

Limestone, pigment

Ht. 13.3 cm, W, 16.9 cm, Th. 3.5 cm

From TT 65 – Secondary Burial 'E'

Reg. No. 433b, Inv. No. 97/ID/02



When preparing layout sketches for larger segments of a wall decoration in tomb-chapels, draughtsmen often used rough drafts. As the main aim of these drafts was merely to indicate the relative position of various elements to be included in a scene or scenes, they were drawn in a sum-

mary fashion, often using proportions different from that of the finished image for objects or figures. In such ostraca human figures were drawn as stick figures for the same reason.¹

This limestone figured ostracon, while found deposited in one of the secondary burial places in the transverse hall of TT 65 bears no direct relation to it. In reality, the sketch on its *recto* is a partial draft of a large-scale scene found in another tomb-chapel (TT 63) lying to the north and belonging to the treasurer Sobekhotep, who lived during the reign of Tuthmosis IV. A relatively rare image in Eighteenth Dynasty tomb-chapels otherwise, it depicts two seated figures, one before an offering-table, facing a pool surrounded by alternating sycamore and *dom*-palm trees. A smaller figure is shown drinking from the pool, while at the bottom and separated by a black line is a further row of trees. The sketch, if not in every detail, most conspicuous being the absence of two tree goddesses nourishing the deceased, clearly corresponds to the garden of the west scene shown on the northern wall of the axial corridor of Sobekhotep's tomb-chapel² and must have been drawn during work on this tomb-chapel's decoration. Since TT 63 has lost substantial parts of its wall paintings, it remains uncertain if the sketch of an orchard or arbour on the ostracon's *verso* also relates to one of its scenes or to another project the draughtsman was concurrently working on.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

[T.A.B.]

¹ See e.g. MENÉNDEZ 2008.

² DZIOBEK – ABDEL RAZIQ 1990, Scene 19, 65-67, pls. 13, 27, 40a-b.

80. Ostrakon sketch of workshop scene

Eighteenth Dynasty (1550-1295 BC)

Limestone, pigment

Ht. 16.7 cm, W. 25.8 cm, Th. 3.8 cm

From TT 65 - Forecourt

Reg. No. 433c, Inv. No. 06/ID/32

Tomb scenes showing the transport and/or production and presentation of products were a part of the self-representational scene cycles of the Eighteenth Dynasty elite. In such scenes the standing or seated figure of the tomb owner is usually shown inspecting various craftsmen at their work and the display of the products manufactured under his supervision. This limestone sketch ostrakon that has been restored from four fragments depicts a part of a scene belonging to this genre.

Drawn in red, the colour that was also used for the preliminary drafting of wall paintings, the *recto* of the ostrakon presents a section of two registers separated by a base line. As part of a larger composition showing a palace or temple workshop scene, the upper one features two metalworkers or jewellers seated on stools with tables before them that each hold a vessel and what appear to be hammer or polishing stones. The exact work process they are engaged in, however, is obscured by the fading of the paint and the damage suffered by the ostrakon's surface at the relevant points. The lower register, drawn on a slightly larger scale than the upper one, portrays two facing figures by a table working with bow drills on objects that may have been precious stones being made into beads. Although separately each worker figure or detail of the ostrakon scene has parallels familiar from various tomb-chapels of the Eighteenth Dynasty, their arrangement in this form lacks a related finished wall scene. As it was found discarded in the spoil heap of TT 65, it could be the draft of a comparable scene once present, but now lost in any of the period's tomb-chapels located in its wider vicinity. On the *verso*, from the bottom half of which a larger flake is missing, only a kneeling figure's foot and thigh are preserved.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

[T.A.B.]



81. Ostrakon sketch of two workshop scenes

Eighteenth Dynasty (1550-1295 BC)

Limestone, pigment

Ht. 18.1 cm, W. 20.4 cm, Th. 5.5 cm

From TT 65 – Shaft '3'

Reg. No. 433d, Inv. No. 07/ID/09

Like the previous one, this limestone sketch ostrakon also shows craftsmen at work with one scene drawn in red on both its *recto* and *verso*. The ostrakon's *recto* is missing a part of its left corner with also a larger flake lost from the same area of the *verso*.

The *recto* shows a sub-scene from a larger series that once presented the production of weapons, a motif also featured frequently in workshop scenes. On a base line two facing figures are seated on stools with the one on the left probably occupied with making an arrow, while the one on the right a bow. As a common arrangement found in these types of scenes, finished products were placed around and between the figures to display the wide variety of objects produced by the workmen, in this case a quiver made from leather. The informal and free manner in which the figures were sketched and the skill of the draughtsman is best exemplified perhaps by how the facial features of the figure on the left were treated. The eye and eyebrow, for example,

drawn with one bold stroke would have never appeared as such in his formal work. In the scene on the *verso* drawn probably by the same draughtsman but executed more sketchily than that of the *recto* two stick figures standing on a base line are shown in the process of annealing a metal object. The two standing metalworkers are fanning the fire by using blowpipes with tuyères on their ends with the one on the left also holding the piece (not shown) to be annealed in the charcoal fireplace with tongs. The scene is reminiscent of one in the transverse hall of TT 66 belonging to a vizier of Tuthmosis IV, Hapu, but there the figure on the right is half kneeling instead of standing.¹ Nevertheless, as also the find spot of the ostrakon is quite near to TT 66, it cannot be ruled out that the sketches were made by a draughtsman preparing for the decoration of this particular tomb-chapel.



Bibliography: Unpublished.

[T.A.B.]

¹ DAVIES 1963, pl. 8.

82. Draughtsman's paint-brush

New Kingdom (1550–1069 BC)

Rush and string

L. 19.9 cm, D. 1.2 cm

From TT 65 – Shaft '3'

Reg. No. 433e, Inv. No. 05/ID/14

Depending on the assorted stages of painting, brushes of varying thicknesses were used by artists and painters whether working on wall paintings of tomb-chapels or decorating pieces of grave-furniture. As a number of cases from the Theban necropolis demonstrate, on occasion artists would purposefully cache their tools of trade comprising utensils and brushes in or near the tombs where they were used.¹ Recovered from the “modern” debris used partly to re-fill Shaft '3', the paint-brush shown here may represent the sole survivor of such a depot or equally one that was simply misplaced and left behind by a painter.

The brush itself was made of lengths of thin rush (*Juncus maritimus*) of the same type of which individual sections were used by scribes for writing and artists for fine line work. The brush was manufactured by folding the lengths of rush, originally probably 40–50 cm long, in two, and then tied with a string around 1 mm in diameter. The brush end shows extensive use and is quite worn.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

[T.A.B.]

¹ See, e.g. POLZ 1997.





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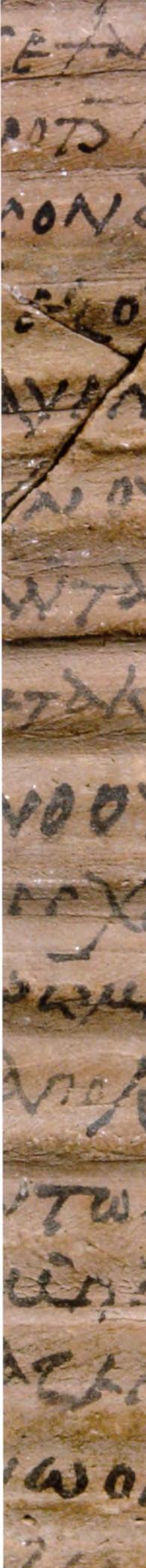
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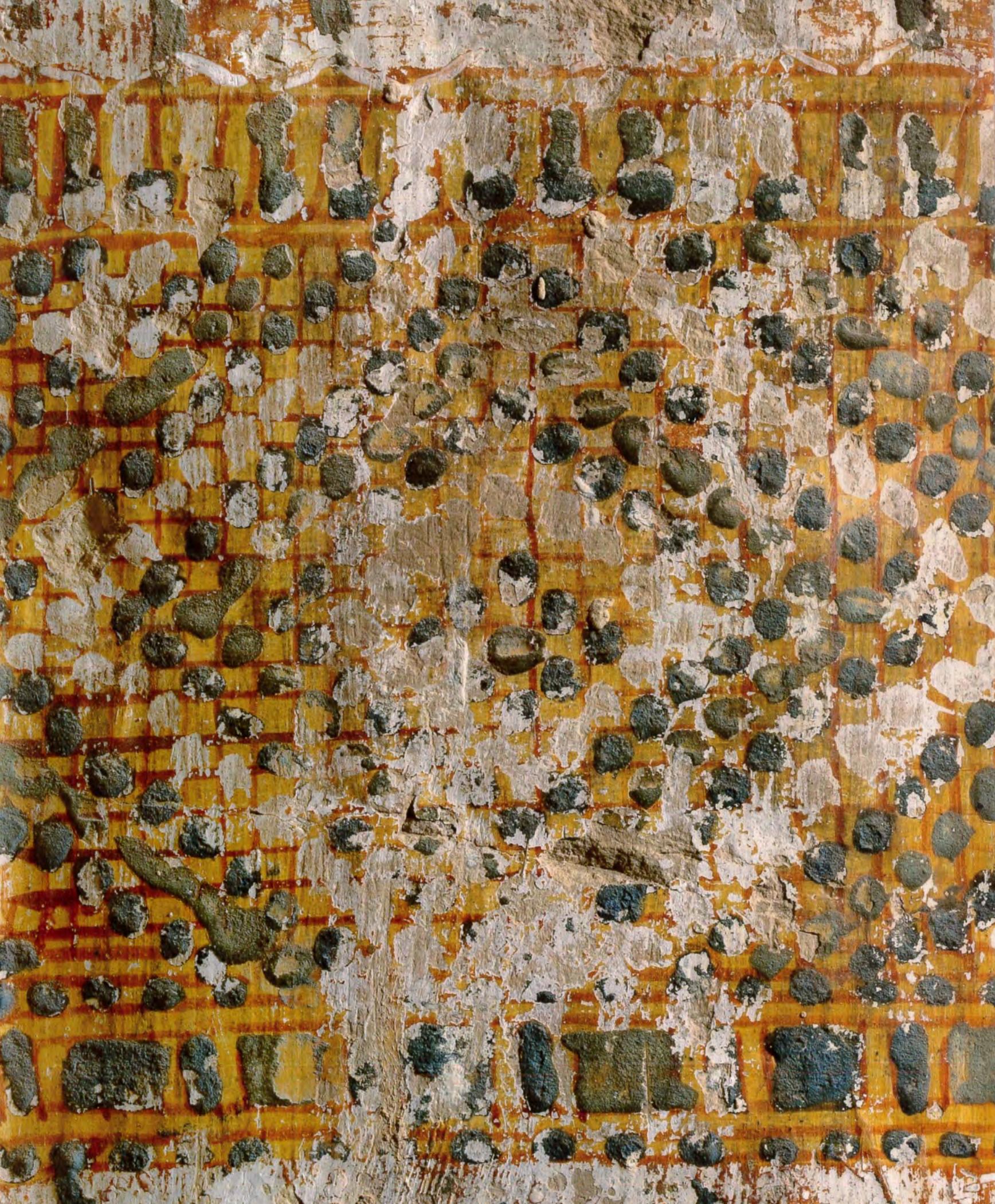
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