

"Court of Priests" in the North Asasif Necropolis

Case Study of the Development of Theban Late Ramesside Tombs
based on recent excavations

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Abstract

The present study introduces a previously unknown group of Late Ramesside tombs recently discovered by the author in North Asasif. Their thorough examination, description and analysis is at the core of this research.

The second main objective of the study is to spotlight North Asasif as one of the major Late Ramesside areas of the Theban necropolis and one of the most desirable burial locations for the Late Ramesside priesthood. This study highlights the theological uniqueness of Late Ramesside North Asasif as a place of unity of solar-Osirian and Hathoric cults and suggests that the thematic and iconographic uniqueness of the decoration of the tombs of the North Asasif makes it possible to see them as a unit that should be studied as a distinct group.

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I. Introduction

I.1 Territorial Scope

This thesis introduces four previously unknown Late Ramesside tombs that were discovered by the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities archaeological mission directed by Fathi Yaseen in 2008-2010. The excavations were conducted in the centre of North Asasif, an archaeological site located in the heart of the Theban necropolis (Fig. 1), on the west bank of the Nile, opposite modern city of Luxor. They are focused on the tombs associated to Court A also called in this dissertation as a "Court of the Priests" (Fig. 2). The tombs assigned to the Court A can be listed as follows: tomb No. 1, tomb No. 2, tomb No. 3, tomb No. 4 (TT 25), tomb No. 5, and tomb No. 6 (TT 28). It should be noted, however, that before excavations began in the early 20th century, tombs TT 25 and TT 28, together with nearby tombs TT 408 and TT 409, were thought to be part of a larger structure¹. However, recent research has shown that tombs TT 408 and TT 409 belong to a completely different complex of tombs now called Court B. This work revealed a brick wall built on solid rock, dividing two separate courtyards carved into the limestone bedrock, which are now referred to as Court A (on the east side) and Court B (on the west side) (Pl. 1).

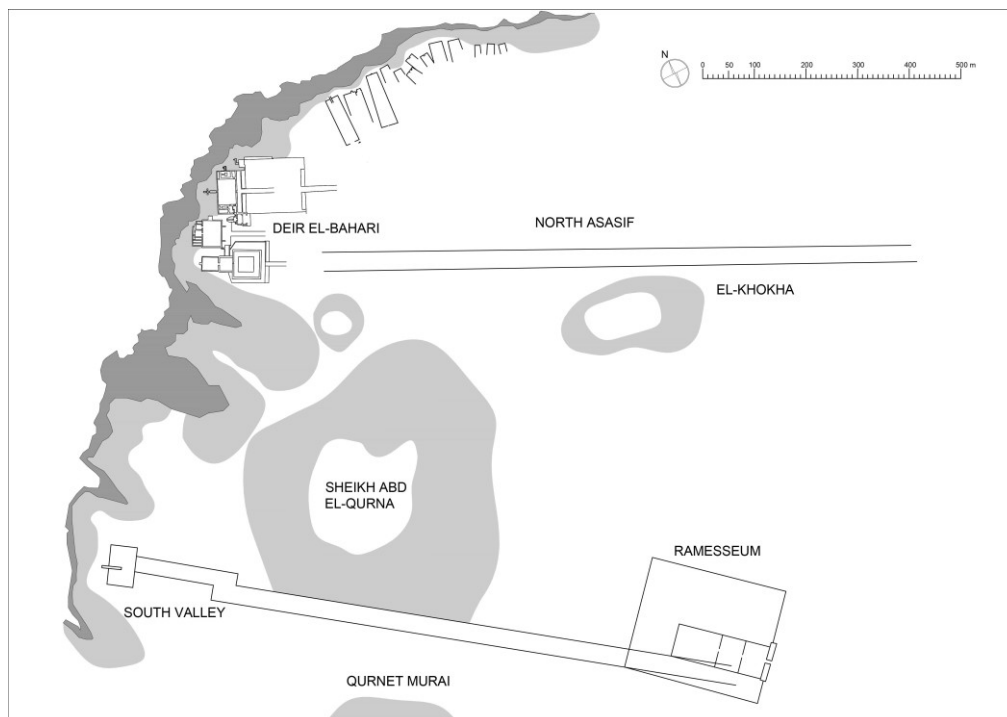


Fig. 1. Plan part of the Theban Necropolis (from Qurnet Murai to Deir el-Bahari).

¹ Abdul-Qader 1966; Eigner 1984; Kampp 1996.

As an introduction to the comprehensive study of the Court A tombs, a brief summary of each of them, as well as the tombs Court B has been presented. The adjacent Court B was adapted by Bakenamun (TT 408), Samut called Kyky (TT 409), Amenemheb (TT 25), and Hori (TT 28). The aim of this dissertation is, however, the study of the architecture and development only of the tombs located in the so-called “Court of the Priests”, because of their uniform temporal character, corresponding to the Late Ramesside period.

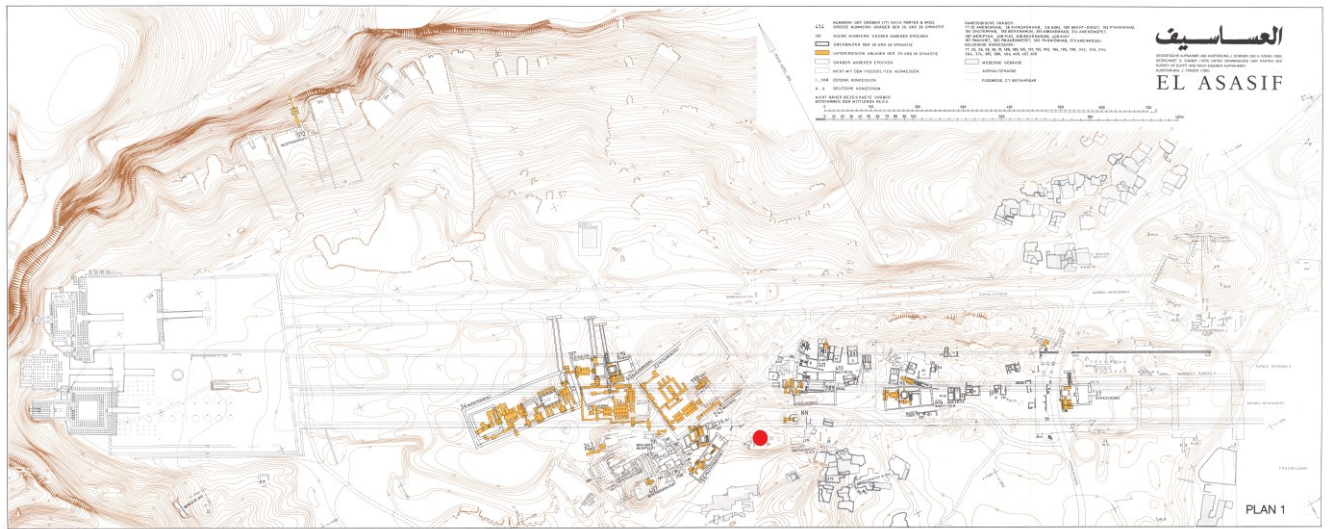


Fig. 2. Plan of the North Asasif necropolis with location of the “Court of the Priests” marked by red spot.

Tombs of Court A

Tomb Number	Tomb No. 1	Tomb No. 2
Name and Titles	Akhmenu The God's Father of Amun	Nefwerkhetef Scribe and prest of the temple of Mut
Location	Western side of the south wall of the court	Eastern side of the south wall of the court
Date	Ramesses III (cartouche) (this is the earliest tomb in the court)	Ramesses III – V
Architectural Features	It consists of three rooms arranged along a single axis, sloping passage to the burial chamber	It's like the tomb No. 1
Decoration	Lintel of the entrance doorframe. Tomb owner in adoration of Osiris. Possibly a double scene. The left side is completely destroyed. Offering inscriptions on the	Entrance doorframe. Two figures of seated tomb owner with a <i>sh</i> m-sceptre., painted

	jamb of the doorframe. Tomb owner seated at the offering table on the right jamb. Entrance thickness, solar hymn, tomb owner in adoration of the sun god. The rest of the decoration is lost.	
Bibliography	Yaseen 2014, 114-115	Yaseen 2014, 115-116

Tomb Number	Tomb No. 3	Tomb No. 4 (TT 25)
Name and Titles	Khatu Overseer of God's Servants of All the Gods, First Prophet of Montu, Lord of Armant	Amenemheb First Prophet of Khonsu
Location	South side of the eastern wall of the court	Northern side of the east wall of the court
Date	Ramesside (Ramesses V/VI-IX)	Ramesses V/VI - IX
Architectural Features	Similar to the tomb No. 1	Kampp, Type VIb; transverse hall, four-pillar hall, Sloping passage to the burial chamber
Decoration	<p>First room, south wall</p> <p>Two female figures shaking sistrums and holding menats with aegis. One of them is his wife, Mistress of the House, Chantress of Amun-Re, King of the Gods, Directress of the Harem of Montu, Lord of Armant, Hener. The second one is identified as her daughter, Mistress of the House, Chantress of Montu, Lord of Armant, Great One of the Harem of Khonsu-in-Thebes-Neferhotep, Isis</p> <p>Scene of Khatu kneeling in adoration</p> <p>Khatu and his wife standing in adoration of Four Sons of Horus</p> <p>Anubis leading Khatu to the Hall of Judgment</p> <p>Tomb owner and his wife in adoration of Osiris</p> <p>Khatu in adoration of Anubis</p>	<p>Façade: Traces of re-carving of possibly an Eighteenth Dynasty doorframe.</p> <p>Double-scene of the tomb owner and his wife Chief of the Harem of Khonsu, Tausert in adoration of Re-Harakhty and Maat, and Osiris and Isis on the lintel.</p> <p>Offering texts and scenes on the doorjamb.</p> <p>Thicknesses of the entrance: tomb owner and his wife in adoration in front of the hymns to Amun-Re and Osiris.</p> <p>Transverse hall:</p> <p>(2) Two registers. I, Tomb owner led by Thoth and Horus to Anubis and Western goddess, and two pools with divinities. II, Priest before Osiris.</p> <p>(3) Two registers. I, Tomb owner and wife before Re-Harakhty. II, Mummies at pyramid tomb with Hathor-cow in mountain</p> <p>(4) Two registers. I, Book of Gates, tomb owner kneeling before divinities, tomb owner and wife led, weighing-scene, and</p>

		<p>Thoth reporting to Osiris and Isis. II, Three scenes, each with tomb owner and wife, 1, kneeling before (divinity?), 2, before house and garden with pool, 3, seated</p> <p>(5) Two registers, offering-scenes.</p> <p>(6) People before Osiris and two goddesses</p> <p>(7) Entrance to Inner room (blocked). Outer lintel, double-scene, (tomb owner before divinities), jambs, text</p>
Bibliography	Yaseen 2014, 112-114	PM 42, plan p. 30, Map IV, D-5, c, 6, Kampp 1996, 210-211, fig. 112; Yaseen 2014, 111-112

Tomb Number	Tomb No. 5	Tomb No. 6 (TT 28)
Name and Titles	None	Hori Officer of the Estate of Amun
Location	Eastern side of the north wall of the court	Near the center of the north wall of the court
Date	Ramesses III - V	Ramesside. Re-dated by this research Ramesses XI
Architectural Features	T-shaped tomb	Kampp, Type VII? Façade is probably re-carved from an Eighteenth Dynasty door frame. Pillared hall has two unusually placed pillars in front of a statue niche.
Decoration	Undecorated inside. Inscription painted in black on the entrance doorframe is almost completely destroyed	Hall. (1) Outer lintel, double-scene, tomb owner before a king. (2) Crown of [a god], with hieratic text of year 3 below, giving title. (3) Anubis-jackal. (4)-(5) Architraves with remains of offering-text. Ceiling. Outer part, winged scarab on dressed <i>djed</i> -pillar adored by baboons with Isis and Nephthys, and tomb owner kneeling at sides. Inner part, hawk on Western emblem adored by six gods with Isis and Nephthys, and tomb owner kneeling at sides
Bibliography	Yaseen 2014, 116	PM 45, Plan, p. 44· Map IV, D-5, c, 6.; Kampp 1996, 214; Yaseen 2014, 111- 112

I.2 History of Research

Earlier fieldwork performed in this area was published by Mohamed Abdul-Qader in 1966.² Dr. Abdul-Qader explored what is now designated as Court B and cleared the tombs of Samut, called Kyky, (TT 408) and Bakenamun (TT 409). He suggested that the Late Ramesside tombs were carved into a "great common court" hewn in the Eighteenth Dynasty for an unknown owner. The tomb was left unfinished and the court was reused by the Late Ramesside Period.³ He saw the present Courts A and B as one large court housing tombs TT 408, TT 409, TT 25 and TT 28, similar to the tomb of Kheruef. In his report, he suggested the possibility of more tombs obscured by the large pile of debris in the south part of the court.⁴ These predictions and suggestions were tested more than fifty years later and 4 previously unknown Late Ramesside tombs were added to this tomb complex. The previously known tombs of the court were explored and published to different degrees of completion.⁵ One of the main goals of this study is to publish the group of previously unknown tombs in Court A discovered by the author and put them into the context of the Late Ramesside tombs of the North Asasif necropolis.

I.3 Aims and Methodology of the Research

My study is based on the results of recent archaeological research and aims:

1. to introduce four previously unknown Late Ramesside tombs located in Court A ("Court of the Priests") in North Asasif,
2. to analyze the architectural development of the "Court of the Priests" and establish the phases of its development,
3. to explore the decorative program of the Court A tombs,
4. to place the newly discovered tombs in the context of the tombs in Court A,
5. to make an attempt to establish a social and family connection between the owners of the tombs,
6. to place the tombs of Court A into a larger context of the Late Ramesside tombs of North Asasif in order to examine the reasons for the owners of the Late Ramesside tombs in Court A placing their tombs in this particular location,
7. to study the significance of the North Asasif necropolis during the Late Ramesside period.

For the purposes of the present research, every newly found tomb was thoroughly explored and documented. The tombs were surveyed and added to the plan of the court. A new

² Abdul-Qader 1966: 164-184.

³ Abdul-Qader 1966: 164.

⁴ Abdul-Qader 1966: 165.

⁵ Abdul-Qader 1966; Vernus 1978: 115-146; Kampp 1996: 210-211, fig. 112; Negm 1997; Yaseen 2014: 111-112.

plan of Court A was completed during this phase of work. The inscriptions were photographed, copied, transcribed and translated. Scenes were also photographed.

For comparative purposes, a database of the Late Ramesside tombs of North Asasif was created. The database includes published information, as well as personal observations. To this end, the author visited every Late Ramesside monument in North Asasif, including the ruined Late Ramesside temple at the entrance to the valley.

For the purposes of comparison, the Late Ramesside tombs of North Asasif were analyzed according to their location, and architectural arrangement.

I.4 Overview of the Structure of the Research

The introduction to the study covers the territory of the research, giving the first introduction to the newly found tombs of Court A in an informative database. It also explains the aims and methodology of the research. The introduction is marked as Chapter I.

Chapter II gives a thorough description of every tomb found in Court A, including its architecture and decoration.

Chapter III is based on the information on the individual tombs provided in Chapter II. It puts this group of tombs into perspective by examining the architectural and stylistic development of the tombs of the "Court of the Priests".

Chapter IV puts the tombs of the "Court of the Priests" into the wider context of the Late Ramesside tombs of North Asasif focusing on the other four courts of the necropolis housing only Late Ramesside tombs. The database of the North Asasif tombs composed for this research allows the author to highlight the traditional and unique features of the tombs of the "Court of the Priests".

Chapter V is a discussion of the sacred landscape of North Asasif, which accentuates the special place of North Asasif in Late Ramesside Thebes. The present study highlights the prominence of North Asasif in the Late Ramesside Period more than any previous study. The specific ritual setting of the area emphasizes the solar-Hathor unity more than the solar- Osirian unity characteristic for the Theban necropolis in general.

Chapter VI is a conclusion to the present study, contribution of the "Court of the Priests" to the understanding of the role of North Asasif in the Late Ramesside Period.

This study suggests that the tombs of the "Court of the Priests" can be used as a model for analysis of Theban "court tombs" of the Late Ramesside Period.

II. Late Ramesside Tombs of the "Court of the Priests"

II.1. Tomb of Akh-menu (Tomb No. 1)

II.1.1. Architecture

Location

In the south of the forecourt A (Pl. 2) (see court A).

Façade

The façade is in the South wall of the forecourt, opposite the stairs (see Pl. 2), as in tomb TT 23⁶ (Pl. 3). It was originally 7 m wide and is 3.70 m high in the west and above the entrance, while in the east the height reaches 4.00 m. It broke off evenly, not smoothed out. The demolition followed an almost vertical crack in the rock like a slate.

The façade is probably planned vertically and shows an inclination of between 1° outwards and 1° inwards. At a height of 2.95 m above the courtyard level on the façade there is a horizontal planning, approx. 20 cm deep and up to 30 cm high, in order to insert ceiling tiles. The elaboration runs from the west corner (labelled as c1) to the door frame and ends there. It continues directly at the broken eastern door frame (c2) and runs to the broken door frame of tomb No. 2.

Entrance

The door frame, like the whole entrance, sits on a 35 cm high plinth, that tapered ramps (or similar) results in a courtyard (Pl. 4, Fig. 3), directly opposite the stairs. The door frame is 3.30 m high and 2.12 m wide from the base. The west door post is 48cm, the east is 46 cm wide and the door width is 1.18 m. The inclination of the posts is between 2.5° and 3.5° outwards. The posts thus protrude from the wall: the eastern one at the bottom 13 cm, the top 7 cm, the western one at the bottom 18 cm and the top 4 cm. On both posts there is a 40cm high field of view from 60 cm above the ground. Above that end three vertical text bands run that are together 32 cm wide. They lead down from the 1.60 m above and 70 cm high architrave (Pl. 4). This is badly damaged in the lower area and in the eastern half. The upper 50 cm of the eastern door post is also damaged.

⁶ PM I: 38-41; Ivanov 2012: 157-164.

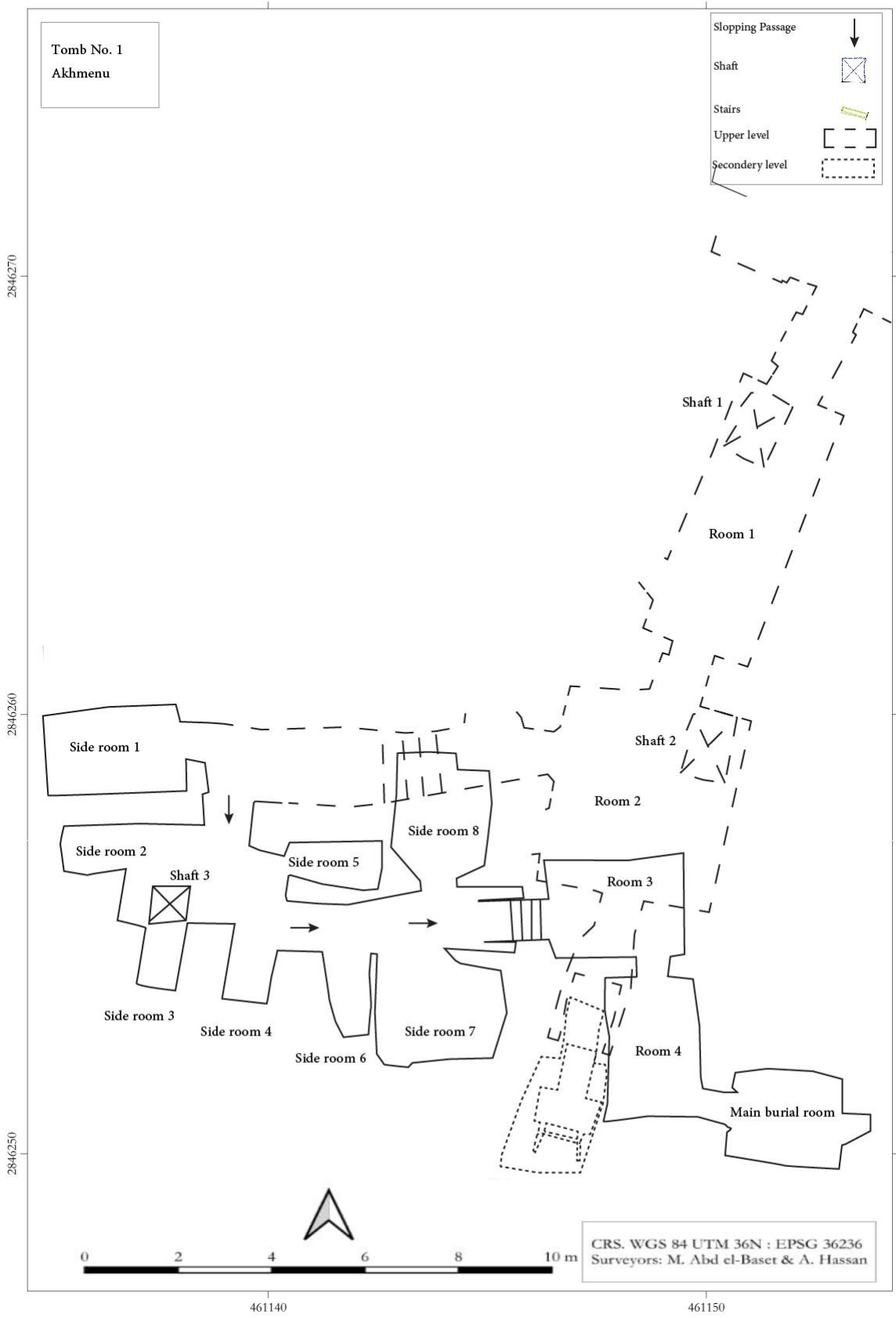


Fig. 3. Plan of Tomb No. 1.

Restoration

The eastern doorjamb was restored in the lower part in ancient times - as was the entire door area - (see Pl. 4). The entire lower area of the door, the ramp in front of it, the floor and the eastern part of the passage were damaged. In order to inspect and repair the damage in the lowest area as well, a rectangle was cleared or chiselled off, about 20 cm deep following rock jumps, from the courtyard to the entrance (see Pl. 4). This shallow indentation was apparently enough to repair the damage. Defective areas were straightened or chiselled away - as well as texts or representations - to use precisely hewn limestone or matching sandstone spolia (Pl. 5).

Something similar happened at the entrance to TT 23, where the stones used complemented the decoration (Pl. 6).

The eastern post was repaired from below to a height of 1.70 m. At the top, the limestone was cut almost at right angles for fitting stones. A rough stone was set in rubble below. There are three layers of limestone on top (Pl. 7). On the other hand, two sandstone-slabs were placed on top of this and fitted into the prepared limestone (Pl. 8). The flat ramp has also been repaired. A long rectangular sandstone block was fitted into the door as a threshold (Pl. 9). The vertical door side walls are both 63 cm deep (Pl. 10). The door frame is 2.25 m high inside.

Passage

The passage side walls are both set back from the door posts. The east by 12 cm, the west by 16 cm. The eastern side wall is 1.83 m wide, the western only 1.30 m, as another door post is built into the inside. The passage height from the new threshold is 2.35 m. A 45 cm deep and 9 cm high lintel sits on it.

The eastern through-going cheek was also repaired in the lower area. The repair has either partially disappeared or has not been completed (Pl. 11). In any case, the space for the parts to be used has been prepared. In the lower part, a limestone with a raised text :

ḥk pr m hrt-ntr n k3 n wsir h3ty-(ḥ)... = coming in and going out in the god's land (Necropolis) for the Ka of the Osiris, mayor ... The block was placed with an upper face, originally inscribed on in a vertical column, when the block was reused it was placed horizontally and it was used for restoration, perhaps during the construction phase of the tomb

The door opens inwards on the right (west). The door hinge stone or the door hinge hole was built up with the patch from the repair (Pl. 12). In the ceiling at the western corner, however, there is still the access for the upper door hinge (Pl. 13). The bolt holes can be seen in the east (Pl. 14). The new passage floor consists partly of stone tiles, which lower towards Room 1 and from there form a step to Room 1.

Tomb interior

The burial site is an elongated tomb of 3-4 rooms without transverse space with a flat floor and horizontal flat ceilings. The rooms get smaller and lower towards the back. The room 3 is a kind of vestibule to a very small room (R. 4) with a statue niche with the remains of two seated statues. To the right in the West sits the wider tomb owner, next to him his wife. All walls and the ceiling are badly damaged and broken, especially in the rear area. The reason is water (salt efflorescence respectively).

In each room, shafts and later built-ins (or excavations) for burials can be seen. The grave has no continuous axis.

The first axis = the main axis A1 starting from the top part of the stairs and meeting the centre of the entrance. Then the axis turns in the passage to the west = A2 (Pl. 15). In Room 1 it turns back approximately to the first axis = A3. In Room 2 it turns to the east = A4. Rooms 2, 3 and the niche space are on this axis. Axis 4, seen from the inside out, ends at the western corner of the first passage to Room 1. On the other hand, from the first possible point in the North of the stairs from A1, you can see directly to the southern end of axis four. However, this is only possible because the passage from Room 1 to Room 2 has broken out.

Room 1

The room has an even floor. On the West wall, 0.80 m from the North wall, there is the opening of a vertical shaft, 0.90 m East-West x 1.00 m North-South.

The ceiling is 2.84 m high in the North and 2.90 m in the South. It has just erupted, albeit largely in the North. In the South, it erupted in small pieces due to water and salt efflorescence. All walls are straight, vertical, and finely carved. They have been smoothed. Where there are small outbreaks, they are evened out with a fine-lime-sand-plaster. They were consequently prepared for the preliminary drawings. Some remnants of horizontal, also parallel lines for registers or text bands can be seen in some places.

East wall: It is 6.15 m long and mostly smooth (Pl. 16). Various spots have broken out. There are also malicious spaces. Especially in the South there are black preliminary drawings of parallel lines and other things. There is a rectangular space, 2.16 m from the South wall and 1.67 m from the ground - a stela emplacement? The excavation is 60 cm wide, 77 cm high and 13 cm deep. Plaster residues can be seen in the lower corners.

West wall: The wall is 6.23 m long. It has been largely destroyed by late changes. The undisturbed part is prepared for decoration. A door to the adjoining grave in the West has been

carved out 60 cm from the North wall. It is 1.10 m wide in the East and 1.00 m in the West. In the North it has a 36 cm deep door post with a rectangular 16 x 13 cm recess for a door hinge, inside, behind the post. There is a 27 cm deep post in the South. The door opens inwards on the left to another chamber. Behind the door there is a passage which is 1.15 m deep in the South and meets a 0.35 m deep post in the North after 1.05 m.

Directly to the South of the door, the wall has been cut away from a height of 1.20 m to make room for a two-part coffin chamber. Directly next to and under this chamber, a round-oval cave for a coffin or a mummy was carved out at ground level and then closed with coarse limestone and bricks.

North wall: the wall is 2.50 m long: from West to East: wall 0.35 m - door post 0.24 m - passage 1.25 m - wall 0.66 m. The western post has broken out and has been reconstructed at the bottom. The lintel is broken off. A platform consisting of two parts was relocated.

South wall: the wall is 2.52 m long: from West to East: wall 0.31 m - post 0.44 m - passage 1.00 m post 0.42 m - wall 0.35 m. The South wall has been largely destroyed. The surface has chipped off from moisture and salt. One recognizes that a door frame protruding from the rock was worked out completely flat. This was covered with the thin surface plaster and was no longer visible. The door frame could only be seen again through the flaking of the plaster. A flat, 44 cm wide doorstep leads into a 0.91 m deep passage. The western wall is damaged, the eastern one destroyed. This passage is apparently a door. There are two door posts. The indentation for the door of the western is 15 cm, that of the eastern 8 cm. A small space can be seen in the floor by the western post.

This would be a left inward opening door. It would be at least 1.15 m wide, while the doorstep (respectively the door wall) is only 0.91 m deep. This establishment and the appliance for two upper door pivot stones in both door corners speak for a double-leaf doors, or a change. Another, flat step leads to Room 2.

Room 2

This room is almost square (Pl. 17). The ground is rather even. In the northwest corner a 1.60 m North-South x 1.20 m East-West large vertical shaft opens. The ceiling is badly damaged. It is 2.48 m high in the North and 2.47 m in the South. The walls have just been hacked out. All of them cracked due to moisture and salt or the surface was chipped. We cannot tell whether they were also prepared for decoration.

East wall: It is 4.53 m long and damaged throughout.

West wall: It is 4.58 m long. About 1.00 m from the North wall is the 1.20 m wide and 1.75 m high entrance to a sloping passage with inclines and steps. About 0.65 m South of it is the 1.10 m wide and 1.10 m high opening to a rectangular, later coffin chamber, which is 2.65 m in the East-West orientation and 1.90 m in the North-South orientation.

North wall: The wall is 4.30 m long: from West to East: wall 1.86 m - passage 1.24 m - wall 1.24 m. The wall is mainly destroyed from the middle of the passage up to the east corner.

South wall: It is 4.06 m long. from East to West: wall 1.52 m - passage 1.00 m - wall 1.54 m. This wall is also badly damaged. Two flat steps lead into the 0.76 m deep and 1.80 m high passage to Room 3.

Room 3

The room is straight and well worked out (Pl. 18). It served as a vestibule to the statue niche and as a space to create another coffin chamber under the niche. The ceiling is 1.90 m high in the North and South. It is also damaged by moisture and salt. The floor has just been finished. Directly in front of the South wall, 20 cm from the East wall and 30 cm from the West wall and 1.60 m to the North, a shaft opens with several steps to the South, which is 1.00 m deep on the South wall. Another step leads into a coffin chamber.

East wall: It is 2.78 m long. In the lower area, larger parts have flaked off, the upper area is damaged by moisture.

West wall: It is 2.71 m long. The damage is like (the one) on the East wall.

North wall: it is 1.45 m long: wall 27 cm - passage 92 cm - wall 26 cm.

South wall: it is 1.62 m long: from West to East: wall 47 cm - passage 73 cm - wall 42 cm. It is mainly damaged in the upper part. A step of 20 cm leads through the 1.05 m deep and 1.40 m high passage into the small niche.

Room 4

The room is 2.60 m deep to the back side of the niche (see Pl. 18). It is about 1.50 m wide. A 12 cm high platform about 20 cm to the North wall lifts the sitting couple in the middle a little.

II.1.2. Decoration

The entrance

The lintel (see Pl. 4)

The entrance has decorations on the lintel on both sides. The decorations on the lintel are divided into two parts, right and left. Decorations on the left side are quite damaged, while on the right side some scenes still exist in bad condition. The scenes represent the tomb owner in praying position in front of the gods. His head, face, and left foot are missing. Among the gods, one is sitting and two are standing. The head of the god who is sitting is missing and he holds in his hands the *hk3*-sceptre and *nḥḥw*-whip. Behind him are supposedly two goddesses; both are very damaged and also missing their heads. They raise their left hands and hold in their right hands the Ankh sign. In front of the gods is a table of offerings, upon which there is a vessel of purification and lotus flower.

The doorposts (see Pl. 4)

These bear the "*ḥtp di nswt*" formulas written in sunken relief in three vertical columns on each side. The one on the right side is addressed to Ptah-Osiris, Nefertem-Hohkenu and Isis and the hieroglyphs face. This text reads as follows:

[1] *ḥtp-di-nsw Pth-Wsir ḥry-ib- šṭj*
di.f ṭṭw ndm n mḥyt prr (.i) nb.t m-b3ḥ psdt n k3 n
wsir it-nṯr n Imn 3ḥ-mnw m3^c-ḥrw

[1] A royal offering to Ptah-Osiris, he, who over the secret place (Shetayt) so that he may grant the sweet breeze of the north or (north wind). Everything that coming out in front of the Ennead. For the ka of the Osiris, God's Father of Amun, Akhmenu, justified.

[2] *ḥtp-di-nsw Nfr-tm-ḥr-ḥknw šm.f di.f ḥnh b3.(i)*
wḏ3 ḥ3t.(i) ḥwy.i tm iryw n k3 n Wsir nṯr n Imn 3ḥ-
mnw m3^c-ḥrw

[2] A royal offering to Nefertem-Horhekenu, who is powerful, so that he may grant life to (my) Ba and prosperity to (my) corpse. My entire arms are (my) guardians! for the ka of the Osiris, God's Father of Amun, Akhmenu, justified.



[3] *h̄tp-di-nsw 3st-wrt mwt-ntr nbt pt h̄nwt t3wy di.s wnn.i
m-^c h̄sy(w) nty imy(w)-h̄t.s ink wd3 hr(y)-tp t3 n k3 n Wsir
it-ntr n Imn 3h-mnw m3^c-hrw*

[3] A royal offering to Isis the Great, god's mother, lady of the sky, mistress of the Two Lands, so that she may grant me being among the praised ones who follow after her. I'm intact and upon the earth! For the ka of the Osiris, God's Father of Amun, Akhmenu, justified.

At the bottom of "*h̄tp di nswt*" formula, the deceased is sitting in front of an offering table facing left. He wears a pleated wig, a pleated kilt, and a necklace with a possible 'ib' amulet. In his right hand, he holds a long thin staff in front of him, with the lower end reaching toward the offering table; in his left hand is a *shm*-sceptre. Under his chair a jar can be seen. Above the offering table is a vertical inscription in two columns. This text reads as follows. The "*h̄tp di nswt*" formula on the left doorpost is addressed to Anubis, Hathor and Khonsu, and the hieroglyphs face right. This text reads as follows.

[4-5] *Wsir it-ntr n Imn 3h-mnw m3^c-hrw*

[4-5] Osiris, God's Father of Amun, Akhmenu, justified.



[1] [*h̄tp-di-nsw*] [(*Inpw?*)] [..] *di.f krst nfrt m-h̄t i3w hr
imy-wrt n w3st n k3 n Wsir it-ntr n Imn 3h-mnw m3^c-hrw*

[1] [A royal offering to] [(Anubis?)] [..] so that he may grant a good burial after old age at the west of Thebes for the ka of the Osiris, God's Father of Amun, Akhmenu, justified.

[2] [*h̄tp-di-nsw h̄wt-hr nbt iw-m*]-*itrw di.s h̄^cw nfr ib hr
ršw r wd3 nmtt r st.s n k3 n Wsir it-ntr n Imn 3h-mnw m3^c-
hrw*

[2] [A royal offering to Hathor, lady of the] Island-in-the-river (near Gebelein), so that she may grant a happy lifetime, a heart in joy, a healthy mouth and freedom of movement (lit. moving to its place = according to his own will) to her place for the ka of the Osiris, God's Father of Amun, Akhmenu, justified.

[3] [*h̄tp-di-nsw Hnsw-m-w3st*] *Nfr-h̄tp di.f prt-hrw*



*sntr(sis) hnkṯ k3w 3pdw kb irp irtt ht nb(t) nfr(t) w^cb(t) n
k3 n Wsir it-ntr n Imn 3h-mnw m3^c-hrw*

[3] [A royal offering to Khonsu-in-Thebes]-
Neferhotep so that he may grant an invocation
offering of incense, beer, cattle and fowl, a libation of
wine and milk and every good and pure thing for the
ka of the Osiris, God's Father of Amun, Akhmenu,
justified.

The thickness of the entrance (Pl. 19)

On the eastern wall of the thickness, the tomb owner is represented in praying position, in adoration of the Amun-Re. The figure is damaged with the back and feet missing. The surface is also blackened by soot. His arms are raised in front of his face and his left leg is placed forward. He wears a pleated wig, a pleated double skirt, and a broad collar and he faces the outside of the tomb.

This hymn is unique among the vast corpus of the texts in Theban tombs. Usually at this position of the tomb – the left side of the entrance – the hymn to the sun god is positioned. In the tomb of Akhmenu the hymn is dedicated to Amun-Re performed during his festival of the Valley, when the bark of Amun visits the royal temples and meets the spirits of the dead kings and persons buried in the necropolis of Thebes.⁷

The text that accompanies this scene is carved in sunk relief hieroglyphs. This text reads as follows:

⁷ Schott 1953; Foucart 1924; Wiebach 1986.



[1] *dw3.t Imn-Rc hft d3.f r imntt
m hb.f nfr n Int*

[1] Praising Amun-Re when he crosses the West
in his beautiful feast of the Valley

in it ntr n Imn [3h]-mnw m3^c-hrw

[2] *ntr.w h^cwj hrj ršwt*

hđ-t3 ir.n.k

hprj.k m R^c

wbn m Nnt m [msktt].k...

[3] *iw.k m Wsr-h3t mnj.f hrj.k*

shđ.n.f itrw m nfrw.f

stwt.f nbw mj i3mw itn

[*ntr.w?*] *ntr.wt m ihhj n mnj...*

[4] *imj.w Nwn hr ij*

w3đ wj3 nb ntj.k im.f

shb.n.k idb.wj m ^cnh

ib.sn h^cwj n m33 n.k

iswt R^c hr m33 [b?]j3... [5] R^c

psđt hr wđ3 m3nw

nb msktt m-m hrt

iswt skdd.f m htpw

imj.w k3rj.w hrw.sn m3^cw

wnj.n R^c hfti.f Imn-R^c

h^cw R^c 3bd đ3 [6] r imntt

Imj.w dw3t m h^cwj

m33.sn i[3m km3?]n.f m wsr-h3t

wj3.f nfr n itrw

Imntj i3btj hr sntj t3

mhttt rsjt m thhw

s3.f sm[sw] [7] (Wsr-m3^ct-R^c mrj-Imn) His oldest son [7] Usermaatre meri-Amun

hr ir n.f rwd nt-^c.wj

...

skdd.f wj3... km3 nfrw.f

ntj m pt ntj m t3

hr đd hrw.wj nn pw hr ib.n

[8] *kn...tf p3wtj t3.wj*

nb.w Imntt... R^c n Imn

rr.f n.s(n) Imn(t) imntt

m thhw ib.sn ndm(.w)

sđm.sn hrw hmhm n njswt ntr.w

iw... [9] m ib

...ntjw m M3nw imntjw hr ršrš

kf3.n hbsjw h^cw.sn...

[10] *...njnj n.k Imn-R^c nb nb.w*

w3đ hft-hr-nb.s ^c3 sw

hm.k m nfrw...

[11] *...wnwn.n... .k im*

sđr.f nfirt n.t imntt

m hwt.k n hh.w rnp.wt

by God's Father of Amun, Akhmenu, justified.

[2] The gods are rejoicing under joyfulness,

Bright is the land created by you,

your manifestation of Re,

rising in the Lower Sky in your Night bark.

[3] You are in the bark-Userkhat, it landed under you.

It has made the River bright with his beauty,

his golden rays are like brilliance of the Disk.

[Gods? and] goddesses are in exaltation for [your landing?]...

[4] Those who are in Nun are coming,

every bark is happy when you are in it.

You make to feast Two banks in life,

their heart rejoice for seeing you.

The crew of Re is seeing [5] Re

The Ennead is approaching Manu,

the Lord of the Night bark is amongst the heaven,

The crew, it sails in peace,

those who are in the sanctuaries, their voice is a right.

Hasten Re in front of him, Amun-Re,

appears Re (in) the month of (his) crossing^[6] to the West.

Those who are in Duat are in joy,

when they see [the brilliance? created?] by him in the

bark-Userkhat,

his beautiful boat of the river.

The West and the East are kissing the earth,

the North and the South are in exaltation.

His oldest son [7] Usermaatre meri-Amun

is acting for him, strong are customs

He sails (with his) bark.....creating his beauty

which is in the sky, which is in the earth.

It is said: "How pleasing is this for our heart!"

[8] Strong... the Primevals of the Two Lands

the Lords of the West... Re for Amun.

He runs for them (around) Amun(et)? of the West

with the exaltation and their hearts are joyful,

when they hear the voice of the shout of the king of the gods.

And... [9] in the heart

those who are in Manu, westerners are in joy,

Uncover those who are clothed their limbs...

[10] ...welcome for you Amun-Re, lord of the lords,

Hefet-her-nebes flourish as he is great.

Your Person is in beauty...

[11] ...going here and there.. you there.

He spends (lie down to rest in) the beauty of the West

in your Temple of millions of years.

ir n.k s3...(smsw)
 [12] (*Wsr-m3^ct-R^c mrj-Imn*)...
 ... *hb df3w.k hr.sn*
mš^c kn n njswt
rdj hr n d^cmw
hr sgb m hrw msj(t)
m iw3.w? ...
 [13] ... *m irp...*
 ... *r h_h.w n th.w w3d...*
 ... *[wr]s.sn m rr...*
 [14]
 [15] ... *[hw]t špsj 3ht.k*
n htp.k im.s
d3.k [16] *pt hprj.k m R^c* [17]
htp m Itmw Pth Skrj nb št3j(t)
htp.f [18] *w3d m ...*
n k3 n Wsjr it [ntr n Imn
3h-mnw m3^c-hrw]

His oldest son has done for you
 [12] Usermaatre meri-Amun...
 ...festival, your food is with them.
 The brave army of the king
 gives commands to the youngsters
 shouting with the voice of the supper
 with bulls(?)....
 [13] ...with vine...
 ... to the necks with the fresh flowers...
 ... their head rest in ...
 [14]
 [15] ...noble temple, your Akhet,
 that you would rest in it.
 You cross [16] the sky (in) the manifestation of Re [17],
 setting as Atum, Ptah-Sokar, Lord of Shtayt.
 He rest [18] happy in ...
 For the Ka of Osiris, God's [father of Amun]
 Akhmenu, justified.]

The other parts of the tomb were found without decoration.

II.2. Tomb of Nefuerkhetef (Tomb No. 2)

II.2.1. Architecture

Location

In the South of the atrium (see Pl. 2)

Forecourt

Tomb No. 2, together with Tomb No. 1 and Tomb No. 5, had the enlarged forecourt of Tomb No. 1. There is no trace of whether Tomb No. 2 had its own small forecourt.

Façade

The façade is the extension of the façade of tomb No. 1 (Pl. 20, Fig. 4). The steps to the entrance of tomb No. 2 and the frame were planned for the extension and were left out when hacking out (Pl. 21). The South-East corner slightly recedes from the straight line of the façade. This is well carved out, but not smoothed. It is vertical everywhere, without inclination. It broke out above the entrance to about one meter West of the South-East corner and has recently been partially reconstructed. Above the door, the breakout is 2.20 m wide: from the East wall of the tomb to the West of the western wall and up to the ceiling.

The tomb was created before the pillars were finally made. The recess for the ceiling blocks, from 2.95 m to 3.20 m, was continued and continues until the breakout. The rock stands here up to 4.40 m high, in the corner up to 5.20 m.

Entrance

The entrance to the tomb (see Pl. 21) there are three steps = 55 cm above the courtyard level. It has a door frame that is only 1.40 m high. Above it, it was supplemented with new stone blocks. The frame sits on the middle step, like the door sill. The door posts are hardly separated from the façade. The eastern post, which has an inclination of 2°, is only recognizable through the smoothing of the rock and the thin plaster applied. The post is 47 cm wide. The western post is 54 cm wide and has an inclination of 2°. Its outer edge is visible in places, otherwise it can also be recognized through the plaster. The decoration (Pl. 22) begins on the post 18cm above the middle step. First, there is a 32 cm wide and 47 cm high display area on both posts (tomb owner

sits in front of the offering table) (Pl. 23). Above it there are three vertical lines of inscriptions, 29 cm wide (Pl. 24).

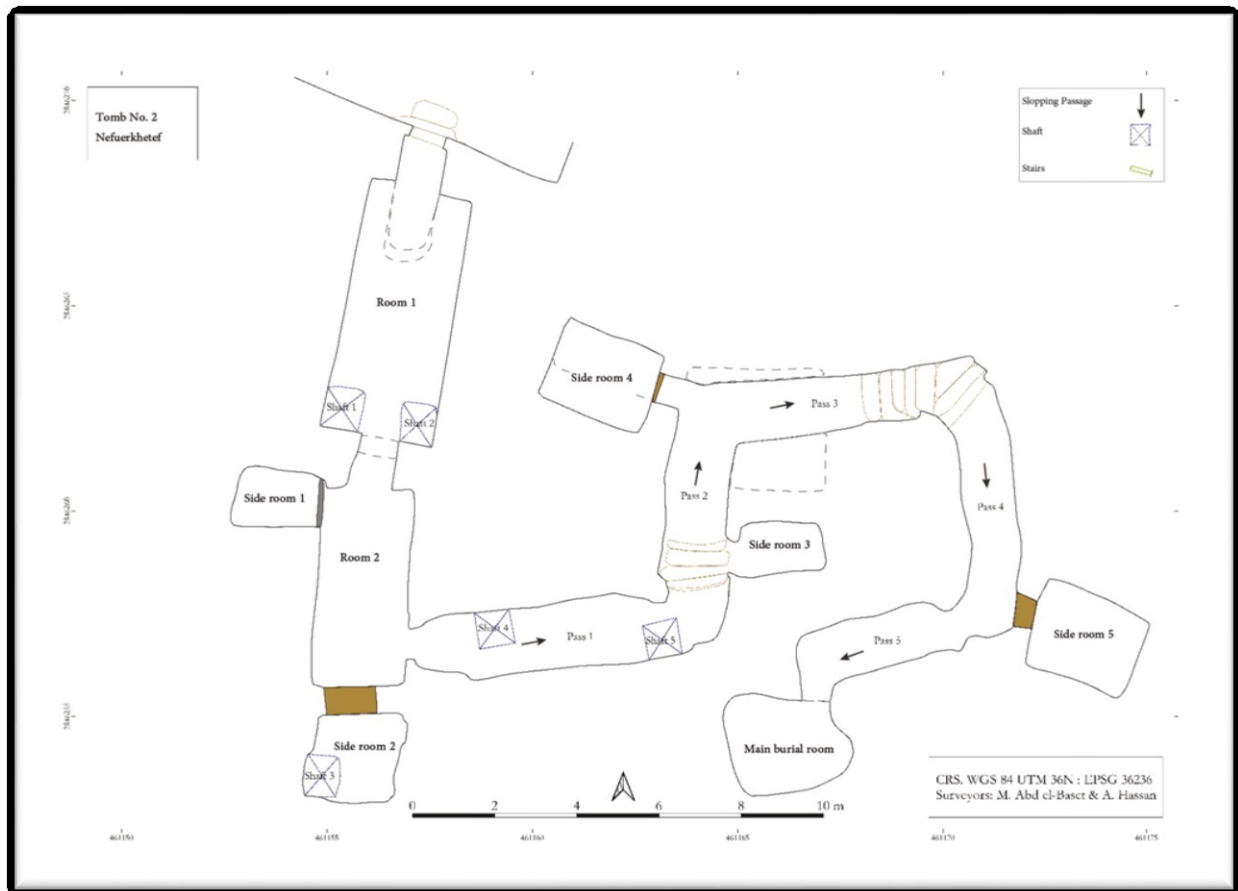


Fig. 4. Plan of Tomb No. 2.

Above the door, which was supplemented with a lintel has a 2.20 m width and a 1.20 m high, reaching up to “the outbreak” in the ceiling was left open (respectively provided with an iron grating). The western edge is carved out with a chisel, smoothed, and partially covered with plaster, as it is on the walls. This implementation is not an upward extension of the western door wall. It is not a continuous surface but offset to the West, nor parallel, but opens outwards. The inside of the opening is offset by 12 cm, outside by 20 cm, thus not at right angles to the outside wall. G5byy

In the floor in the western corner of the door there is a round hole for a door hinge stone with an outer diameter of 20 cm and an insertion channel for the door hinge (Pl. 25). On the East side, halfway up the door, a bolthole has been preserved (Pl. 26).

A 2.20 m long, easy ramp leads to the slightly higher grave (Pl. 27).

Tomb interior (Fig. 4)

The burial site is a 3-rooms tomb with rectangular long rooms, one behind the other, no transverse room and flat ceilings. A spacious, sinuous burial complex leads from Room 2 to the East.

Room 1

The room is almost rectangular and has neatly hewn corners and walls. It is in a different state of preservation (Pl. 28) but shows that it was probably completely decorated.

The ground is well carved. In the Southeast corner there is an almost square shaft opening measuring 85 x 90 cm. Another shaft shade with 90 cm x 1m is in the South-Weast corner.

The edges and corners of the ceiling are very straight and worked out. Almost the entire ceiling has been broken off, mostly in small, urgent, slate-like pieces. It is higher in the South than in the North.

West wall: It is 6.16 m long, straight, and vertical. In the North it is 3.12 m high, in the South 3.31 m. In the lower area, especially in the middle and in the North, it is decorated. In the northern part there is a pit (it's a secondary cut into the wall) for a mummy, 22 cm to 90 cm from the ground, 40 cm to 55 cm deep and from the North wall to 1.92 m to the South.

East wall: It is 6.07 m long, straight and without a slope. It is 3.09 m high in the North and 3.22 m in the South. In the lower part, especially in the North, it is decorated. Otherwise it has broken out in many places.

North wall: it is 2.56 m long, from West to East: wall 0.61 m - door 1.13 m - wall 0.82 m. The wall is inclined slightly outwards at 1°, 3.12 m high in the west and 3.09 m in the east. The western part has been largely destroyed. There is decoration in the lower 0.80 m. The eastern part is destroyed above 1.20 m. Until then, the wall is fully decorated.

South wall: it is 2.78 m long: from West to East: wall 1.02 m - passage 0.94 m - wall 0.82 m. The wall is badly damaged. Above all, the door frame broke down to the lowest parts and the door lintel. The door itself was 0.74 m wide and 2.22 m high. The wall is inclined outwards by 2°.

Entrance to Room 2

This entrance now has three different door positions. The youngest door is a modern installation with an iron door. It takes the place of one of the two earlier doors. On the floor, at the 20 cm high door threshold, another door setting can be seen, as above, with the door lintel.

Lower door setting: On the floor one can see the western door post in the lower 24 cm (Pl. 29). The rest is broken away. It is 19 cm deep, bends 11 cm to the West and, at the beginning of the

door wall, forms the corner for a round-rectangular, 15 x 17 cm recess for a door hinge (Pl. 30). This cavity is filled with a mass of Nile's mud and a piece of limestone in which there is a small round hollow. This looks like a door hinge from a later stage. A door wall smoothed and plastered at the bottom pulls inwards (Pl. 31). The wall is damaged in the middle by the modern door frame. On the inside the whole corner was broken away. This western wall is about 97 cm deep: old door post and wall 23 cm - new door frame 28 cm - wall 46 cm.

The eastern door post is completely broken off. The wall here is also 97 cm: wall 22 cm - new door frame 28 cm - wall 47 cm. The passage is 1.06 m wide on the outside and 1.09 cm on the inside. Inside there is a 16 cm wide and 5 cm high ledge along the eastern wall (Pl. 32). This is the rest of an execution. The door between the posts would be 0.80 m wide.

Upper door setting: The upper situation shows another door. The top part of the 2.22 m high door has been preserved as the last 24 cm. The door was 0.74 m wide. The rock was worked off on both sides under this remaining door. It's easier to see what happened in the West. 20cm below the top edge of the door, a rectangle of 23 cm to the West, 23 cm down and 37 cm to the South in the direction of the second room was carved out. Below this hacking, the 23 cm were limited down to 13 cm, on the line of the new door wall. A door lintel was probably stuck into the wider hacking above or placed on the wall (respectively the door posts) that had been left out. The gap above the lintel may have been closed. The new door was now 0.80m wide instead of 0.74 m and 1.72 m high instead of 2.22 m. The passage was wider, which can be seen from the above-mentioned ledge on the eastern wall. In any case, now it has had a lockable door, before maybe only an entrance.

Room 2

After the entrance one enters Room 2 (Pl. 33) at ground level. It is also long-rectangular, but smaller and lower than Room 1. The room is roughly hewn and broken out. Everything was originally good and straight. The quality of the rock, however, is so bad that a great deal had to be repaired. Each wall shows an opening to burial room. The room is 2.28 m high in the South and 2.22 m in the North. The ground is straight. The ceiling also seems to have been straight. The edges are straight and clean. A lot of it has flaked off and erupted, as rock jumps can be seen in every direction.

West wall: The wall is 4.88 m long, straight and vertical. From the North wall to 1.00 m to the South is the opening of a 1.30 m (North-South) x 2.20 m (East-West) large coffin chamber. The opening starts on the ground and is 0.90 m high. The room is rectangular with rounded corners

and 1.00 m high. It was closed again with an adobe wall. In the South of the wall, besides the traces of processing, one can see various breakouts and cracks from different times.

East wall: The wall is 4.75 m long. It is straight and vertical. It's damaged almost everywhere. In the South there is an opening to a sloping passage with a winding exit. Originally the opening was a door-like entrance, 75 cm wide and 1.55 m high. Now it is a rounded breakout, 1.65 m high and 1.20 m wide.

North wall: The wall is 2.27 m long: from West to East: wall 57 cm - entrance 1.08 m - wall 62 cm. The wall is very damaged. In the East there is a thick levelling layer of Nile mud and chaff up to 8 cm, which has a rough surface that is whitewashed (Pl. 34).

South wall: the wall is 2.22 m long: from West to East: wall 30 cm - entrance 1.30 m - wall 62 cm. It is slightly bent inwards, inclined close to the outside and damaged. It has a large, round rectangular opening (1.30 m wide, 1.70 m high inside) to a small room. This opening was walled up with large, partly decorated spoils. It is not clear whether a pedestal remained under the opening. Because the blocks and joints were plastered and painted. Remnants of plaster can be seen (Pl. 35).

Room 3

The room is 2.85 m long in North-South direction, 1.95 m long in East-West direction and 2.20 m long in the South. It's an irregular, rounded rectangle. The ground is reasonably levelled. The ceiling is irregular, neither horizontal nor vaulted – cave-like. The walls are not straight and not perpendicular. In the Southwest corner is the rectangular opening of a vertical shaft.

II.2.2. Decoration.

Entrance to the Tomb (Pls. 22–24)

Two steps approach the entrance door, which is on the eastern side of the south wall of the court. The entrance door is incomplete, the upper part of the facade is missing, and it has required modern restoration on both sides. The lower part is partly damaged but three vertical rows of inscription can be seen on both sides containing the name and the titles of the tomb owner. These bear, in vertical columns, the classic "*hṯp di nswt*" formulas. On the right doorjamb, the remaining text reads as follows.

[1] [*hṯp-di-nsw*] [...] [*n*] *k3 n Wsir* [*w^cb*] *sš* [*hwt-nṯr*
n] *Mwt* [*Nfw-r-ht.f m3^c-hrw*]

[1] [A royal offering][...] for the ka of the Wab-

priest, the scribe of the temple of Mut,
Nefuerkhetef, justified.

[2] [*htp-di-nsw*] [...] (..?) *n k3 n Wsir w^cb sš hwt-ntr*
n Mwt [Nfw-r-ht.f m3^c-hrw]

[2] [A royal offering] [...] (..?) for the ka of the Wab- priest, the scribe
of the temple of Mut, Nefuerkhetef, justified.

[3] [*htp-di-nsw*] [...] *n w3st mi m3^cty nb n k3 n Wsir*
w^cb sš hwt-ntr n [Mwt] Nfw-r-ht.f [m3^c-hrw]

[3] [A royal offering] [...] to Thebes like every other glorified man,
for the ka of the Wab-priest, the scribe of the temple of Mut,
Nefuerkhetef, justified.



On the left jamb, the remaining text reads as follow

[1] [*htp-di-nswt*] [...] *mmh (ib n) psdt n k3 n Wsir*
w^cb imy-r nfrw n pr Mwt Nfw-r-ht.f m3^c-hrw

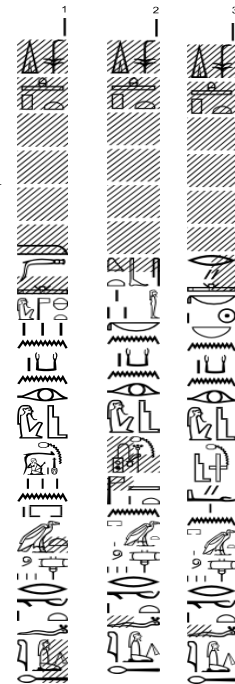
[1] [A royal offering] [...] who has the confidence of
the Ennead, for the ka of the Wab-priest, overseer of recruits in the domain
(temple) of Mut, Nefuerkhetef, justified.

[2] [*htp-di-nsw*] [...] *sbk.k n k3 n Wsir w^cb sš md3t ntr n*
pr Mwt Nfw-r-ht.f m3^c-hrw

[2] [A royal offering] [...] you become wise for the ka of the Wab-priest,
scribe of Maat in the domain of Mut, Nefuerkhetef, justified.

[3] [*htp-di-nsw*] [...] (*nfr?*).*k r^c nb n k3 n Wsir w^cb*
imy-st-^c n pr Mwt Nfw-r-ht.f m3^c-hrw

[3] [A royal offering] [...] you (beautify?) every day
for the ka of the Wab-priest, helper in the domain of
Mut, Nefuerkhetef, justified.



At the bottom of the east (left) doorjamb the deceased is depicted sitting, facing toward the right, in front of an offering table. In his left hand he holds a long thin staff in front of him with the lower end reaching toward the offering table; in his right hand is a *sh̄m*-sceptre. Under his chair a scribe palette can be seen and under the offering table there is an oil jar (?). Behind the chair and above the offering table there are damaged vertical inscriptions, the remains of which read as follows Imen-m-per-Mut, which suggests that the tomb's owner has had two names.⁸

On the west (right) side of the entrance, there is a similar scene but it is more damaged. The deceased is depicted sitting, facing toward the left, in front of an offering table. His face is damaged and partly missing and he holds a long thin staff in his right hand and the *sh̄m*-sceptre in his left hand. Under his chair there is a stone vessel. Under the offering table there is an oil jar and a *sh̄m*-sceptre head (?). There is a damaged vertical inscription above the tomb owner's arms. The name of the deceased is Nefuerkhetef. His titles are *wab*-priest, the scribe of the temple of Mut, scribe of Maat in the domain of Mut, helper in the domain of Mut.

The thickness of the entrance (Pl. 36, Fig. 5)

On the eastern wall of the thickness, the tomb owner and his wife are represented in praying positions, in adoration of the sun god. The head of the man is missing; however it can be seen that his arms are raised up in front of the face and his left leg is placed forward. He wears a pleated white kilt under a long white pleated translucent cloth. He also wears matching white sandals and a greenish blue (?) broad collar.

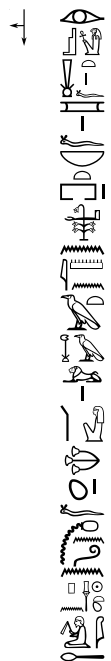
The tomb owner's wife stands behind him with vertical text between the two figures.

The wife's arms are in the praying position. She wears a long white pleated garment with hanging sleeves and bare feet. On her black wig there is a blue lotus diadem.

According to the vertical text in front of her, she is the singer of the god Amun. Her name is *T3h3rw*.

Wsir sn.t.f mr.yt .f nbt pr šm3(yt) n Imn T3h3rw m3^c(.t)-hrw s3 .f w^cb n Mwt Npn-shmt m3^c-hrw

Osiris his wife, his beloved, lady of the house (and) chantress of Amun Takhrw justified, his son Wab-priest of Mut Npnskhmat justified.



⁸ Ranke 1935: 28.



Fig. 5. Decoration of the eastern wall of the tomb's entrance. Drawing by A. Abd El Halim.

In front of the tomb's owner, there is a text in six vertical rows. This is the sun hymn for the rising sun god. The hymn is situated on the left thicknesses of the outer doorway of the tomb as is usual for the position of the sun hymns in the Late Ramesside period.⁹ The text is partly preserved with the upper part of the text having been destroyed. The middle of the first and the second inscription rows also have text missing due to the presence of a large bolt hole (23 cm long, 20 cm wide and 24 cm deep). It is possible that this hole was made in the later times, when the tomb was used for living.

The preserved inscriptions of the sun hymn are attested in four Theban tombs – TT 25, TT 26, TT 409, and TT 156.¹⁰ It is important to note that all of these tombs with parallel texts of the sun hymns are situated in the area of Asasif (only TT 156 is situated in Dra Abu el-Naga). TT 25 is situated in the same courtyard of Tchauerkhetef. The owner of TT 25 is Amenemhab, first prophet of Khons. The tomb is Late Ramesside but precise dating is under discussion.¹¹

⁹ Stewart 1960; Stewart 1964; Stewart 1967; Zandee 1952-62; Zandee 1964.

¹⁰ Assmann 1983: 26-27.

¹¹ PM I: 42; Kamp 1996: 211; Helck 1963: 66.

The tomb Samut, called Kyky (TT 409)¹² is situated in the next courtyard to the west, and the tomb TT 26 (Khenemuemhab) is located in the vicinity at the courtyard of TT 192 (Kheruef).¹³

The beginning of the text is not preserved. The first preserved line contains the beginning of the hymn:

[1] *nfr hr*
šw.tj wr(.tj) ntr-ꜥ3
 [1] (those) with the Beautiful face,
 with the Great double feathers, the Great God,

[2] *hpr(.w) m-h3t*
in Wsjr wꜥb sš sh-ntr Nfw-r-ht.f.
 who appeared at the beginning,
 by Osiris, the priest-wab, the scribe of the divine booth Nefuerkhetef.

This line of the text must contain *dw3 Imn-R3...* ending with his epithets, and after the name of the owner the phrase “he says”(*dd.f*) in the second line. The next preserved second line is starting with the end of the phrase *dw nb*. This is the end of the introductory part of the Sun-hymn in TT 25, so the beginning of Nefuerkhetef’s Sun-hymn could be supplemented by the best preserved text of the five tombs in TT 25:

[1] *dw3 Imn-Rꜥ wbn m hrt*

[1] Praising Amun-Re, who rises in the heaven.

Rꜥ pw Hr-3htj

It is Re-Harakhty...

...

ind-hr.k hꜥ.tj m wj3.k
shd.n.k t3.wj m nfrw.k

Hail to you, who appears in his divine bark, who illuminates Two Lands with your beauty, divine falcon, with colored feathers, Bekhdety, who overthrow all evil.

bjk ntrj s3b šwt
Bhdtj shrjw dw nb

[2]... *dw nb*
wbn.k sp-2
psd.k sp-2
hꜥ.tj m njswt ntr.w
ir.n.k Nwt ꜥ.wj.s(j) m njnj

[2]...all evil.
 You rise, you rise!
 You shine, you shine!
 You who appears as a king of the gods, Nut has prepared his hands in the gesture of welcome.

sšp tw...

You have been taken ...

The missing part could be supplemented again by the text from TT 25 and the other versions:

¹² Abdul -Qader 1966: 167, Pl. LII.

¹³ PM I: 2, 4.3; Kamp 1996: 212.

imj.w m m3nw m htp

dw3 tw nb.tj mr.tj

*sw3š.sn nfrw hm.k
shtp tw Gb Nwt*

[3]...*irj n.k ms.w.sn hnw
dw3 tw imj.w htt
ib3 n.k ʕ.wt km3.[n.k]*

ntr wʕ...

[4]...*mr-nh3.wj hpr(.w) m htpw*

*ʕ3pp hr(.w) n šʕt.f
hsk.n dm.k tswt.f
Nkjt...*

by these of Manu (West mountain) in
peace!
Two mistress, two female singers praise
you,
they extol the beauty of your Person.
Geb and Nut pacify you.

[3]Their children make for you jubilation,
Baboons praise you ,
the livestock created by you is dancing for
you,
the Sole God (the One God)...

[4]The Lake of the Two knives appeared in
peace,
Apophis is fallen to his place of execution,
the knife has cut his vertebra.

The continuation is restored from the texts in TT 387¹⁴ and also from TT 409¹⁵:

Njk pw nhmw nmtt.f

every enemy is deprived of his movements.

The beginning of the next line is linked with the text found in TT 203¹⁶:

[5] [*h3 k3r.k m h3hnw*

Imj.w wj3.k ib.sn m] ndm.w

nb pt hnm.n.f ršwj

*wr.w dw3t m ihhj
rmtw ntrw m h3j...*

[5] These who are around your cabin are in
jubilation,
these who are in your sacred bark, their hearts are
sweet.
The master of sky, who are united with the
joy,
The greats ones of Duat are in celebration,
the men and the gods are welcoming you....

The final sixth row preserved from the text begins with determinative, ending missing word
from above and continues with the following phrase:

*t3 hr sg3bw
ntr nb...*

The earth is crying.
Every god....

¹⁴ Assmann 1983: 362-363, Text 255.

¹⁵ Assmann 1983: 369, Text 262.

¹⁶ Assmann 1983: 274, Text 196; Sauneron 1953: 65; Assmann 1969: 187.

Under the text and the depiction of the tomb owner and his wife there are (from top to bottom) black, yellow, black, red and black lines that rest 60cm from the floor, below which the wall is covered only in white plaster.

The Northern wall of the Room 1. (Pl. 37, Figs 6–7)

(eastern side)

Two registers can be seen here, the upper part of the wall is completely missing and required modern restoration. In the upper preserved register, the tomb owner is shown making an offering and libation in front of the deified Amenhotep I and Ahmes Nefertari, who are sitting on thrones in front of the offering table. All of the figures' heads are missing. The god Amenhotep I is holding a blue ankh symbol in his right hand, and a yellow flagellum in his left hand near to his breast. He wears blue bracelets and red armbands on both arms, white sandals, a long white skirt, and a yellow belt that drapes over a short red and blue piece of cloth that hangs over his thighs.



Fig. 6. Decoration of the northern wall of the first room, on both sides of the entrance. Drawing by A. Abd El Halim.

Behind him, the goddess Ahmes Nefartari is sitting. Her head is damaged completely, but her crown with two feathers, cow horns and a sun disk between them remain. Her skin is black and she wears a long red dress with a blue tie and no sandals. Her left arm crosses her chest and with this hand she holds a flagellum. Her right hand reaches forward to touch the chair of Amenhotep I. Their thrones represent the palace *h.t* with their symbolic form and their blue, red and yellow colours. The footrest has horizontal stripes in two shades of green.

In front of these figures is a small two-legged yellow offering table holding vegetables and two kinds of bread with seeds. Three grape garlands hang under the offering table.

To the right of this table, the tomb owner is facing the gods and making a libation offering for them. His head is missing. He wears a long white garment with white sandals, a blue bracelet and a red armband. In his right hand he holds a libation jar from which sacred water flows. Behind him there is a vertical hieroglyphic inscription with yellow background containing the title and name of the man. This text reads as follows: *Imn-m-per-Mut*.

The lower, second register is almost complete. At the left side a man plays a flute. He wears a white skirt and white headband that is tied in the back. Under him there is a green striped mat or pedestal. A text above and in front of him is in eleven vertical rows with a white background and red dividing lines. The hieroglyphs face to the right and read as follows (Pl. 38):



[1] *dd.n p3 dd.t m sbjt*
ntj m r3 n is n Wsjr
sš sh ntr n Mwt Nfw-r-ht.f m3^c-hrw

[2] *ib.j mhj.w m sh3 nfrw.k p3.j*

3 mj m3.tw ntj ib.j [3] *m rmjt n p3.j*

sh3(.w) kj.k
tw.k htp(.w) m...n nhh... n[4] š3w
shr.k nfr ptrj.k gr

p3 kb m njwt.f
p3 nfr n [5] mhjw.f
tw.j hr šn.t.k r3 nb
ntr.w nb.w hrt-ntr imj mw n [6] Wsjr
sš sh ntr n Mwt Nfw-r-ht.f m3^c-hrw

swd3 h3t.f [7] ntj m int
imj ntrj b3.f
w3h.tw n.f mw šsp. [8] f st tm
ib (3)hmj.w t hnt [9] irp irtt n p3[.j]

[10] *h3tj skb(.w)*
rn.f mn(.w) rwd [11] m3^c.w nhh
eternity,
ntrj.f m hrt-ntr mj m3^ctj

[1] It is said by those who speaks while playing the flute,
which is at the entrance of the tomb of Osiris,
the scribe of the divine boot of Mut, Nefuerkhetef
true of voice:

[2] My heart is forgetful in remembering your beauty, my
friend

though it's great for somebody to see that my heart is [3] in
tears for my friend!

Your character is remembered,
you are united with the (house?) of eternity...[4] the fate.

Look, your beautiful plan (/condition) is ceased/stopped,
the one who is cool in his town,

the one who is good for his [5] family (/neighbors)!

I summon you every day,

all gods of the necropolis will give water to [6] Osiris,

the scribe of the divine boot of Mut, Nefuerkhetef,
true of voice,

his corpse will be complete [7] in the Valley,

his Ba (soul) will be divine,

it will be offered water to it, [8] it take it all completely (?),

the heart-*ib* will be quenched with bread and beer, [9]

wine and milk for this (my friend),

[10] the heart-*haty* will be satisfied (lit. cooled),

his name will be firm, [11] strong in guiding (to)

he is divine in the necropolis as the rightful one.

The so called harpist-songs are very well attested in the Theban necropolis. From all 28 songs that survived at our disposal up to the present, 22 are known from Theban tombs.¹⁷ These are the songs in the tombs of Neferhotep (TT 50) with three songs, Djehutyhotep (TT 32), Paser (TT 106), Samut, called Kyky (TT 409), Neferrenpet, called Kenra (TT 178), Nefersecheru (TT 296), Piay (TT 263), Roma-Roy (TT 283), Tchai (TT 23),¹⁸ Amenemheb (TT 364), Amenemkhat (TT 163), Djehutyemhab (TT 194), Inherchay (359), Tchanefer (TT 158) also with three songs, Amenmesu (373), Pennuit, called Sunra (TT 331), Amenpahapi (TT 355), Roma (TT 208), Ini (TT 285), and Raya (TT 159).

The song in the tomb of Nefuerkhetef is unusual because instead of the typical representation of the harpist in front of the deceased and his wife, in front of the couple is represented a man with a flute.¹⁹ The word for the flute is well attested since the Old Kingdom, it is *sb3*. The Tomb of

¹⁷ Lichtheim 1945: 178-212; Hickmann 1961: 61; Assmann 1977: 55-84.

¹⁸ Ivanov 2012: 157-164.

¹⁹ Sourouzian 1998, Böckler 2016; 149-167; Alexanian, Seidlmayer 2002, 6-8.

Nefuerkhetef introduces the new variant of this word *sbjt*. This word is not included in Wörterbuch.²⁰ The supposed meaning of this word could be "playing with the flute". A good example of the representation of a flutist is the scene in the tomb of Kaemankh²¹ in Giza, which represents the celebration before Kaemankh and his wife, dancing, playing and musical performance. The group of musicians is playing the flute (*sb3*) and some other instrument (*m3t*), while a man before them is singing. Above the singer is written "singing" (*hs.t*), and above the musicians *sb3 m sb3 m m(3.t)* – "playing (the flute) and playing the oboe". It is supposed that such images in the Old Kingdom texts show the returning of the deceased in his home during the festivals of his mortuary cult.²²

In the New Kingdom tombs as for example in the tomb of Paitenemheb²³ in Saqqara we could find represented all range of musical instruments: a harp, a flute, and a tambourine. Later in the Theban tombs from the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties the representation of the harpist playing harp became the main motif, and this became an indication for the genre of certain texts.

Usually the harper songs started with the phrase: *dd.t.n p3 hsw ntj m t3 hwt n Wsir NN*. "What is said by the singer who is the house of Osiris NN" or similar expression. In our case the song started with similar formula, but instead of *hsw* is used the word *sbjt*.

²⁰ Posener-Kriéger, 1976: 386; Meeks 1998: 314.

²¹ Junker, Giza IV, 35, Abb. 9.

²² Altenmüller 1978.

²³ The tomb of Paitenemheb contains one of the variations of the famous song of Antef (pap.Harris 500 = BM EA 10060). It is one of the earliest attestations of the harper songs from the end of XVIII dyn.

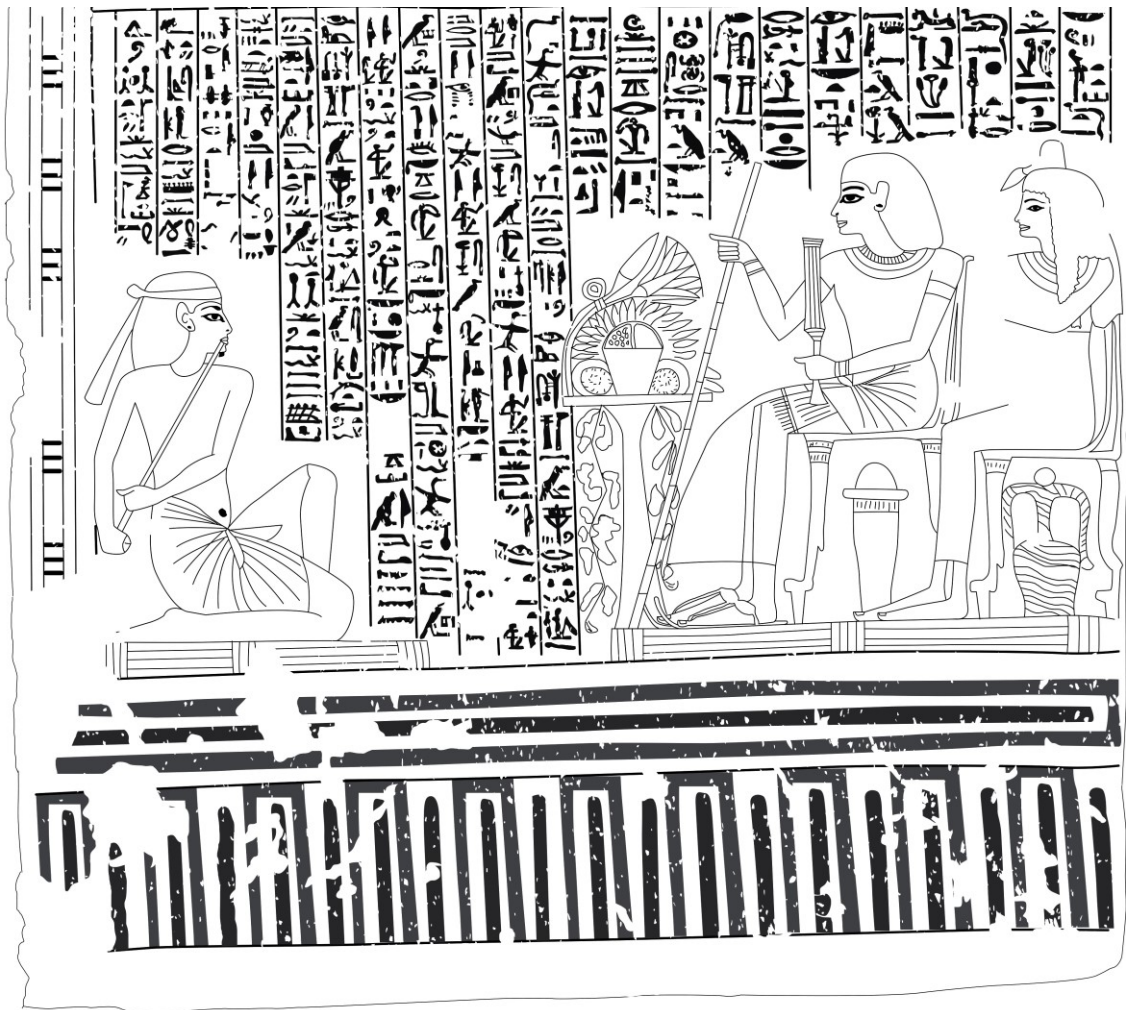
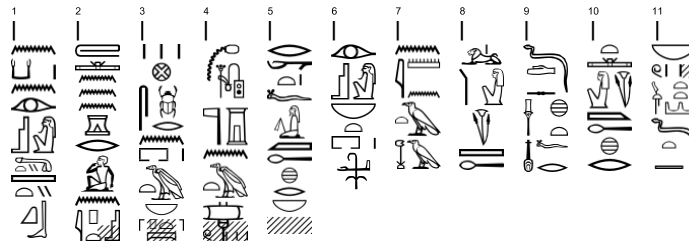


Fig. 7. A flute song represented on the eastern side of the northern wall of the first room.

Drawing by A. Abd El Halim.

On the right side of the register, opposite the flute player, the tomb owner and his wife are sitting on chairs facing to the left in front of a yellow offering table, all atop a green striped pedestal. On the table there are two round loaves of bread with seeds, grapes and fruit in a pot, and an open lotus flower draped over everything. Two grape garlands hang under the offering table. The man wears a long white skirt, white sandals, blue bracelets and armbands on both arms, and a blue *usekh* broad collar. In his right hand there is a long thin staff, and in his left hand he holds a *shm*-sceptre. Under his chair there is an oil pot. Behind him there is a woman sitting in a long white dress, a broad green collar, and no sandals. Her face and arms are damaged. She has a black wig with a lotus bud in front and a cone on her head. Under her chair there is an alabaster jar with two handles.

There is hieroglyphic text on a yellow background above the couple. The hieroglyphs face to the left and present an offering formula for the deceased. This text reads as follows.



[1] *n k3 n Wsir mti M3^ct k3b*

[1] For the ka of the Osiris, administrator (of the phylae) the one who multiplies

[2] *mw gr n ipt-*

[2] the still water of Karnak

[3] *swt shpr n pr Mwt nb(t) [pt ?]*

[3] who was brought up by the house of Mut, mistress [of the sky?],

[4] *tw^cb sš sh-ntr n Mwt Nfw-*

[5] *r-ht.f m3^c-hrw hr nb*

[4-5] the Wab priest, scribe of the shrine of Mut, Nefuerkhetef, justified before the lord [.. ?].

[6] *Wsir nbt pr sm^c(ty)*

[6] The Osiris, the lady of the house, the chantress

[7] *n Imn T3-h3rw*

[7] of Amun, Takhrw,

[8] *m3^c(t)-hrw*

[8] justified.

[9] *ddw (n). Shmt-nft*

[9] Called "Sekhmet-Neferet,

[10] *m3^c(t)-hrw hr*

[10] justified before the

[11] *nbw imntt dt*

[11] Lords of the West, eternally.

Beneath these scenes, blue, white and red horizontal lines form a lower border for the scenes. The linear decoration at the foot of the wall extends about 40cm high and represents a palace facade motif.

All of the scenes on the western side of the northern wall are missing except for some traces of hieroglyph texts written in black ink with white background. The remains of the text suggest that this is a hymn. To the left of this text there are some remains of a kneeling figure facing to the right. Beneath this figure and the texts, blue, white and red lines stretch from the entrance to the corner of the wall. Like on the eastern side, the linear decorations at the foot of the wall are about 40cm tall and represent a palace facade motif. Further up the wall, there are

blue vertical zig-zags, that may be the remains of a depiction of the Nile waters in an upper register.

The Eastern wall of Room 1 (Pl. 39)

In the lower part of the northern side the eastern wall three partially damaged registers remained. The upper and southern parts of the wall were completely missing apart from a small fragment of decoration at the bottom of the southern side of the wall. After removing the soot, we also found some remains of a *kherkher*-frieze at the top of the wall.

On the northern edge of the wall, in the uppermost preserved register, eleven vertical rows of black inscription can be seen that includes some incomplete words. The background is white with red dividing lines. Most of the text is gone. Under this register there is a decorative dividing line in blue, white and yellow colours. Below this decorative line and above the middle preserved register, there is a horizontal row of hieroglyph inscription upon a yellow background that contains the name and title of the deceased, that reads as follows.

sš hwt-ntr n Mwt B3k-mwt m3c-hrw

Scribe of the temple of Mut, Bakmut, justified.



The middle and lower preserved registers show the family of the tomb owner, adoring him and his memory. This is the so-called banquet scene. In the middle register, eight men are depicted kneeling in front of eight offering tables. All the men are bald, wearing a white skirt and a blue *wsh.t* collar. Their left arms are in the praying position and in their right hands, they hold sceptres vertically. At the northernmost edge of this register, behind the first man, there are three lines of vertical inscription with a yellow background that extends down to the bottom of the lower register. Unfortunately, the middle of the text is illegible. It is probably an offering formula for the deceased. The preserved text reads as follows.

The offering tables in front of the men have round loaves of bread, probably meat, and green garlands. Under the northernmost two tables there are perfume jars with a lotus bud on the right, and lettuce at the left. The other tables have no perfume jar, only lotus flower.

In the lower register, six women can be seen kneeling in front of offering mats loaded with breads, probably meat, and green garlands. Each woman wears a white dress, a balsam cone and lotus flower bud on their head, and a long wig decorated with a lotus flower diadem. Their left arms are in praying position, and their right hands hold opened lotus flowers. In front of each woman there is an inscription in four-six vertical rows with a yellow background, that contains their names and positions in the family. These texts read as follows (Fig. 8):

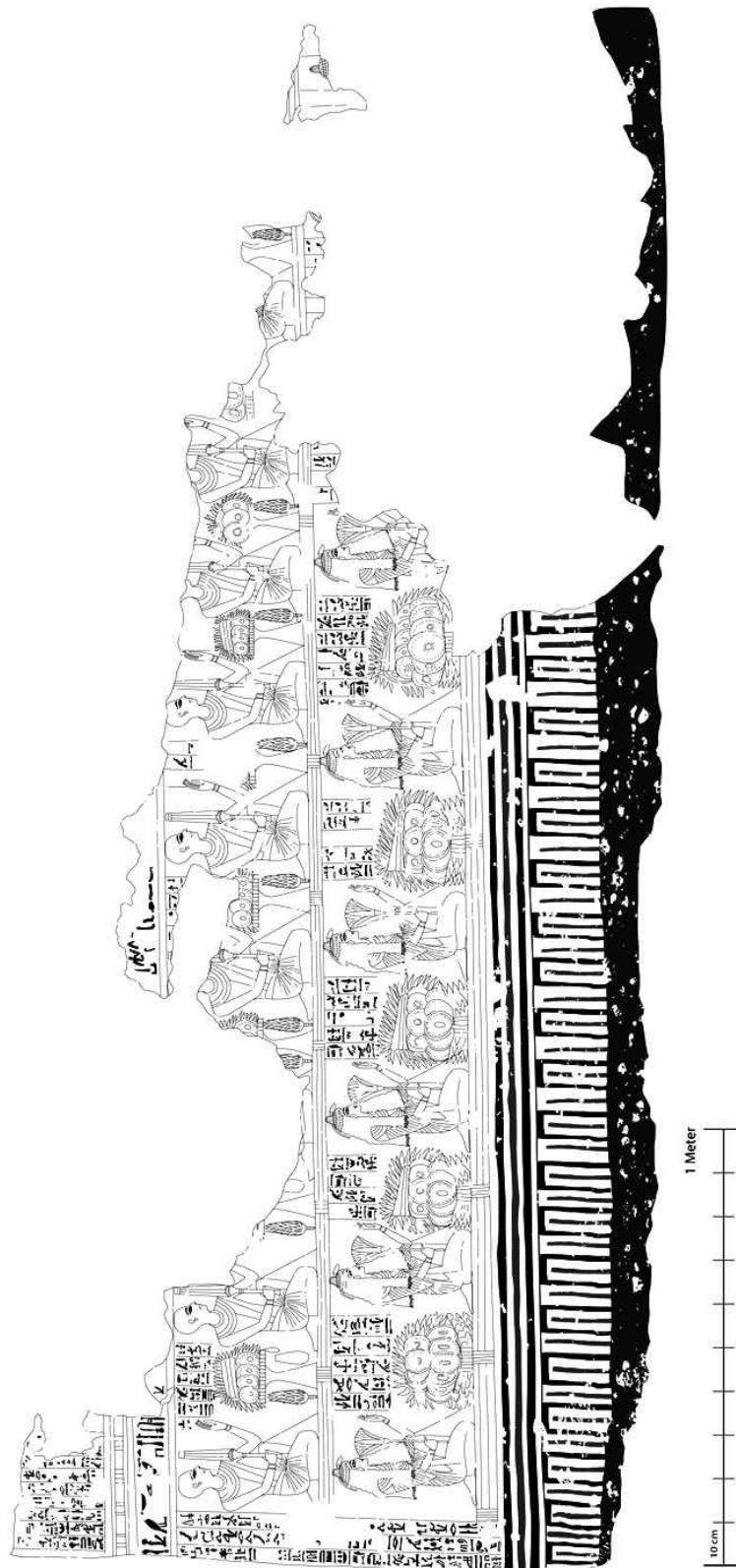


Fig. 8. Decoration of the first room's eastern wall. Drawing by A. Abd El Halim.

[A?] [..] [?] t3-[... ..] [B?] [s3t.f] šm^cyt n Imn [C? - ?] [..
 ..]
 [2] [..] [A?] Ta[... ..]

[B?] [his daughter], the chantress of Amun [C? -
 ?] [.....]

[D?] s3t.f šm^cyt [nImn] [..]

[D?] his daughter, the chantress [of Amun] [..]

[E?] -m-ħb [..] [F? - I?] [.. ..]

[E?] -emheb [..] [F? - H?] [.....].

[I?] [..] [J?] s3t n [s3t.f] [..] [K? - L?] m3^c.t ħrw

[I?] [.....] [J?] daughter of his daughter [..]

[K? - L?] [.....]

[1] s3t n s3t.f šm^cyt n Imn [2] t3y-bsy [3] s3t n s3t.f
 šm^cyt n

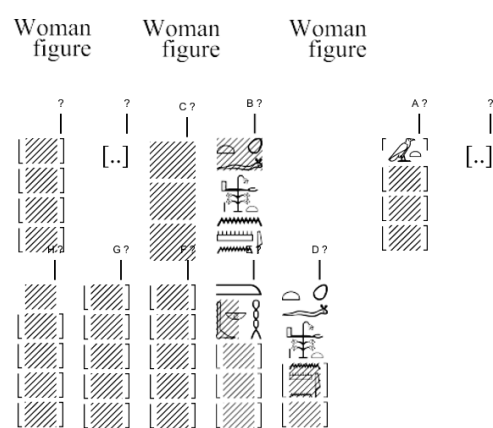
[1] The daughter of his daughter, the chantress
 of Amun [2] Taybesy. [3] The daughter of his
 daughter, the chantress of

[4-5] Imn T3-^c3t-m-pr-mwt [6-7] s3t n [s3t.f]
 Mmwt-m-int

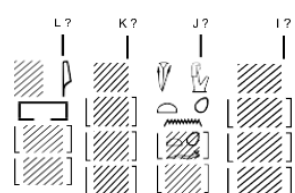
[4-5] Amun, Taaatempermut. [6-7] The
 daughter of his daughter, Muteminet.

[8] s3t n s3t.f šm^cyt n Imn [9] Ns-[mwt] [10] [snt]
 n ħm[t] [11] .f šm^cyt n Imn Dw3yt- [12] nfrt
 m3^c(t)-ħrw

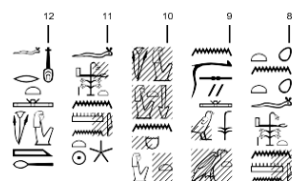
[8] The daughter of his daughter, the
 chantress of Amun [9] Nes[mut]. [10] The
 sister of his wife, [11] the chantress of
 Amun Dwayt- [12] Neferet, justified.



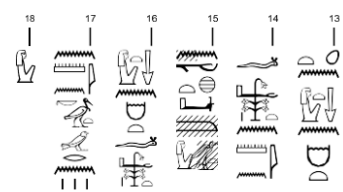
Woman figure



Woman figure



Woman figure



[13] *s3t n snt n hmt* [14] *.f šm^cty n Imn*

[13] The daughter of the sister of his wife,
[14] the chantress of Amun,

[15] *Nht-[m-mwt]*

[15] Nekhtemmut.

[16] *snt n hmt.f šm^cyt*

[16] The sister of his wife, the chantress

[17-18] *n Imn B3kt-wr.n*

[17-18] of Amun, Baketweren

[19] *snt n hmt.f šm^cty* [20-21] *n Imn Ns-
mwt snt* [22] *n hmt.f šm^cty n Imn*

[20-21] of Amun, Nesmut. The sister [22]
of his wife, the chantress of Amun,

[23] *Mwt-(m)-h^c m3^c(t)-hrw* [24] *snt n hmt.f*
[23] Mutemkha, justified. [24] The sister
of his wife,

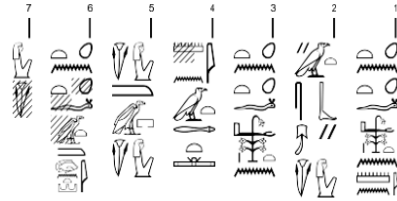
[25-26] *šm^cty n Imn Twr(t)-m-hb*

[25-26] the chantress of Amun
Tawertemheb,

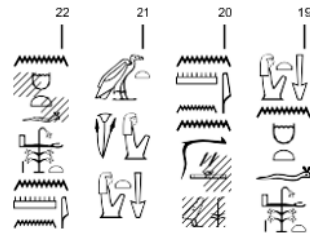
[27] *m3^c(t)-hrw nfr(t) m htp*

[27] justified, perfect in peace.

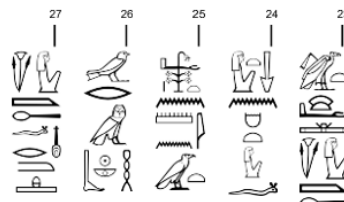
Woman
figure



Woman
figure



Woman
figure



On the southern side of the eastern wall in the lower register, there was originally a depiction of the tomb owner and his wife receiving his family offerings. Now only their feet are remaining. He wears a long white garment and white sandals. His feet rest on a yellow footrest, Under his chair there is a jar In front of him there is an offering table, under which is an oil jar and a lettuce Beneath the lower register, there are seven horizontal bands in white, blue and red color and the bottom of the wall has a decorative motif that represents the palace façade in the same colors.

The Western wall of Room 1 (Pl. 40, Fig. 9)

On the northern side of the western wall, a niche was cut 40 cm high, 1.92 m long and 60 cm deep. This niche interrupts the existing decoration of the tomb as it cuts through a painted boat only the edge of which remains. This niche appears to have been chiselled out through later human intervention in the tomb for utility purposes.

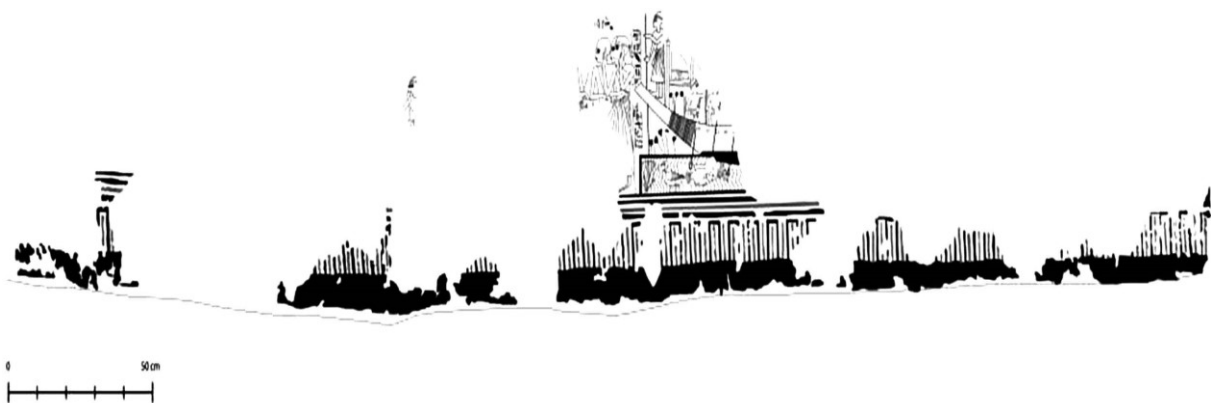


Fig. 9. Remains of the western wall decoration preserved only in the lower part. Drawing by A. Abd El Halim.

Only some parts of the lower register remain and it probably depicted part of the Abydos pilgrimage (Fig. 10). A papyrus boat on the Nile can be seen and at the front of the boat a bald man with a small beard stands holding a long stick in both hands that he is using to navigate the boat on the Nile. He wears a white kilt and a white headband. In front of him there is a vertical line of hieroglyphs on a yellow background that divides this scene and a scene with multiple standing men described below. The boat's bow cuts the line of hieroglyphs in the middle. Originally the ship bow was longer, with visible remains of this extension overlapping with the men in the adjacent scene. Probably the artist changed his mind and redrew the scene. The front of the papyrus boat is red, followed by a green and blue section styled as a papyrus bundle, and the greater part of the body of the boat is a pale yellow.

Behind the man at the bow of the ship, there is a white chest and two bushes of papyrus, each with three flowers. Further toward the center of the boat, two bald men can be seen rowing with both hands; they wear white kilts and white headbands. To the right, a third man is missing and only his oar remains.

The water under the boat is blue with vertical zigzag lines representing waves. Within the water, from left to right there is a small group of lotus flowers, a duck or goose, and a fish, probably *latos niloticus*, holding a lotus flower in its mouth. Stretching up from the water on the left side are papyrus flowers.

In front of the boat at least four bald men (with only three of their faces preserved) stand in pairs facing left wearing long white kilts with an attached band of cloth that crosses their chests and white sandals; only the one furthest to the right wears a white headband. Each man has their left hand raised to their left ear and their right hand bent in front of their belly. Above them traces of an inscription with a yellow background can be seen. In front of these men, it appears that there is one more individual in the same position, but this individual wears a different white garment that covers the whole body with long flowing sleeves.

In front of these individuals, the wall is destroyed. About 120 cm from these figures, the upper part of two small bald figures wearing similar white kilts with chest-crossing bands and white headbands can be seen.

Below the bottom register, there is a border of seven horizontal stripes in blue, white and red above a decorative motif in the same colors that represents the palace façade. The very bottom of the wall is covered with a horizontal black stripe that is about 25 cm in height. In other areas of the wall, some small traces of paint also remain.



Fig. 10. Part of a funeral procession scene – crossing the river. Drawing by A. Abd El Halim.

The representation of the crossing of the river can be found for the first time in TT 85, TT 56, TT 181.²⁴ (from the time of Amenhotep III), TT 49²⁵ (after the Amarna period). This scene became typical for the Late Ramesside period tombs in Thebes, although most of the examples were not very well preserved.²⁶ The closest parallel to the scene of the tomb of Tchauerkhetef is a similar scene from the situated nearby TT 409 (Tomb of Kyky). The remained text is situated in front of the priest standing at the prow of the bark with a long wooden stick (for checking the level of the water), and behind a group of mourners and priests.

dd.n w^cb sš kdwt n pr Mwt Kjnbnw

[m3^c-hrw] sh(r).k nfr(.w) p3 it(.j) nfr

Said by the priest-*wab*, a scribe who paints at the Estate of Mut, Kynebu [true of voice]:

“Your condition is beautiful, o, (my) beautiful father!”



The Southern Wall of Room 1 and Room 2

The first hall of the tomb ends on the southern wall, with an opening leading to the second hall. This wall is heavily damaged and blackened. It has lost all its decoration and any remnants of plaster or paint. This wall is similar to the ceilings of the first and second hall, parts of the other walls in the first hall, and all of the walls in the second hall. In these cases the walls (or parts of them) were destroyed and blackened, likely due to the tomb’s later use as a living place. This black color that the ceilings and walls have acquired is mostly due to soot (amorphous carbon)

²⁴ TT 181 – Davies 1925: Pls. XXII-XXVI.

²⁵ TT 49 – Davies 1933: Pls. XXII-XXVII.

²⁶ Barthelmess 1992: 14-15.

resulting from the burning of organic matter such as wood that later occupants would have burnt to keep themselves warm, to cook, and/or to light the space.

The opening leading to the second hall is irregular and partly broken off. In attempts to strengthen the wall structure reinforcement was added and a metal door was installed. The opening is mostly in the middle of the wall and there is a step leading to the opening.

The Corridors and the Burial Chamber

Originally, there are no inscriptions or drawings on the walls or on the ceilings of the corridors or the burial chamber.

II.3. Tomb of Khatu (Tomb No. 3)

II.3.1. Architecture

Location

In the East of the forecourt A (Pl. 41)

Forecourt

After the expansion to the East, the forecourt is a common courtyard for tomb Nos 1, 2, 4 and 3. A very small forecourt behind the pillar is built. A 1.45 m wide and almost 5 m long slope (Pl. 42) leads to the East side of the forecourt, between the pillars a15 and a16 through to a 1.20 m long and 2.50 m wide small forecourt (Pl. 43) in front of the entrance to the tomb. In the North and South, the end is the North edge of a16 and the South edge of a15. The place is 1.08 m lower than the courtyard.

Façade

The East wall is 5.10 m or 4.70 m high above the entrance. The wall is well finished, not smoothed. It is smoothed in the narrow band north of the frame. In the upper area of the rock wall, the recess c3 for ceiling tiles can be seen at a height of about 3.40 m (Pl. 44). The rock is inclined 1° outwards.

Entrance

The entrance consists of the door and the door frame. Together they are 2.48 m wide and 3.46 m high (measured from the floor of the forecourt) (Fig. 11). From the level of the forecourt we go at ground level over a new threshold through the new and old door. Then a 12 cm deep step

down into the entrance area. Both door posts are 0.5 m wide and 2.48 m high. On them sits a lintel that is 0.51 m high. On top of it is a round bar with a height of 5 cm and a hollow with a height of 36 cm (all measured from the forecourt).

The north post is partially decorated and inclined 2° outwards (Pl. 45). Because of the poor quality of the rock, it was completely covered with a layer of plaster that had almost completely fallen off. In the lower area, about 15 cm from the floor, there is a 51 cm high display area, which was originally framed, with the dead in front of an offering table. It is partially chipped off. Theoretically four vertical lines of inscription ended above it. You can only see the smoothed rock with remains of mortar.

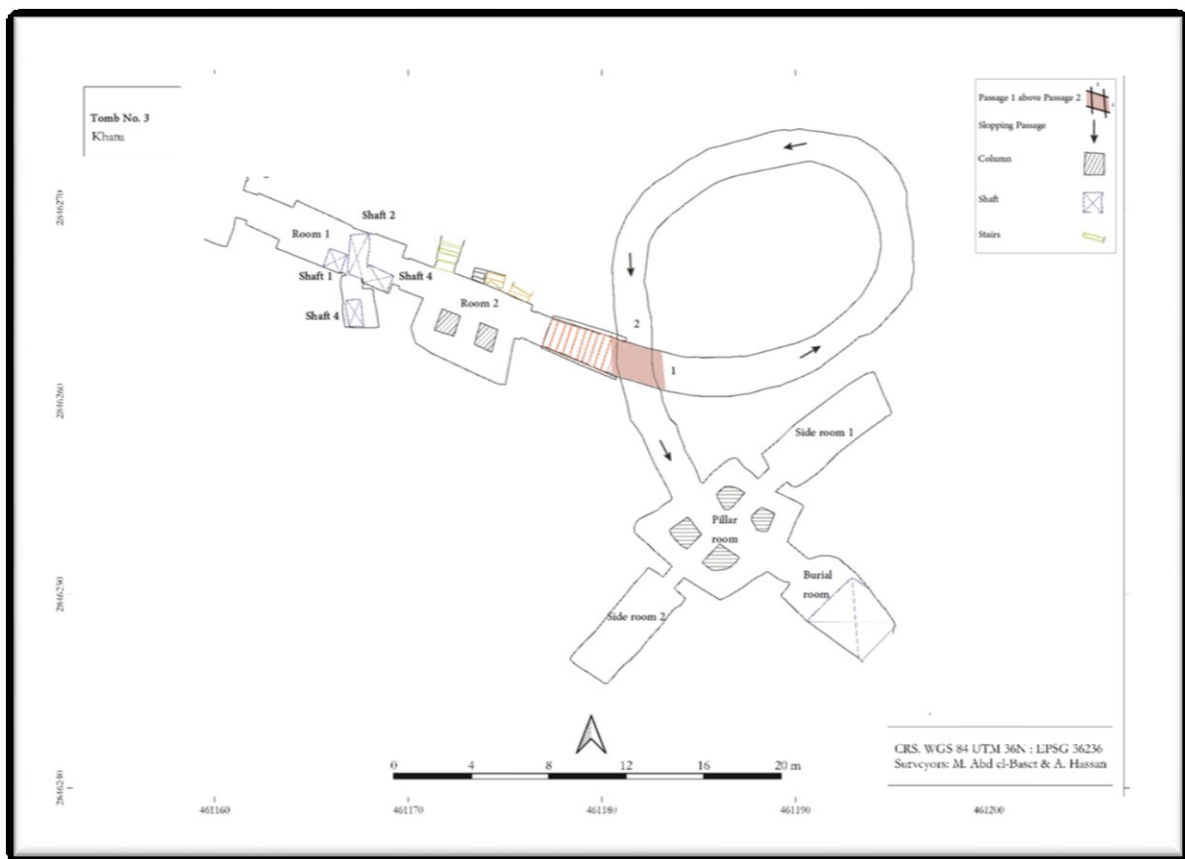


Fig. 11. Plan of Tomb No. 3.

The decoration of the southern post, which is inclined 2° outwards, is better preserved. The field of view that begins after 18cm, is 51 cm high and 44 cm wide and shows the tomb owner in front of a offering structure (Pl. 46), that is framed with a thin line and is wider than the four lines of text, which are together 32 cm wide. Text and representation are cut directly into the

rock here. After 1.45 m from below, the text ends and the smoothed rock can be seen (Pl. 47). The door is 1.45 m wide.

The lintel shows two scenes of worship (Pl. 48). They are completely carved in. The northern half is complete, while the southern one is missing the southern half. The place has remained empty.

Door and door wall: The northern post is 69 cm deep and ends inside concise with the 10 cm high step to the passage. The South post is 54 cm deep and ends 9 cm West of the step. The door wall is therefore irregularly deep. Next to the (East) post there is a small hollow, possibly the door socket for a door hinge. A hinge hole is carved into the rock directly above it (Pl. 49). However, the door does not have a direct stop unless one takes the North post and threshold.

Passage: The northern post steps back 10 cm, the southern 19 cm. The inside of the door is 1.45 m wide, the passage is 1.74 m wide. The northern wall is 1.96 m long, the southern 1.86 m. The passage is 2.67m high in the West and 2.71 m in the East. The floor is smooth and even. 1.28 m East of the threshold, a 16 m high and 26 cm wide threshold from a layer of stone was drawn through the passage at right angles to the wall.

The passage walls are straight and vertical. The decoration of the North wall does not seem to be finished. There is a recessed relief and a prepared wall surface. The South wall seems almost finished. There is a recessed relief in the upper part and in the lower part painted text on a levelling layer.

Tomb interior

The burial site is a large, unfinished, elongated 3-room-tomb. It consists of a long room, a pillar hall and an anteroom to a statue niche (respectively an entrance to a funerary complex). There is no transverse space. All rooms are one behind the other in one axis. Only Room 1 as well as the passages and ceilings are completely carved out. Some walls were smoothed even though the room was not yet finished. There is access to burial chambers in all rooms.

Room 1

From the passage one goes down two steps (12 cm and 17 cm) into the room. The room height is 2.94 m in the west and 2.9 m in the east. The room is carved clean.

The ground is levelled and sinks slightly to the East. From about the middle of the room to the East end, three openings of vertical shafts can be seen. The middle shaft, a rectangle of 2.20 m x 0.95 m, lies a little across the room. When the room was created, the shaft was already here in

the rock. It was deepened from the surface, which is about one meter above the dike (Pl. 50). The room was carved out across the shaft.

The top is flat but has rounded corners (Pl. 51). However, there was not enough space up in the rock for a normal barrel. There are no signs of decoration on the ceiling. The tonnage is characterized by a 35 cm high frieze (Pl. 52) that is integrated into the barrel. The lower edge of the frieze is the beginning of the barrel. In other barrel-tombs this frieze is a pure *hkr*-frieze. Here worship scenes are divided by a 25 cm wide *hkr*-frieze part (Pl. 53). The hole that was made by the shaft had to be closed. This was done by placing three narrow, long, 10 cm wide sandstone slabs next to each other (Pl. 54). In order to reduce the distance to be covered a little and to reduce the pressure on the started barrel, two pilasters, each 1.14 m wide and 10 cm thick, were left at the shaft ends when hacking out the side walls (Pl. 55). The pilasters were also given a curve, supported the hewn barrel bend and took some pressure off of it. The southern pilaster was included in the decoration (Pl. 56).

The walls show a different level of decoration

South wall: The wall is 6.38 m long: from West to East: wall 3.68 m - pilaster 1.14 m - wall 1.56 m. It has been cut straight and has an inclination outwards by 1°. The pilaster is only preserved in the upper third and has no inclination. In the East, 0.75 m from the East wall, there is a 1.90 m wide and 1.04 m large opening that begins 0.20 m above the ground. It leads to a rectangular room that is inclined to the wall, like the middle shaft. Therein there is a vertical, not very deep shaft to a chamber in the South. The South wall was probably completely decorated with recessed relief, as was the pilaster. In recent times, heads have been hewn out of the decoration and sawed out in 4 places.

North wall: The wall is 6.26 m long: from West to East: wall 3.28 m - pilaster 1.14 m - wall 1.84 m. It is hewn straight and without inclination, as is the pilaster. The wall is partly prepared for decoration, partly there are red and black preliminary drawings. The relief work was started in a few places.

West wall: it is 2.69 m long: from North to South: wall 42 cm - entrance 1.82 m - wall 45 cm. The wall is straight and without an inclination. It is prepared for decoration. Decoration cannot be seen.

East wall: it is 2.70 m long: from North to South: wall 68 cm - entrance 1.47 m - wall 55 cm. The wall is straight. The southern part is inclined 2° outwards, the northern part 1° outwards. It is completely prepared for decoration. There are remains of black markings. The entrance is 2.25 m high and the architrave is a bit broken in the middle.

Entrance to Room 2

The 1.47 m wide entrance is designed like an entrance to a tomb (see Pl. 51). There are two door posts and a lintel. Unfortunately, due to the blackening of the wall, not much of the decoration can be seen. A scene can only be seen in the lower part of the southern post (Pl. 57). It starts 10 cm above the ground and is 51 cm high. The wall section is 55 cm wide. It is not clear whether the post is the full width. In any case, the right border of the image field is 11 cm away from the wall, the left only 2 cm. The field of view is 42 cm wide. Above it there are four vertical lines of text that are together 32 cm wide. The higher we look at the post, the more indistinct the signs become. Only remnants of signs can be seen on the North post and the lintel. Both posts are 35 cm deep and pull in 11 cm. With the width of this entrance one would assume a double-leaf door. However, not the slightest trace of an appliance for the door hinges can be seen in the corners above. Nothing can be seen on the floor either, as a later installation to narrow the passage covers the floor.

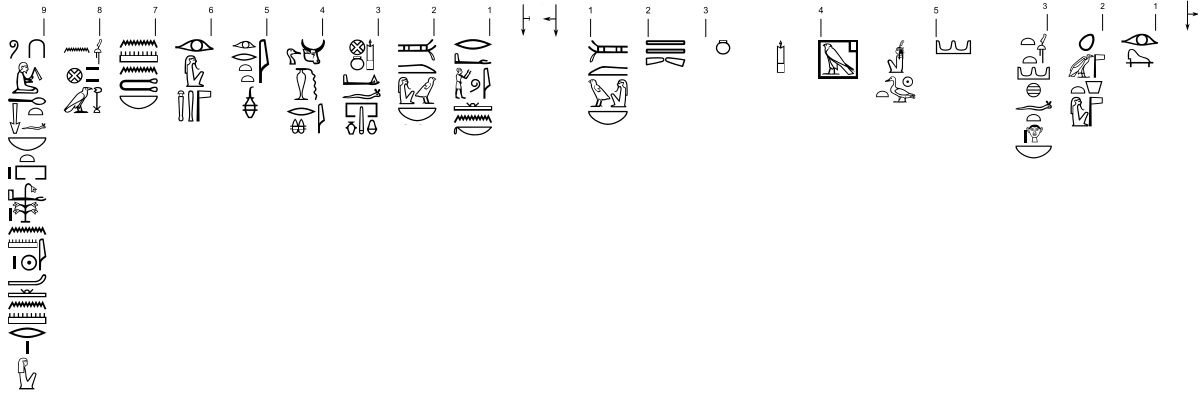
The installation initially consists of 2 adobe walls that were built in front of the passage wall (Pl. 58). On the North side the wall is 45 cm wide, on the South side 37 cm. The originally 1.70 m wide passage narrows to 88 cm. The walls are 94 cm long and were then widened to form door posts. They pull in 13 cm inwards. This narrows the new passage to a door that is 62 cm wide. The posts are 42 cm deep and end in the line of the West wall of Room 2. The entrance walls were decorated with preliminary black drawings. On the southern wall the tomb owner can be seen in front of a long text. This can be seen because the adobe walls in the upper part have been demolished. A white surface with preliminary black and red drawings emerged. Where the wall ended, the wall is black, as can be seen on the North wall.

One leaves Room 1 through a 9 cm deep step down into the passage. This is exited through another 13 cm deep step to Room 2. A 29 cm wide and 18 cm high sandstone threshold was placed in the later door, on which the posts were built, which are flush with the threshold on the inside. The passage height is 2.46 m.

Room 2

The room was left unfinished in the excavation. It was planned as a 4-pillar room. The South part was almost completed. The ceiling in the middle, the axis was very well worked out.

The length of the room is 5.23 m in West-East direction: from West to East: wall - pillar: 1.18 m, pillar: 93 cm, pillar - interspace: 1.12 m, pillar: 1.05 m, pillar - wall: 1.05 m. The theoretical



width can be determined in the southern half: axis - pillar: 1m, pillar: 1.1 m, space between pillar - wall: 1.40 m = 3.50 m. The room width would be 7 m. The floor is well and evenly worked out. It descends to the East.

The ceiling in the axis and between the pillars in West-East direction is very well worked out and smoothed. In the South it was left roughly between the pillars and the wall. In the North it was smoothed as far as the pillars were hewn to the North.

Pillars: The sides of the pillars in the South half are prepared for decoration on the other sides, except in the South. In the axis you can see the remains of various preliminary drawings. The pillars of the North half look different. They are irregularly wide and deep. The rearward part in the North is not excavated. Nevertheless, these pillars have been smoothed. The width of the pillars was changed. The depth of the 1st pillar is 2.10 m like a wall. One could see it as unfinished, but it is smoothed over the entire length, prepared. The interval between the pillars was partly elevated, higher than the pillars in the axis. It was smoothed along with the pillars. The 2nd pillar is only 32 cm wide, so it is more of a barrier. The walls are left unfinished, except for the West wall in the North.

The ceiling parts between the pillars are separated from the ceiling in the middle by a straight W-O edge. In the North, the false ceilings are about 20cm lower than the middle, in the South they are about 10cm lower (with exceptions).

Ceiling heights:

Middle part	In the West	2.65m	Middle	-	East	2.79m
South half		2.55 m		2.55 m		2.57 m
		2.46 m		2.45/3.0 m		2.57 m

Room 3

The entrance to room three was designed like a door. There are 2 doors posts, but the frame at the top merges into the ceiling of the passage. This entrance was also later narrowed with adobe walls. The original entrance was 1.48 m wide and 2.25 m high, later only 84 cm wide. The passage was originally 1.60 m wide, then 1 m. The room is 2.12 m high, 2.10 m wide and 4.25 m long. It is well carved but not smoothed. In the East wall there is a commenced statute niche carved out in steps. The whole room has no floor (any more?). On the North and South side there was a 25 cm wide ledge with the passage level as a frame. The entrance into a sloping passage with a winding exit was designed over the entire remaining width and length. The room thus served as an anteroom to the statue niche as well as a shaft room.

II.3.2. Decoration

Entrance façade (Pl. 59 Fig. 12)

The decoration on the façade and the entrance is like all tombs in the court. It has decoration on the lintel and door frames.

The lintel.

The scenes on the lintel are divided into two parts, left and right (Pl. 60).

On the left side, the god Atum is depicted sitting, he wears the *double*-crown and holds in his hands the *w3s*-scepter (right) and an ankh sign (left). The goddesses Maat and Hathor stand behind him. The lower parts of all of these figures are missing. The goddess Maat wears the plume and a *uraeus* on her head, her right hand extends towards Atum as a sign of protection; the left one is missing. The goddess Hathor wears a *uraeus* and a sun disk between two horns on her head, both of her hands are missing. In front of the gods there are two stands in the form of a lotus flower, each with a “*nmst*” vase of purification and a lotus flower on it. Beyond these, the tomb owner and his wife stand in the position of adoration. He wears a long kilt and a long wig; she is clothed in a long flowing dress and has a balsam cone and a stem of papyrus on her wig. With her left hand she holds a Hathoric *sistrum* and a lotus flower. The scene is accompanied by sunk relief texts written in vertical columns that identify the gods:

[1] [W*sir*] [2] *Ist mwt ntr hnwt ntrw* [3] [*imntt*] *hft-hr-nb.(s)*

[1] [Osiris ...?] [2] Isis, god’s mother, the mistress of the gods [3] [and the West, who is in the presence of (her) lord.

[1] *Tmw nb* [2] *twy* [3] *iwny* [4] *Hwt-hr* [...] *m3^ct s3(t) R^c* [5] ...*h3swt*

[1] Atum, [2] lord of the Two Lands, [3] the one from Heliopolis. [4] Hathor [...]

Maat, daughter of Re [5] ...the foreign land.

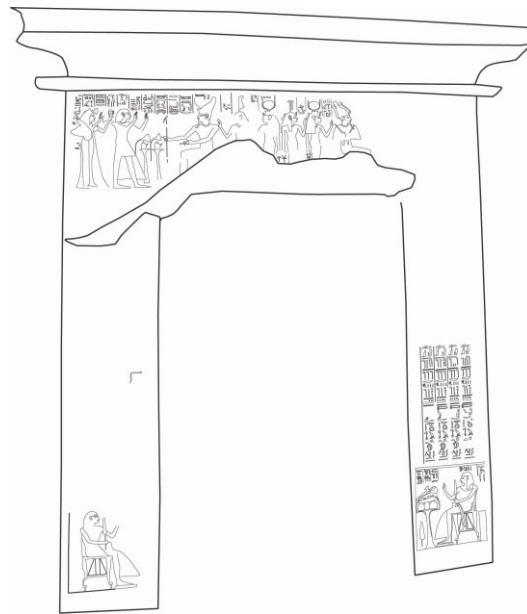


Fig. 12. Tomb No. 3, main doorframe decoration. Drawing by A. Abd el Halim.

[1-3] *rdj j3w n.k Itmw nb-t3wj-Iwnwj di.f prt- hrw t hnkt sntr* [4-5] *[k3w 3pdw] kbh irp irtt*
 [6] *Wsir hm-n t r tpy* [7] *n Mnt(w) nb* [8-9] *iwny H3tw m3 -hrw snt.f nbt pr*
 [*šm^cy(t) Imn-R^c Hw.n-r*]

[1-3] Giving praise to you, Atum lord of the Two Lands, the one from Heliopolis, may he give invocation offerings of bread, beer, incense, [4-5] [cattle, fowl], cool milk and wine [6-7] (for) the Osiris, the first prophet of Montu, lord [8-9] of Armant, Khatu, justified (and for) his wife (lit. “sister”), the lady of the house, [the chantress of Amun-Re, Huner].

On the right side, there is an incomplete/unfinished scene that depicts the god Osiris, appearing in his form wearing the *atef* crown and holding the *hk3*-sceptre and *nhhw*-whip. Behind him, the goddesses Isis and Imentet are standing; they extended their left hands as a sign of protection towards the Osiris and hold in their right hands the ankh sign “*nh*”. The lower parts of all of these figures are missing. The tomb owner and his wife should stand in front of the gods, but unfortunately the scene is incomplete.

The door frame (Fig. 12)

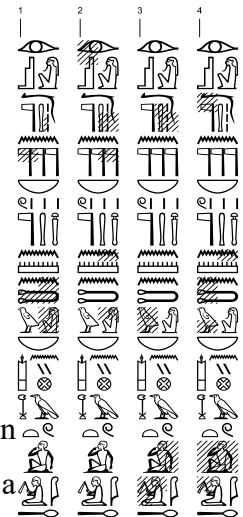
On the right side, the inscriptions did not start from the top as is usual, but started from the middle (Pl. 61). They are written in sunk relief in four vertical columns containing the name and the titles of the tomb owner:

door-jamb

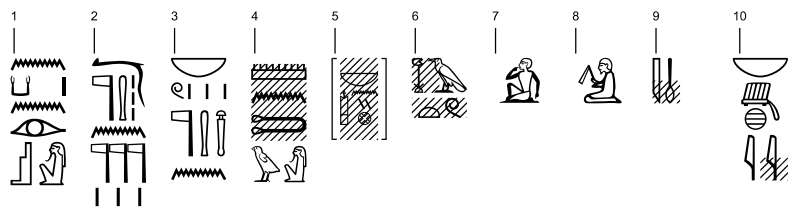
[1] *Wsir imy-r hmw-ntr n ntrw nbw hm-ntr tpy n Mnt(w) nb Twnw*
H3tw m3 -hrw

[1] The Osiris, the overseer of the prophets of all the gods,
 the first prophet of Montu, lord of Armant, Khatu, justified.
 (x4).

At the bottom of the frame, the deceased is depicted sitting in front of an offering table facing toward the left (see Pl. 46). He holds in his left hand a *shim*-scepter and a folded piece of cloth. The accompanying text bears the name and the title of the deceased but it is in bad condition:



bottom text.



[1] *n k3 n Wsir* [2] *imy r hmw-ntr n ntrw*
 [3] *nbw hm-ntr tpy n* [4-5] *Mntw[nb Twny]*
 [6-9] *H3tw m3^c-hrw* [10] *nb im3hy*

[1] For the *ka* of the Osiris, [2] the overseer of the prophets of all the gods, [3] the first prophet of Montu, lord of Armant, [6-9] Khatu, justified and [10] possessor of honor.

On the left side, the scene is unfinished without accompanying text. The only visible image is of the seated deceased is sitting, looking to the right, though this is in very bad condition.

Northern wall of the entrance hall (Pl. 62)

The doorjambs decoration contains an incomplete scene depicting the tomb owner in the praying position, facing toward the outside of the tomb. The head and hands of the man are missing. His arms are raised in front of his face and his right leg steps ahead. He wears a long wide garment and a leopard skin, which symbolizes priesthood. The scene is in bad condition.

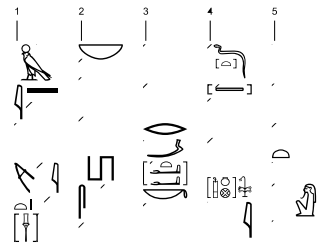
Under this scene, there are traces of another scene in very bad condition as well. This scene depicts the tomb owner and his wife, who are seated in front of an offering table. The tomb owner raises his right hand and holds in the left one the *sh*m-sceptre.

For the wife, only her right arm is preserved. Above them, there is vertical text that contains their names:

Entrance (North side)

Top Text:

- [1] *R^c-Hr-3hty (?)* [...] *mr[yt shm... (?)*
 [2] *nb* [...] [...] [3] [...] *r m3[^ct rdi (?)].k* [...]
 [4] *d[t]* [...] *Ṭwnw-šm^c*
 [5] [...] [...]



- [1] Re-Har[akhty(?)]-Amun [...] [beloved by the mighty one (?)]
 [2] [...] [...]
 [3] truth, so he may give (?) [...] [4] eternity] [...] [...] Armant [5] [...] [...]

The offering table holds bread, a vase for drinking and lotus flowers, and beneath the table there is a jar. Beyond this table, there is text in 6 vertical rows seen until now (Pl. 63) main text (left)

[1] [*htp*]-*di-nswt* [*R^c (nswt) ntrw*] [...] *dd.f h3 m t h3 m hnkt h3 m k3w h3 m 3pdw*

[1] A [royal] offering to [Re (king) of the gods (?)] [...] so he might say: “A thousand of bread loafs, a thousand of beer jugs, a thousand of cattle, a thousand of fowl,

[2] *h3 m irp* [...] [...] *h3.n.k Wsr.k m3^c-hrw Wsir hm-ntr tpy n Mntw H3tw m3-hrw*

[2] A [royal] offering to [Re (king) of the gods (?)] [...] so he might say: “A thousand of bread loafs, a thousand of beer jugs, a thousand of cattle, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of wine [...] [...] you have transformed into an *akh* and are a powerful justified, Osiris, first prophet of Montu, Khatu, justified.

[3] *h3i hr mw sw(3).n.k Twn-mwt.[f] h.n.k wsr.k m3^c-hrw Wsir hm-ntr tpy n Mnṯw H3tw m3^c-hrw*

[3] [...] you are devoted (?) and have honored “the pillar of his mother” (= Horus), you have transformed into an *akh* and are a powerful justified, Osiris, first prophet of Montu, Khatu, justified.

[4] *[... m ... t n] 3h .n.k wsr.k m3^c-hrw Wsir hm-ntr tpy n Mnṯw H3tw m3^c-hrw*

[4] [...] you have transformed into an *akh* and are a powerful justified, Osiris, first prophet of Montu, Khatu, justified.

[5] *[... ...] 3h .n.k wsr.k m3^c-hrw Wsir hm-ntr tpy n Mnṯw H3tw m3^c-hrw*

[5] [...] you have transformed into an *akh* and are a powerful justified, Osiris, first prophet of Montu, Khatu, justified.

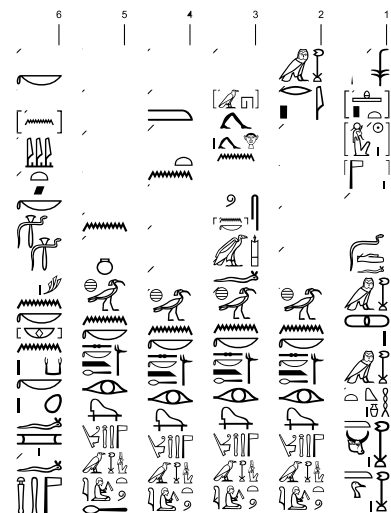
[6] *[...].k [... n ...] sht.k w3d w3d n.k hb (?) n k3.k s3.f mr.f hm-ntr tpy*

[6] [...] your field] is green for you, a feast (?) for your *ka*”. His beloved son, the first prophet.

Then another offering table and a standing man, who may be the tomb owner’s son but the image is mostly damaged.

Entrance (South side)

The drawings and inscriptions on the southern side of the entrance are more preserved than the northern one. The main scene depicts the tomb owner and his wife standing facing toward



the inside of the tomb. Unfortunately, their faces are now destroyed. The tomb owner wears a long, flowing garment and sandals. He raises his hands in worship and his right leg steps ahead. The wife wears a long flowing dress and holds in her right hand a “mnit” necklace (sacred to Hathor) In front of the couple, there is a text written in seven vertical rows; the hymn of Osiris, and a short column of hieroglyphic inscription between the figures (Pl. 64):

[1] *dw3 Wsir [... in (?) imy-r hmw-ntr n ntrw nbw hm-ntr tpy] n Mnṯw nb iwny H3tw m3^c-hrw dd.f ind-hr.k Wsir Wnn-nfrw s3 pwy [tp(y)] n Gb pr m h3 k3*

[1] Worshipping Osiris [...] [by (?) the overseer of the prophets of all the gods, the first prophet] of Montu, lord of Armant, Khatu, justified, saying: “Greetings to you, Osiris Wenenneferu, this first son of [Geb] who has emerged at the beginning, the one with the higher

[2] *3tf [...] pt dw3t t3wy hr hm.f s3 mnht 3hw R^c nswt-bity ntrw nbw wnn.f ntyw iwty R^c ds.f ht nbt rdt nhy*

[2] *atef-crown [... ...] the sky of the underworld, the Two Lands under his majesty, the effective son as Re's akhs, king of Upper and Lower Egypt and of all the gods, whose existence is everything imaginable, (like) Re himself. Everything given is little*

[3] *[... ...] imy[w] 3bdw wsh nmtt m nn(y)-nswt ir.tw n.f hnw m ddw hbwt m iwn[w ?] sns w m ddw hn hbw*

[3] *[... ...] those in Abydos, the one with a wide stride in Heracleopolis. Praises shall be made for him in Busiris and festivals in [Heliopolis ?] , worship in Busiris and musical festivals [... ...]*

[4] *[... ...] [nhm?].tw n.f m ghsty h^{cc} n.f imyw dw3t wr phty shm.f 3w w' sm [gsy ?] m ibw ntrw dw3t sdw3 (?) sb3 hw*

[4] *he should be [acclaimed?] in Gehesty and those who are in the underworld rejoice for him. The one with great strength, whose power is extensive, the only helper [that is beside ?] the hearts of the gods of the underworld, the one that arrives early at the gate (?),*

[5] *[... ...?] f s'nh t3wy bnw R^c n md3wt st3 irw nn wn rh.f nb 'nh*

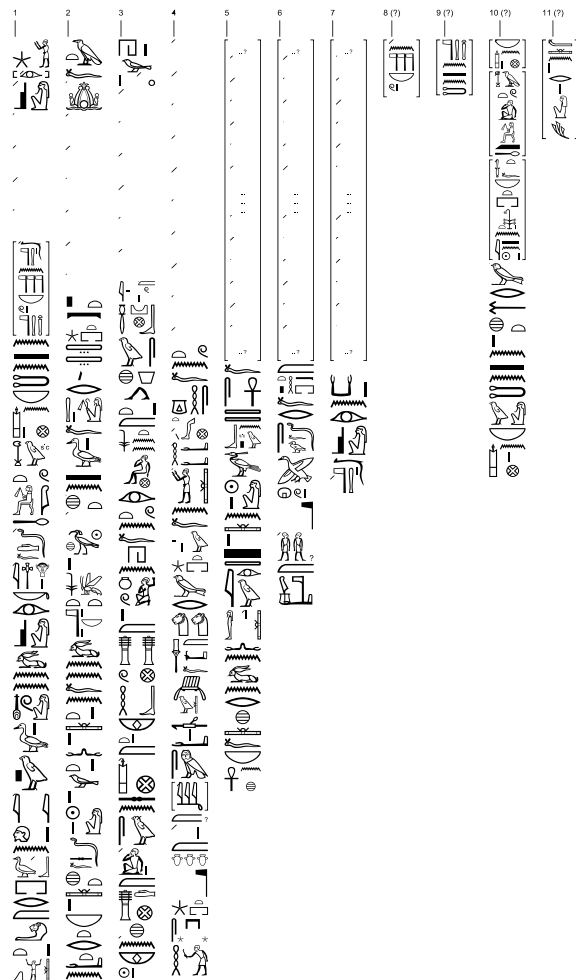
[5] *striking [... ...?]. The Benu of Re causes the Two Lands to live with scrolls of mysterious shapes, there does not exist anything he doesn't know, the lord of life*

[6] *[... ...?] m tph(t).fr sdf3(w) p3pwt ntrw [k^c]r hrt-ntr*

[6] *[... ...?] from his cavern to the provisions of offerings for the gods that [come in and go out] the necropolis*

[7] *[... ...?] k3 n Wsir imy-r hmw-ntr*

[7] *[... ...? (for)] the ka of the overseer of the prophets*



[8] [n ntrw nbw [9] hm-ntr tpy n Mnṯw [10] nb iwny Ḥ3tw m3^c-ḥrw snt.f nbt pr šm^cyt n Imn-R^c wr(t)]
 ḥnrt n Mnṯw nb Twny [11] [Ḥw.n-r m3^ct-ḥrw]

[8] [of all the goods, [9] the first prophet of Montu, [10] lord of Armant, Khatu, justified and his wife, the lady of the house, the chantress of Amun-Re, principal of [11] the harem of Montu, lord of Armant, [Huner, justified].

Under this scene, there is a register that contains the remains of many rows of vertical text and a small scene on the right, depicting a harpist; all are painted in black and heavily damaged. The text in the lower part of the wall can be read as follows (see Pl. 64):



[1-1] ḥtp n Wsir [... ...]

[1-1] Offering for Osiris

[1] [dd].n [p3] ḥsy] n[ty] [m t^c ḥwt] n Wsir [imy-r ḥmw-ntr] n ntrw nbw

[1] [Said] the singer [who is in the tomb] to the Osiris, [the overseer of the prophets] of all the goods,

[2] ḥm-[ntr tpy] n Mnṯw [nb iwny Ḥ3tw m3^c-ḥrw] ḥn.(i) n.k [dr wn] n.k [tp] t3

[2] the [first] prophet of Montu, [lord of Armant, Khatu, justified]: “I cheer you [since] you were upon the earth,

[3] *[iw] phty.k wn.(w) [m ir w3h irt n ib.k r] ij hrw min.f*

[3] your [(physical) strength] (still) existing. [Don’t cease to act according to your heart until] the day of his mooring [arrives].

[4] *[hwt ii. w] htp d3mw sbi.w i r st.sn n3 iy*

[4] (Old) generations have passed away] in peace,

[5] *[hnw sk]m.(s)n sww.sn [n]n šwy [t3 dr rk] bw[t] (?) im sn*

[5] [young generations have come in their place]. Those that had come [had gone, having completed] their days. The earth is [not] empty of them

[6] *r dd m3.(i) sn [r s]d3 [w].(i) (?) [hrt].sn hm r (hrw nfr) r irt*

[6] [since the ages] of ‘abomination’ (?), saying « (I) see them [so] (I) can entertain me (?) (on) their condition, ignorants with respect to the funerary banquet (*hrw nfr*) and with respect to the doings

[7] *n ib.sn ht.k h3c n k(t) ht st hnw [wny].sn hnr*

[7] of their hearts.» Your possessions are abandoned to others, they have departed (you), they have hurried away.

[8] *(i) hr tw tw.k [hr] sdm [mdwt] sdd.(i) n.k m3.tw.i r<wi> sw*

[8] I’m hoarse near you. You have been listening [the words] as I recited you what I have seen.

[9] *p3y.[i h3ty] m [g(3) h.f] w3h.n.i mn(?) .[i ...]*

[9] My [heart] has ceased from [its wearying], I have laid down [my] suffering (?).” [...] you [...

...

[10] *.k [... ... hr (?)] shr.k 3pp hft*

[10] Horus], you will defeat Apophis, the enemy

[11-15] *[n r3]my (?) nn w3h [... ...]f [... ...] m niwt [... ...] h3[... ...]*

[11-15] [of Re] who (?) did not place ... ? [... ...] in the city [... ...].

Room 1

The walls show a different level of decoration

Southern wall (Pl. 65)

This wall is the most preserved part of the scenes and inscriptions in the tomb. It can be said that it is the only wall that was completed in the tomb. Most of these scenes were covered by soot. The decoration consists of a header frieze and two registers.

The header frieze runs along the entire upper part of the south wall. It consists of a repetition of the following elements (Pl. 66):

- three open *kheker*-ornaments surmounted by solar disks.
- the tomb owner kneeling in an adoration position.
- a vertical row of text containing the name and the title of the deceased “the overseer of the prophets of all the goods, the first prophet of Montu, lord of Armant”;
- the god Anubis reclining on his shrine with his tail hanging down behind. His neck is wrapped with linen, a whip extends from the middle of his back, and there is a scepter between his legs.

The frieze is surrounded by a thick line.

The first, upper register is divided into three scenes, the right one and the left one. The right one shows the tomb owner and his wife standing in adoration, facing left before the children of Horus, Isis, Nephthys, and Anubis, in two rows (Pl. 67). The tomb owner wears a long wig, a long garment, and sandals. His wife wears a long dress with bare feet and she holds in her left hand the Hathoric *sistrum* and lots of flowers. The couple raises their hands in the position of worship.

The deities face toward the right and are divided into upper and lower sections. The upper row includes the children of Horus sitting two behind two. The two in the front are Imseti and Hapy, and the two in the back are Duamutef and Kebehsenuf. The lower row includes the deities Isis and Nephthys seated in the front and Anubis seated behind them. In front of them, an offering table holds breads and lotus flowers. The vertical texts above them contain their names. The accompanying text which separates the gods and the adoring tomb owner and his wife is written in 12 vertical columns and is dedicated to the "Adoration of Osiris". Besides, the hieroglyphic inscriptions are also attested above the gods and between the couple. All the scenes and the inscriptions are in sunk relief.

Third register

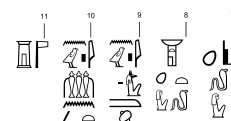
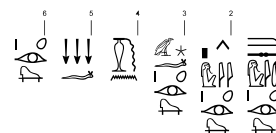
[1] *Imsti s3 Wsir*

[1] Imesti, son of Osiris.

[2] *Hpy s3 Wsir*

[2] Hapy, son of Osiris.

[3] *Dw³-mwt.f s3 Wsir*



[3] Duamutef, son of Osiris.

[5] *Kbh*
[1] Qebeh

[5] *Snw.f*
[5] . Senuef,

[6] *s3 Wsir*
[6] son of Osiris.

[7] *Ist*
[7] Isis.

[8] *Nbt-hwt*
[8] Nephthys.

[9] *Inpw imy wt*
[9] Anubis who is in the place of embalming.

[10] *Inpw hnty*
[10] Anubis who dwells

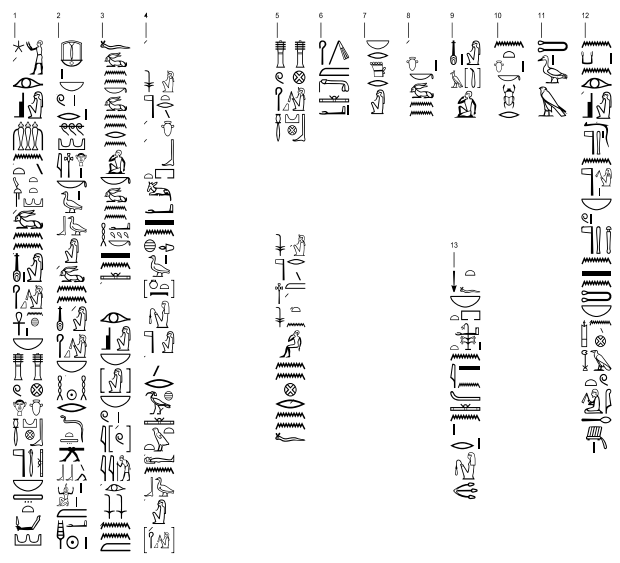
[11] *sh-ntr*
[11] in the divine booth.

[1] *dw3 Wsir hnty imntt Wnn-nfr hk3 hw nb ddw*
hr(y)-ib 3bdw ntr 3c nb t3-dsrt
[1] Worshipping Osiris, foremost of the West,
Wennefer, ruler of the living, lord of Busiris,
who resides in Abydos, [great] god, lord of the
sacred land (= necropolis)

[2] *hbw nbw r-st3w ind-hr.k s3 gb wnn-nfr hk3*
(n)hh r dt sbb hhw m hw
[2] and (of) every feast of Roseteau:
“Greetings to you, son of Geb, [Wenen]nefer,
ruler, lord of Eternity (*nhh*) forever, who has
passed millions (of years) in his life.

[3] *.f wnn.k wnn rn.k wnn hw.k mn [...] Wsir nb ntr(w)(?) nbw i(3) i(3)[w] y ir nn m*
[3] You exists, your name exists, your body exists, enduring [...]. Osiris, lord of all the gods (?),
the old age did this with

[4] *[...] nswt ntry [hr]-ib [...]bt iw3 mnht s3 [nwt] [...] r 3h twt n gb [hk3]*¹
[4] [...] the divine king, the one who resides in [...], the excellent heir, son of [Nut], [the one
who ?] glorifies the image of Geb, [ruler]



[5] *ddw hk3 3bdw nswt ntry nd m nn(y)-nswt rnn.f*
[5] of Busiris, ruler of Abydos, the divine king protected in Heracleopolis, who nursed him,

[6] *hk3 nh3h3 m-b^ch*
[6] the owner of the flagellum. In the presence of the lord of all

[7] [...] *ib.k wnn*
[7] [...]your heart, Wenen-

[8] *-nfr nht*
[8] nefer, a prayer

[9] *nt ib.k hpr*
[9] to your heart,

[10] *t(n) s3(w) Hr*
[10] (so that) you might transform, son(s) of Horus.”

[11] *n k3 n Wsir imy-r [hmw]-ntr [n] ntrw nbw [hm-ntr] tpy n Mntw nb iwn[y] H3tw m3^c-hrw im3h3w*
[11] For the ka of the Osiris, the overseer of [the prophets of] all the goods, the first [prophet] of Montu, lord of Armant, Khatu, justified and honored,

[12] *snt.f nbt pr sm^cyt Imn-R^c Hw.n-r m3^ct-hrw*
[12]and his wife (lit. “sister”), the lady of the house, the chantress of Amun-Re, Huner, justified.

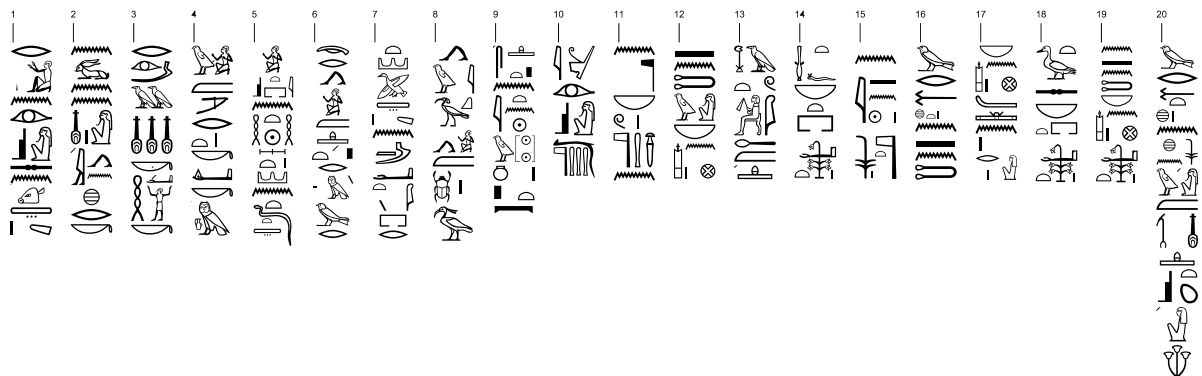
The left scene in the first register shows the presentation of the court or the weighing of the heart (Pl. 68). The god Anubis, in human body with jackal head, presents the couple into the judgment hall. With his left hand he holds the right hand of the tomb owner. The tomb owner is followed by his wife: however, her upper half is completely destroyed. In front of Anubis there is the balance, in whose left bowl is the feather of Maat (truth), and in the right bowl is the heart of the deceased. Horus kneels and holds the stand for the balance with his left hand. At the top of the balance is a small baboon, from beneath which a vertical feather protrudes. The plume is checked by Horus with his right hand. To the left of the balance, Thoth is depicted with his right hand raised in greeting, whilst in his left he holds his writing materials. The result of the weighing should be presented to Osiris, who is sitting in his shrine with two goddesses standing behind him. Unfortunately, their heads of these figures have been hewn out of the decoration in recent times. In front of Osiris’ shrine, before Thoth, there are offerings stacked on two pedestals. At the foot of these pedestals there are large lotus form chalices or vases and lettuce. Between of them there is a flower bouquet.

The scene in the second, lower register is one of the most preserved in the (Pl. 69). In it, the tomb owner stands with his wife and his sister behind him. They raise their hands for greeting the god Osiris who sits in a shrine with two goddesses standing behind him. The face

and chest of Osiris and the upper parts of the goddesses were destroyed in modern times. In front of the shrine there is a big offering table.

In this scene the tomb owner wears a long transparent pleated tunic, a pleated loincloth, and sandals. He carries a basket on his right arm. His wife wears a long dress and she holds in her left hand a hathoric *sistrum* and lotus flowers, while her right hand holds a *menat* sacred necklace related to Hathor. On her head, she wears a balsam cone of and a lotus plant with the bud on her forehead. The tomb owner's sister is represented in the same manner as his wife.

The shrine of the Osiris was designed with two columns and a roof. Above the roof is a cornice decorated by a frieze of *ureus* (cobra) with sun-disks. Within the shrine the god Osiris is sitting in his form and two goddesses are standing behind him, extending their wings around him as a sign of protection. In front of Osiris, the Four Sons of Horus stand on a lotus flower. In the upper right corner of the shrine, three vertical texts contain the name of Osiris and his titles. In front of the shrine there is a big offering table supported by four stands. In the pile of offerings, a bird, meat, grapes, figs, and a bouquet of lotus flowers can be seen. Between the four stands at their base there are lettuce and lotus bouquets. This scene is accompanied by a text written in 20 vertical columns that includes prayers to the god Osiris. The text can be read as follows



[1] *rdi i3w n Wsjr sn t3*

[1] Giving praise to Osiris, kissing the earth.

[2] *n Wnn-nfr ii.n.(i) hr.k*

[2] to Wenennefer I have come to you to

[3] *r m33 nfrw.k h^c.k wj*

[3] see your beauty, I am joyful

[4] *m mrwt.k di.k [hnm]*

[4] in your love. Allow me

- [5] *.i st.i nt nhh smyt nt dt*
 [5] [to join] my place of eternity (*nhh*) and the necropolis of durability (*dt*).
- [6] *spr.i m htp r imy-wrt*
 [6] I arrived in peace to the west side
- [7] *p3 t3 n m3^cty pr.(i)*
 [7] of this land of the Two Maats, I departed
- [8] *pr.i ^ck.i m hprw 3h3*
 [8] myself and entered into the appearance of an ³*h*-spirit,
- [9] *[s]htp.n itnwy (?) nw pt*
 [9] appeased by the two discs (?) of the sky.
- [10] *in Wsir imy-r hmw-ntr*
 [10] By the Osiris, the overseer of the prophets
- [11] *n ntrw nbw hm-ntr tpy n*
 [11] of all the goods, the first prophet of
- [12] *Mntw nb Twny*
 [12] Montu, lord of Armant,
- [13] *H3tw m33-hrw m [htp]*
 [13] Khatu, justified in peace,
- [14] *snt.f nbt pr sm^cyt*
 [14] his wife, the lady of the house, the chantress
- [15] *n Imn-R^c nswt ntrw*
 [15] of Amun-Re, king of the gods,
- [16] *wr(t) hprt n Mntw*
 [16] principal of the harem of Montu,
- [17] *nb iwny Hw.n-r*
 [17] lord of Armant, Huner
- [18] *s3t.s nbt pr sm^cyt*
 [18] and her daughter, the lady of the house, the chantress
- [19] *n Mntw nb iwny sm^cyt*
 [19] of Montu, lord of Armant,

[20] *wr(t) hnr̄t n Hnsw-m-w³st-Nfr-h̄tp ʾIst m³t-h̄rw*

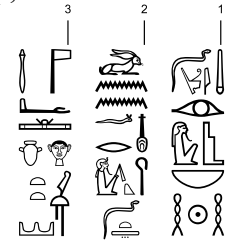
[20] the principal chantress of the harem of Khonsu in Thebes Neferhotep, Isis, justified.

[1] *ḏd mdw Wsir nb (n)h̄h*

[1] Words spoken by Osiris, lord of the eternity,

[2] *Wnn-nfr h̄k³ 3 ḏt ntr ʾꜥ hr h̄(y)-ib ʾImntt*

[2] Wenenefer, ruler of the *ḏt*-eternity, great god amongst the West.



To the left of the scenes described above, there is another part of the southern wall decoration. This one is also divided into two registers: upper and lower, although the latest is badly damaged. The second scene in the first register at the end of this wall was destroyed in recent times (Pl. 70). It represents the tomb owner and his wife praying in front of a god (maybe Osiris?), the image of which is now lost. The tomb owner appears as a priest having a shaven skull and wearing long overlapping cloth. He is followed by his wife who raises her hands and holds the Hathoric *sistrum* in her left hand. It is difficult to identify her clothes because the scene was covered by soot. The god (Osiris?) sits with a bouquet of lotus flowers and an offering table in front of him. Behind him a goddess stands holding the *ankh*-sign in her right hand. Unfortunately, the upper half of both of these figures was destroyed. Above this scene, there is an accompanying text arranged in seven vertical columns in sunk relief.

Fifth register

[1] *h̄k³*

[1] ruler [... ..]

[2] *nfr ib hr ršw*

[2] ease with happiness,

[3] *in Wsir i*

[3] by Osiris

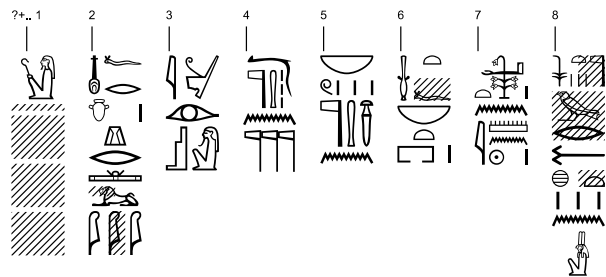
[4] *imy-r h̄mw-ntr n ntrw*

[4] by the overseer of the prophets of all the gods

[5] *nbw h̄m-ntr tpy n [(Mntw nb ʾwny H3tw)]*

[5] the first prophet of [(Montu, lord of Armant, Khatu)]

[6] *snt.f nbt pr*



[6] and his wife, the lady of the house,

[7] *šmꜥyt n Imn-Rꜥ*

[7] the chantress of Amun-Re,

[8] *nswt ntrw [wr(t) nhnrt n Mntw [(nb Twny Hw.n-r)]*

[8] king of the gods, [principal] of the harem of Montu, [(lord of Armant, Huner)].

Below this scene, there is another, but badly preserved fragment of the decoration of the eastern end of the room. The most part of this scene is destroyed as there is a large hole in this side of the southern wall. On the left side, the deity Imentet faces toward the right (west) and wears a knitted robe, holding in her left hand a *was*-scepter and in her right hand the ankh sign of life *ankh* (pl. 71). In front of the goddess there is a long poorly preserved text that is written in fifteen vertical columns, which can be read as follows:

[1] *i3w n k3(.t) tw.j rh.k(wj) sbnt iry.s st.j hnm.s*

[1] Adoration to your *Ka*, I know (you) “The Nurse” (The goddess Imentet) ,

[2] *hꜥp.s dt.j (m) hpt (.s) (n) nhh*

[2] which make my place, she will collect [...] she hides the body of men for the eternity (*nhh*),

[3] *sš bw nhm(.s) t3 jr mwt.f bw*

[3] embraces men in Thebes [... ...] the nest, the place where I will save the nestling, his mother

[4] *f n ntr sndt.k k3.f wn...rnp*

[4] will make a place [... ...] for the god, who you will fear his *ka* [...] will be rejuvenated (?) [...]

[5] *bnwj šd3 ꜥwy k3.f bw h[b3 (?)]*

[5] Benuy, the arms of his *ka* relax (in) the place [...] [... ...]

[6] *in k3 n Wsir [imy-rꜥ hmw-ntr n ntrw nbw]*

[6] by the *ka* of the Osiris, [the overseer of the prophets of all the goods],

[7] *hm-ntr tpy n Mntw nb*

[7] the first prophet of Montu, lord



[8] *iwnw-[šm3w (?) H3tw-m3^c-hrw]*

[8] [of the Upper-Egyptian-Heliopolis (=Armant), Khatu, justified].

Pillared hall

The wall decoration, except the parts described above, has been also attested in the pillared hall located behind the room 1. At the back wall of this chamber, there is a scene showing the owner of the tomb sitting on a chair with his right arm raised up (Pl.72). In front him there is the offering table and a badly preserved and unclear vertical hieroglyphic inscription. One shall also mentioned that this scene has been only painted in black ink and not carved in relief as the scenes from the other parts of this tomb.

II.4. Tomb of Amenhotep (Tomb No. 4) (TT 25)

II.4.1. Architecture (Fig. 13)

Location

In the Northeast of the forecourt A (Pl. 73)

Façade

The remaining façade in the Northeast was probably not in good condition after the installation of shaft e-d. It was moved about 0.70 m to the East (Pl. 74). Thus, from the corner to the South there was a roughly 3.30 m long rock wall to the shaft. A door frame started right in the corner. The whole entrance was sunk into the rock, the frame slightly raised. South of the frame, the rock was probably worked off reasonably well up to the shaft. The inclination of the facade is 1° outwards.

Entrance

The implementation for the frame is 2.05 m wide and 3.10 m high. It has no inclination. The rock above the entrance is 3.40 m high. The frame with entrance (Pl. 75) is 1.77 m wide and 2.11 m high. It has been broken out and renewed inside (post and lintel).

Both door posts are each 38 cm wide and 2.11 m high. The entrance is 1.01 m wide and 2.11 m high. There is a 51 cm high lintel on the door post. On the door lintel there is a 42 cm high hollow on a 6 cm thin round rod. On both posts, three vertical lines of text begin under the lintel, together 23 cm wide. The characters are either engraved directly into the rock, or, as in the lower part, they are engraved into plaster that compensates for the bad rock. On the southern post, in

the lower part, 56 cm to 90cm from the ground = to the end of the text bands, remains of a display area (Pl. 76) can be seen with the grave lord sitting in front of a sacrificial structure. Nothing can be seen at the corresponding point on the northern post. In front of the entrance there is a 15 cm high step, on which you step into the entrance area and on which the door posts, which are now largely renewed, are also located. After the modern door, behind the posts, nothing can be seen due to the burial on the floor. There was probably a threshold. At the end of the passage there is a step. A door hinge - or hole is to be expected behind the southern post. Above, in the corner from the ceiling to the wall, there is a recess (Pl. 77) for a door hinge stone or a door hinge pin. The door opened inward on the left into the passage. Two fully decorated passage side walls, 1.42 m in the South and 1.49 m in the North, connect to the posts. The northern side wall is vertical in the lower part, in the upper 3° inward. The southern side wall is also vertical below and inclined 1° inwards above. Both side walls are decorated with recessed relief. It is either cut directly into the stone or into a levelling layer of plaster. The plaster consists of very fine lime mortar.

Then fine, thin lime mortar. Everything is painted. On the South wall the tomb owner and his wife enter the tomb (Pl. 78) on the North side they step out with badly damaged (Pl. 79).

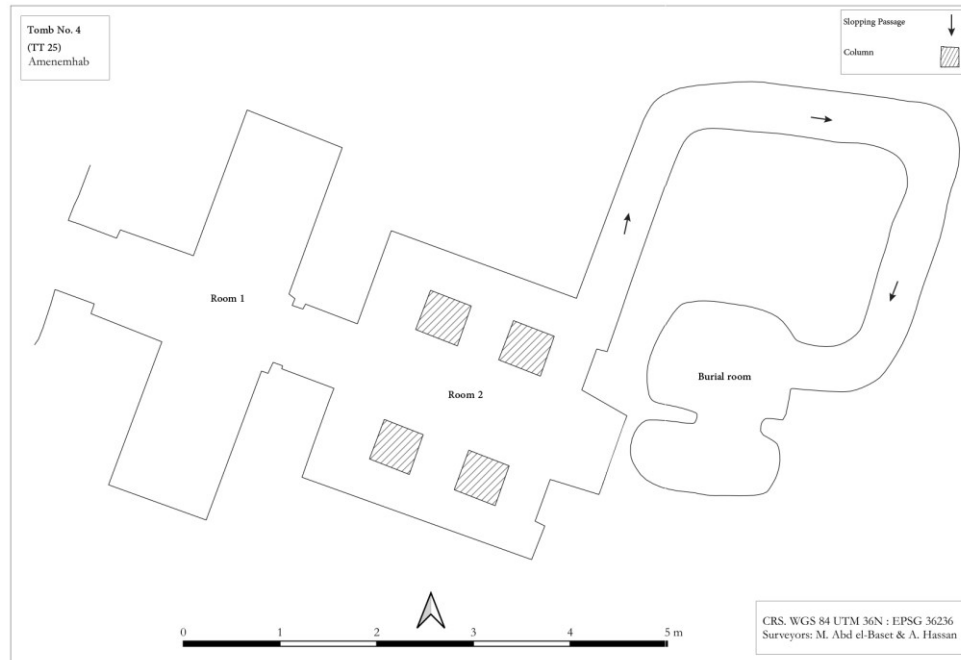


Fig. 13. Tomb No. 4, architectural plan.

Tomb interior

The burial site is a two rooms tomb with a deep entrance, a cross room, a deep passage, and an almost square four pillars room with a statue niche in the East wall. All parts of the room have a flat ceiling. Overall, the grave is very well worked out. The floor is currently nowhere completely free. The pillar space is buried up to $\frac{3}{4}$ the height of the room. The walls are straight and almost vertical. All visible walls are prepared for decoration. However, only the entrance area and the cross room with their ceilings seem to be fully decorated.

Room 1

The space is well worked out. It has relatively straight and vertical walls, right-angled corners, and a real horizontal ceiling. The floor seems to have been worked horizontally as far as can be seen. In many places the rock had to be repaired. Small bumps or breakouts only with a lime mortar, coarser breakouts with a thick mortar made of grey-black Nile mud with chaff (Pl. 80) and lime mortar on top. Larger gaps were also filled with limestone, especially at corners, and connected with Nile mud (Pl. 81). All walls are decorated with painting on the plaster. This plaster has partly peeled off or has discoloured. The whole room seems to have not been decorated on the bottom 60-80 cm. Each decoration ends with coloured ladders and coloured lines.

The central part of the ceiling is divided into three architecturally and decoratively. The passage was continued on the ceiling (see Pl. 77) to the door frame of the entrance to room two (Pl. 82). The 1.18 m wide ceiling decoration was widened by 12 cm each in the North and South. The remaining decoration remains show a similar pattern. This strip, widened to 1.42 m, is 5 cm higher than the ceilings in both transverse wings. Remnants are only preserved in the corners (Pl. 83). The strip ends with a width of 1.46 m above the door lintel (see Pl. 82).

The ceiling of the north wing of the transverse room has almost completely fallen off. A piece has been preserved in the North-West corner. No decoration can be seen. A piece of decoration with wavy lines has been preserved in the South-West. This corresponds to the ceiling of the eastern half of the South wing. The ceiling of the southern wing of the transverse room has been partially preserved. In the middle, a band of text runs from North to South, framed by coloured conductors. The eastern field is decorated with zigzags and wavy lines, the western field with stars (crosses in squares).

Ceiling heights: Middle: West: 2.41 m, East: 2.34 m North wing: South East: 2.29 m, N: not accessible

South wing: North East: 2.29 m, South: not accessible

North face: not accessible. Smoothed, prepared for decoration. From a distance it cannot be seen whether the wall is or was decorated (Pl. 84).

South wall: not accessible. The wall is completely decorated but partially damaged (Pl. 85).

West wall: The wall is 8.30 m long: from North to South: wall 3.35 m - entrance 1.18 m - wall 3.77 m.

South part: not exactly straight, curved inward in the middle. Not quite vertical, in the lower half vertical, in the upper half inclined 1° outwards. Except for the lower stripe, the decoration is recognizable, albeit damaged (Pl. 86).

North part: not straight, curved inwards at the North end. Not quite vertical, inclined 2° outwards from bottom to centre, inclined 2° inwards from centre upwards.

East wall: The wall is 8.11 m long: from North to South: wall 3.67 m - entrance 0.72 m - wall 3.72 m.

South part: not exactly straight, curved inward in the middle. Not quite vertical, in the lower half inclined 1° outwards, in the upper half inwards. Some of the decoration has flaked off (Pl. 87).

North part: not exactly straight, curved inward in the middle. Not quite vertical, in the lower part 1° outwards, in the upper part 1° inwards. Here, too, the whole wall was covered with lime plaster and painted. A lot has fallen off (Pl. 88).

Entrance: This entrance has a door frame (Pl. 89). The door and door frame were 1.46 m wide and 2.36 m high. The door posts are originally 2.3 cm wide. The southern one was worked off / narrowed 10 cm above the ground so that it was only 20 cm wide (Pl.90). This widened the door from 82 cm to 93 cm. Both posts show two vertical lines of inscription that start below the lintel and end 62 cm in the North and 70 cm in the South above the ground. The inscription marks were painted in red and black. The lintel, which was originally 47 cm high, was chiselled off at the bottom and was then only 30 cm high. The chiselling off of the door post and lintel caused the lower edge to be level with the ceiling (Pl. 91).

In this way, for example, a large, rectangular wooden chest could be brought into Room 2.

There are no traces of door hinge holes on the floor on either side. However, there are cut-outs for hinges at the top between the ceiling and the wall on both sides. There is a door bolt hole on the North side, 1.20 m above the floor. The passage to Room 2 was very deep with a long wall in the South of 1.48 m and in the North of 1.42 m. The passage width is 1.02 m in the West and 1.04 m in the East. Both passage walls are smoothly plastered, now black.

Room 2

The emphasis on the centre continues in Room 2. The symmetrical position of the four pillars and the two pilasters on the left and right of the niche is the continuation of the 1st passage, Room 1 and 2nd passage. The ceiling in Room 2 is lower overall, but the middle part is again higher than the ceiling parts to the North and South of it. The middle part is wider than the passage. It is 28 cm wider to the North and 46 cm to the South. A flat, continuous architrave that protrudes inward was suggested on the pillars. The height of the architrave increases from West to East. The architraves end on the pilasters by the niche.

II.4.2. Decoration

In general, the inscriptions in this tomb are in poor condition and it is very difficult to identify them, except for the thickness of the entrance to the tomb, which is in fairly good condition.

The entrance (see Pls. 78 and 79)

The lintel has a sunk relief scene engraved directly into the rock and divided into right and left sides. The right part depicts the owner of the tomb and his wife standing in front of the gods Osiris and Isis. The goddess Isis stands with her left hand extended toward the god Osiris as a sign of protection and her right hand rests at her side. The god Osiris is sitting wearing the *atef*-crown and holds in his hands the *hk3*-sceptre and *nhhw*-whip, *W3st*-sceptre. An offering table sits in front of the god and on the other side of it the owner of the tomb stands with his hands raised in worship wearing a short kilt. His wife stands behind him in the same pose wearing a long tight-fitting dress. A badly preserved text above the scene identifies the gods.

On the left side of the lintel, the tomb owner and his wife (now completely destroyed) similarly stand before an offering table and the gods Re-Harakhty and Maat in worship. The god Re-Harakhty sits holding an ankh sign in his right hand and a *W3st* -scepter in his left hand. The goddess Maat stands behind Re-Harakhty and extends her right hand toward him while holding an ankh sign in her left hand. Above this scene there is horizontal text that is too damaged to read.

The frame of the door has three vertical columns of inscription on the left side, while only one badly preserved column is still visible on the right side as the other two have been completely damaged. The lower parts of both sides are damaged too. At the bottom of the right side there are remains of a scene depicting the deceased sitting facing toward the left. The vertical columns contain the classic "*htp di nswt*" formulas. The left jamb reads as follows:

[1] *ḥtp-dī-nsw Imn-R^c nb nswt t3wy [ḥnt(y)] Ḳpt-swt nb pt ḥk3 w3st [...]*

[1] A royal offering which the king gives to Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, [foremost] of Karnak, lord of the sky, ruler of Thebes [...]

[2] *ḥtp-dī-nswt Mwt wrt nbt Išrw ḥnwt Ntrw nbw [...]*

[2] A royal offering which the king gives to Mut the Great, lady of Isheru, mistress of all the gods [...]

[3] *ḥtp-dī-nswt Ḥnsw-m-w3st-Nfr-ḥtp-Dḥwty [...]*

[3] A royal offering which the king gives to Khonsu-in-Thebes-Neferhotep-Thoth [...]

The right jamb reads as follows.

[1] [*ḥtp-dī-nswt ...*]

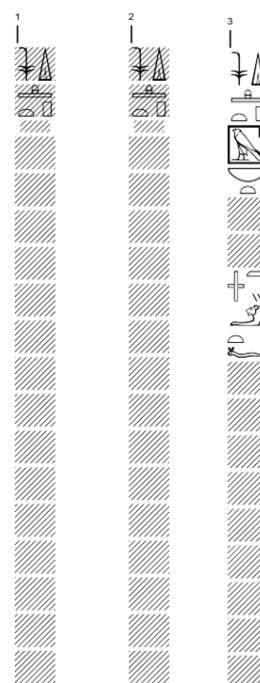
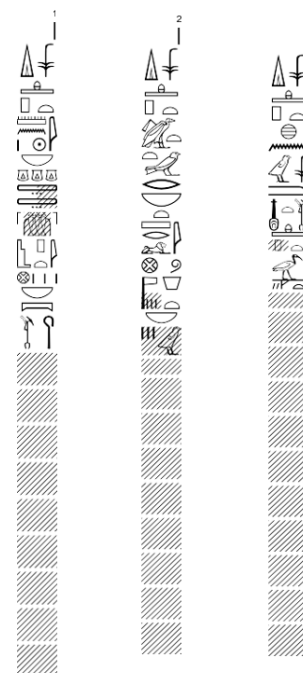
[1] [A royal offering which the king gives to ...]

[2] [*ḥtp-dī-nsw ...*]

[2] [A royal offering which the king gives to ...]

[3] *ḥtp-dī-nsw Ḥwt-ḥr nbt [...]* *imy-ḥ3t.f [...]*

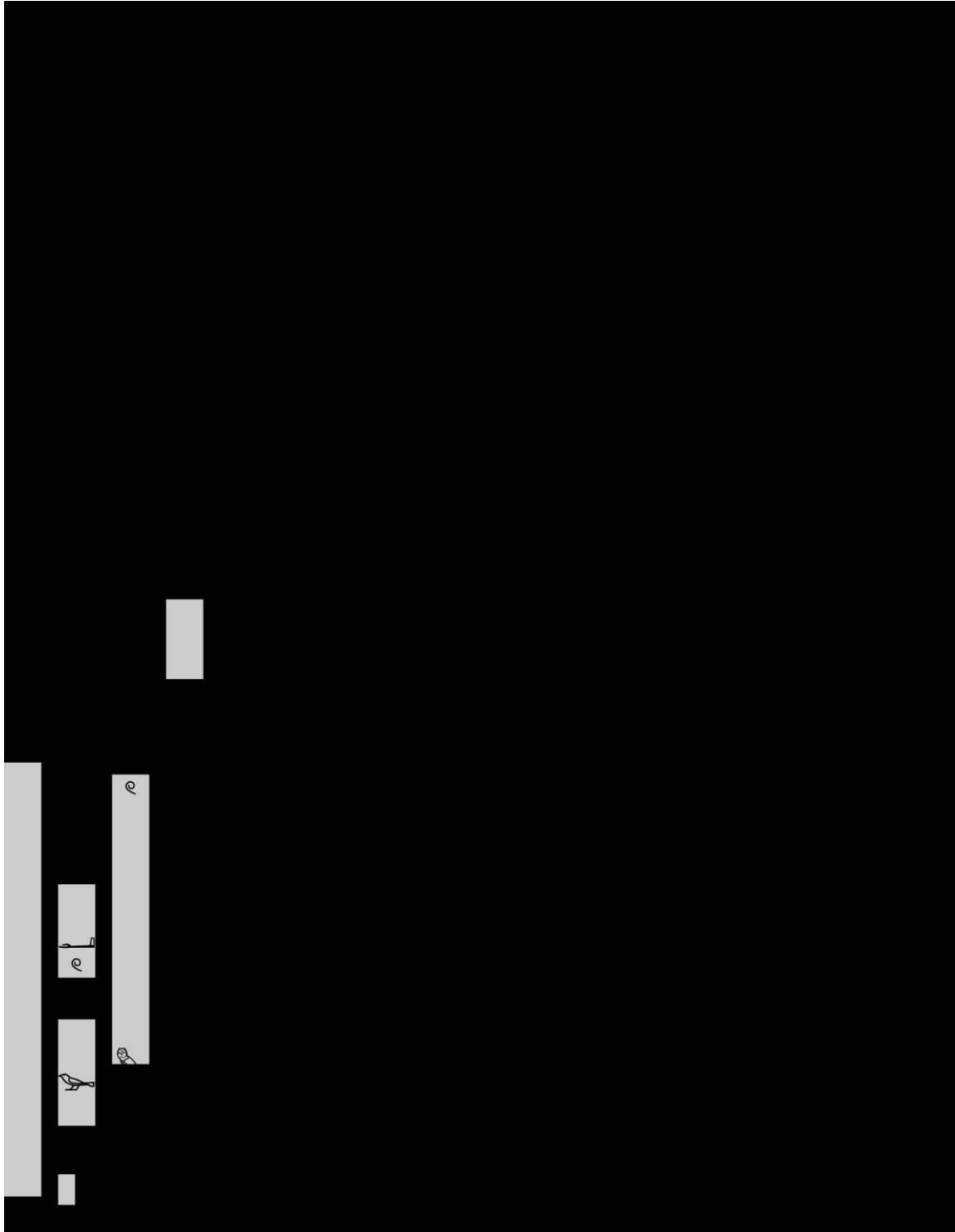
[3] A royal offering which the king gives to Hathor, lady of [...] who is at his front [...]



The thickness of the entrance

The left (north) wall

On the left wall of the thickness, the tomb owner and his wife are depicted in a position of prayer along with a hymn to Amun-Re (see Pl. 79). The text is written in sunk relief in 18 vertical columns on a red background:



[1] *dw3 Imn-R^c wbn m hrt*
R^c pw Hr-3htj

[1] Praising Amun-Re who rises in heaven
 namely Re-Harakhty,

in hm ntr tpj n Hnsw
Imn-m-ḥb m3^c-ḥrw
 [2] [*ind-ḥr.k ḥ^cj.tj m wj3.k*
shd.n.k t3.wj m nfrw.k
bjk] ntrj s3b šwt
 [2] *bḥdtj shrjw dw nb*
wbn.k sp-2
psd.k sp-2
ḥ^cj.tj m njswt ntr.w
ir.n.k Nwt ^c.wj.[s m njnj
šsp tw] imj.w [m3nw m htp
dw3 tw nb.tj] mr.tj.k
 [3] *sw3š.sn nfrw hm.k*
shtp tw Gb Nwt
irjn.k msw.sn hnw
 [dw3 tw imj.w btt
ib3n.k ^cwt km3.n.k
nmj].k [4] ḥrt ib.k 3wjw
b3.w P Nḥn m s3.k
d3.k pt [m ḥ^cw
mr nh3wj ḥprw] m htpw
^c3pp ḥrw n [5] š^ct.f
ḥsk(n).n dmt tswt.f
 [6] *ntr.w m ḥ^cw*
wnn R^c n [7] m3^cw nfr
mškt sk.n.s[8] ph sj
m^cndt [9] šsp.n.s ršwt
 [10] *wj3 n ḥh.w ḥr [11] ršrš*
iswt [12] R^c m ḥ3b
 [13] *m33.sn [14] shrw [15] sbj*
dr.n s(w) ns(r)t
 [16] *dj.k wn.j m-m [17] ḥsj.w*
wnj.w [18] ḥr m33 stwt.k

by the first prophet of Khonsu,
 Amenemheb justified.
 [Hail to you, who appears in your bark,
 who illuminates Two Lands with your beauty,
 divine falcon], with colored feathers,
 [2] Bekhdety, who overthrows all evil.
 You rise, you rise!
 You shine, you shine!
 You who appears as a king of the gods,
 Nut has prepared his hands in the gesture of welcome.
 You have been taken by those who are in Manu in peace.
 Two mistresses and your Two female singers praise you,
 [3] they extol the beauty of your person,
 Geb and Nut pasify you,
 their children make for you jubilation,
 [Baboons praise you,
 the livestock created by you is dancing for you]
 [4] You traverse the heaven while your heart is wide,
 The souls of Pe and Nekhen are in your protection,
 you crosses the sky [in joy,
 The Lake of the Two knives appeared] in peace
 Apophis is fallen to his place [5]of execution,
 the knife has cut his vertebra.
 [6] The gods are in joy.
 Re is in [7] good sailing wind.
 The Night-bark, [8] she destroyed whoever attacked her.
 The Day-bark, [9] she recieves the joy.
 [10] The bark of Millions [11] is rejoicing.
 The crew of [12] Re is in celebration,
 [13] when they see [14] the falling of the [15] rebel,
 when the flame drives him back.
 [16] May you give that I will be among [17] the praised ones,
 those who exist in [18] watching your light.

n k3 n hm ntr tpj n Hnsw

Imn-m-ḥb m3^c-ḥrw

m ḥtp r gs.k nḥḥ

For the *ka* of the first prophet of Khonsu,

Amenemheb justified.

in peace, to your side eternally.

The midsections of both figures is destroyed. The deceased faces toward the outside of the tomb, his arms are raised in front of his face, and his left leg steps ahead. He wears a short white kilt under a long white garment, a leopard skin, a broad blue collar, and white sandals. His wife stands behind him holding the hathoric *sistrum* in her right hand and wearing a long white dress and a broad collar with bare feet. The scene is decorated with colourful frieze at the top and the sides. Directly below the scene there are five stripes that are colored from top to bottom in black, yellow, black, red and black.

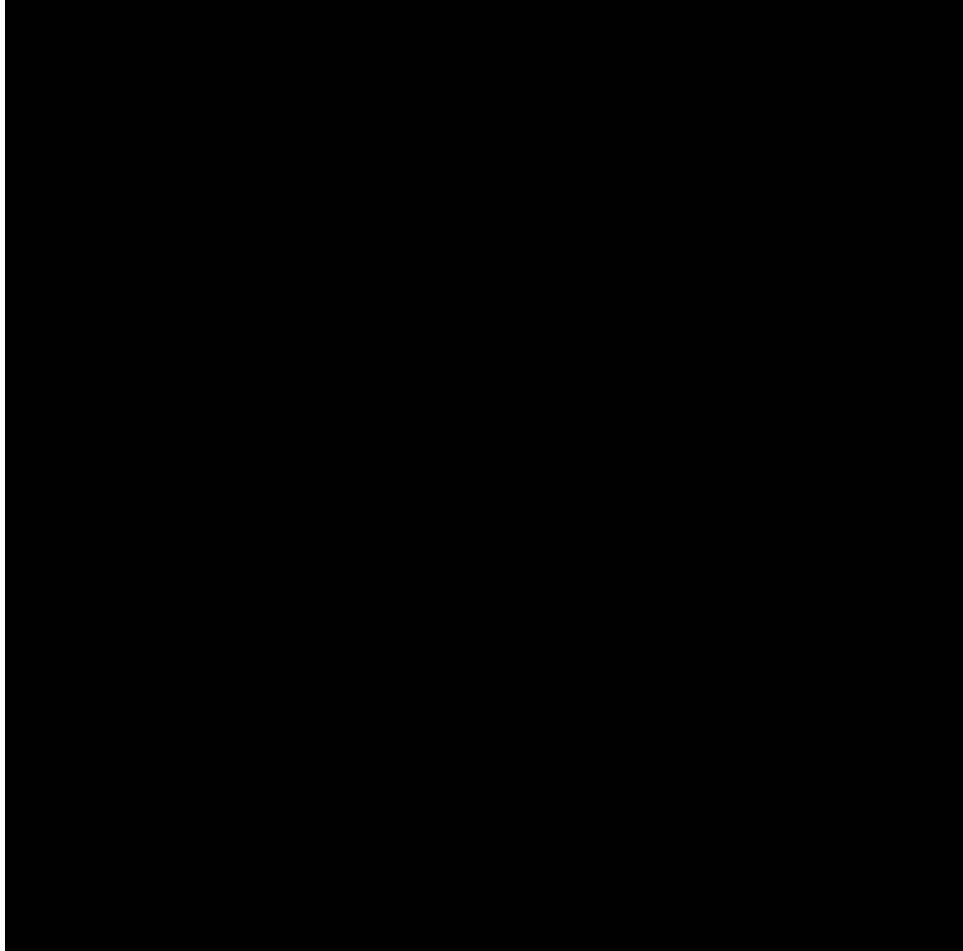
Much of this scene and the associated texts are damaged by human action.

Below this scene, there is a 60 cm tall section of thin plaster that reaches the floor without decoration.

The right (south) wall

The decoration on the right side of the thickness of the entrance depicts the tomb owner and his wife facing toward the inside of the tomb in a position of prayer surrounded by a hymn of Osiris (see Pl. 78). The hymn of Osiris is written in 19 vertical columns. The images of the deceased and his wife were produced carefully in raised relief and are painted, while all inscriptions are in sunken relief with yellowish and red backgrounds. The tomb owner is depicted as a priest with a shaven head and a leopard skin on top of his long white kilt. He also wears a broad blue collar and white sandals. He stands with his arms raised in worship and one leg ahead of the other. There is a badly preserved line of vertical text between him and his wife, who stands behind him in a position of worship holding the Hathoric *sistrum* in her right hand. The wife wears a long white dress with a broad collar and bare feet. On top of her long black wig she wears a balsam cone and a blue lotus flower. According to the vertical text in front of her, she is chief of the harem of Khonsu.

This text reads as follows:



[1] *dw3 Wsjr hntj Imntt*
Wnn-nfr hk3 nh.w
in hm-ntr tpj n Hnsw
Imn-m-hb m3c-hrw
dd.f ind-hr.k dw3.j nfrw.k
Wsjr hk3 dt
ntr šps hpr m-h3t
s3 pw [2] tpj n Gb
wr ntr.w diw pr m Nwt
smsw 3 n it.f R^c
w^c hr hw.f
šhm šf pr m ht
hdt m tp.f
šsp.f hkrw R^c

[1] Praising Osiris, who is Infront of the West,
Wennefer, ruler of the living
by the first prophet of Khonsu,
Amenemheb justified.
He says: Hail to you, I praise your beauty,
Osiris, ruler of eternity,
the noble god, who appears at the beginning,
[2] the first son of Geb,
greater than those five gods who have gone out from Nut
the oldest one, the great of his father Re,
the one and unique,
powerful of awe, who gone out from the womb,
on whose head is the White crown,
who has taken the insignia of Re,

<i>ꜥs3 rn.w dsr hprw.w</i>	the one with many names, with sacred appearing,
[3] <i>št3 irw.w m r3-pr.w Imn-Rꜥ</i>	[3] with secret forms in the temples of Amun-Re
<i>... .. h3p sšm.f...</i>	...who hides his Image
<i>dj pr.w.w hr rn.f</i>	who gives their temples under his name.
<i>s3h d3 hrt</i>	Orion, who crosses the heaven,
<i>imj.w pt m [4] s3 hꜥw.f</i>	these who are in the sky are [4] protecting his flesh.
<i>šf(jt) sšt3 nb... krrt</i>	Secret Majesty, lord of caverns
<i>dsr m inbw-hd</i>	sacred in White walls (Memphis)
<i>b3 n Rꜥ dt.f ds.f</i>	Ba of Re, his own body,
[5] <i>hꜥp m Nn-nsw</i>	[5] content in Heracleopolis,
<i>mnh [6] hnw m pt rsj</i>	excellent of [6] praising in the southern sky,
[7] <i>dw3.w m pt [8] mhꜥtt</i>	[7] of worshipping in the [8] northern sky,
[9] <i>iḥmw-sk [10] hr st-hr.k</i>	[9] Indestructible stars are [10] under your supervision,
<i>st. [11] k pw iḥmw-wrd</i>	[11] unwearying stars are your place.
<i>ndm ib.k [12] Wnn-nfr</i>	Glad is your heart, [12] Wnen-nefer,
<i>nh pw n [13] ib.k</i>	this is prayer for [13] your heart!
<i>hpr [14] s3.k Hr m m3ꜥ-hrw</i>	[14] Your son Horus appears triumphant,
<i>hnm.n.f [15] st.k nst.k</i>	he has united [15] your seat, your throne,
<i>iw [16] n.k m3ꜥt.k [17] mn.tj m-b3h.k</i>	[16] to you belongs your truth, [17] firm in front of you.
<i>h[ꜥ].k [18] n[.fr] nfrw.k</i>	You rejoice for him for his beauty,
[D] <i>hwtj pw [19] hn.k</i>	Thoth [18] is [19] your protector,
<i>dj.f snt.k Ist m s3 hꜥw.k</i>	he gives your sister Isis in protection of your flesh.
<i>ij.n(.j) hr.[k]</i>	I have come to you,
<i>ib.j hr M3ꜥt</i>	my heart bearing Maat,
<i>n isft m ht.j</i>	there is no evil in my body,
<i>n ir.j [grg] m rh.j</i>	I did not lie knowingly ,
<i>n irw.j sp snnw</i>	I did not practice deception.

The top and sides of this scene are bordered by a colorful frieze. The bottom of the scene is bordered by five stripes that are coloured from top to bottom in black, yellow, black, red and black. Below this, there is a 60cm tall space with undecorated plaster that reaches the floor.

Room 1

All walls in this room are decorated with painting on the plaster.

The section of the western wall to the north of the entrance contains two poorly preserved registers (Pl. 92).

The top register is divided into four sections from left to right. In the section closest to the entrance, the deceased is led by the gods Thoth and Horus to the gods Anubis and Imentet, the goddess of the West.

In the adjacent section, there are two pools depicted, each with a god kneeling at its side, although only the god by the upper pool can be seen due to damage.

In the 3rd section, there is a boat with a bow and stern shaped like a lotus flower. Loaded onto the middle of the boat, there appears to be a possible shrine and a man on each side stands holding an oar.

At the end of this register, there is a very badly preserved scene. There is a problem to recognize the persons presented in this scenes. A male figurine, likely a god, is standing on the left side of this scene and facing right with his right hand rising. In front of him there are two obelisks (?) crowned with the *3ht*-sign. Behind the obelisk-shaped representation, there is other male person in a bent posture, which is wearing a classic Late Ramesside tunic. This person, probably the tomb's owner, is facing left, the same as the goddess Imentet represented behind him. The goddess is shown in a shrine, on which a falcon god with a sun disk on his head is represented. Unfortunately, there is no inscription preserved, which can tell us something about the scene and people presented in it.

Similarly to the first register, the second register is also divided into four sections from left to right.

In the first scene one can see the tomb's owner (?) standing in front of the shrine, in which a god seated on a throne (?) has been depicted. Above the god, two *w3dt*-eyes and *shen*-symbol were represented. In between them, there are the mats with offerings brought by the person represented on the right side.

A very bad state of preservation of the second scene makes it impossible to perceive the theme of this part of the decoration.

In the third scene there is a boat carrying a chest (perhaps a chest of canopic jars?) protected by two goddesses, Isis and Nephthys, one on each side of it. The other parts of this scene are clear.

Finally at the end of this register, there is the representation of two individuals facing a *dd*-pillar topped with a sun disc.

The section of the western wall to the south of the entrance has two registers, but preserved in very bad condition (Pl. 93).

The upper register appears to be divided into multiple sections from left to right, though it is difficult to ascertain how many sections. Closest to the entrance, there appears to be a seated figure (perhaps a god seated in a shrine with the four sons of Horus standing atop a lotus flower). Further to the left and likely in other sections of the register, the remains of two standing figures facing toward the right are barely visible, one has his hands raised in front of his face. In the section furthest to the left, there is a larger kneeling figure facing toward the left, where there may be an offering table, with their hands raised in front of their face.

The lower register is very badly damaged and much of it cannot be identified. Near the centre of the wall, there are two standing figures facing toward the right, each with at least one hand raised in front of their face (perhaps the tomb owner and his wife?). Further to the left, there are at least two kneeling figures holding their hands in front of their faces and wearing long white garments.

The north wall has no traces of decoration; only plaster is visible.

All the scenes on the southern wall are very hard to see. It has two registers depicting offering scenes (Pl. 94):

On the left of the upper register, the couple is seated on chairs and their feet are posed on a footrest. The tomb owner holds a *sh*m-scepter in his right hand, while his left one is raised to receive the offerings. In front of them there is an offering table and a man making an offering to them. On the right side of this register is another scene in which only the tomb owner is seated and, on the other side of an offering table, a man who is making an offering to him holds a vase in his hands. The top of these scenes are bordered by a multi-coloured frieze.

The scenes in the lower register are similar to the first register apart from smaller details, including differences in dress, differences in offerings, and differences in offering givers. The offering giver in the far right scene is a priest. The bottom of these scenes are bordered by a multi-coloured frieze and five thick horizontal stripes in different colours. Below these lines, there is no decoration.

The southern side of the eastern wall is divided into right and left sides by a doorway that leads to the pillared hall (Pl. 95).

The southern part is very poorly preserved. Starting from the right side, there are the remains of five people standing in positions of worship in front of the god Osiris, who is seated in a shrine. It is possible that these people represent the owner of the tomb and his family; however, the associated hieroglyphic texts are too damaged to identify them. Between the worshippers and the god, there appears to be the remains of a large offering table and the four sons of Horus standing atop a lotus flower. Behind the god Osiris, there are two figures, likely two other deities, though they cannot be identified as they are badly damaged and their heads are completely destroyed.

The northern part of this wall contains traces of scenes in two registers (Pl. 96). To the furthest right side, in the upper register, there is a seated figure facing toward the left in a shrine. In front of this figure, the scene is very damaged, though there may be traces of *ba* birds remaining at the top of the scene. Beyond this section, there are a male and female standing figures facing toward the shrine (perhaps the tomb owner and his wife). In the section furthest to the left, there are three smaller individuals standing in a position of worship in separate niches that are topped by uraei.

In the lower register of this wall one can see traces of the mountain, which represents the west of Thebes, with the head of a cow coming out of it (the so-called Hathor in the mountain). The façade of the tomb is also depicted in the mountain. To the left of this, there appear to be horizontal hieroglyphic texts in red on a white background. The details of this scene are difficult to ascertain. Beyond this section, it appears that there is a mummiform/Osiriform individual facing toward the left and, in front of him, two women facing to the right, who are reaching out to him. Beyond this section, little can be discerned from the rest of the very damaged register.

The doorway located in the east wall opening to the pillared hall has traces of decorations on the lintel and frames (Pl. 97). On the lintel, only the face and chest of the god Re-Harakhety, painted in red ink, are visible. On the left side of the frame there are two vertical lines of inscription written in red ink on white background. On the right side of the frame, one vertical line of text is partially visible. The inscriptions are the classic "*ḥtp di nswt*" formulas. The left jamb reads as follows:

[1] *ḥtp-dj-njswt Mwt wr(t) nb.t Išrw ḥnwt (ntrw) nb.w Ḥnsw... ḥm-ntr tpj Ḥnsw Imn-m-ḥb m3^c-ḥrw*

[1] A royal offering which the King gives, Mut the great, mistress of Isherru, mistress of all (gods), Khonsu....The first prophet of Khonsu, Amunemhab, justified.

[2] *ḥtp-dj-njswt Imn-R^c nb ns.wt t3.wj ḥntj Tpt-swt nb pt ḥk3 s.wt(?) dj.f prt-ḥrw t ḥnk ... ḥm-ntr
tpj Ḥnsw Imn-m-ḥb m3^c-ḥrw*

[2] A royal offering which the King gives, Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, who presides Karnak, lord of the heaven, ruler of the throne(s) (?) may he give invocation offerings of bread, beer,.... The first prophet of Khonsu, Amunemhab, true of voice.

Almost no text remains from the right jamb.

Room 2

This room does not have any decoration.

II.5. Tomb No 28A (Tomb No. 5)

II.5.1. Architecture

Location

In the North of the forecourt A (Pl.98, Fig. 14)

Forecourt

The forecourt of the tomb is the north-eastern part of the general, enlarged forecourt A. A separate part cannot be determined. His entrance was also planned. Perhaps only when the standing areas of the a3 and a4 pillars were already fixed (Pl. 99). Then the steps for the entrance were left in place. However, the whole Northeast corner makes an unfinished impression.

Façade

The façade is still 3.50 m high at the entrance. In it, to the East of the entrance, one can see the recess b2 for an architrave and the recess c5 for the ceiling panels, which run over the door lintel. The façade to the West of the entrance no longer belongs to tomb No. 5 but to tomb No. 6. The remaining area of 10-20 cm wide next to the door frame is roughly hewn out and slopes

outwards by 1°. To the East of the door frame, the rock is vertical. Then the rock follows an almost vertical crack in the wall and has an inward incline of 2°.

Entrance

The entrance is 1.39 m wide and consists of a frame and a 0.73 m wide and 1.74 m high door. The frame consists of two 33 cm wide and 39 cm deep door posts and a 45 cm high lintel. On the door lintel there are remains of a round bar and a groove into which the ceiling panels were fitted. That is, the frame was completely executed before the passage was covered at this point. Both door posts have an outward inclination of 6° in the upper third, including an outward inclination of 2° to 3°. The door can be reached via a small ramp between pillars a3 and a4 and via 3 coarse steps. There is no door threshold, one goes on level ground into the passage 1.09 m deep on both sides (Pl. 100). In the corner of the East post and passage one can see a small hollow as a pan for the door hinge (Pl. 101). Above that, in the ceiling above the corner, there is a recess for a door hinge (Pl. 102). The door opens inwards on the left. A bolt hole can be seen in the corner of the western passage cheek, 1.20 m from the floor (Pl. 103). The through floor is slightly sloping and you reach the first room via a 21 cm deep step. The passageways are smoothed and plastered with a lime-sand chaff mortar and provided with later graffiti (Pl. 104).

Tomb interior

The burial site is a small 2 rooms tomb with a deep entrance, a cross room, another deep passage, and a short, almost square long room with a deep niche behind it. From the last room there are two entrances to tomb chambers. The whole tomb is good, relatively finely carved, but not smoothed. It was left unfinished. The floor is not entirely clear and looks incomplete. The flat ceilings are more elaborate than the floor and walls.



Fig. 14. Plan of Tomb No. 5

Room 1

The transverse space sinks in the West wing and rises slightly in the East wing. The ceiling is finely finished in the passage (Pl. 105). It is 86 cm wide and 6 cm higher. This strip leads from the door frame to the passage to Room 2 (Pl. 106). The height of the room is: in the west 2.05 m, in the middle 2.08 m, in the east (Pl. 107).

South wall: The wall is 5.50 m long: from West to East: wall 2.31 m - entrance 88 cm - wall 2.31 m. The wall is not completely straight, not smoothed, not plastered. In the West wing it is slightly curved inwards. It's not quite vertical. On both sides it slopes outwards 2°-3°.

North wall: The wall is 5.31 m long: from West to East: wall 2.41 m - passage 73 cm - wall 2.17 m. The wall is not smoothed or plastered. It's not exactly straight. In the east wing it is slightly curved outwards in the middle. It's not quite vertical. On both sides it is inclined

outwards between 2° and 5°. East of the passage, a 2 cm protruding, 31 cm wide door frame was started at the upper end of the passage (Pl. 108).

West wall: The wall is 1.43 m long: from North to South: wall 28 cm - opening 77 cm - wall 30 cm - opening 8 cm (in the corner). There are two openings from tomb No. 6. The rectangular recess in the middle is worked like a door / window. The wall is not straight. In the middle it is slightly bent outwards. It is not vertical but inclined 3° outwards at the top.

East wall: The wall is 1.44 m long, not smoothed and not plastered. It is not straight, but curved outwards in the middle. Not vertical, at the top inclined 3° outwards.

Passage to Room 2: The passage is 73 cm wide to Room 1 and 90 cm to room two. The West wall is 1.38 m long, the East wall 1.33 m. The floor level of Room 1 continues horizontally. The height of the passage is 1.65 m. It has broken out somewhat in the corners of Room one in the middle on both sides at about the same height. Both walls have just been hewn. Both are inclined outwards by 2° at the top. One or two steps lead down to Room 2, which is not entirely free.

Room 2

The room has openings on all sides. The ground is uneven. The ceiling is well made and rises a little to the North. Ceiling heights: in the South at the passage 1.70 m, in the North 1.91 m, in the West at the entrance 1.98 m, in the East at the entrance 1.82 m.

South wall: The wall is 1.87 m long, from West to East: Wall 47 cm - entrance 90 cm - wall 0.50 m. The wall is not straight, it turns south in the West corner. It is vertical in the east and inclined outwards by 2° at the top in the West.

North wall: The wall is 1.76 m long, from West to East: wall 54 cm - niche 98 cm - wall 24 cm. A niche begins 20 cm above the floor. It is 98 cm wide, 1.60 m deep and 0.90 m high. Perhaps it is the beginning of access to another burial site.

West wall: The wall is 2.38 m long, from South to North: wall 1.62 m - entrance 66 cm - wall 10 cm. The wall is not straight. It is bent outwards in the middle. It is not vertical. It bends outwards towards the centre at the bottom, then inwards from the centre upwards. In the North, a 1.02 m high, door-like entrance with a 1.18 m deep wall leads over an inclination and one step into a coffin chamber. About in the middle of the West wall, halfway up, there is a small excavation (Pl. 109), similar to a step hole in a vertical shaft. It could have contained an oil lamp, perhaps from tomb robbers.

East wall: the wall is 2.47 m long, From South to North: wall 1.18 m - door frame 1.24 m - wall 0.5 cm. A beautifully crafted door frame (Pl. 110) leads to a funeral home. The frame consists

of two 22 cm wide, 15 cm deep and 98 cm high door posts. Above is a 32 cm high and 15 cm deep lintel. The passage is 81 cm wide. The frame is vertical and set back 4 cm from the wall.

II.6. Tomb of Hori, TT 28 (Tomb No. 6)²⁷

II.6.1. Architecture

Location

In the North of the forecourt A (see Pl. 98)

Forecourt

The tomb has its own small forecourt. From the courtyard, a 1.25 m wide inclination with a uniform gradient to the North was carved out about three meters between pillars a1 and a2 (Pl. 111). This inclination widens at the same level to the West and East to a small 2 m wide and 45 cm deep forecourt, which also forms the first step to the tomb. This small area forms the western, lower part of a small forecourt (Pl. 112), which begins at the stairs in the West and ends at the eastern end of the eastern doorpost. At the level of the large forecourt, the small courtyard continues to the East (Pl. 113), bounded in the South by pillars a1 and a2 and in the East by a narrow adobe wall on the edge of tomb No. 5. The model in front of tomb served as a model for this forecourt 3.

Façade

The last tomb in forecourt A is tomb No. 6 with its façade between the stairs and tomb No. 5. The façade is 3.20 m wide. The height in the East is 2.93 m, which is also the lower edge of the recess for the ceiling blocks. It begins in the West directly at the outer edge of the stairs and ends in the east 12 cm West of the steps to tomb No. 5 with a thin adobe wall (Pl. 114) that extends at right angles to the South. The inclination of the façade is 5°. It is well processed and

²⁷ The person of Hori is known from the Late Late Ramesside Letters. Letter 12 (Papyrus Berlin 10494)(Wente 1967: 44-45) is written to him by the famous scribe Thutmose called Tjauroy and the army-scribe Pentahutnakht. This letter is written from 'the temple' i.e. Medinet Habu (Černý 1940) to Hori who was on the east side of Thebes, and had some authority over young ones from the necropolis community: Pennestitawu, Neferamon, Horimose, Wenamon, Panakhtenope son of Panebaqu, Amenhotep, Qadjadja, Pakhor and Audjar. Hori has just returned at Thebes from somewhere, probably together with the young ones, and Thutmose and Pentahutnakht request Hori to send the young ones with scribe Butchamun from Ne (i.e. East- Thebes) back to West-Thebes because they are needed there. According to Wente this letter can be placed chronologically around year 2 of the Wehem-Mesut, before the letters of the Nubian war (Wente 1967: 16.).

We do not know how long Hori held his function as 'deputy of the house/domain of Amun-Re-king- of-the-gods', but he was clearly in office sometime around year 2 of the Wehem-Mesut, (year 20 of Ramesses XI). (Černý 1929) The date of the present graffito could either refer to year 3 of Ramesses XI or to year 3 of the Wehem-Mesut. In the first case Hori would have held his function for at least 18 years. In the latter case this would mean that craftsmen of Deir el-Medina were still actively involved in painting work for private individuals in the beginning of the Wehem-Mesut period, but this seems not very likely.

smoothed. It has a levelling layer of lime mortar and a yellowish, fine layer of plaster of a few millimetres. This is also located on the West wall = stringer of the forecourt. The eastern end is clearly recognizable as the plastered edge, which was also the plastering of the adobe wall to the West of tomb No. 5 (Pl. 115).

Entrance

The entrance has a door frame that is 2.03 m wide and 2.24 m high (Fig. 15). The western door post is 37 cm wide, the eastern 43 cm. Both posts are vertical with no inclination. Both have 2 vertical lines of inscription painted in black. The door lintel (Pl. 116) is 53 cm high. It is only preserved in the east with a width of 60 cm.

There are preliminary red drawings in the display field. In the West, the rock erupted following an almost vertical East-West crack. An attempt was made to use a lintel here.

The door is 1.70 m high, the door posts are 22 cm deep. After the frame there is an 18 cm deep step that is 37 cm wide. Another 18 cm deep step ends inside the tomb. The door itself opens on the left (West) inwards. In the floor in the East corner a flat door pan can be seen on the last step. Above, in the corner, there is a recess for a door hinge (Pl. 117). The passage for the 1.20 m wide door has started. However, already at the end of the door hinge, the eastern door cheek, a break was made into the western part of the transverse space of tomb No. 5 (Pl. 118), which is 1.50m higher here. At least seven horizontal, parallel rows of red dots can be seen on the smoothed rock on this door side wall, which extend to the ceiling. There are also red dots on the ceiling. So, there wasn't enough space for a passage area with door walls. It was integrated into the room. The ceiling, which lowers to the West, was worked off horizontally to open the door there (Pl. 119).

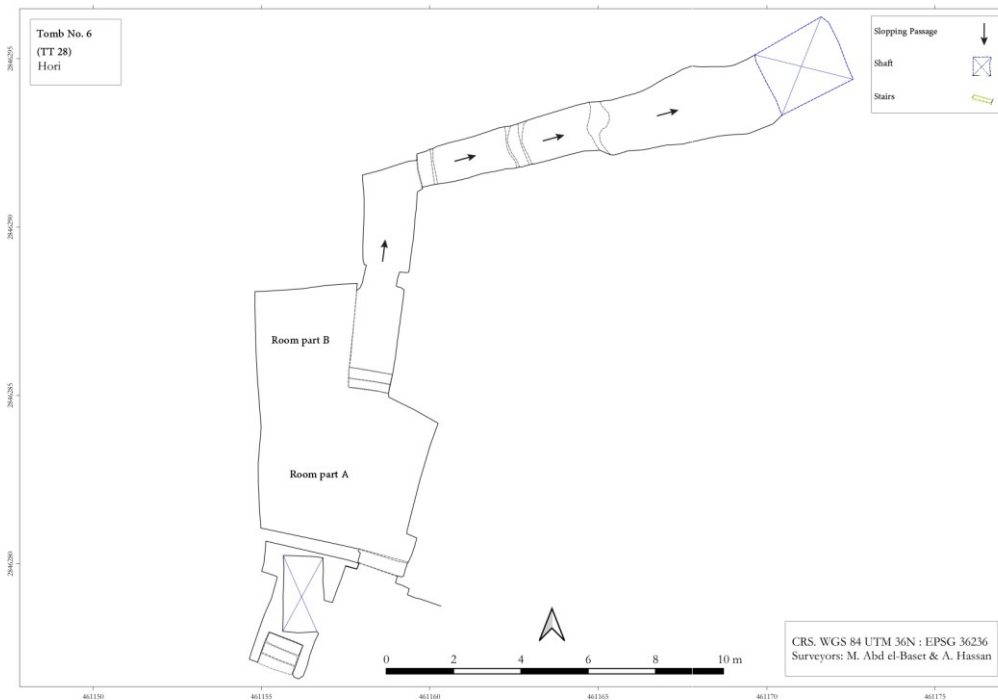


Fig. 15. Plan of Tomb No. 6.

Tomb interior

The burial site is an irregular rectangular room with a flat ceiling, which has been divided into a room part A in the south and a room part B in the north.

Due to the lack of space, no “normal” tomb could be built. At the end of the door side wall or after the breakthrough, you had to turn West. After 50 cm you turned north again and collided with the same room again. A door or window-like opening was created here (Pl. 120). After 3.30 m, a coffin chamber at Tomb No. 5 was broken into. Now you turned again to the west and after 1.50 m again to the north. After hacking 3.50 m to the north, the room to the north was ended. This created a room about eight meters long with a kink. This made it possible to divide the space into a larger one in the south and a smaller one in the north. This was achieved by positioning two square 35 cm x 35 cm pillars left standing out of the rock and a continuous architrave from the last large bend towards the west to the west wall. No traces of these pillars could be seen on the ground. There are stumps on the ceiling and remains of the architrave (Pl. 121). According to the the statue niche in the northern wall, there is no doubt that this room served as a mortuary cult chapel.

Room part A

This space part A is an irregular rectangle.

The western part is also probably separated by a pillar made from the rock and an architrave. There are no remains of the pillars. The long architrave was chopped off from the ceiling. The course is easy to see (Pl. 122). It ran parallel to the west wall at a distance of 75 cm, starting from the western pillar of the North-South partition to the south wall. When laying the tomb, there were problems not only in the east, but also in the west. Here we had to try not to come into contact with the stairs. The room had to be lowered to the southwest. The ground has been worked regularly and rises slightly to the north. To the west it drops 3°. The ceiling runs relatively horizontally from south to north. From east to west it drops down to 13°. At the door it is 2.19 m high, directly west of the door 2.09 m and in the west corner 1.69 m high. The walls are well hewn straight. All walls are partially plastered with the same plaster as on the façade: irregularities and small breakouts are evened out with a sandy lime plaster. There is a thin light brown plaster over it. However, the plaster is never completely smooth, but a little wavy.

The south wall is 4.30 m long: from East to West: door post 0.15 m - door 1.20 m - door post 0.19 m - wall 2.76 m (Pl. 123). It is almost straight, almost vertical, and well carved, not smoothed, but plastered.

The north wall is only 1.50 m long. At the east end there is a breakthrough to tomb No. 5 and remains of preliminary drawings in yellow. The end of the architrave can be seen at the top in the western corner, including the remains of images and a hieratic inscription in red ink.

The east wall is hewn straight, almost vertical, almost completely plastered and 4.63 m long: from South to North: passage wall 1.30 m - wall 3.33 m. After the wall break-in to tomb No. 5. Then 0.40 m to 1.14 m from the South-East corner and 1.47 m from the floor there is a 80 cm high, door-like opening to tomb No. 5, with the ceiling slightly higher. About 60 cm after this opening it sinks again: ceiling height at the passage: 2.19 m, at the opening 2.36 m, in the North-East corner 2.12 m. In the corner to the North wall there is a round 38 cm x 26 cm opening to tomb No. 5.

The west wall is 4.20 m long. It has just been hacked out and almost completely plastered.

Room part B

This part of the room is also an irregular rectangle. Maybe part B was created after part A. It contains the parts that you would expect in the back of a burial site. This is a cult place in the form of a niche and an exit to a coffin chamber (Pl. 124). The floor has just been worked off. Along the East wall, a sloping passage with three steps and an inclination leading to a small

room was created over the entire length of the room. The ceiling is evenly finished, plastered and, for the most part, decorated in colour (Pl. 125).

The decoration consists of three stripes running south-north (Pl. 126). The western strip is 1m wide and consists of three parts with ceiling ornaments (from South to North), divided by yellow stripes. The middle strip is 2 m wide and divided into 2 x 3 fields with worship. The eastern strip is 1.20 m wide, has remained white and runs above the entrance to the burial chamber.

East wall: The wall is about 3.40 m long, carved vertically and almost completely plastered.

West wall: The wall is almost straight and almost vertical. Most of the plastering has been preserved in the upper part.

North wall: The wall is 4.35 m long and continuous in the uppermost part. Below: from West to East: wall 3.05 m - post 27 cm - passage 88 cm - post 15 cm. It's not quite straight. It is slightly bent inwards at the corners. It is also not completely hacked out vertically. At the bottom it is slightly bent outwards, from the middle upwards it is bent inwards. The plaster is only partially preserved. From the centre to the West there are preliminary drawings in red and a lying Anubis in black. A niche has been carved out in the middle of the wall, 1.16 m from the West wall and 83 cm from the floor. It is 65 cm wide, 91 cm high and 68 cm deep. It has space for a seated couple (Pl. 127).

II.6.2. Decoration

The decoration was never finished in this tomb. It exists very sporadically on the walls with more widespread decoration on the ceiling, especially on the ceiling of hall B (see Pl. 126).

Entrance to the Tomb

The two jambs of the entrance were decorated by "*htp di nsw*" formulas (Fig. 16). The decoration on the facade is quite damaged. The "*htp di nsw*" formulas were written in black ink with 2 vertical columns on each side. The upper parts of the writing have largely disappeared and the rest contains the name and the titles of the tomb owner. The hieroglyphic in the right columns face left and the hieroglyphs in the left columns face right. Their remaining texts read as follows:

Doorway, left jamb

[1] [*htp-di-nsw*] [...] *m hrt-hrw nt r^c nb n k3 n Wsir idnw n pr Imn*
Hri m3^c-hrw

[1] [A royal offering] [...] daily, for the ka of the Osiris,
the deputy of the domain of Amun, Hori, justified.

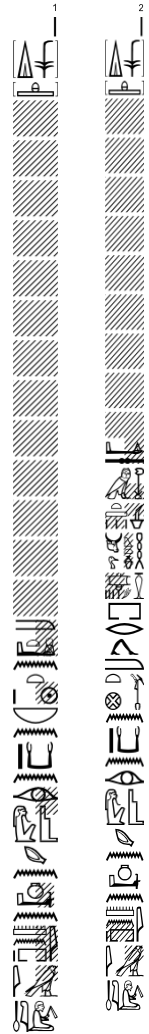
[2] [*htp-di-nsw*] [...] *di.s h3-m sntr t hnkt k3w 3pdw hsi t3w pri m*
W3st n k3 n Wsir idnw n pr Imn Hri m3^c-hrw

[2] [A royal offering] [...] so that she may give a thousand
of (jars of) incense, bread, beer, cattle, fowl and favour
come out of Thebes, for the ka of the Osiris, the deputy of
the domain of Amun, Hori, justified.

The hall

The hall consists of two parts: hall A and hall B (see above). The architrave between these halls contains a text consisting of a standard *htp di nsw* formula (incomplete), going to the left and right, starting from a central *htp*-sign.

Doorway, right jamb



[1] [*h̄tp-di-nsw*] [...] *di.f 3h̄w wsr m n(ty) m3^c-h̄rw m h̄rt-ntr n k3 n Wsir idnw n pr imn Hri m3^c-h̄rw*

[1] [A royal offering] [...] so that he may grant glorification and power as one who is justified in the necropolis for the ka of the Osiris, the deputy of the domain of Amun, Hori, justified.

[2] [*h̄tp-di-nsw*] [...] *di.f [...?] m h̄t nb(t) nfr(t) w^cb(t) n k3 n wsir idnw n pr imn Hri m3^c-h̄rw*

[2] [A royal offering] [...] so that he may give [...] with everything good and pure, for the ka of the Osiris, the deputy of the domain of Amun, Hori, justified.



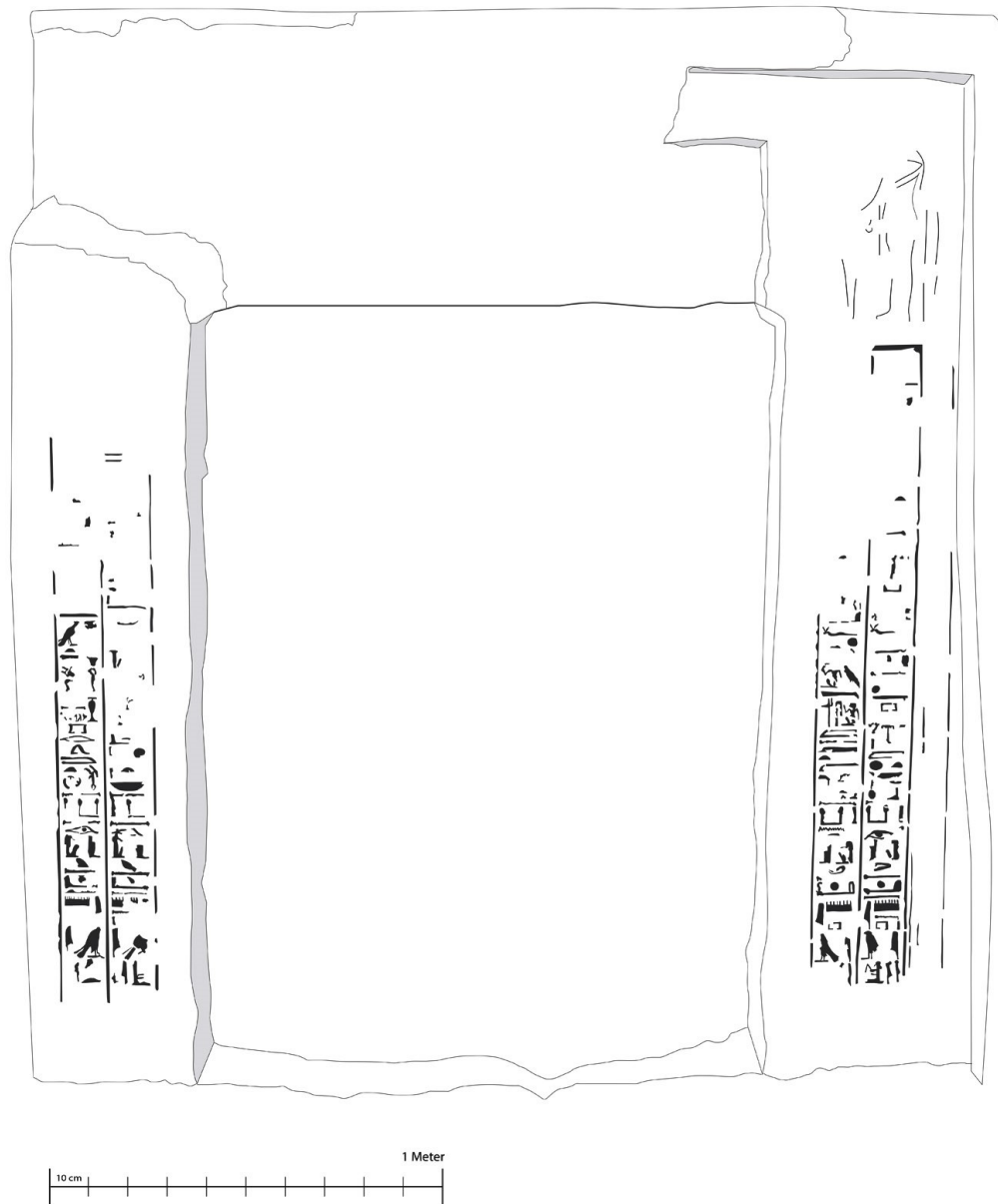


Fig. 16. Tomb No. 6, entrance decoration. Drawing by A. Abd El Halim.

The hall A

There are no decorations in hall A, except on the north wall at the end of the architrave where the right part of the double crown in red, blue and yellow colours can be seen at the top of the wall. Beside it is the head of a cobra and above it is a sun disc. Below the remains of this scene there is a hieratic dipinto in red ink (Pl. 128).

This text reads as follows:



[1] *rnpt-sp 2 3bd 3 šmw sw 11 hrw n pn [...]*²

[2] *p3 pr-dt n idnw Hri n pr Imn-*

[3] *R^c-nswt-ntrw mh r b3kw m-īm.f m 3bd 3 šmw sw 19*²

[1] Year 2, month three of Shemu-season, day 11. [2] This day [beginning to work?] the house of eternity of deputy Hori of the house of Amun- [3] Re-king-of-the-gods. Finishing the work in it in month three Shemu day 19?

The hall B

Originally there are no drawings on the eastern or western wall. There are remnants of preliminary scenes on the northern wall. Its drawings are in red and the god Anubis in black in the form of a jackal crouching on a shrine with his tail hanging down. There is a red ribbon around his neck and a golden whip extends from the middle of his back. Above and below this scene there is a black border stripe.

The Ceiling

The decoration of the ceiling consists of three parts, running South-North (see Pl. 127, Fig. 17) . The western part is 1m wide and consists of three squares with geometric patterns (from South-North), divided by yellow stripes.

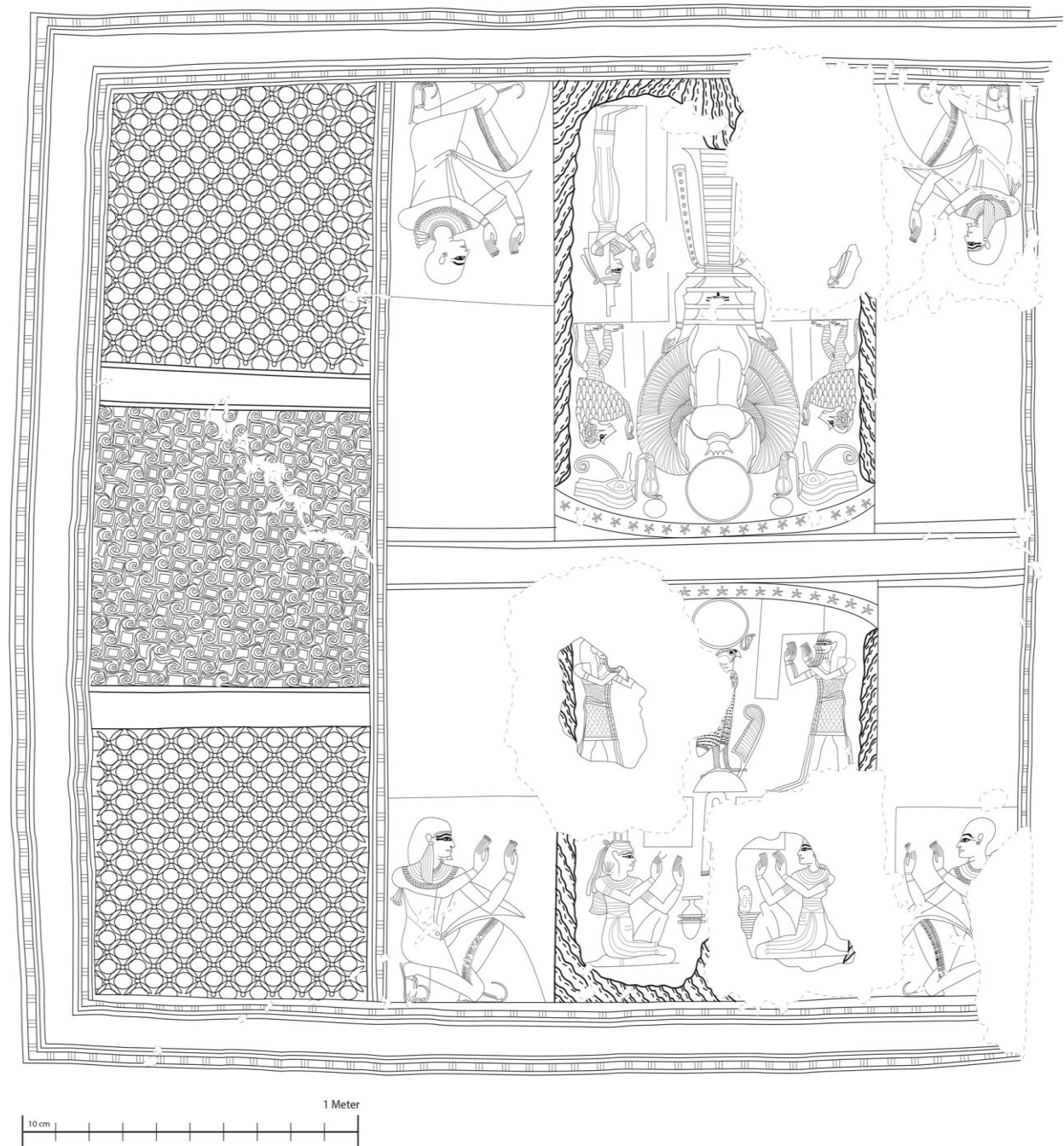


Fig. 17. Decoration of the ceiling. Drawing by A. Abd El Halim.

Adjacent to these sections of geometric patterns, the middle part is 2 m wide and it is divided into two fields with scenes of worshipping the rising sun separated by a yellow stripe. In the southern field, this scene includes depictions of a *djed*-pillar with arms that raise the winged scarab and the sun disc. In the upper section with the winged scarab and sun disc, 2 baboons stand in worship (one on each side). Above these images, there are *udjat* symbols on both sides, consisting of the eye and the cobra. In the lower section with the *djed*-pillar, the goddesses Isis

and Nephthys stand in worship, on the right and left sides respectively. The image of Nephthys is quite damaged. These scenes are bordered by a curved blue stripe with white stars depicting the Nut and the sky on top, and on the remaining sides there is a brown unusually shaped border with brown lines and a mound in the centre of the bottom of the scene, likely representing Geb, the earth, and perhaps a mountain or the primordial mound. Outside of these enclosed scenes, the tomb owner (?) is depicted kneeling in worship on both sides of this scene. He wears a long white garment with long flowing sleeves, a blue broad collar, blue bracelets, and brown sandals with upturned toes on both sides; however, on the right he is depicted with a bald head and on the left he is depicted with a wig and small beard. In the northern field, the worshipping scene includes a falcon with the sun disc and uraeus on its head, perched on the emblem of the West. In the upper part of this scene, six gods stand in adoration (three on each side). In the lower part of this scene, Isis and Nephthys, kneel in worship on the left and right sides respectively. Between them, there is a pottery vessel and a basket. These scenes are bordered by a curved blue stripe with white stars depicting the Nut and the sky on top, and on the remaining sides there is a brown unusually shaped border with brown lines and a mound in the centre of the bottom of the scene, likely representing Geb, the earth, and perhaps a mountain or the primordial mound. Outside of these enclosed scenes, the tomb owner (?) is depicted kneeling in worship on both sides of this scene. He wears a long white garment with long flowing sleeves, a blue broad collar, blue bracelets, and brown sandals with upturned toes on both sides; however, on the right he is depicted with a bald head and on the left he is depicted with a wig and small beard.

The eastern part of the ceiling is 1.20 m wide. It has remained white and runs above the entrance to the burial chamber. All the ceiling parts contain yellow columns and bands that do not have any texts written in them. This shows that the decoration of the ceiling was left unfinished.

III. Architectural and Stylistic Development of the Tombs of the "Court of the Priests"

III.1 Architectural Development of the Tombs of the "Court of the Priests" in the Late Ramesside Period²⁸

Description of the "Court of the Priests" (see Figures below)

The "Court of the Priests" in the field documentation of the Egyptian Mission has been also described as a courtyard A, and contained 6 rock-cut tombs. The courtyard is a nearly square rectangle. The west side is 9.85 m long, the east side 10.30 m, the north side 11.90 m and the south side 11.35 m. The west and south sides are better worked off or were less disturbed than the northern and eastern sides. There are tombs on 3 sides. In the south wall, there is a tomb in the middle of each half: in the western half, Tomb 1, and in the eastern half, Tomb No. 2. In the east side, there is a tomb in each of the two halves. Tomb No. 3 lies in the southern half in the center. Tomb No. 4 is located in the northern half near the corner. There is a large shaft between them. On the north side, approximately in the center of the western part, the remains of a stairway were at one time cut into the rock. A perpendicular shaft that leads west into a burial chamber was cut into it later. Directly east of it is the entrance to Tomb No. 6 (TT 28B). Approximately in the center of the eastern half, it opens up into Tomb No. 5 (TT 28A). On the west side there is a nearly continuous mud brick wall on an existing stone socket that serves as a partition from courtyard B, which lies to the west of it.

The ground of the courtyard is relatively level and worked off. Several pedestals, ledges, small ramps and recesses are connected to the individual tombs.

Construction of the Courtyard

This forecourt A, as is shown, was only laid out for one tomb and was later extended. First, the position of the stairs cut into the rock and the tomb entrance that lays opposite indicates how this is also the case with TT 23.²⁹ The courtyard was laid out from the west in such a way that the courtyard located in the west = courtyard B, was extended eastward. The orientation of the facade east of the entrance of TT 409 was not simply extended eastward, however, but was bent

²⁸ Raue 1995: 255-268.

²⁹ Ivanov 2012: 157-164.

at a nearly a right-angle 1.30 m toward the south. The north side of the new courtyard was thus relocated 1.30 m to the south.

In courtyard B there are two tomb entrances in the south wall, each near the corners. There are two tomb entrances in the north wall, each approximately in the center of both halves. Tomb TT 408 is located in the west, and TT 409 (Kyky) in the east. The eastern part of the TT 409 façade ends in the western part of courtyard A as a corner that was set back.

The newly discovered courtyard A was laid out between the stela east of the entrance to Kyky and the corner. The ground level was worked off in the north around 45 cm, and in the south around 65 cm. Presumably, a wall was also set on the edge. The current wall was built later. Two walled passages to courtyard A can be seen. These, and/or the earlier wall, bend eastward at the height of the new facade and terminate the courtyard in the corner.

Pillar Remnants and Covered Surrounding Gallery

On the north side of the courtyard, marks in the rock can be seen in 6 places that indicate pillar placements. There are three sockets similar to a pedestal in the rock bed, a square recess in the rock, scoring on a smooth piece of rock, as well as a roundish-rectangular hollow to evaluate. All of these possible areas for pillars were designated with a + number:

a1 = a square recess for a pillar in the eastern stair support

a2 = an 80 x 66 cm and 25 cm high socket with a scoring line running West-East along the southern pillar edge

a3 = an 86 x 86 cm and 23 cm high socket that is not completely uncovered with a score that runs from West-East for the southern pillar edge and a score in the east for the socket

a4 = an unfinished socket. Approximately one half of a side has been cut free in the west. A score that runs North-South for the western edge, a score that runs North-South for the pillar

a5 = a chip off, 60 x 57 cm for a pillar in the western stair flank, with a 12 cm high socket that was cut 63-90 cm deep out of the stair flank

a6 = one 80 x 80 cm roundish cutout for a pillar in the floor that is maximally 6 cm flat.

On the north side of the courtyard there was a pillar placement of 6 set up, not the pillars cut out of the rock. The pillars had a square floor plan, the side lengths were between 55 cm and 60cm. The setup area that was prepared was somewhat larger in order to be able to compensate

for a certain amount of imprecision. The pillars that were cut out of the rock should have been correct from the beginning, however.

On the west side of the courtyard, only flat cutouts can be recognized in the rock floor. Positions a7 and a8 are easier to see than a9 and a10.

a7 = a completely flat, approx. 70 x 80 cm round pit

a8 = a completely flat, approx. 80 x 130 cm (North-South) oblong pit

a9 + a10 = very hard to recognize.

In the west wall and the rock base west of pillars a8 and a9, the remains of a stele can be seen. It is 2.00 m wide, and the 2 parts of the frame are each 0.20 m wide and the decorated field is 1.60 m wide. The latter is set back from the frame 1cm. Like the socket in the northern half, it is 0.40 m high, and 0.67 m high in the south half.

A small ramp was left standing as an entrance to Tomb No. 1 on the south side. As with the stairs (a5), a recess for a pillar had been cut in its western flank = a11. Bases a12 to a14 are difficult to recognize.

On the east side, pillars a15 and a16 can hardly be seen. However, their location as positioning at the entrance to Tomb No.3 allows them – like columns a1 and a2 at Tomb No. 6 – to be arranged in the correct place. Other pillars, such as a17 and a18, were lost when a shaft was dug.

There were presumably 18 pillars in this courtyard. They stood either on pedestals (a1 - a4), or in rectangular recesses that were cut out (a5 and a11), in flat pits (a6 - a10, a12 - a14) or directly on the rock (a15, a16) without having left any traces – as was also the case with pillars a17 and a18, which completely disappeared.

To varying degrees, one can reconstruct the distances between the pillars.

On the north side, the position of all the pillars is clear. The distances between them differ: west wall - a6 = 1.00 m, a6 - a5 = 0.80 m, a5 - a1 (stairs) = 1.60 m, a1 - a2 = 1.25 m, a2 - a3 = 0.95 m, a3 - a4 = 1.20, a4 - east wall = 1.15 m/1.70 m.

On the south side, the positions of two pillars can be reconstructed with a pretty high degree of certainty: a11 and a15. All of the distances between them vary, and are different than the respective distances on the north side: west wall - a10 = 0.80 m, a10 - a11 = 0.80 m, a11 - a12 (door) = 1.40 m, a12 - a13 = 1.00 m, a13 - a14 = 0.80 m, a14 - a15 (door) = 2.00 m, a15 - east wall = 1.20 m.

On the west side, all of the pillars were placed in flat pits. The distances between them are different: north wall - a6 = 0.80 m, a6 - a7 = 1.10 m, a7 - a8 = 1.30 m, a8 - a9 = 1.45 m, a9 - a10 = 1.45 m, a10 - south wall = 0.80 m.

On the east side, the locations of pillars a15, a16 and a4 are pretty clear. It is possible to reconstruct the distances as on the west side: north wall - a4 = 0.80 m, a4 - a18 = 1.10 m, a18 - a17 = 1.30 m, a17 - a16 = 1.45 m, a16 - a15 = 1.45, a15 - south wall = 1.05 m.

Pillar Gallery

A surrounding gallery in a rectangular forecourt can mean that it was a covered surrounding gallery. Architraves were a part of the covered surrounding gallery, which rests on the pillars and is inserted into a hole that was cut into the rock wall, as we find in the northwest corner = b1 and the northeast corner = b2. In the southeast corner, a recess should have also been found = b3. This is where some restoration work was done after the wall was destroyed, however. There was no recess for an architrave in the southwest corner. The reason for that can be explained as follows.

The gallery was covered with rectangular ceiling panels. The narrow end always rested on an architrave. The other end rested upon a rock wall, in our case on a mud brick wall. Where that was not possible, it was inserted into the wall where an oblong recess, 20 - 30cm deep and up to 30cm high, was cut into the rock at the corresponding height. That is noticeable on all of the walls: on the south wall in the west = c1 up to the entrance of Tomb No. 1. Here, it breaks off directly before the west door jamb. Directly after the east jamb, it continues = c2 and runs until it meets the destroyed and then reconstructed entrance of Tomb No. 2. After the entrance, there is no recess. Here, one has to imagine that a panel that was not completely square lay on top of architrave a15 - b3 and upon recess c3, and had been leaned against the south wall. The recess continues on the east wall from the corner northward = c3 until it runs over the door of Tomb No. 3. As c4, it probably ran up to the north wall. In the east of the north wall, there is no recess, just like in the east of the south wall. Here, the cover was presumably also a square panel that lay on architrave a4 - b2 and in recess c4, which now no longer exists. As in the southeast on the south wall, the panel was then leaned against the north wall.

However, where it runs as c5 over the entrance from Tomb No. 5 and up to the damage approximately in the center of the north wall, there is once again a recess directly west of architrave recess b2.

If the location, the stone and the financial means made it possible, one could have had the forecourt entirely cut out of the stone, as was the case with Tomb TT 41. There, one probably had different problems than architraves and cover panels (see the continuous crack in the ceiling. There were perhaps similar problems with Tomb TT 23 as in courtyard A. This gallery has unfortunately not been well preserved enough to answer questions about the ceiling. Anyway, the modern restoration of the peristyle (originally made out of sandstone?) presented no great difficulties in recreating the gallery.

Original Plan and Development of the Court

The similarity of this courtyard with larger and better-preserved complexes such as TT 23 and TT 41 is obvious. It is assumed that these facilities were also designed and built for only one tomb. It is necessary to show whether this assumption is correct and how later changes could have looked.

Phase 1 (Fig. 18)

The starting point was the facade of Tomb TT 409 (labeled below as Tomb No 1). From the stele east of the entrance, there was some space left over to the northeast corner. These free spaces could be used to connect to their own facade or a courtyard. A North-South wall was built on the courtyard grounds just east of the stele as a marking and dividing line.

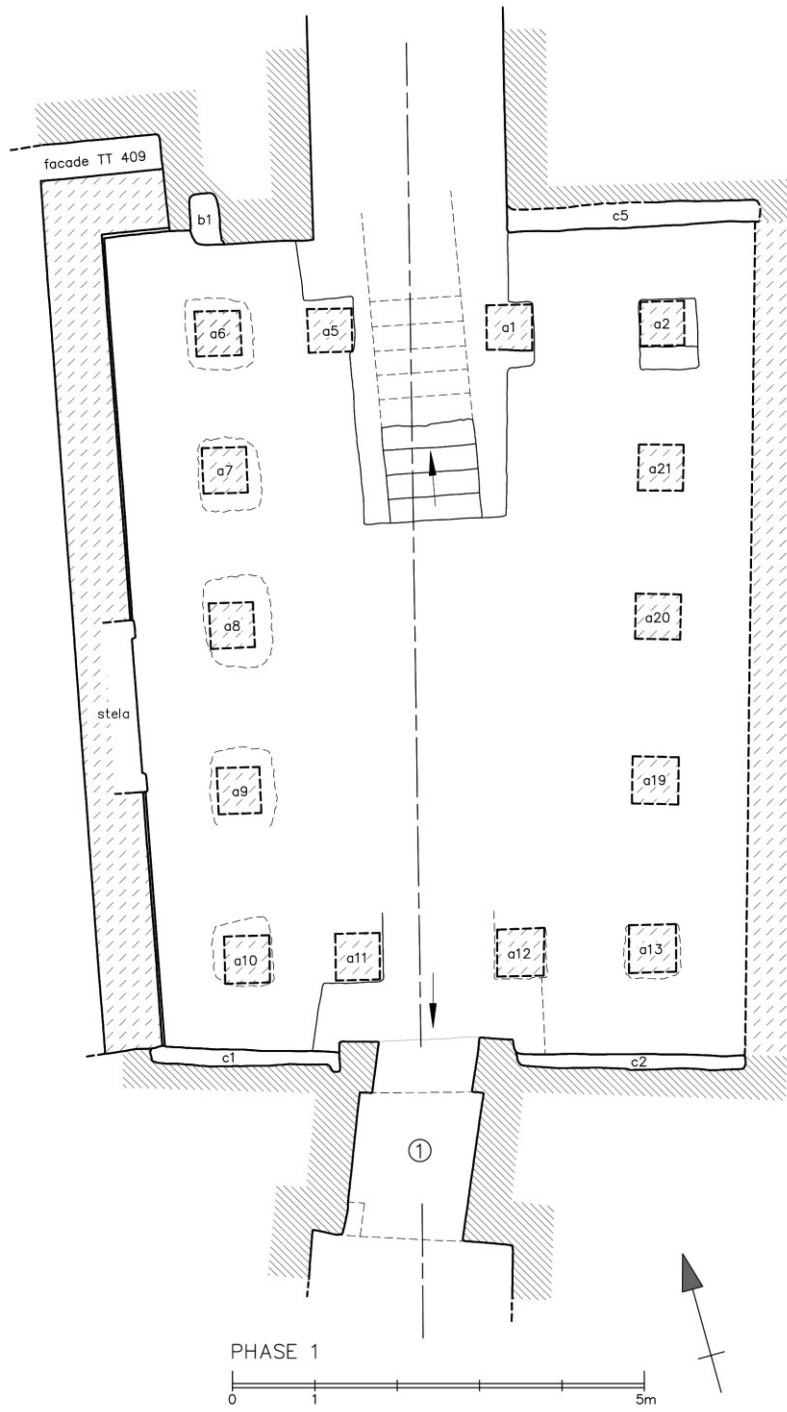


Fig. 18. Phase 1.

The facade was not simply extended eastward, but shifted to the corner approximately parallel to the old eastern border about 1.10 m to the south. A north-south axis was drawn 3.70 m east of the new northwest corner to the south. It determined the center of the stairs. This line also determined the center of the tomb entrance. This axis was not parallel to the western border, however. The axis and the western border determined the further orientation of the complex. The eastern border of the courtyard was completed parallel to the axis. Nothing more of the border exists. Correspondingly, the placement of the pillars with pillars a2, a13, a19-21 would be parallel in front of it. One can only reconstruct it using the line of the western edge of the pedestal of pillar a3 and the western edge of the stairs to Tomb No. 2. If one connects these two points, one gets the parallels to the axis.

West of this line, the ground has been worked off smooth aside from the stairs and the ramp to Tomb No. 1. East of the line, there are some places that were not worked off, particularly in the northeast. In the right corner of the axis are the courtyard edges in the north and the south, as well as their rows of pillars. The western edge of the stairs runs parallel to the edge of the courtyard. The western row of pillars runs neither parallel to it, nor to the axis. It runs in between in order to balance the misalignment. The distance to the west wall is thereby reduced from 1.05 m to 0.75 m.

The courtyard was 7.90m wide in the north, 7.00 m in the south, 9.80 m long in the west and 10.10 m in the east. The stairs are only partially visible up to the northern edge of the courtyard. Their 4 preserved lower steps are 1.09 m wide, 0.31 m deep and 0.09 m high. After the 4th step, a perpendicular shaft measuring 2.20 m x 1.20 m and a depth of approx. 4.40 m was installed later. That disturbed the stairs up to the rock edge. Above the edge, both stair stringers are preserved as rock edges in the west to 2.20 m, and are somewhat shorter in the east. On the slant, the ground is covered with brick pavement so that the original stairs cannot be seen. The slope corresponds to the stairs below.

The courtyard axis meets the tomb entrance exactly in the center. The direct passage area, the door with the doorway area, measuring 2.20 m long altogether, shows a change of direction toward the west. First, the following long room again follows the axis approximately.

Inaccuracies such as not being able to stay parallel and the designing or implementation of right angles can often be observed in the tombs. This is less a question of what was wanted, and more of what could be done, and/or whether it could be done well.

There were also problems from time to time if there was, for whatever reason, a deviation from a direction that needed to be corrected or compensated for (such as e.g. the

layouts of 93.11 and 93.12 in Dra Abu el Naga.³⁰ Here, the 1st courtyard deviates from 93.12 with nearly all pylons from the right-angled and parallel system of the original complex and must be brought together with the front side, which is the visible side.

The Tomb No. 1 is dated to the reign of Ramesses III, therefore the earliest phase 1 is also dated to this time and predates all the following architectural changes done in the “Court of the Priests”.

Phase 2a and 2b (Figs 19-20)

Phase 2a

Between courtyard A and the nearest one in the east = courtyard C was an approximately four m. wide mass of rock. Courtyard A could thus be expanded eastward. In the south, the ground of courtyard C is approximately 2.50 m higher than that of courtyard A. Toward the north, there is an ascending stair. The ground there was again 0.50 m to 1.00 m higher. The courtyard was cut out to the current facade of Tomb No. 3 in the extension of the south and north wall. This is how space was created in the eastern part of the south wall for a North-South-oriented tomb, exactly the same as in the eastern part of the north wall. After it was chiseled out, Tomb No. 2 was laid out or begun. Then it was decided to continue the surrounding gallery toward the east. Pillars a19 - a21 were removed and the pillar positions in the north and the south were continued further. This was arranged without problems in the north (a3 and a4). In the south, this is more difficult to understand. A relatively even rhythm as in the north could not be maintained through the entrance to Tomb No 2. An 0.80 m narrow gap developed between a13 and a14, and between a14 and a15, the distance was widest at 2.00 m.

Tomb No. 2 is also dated to the Twenty Dynasty, and even the reign of Ramesses III, but undoubtedly is later than Tomb No. 1.

In the north, Tomb No. 5 was obviously laid out only after setting up or preparing the pillars. The entrance between pillars a3 and a4 fits in front along with a small ramp (fig. 25). The ground of the northeast part makes an incomplete impression. The covered gallery appears to have been completed, with the pillar bases, the holes for architrave b2 and recess c5 for the ceiling panels.

³⁰ Rummel 2018: 249-275.

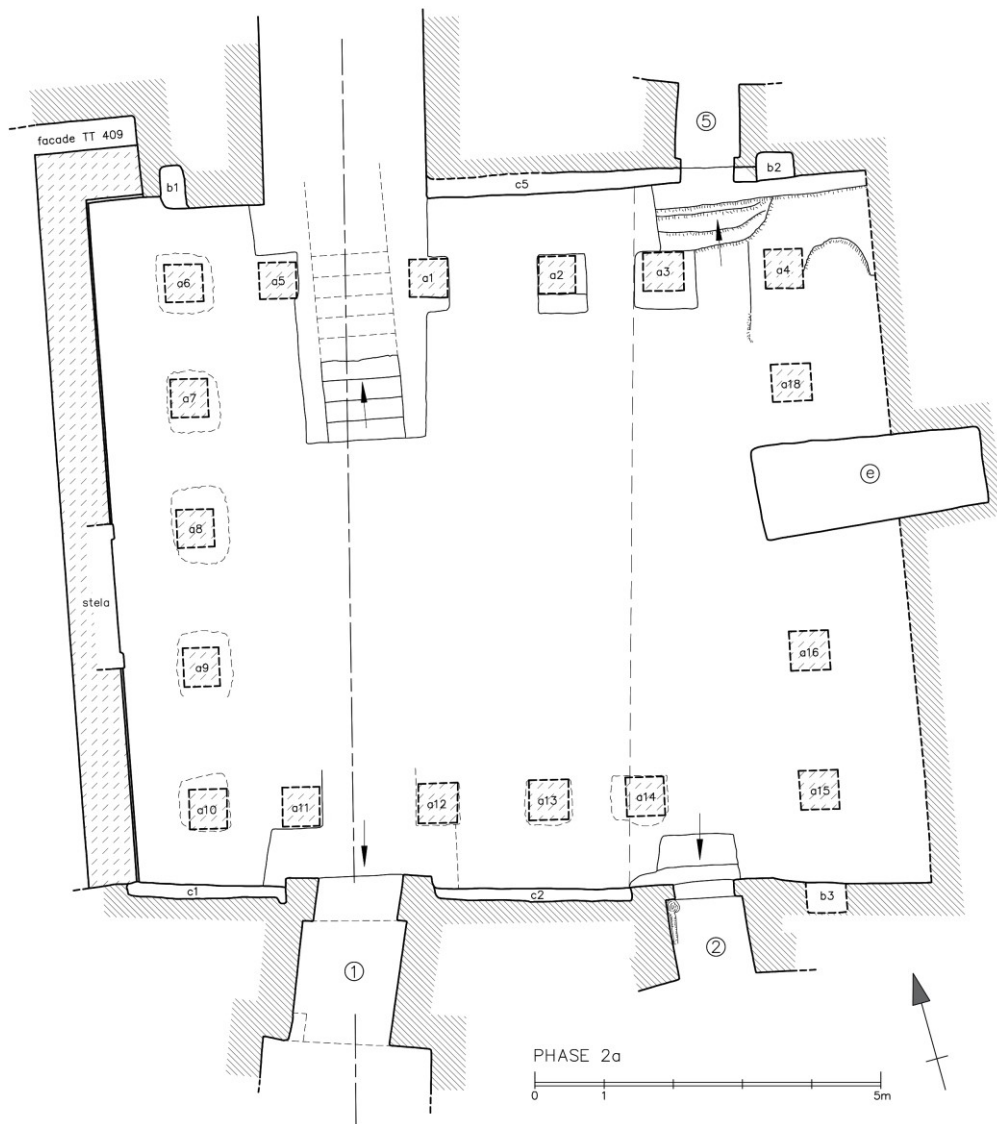


Fig. 19. Phase 2a.

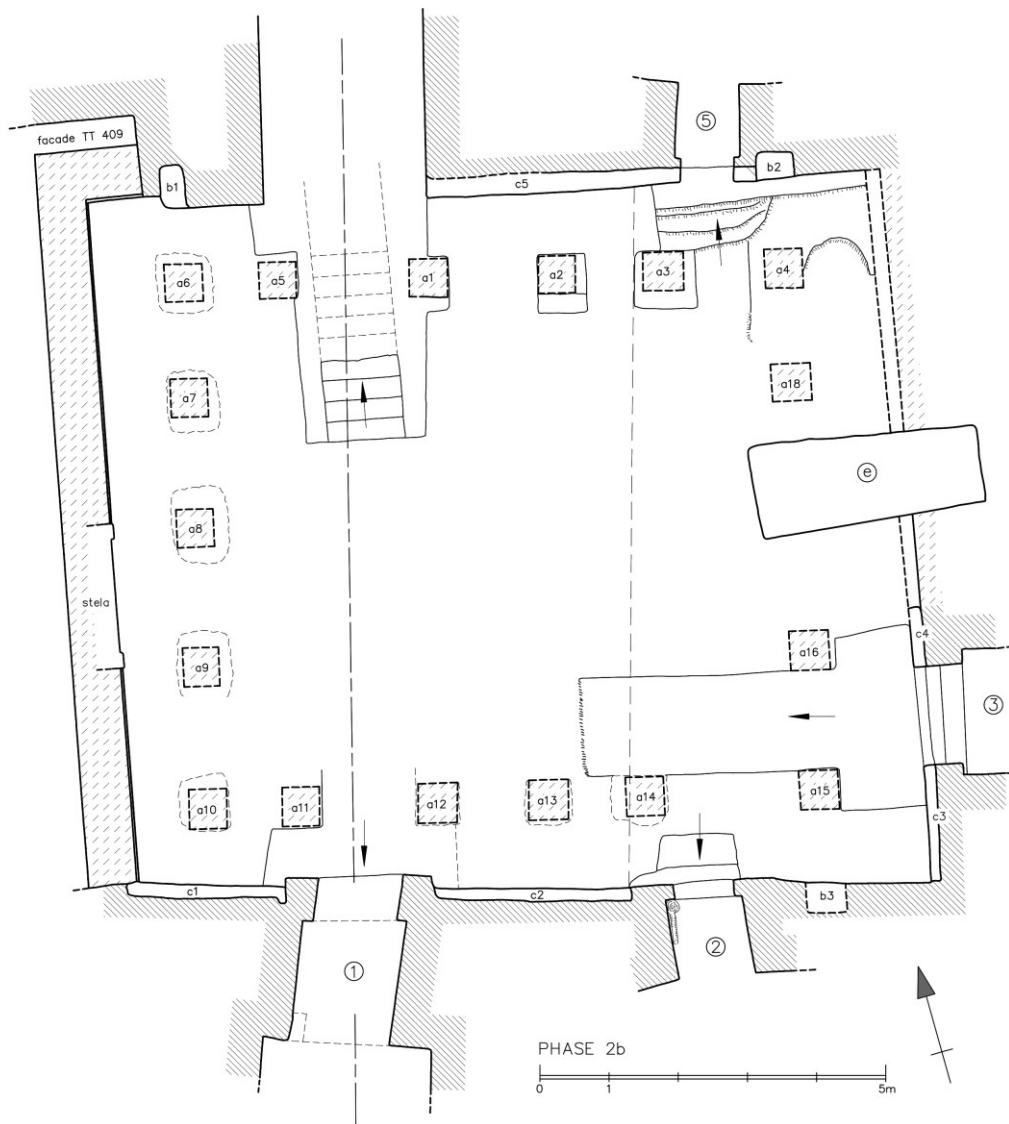


Fig. 20. Phase 2b.

The precise chronology of Tomb No. 5 unfortunately remains unknown so far, however, one can clearly state that it was cut out after the death of Ramesses III and before Ramesses XI became a pharaoh.

Phase 2b

The next part of the extension was the installation of Tomb No. 3 into the southern half of the east wall near the corner. The place was well chosen despite its limited height. The door jambs of the entrance are located directly in the extension of the north side of a15 and the south side of a16. Between them, roughly from the center of the courtyard, a ramp was installed down to the sunken tomb. A small courtyard was sunk between the two pillars and the façade.

The entrance is 1.00 m below the level of the courtyard. From the entrance, there are another three steps that lead down into the tomb. The sinking of the tomb was necessary due to the ground level of courtyard C, which was only approx. 2.50 m higher.

This phase was probably forcibly terminated with Tomb 3. An additional installation of a tomb into the center of the eastern side did not happen.

Tomb No. 3 is also belongs to the period after Ramesses III and before Ramesses XI, however, as it was mentioned above, there is no doubt that this tomb is later than Tomb No. 5.

Phase 3 (Fig. 21)

In approximately the center of the eastern side, a large shaft construction opens up with an unusual floor plan. It can be divided into three rectangles. In the north, a rectangle = shaft f, approx. 2.50 m (East-West expansion) x approx. 1.50 m (North-South). In the center, a rectangle = shaft e, measuring 3.30 m (East-West) x 1.30 m (North-South in the west/ 1.10 m in the East). In the south, a rectangle = shaft d measuring approx. 2.30 m (East-West) x approx. 1.40 m (North-South). If one considers parts d and e together, e reminds one of the guide for a blocking stone for a perpendicular shaft in a mastaba in the Old Kingdom or the Middle Kingdom rock-cut tombs.

The extension of the courtyard in phase 2 resulted in incorporation of an older shaft (e), which was cut out from the top, downward along the upper edge to courtyard c. To the existence of shaft e already during the extension of phase 2 is also confirmed by the location of tomb No. 3, which has been cut in the southern part of the eastern wall and not in its center, which clearly indicates that this space was already occupied by an older shaft. During the phase 3, one can

observe an extension of the shaft e only to the south. The extension has been labeled as shaft d, which, as it was mentioned above, is smaller than the original shaft e.

The extension of shaft e, which most likely is the Middle Kingdom tomb, has been cut out after the tombs of phase 2, but still before the reign of Ramesses XI.

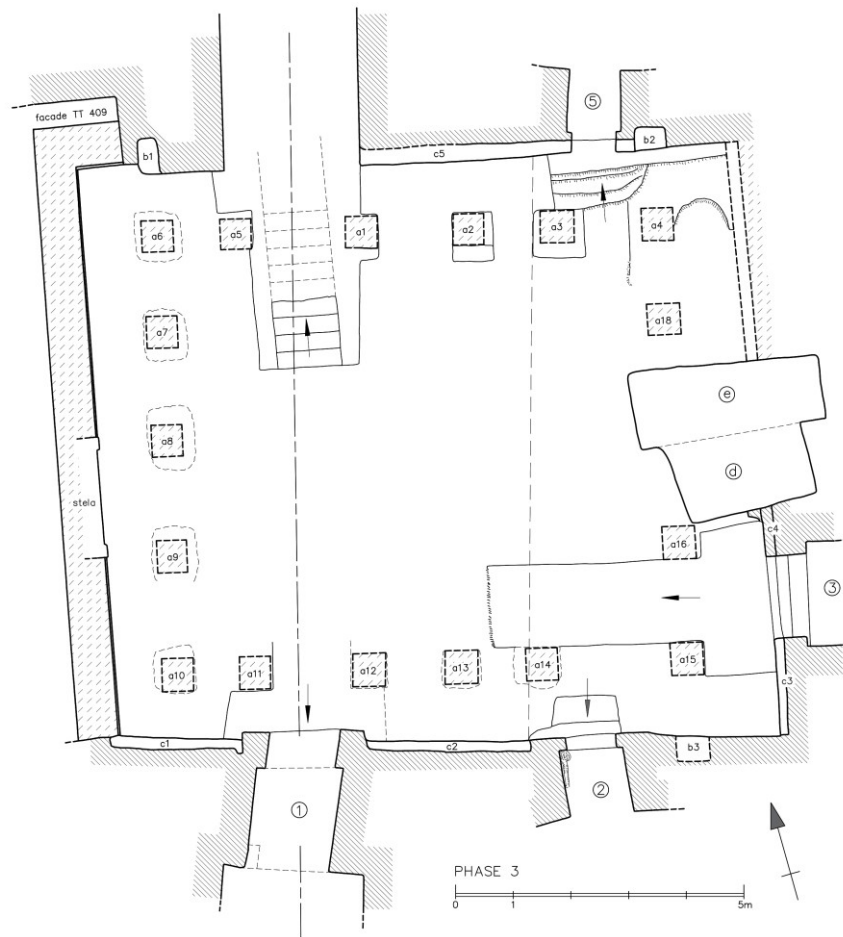


Fig. 21. Phase 3.

Phase 4 (Fig. 22)

After the extension of shaft e, another architectural changes in the “Court of the Priests” have taken place in the northern part of the eastern wall, i.e. to the north of the shaft e. This change has been described as a phase 4 and relates to the carving of Tomb No. 4. The bottom of tomb’s doorway, faced west, was placed a little bit lower than the level of the court. The entrance opened into corridor leading east direction.

Phase 4 also predates the reign of the king Ramesses XI.

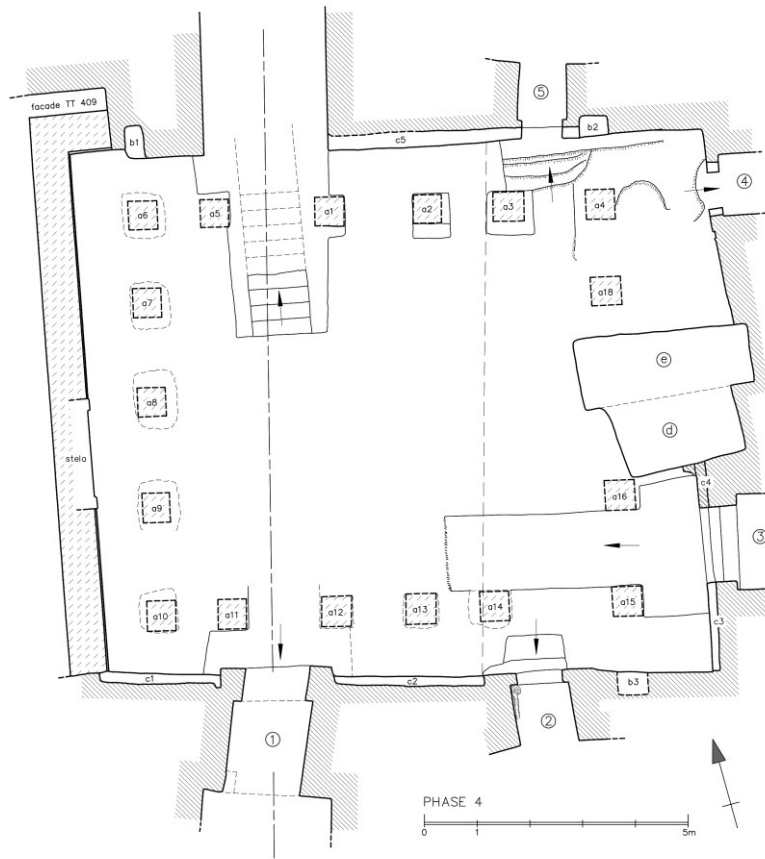


Fig. 22. Phase 4.

Phase 5 (Fig. 23)

According to the chisel traces on the ground level in the eastern part of the court, one can clearly state that the next change have taken place between the northern border of the shaft e and the Tomb No. 4. Therefore, one can undoubtedly indicate that during this phase, a northern extension of shaft e, i.e. shaft f, has been cut out. The extension f was also connected with removing of the remnants of pillar a21, which was presumably originally placed in the western side of the later shaft-extension f.

The northern extension of the shaft e have taken place shortly after phase 5, being still included to times before the reign of Ramesses XI.

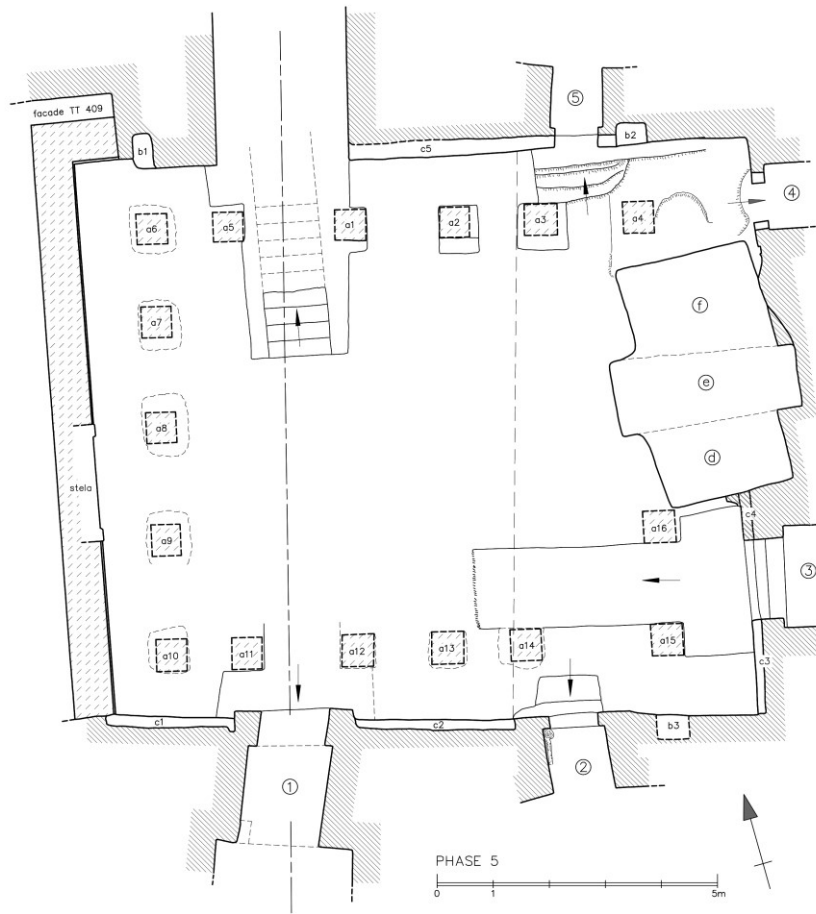


Fig. 23. Phase 5.

Phase 6 (Fig. 24)

The next phase in the history of the “Court of the Priests” was observed in the northern part of the court, between Tomb No. 5 and stairs a last tomb, Tomb No. 6, was built going out from the courtyard.

On the three possible walls, there was only space for an entrance and a facade between Tomb No. 5 and the stairs. Tomb No. 3 served as a model for the entrance situation. As there, a ramp ran between two pillars to the entrance that lay directly behind it. Its own, small forecourt on two levels was possible between the stairs and/or pillar a1 and pillar a3. The smoothed and plastered facade stretched up to Tomb No. 5.

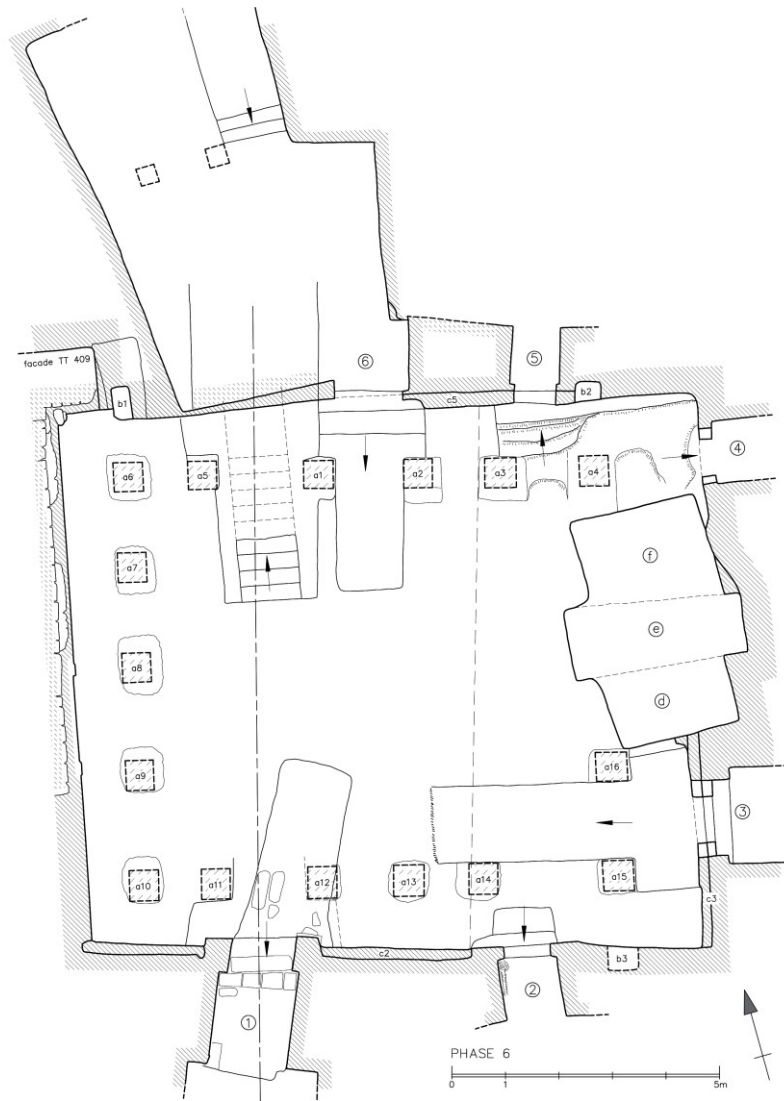


Fig. 24. Phase 6.

The tomb's interior seemed jammed between the stairs and Tomb No. 5. After the passage area, one runs right into the wing of transversal hall of Tomb No. 5 when cutting out.

Additional cutting out to the north was unsuccessful, because after also shifting to the west, one runs into the coffin chamber from Tomb No. 5. Only a detour toward the northwest remained.

The date of phase 6 can be easily determined according to the chronology of the Tomb No. 6, which is dated to the reign of Ramesses XI.

Phase 7 (Fig. 25)

Finally, west of the stairs behind pillar a6 and under architrave recess b1, a rectangular, room-like hollow measuring 1.65 x 1.35 m deep, 0.75 m wide and 0.80 m high was constructed out of the facade, probably to accommodate a mummy.

Besides, a rectangular, vertical shaft that had no orientation and was no longer used was at one time cut into the stairs. The shaft opening measures 2.20 m x 1.20 m and leads to a coffin chamber in the northwest.

There is total lack of evidences, which can shed some light on the date of changes included in the phase 7. However, they must be undoubtedly dated to the reign of Ramesses XI at the earliest.

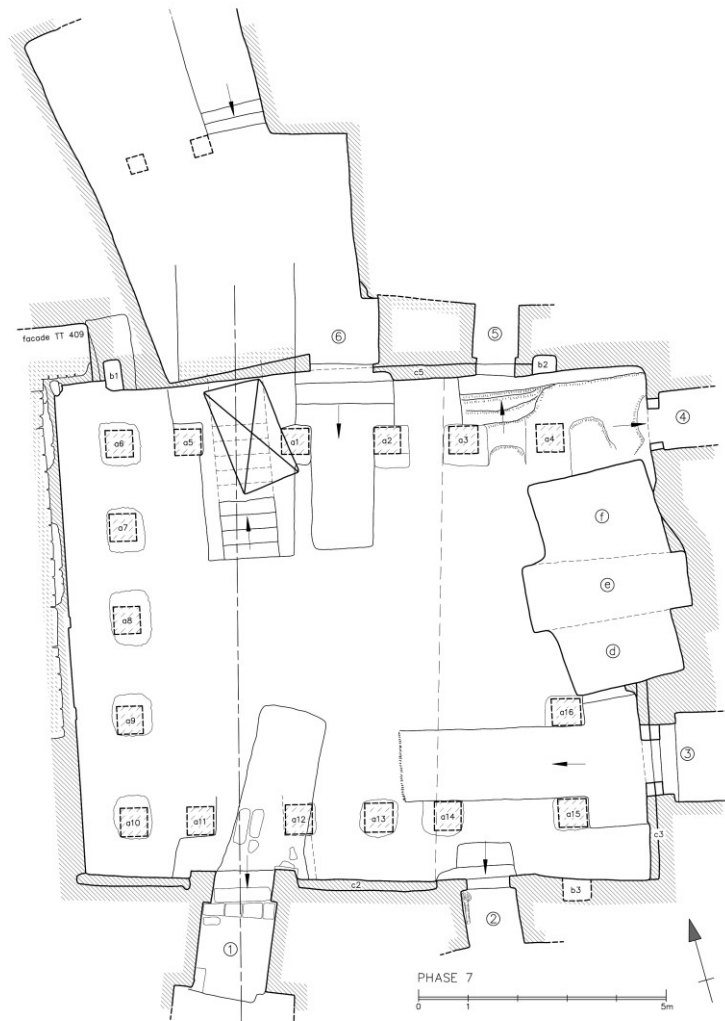


Fig. 25. Phase 7.

Architectural Types of “Court of the Priests”

The detailed description of the tombs of Court A and chronological stages of their development given in the previous chapters enables a discussion on their architectural types and possible evolution of types over the years.

The six tombs of Court A can be sorted into three architectural groups that share specific architectural features. The first group includes Tombs Nos. 1, 2 and 3. All three tombs consist of three rooms arranged along a single axis. They don't have transverse halls as the rooms are oriented parallel to the axis. The rooms are shaped like elongated rectangles or squares, sometimes of irregular shapes. Room 1 is an elongated rectangle in all three tombs. Room 2 is a long rectangle in Tomb No. 2 and an irregular square in Tombs Nos. 1 and 3. Room 2 in Tomb No. 3 was initially planned as a 4-pillar hall but only two pillars were carved. The third room is the smallest in all three tombs. In Tombs Nos. 1 and 2 it contains a deep statue niche. Sloping passages to the burial chambers are located in Rooms 2 and 3 in Tomb No. 1 and Room 2 in Tombs Nos. 2 and 3.

The second group includes Tombs Nos. 4 and 5, which feature transverse halls. In Tomb No. 4 the transverse hall is followed by a pillared hall. In Tomb No. 5 the second room is square with no pillars. Passages to the burial chambers are located in Room 2.

The third group consists of Tomb No. 6, which has no parallels in Court A. It is composed of one room divided in two parts by two pillars. The southern part of the room (part A) is an irregular rectangle. The northern part of the room (part B) is a smaller irregular rectangle with a niche in the north wall and a sloping passage to the burial compartment along the east wall.

These architectural groups do not correspond with the chronology of their building. Chronologically, the tombs of Court A were built in 7 phases. Tomb No. 1 was built during the 1st phase and Tombs Nos. 2 and 5 during the 2a phase of the development of the court. Tomb No. 3 was added during the 2b phase. Tomb No. 4 was carved during phase 4. Tomb No. 6 was the latest tomb of the court, added during the 6th phase.

In terms of the chronological development of the architectural types there was no linear progression from one type to another and it is impossible to assign certain architectural types to certain phases of development of the court.

Comparison with the typology of Theban tombs developed by Kampp leads to the following observations.³¹ Only Tomb No. 4 can be assigned to a certain type recorded by Kampp. Its configuration, with a transverse hall followed by a pillared hall with 4 pillars, is consistent with

³¹ Kampp 1996.

Kampp type VIb.³² The whole Group 2 cannot be assigned to Kampp VIb because of the absence of pillars in the hall of Tomb No. 5. The rest of the tombs cannot be assigned to any classified architectural type. Group 1 can be seen as a multi-room version of Type II, which consists of a rectangular room with a niche.³³ Group 3 consisting of Tomb No. 6 is too irregular to be assigned to any known type.

The irregularity of the architectural features of the tombs of Court A seems easy to explain by the lack of space in the court in the later phases of its development, but in reality it was only an additional factor. Tomb No. 1, carved in the south wall of the court, and Tomb No. 5 on the north wall, were among the earliest tombs of the court and therefore not constrained by the earlier structures. Their architectural types are not coherent and their layouts reflect the choices made by their creators. Possibly the creators of Tomb Nos. 2 and 3 followed the architectural pattern of Tomb No. 1. At the same time Tomb No. 5, contemporary to Tomb No. 2, has a completely different layout, similar to Tomb No. 4, which was built much later. Only tombs Nos. 2 and 6 were close enough to the earlier structures carved into the same wall to be architecturally affected by the lack of space in the area.

Analysis of the architectural types of the tombs of Court A may draw the following conclusions:

1. Most of the tombs in Court A can not be assigned to the types recorded by Kampp. The only exception is Tomb No. 4, which can be assigned to Kampp VIb.
2. The architecture of the tombs cannot be used as dating criteria as tombs built during the same phase may have disparate layouts and tombs dated to different phases may share the same layout.
3. There is no linear chronological progression from one architectural type to another.
4. The architectural irregularities of the tombs of Court A cannot always be explained by the lack of space due to the interference of previously built tombs. For example, within Group 1 the layouts of Tombs Nos. 1 and 3 were a conscious choice of the creators of the tombs as the configurations of these tombs were not dictated by any obstructions or limitations. Only Tomb No. 2, which was carved into the south wall next to Tomb No. 1 could have been inspired and at the same time limited by the earlier structure. Group 1 in Court A, which features three rooms arranged along a single axis, no transverse hall and statue niche in the third room should be considered as an addition to Kampp's classification, possibly as new Type II c.

³² Kampp 1996, 28.

³³ Kampp 1996, 17.

III.2 Stylistic Development of the Decoration of the Tombs of the "Court of the Priests"

The goal of this aspect of research is to discuss the following point associated with the implementation of the tomb's decoration. To analyse the style of the implementation of iconography has special importance for Late Ramesside tombs³⁴ The repertoire of the decoration of the Late Ramesside tombs is limited with certain scenes appearing in every tomb. Comparison of the iconography of the scenes included into the decoration, human figures and object compositions may result in the conclusion that they are very similar and probably decorated in a short period of time presumably by the same team of artists. This conclusion is inevitable because the artists drew their inspiration from the same pool of references and neighboring tombs. The only other aspect of the tombs' decoration that can differentiate their decoration is the individual artistic manner in which the iconography was implemented in each tomb and give a new perspective on the way the tombs were created.

Analyses of the style of implementation may help to raise and answer the following questions.

1. How many teams of artists worked in the court?
2. Were some of the tombs decorated by the same artists in a short period of time or the development of the court was a long process?
3. In case of the significant difference in the style of decoration between tombs the court should be seen as a ritually significant place that inspired tomb owners and artists to re-visit this place during a significant period of time.
4. Quality of decoration. Choice of more labor and time consuming techniques and high skill level of the artists may should add to discussion of the significance of this court in the Late Ramesside ritual landscape.
5. Styles of carving and painting may confirm, oppose or alter the picture of the overall development of the court envisioned by the architects and surveyors.
6. Original style of implementation of traditional iconography may add to our understanding of the tomb owner hierarchy within the court.
7. Unfinished decoration provides information on the significance of specific scenes over the others and add to our understanding of the Late Ramesside tomb decoration.
8. Identification of the individual artistic "signatures" may help to trace the artists to other tombs of the North Asasif of the whole Theban necropolis, create connections between

³⁴ Hofmann 2004.

tombs in different regions of the necropolis and create an “artist mobility” map for the necropolis.

For the preliminary research on the style of implementation one iconographic “icon” was chosen for the analyses. The figure of the tomb owner in adoration is one of the most popular iconographic motive of Late Ramesside tombs reflecting their level of sacralization.

Tomb No. 1

Akhmenu

Tomb owner in adoration of the sun god. Thickness of the entrance.

The figure is damaged. The back and feet are missing. The surface is blackened by soot.

The figure of the tomb owner is represented in adoration. He wears a double skirt and broad collar similar to the image in Tomb No.2.

The overall technique is also similar to Tomb No. 2. The figure is carved in combination of sunk and raised relief. Deep sunk relief create a frame in which the body is carved in raised relief. The rounded edges create the effect of three-dimensionality. The whole body is modelled which gives it the quality of softness. The relief was left unpainted.

All the details are carved. Detailed carving on the garment, wig and collar create an intricate pattern of sharp thin lines and polished depressions in between. The kilt of the tomb owner represents the most sophisticated piece of carving with the web of diagonal and vertical lines. Zigzag curls of the valanced wig and multilayered necklace each create its own precious jewel. This relief show the highest level of craftsmanship and sophistication in the whole court.

Tomb No. 2

Nefuerkhetef

Tomb Owner in adoration of the sun god. Thickness of the entrance.

The figures of the tomb owner and his wife are damaged. The head of the tomb owner is missing.

The figure is carved in deep sunk relief. The depth of carving allow a combination of sunk and raised relief. A deep sunk relief depression creates a frame with its own background which is mostly apparent in the skirt area. The body of the tomb owner is carved in raised relief within this frame. The edges are rounded giving the image a three-dimensional quality. Knees, feet and abdomen areas are modelled. The body of the wife is carved in the similar technique. Relief was plastered and painted. Male body is painted red, female body is painted light yellow with thin red outline. The garments are white. The tomb owner wears a short skirt that conceals the shape

of his body and transparent long skirt that reveals the shape of the legs. The area of legs covered by the skirt is painted pink in contrast to the exposed areas.

The details such as collar necklace and pleats of the garments are painted on the plane surface. None of the details were carved. Combination of carving of larger shapes and painting the details is a faster way of creating a decorative effect without going into the time consuming labor of carving every detail as in Tomb 1.

The figure of the tomb owner and his wife stand out in comparison with the rest of the decoration painted in plaster.

Tomb No. 3

Khetu

The wall sustained numerous mechanical damages and blackened by guano. Condition of the wall does not allow to track remains of color but judging by the style of carving the figures were painted over a layer of plaster.

The figures of the tomb owner and his wife are carved in shallow sunk relief. The edges are rounded but lack of depth in carving leave them two-dimensional. The surface don't show any traces of modeling. The legs of the tomb owner are not indicated under the long skirt. The surface of the bodies is flat and plain. Presumably all the details were painted on the plastered surface. Proportions are elongated. The lower part of the body is disproportionately long. Limbs are very thin. The facial features are not detailed. The bag wig is plane with no indication of striation or curls.

Tomb No. 4

Amenhotep TT 25

Despite numerous mechanical damages the surface retained most of its plaster and color, The figures of the tomb owner and his wife are carved in deep sunk relief. Rounded edges give the figures three-dimensional quality. There is no modeling on the limbs. Face of the tomb owner is the only place that shows some modeling on the cheek, around the ear and eye. The inner part of the ear is indicated the only deeply carve detail of the upper part of the body.

The top of his priestly garment and the broad collar indicated by incised lines. Most of the ornaments including necklaces, bracelets, female wig details, fillet on her head folds of the shawl and many others are painted on a thick layer of plaster. The figures lack the pronounced elongation characteristic to the style of the neighboring tombs.

Tomb No. 6

Hori TT 28

Four male figures kneeling in adoration are in the exceptionally good condition with only one lacunae and some minor loss on the surface. The figures are placed on the ceiling. They are painted on a thick layer of plaster. The figures are outlined with thin red lines. Bodies were painted red where exposed and pink when seen through a thin layer of linen. The garments are painted white in the areas of shirts and undershirts where the layer of linen is thicker. The outer skirt is represented as transparent. Necklaces and bracelets are painted bluish-green and detailed with black lines indicating the rows of beads. Wigs and cosmetic lines are painted black.

III.3 Conclusion

1. Judging the aesthetic merits of a monument will always remain subjective. Yet the style of implementation delivers quantifiable information that can be added to the facts collected during archaeological and philological work. One of them is the amount of time and skill demanded by certain techniques. More expensive techniques used in tomb decoration may reflect the wealth and position of the tomb owner as well as his ambitions and taste level. As exquisite as the Tomb 6 imagery is painting was always the fastest and cheapest way of decorating a tomb. Shallow sunk relief with no modeling and painted details will require more time and bigger team of artist. Carved details add another level of complexity and raised relief brings the production to the entirely different level. The above mentioned factors place “the production cost” of Tomb No. 1 on the top of the list with Tombs Nos. 2 and 4 right below. Tomb No. 3 round the list of carved tombs and Tomb No. 6 was the least time consuming to decorate with only a team of painters needed.
2. Comparison of the techniques implemented in each tomb demonstrate that each tomb was decorated by a different team of artists. There is no such thing as style of Court A or team of artist associated with court A.
3. Analyses of artistic technique support the suggestion of the surveyors and architects that the court was developing in phases and over a considerable period of time.
4. Stylistic analyses may also add to the understanding of the social standing of the court’s tomb owners. Although all of them are mid-range temple priests some demonstrate greater wealth through their access to more prominent and experienced artistic teams. The quality of carving at the entrance to the tomb showcased a position of greater influence in the community.

5. The choices made by the tomb owners of the court reflect not only their wealth and connections but also personal preferences. Choice of intricate carving over bright color highlights higher level of sophistication of the owner of Tomb No. 1. His access to the royal quality artists may add a new piece of information to the very limited pool of information.
6. Tomb and its decoration is a big part of Late Ramesside self-presentation. Biographical inscriptions, private correspondence, temple decoration, statues, etc. contribute to the collective portrait of a Late Ramesside person. The community of priests in court A didn't have anything but their tombs to present themselves.

IV. Late Ramesside Tombs of the North Asasif Necropolis. "Court of the Priests" in Context

Most of the tombs erected in the Theban Necropolis were in later periods extensively reused and usurped. This “later life” of older mortuary complexes is usually exemplified by coffins and cartonnages, as well as grave goods or their remains belonging to the “younger” usurpers. But in many of them, one can also observe changes in the architectural layout of the tomb reflected in the form of niches, antechambers, corridors and shafts carved out in different spaces of the original structure. Usually, the older tombs were reused and usurped by view generations of ancient Egyptians, thus for hundreds or even thousands of years. In this context, one should also pay attention that the earliest usurpation usually took part at least several dozen years after the original owner was buried in his resting place. The “Court of the Priests”, in its original stage, also belonged to the tombs, which were reused in later periods. In that chase, however, the reusing process has started in few years after the death of the owner of TT 409 during the reign of Ramesses III. As it was stated above, the tomb’s courtyard was extensively reused by other holders of priestly titles during the reign of the pharaohs of Twentieth Dynasty. Although, the relations between the owners of every each tomb remains unfortunately unknown, but the period between construction of the later tombs was so short that some of them could know each other.

The “Court of the Priests” is not, however, the only example of the multiple mortuary complex. A similar one is that of the tomb of Kheruef (TT 192) located in the western part of the North Asasif necropolis³⁵. Although Kheruef was a steward of queen Tiy, the Great Royal Wife of Amenhotep III and served also under the reign of his successor, Amenhotep IV/Akhetaten, the courtyard of his tomb was intensively reused as a place for setting new tombs in the Late

³⁵ Nims *et al.* 1980.

Ramesside period. The later tombs were carved in the rocks of the transverse corridor behind the pillars of the façade, as well as in the walls of the open courtyard, whose shape and size, similar to the “Court of the Priests”, were changed in the next phases. The first usurpation and architectural changes were done under Ramesses II, when the Overseer of Field-workers for the domain of Amun Djehutyemheb, hewn out his rock-cut tomb TT 194 to the south of the entrance to the court.³⁶ Under the reign of Ramesses II, the God's Father Nesbanebdjed decided to place his tomb (TT 190) in the eastern side of the north wall of the court.³⁷ Not long after them, the tomb of the Overseer of Craftman and Chief of Gold-workers in the Domain of Amun Nakhtdjehuty (TT 189) was located in the north-eastern corner of the court.³⁸ Nakhtdjehuty lived during the reign of Ramesses II and Merenptah, which predates the date of the tomb TT 26 belonging to the Overseer of the Treasury in the Ramesseum in the Estate of Amun Khnememhab, who lived in the late Nineteenth Dynasty, possibly under the king Seti II and was buried in the centre of the south wall of the TT 192 courtyard.³⁹ The tomb of the Proprietor of the Seal in the Treasury of the Estate of Amun Ptahemheb TT 193 located then in the east wall of the court.⁴⁰ A precise date of another tomb, TT 406, unfortunately remains unknown, but there is no doubt that it was erected in the Twentieth Dynasty. This tomb was carved out to the east of TT 26 for Piay, the Scribe of the Offering Table of the Lord of Two Lands.⁴¹ Another Twentieth Dynasty tombs belonging to the Scribe of the Divine Offerings of All the Divinities of Thebes, Scribe of the Granary of Amun Amenemheb (TT 364) and the Scribe of the Treasury of the Estate of Amun Bakenamun (TT 195) were carved in the south-western corner of the court, next to the tomb TT 26 and TT 406 respectively.⁴² Finally, in the northern wall of the court, next to the tomb TT 190, the anonymous tomb labeled by Kampp as no. 367 was carved.⁴³ The precise date of this tomb is unknown, but it was erected during the Late Ramesside period at the earliest.

³⁶ PM I, 2: 1, 290, 296, 301 (14); Assmann 1978: 45-49; Seyfried 1995: 11-16, 23-25, 69-73, 78, 102-115, 119-120, text 2, Pls 25, 35-36, plans 1-4; Froot 2007: 32-38, 63-69.

³⁷ Kampp 1996: 480.

³⁸ PM I, 2(small), 1, 290, 295 (1); Kitchen 1974: 252-254, 169-170, text 2, fig. 51; Assmann 1978: 39-40, 47-48; Seyfried 1991: 50-54, 127-128, pls. 4-5; Barthelmess 1992; Kampp 1996: 478-80; Froot 2007: 38-40, 69-73.

³⁹ Eigner 1984: 170, note 348; Kampp 1996: 212, fig. 113; PM I, 1, 43, Plan, p. 44, cf. p. 292, key-plan. Map IV, D-5, a, 6. LD Text III: p. 249.

⁴⁰ Janssen 1955:143-8; PM I.1: 300; Kampp 1996: 483.

⁴¹ B2; PM I, 446, Plan, 292, 296. Map IV, D-5, a, 5; Habachi 1958: 349; Nims *et al.* 1980: 2; Kampp 1996: 610, Plan V, B2.

⁴² Fakhry 1947: 44; PM I: 427; Kampp 1996: 485, 589-590; PM I: 301-302.

⁴³ Nims *et al.* 1980: Pl. 2; Kampp 1996: 765.

Another, analogous example is the tomb of Amenhotep (Kampp no. 28) also located in the North Asasif necropolis⁴⁴. This tomb is dated to the second half of the reign of Amenhotep III, but the apogee of its reusing fell on the Late Ramesside period. Because of the practically total lack of decoration and inscriptional evidences from these tombs, the precise dates and the names of almost all of the owners could not be established. The tomb no. 96, placed in the centre of the southern wall, was carved during the Nineteenth Dynasty⁴⁵. Remains of the decoration and inscriptions shed some light on the owner of the tomb TT 244 located in the southern side of the court, which belonged to the Overseer of Carpenters of the Temple of Amun named Pakharu⁴⁶. Other tombs from this group, nos. 86, 268 and 272, were carved in the southern wall of the courtyard, but there is no other data, except their Late Ramesside date⁴⁷. In the light of the above, the relations between owners of these tombs remains unknown.

The closest analogy is, however, the so-called ‘Court B’ located on the western side of the “Court of the Priests”. Although, this mortuary complex contains only two Late Ramesside tombs, it is also a clear example of the phenomenon of placing the Late Ramesside tombs in smaller and bigger groups. The ‘Court B’ is consisting of two tombs so far. The first one, TT 409 dated to the reign of Ramesses II, is that belonging to the Counter (Chief Accountant) of the Cattle of Amun Samut (called Kyky).⁴⁸ The tomb’s decoration shows the deceased and his wife adorning various gods, which is also reflected in the biographical text. The second tomb, TT 408, was carved for Bakenamun, the Head of the Servants of the Estate of Amun.⁴⁹ This tomb was located in the western side of TT 409 in the late Nineteenth or early Twentieth Dynasty.

In the light of above, one can clearly observe that during the Late Ramesside period groups of priests located their tombs in a small groups concentrated on one court, sometimes belonging to the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb.⁵⁰ There is only four known examples of this phenomenon so far, but what is particularly interesting, all of them were placed in the North Asasif necropolis. The “Court of the Priests” undoubtedly can be assigned to this group. All other mortuary complexes dated to the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties were carved as a single tombs or the burials of this period were added to the older funerary monuments. The presence of the described above groups of tombs located in the courtyards of older tombs in the

⁴⁴ Kampp 1996: 637-638.

⁴⁵ Nims *et al.* 1980: Pl. 2 ; Eigner 1984: Plan 1.

⁴⁶ PM I: 332-333; Leclant 1954: 66 [bottom]; Nims *et al.* 1980: Pl. 2 ; Kampp 1996: 520.

⁴⁷ Tombs no. 86: Nims *et al.* 1980: Pl. 2, no. 268 ; Kampp 1996: 750-751, no. 272.

⁴⁸ Abdul-Qader 1966 ; Wilson 1970 ; Negm 1997; 2011 ; Hodel-Hoenes 2000: 227-240 ; Baines, Frood 2011.

⁴⁹ Abdul-Qader 1966: 165; PM I: 446, Plan on p. 462; Kampp 1996: 61; Yaseen 2014: 111-112.

⁵⁰ Hofmann 2018: 149-174.

area of North Asasif can be connected with the royal temples at Deir el-Bahari which still played the principal role during the Theban feasts, for instance, the Beautiful Festival of the Valley.

Court of the Tomb of Kheruef (TT 192)

Tomb Number	TT 194	TT 189
Name and Titles	Djehutyemheb Overseer of Field-workers for the domain of Amun	Nakhtdjehuty Overseer of Craftman and Chief of Gold-workers in the Domain of Amun
Location	South side of the entrance to the court	North-east corner of the court, north side of the entrance to the court
Date	Ramesses II, first tomb built in the court	Ramesses II- Merenptah
Architectural Features	Transverse hall, square shrine with Hathor pillars, sloping passage to the burial room	
Decoration	<p>Entrance - Hymn to Amun-Re, two texts of the Appeal to the Living;</p> <p>Transfer Hall - Adoration of Thoth, Hathor, deified Ahmose-Nefertari, Osiris, Isis, Horus;</p> <p>Stelae at the north and south ends of hall: Djehutyemheb worshipping Anubis and Horus, Hathor column flanked by djed pillares. Djed pillares flank the sides of the stelae, biographical text.</p> <p>Shrine: Tomb owner and his wife in adoration; Stelae of Hathor in front of the Theban triade, Ahmose-Nefertari before Osiris and Horus, divine procession along the processional root; text of communication with Hathor in a dream; Hathoric niche flanked by Hathor pillars, biographical text.</p> <p>Tomb as a domain of Hathor (Frood 2007, 44).</p>	<p>Enrance: Appeal to the Living</p> <p>Transverse Hall: Tomb owner in adoration of the goddess of the West, festival scenes with divine barques and temple doorways: representation of a festive procession to Hathor shrine and three Hathor cows, biographical text.</p>

Bibliography	PM I: 2(small), 1, 290, 296, 301 (14); Seyfried 1995: 11-16, 23-25, 69-73, 78, 102-115, text 2, pls. 25, 35-36, 119-120, plans 1-4; Assmann 1978: 45-49, Froid 2007: 32-38, 63-69; Assmann 1991: 8; Szpakowska 2003: 138-141	PM I, 2(small), 1, 290, 295 (1); Assmann 1978: 39-40, 47-48, Kampp 1996: 478-80; Barthelmess 1992; Kitchen 1974: 252-254, 169-170, text 2, fig. 51; Seyfried 1991: 50-54, 127-128, pls. 4-5; Froid 2007: 38-40, 69-73
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Tomb Number	TT 26	TT 406
Name and Titles	Khnememhab Overseer of the Treasury in the Ramesseum in the Estate of Amun	Piay Scribe of the Offering Table of the Lord of Two Lands.
Location	Center of the South wall of the court of TT 192	South wall of TT 192 court, east of TT 26
Date	Late 19th Dynasty, possibly Seti II	Twentieth Dynasty
Architectural Features	Type Kampp Vb, transverse hall, sloping passage	Type Kampp Vb; transverse hall and long hall, sloping passage
Decoration	Façade (1) Stela, deceased adores Re-Harakhty and Maat, and hymn to Amun-Re-Harakhty. (2) Stela, deceased adores Osiris and Western goddess, and remains of hymn to Osiris. Hall (3) Outer jambs, titles and deceased seated at bottom, with column of text, year 5 of Sethos II (added later) on each side. Outer thicknesses, texts. Left inner thickness, deceased adoring and wife holding sistrum and papyrus-stalk, with hymn to Re-Harakhty. Right inner thickness, Huy and wife Iryy (?) (or perhaps Iryiry) adoring with	Hall. (Unfinished) (1) Left thickness, bark of Re dragged by jackals. Right thickness, two registers, I, deceased and wife before Atum, Maat, and the goddess of the West, II, deceased with hymn to Osiris. (2) Two registers. I, Priest offers to deceased(?) and wife. II, Remains of funeral procession with priest before mummies at tomb.

	<p>hymn to Osiris. Left inner thickness</p> <p>(4) Deceased, wife, and couple, before Osiris and Anubis.</p> <p>(5) [1st ed. I] Two registers. I, Scenes in Book of Gates. n, Deceased adores bull and seven cows with sacred oars.</p> <p>Name and titles in I,</p> <p>{6) Deceased and wife adoring, and deceased and wife before Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys.</p> <p>(7) Inmutf-priest before Horus(?) and Anubis (unfinished). (8) Two registers, I, deceased offers to Re-Harakhty, Atum, Shu, Nut, and a god, II, seated couple, and man censuring and libating to deceased and wife. (9) Deceased and wife adore Re-Harakhty, Maat, and Western goddess.</p> <p>Inner room.</p> <p>(10) Outer lintel, deceased at left end, jambs, text, with deceased seated below.</p> <p>Thicknesses,</p> <p>deceased and [wife], with hymn to Re on left thickness</p>	
Bibliography	<p>Kampp 1996: 212, fig. 113; PM I: 43, Plan, p. 44, cf. p. 292, key-plan. Map IV, D-5, a, 6. LD Text III: 249; Eigner 1984: 170, note 348</p>	<p>Kampp 1996: 610, Plan V, B2; PM I: 446, Plan, p. 296, cf. p. 292. Map IV, D-5, a, 5· unpublished; the layout of the plant comes from the publication of the tomb TT 192, see Nims <i>et al.</i> 1980: 2; Habachi 1958: 349</p>

Tomb Number	TT 190	TT 195
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Name and Titles	Nesbanebdjed God's Father	Bakenamun Scribe of the Treasury of the Estate of Amun.
Location	North wall of the court (east side)	South-east corner, next to TT 406
Date	Ramesses II.	Twentieth Dynasty. The dating is based on the sequence of the tombs in the southern courtyard..
Architectural Features	Kampp Vb	Kampp Vb, T-shaped tomb with a niche at the end of the long hall.
Decoration	This Late Ramesside tomb was reused in the Late Period. No preserved Late Ramesside decoration. The only known name is of the usurper of the Late Period.	<p>Hall</p> <p>(1) Outer lintel, double-scene, deceased kneeling before Re, Re-Harakhty, and before Osiris, jambs, offering-texts. Left thickness, two registers, I, deceased with hymn to Re, II, deceased and [wife] seated. Right thickness, two registers, I, deceased with hymn to Amen-Re</p> <p>I: Iarakhti, II, priest offers to deceased and wife.</p> <p>(2) Three registers. I, Deceased and wife with hymn before bark of Ptal).-Sokari-Osiris</p> <p>II, Deceased and wife before [divinities].</p> <p>III, Priest offers to deceased and wife.</p> <p>(3) Two remaining registers. I, Deceased offers to [goddess]. II, Harpist.</p> <p>(4) Three registers. I, [Deceased] offers to Re-Harakhty, Maat, Deceased and wife before Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys. III, Priest offers to deceased and wife.</p> <p>(5) Deceased before Western goddess making nini.</p>

		(6) Three registers. I, Deceased kneeling before Isis and Sons of Horus. II, Wife. ill, Remains of offering-scene. (7) Two remaining registers. I, Deceased and wife offering to Atum. II, Deceased (?) and wife with offerings.
Bibliography	Kampp 1996: 480	Kampp 1996” 485; PM 1: 301-302

Tomb Number	TT 193	TT 364
Name and Titles	Ptahemheb Proprietor of the Seal in the Treasury of the Estate of Amun	Amenemheb Scribe of the Divine Offerings of All the Divinities of Thebes, Scribe of the Granary of Amun.
Location	East wall	South-west corner, next to TT 26
Date	Nineteenth Dynasty- Twentieth Dynasty	Twentieth Dynasty
Architectural Features		Kampp Vb
Decoration	Stela, three registers. I, Double-scene, deceased adores Osiris, and adores Re-Harakhty II, Deceased, priest with Opening the Mouth instruments, and lector, before mummy in front of stela with female mourners. m, Addresses to deceased	Hall. (1) Left thickness, three registers, I, divine bark drawn by jackals and adored by deceased kneeling, II, deceased adoring with hymn to Amun-Re-l: farakhti, ill, deceased and wife seated. Right thickness, two registers, I, bark of Re adored by baboons and by deceased kneeling, II, deceased adoring with hymn See Lepsius R.H. 265 [middle], (giving cartouche of Tuthmosis I) (2) Remains of two registers. I, Two scenes, deceased and wife before divinities, II, deceased (belonging to (3)

		(3) Two registers. I, Deceased before bark, and deceased offering below, with large shrine on right. II, Deceased (at (2) led by Horus to Osiris with Nephthys and Isis. Sub-scene small offering-scenes. (4) Entrance to Inner room. Lintel, double-scene, deceased kneels before [divinities?].
Bibliography	Kampp 1996: 483; Janssen 1955, Pl. 1, Abb. 1- 4, cf. 143-8; PM I: 300	Fakhry 1947: 44; PM I: 427; Kampp 1996: 589-590

Tomb Number	No. 367	
Name and Titles	Unknown	
Location	North wall of the court, west of TT 190	
Date	Late Ramesside or later	
Architectural Features	IIb, several consecutive interconnected rooms	
Decoration	There are no inscriptions	
Bibliography	Kampp 1996: 765; Nims <i>et al.</i> 1980: Pl. 2	

Court of the Tomb of Imenhotep (No. 28)

Tomb Number	No. 86	No. 96
Name and Titles	Unknown	Unknown
Location	South wall, west section	South wall, center, next to No. 86
Date	Late Ramesside	Nineteenth Dynasty

Architectural Features	Kampp Va	Kampp Va
Decoration	There are no inscriptions	There are no inscriptions
Bibliography	Nims <i>et al.</i> 1980: Pl. 2	Nims <i>et al.</i> 1980: Pl. 2.; Eigner 1984: Plan 1

Tomb Number	No. 268	No. 272
Name and Titles	Unknown	Unknown
Location	Entrance, south wall, next to TT 244	Entrance, south wall, next to No. 268
Date	Late Ramesside	Late Ramesside
Architectural Features	Kampp Type I, unfinished single room tomb	Type Unclassifiable, unusual plan constrained by limited available space
Decoration	There are no inscriptions	There are no inscriptions
Bibliography	Nims <i>et al.</i> 1980: Pl. 2.; Kampp 1996: 750	Nims <i>et al.</i> 1980: Pl. 2.; Kampp 1996: 751

Tomb Number	TT 244
Name and Titles	Pakharu Overseer of Carpenters of the Temple of Amun.
Location	Entrance, south wall
Date	Late Ramesside
Architectural Features	Unclassifiable, unique layout
Decoration	Hall. (1) Left thickness, deceased adoring. (2) Deceased and wife kneeling adore Anubisjackal. (3) Entrance to Inner room, lintel, double-scene, deceased and wife offer flowers to [god], left jamb, offering-formula.

Bibliography	Leclant 1954: 66 [bottom]; PM I: 332-333; Nims <i>et al.</i> 1980: Pl. 2; Kampp 1996: 520.
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Court of Parennefer (TT 188)

Tomb Number	No. 50	No. 49
Name and Titles	Unknown	Unknown
Location	South West corner of the court	East wall
Date	Late Ramesside or later, pink plaster on walls suggests late Late Ramesside period	Twentieth Dynasty
Architectural Features	Type I, small tomb consisting of one room	Kampp Type IIa
Decoration	Reinscribed entrance to TT 188, extremely destroyed	Damaged remains of painted decoration, main scene type is divine adoration
Bibliography	Kampp 1996: 654, Fig. 371	Kampp 1996: 652

Tomb Number	TT 374
Name and Titles	Amenemopet Scribe of the Treasury in the Ramesseum.
Location	East wall of the court
Date	Nineteenth Dynasty, Rameses II
Architectural Features	
Decoration	Entrance. Outer lintel, double-scene, deceased before Re-Harakhty and before Osiris, and left jamb, text with titles of deceased. There is no decoration except for the entrance doorframe.
Bibliography	Kampp 1996: 597

Free Standing Tombs

Tomb Number	TT 387	TT 207
Name and Titles	Meryptah Royal Scribe of the Table of the Lord of the Two Lands in Karnak	Haremheb Scribe of Divine Offerings of Amun.
Location	Free standing, east of TT 192	Under Metropolitan House
Date	Rameses II	Twentieth Dynasty, Rameses III
Architectural Features	Type IIa	Kampp Type Va
Decoration	<p>Court.</p> <p>Statues. (a), (b), (d), (e) Osiride royal statues. (c) Osiris. (f) Hathor-cow protecting [King] (removed)</p> <p>Hall</p> <p>(1) Outer lintel, double-scene, deceased before a god, with cartouches in centre, and jambs, text and deceased at bottom. Thicknesses, deceased adoring with hymns (to Amun-Re, Harakhty on left).</p> <p>(2) Two registers. I, Three scenes, Book of Gates, 1, deceased presented by Thoth to Osiris and Western goddess, 2, deceased [and wife(?)] led by Anubis and Hathor, 3, Negative Confession (?) with deceased followed by two people (?). II, Three scenes, 4, priest with incense and offerings before two men and woman, 5, deceased purified by two priests, 6, tree-goddess scene (with bas on knees of deceased and wife).</p> <p>(3) Man before a god (?). (4) Offering-</p>	<p>Hall.</p> <p>Entrance-wall, left of doorway. At bottom, Abydos pilgrimage.</p> <p>Frieze. Remains of Book of Gates with deceased adoring</p>

	<p>bringers, deceased adoring Osiris, and seated man below, and man pouring libation before deceased (?). (5) Two registers, I, deceased libating offerings followed by man, II, offering-bringers. (6) and (7) Remains of offering-scenes.</p> <p>(8) Two registers, I, deceased, followed by man and offering-bringer, adores Re-Harakhty, Western goddess, and group of seven divinities, all seated, II, two scenes, each with priest offering to deceased seated with sceptre, with offering-list beyond</p> <p>(9) Niche. Lintel, double-scene, deceased at each end before table of offerings, and right jamb, remains of text.</p> <p>Vaulted ceiling, with frieze-text below on north and south walls</p>	
Bibliography	Fakhry 1947: 34 [B, 4]; Satzinger 1983; Seyfried 1987: 247, 249; Kampp 1996: 604; PM I: 439	PM I: 306; Kampp 1996: 492-493

Tomb Number	TT 208	No. 23
Name and Titles	Roma Godfather of Amun-Re	Unknown
Location	South of Court A	Free standing to the south of TT 192
Date	Nineteenth – Twentieth Dynasty	Nineteenth Dynasty
Architectural Features	Type Va, T-shaped tomb	Type Vb, T-shaped tomb with a vaulted ceiling

Decoration	<p>Inner room</p> <p>(1) Four registers, I, deceased adoring, II, procession of priests with vases, III, people adoring divinities, IV, banquet(?). (2) Loose block, probably from here, man and three women with table of offerings. (3) Three registers, I, Book of Gates with deceased and wife before gods, a man offers to deceased and wife and to couple, and seated harpist with song beyond, remains of funeral procession with Abydos pilgrimage (?) Frieze at (3), deceased kneeling adores Anubis-jackal.</p> <p>Hall</p> <p>(4) At top, deceased and wife before a god and goddess. (5) Re-Harakhty seated in shrine with door, and table of offerings, with man and woman below. Frieze at (5), Anubis-jackals</p>	<p>Inaccessible. Description and drawing of the interior are based on previous records.</p> <p>Several statues in the transverse hall, including a statue of Hathor.</p>
Bibliography	PM I: 306, Kampp 1996: 494	Eigner 1984: Plan 1; Seyfried 1987: 247, Pl. VI

Tomb Number	No. 58
Name and Titles	Unknown
Location	South of No. 188
Date	Nineteenth Dynasty
Architectural Features	Type VIIa, architectural features are obscured by debris
Decoration	Remains of painted decoration in the transverse hall, 4 or 5 divine shrines, tomb owner in adoration of various deities

Bibliography	Kampp 1996: 660
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Court of the Tomb of Puyemre (TT 39)

Tomb Number	No. 48
Name and Titles	Unknown
Location	South west corner
Date	Late Ramesside
Architectural Features	Small T-shaped tomb
Decoration	There are no inscriptions
Bibliography	Davies 1922: 4ff.; 1923: 58ff., Pls LXXIII, LXXIV

Court B

Tomb Number	TT 409	TT 408
Name and Titles	Samut (called Kyky) Counter (Chief Accountant) of the Cattle of Amun.	Bakenamun. Head of the Servants of the Estate of Amun.
Location	Eastern side of the court	Adjoining TT 409 on west side
Date	Ramesses II	Late Nineteenth Dynasty , Twentieth Dynasty
Architectural Features	Kampp Type Vb No trace of superstructure; T-shaped basic scheme with a long hall and a statue niche.	Mud brick private courts were built within a large sunken court. Kampp Type: Unusual shape
Decoration	Facade: Two stelae with the scenes of the tomb owner before Re-Harakhty, Maat and Osiris. Transverse hall: Tomb owner and his wife	Hall. (I) Outer lintel, double-scene, deceased and wife libating to Osiris and Hathor, and offering to Sokar-Osiris and Maat,

	<p>adoring Anubis and Hathor-headed pillar; Samut receiving offering cattle for the Opet festival, gates of the underworld; banquet scene, journey to the west and funerary rituals; Samut and his wife raising a Djed pillar; a tree goddess pouring water for Samut and his wife, adoration of Mut,; Samut overseeing the ploughing of fields BDV 110); biographical text reflecting devotion to goddess Mut, shrine of Mut</p> <p>Long hall: Adoration of Re-Harakhty, niche with seated statues of Samut, his wife and parents</p> <p>Tomb as a domain of Mut. Unique texts, unusual scenes</p>	<p>with text above mentioning sons Amenemheb, Amenkhau and Iufenamun. Left jamb, text with name of wife Inner room.</p> <p>(2) Outer lintel, double-scene, deceased with Amenemheb on left half, and with wife on right half, before Osiris.</p> <p>Finds</p> <p>Double-statue of deceased and wife seated, found in passage to Burial Chamber of tomb</p>
<p>Bibliography</p>	<p>PM I: 461-462, Map IV, D-5, C, 6; Negm 1997; Frood 2007: 40-44, 73-83, Figs 38, 52; Kampp 1996: 611-613, Fig. 508; Abdul-Qader 1966; Snape 2011: 227-229; Wilson 1970: 187-192; Vernus 1978; Yaseen 2014: 111-112; Baines, Frood 2011; Negm 2011; Hodel-Hoenes 2000; Wilson 1970</p>	<p>Abdul-Qader 1966: 165; PM I: 446, Plan on p. 462; Kampp 1996: 611; Yaseen 2014: 111-112</p>

V. Late Ramesside Tombs and North Asasif Sacred Landscape

Thebes was one of the main religious centers of ancient Egypt with its east and west bank being part of a uniquely connected ritual landscape.⁵¹ The temples and tombs of both banks structured the ritual landscape by means of their location, orientation and decoration. All the monuments were connected by the processional routes of religious festivals.

⁵¹ Assmann 2003: 46-52; Rummel 2020: 279-305.

The discovery of every new Theban monument adds another puzzle piece to the closely intertwined structure of the Theban theological topography.

North Asasif was one of the most prominent areas of the Theban necropolis.⁵² It became a highly coveted location for non-royal tombs in the Late Ramesside Period bringing back the glorious days of the Eleventh and the Eighteenth Dynasties. Through all periods of rise and decline this area kept its ritual significance.

Three of the features of North Asasif were probably most appealing in the Late Ramesside Period.

V.1 Beautiful Feast of the Valley and "Mansions of Millions of Years"

The special ritual value of North Asasif was in the "Mansions of Millions of Years". Late Ramesside North Asasif was designated by the earlier royal cult temples at the foot of the cliffs in the West and a huge Late Ramesside temple at the eastern entrance to the valley. The temples of Deir el-Bahari built by Nebhepetra Mentuhotep of the Eleventh Dynasty and Amenhotep I, Hatshepsut and Thutmose III of the Eighteenth Dynasty made Deir el-Bahari an important religious center of Amun-Re and Hathor, the patron deity of the Theban necropolis and the Mistress of the Western Mountain.⁵³ The appeal of this area was determined by the direct view of Karnak temple across the river. The causeway of Hatshepsut's temple became the main processional route for the Beautiful Feast of the Valley and the bark of Amun-Re of Karnak visited all three temples of Deir el-Bahari.⁵⁴ Hatshepsut's causeway is a wide-open processional road in contrast to the roofed causeways of the Old Kingdom pyramids.⁵⁵ Arnold has called Hatshepsut's temple a huge barque station raised above the Asasif valley.⁵⁶ The actual functional station was built midway between the landing station (Valley temple) and the main temple.⁵⁷ On its way from the landing station to the temples of Deir el-Bahari the barque would visit "Mansions of the Millions Years" (royal cult places).⁵⁸

V.2 Asasif Temple

⁵² Polz 2001.

⁵³ Pinch 1993: 4-12; Wilkinson 2000: 143.

⁵⁴ Bietak, Reiser-Hausler 1978: 25-28; Pinch 1993: 8-9.

⁵⁵ Bietak, Reiser-Hausler 1978: 24.

⁵⁶ Arnold 2006: 137.

⁵⁷ Arnold 2006: 137, Figs 63, 90.

⁵⁸ Bell 1997: 137.

The Asasif temple is part of Ramesses IV's considerable Theban building program. Three, possibly four temples were planned on the West bank and left in different phases of construction.⁵⁹

The Asasif temple is the largest structure intended by Ramesses IV. It was left unfinished and continued by Ramesses V and Ramesses VI.⁶⁰ Although the temple was never finished and later used a quarry numerous finds at the site of the temple such as foundation deposits, fragments of decoration and pottery allow understanding of its configuration, dates of start of work and function.⁶¹

The foundation of the temple is a 240 m by 60 m basin cut into the limestone plateau. It hacks away sections of the causeways of Mentuhotep II and Thutmose III.⁶²

The foundation depression was filled with sand that served a dual purpose. The "floating" sand-box foundations were load-distributive and symbolic assuring purification of the building grounds and possibly referring to the primeval mound.⁶³

The Asasif temple was probably comprised by a pylon, first court with colonnades, second court with a double row of columns, hypostyle hall and a sanctuary surrounded by several rooms. The temple continued a tradition of terraced temples in the area referring to the earlier temples of Mentuhotep II, Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.⁶⁴

Based on the archaeological finds in the area Julia Budka dates the beginning of the work on the Temple to 4th year of the Reign of Ramesses IV.⁶⁵

The colonnade near the valley temple of Hatshepsut was started earlier. The work was underway on the 1st or 2nd year of the reign of Ramesses IV.⁶⁶

Asasif temple was meant to become part of Ramesses IV temple grid reinforcing east-west and south-north processional roots connecting Karnak and Luxor temples with the the Mantions of

⁵⁹ For an overview of the temples on the Theban west bank attributed to Ramesses IV see Wilkinson 2000: 181, 190; Peden 2001: 37-42; Budka 2001: 28-32; Ullmann 2002: 524-542; Budka 2009: 17. The so-called colonnade temple was constructed by Ramesses IV to the north of Hatshepsut's valley temple. It was probably left unfinished. Only foundation deposits and several decorated fragments were found in the temple area, see Helck 1984: 120, n. 9; Ullmann 2002: 527-529. Remains of small temples were found near the temples of Amenhotep son of Hapu and Ay/Horemheb temple north of Medinet Habu, see Robichon, Varille 1938: 99-102; Helsen 1939: 116-119, fig. 96, pl. 58; Helck 1984: 120, n. 7; Wilkinson 2000: 172, 190; Ullmann 2002: 529-230; Budka 2009: 17.

⁶⁰ Winlock 1842: 9-13; Bietak 1972 17-26; Peden 2001, 49-50; Ullmann 2002: 524-527; Budka 2009, 2022.

⁶¹ Budka 2009: 40-44; Budka 2021- 2022: 146-147.

⁶² Winlock 1942: 9-11; Budka 2010: 48.

⁶³ Josephson 2005: 405. Budka 2009: 24-25; Budka 2010: 51.

⁶⁴ Stadelmann 1978: 171, n. 4; Ullmann 2002: 542; Budka 2009: 18-19; Budka 2021- 2022: 139.

⁶⁵ Budka 2021-2022: 146.

⁶⁶ Budka 2021-2022: 147.

Millions of Years of the West Bank during the celebration of the Opet, Decade Festival and Beautiful Feast of the Valley festival among others.⁶⁷

The temples of Deir el-Bahari were among the principal participants in the Beautiful Feast of the Valley.

Late Ramesside temples built along the processional route joined the celebration. The colonnade temple contained a bark station to receive the bark right after the crossing the river and the Asasif temple located further south was the first terraced temple on the way to the temple of Hatshepsut. Budka suggests that its main function was to connect the royal cult of Ramesses IV to the Beautiful Feast of the Valley noting that it could be simultaneously functioning as the Mansion of the Million Years.⁶⁸ It could have been the place of a monumental bark station to mark its way from Deir el-Bahari to Medinet Habu.⁶⁹

V.3 Cult of Hathor in North Asasif

Another prominent feature of the North Asasif necropolis is its association with Hathor⁷⁰. Hathoric connections probably go as far as the Old Kingdom.⁷¹ A Hathor shrine had been part of the royal mortuary complex since the Old Kingdom and the temples of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep, Hatshepsut and Thutmose III all acknowledged Hathor as a prominent goddess of the Theban necropolis.⁷²

The Beautiful Festival of the Valley was a Theban version of a Hathor festival with Amun-Re in the central role⁷³.

The sites of Deir el-Bahari and North Asasif developed mainly as royal and divine ritual centers of the Theban necropolis.⁷⁴ Eighteenth Dynasty Asasif displayed mainly a temple ritual landscape meant to accommodate the cult of Hathor and the Beautiful Festival of the Valley. Hathor's cult and imagery were always prominent features of the Theban necropolis. Although the cult of a cow goddess, mistress of the necropolis, probably dates back to the Old Kingdom, her association with Hathor is not registered before the Eleventh Dynasty, when the temple of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep, *Akh-isut*, was built.⁷⁵ The actual place for the shrine of the goddess is not determined, but it was probably located under the platform of Hathor's shrine in *Djeser-*

⁶⁷ Budka 2009; Budka 2021-21:148-149.

⁶⁸ Helck 1984; Kitchen 1984: 124; Budka 2009: 42-43; Budka 2021-2022: 147-149.

⁶⁹ Budka 2009: 43.

⁷⁰ Iwaszczuk 2016; Beaux, Karkowski, Majerus and Pollin 2016.

⁷¹ Bietak, Reiser-Hausler 1978: 20-29; Pinch 1993: 3-25; Froot 2007: 27-32.

⁷² Arnold 1974: 83; Pinch 1993: 7-12; Froot 2007: 27-28.

⁷³ Bell 1997: 136-137; Rummel 2013: 213-214.

⁷⁴ Bietak 1978: 27; Froot 2007: 28.

⁷⁵ Otto 1952: 51; Naguib 1991: 24-29; Froot 2007, 28.

Djeseru.⁷⁶ Supposedly it contained a statue of Hathor as a cow, with a figure of king Nebhepetra Mentuhotep standing under her chin.⁷⁷ Although the original statue has not survived, a votive stela and votive cloth from Deir el-Bahari, dated to the late Eighteenth Dynasty, depict a cow statue of Hathor of Akh-isut suckling and protecting the king, who stands beneath her head.⁷⁸ Another important piece of evidence is the head of a cult statue of the goddess Hathor found in the rubble of the mortuary temple of Nebhepetra Mentuhotep.⁷⁹ Stylistically, this beautiful life-size head dates to the early Eighteenth Dynasty. The eyes, with long cosmetic lines and eyebrows, were inlaid with rock crystal and lapis lazuli; the horns holding the sun disk and the ears were probably made of gilded bronze. Together with the statue of Nebhepetra Mentuhotep, also found in the temple and dated to late Dynasty Eighteenth, it could have been a replacement for the missing parts of the cult cow statue of *Akh-isut*.⁸⁰ Another possibility is that the alabaster head of a cow was once part of a cult statue of Hathor in her manifestation as a cow, made at the time of Hatshepsut for the Hathor chapel of *Djeser-Djeseru*.⁸¹ Damaged, it could have fallen down onto the platform of the Eleventh Dynasty temple⁸². In any case, Hatshepsut's Hathor chapel could have contained a "cow statue" with two images of Hatshepsut, one standing under the chin of the cow. In the other, Hatshepsut is suckled by the goddess. Numerous images on the walls of the chapel show this scene with a cow figure mounted on a base that suggests a statue. The best-preserved royal cow statue of the Eighteenth Dynasty was found by Naville in 1906 in the ruins of the temple of Thutmose III, *Djeser Akhet*.

The goddess is shown walking out of the mountain of the necropolis while protecting King Amenhotep II, who stands under her chin, and also suckling the king as an infant, shown crouching under her belly.⁸³ The tradition of a royal group-statue depicting Hathor as a cow with a king standing under her head continued in a number of Late Ramesside temples.⁸⁴ During the Late Ramesside Period, the use of royal cow statues spread to private tombs for example tomb of Netcherouyrnes in Saqqara.⁸⁵

Recent discoveries at the late New Kingdom necropolis of Saqqara have brought a lot of

⁷⁶ Arnold 1974: 83-84.

⁷⁷ Arnold 1974: 31-32.

⁷⁸ Pinch 1995: 5.

⁷⁹ Schulz 1998: 186, Fig. 74.

⁸⁰ Arnold 1974: 31.

⁸¹ Schultz 1998: 186.

⁸² Naville 1907: 69.

⁸³ Naville 1907: 27-31; Saleh, Sourouzian 1987: No. 138.

⁸⁴ Pinch 1993: 180.

⁸⁵ Pinch 1993: 180-181.

attention to the history and development of cow statues in private tombs of the New Kingdom.⁸⁶ Two royal cow statues of Ramesses II, placed as focal sacred images, were found in rock-cut private tombs.⁸⁷ Dated to the Late Ramesside Period, they were inspired by Theban imagery and probably even executed by a Theban artist from Deir el-Medina.⁸⁸ The earliest-known cow statue with an image of a private person standing under her chin is dated to the Twentieth Dynasty, and probably originated in Memphis.⁸⁹ A number of the late New Kingdom votive offerings to the chapels of Hathor, although in a fragmentary condition, suggest the existence of other private cow statues.⁹⁰ More statues that belong to this group are hopefully yet to be found. The rise of the importance and popularity of the cult of Hathor in the north and south of Egypt during the Late Ramesside Period is also evident from the large number of private statues with Hathoric images and symbols dedicated to various temples or tombs. An image held by a worshiper is usually the emblem of Hathor in a naos or a sistrum.⁹¹ In the Third Intermediate Period, the cult of Hathor continued to grow in popularity. The evolution of a "mammisiac religion" and a "theology of birth" in this period is seen in the newly prominent cultic role of divine families, images of child gods, and child kings nursed by Hathor or Isis-Hathor.⁹² The prominence of the motif of Isis protecting the young Horus in the marshes of Chemmis near Buto may reflect the shift of political power to the Delta beginning in Nineteenth Dynasty.

From Twentieth Dynasty first on, this motif became increasingly important iconographically and ideologically. With the lack of private decorated tombs during this period, images of Hathor as a cow became a prominent feature on painted coffins.⁹³ In cosmological mythology, Hathor was seen as part of a solar cycle identified with Nut carrying an aging Re to the heavens on the journey of rejuvenation.⁹⁴ Her role as a "ferryboat" to the place of judgment was emphasized on coffins and painted textiles by the image of Hathor as a cow carrying the deceased on her back.⁹⁵ A cow statue is rather a Theban iconographic tradition. If the first known cow statue at Saqqara of the Late Ramesside Period was carved by the sculptors of Deir el-Medina, the revival of cow statues at Saqqara could have been brought about by the sculptors

⁸⁶ Zivie 2003a: 134-141, Nos 52-55.

⁸⁷ Zivie 2003a: 134-140.

⁸⁸ Zivie 2003b.

⁸⁹ Vandier 1958: 464, Pl. 155; Pinch 1993: 182.

⁹⁰ Pinch 1993: 160-161.

⁹¹ Vandier 1958: 45 (6), 40 (4), 138 (6); Schneider 1997: No. 93.

⁹² Fazzini 1988: 9-10, Pl. 6: 1-2.

⁹³ Pinch 1993: 182.

⁹⁴ Hornung 1982: 98-99.

⁹⁵ Pinch 1993: 182.

of Asasif.⁹⁶ It has been assumed that the cow statue of Psametik, together with the statues of Osiris and Isis, was meant for the temple and put into the tomb later on "for unknown reasons"⁹⁷. This opinion is based on the assumption that in this period, tomb sculpture was rare. In fact, there was a revival of monumental tomb sculpture in the Twenty fifth – Twenty sixth Dynasties. Having a cow statue of a tomb owner and a statue of Osiris made specially for the tomb would be in accordance with a contemporary Theban practice. Iconographically, this type of cow statue refers to Hathor as the goddess of the Western mountain, sometimes in combination with the "marshes of Chemmis" motif. The Hathor-of-the-mountain motif is a vignette to Chapter 186 of the Book of the Dead.⁹⁸ As the mountain was identified with the Theban necropolis, this iconography is mostly attributed to the Theban area; examples from other regions are scarce.⁹⁹ The symbolic aspect of cow statues and cow imagery in the tombs evokes the concept of a divine cow guiding a deceased person to the place of judgment, therefore assisting in the transition from life through death to rebirth and regeneration.¹⁰⁰ At the same time, a divine statue itself is an object of worship. This dual meaning of a cow image reflects the dual function of a Late Period tomb, as a tomb and a temple.¹⁰¹

V.4. Sacralisation of Late Ramesside Tombs of North Asasif

Significant changes that occurred in elite tomb architecture and decoration during the Late Ramesside Period reflect a transition from "houses of the dead" to "private mortuary temples".¹⁰² The Late Ramesside tomb owner was less concerned with his personal cult and more with worshipping the gods. The passage to the "Late Ramesside Afterlife" was assured by closeness to the gods rather than personal achievements and public identity.¹⁰³ A new three-level tomb structure reflected the growing sacralisation of the elite tomb in Late Ramesside Egypt.¹⁰⁴

The upper level consists of a superstructure with a pylon and often a pyramid, the second level was formed by a traditional T-shaped tomb of the Eighteenth Dynasty and the lower level was formed by the burial chamber, accessed by a sloping passage.¹⁰⁵ Assmann states that out of the two axes of a tomb (inner-outer and upper-lower) the vertical axis manifests the new concept

⁹⁶ Zivie 2003b: 69-76.

⁹⁷ Terrace, Fischer 1970: 168.

⁹⁸ Allen 1974: 209-210.

⁹⁹ Pinch 1993: 179.

¹⁰⁰ Pinch 1993: 182.

¹⁰¹ Budka 2017: 55-71.

¹⁰² Assmann 1987: 31-41; Assmann 1995: 281-293; Kampp-Seyfried 2003: 10; Frood 2007: 22-26.

¹⁰³ Snape 2011: 225.

¹⁰⁴ Seyfried 1987; Assmann 2004: 1-8; Rummel 2013: 211-212.

¹⁰⁵ Assmann 2003: 51; Snape 2011: 224.

of an elite tomb.¹⁰⁶ The stela-like bi-or tri-partition of the walls into independent scenes is another demonstration of the utmost importance of the vertical axis in Late Ramesside tombs. The sacred space of the tomb is dominated by scenes of the deceased worshipping the gods in the upper section and the funerary cult, including funerary processions, in the lower section.¹⁰⁷ The newly added "temple function" is an "aspect of a sacred place where the deceased worships the gods".¹⁰⁸ Representation of the range of daily activities, autobiographical texts of a tomb owner, disappear from elite tombs. The false door was replaced with "naos stela" showing a tomb owner in adoration before the gods.¹⁰⁹ Late Ramesside tombs strongly reflect solar-Osirian unity through the vertical connection of a pyramid and a burial chamber.¹¹⁰ Tombs that reused earlier spaces modified their architecture and decoration to emphasize the temple function.

V.5 North Asasif as a Prime Choice for Theban Clergy

The plain of North Asasif to the south of the causeway became part of the ritual scenery of this part of the Theban necropolis.

Four Late Ramesside tombs recently found in North Asasif reclaimed their significant place in the Theban ritual landscape. North Asasif was among the most coveted locations for a non-royal tomb in the Late Ramesside period when it became available for middle-level temple officials after a long period of restrictions for non-royal tomb building¹¹¹.

The history of non-royal tomb building in North Asasif is very complex. Non-royal Middle kingdom tombs occupied the northern cliff of Deir el-Bahari, overlooking the causeway of the temple of Nebhepetra Mentuhotep.¹¹² They were possibly not allowed to build tombs in front of the temple. The owners of these tombs belonged to the highest ranks of the country's administration, many of them bearing the title of "Vizier".¹¹³

Later on, non-royal tombs occupied Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, overlooking Asasif from the south. The special sacred status of North Asasif was probably one of the reasons for keeping the non-royal necropoli on the outskirts.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁶ Assmann 2003: 49.

¹⁰⁷ Barthelmess 1992; Assmann 2003: 48-49.

¹⁰⁸ Assmann 2003: 49.

¹⁰⁹ Assmann 2003: 49.

¹¹⁰ Snape 2009: 225.

¹¹¹ Frood 2007: 29.

¹¹² Morales 2018: 83-221.

¹¹³ Bietak, Reiser-Hauslauer 1978: 20-21; Allen 2003.

¹¹⁴ Bietak, Reiser-Hauslauer 1978: 27.

Only a limited number of elite tombs were built in Asasif prior to the Late Ramesside Period. Frood has suggested that every owner of an Eighteenth Dynasty non-royal tomb in Asasif received a special royal dispensation for construction in this area.¹¹⁵

They were built in two phases. A small number of tombs were built during the reign of Hatshepsut.¹¹⁶

The second phase is dated to late Amenhotep III–early Amenhotep IV. They were constructed for the Northern Vizier Amenhotep (Kampp no. 28)¹¹⁷, Steward of the Great Royal Wife, Tiye, Kheruef, (TT 192)¹¹⁸, Royal Butler of Amenhotep IV, Parennefer (TT 188)¹¹⁹ and an unfinished tomb to the east of TT 192.

The tombs were oriented towards the processional routes, which made the owners perpetual participants of the divine procession, cementing their connection to the gods and giving their tombs temple functions. This location and orientation already manifests the sacralisation of elite tombs in the Eighteenth Dynasty that was brought to a new level in the Late Ramesside Period.¹²⁰

Members of the elite followed their kings in the choice of location for their funerary monuments. The Late Ramesside tombs of North Asasif adapted the courts of four large courts of tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

The appreciation of North Asasif as a place of special ritual significance already manifested itself in the early Late Ramesside period through the intensive restoration of the decoration of the temple of Hatshepsut. "It is well known that most of the decoration of the temple of Hatshepsut, as preserved today, is the result of work of ancient restorers dating to the early Late Ramesside period."¹²¹

Therefore, although the colonnade and Asasif temples were started only later by Ramesses IV it is not surprising that phase 1 of the "Court of the Priests" precedes Ramesses IV's structures.

Various royal projects in North Asasif from the early Late Ramesside period underlined the importance of the Beautiful Festival of the Valley and inspired large groups of priests to be buried along the causeway of the temple of Hatshepsut - the main processional route for the festive barque.

Most of the tomb owners are members of the clergy of various Theban cults. Placing their

¹¹⁵ Frood 2007: 28-29.

¹¹⁶ Bietak, Reiser-Hauslauer 1978: 27; Kampp 1996: 230-233; Frood 2007, 28.

¹¹⁷ Kampp 1996: 637-8.

¹¹⁸ Nims *et al.*: 1980.

¹¹⁹ Kampp 1996: 475-7.

¹²⁰ Rammel 2013: 211-212.

¹²¹ Lipińska 1977: 63; Frood 2007: 30; Barwik 2013: 96.

tombs in Asasif, a ritual center of Theban major deities and in close proximity to the memorial temples of their kings, Late Ramesside tomb owners would ensure their closeness to the gods and participation in divine rituals.¹²² Asasif might have been an exceptionally elite location as the tombs were in close proximity to the bark station and were oriented towards the processional routes.

In the late Late Ramesside period, only one of the earlier causeways was still accessible. The temple occupied parts of the Mentuhotep Nebhepetre and Thutmose II causeways. Blocks from the causeways and temples were reused in the structure of the new temple. As stated by Barwick It is well known that most of the decoration of the temple of Hatshepsut, as preserved today, is the result of work of ancient restorers dating to the early Late Ramesside period.¹²³ Only Hatshepsut's causeway remained functional after the start of this building project and continued serving as a processional route for the Beautiful Festival of the Valley procession.¹²⁴ The temple of Hatshepsut was still in use in the Ptolemaic period when the rest of the temples were mainly dismantled.¹²⁵

The significant surge in numbers of elite tombs in North Asasif should not be seen as an indication of the wider availability of royal dispensations in the Late Ramesside Period. A more plausible explanation is that that they were not needed any more. The "power vacuum" in the late Late Ramesside Period brought significant social and economic changes.¹²⁶ Decentralization of the earlier established hierarchies led to "patronage disruptions" and prompted people to practice what Eyre called "self-help".¹²⁷ Re-usage of burial equipment, tomb and temple spaces became a widespread practice of the time.¹²⁸

The Twentieth Dynasty created "a fluid, decentralized, family-oriented, mafia-like, warlord-like system that created new revenue streams in a broader, more creative way - systematically exploiting the riches in tombs and temples".¹²⁹

the clergy of Late Late Ramesside Period used their chance to be buried in this desirable but previously restricted location. The special ritual significance of this area in the Late Ramesside Period was strongly articulated by the extensive restoration work in the temples of Deir el-

¹²² Frood 2004: 27-32, 69-71; Seyfried 2013.

¹²³ Bietak 1972: 24-25; Budka 2009: 22; Budka 2021-2022: 142-145.

¹²⁴ Budka 2009: 44.

¹²⁵ Naville 1898: 1; Arnold, Settgast 1973:184; Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer 1978: 29.

¹²⁶ Cooney 2018: 65.

¹²⁷ Eyre 2011:709.

¹²⁸ Cooney 2021: 143-152.

¹²⁹ Cooney 2018: 66.

Bahari in the early Nineteenth Dynasty.¹³⁰ The renewal of the temples was followed by the expansion of the non-royal necropolis in the area. The construction of the Asasif temple started under Ramesses IV and continued by Ramesses V and Ramesses VI, further motivated Theban clergy to choose the necropolis of North Asasif.

Economic decline and social destabilization in the Twentieth Dynasty shifted perceptions of burial places and burial equipment from long to short term ownership.¹³¹ Cooney has suggested that funerary objects were not seen as permanently owned any more but used short term as "transformative devices"¹³² This new approach must have relevant to the tombs as well. A re-use of an earlier tomb or its part could have been seen as entering a sacred space that had already manifested itself as a functional place of transformation in the past.

Most probably the Twentieth Dynasty tomb owner treasured the location and orientation of his/her tomb over its size and even quality of decoration. The sacred landscape of the area, its earlier monuments, were the main guarantors of the transformation. From this point of view a small elite tomb and a monumental royal temple equally benefitted from the sacrality of North Asasif and participation in the ritual procession. Budka has stated that the Asasif temple was a vital addition to the ritual landscape of Late New Kingdom Thebes as "the first monumental station for the bark of Amun its way from Deir el-Bahari to Medinet Habu".¹³³ Budka called the possible other purpose of the temple as the House of Millions of Years its secondary function.¹³⁴

V.6 Quantity and Distribution of Late Ramesside Tombs in North Asasif

Around sixty tombs of the Theban necropolis were dated to the Twentieth Dynasty in 2011.¹³⁵

A large number of Late Ramesside tombs were placed in Dra Abu el-Naga due to its close proximity to the route of the Festival of the Valley and royal memorial temples.¹³⁶

Many of the Late Ramesside tombs of North Asasif are located in re-used courts of Eighteenth Dynasty tombs overlooking Hatshepsut's causeway. Four courts adapted in the Late Ramesside Period were those of TT 192, TT 188, Kampp no. 28 and TT 39. An unfinished tomb with courts A and B follows the same pattern and should be dated to the New Kingdom by association.¹³⁷

The closest parallel is the court of TT Kheruef (TT 192), which houses 9 known tombs of

¹³⁰ Frood, 2004: 30.

¹³¹ Cooney 2018: 70.

¹³² Cooney 2018: 70.

¹³³ Budka 2009: 43.

¹³⁴ Budka 2021-2022: 147.

¹³⁵ Bács 2011: 7.

¹³⁶ Bács 2011: 7; Rummel 2013: 17, 214-219.

¹³⁷ Kampp 1996: Plan 5.

temple officials of the Nineteenth Dynasty.¹³⁸ Court A is located to the west of TT 192 and houses a similar number of Late Ramesside tombs. Court A is also of similar size and proportions, and could have been cut at the same time. The tomb of Kheruef is dated to late Amenhotep III–early Amenhotep IV, which is probably the date of Court A.

The second row of Late Ramesside tombs is located behind the large tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty farther from the causeway, but oriented towards it.

V. 7 Conclusion

1. Late Ramesside tombs were placed between the Temples of the Millions of the Years at Deir el-Bahari in the West and Late Ramesside temples in the east of the Asasif plane, which included them in the royal ritual space.

2. All the tombs are lined up along the processional route of the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, making them participants of one of the major Theban festivals. Their orientation towards the road made them perpetual spectators of the ritual procession.

3. The physical proximity to, and ritual connection with, Karnak temple on the east bank gave them one of the central positions in the Theban solar ritual landscape.

4. North Asasif, as a major Theban center of the Hathoric cult, created the second theological narrative for the tombs of the area.

5. The combination of solar and Hathoric cults is reflected in the features of the tomb decoration specific to the area. Numerous images of Hathor in painting, relief, and sculpture connected them with the main Hathoric religious center of the Theban necropolis. The thematic and iconographic uniqueness of the decoration of the tombs of the North Asasif makes it possible to see them as a unit that should be studied as a distinct group.

VI. Conclusion

This dissertation described and analyzed the architecture, decoration, and texts of the newly excavated “Court of the Priests”, and contextualized these findings socially, temporally, religiously, and spatially. This study revealed several attributes that are unique to the “Court of the Priests” and many other attributes that are consistent with Late Ramesside Period tombs in the Asasif. The “Court of the Priests” is especially notable due to its inclusion of multiple tombs established in a relatively short period of time (though developed in distinct phases) that were all dedicated to unrelated mid-range clergy. This attribute is rendered even more interesting because

¹³⁸ Habachi 1958: Pl. 1; Assmann 1978: 47; Frood 2007, 32.

of the many interments of priests found in the associated cachette outside of these tombs. However, there are also more nuanced findings in this tomb complex that contribute to Egyptological knowledge, including a unique version of a so-called harper's song in the tomb of Tchauerkhetef that is associated with an unusual depiction of a flutist instead of a harpist. This song includes a word that is not yet included in the *Wörterbuch*, which may mean "playing with the flute".

The "Court of the Priests" reflects a unique comprehensive structure constructed from a group of tombs dated to a very short period. The oldest one was carved during the reign of Ramesses III, while the latest, as a result of few phases of the court's extensions, was constructed in the time of Ramesses XI. This is a very uncommon example of a "tombs complex", in which all the burial places were excavated in the same period, but also, all of them belonged to the priests. The Late Ramesside tombs in North Asasif were built by the "middle-level temple workers of the Amun domain who are generally sited off the courts of earlier tombs, creating zones of social, official, and perhaps sacred association."¹³⁹ This group also included priests of the local cults of Montu and Khonsu. Despite the process of militarization of the temple administration in the Twentieth Dynasty there is no prosopographical data linking any of the tomb owners to other social groups such as military.¹⁴⁰ They form a rather homogenous group representing the middle class of the regional temple economy of Amun, Montu and Khonsu temples.

At the present state of research, it is not possible to shed some light on the relation between these priests, but there is no doubt that their social position was one of the main factors in choosing a burial site. It is also worth to mention that the "Court of the Priests" in the Asasif necropolis is the first example of such an extensive adding new tombs to already existing courtyard in the whole Theban necropolis. Although there are some similarities between the "Court of the Priests" and some other multiple tombs, but in the latest, there is no other example of five tombs addition to the original mortuary complex. One should, however, pay attention that all of these complexes were located only in the North Asasif necropolis, and they were not attested in the other part of the Theban necropolis, which may indicate an unique meaning of this site. It was possibly a result of the proximity to the royal temples at Deir el-Bahari and the Late Ramesside mortuary temples in North Asasif.

¹³⁹ Frood 2004: 30.

¹⁴⁰ Gnirs 1996: 159-172.

Studies of the religious importance of the Asasif, contextualization of the “Court of the Priests” within this landscape, and comparative study of this and other Late Ramesside Period tombs in this area led the author to conclude that the Asasif area had special religious importance during the Late Ramesside Period and it was a coveted area for burial. The Late Ramesside Period tombs in this area also tend to share thematic and iconographic traditions that are unique to this area, and thus should be studied as a distinct group.

This study also suggests that the tombs of the "Court of the Priests" can be used as a model for analysis of Theban "court tombs" of the Late Ramesside Period. See below for further details regarding the contribution of the "Court of the Priests" to the understanding of the role of North Asasif in the Late Ramesside Period and why the "Court of the Priests" can serve as a model for analysis of Theban "court tombs" of the Late Ramesside Period.

VI.1 Contribution of the "Court of the Priests" to the understanding of the role of North Asasif in the Late Ramesside Period.

1. Decoration of the newly discovered Late Ramesside tombs of Court A adds considerably to the theology of the "Courts of the Priests" in the North Asasif necropolis.
2. The Solar-Osirian unity reflected in the decoration of Late Ramesside tombs is modified by the specific features of the North Asasif sacred landscape. North Asasif is a main cult place for Hathor, the Mistress of the Theban necropolis. Scenes of adoration of Hathor in the tombs of Court A demonstrate that parallel images in the tombs of Court B were not arbitrary. Both courts were important places for Hathor worshipping.
3. The historic importance of Hathor in North Asasif through the Middle and New Kingdom clearly persisted in the Late Ramesside tombs of the area. Possibly, such heavy emphasis on a female goddess brought other female goddesses to greater prominence. Isis and Nephthys constantly accompany Osiris on the walls of Late Ramesside tombs. The prominence of Mut is also notable in some cases when a tomb is presented as a domain of Mut.
4. Hathor as a cow appearing out of the Western mountains, Hathor in her anthropomorphic form, Isis, Nephthys, Mut, Maat, Goddess of the West create an aura of a syncretic female goddess inspired by the predominant cult of Hathor in North Asasif.

VI.2 "Tombs of the "Court of the Priests" as a model for analysis of Theban "court tombs" of the Late Ramesside Period.

1. Analysis of the Late Ramesside tombs in Court A as a unit creates a model for the exploration

of the "court tombs" of the Late Ramesside Period. Even with no traceable family connection between tomb owners, each court should be treated as a unit with a complex web of interconnections and inter-influences.

2. In most cases, the tomb owners share similar backgrounds and social status. Mid-range clergy made their choices of location for their tombs not based on family connections but on the ritual significance of the place.

3. The main level of inter-court influence of the earlier tombs on the newcomers was the selection of scenes and their iconography. Even if carved and painted by different teams of artists years apart they share a similar theological context.

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- Pl. 44. Emplacement for ceiling slabs (photo by G. Heindl).
- Pl. 45. Northern doorpost (photo by G. Heindl).
- Pl. 46. Decoration of the southern doorpost in its lower part (photo by G. Heindl).
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- Pl. 88. Decoration of the northern part of the eastern wall and the fragment of the northern wall (photo by G. Heindl).
- Pl. 89. Rock-cut doorframe (photo by A. Damaran).
- Pl. 90. Doorpost carved out in the limestone bedrock (photo by G. Heindl).
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- Pl. 101. Door hinge hole (photo by G. Heindl).
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- Pl. 105. Ceiling in the passage (photo by G. Heindl).
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- Pl. 118. Breakthrough to T5 (photo by G. Heindl).
- Pl. 119. Space for door opening (photo by G. Heindl).
- Pl. 120. Breakthrough in the rock-cut wall (photo by G. Heindl).
- Pl. 121. Rock-cut architrave (photo by G. Heindl).
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- Pl. 123. Southern wall of the mortuary cult chapel (photo by G. Heindl).
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- Pl. 128. Dipinto in the hall A (photo by A. Damarany).

Plates



Pl. 1. Courts A and B with a dividing wall between seen from west.



Pl. 2. The entrance of the tomb of Akh-menu located in the southern part of Court A seen from north.



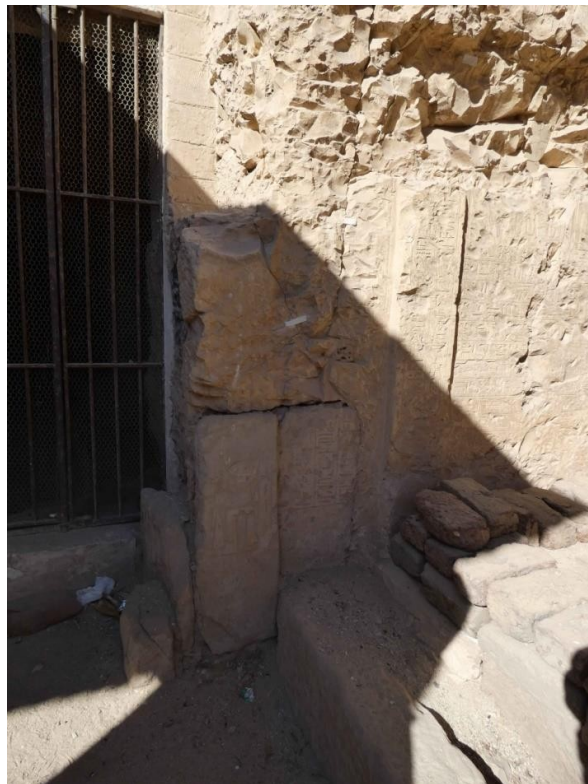
Pl. 3. The peristyle court around of the tomb TT 23.



Pl. 4. The Akh-menu's tomb entrance, tomb No. 1.



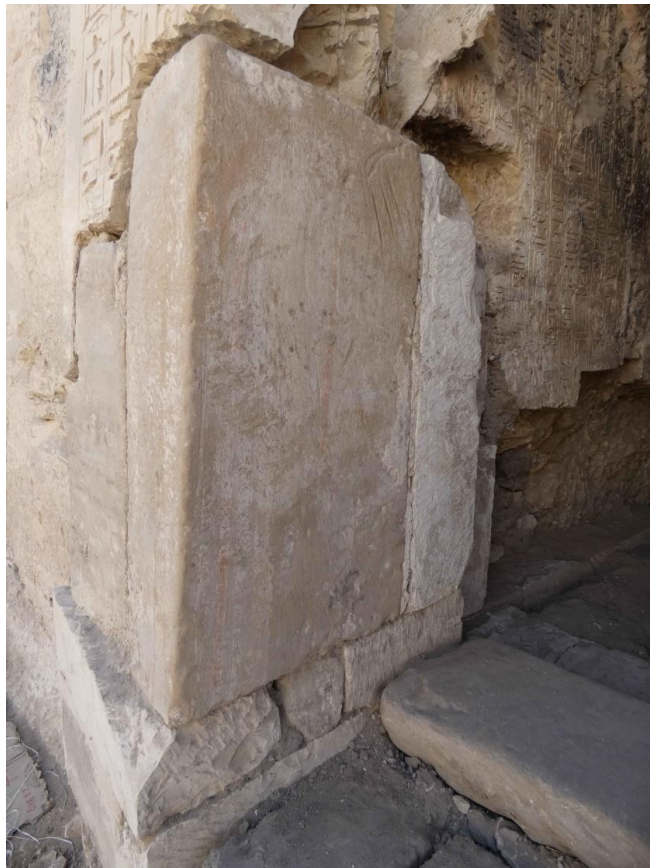
Pl. 5. Detail of the restored eastern doorjamb.



Pl. 6. Reparation in Tomb No. 1.



Pl.7. The frontal view of the reparation of the eastern doorjamb with limestone block.



Pl. 8. An inner detail of the eastern doorjamb reparation.



Pl. 9. A sandstone threshold at the entrance to the tomb of Akh-menu.



Pl. 10 Eastern side wall of the entrance.



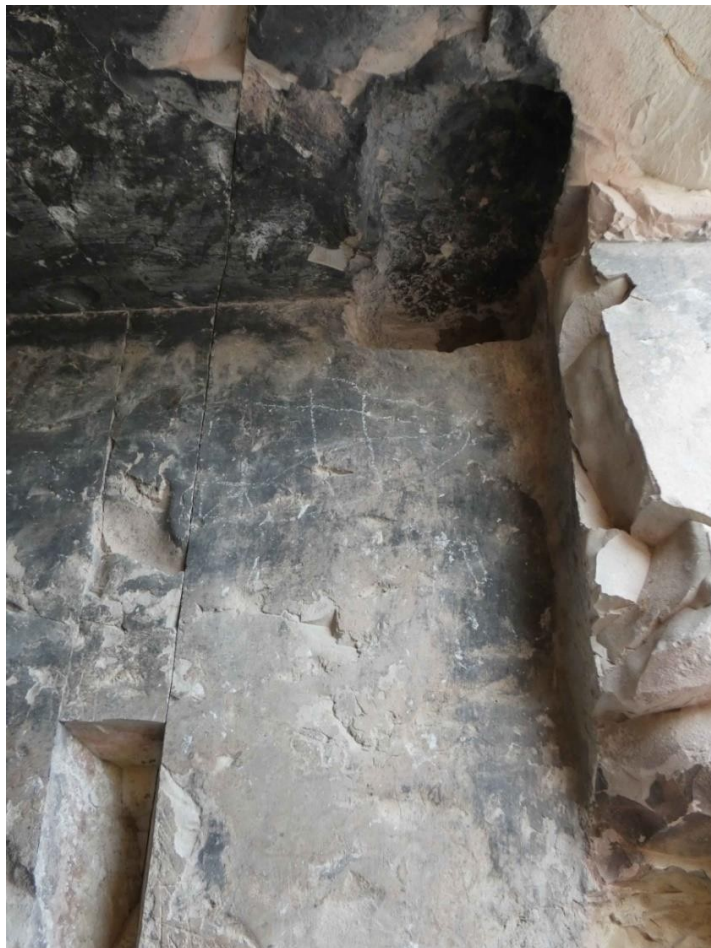
Pl. 11. Damage of the eastern side of the passage walls.



Pl. 12. An inscribed block used to reparation of the eastern passage wall.



Pl. 13. Lower door post on the western side of the passageway.



Pl. 14. Upper door post carved in the bedrock.



Pl. 15. The bolt holes in the eastern wall of the passageway.



Pl.16. The inside of Room 2.



Pl. 17. The smoothed surface of the eastern wall in Room 1.



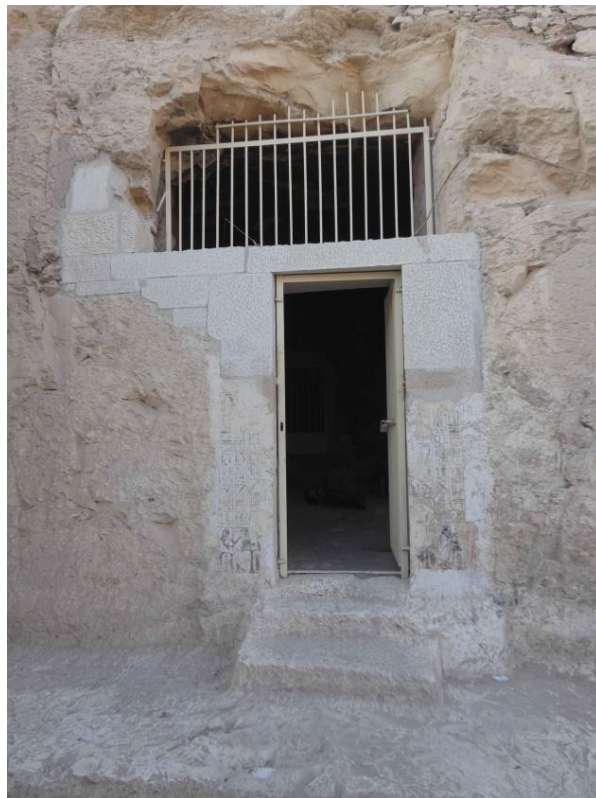
Pl. 18. Room 3.



Pl. 19. Eastern side of the entrance.



Pl. 20. The rock-cut façade of the tomb of Nefuerkhetef.



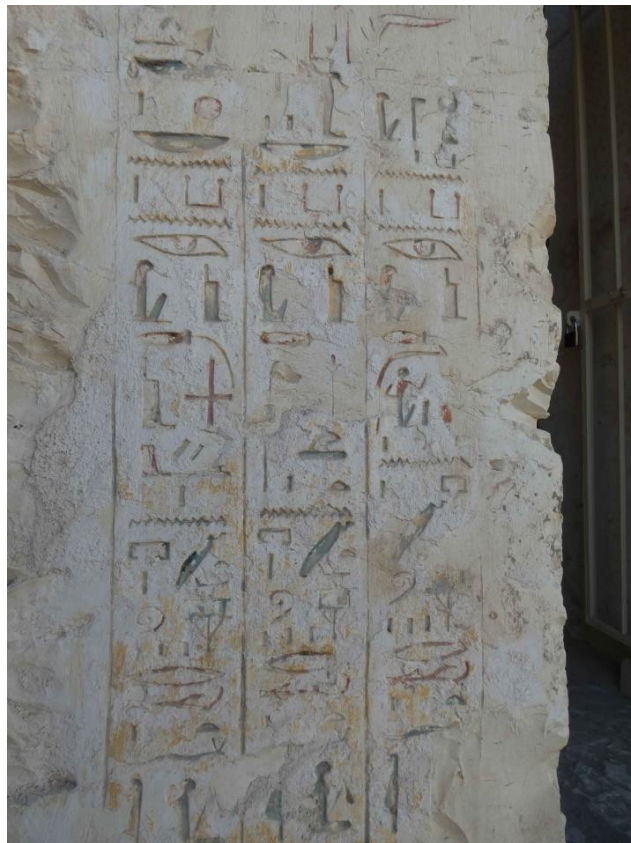
Pl. 21. The tomb's entrance.



Pl. 22. The left doorjamb.



Pl. 23. Scene on the left doorjamb.



Pl. 24. The inscription on the doorjamb.



Pl. 25. Western door socket.



Pl. 26. A bolt hole in the eastern wall.



Pl. 27. Entrance ramp leading to the underground structures.



Pl. 28. First chamber of the tomb.



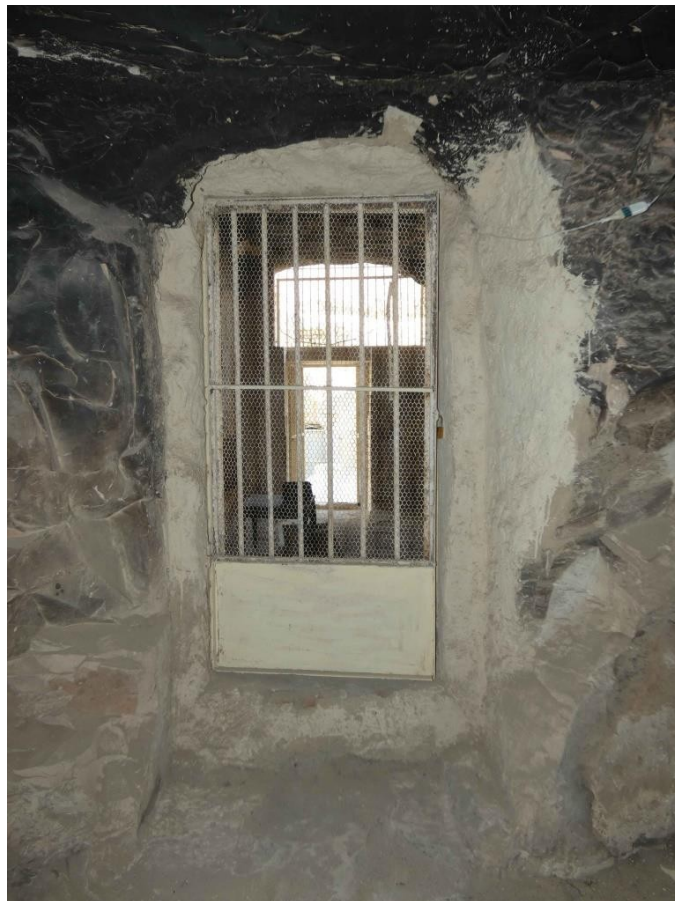
Pl. 29. Lower door socket on the western side of the entrance to the second room.



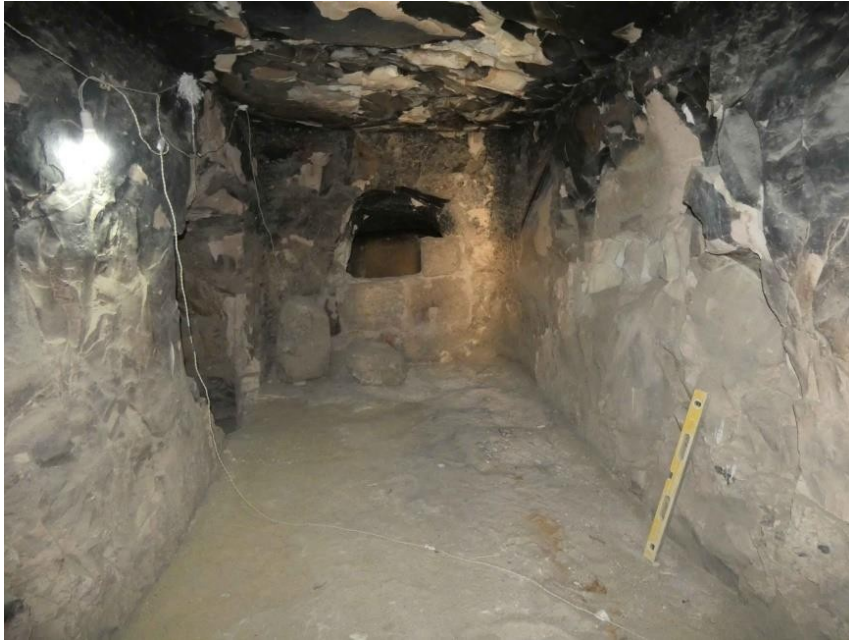
Pl. 30. Upper door socket in the second room.



Pl. 31. A hole in the door hinge stone.



Pl. 32. Remains of the passage walls.



Pl. 33. Room 2.



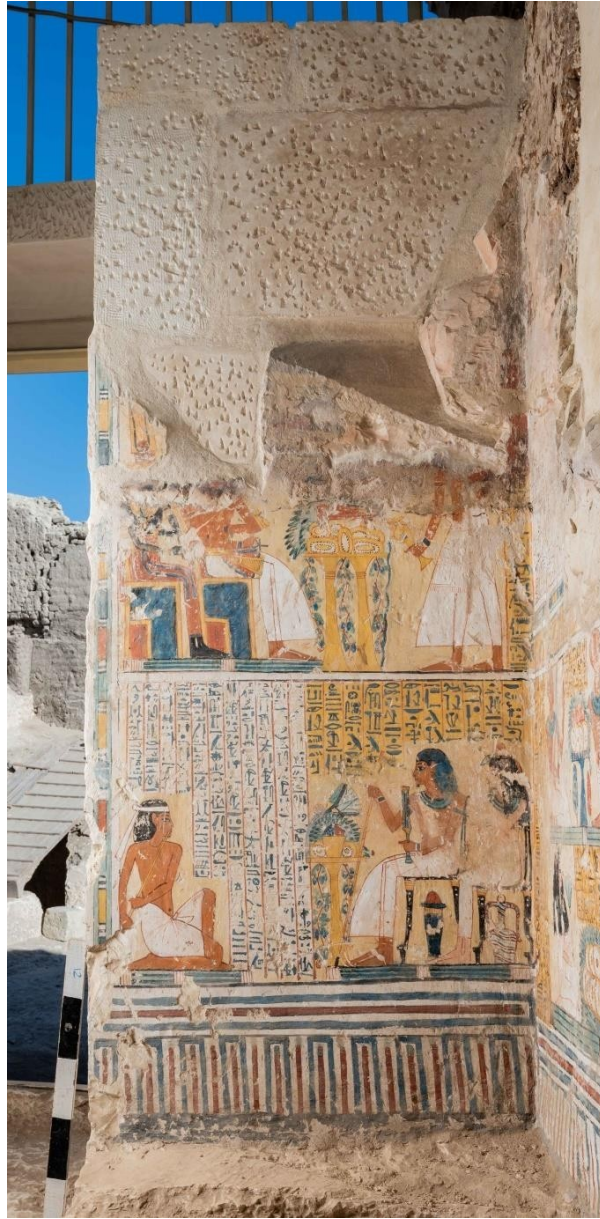
Pl. 34. Plaster remains in the north-east corner.



Pl. 35. Remains of the plaster decoration in Room 2.



Pl. 36. Eastern wall of the entrance.



Pl. 37. Decoration of the eastern side of the northern wall in the first hall.



Pl. 38. A flute song. Detail of the eastern part of the north wall.



Pl. 39. Remains of decoration on the eastern wall of the first hall.



Pl. 40. Decoration of the western wall of the first hall.



Pl. 41. The tomb of Khatu in the eastern part of Court A.



Pl. 42. A slope in front of the tomb's entrance.



Pl. 43. Recess in front of the entrance.



Pl. 44. Emplacement for ceiling slabs.



Pl. 45. Northern doorpost.



Pl. 46. Decoration of the southern doorpost in its lower part.



Pl. 47. Upper part of the southern doorpost.



Pl. 48. Rock-cut lintel.



Pl. 49. Upper door socket.



Pl. 50. Remains of a shaft.



Pl. 51. Ceiling with rounded corners.



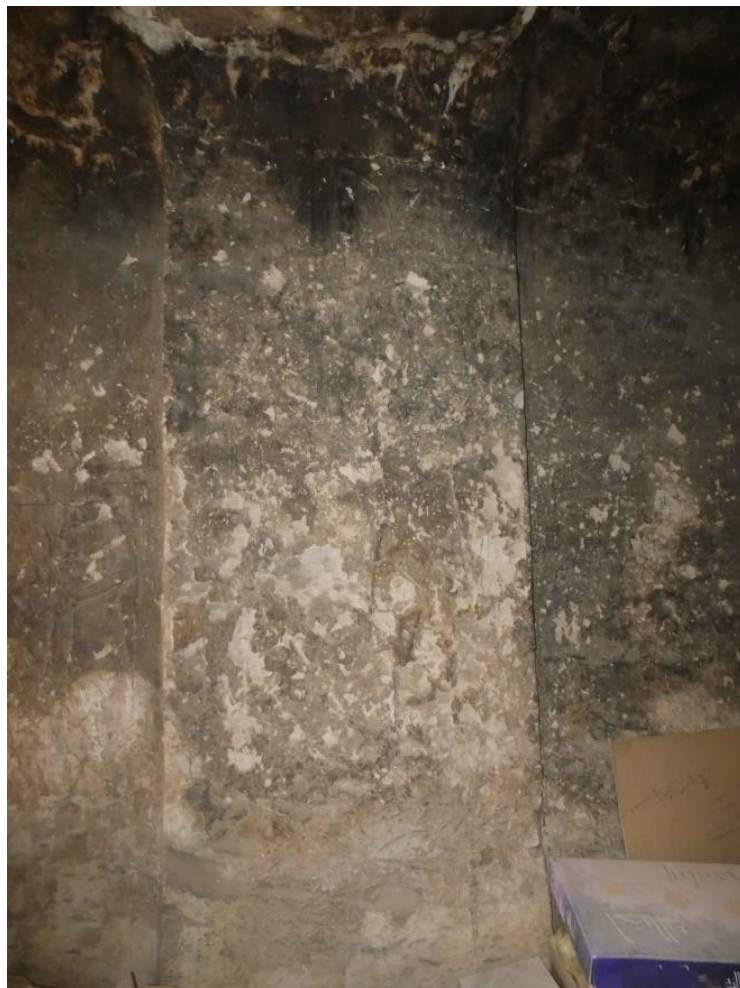
Pl. 52. Frieze in the upper part of the wall.



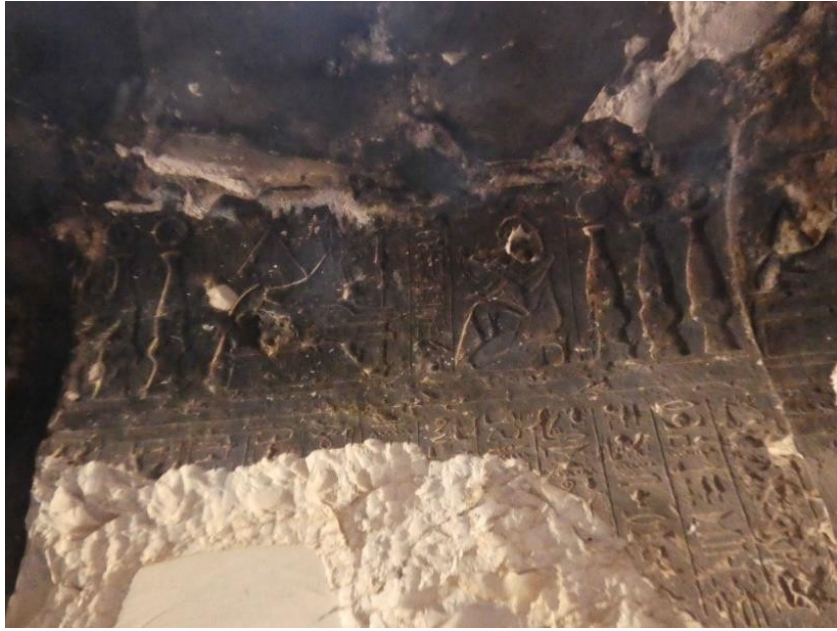
Pl. 53. Detail of a cheker frieze.



Pl. 54. Long sandstone slabs.



Pl. 55. One of the pilasters.



Pl. 56. Pilaster decoration.



Pl. 57. Southern doorpost.



Pl. 58. Mud-brick walls in the entrance to Room 2.



Pl. 59. The tomb's entrance.



Pl. 60. The relief decoration of the lintel.



Pl. 61. The southern jamb inscription.



Pl. 62. Entrance hall northern scene.



Pl. 63. The lower part of the northern entrance hall.



Pl. 64. Decoration of the southern side of the tomb's entrance.



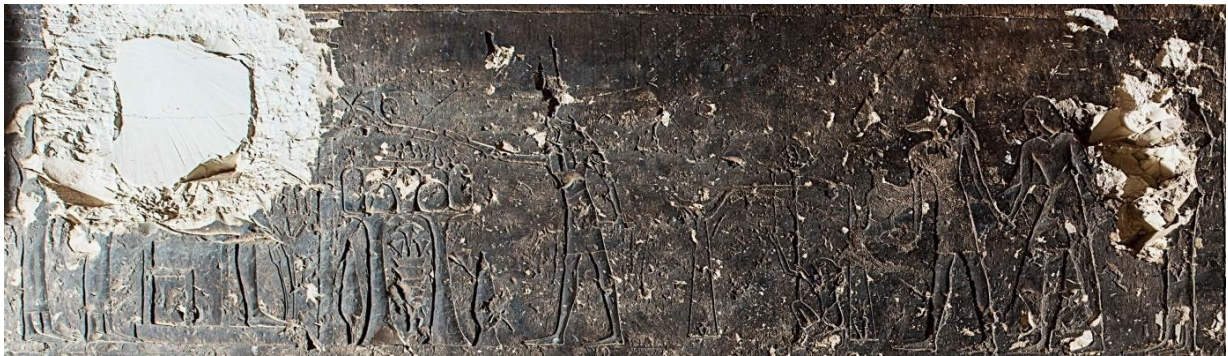
Pl. 65. Decoration of Room 1 southern wall.



Pl. 66. A detail of the header frieze of the southern wall.



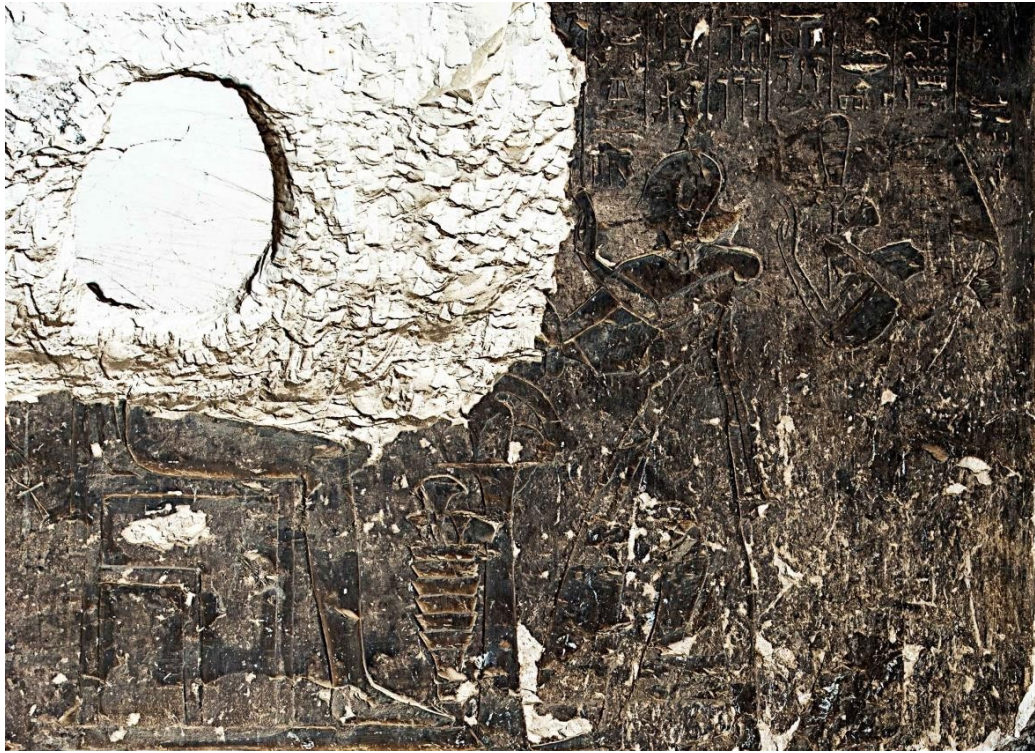
Pl. 67. The tomb's owner with his wife standing in front of the Sons of Horus on the right side of the first register.



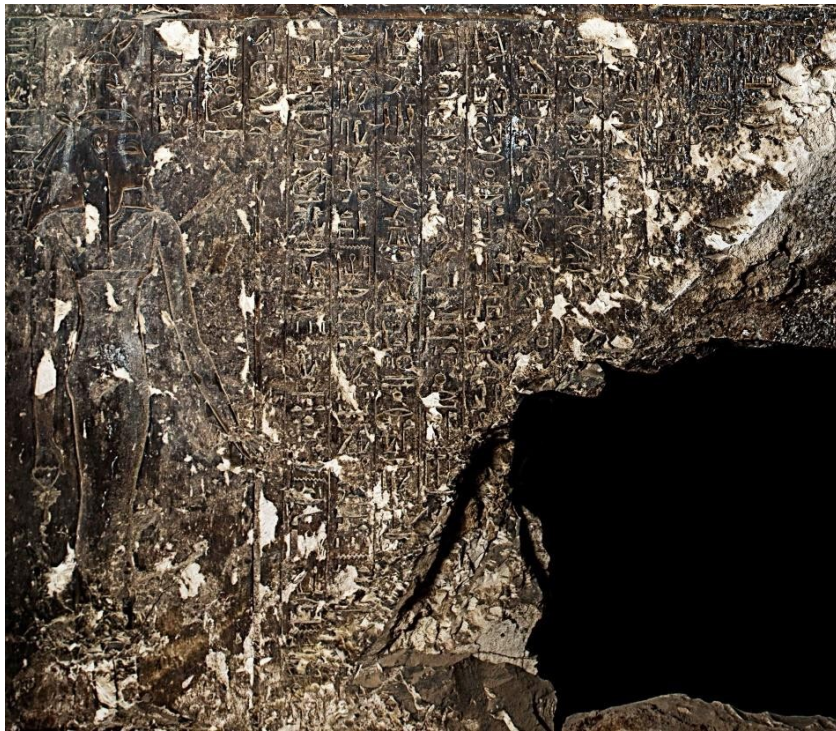
Pl. 68. The left side of the upper register decoration.



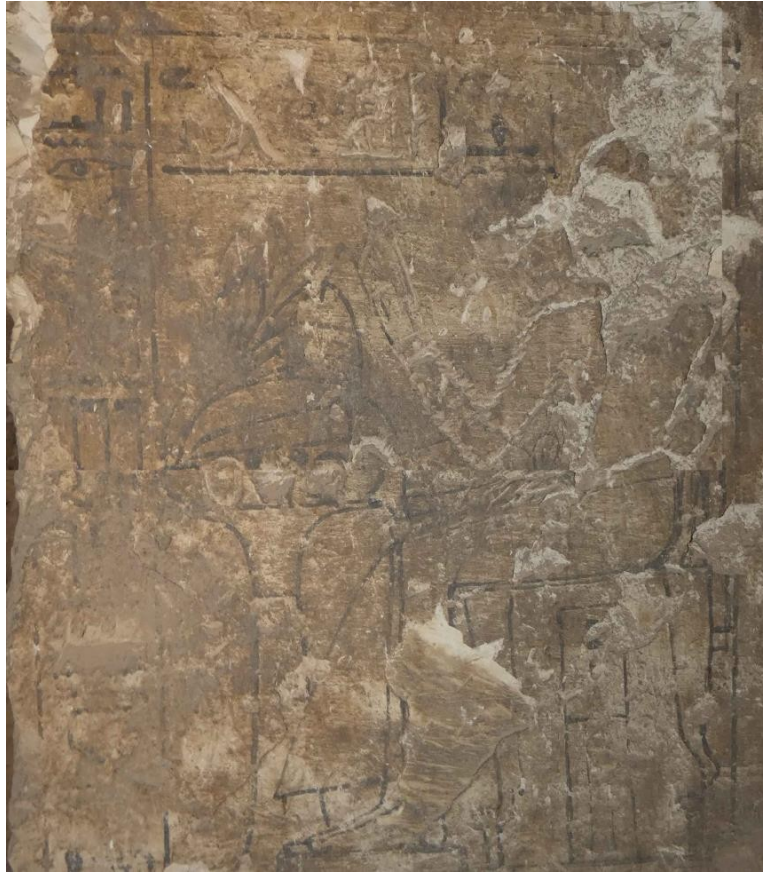
Pl. 69. The lower register of the southern wall.



Pl. 70. Decoration at the end of Room 1 southern wall.



Pl. 71. A badly preserved scene of the lower register in the eastern side of Room 1.



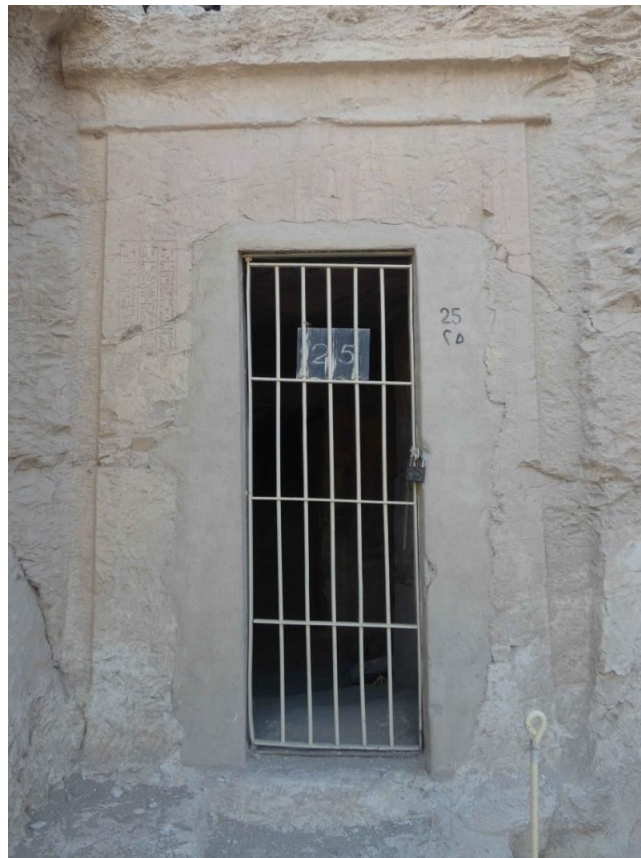
Pl. 72. The back wall decoration of the pillared hall.



Pl. 73. Eastern part of Court A with the location of tomb No. 4.



Pl. 74. North-eastern corner of Court A with the entrance to the tomb No 4.



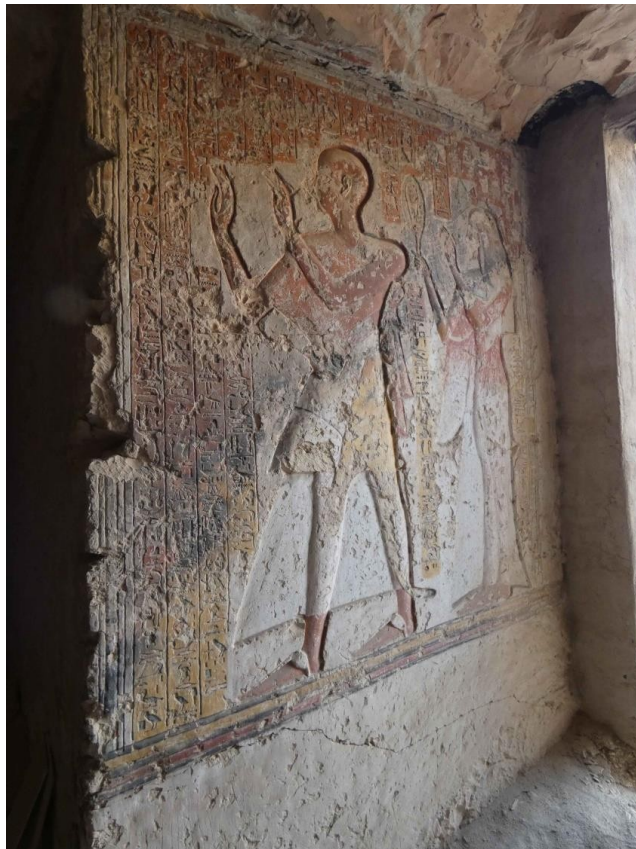
Pl. 75. Entrance to the tomb No. 4 with an imitation of a temple façade around.



Pl. 76. Remains of a decoration of the tomb's entrance.



Pl. 77. Inner part of the tomb's doorway.



Pl. 78. Decoration of the southern wall of the entrance.



Pl. 79. Badly damaged decoration on the entrance northern side.



Pl. 80. Ancient reparation of the northern side decoration.



Pl. 81. Ancient reparation with a mud.



Pl. 82. Ceiling in the eastern part.



Pl. 83. Smoothing the corner of the ceiling in the western part.



Pl. 84. Northern wall.



Pl. 85. Southern wall.



Pl. 86. Remains of a decoration on the western wall.



Pl. 87. Decoration of the southern and eastern walls.



Pl 88. Decoration of the northern part of the eastern wall and the fragment of the northern wall.



Pl. 89. Rock-cut doorframe.



Pl. 90. Doorpost carved out in the limestone bedrock.



Pl. 91. Southern wall of the passage.



Pl. 92. The west wall northern part of Room 1.



Pl. 93. Decoration of the southern part of the western wall of Room 1.



Pl. 94. Remains of the scenes on the southern wall of Room 1.



Pl. 95. Decoration of the southern side of the eastern wall of Room 1.



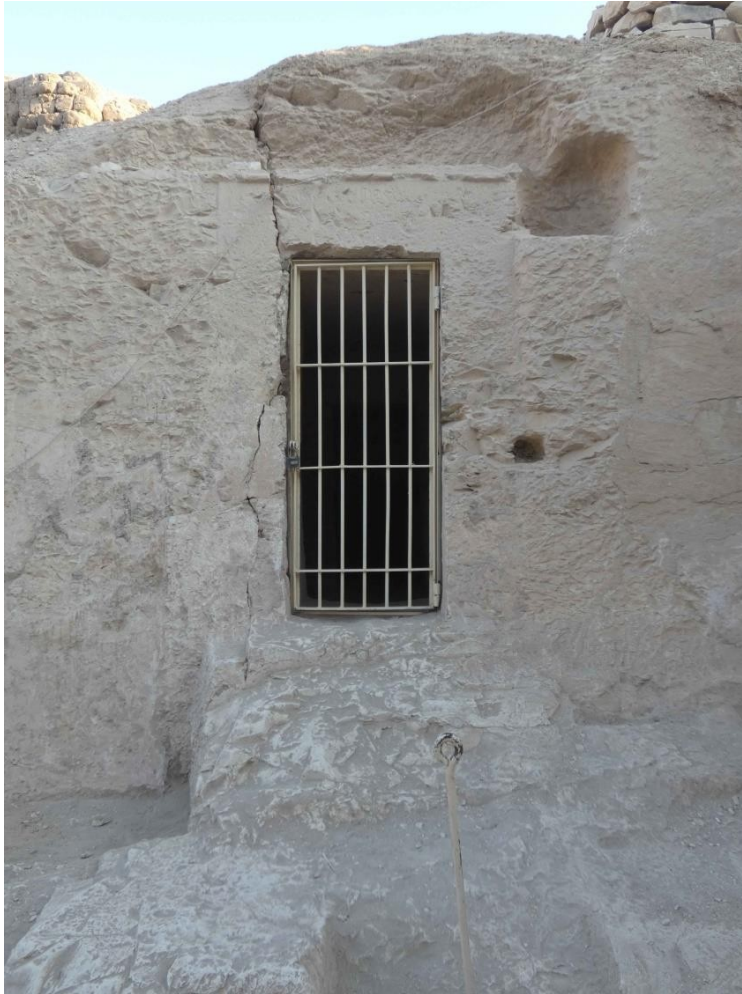
Pl. 96. The scenes of the northern side of the eastern wall of Room 1.



Pl. 97. The doorway decoration.



Pl. 98. Northern face of Court A with location of Tomb No.5.



Pl. 99. The tomb's façade.



Pl. 100. The tomb's entrance.



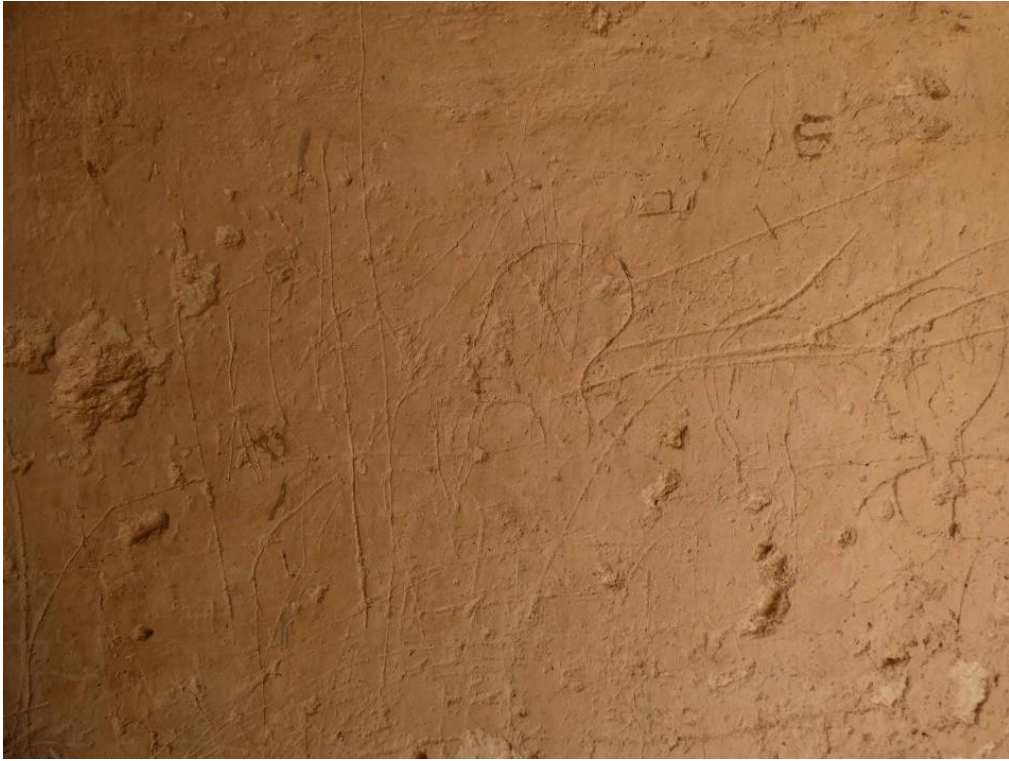
Pl. 101. Door hinge hole.



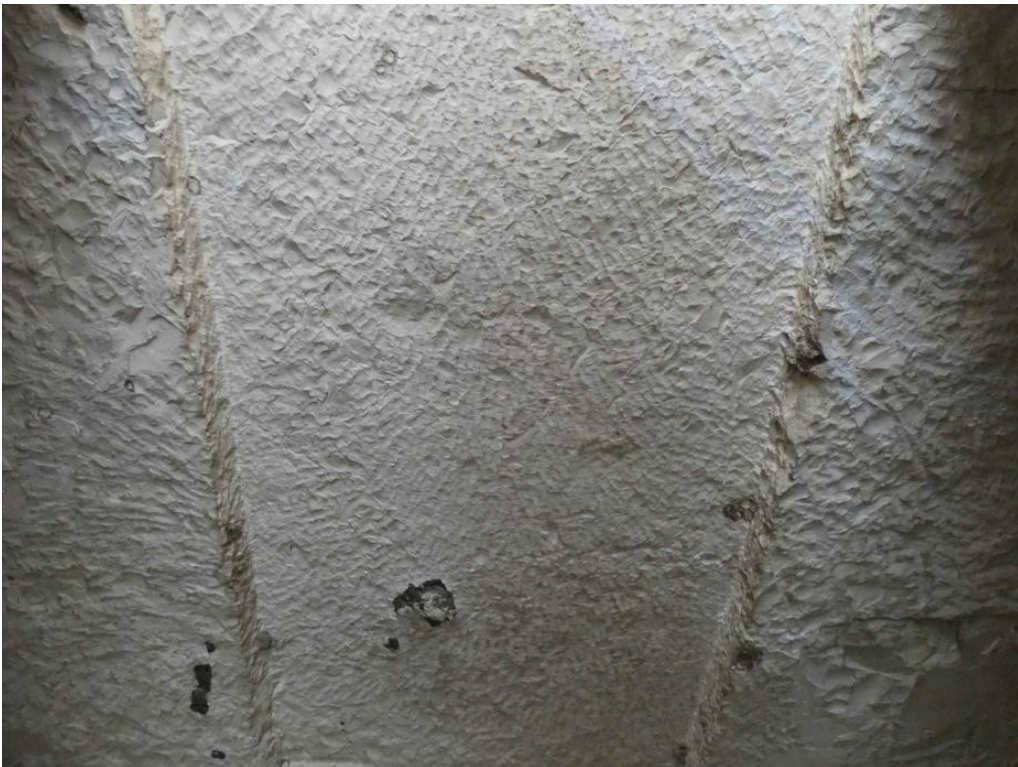
Pl. 102. Emplacement for a door hinge.



Pl. 103. Door latch hole.



Pl. 104. Graffiti scratched in a plaster.



Pl. 105. Ceiling in the passage.



Pl. 106. Ceiling of the passage leading to Room 2.



Pl. 107. Eastern wing.



Pl. 108. Doorframe to Room 2.



Pl. 109. Emplacement for a lamp.



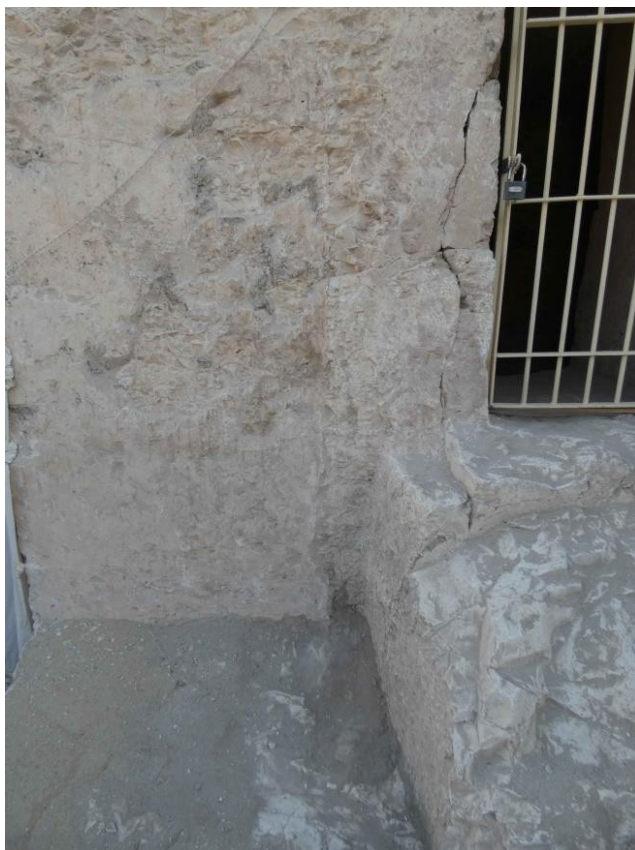
Pl. 110. Doorframe.



Pl. 111. A ramp leading to the tomb's entrance.



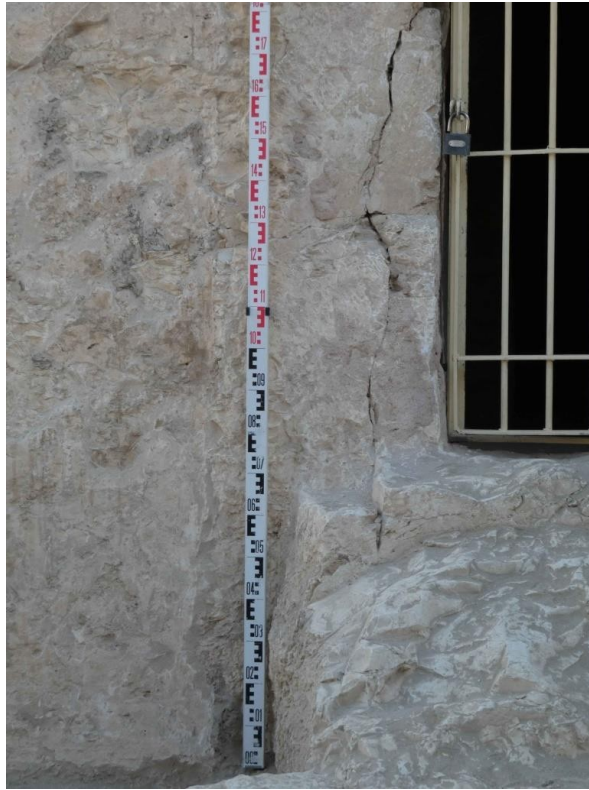
Pl. 112. Rock-cut steps in front of the tomb's doorway.



Pl. 113. Eastern side of the entrance.



Pl. 114. Remains of a mud-brick wall.



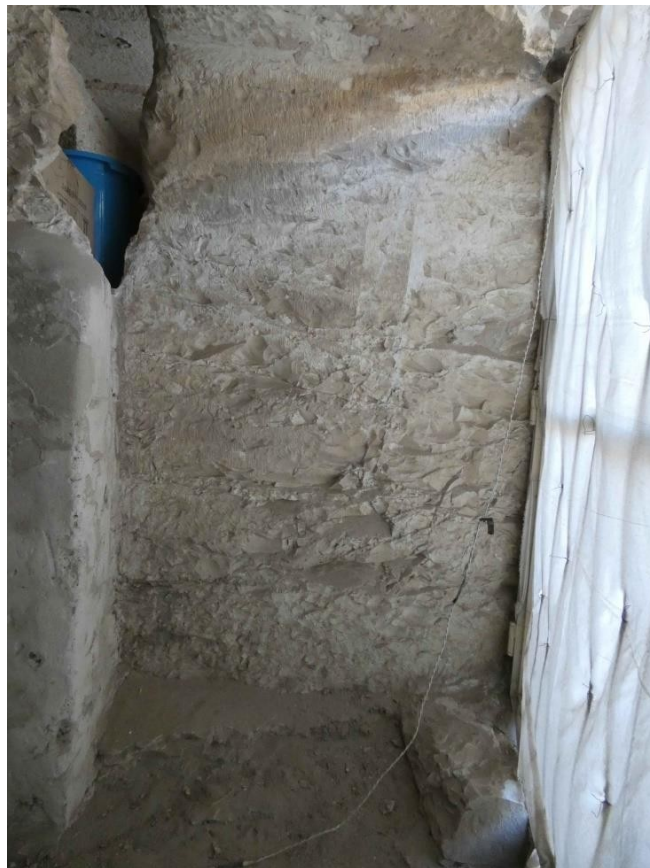
Pl. 115. Border of a plaster.



Pl. 116. Rock-cut lintel.



Pl. 117. Hole for a door hinge stone.



Pl. 118. Breakthrough to Tomb No. 5.



Pl. 119. Space for door opening.



Pl. 120. Breakthrough in the rock-cut wall.



Pl. 121. Rock-cut architrave.



Pl. 122. Details of a badly chiseled off architrave.



Pl. 123. Southern wall of the mortuary cult chapel.



Pl. 124. A statue niche in the mortuary cult chapel and an entrance to the burial chamber.



Pl. 125. Ceiling decoration.



Pl. 126. Decoration of the ceiling in the hall B



Pl. 127. A statue niche.



Pl. 128. Dipinto in the hall A.

Summaries

The “Court of the Priests” in the northern necropolis of Asasif

Case study of the development of the Theban Ramesside tombs based on the recent excavations

Summary

The recent discovery of a group of five previously unknown tombs in the central part of the North Asasif necropolis, located opposite the modern city of Luxor, has initiated studies on the unique phenomenon of topographical layout of tombs in the Ramesside period in Western Thebes.

The excavations were carried out in the vicinity of two 20th Dynasty tombs, TT 25 and TT 28, which later turned out to belong to a complex of six tombs built within a single courtyard carved into the rocky ground. Although the reuse of older tombs and their courtyards in later periods was a well-known practice in ancient Egyptian necropolises of further structures in such short period as the time of the reign of the Ramesside rulers is an exceptional solution. Interestingly, among the newly discovered tombs there was a tomb belonging to the first owner of this funerary complex described in this work as Tomb No. 1 dated to the reign of Ramesses III, whereas inscriptions in the remaining tombs made it possible to create a chronological sequence and to reconstruct the stages of the funerary complex described.

Even more valuable for reconstructing the process of reusing the older courtyard, however, were the detail field observations that provided the basis for the comprehensive architectural studies that are a major aspect of understanding this unique complex. Another extremely interesting discovery is the finding of the titles carried by the dead buried in the tombs of this funerary complex. As it turned out, these tombs belonged to a group of priests serving during their lifetime in the Theban temples of the Egyptian gods. This observation, combined with the very short, as for Egyptian tomb reuse processes, functioning of the described complex contributed to the designation of the investigated courtyard with its tombs as the ‘Courtyard of the Priests’.

The rich archaeological material in the form of the rock-cut courtyard and the surrounding tombs, enriched by written sources, has contributed to the present dissertation,

the aim of which is not only an in-depth architectural analysis of this funerary complex, but due to its unique chronological character and the functions exercised by its owners, it was worth carrying out a much more extensive study allowing for a closer understanding of the “Court of the Priests” in a broader topographical, cultural, and religious contexts of the Theban Necropolis.

The main aspect of the following studies is a thorough and multi-stage architectural analysis of which provides a better understanding of each tomb and the complex as a whole, which has helped to establish an accurate chronological development.

Therefore, the courtyard is described in detail first, as the space around which the tombs that are the subject of this dissertation are concentrated. The rock-cut courtyard is not only the connecting element between these tombs, but also a structure that provides significant data on the development of the entire tomb complex. Many traces preserved on the rocks were observed in the courtyard space, which make it possible not only to delineate the original extent of this courtyard, but also to determine precisely the later changes associated with the creation of other, slightly younger tombs.

The individual tombs are then described in terms of their architectural layout, taking into account the finest details, as well as the decorations and inscriptions preserved in some of them, allowing a better understanding of the time of their construction and the role the owner played in the Theban community. Finally, a comparative analysis of the “Court of the Priests” with similar Ramesside-period structures at the Theban Necropolis revealed the unique nature of the complex described.

As stated, it is the only site in the area to date that has been so intensively reused in such a short period of time.

As a natural result of the above considerations is the positioning of the “Court of the Priests” in a wider topographical and cultural context. The first of these aspects is the location of the described tombs in the necropolis of North Asasif, which still played a key role in Ramesside times. On the one hand, the royal temples of the Middle and New Kingdom rulers at Deir el-Bahari remained a focal point on the religious map of Western Thebes, especially in connection with the annual Beautiful Valley Festival, the most important religious event of the region. On the other hand, temples of the kings of the Ramesside period began to be built in the eastern part of Northern Asasif.

Presumably these determinants of the ritual topography of the Theban Necropolis were a major factor in the choice of burial site during the 19th and 20th dynasties, as evidenced by the numerous tombs from this period concentrated on North Asasif and the nearby hill of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna. The location of the “Court of the Priests” in the vicinity of the most important temples in the region of the Ramesside period also guaranteed proximity to the most important deities who were associated with the afterlife in the broadest sense.

This aspect of ritual topography thus makes it possible to identify the necropolis of North Asasif in Ramesside times as the site of a fusion of solar-Osirian and Hathoric cults, the latter of which had probably been practiced in Deir el-Bahari since the Old Kingdom. Taking into account all these topographical and religious aspects of the “Court of the Priests” resulting from its correlation with the most important cultic buildings, combined with the unique character of the funerary complex itself on the North Asasif, a picture emerges of a coherent cultural landscape of the Theban Necropolis in the Ramesside period, which allows us to understand the significance of the area at the end of the New Kingdom to a far greater extent than we have done so far.

"Der Hof der Priester" in der nördlichen Nekropole von Asasif

Fallstudie zur Entwicklung der thebanischen Ramessiden-Gräber auf der Grundlage der kürzlichen Ausgrabungen

Zusammenfassung

Die kürzliche Entdeckung einer Gruppe von fünf bisher unbekanntem Gräbern im zentralen Teil der Nekropole von Nord-Asasif, die sich gegenüber der modernen Stadt Luxor befindet, hat Studien über das einzigartige Phänomen der topografischen Anordnung von Gräbern in der Ramessidenzeit in West-Theben initiiert. Die Ausgrabungen wurden in der Nähe von zwei Gräbern aus der 20. Dynastie (TT 25 und TT 28) durchgeführt, von denen sich später herausstellte, dass sie zu einem Komplex von sechs Gräbern gehörten, die in einem einzigen in den felsigen Boden gehauenen Hof errichtet wurden. Obwohl die Wiederverwendung älterer Gräber und ihrer Innenhöfe in späteren Perioden eine wohlbekannt Praxis in altägyptischen Nekropolen war, ist die „Hinzufügung“ weiterer Strukturen in einem so kurzen Zeitraum wie der Zeit der Herrschaft der Ramessiden-Herrscher eine außergewöhnliche Lösung.

Interessanterweise befand sich unter den neu entdeckten Gräbern ein Grab des ersten Besitzers dieser Grabanlage, das in dieser Arbeit als Grab Nr. 1 aus der Regierungszeit von Ramses III. beschrieben wird. Inschriften in den übrigen Gräbern ermöglichten darüber hinaus eine chronologische Abfolge und die Rekonstruktion der Stadien der "Erweiterung" der beschriebenen Grabanlage. Noch wertvoller für die Rekonstruktion des Prozesses der Wiederverwendung des älteren Hofes, waren jedoch die detaillierten Feldbeobachtungen, die die Grundlage für die umfassenden architektonischen Studien bildeten, die ein wesentlicher Aspekt zum Verständnis dieses einzigartigen Komplexes sind. Eine weitere äußerst interessante Entdeckung ist das Auffinden der Titel getragen von den Verstorbenen, die in den Gräbern dieses Grabkomplexes begraben sind. Wie sich herausstellte, gehörten diese Gräber einer Gruppe von Priestern, die zu Lebzeiten in den thebanischen Tempeln der ägyptischen Götter dienten. Daher wurde die Bezeichnung des untersuchten Hofes mit seinen Gräbern als „Hof der Priester“ gewählt.

Das reiche archäologische Material in Form des in den Fels gehauenen Hofes und der umliegenden Gräber, angereichert durch schriftliche Quellen, hat zu der vorliegenden Dissertation beigetragen. Ihr Ziel ist nicht nur eine vertiefte architektonische Analyse dieses Grabkomplexes. Aufgrund seines einzigartigen chronologischen Charakters und der von seinen Besitzern ausgeübten Funktionen lohnte es sich, eine viel umfassendere Studie durchzuführen, die ein genaueres Verständnis des "Hofes der Priester" in einem breiteren topografischen, kulturellen und religiösen Kontext der thebanischen Nekropole ermöglicht. Der Hauptaspekt der folgenden Studie ist eine gründliche und mehrstufige architektonische Analyse des „Hofs der Priester“, die ein besseres Verständnis der einzelnen Gräber und des Komplexes als Ganzes ermöglicht und darüber hinaus zu einer genauen chronologischen Entwicklung beigetragen hat. Zunächst wird der Hof als room beschrieben, um den sich die, in dieser Dissertation behandelten Gräber konzentrieren. Der Felsenhof ist nicht nur das „verbindende“ Element zwischen diesen Gräbern, sondern auch eine Struktur, die wichtige Daten über die Entwicklung des gesamten Grabkomplexes liefert. Viele im Hofraum auf den Felsen erhaltene Spuren wurden beobachtet, die es nicht nur ermöglichen die ursprüngliche Ausdehnung dieses Hofes zu skizzieren, sondern auch die späteren Veränderungen im Zusammenhang mit der Entstehung anderer, etwas jüngerer Gräber genau zu bestimmen. Anschließend werden die einzelnen Gräber architektonisch unter Berücksichtigung feinsten Details beschrieben.

Dazu gehören erhaltene Verzierungen und Inschriften, die ein besseres Verständnis der Zeit ihrer Erbauung und der Rolle des Besitzers in der thebanischen Gemeinde ermöglichen. Abschließend zeigt eine vergleichende Analyse des 'Hofes der Priester' mit ähnlichen Ramessidenzeitlichen Strukturen in der thebanischen Nekropole, die Einzigartigkeit des beschriebenen Komplexes. Wie bereits erwähnt, ist es das bisher einzige Gelände in der Umgebung, das in so kurzer Zeit so intensiv umgenutzt wurde.

Als natürliches Ergebnis der obigen Überlegungen ergibt sich die Positionierung des „Hofes der Priester“ in einem größeren topografischen und kulturellen Kontext. Der erste dieser Aspekte ist die Lage der beschriebenen Gräber in der Nekropole von Nord-Asasif, die noch zu Zeiten der Ramessiden eine Schlüsselrolle spielte. Einerseits blieben die königlichen Tempel der Herrscher des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches in Deir el-Bahari ein Brennpunkt auf der religiösen Landkarte Westthebens, insbesondere im Zusammenhang mit dem jährlichen Beautiful Valley Festival, dem wichtigsten religiösen Ereignis der Region. Andererseits wurden Tempel der Könige der Ramessidenzeit im östlichen Teil von Nord-Asasif gebaut. Vermutlich waren diese

Determinanten der rituellen Topographie der thebanischen Nekropole ein wichtiger Faktor bei der Wahl der Grabstätte im 19. Jahrhundert und 20. Dynastie, wie die zahlreichen Gräber aus dieser Zeit belegen, die sich auf Nord-Asasif und den nahe gelegenen Hügel von Sheikh Abd el-Qurna konzentrieren die ramessidische Zeit garantierte auch die Nähe zu den wichtigsten Gottheiten, die im weitesten Sinne mit dem Jenseits in Verbindung gebracht wurden opolis von Nord-Asasif in ramessidischer Zeit als Ort einer Verschmelzung von solar-osirischen und hathorischen Kulturen, von denen letzterer wahrscheinlich seit dem Alten Reich in Deir el-Bahari praktiziert wurde.

Unter Berücksichtigung all dieser topografischen und religiösen Aspekte der 'Priesterhof' ergibt sich aus seiner Korrelation mit den wichtigsten Kultbauten, kombiniert mit dem einzigartigen Charakter der Grabanlage selbst am Nord-Asasif, ein Bild einer zusammenhängenden Kulturlandschaft der thebanischen Nekropole in der Ramessidenzeit, die ermöglicht es uns, die Bedeutung des Gebiets am Ende des Neuen Reichs in weit größerem Umfang als bisher zu verstehen.