

Continuity, Discontinuity and Change

Perspectives from the New Kingdom
to the Roman Era

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Finding a New Balance

Non-Royal Tombs of the Post-Amarna Period in Western Thebes

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ABSTRACT

The article gives an overview on the development in the Theban necropolis from the reign of Tutankhamun to Horemheb and investigates non-royal funerary monuments with regard to the social status of owners, their location in the necropolis, and the architecture of the cult chapels. A chapter on tomb decoration focuses on a selected group of tombs built shortly after the Amarna period. These cult chapels exhibit iconographic programs, which rely on a traditional image on the one hand, but also integrate new concepts and even precise Amarna motifs. Particularly the compositorial layout of some walls appears to be influenced by the Amarna period, while at the same time precise image quotations link the tombs to pre-Amarna neighbours. Funerary sculpture likewise attests traditional Theban forms but, apart from that also certain shifts. In particular, the preserved free-standing statues appear to be another indicator for strong bonds of most of the tomb owners to Amun cults and temple administration.

KEYWORDS

Western Thebes – post-Amarna Period – Tomb decoration – Image transmission – Tomb Architecture – Tomb location

I. INTRODUCTION¹

With the rise of the Middle Kingdom, the Theban necropolis became one of the most important burial places of the country's elite and subsequently a hub for centuries of innovations in the development of funerary architecture and tomb decoration. It is particularly the Eighteenth Dynasty until the reign of Amenhotep III that contributed to the wealth of tomb construction and chapel decoration in the traditional "hot spots" of the cemetery, namely Sheikh Abd

¹ I very much thank all the colleagues and friends, who helped by providing me with relevant literature in times of the Covid-19 pandemic and inaccessible libraries. It would not have been possible to write this article without them. In addition, I am grateful to Alexis den Doncker for fruitful discussions on the Theban necropolis.

el-Gourna, el-Khokha, and Dra'Abu el-Naga.² There is no doubt that the Amarna period led to a shift in activity of this major necropolis and it is anticipated that burials of the Theban "upper classes" were suspended when Akhenaten's royal court moved to Amarna.³

Apart from the monuments of tomb owners which began their career already during the reign of Amenhotep III, like most prominently, the vizier Ramose (TT 55)⁴ or the steward of the Great Royal wife Tiye, Kheruef (TT 192)⁵, only very few tombs can solely be attributed to the time of Akhenaten.⁶ The best-known case is Parennefer, who served as a royal butler and divine father.⁷ The dating of his tomb in the Asasif (TT 188) is firmly established by several representations of Akhenaten in the chapel and on the façade.⁸ Apparently, it was constructed in the early years of the king's reign and, due to the fact that Parennefer built another tomb in Amarna (AT 7), it is generally assumed that TT 188 is his first funerary monument.⁹ After

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- 2 For an overview: PM I.1²; F. KAMPP, *Die thebanische Nekropole. Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie*, Theben 13, Mainz 1996; F. KAMPP-SEYFRIED, "The Theban Necropolis: an overview of topography and tomb development from the Middle Kingdom to the Ramesside Period", in: N. STRUDWICK/J. H. TAYLOR (eds.), *The Theban necropolis. Past, Present and Future*, London 2003, 2–10; J. ASSMANN/E. DZIOBEK/H. GUKSCH/F. KAMPP (eds.), *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen. Neue Perspektiven archäologischer Forschung. Internationales Symposium Heidelberg 9.–13. 6. 1993*, SAGA 12, Heidelberg 1995; L. MANNICHE, *City of the dead: Thebes in Egypt*, London 1987; G. STEINDORFF/W. WOLF, *Die Thebanische Gräberwelt, LÄS 4*, Glückstadt/Hamburg 1936. For the pre-Amarna Eighteenth Dynasty: B. ENGELMANN-VON CARNAP, *Die Struktur des thebanischen Beamtenfriedhofs in der ersten Hälfte der 18. Dynastie. Analyse von Position, Grundrißgestaltung und Bildprogramm der Gräber*, ADAIK 15, Berlin 1999; M. HARTWIG, *Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes, 1419 – 1372 BCE*, MonAeg X, Turnhout 2004.
- 3 J. ROMER, "Who made the private tombs at Thebes?", in: B. M. BRYAN/D. LORTON (eds.), *Essays in Egyptology in Honor of Hans Goedicke*, San Antonio 1994, 217–218.
- 4 PM I.1², 105–111; KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole 1*, 262–265; M. WASMUTH, *Innovationen und Extravaganzen. Ein Beitrag zur Architektur der thebanischen Beamtengräber der 18. Dynastie*, BAR IS 1165, Oxford 2003, 90.
- 5 PM I.1², 296, 298–300; KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole 1*, 480–483; WASMUTH, *Innovationen und Extravaganzen*, 120.
- 6 Another monument, which has been connected to the reign of Amenhotep IV is TT 136 in Sheikh Abd el-Gourna; PM I.12, 248, 251; KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole 2*, 424. The tomb is in a very bad state of preservation and only few fragments of the decoration survived, which were attributed by Grimm and Schlögl to the "royal scribe Ipy", who is otherwise known from the Amarna period; A. GRIMM/H. A. SCHLÖGL, *Das thebanische Grab Nr. 136 und der Beginn der Amarnazeit*, Wiesbaden 2005. Their reading has been rejected by Salvoldi and other authors, who date the monument differently: D. SALVOLDI, "Some remarks on TT 136 and its interpretation", in: *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 31, 2008, 39–48.
- 7 N. DE G. DAVIES, "Akhenaten at Thebes", in: *JEA* 9, 1923, 132–152; A. F. REDFORD, *Theban Tomb No. 188 (the Tomb of Parennefer): A Case Study of Tomb Reuse in the Theban Necropolis*, Ann Arbor 2006.
- 8 PM I.1², 292–295; KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole 2*, 475–478.
- 9 S. REDFORD, "Preliminary Report on the work in the tomb of Parrennefer – TT 188", in: *Memnonia* VII, 1996, 227–228; REDFORD, *Theban Tomb no. 188*, 56, 65–75. For the theology of the early years of Akhenaten see: W. J. MURNANE, "Observations on pre-Amarna theology in the earliest reign of Amenhotep IV", in: E. TEETER/J. A. LARSON (eds.), *Gold of praise: studies on ancient Egypt in honor of Edward F. Wente*, SAOC 58, Chicago 1999, 303–316; D. LABOURY, *Akhénaton, Les grands pharaons*, Paris 2010, 93–135, for TT 188: 87; R. T. RIDLEY, *Akhenaten. A Historian's View*, AUC History of Ancient Egypt I, Cairo/New York 2019, 17–59.

moving away together with the royal court, the Theban tomb was left unfinished and Parennefer was most probably not buried there.¹⁰ Another interesting funerary monument of the Amarna period was discovered some years ago by a German mission in Dra'Abu el-Naga. The tomb of May, high priest of Amun, also dates to the time of Akhenaten. The owner of tomb No. -383-¹¹ is identified by stamped mud bricks inside and outside the monument. May is most likely identical with the high priest of Amun, who is otherwise known from the inscriptions in the Wadi Hammamat from the fourth year of Akhenaten.¹² According to the German mission, it remains unclear if the tomb owner was ever buried here. The entire monument was left unfinished except for a grainy undercoat applied on the chapel walls.¹³ For a person of allegedly such a high rank, however, it seems remarkable that the chapel has only a simple T-shaped form and was conceptualised without pillars. The decision to choose Dra'Abu el-Naga and not the areas preferred by patrons at the height of the Eighteenth Dynasty might be explained by his affiliation with the Amun cult, the visible connection to the Karnak precinct and related procession ways.¹⁴

These selected tombs of the early years of Akhenaten's reign¹⁵ are followed by a gap of a decade or possibly even longer, from which we so far have no evidence of any building activities associated with non-royal tombs. By the end of the Amarna period, the restoration of Amun cults in Thebes carefully recommenced.¹⁶ Nevertheless, it was only under Tutankha-

10 REDFORD, *Memnonia VII*, 231.

11 KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole 2*, 766; named K99.1 by the German mission; D. POLZ/E. MÄHLITZ/U. RUMMEL/A. SEILER, "Bericht über die 9. bis 12. Grabungskampagne in der Nekropole von Dra' Abu el-Naga/Theben-West", in: *MDAIK 59*, 2003, 373–374.

12 POLZ/MÄHLITZ/RUMMEL/SEILER, *MDAIK 59*, 373–374; A. JIMÉNEZ-HIGUERAS, *The sacred Landscape of Dra Abu el-Naga during the New Kingdom. People Making Landscape Making People*, CHANE 113, Leiden/Boston: Brill 2020, 282 (general index); LABOURY, *Akhénaton*, 199, 131–134, 412 n. 391.

13 POLZ/MÄHLITZ/RUMMEL/SEILER, *MDAIK 59*, 373.

14 JIMÉNEZ-HIGUERAS, *The sacred Landscape of Dra Abu el-Naga*; U. RUMMEL, "Landscape, tombs, and sanctuaries: the interaction of monuments and topography in Western Thebes", in: C. GEISEN (ed.), *Ritual Landscape and Performance. Proceedings of the International Conference on Ritual Landscape and Performance*, Yale University, September 23–24, 2016, *YES 13*, New Haven 2020, 89–120; U. RUMMEL, "Gräber, Feste, Prozessionen: Der Ritualraum Theben-West in der Ramessidenzeit", in: G. NEUNERT/K. GABLER/A. VERBOVSEK (eds.), *Nekropolen: Grab – Bild – Ritual, Beiträge des zweiten Münchner Arbeitskreises Junge Ägyptologie (MAJA 2)*, *GÖF 4/Ägypten 54*, Wiesbaden 2013, 207–232. For an overview on procession ways in Thebes see: A. CABROL, *Les voies processionnelles de Thèbes*, *OLA 97*, Leuven 2001.

15 J. J. Shirley notes that these tombs demonstrate iconographic and textural changes related to the shift from Amenhotep IV to Akhenaten; J. J. SHIRLEY, "Crisis and restructuring of the state: from the Second Intermediate Period to the advent of the Ramesses", in: J. C. MORENO GARCÍA (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian administration*, *HdO 1. Ancient Near East 104*, Leiden 2013, 598.

16 For the end of Amarna period see the overview by RIDLEY, *Akhenaten*, 249–313. As evidence of Theban Amun cults at the very end of this period, a graffito in TT 139 is of particular relevance. It is a prayer to Amun, which was written by the brother of a *wab*-priest and scribe of divine offerings in the "House of Amun in the House of Ankhkheperure" (a royal mortuary temple) in year 3 of the "Lord of the Two Lands Ankhkheperure Beloved of (...), Son of Re Nefer-Neferuaten"; see: A. H. GARDINER, "The Graffito from the tomb of Pere", in: *JEA 14*, 1928, 10–11, plates 5–6; LABOURY, *Akhénaton*, 290, 340–343; A. DODSON, "On the Graffito in Theban Tomb 139", in: J. KAMRIN/M. BARTA/S. IKRAM/M. LEHNER/M. MEGAHED (eds.), *Guardian of Ancient Egypt. Studies in Honor of Zahi Hawass I*, Prague 2020, 357–365. For a context based analysis: D. KESSLER, "Dissidentenliteratur

mun that construction work in the necropolis was resumed and thus we can find again evidence of burials of the Theban elite. Nonetheless, the situation at Thebes had changed by the far-reaching religious and administrative caesura. The society's focus had clearly shifted to Memphis, where the king's residence and government had been moved back from Amarna and the Theban necropolis played no longer the prominent role it used to in the earlier times.¹⁷ In light of this context, the question arises whether in the case of the post-Amarna tombs, we can recognise some evidence of continuity or – maybe more likely – of significant changes in ownership, architecture, and decoration, which are beyond the scope of a general development. In the following, the signs of discontinuity, change but also traditional bonds shall be discussed, hereby focusing on non-royal funerary monuments in the Theban necropolis, which can be convincingly attributed to the period from Tutankhamun to Horemheb.

II. WORK IN PROGRESS: THE STATE OF RESEARCH

From over 1000 non-royal tombs in the Theban necropolis,¹⁸ only a small number can be associated with the post-Amarna period. What has not been fully investigated yet is how exactly were the tombs in western Thebes affected by the upheavals of the Amarna period and the process to reinstall the former Amun cults started by Akhenaten's immediate heirs to the throne? Only few authors have dealt with the development of the necropolis at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty or the resumed activities at western Thebes after the Amarna period and prior to Ramesside times, respectively.

Steindorff and Wolf present in their publication on “Thebanische Gräberwelt” a long list of tombs structured by time and areas of the necropolis. Though, in relation to the time period under discussion here, they only mention a selected number of monuments: for the reign of Tutankhamun TT 40 (“Heje”), for Ay's time TT 49 (“Neferhotp”), and for the period of Horemheb TT 255 (“Roi”) and TT 50 (“Neferhotp”).¹⁹ Lisa Manniche briefly lists six tombs, which can be dated to the Eighteenth Dynasty after the return to Thebes, without precisely indicating them.²⁰ Probably she based her information on Porter and Moss, which notes one tomb for the reign of Tutankhamun (TT 40), two under Ay (TT 49, 271), and three under Horemheb (TT 6, 50, 255).²¹ In a brief statistical analysis on Theban tombs, John Romer mentions, without providing any further details, one monument for the reign of Tutankhamun and two each for the times of Ay and Horemheb.²²

oder kultischer Hintergrund? Teil 1: Überlegungen zum Tura-Hymnus und zum Hymnus in TT 139”, in: SAK 25, 1998, 174–188. I thank very much Dimitri Laboury for sharing with me his insights regarding the Amarna period and the following years of transfer.

17 F. KAMPP-SEYFRIED, “Thebes in the post-Amarna-Period and in Ramesside Times”, in: J. MYNÁŘOVÁ/P. ONDERKA (eds.), *Théby. Město Bohů a Faraonů/Thebes. City of Gods and Pharaohs*, Prague 2007, 119.

18 KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole* 1, 3.

19 STEINDORFF/WOLF, *Thebanische Gräberwelt*, „Liste der Thebanischen Privatgräber“ as annex.

20 MANNICHE, *City of the dead*, 63.

21 See the list in: PM I.1², 477.

22 ROMER, in BRYAN/LORTON (eds.), *Essays in Egyptology*, 230.

Wolfgang Helck, in his study on social sphere and tomb positioning, adds to this group the “chief steward of Amun in the southern city” Amenemopet, the owner of TT 41.²³ The author rightly points out, that already during the reign of Amenhotep III, a new allocation of tombs takes place in the necropolis. By this time, the popular area of Sheikh Abd el-Gurna was almost fully occupied. Hence, even the highest officials station their tombs at the bottom of the hills and the Asasif was now used as well. Helck finds it intriguing that Qurnet Murai was not chosen as the favourite spot considering the nearby location of Amenhotep III’s temple of Millions of Years. In his interpretation, the so far practiced linkage between royal memorial cult and private tombs was given up by this time. Yet, it should be mentioned in passing that several “monumentale Felsgräber”²⁴ were indeed built at Qurnet Murai, which most probably belong to the reign of Amenhotep III.²⁵ Namely the king’s son of Kush Merimose (TT 383) chose this part of the necropolis for his tomb, a monument which seems surprisingly small for a person of such high rank.²⁶ With regard to the post-Amarna period, Helck states that the social strata of the entire necropolis changed in the time of Tutankhamun due to the relocation of the capital to Memphis. As a result, only a selected number of people would have chosen western Thebes as their place of burial, such individuals were no longer the highest officials but only lower ranks and some priests in higher functions.

Nigel Strudwick contributed the most substantial study of post-Amarna development in Thebes by his article on “changes and continuity”.²⁷ He rightly states a conspicuous gap in knowledge of the period from the late time of Amenhotep III to Sety I at western Thebes and of the handful of tombs known from the post-Amarna period. By focussing on some principal tombs, he tackles questions concerning changes in tomb design and decoration, from which he deduces an approximate development. We will come back to his analysis of architectural features of superstructure, chapel, and substructure as well changes in tomb decoration below. For the post-Amarna period, he lists the tombs of Huy (TT 40), Parennefer/Wennefer

23 W. HELCK, “Soziale Stellung und Grablage (Bemerkungen zur thebanischen Nekropole)”, in: *JESHO* 5, 1962, 241. He also mentions the monument of the royal butler Parennefer in this context. However, it is clear that TT 188 belongs to the early years of Akhenaten; see above.

24 D. EIGNER, “Das thebanische Grab des Amenhotep, Wesir von Unterägypten: die Architektur”, in: *MDAIK* 39, 1983, 39–50; he even attributes –396– to Amenhotep, son of Hapu.

25 Nos. –277–, and –281–. Also TT 271 shares a lot of similarities with this group and should be considered here as well; see the discussion below.

26 PM I.1², 436; KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole* 2, 602. The small tomb is particularly astonishing since Merimose has three sarcophagi of extraordinary quality; L. M. BERMAN, “Cat. No. 62: Head of Viceroy Merymose from His Outer Sarcophagus”, “Cat. No. 63, Head of Viceroy Merymose from His Middle Sarcophagus”, “Cat. No. 64, Inner Sarcophagus Lid of Viceroy Merymose”, in: A. P. KOZLOFF/B. M. BRYAN/L. M. BERMAN, *Egypt’s Dazzling Sun. Amenhotep III and his World*, Bloomington 1992, 318–321. Eighteenth Dynasty tombs for non-royal person in the Valley of the Kings, which are likewise small and even uninscribed and undecorated, cannot be compared with elite tombs in the main Theban necropolis. Already the very fact that a burial in Kings’ Valley was granted was a high privilege and indicates an inner circle around the king; S. BICKEL, “Other Tombs: Queens and Commoners in KV”, in: R. H. WILKINSON/K. R. WEEKS (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Valley of the Kings*, Oxford 2016, 230–242.

27 N. STRUDWICK, “Change and continuity at Thebes: the private tomb after Akhenaten”, in: C. EYRE/A. LEAHY/L. MONTAGNO LEAHY (eds.), *The Unbroken Reed: Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt in Honour of A. F. Shore*, London 1994, 321–336.

(No. -162-), Neferhotep (TT 49), Amenmose (TT 254), and Neferhotep (TT 50). He also includes early Nineteenth Dynasty tombs, namely Userhat (TT 51), Hatiay (TT 324), Amenmose (TT 19), Amenemopet (TT 41), and Roy (TT 255). Very briefly mentioned are also Nakht-Min (TT 291) and Maya (TT 338), both located at Deir el-Medineh and dated to the late Eighteenth Dynasty. Strudwick postulates that Huy's tomb still follows equivalent officials of the pre-Amarna period.²⁸ In comparison, the contemporary tombs of Neferhotep and Amenmose would show more traits of the "coming changes in tomb ideology, while remaining broadly within the classic tradition", and for TT 50 he detects even more deviations from the Eighteenth Dynasty.²⁹ Strudwick further presents some thoughts on religious changes, which are manifested by these tombs and the causes for this development. In his reading, the Amarna tombs did not particularly influence the tomb decoration of the post-Amarna period in Thebes except for the style and, accordingly, the "psychological influence was greater than the physical".³⁰ He notes that some tombs, such as TT 40, 49, and 254, are to some degree attempts to revert to the norm of the pre-Amarna period. Taking Jan Assmann's interpretation of Ramesside tombs into account, he states that the key feature was to ensure the patron's afterlife by emphasising his veneration of deities.³¹ This religious shift actually caused the chapels to become more and more like funerary temples.³² It is in this context that the enhanced expressions of piety are highlighted in the time of Horemheb.

Friederike Kampp lists sixteen tombs in a chronological order – with omission of Deir el-Medineh – in her in-depth study of the Theban necropolis (TT 40, 80, -162-, 254, 275, 49, 271, A8, 150, 324, 333, 50, 166, 41, 255, 156),³³ and she specifies details for each monument separately in her extensive catalogue. TT 80 is probably only included in the list due to the fact that the tomb was reused for later burials, while architecture and decoration clearly belong to the time of Amenhotep II.³⁴ TT 333 is a monument which has been dated by the Japanese excavators to the time of Thutmose IV to Akhenaten, an evaluation which is supported by in the meantime accessible sketches of Norman and Nina de Garis Davies.³⁵ As for the tomb of Neferhotep (TT 50), Eva Hofmann has meticulously put together her chain of argumentation

28 For an almost similar statement see M. WEGNER, "Stilentwicklung der thebanischen Beamtengräber", in: MDAIK 4, 1933, 138.

29 STRUDWICK, in EYRE/LEAHY/MONTAGNO LEAHY (eds.), *Unbroken Reed*, 332.

30 STRUDWICK, in EYRE/LEAHY/MONTAGNO LEAHY (eds.), *Unbroken Reed*, 330.

31 Wegner briefly stated the same: WEGNER, MDAIK 4, 82; otherwise: J. ASSMANN, "Geheimnis, Gedächtnis und Gottesnähe: zum Strukturwandel der Grabsemantik und der Diesseits-Jenseitsbeziehungen im Neuen Reich", in: J. ASSMANN/E. DZIOBEK/H. GUKSCH/F. KAMPP (eds.), *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen. Neue Perspektiven archäologischer Forschung. Internationales Symposium Heidelberg 9. -13. 6. 1993*, SAGA 12, Heidelberg 1995, 281-293; J. ASSMANN, "Die Konstruktion sakralen Raums in der Grabarchitektur des Neuen Reichs", in: *AfR* 6, 2004, 1-18.

32 It should be noted that already several monumental tombs of the time of Amenhotep III clearly refer to temple architecture of their time by including several large pillared halls; compare e. g. TT 48, 55, 192. In addition, that very period is characterised by a significant paradigm shift regarding number, type and material of non-royal funerary sculptures.

33 KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole* 1, 147.

34 See for TT 80 and also other tombs' questionable dating to the post-Amarna period the discussion in the annex.

35 J. MALEK (ed.), *Theban tomb tracings made by Norman and Nina de Garis Davies, Dra Abu el-Naga. TT 333, name lost*. Accessed 19. 03. 2021. <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4TT333.html>; JIMÉNEZ-

	Gurnet Murai	Sheikh Abd el-Gourna	el-Khokha	Dra'Abu el-Naga	Deir el-Medineh
Tutankhamun	TT 40 Amenhotep, Huy				
Tutankhamun - Ay		TT 46 Ramosé			
Ay	TT 271 Nay		TT 49 Neferhotep		
Ay - Horemheb		TT 324 Hatiay	TT 254 Amenmose, Mesu		
Horemheb				TT A8 Amenemhab	
Horemheb - Sety I			TT 41 Amenemopet, Ipi	TT 166 Ramosi	
Tutankhamun - Horemheb	TT 275 Sobekmosi			No. -162- PARENNEFER/ WENNEFER	TT 291 Nakht-Min and Nu TT 338 Maya
End of the Eighteenth Dynasty				TT 150 Userhat TT 152 Name lost	
Total Number	3	2	3	5	2

TABLE 1 Outline of Discussed Tombs

explaining why dating the monuments to the Eighteenth Dynasty is rather unlikely.³⁶ Instead, she convincingly proposes the reign of Sety I as the time of origin.³⁷ She further dates TT 255, the tomb of Roy, to the same period.³⁸ As for Paenesuttaui, TT 156, textual sources are only attested for the time of Ramesses II and the tomb herewith understood as a monument of the Nineteenth Dynasty.³⁹

Eva Hofmann contributed the most comprehensive and extremely valuable analysis of stylistic criteria. She uses the discussion on the “Kunst zwischen den Epochen” as a starting

-HIGUERAS, *The sacred Landscape of Dra Abu el-Naga*, 281 (index), dates the tomb to the period of Amenhotep IV. See also for this tomb the detailed comments and further literature in the annex.

36 E. HOFMANN, *Bilder im Wandel. Die Kunst der Ramessidischen Privatgräber*, Theben XVII, Mainz 2004, 22–25.

37 See the discussion on TT 50 in the annex.

38 HOFMANN, *Bilder im Wandel*, 27; STRUDWICK, in EYRE/LEAHY/MONTAGNO LEAHY (eds.), *Unbroken Reed*, 333, gives as date Ramesses I to Sety I; further discussion is included in the annex.

39 See annex.

point for her seminal study of Ramesside tombs.⁴⁰ Based on her deep understanding of iconographic and stylistic developments of private tombs at Thebes, she succeeds in establishing convincing dating criteria and thus contributes significantly to a better understanding of the funerary monuments discussed here. On the bases of style and epigraphic data, she describes the following tombs as post-Amarna and pre-Ramesside: TT 40, 49, 254, 41, 271, 324, 166, 152, 275, A8, 150, and No. -162-. In addition, she also mentions TT 291 and 338 in Deir el-Medineh. With regard to TT 333 she follows Kampp, without knowledge of the Davies' sketches, which are now available online.

To all the tombs mentioned by various authors, one more can be added. Nozomu Kawai revisited and studied TT 46 by including the career of its owner.⁴¹ He was able to attribute Ramose to the time of Tutankhamun and Ay, by arguing that, among other things, the Theban Aten temple for which the patron served as a steward was still in use by the time. Based on all these previous considerations, the following remarks will focus on a number of fifteen tombs (Table 1), which at present state of knowledge can be convincingly considered post-Amarna monuments dated to the reigns from Tutankhamun to Horemheb.

For more detailed commentaries on tombs and their owners see the annex at the end of this contribution, which comprises also the patrons' titles and further bibliographical references. The catalogue also includes several other monuments under discussion. As stated above, the dating of most of these tombs can only be understood as approximate.

III. WHO'S WHO? THE SOCIAL STRATA OF THE PATRONS

For many monuments in the Theban necropolis, comprehensive interpretations are not easy at hand, whereas tombs of the post-Amarna period seem particularly difficult to analyse for diverse reasons. Most of the tombs bear the challenge to specify a precise date of the monument and connect it to a certain ruler. This obstacle cannot solely be explained by the few decades covered by the reigns of Tutankhamun, Ay, and Horemheb.⁴² In general, the dating problem of funerary monuments must also be reflected in a larger context and the following remarks are given in full awareness that the used categorisation for a chronology of these tombs is rather ambiguous. For the fifteen tombs discussed here, it should be noted that, if any at all, the reigns of respective rulers were indicated, while four tombs are listed with an open timeframe of Tutankhamun to Horemheb and two labelled "End of the Eighteenth Dynasty",

40 HOFMANN, *Bilder im Wandel*, 5–25.

41 N. KAWAI, "Theban Tomb 46 and Its Owner, Ramose", in: S. H. D'AURIA (ed.), *Offerings to the Discerning Eye. An Egyptological Medley in Honor of Jack A. Josephson*, CHANE 38, Leiden/Boston 2010, 209–215.

42 There has been a discussion on the actual length of this period, in particular under debate was the question whether Horemheb reigned 14 or 27 years; E. HORNUNG, "New Kingdom", in: E. HORNUNG/R. KRAUSS/D. A. WARBURTON (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian chronology*, HdO 1. The Near and Middle East 83, Leiden/Boston 2006, 208–210, and the chronological table together with the other editors: 493; A. DODSON, *Amarna Sunset. Nefertiti, Tutankhamun, Ay, Horemheb and the Egyptian Counter-Reformation*, Cairo/New York 2009, 128–132. Wine jar labels in the tomb of Horemheb mention as highest date the year 14, which seems a strong evidence against a long reign; J. VAN DIJK, "New evidence on the length of the reign of Horemheb", in: *JARCE* 44, 2008, 193–200.

indicating a somewhat shorter period of time.⁴³ Since a thorough evaluation of dating criteria is not possible in the contexts of such an analysis,⁴⁴ the used chronological estimations are mainly based on published material and findings of previous authors.

In the Eighteenth Dynasty before the reign of Akhenaten, members of the elite with a wide range of administrative and priestly functions were interred in the burial grounds of western Thebes, with high and middle rank accounting for the largest group. Their powerful networks of families and peers played a major role in the pre-Amarna development of the cemetery.⁴⁵ It is generally assumed that after abandoning Amarna, the royal court and its main protagonists moved back to Memphis, yet, Thebes could be revived as a religious centre.⁴⁶ Naturally, this historic development had a substantial impact on the necropolis. Nevertheless, in the times of Tutankhamun, Ay, and Horemheb, noteworthy building activities took place in the Theban area. Especially on the East bank in the Karnak and the Luxor temples, but obviously also the tomb constructions in the Valley of the Kings and other projects on the west bank were resumed and required a significant amount of workforce. After all, and as Kampff-Seyfried has rightly pointed out, Thebes in all likelihood was still the second largest city.⁴⁷ Amun once again acted as “lord of the gods” and “of the thrones of both lands” and his Theban temples belonged to the largest sacred precincts in the country. Turning back the wheel to Amun cults unquestionably presupposed larger groups of administrators, organisers as well as a qualified work force on all different levels. In this wider context, it appears of relevance to briefly assess the social rank and position of the tomb owners. To some extent, we can assume that persons of higher rank were able to allocate more resources and therefore manage to build a bigger tomb or use materials that are more expensive. Yet, the reconstruction of the tomb owner’s social status solely based on their titles is problematic and tracing back the various stages of the holder’s career is particularly challenging.⁴⁸ Hence, our understanding of the patron’s position in the Theban socio-cultural environment can only be approximate. In his analysis on social rank and tomb location, Helck stated that by the time of Tutankhamun,

43 For TT 152 neither name nor titles survived and the monument can only be briefly mentioned here.

44 Most of the tombs would need to be re-evaluated and studied by detailed visual analysis to render data that are more precise and updated.

45 B. M. BRYAN, “The 18th Dynasty before the Amarna Period (c.1550–1352 BC)”, in: I. SHAW (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford/New York 2000, 261–264; in general for New Kingdom administration: SHIRLEY, in MORENO GARCÍA (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 582–596, and B. HARING, “The rising power of the House of Amun in the New Kingdom”, in: J. C. MORENO GARCÍA (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration, HdO 1. Ancient Near East 104*, Leiden 2013, 607–623; S. L. D. KATARY, “The administration of institutional agriculture in the New Kingdom”, in: J. C. MORENO GARCÍA (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration, HdO 1. Ancient Near East 104*, Leiden 2013, 719–783; W. HELCK, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches, Hauptband und Register, PdÄ 3/3a*, Leiden 1958/1975; S. S. EICHLER, *Verwaltung des “Houses des Amun” in der 18. Dynastie, BSAK 7*, Hamburg 2000.

46 Compare as overview: M. EATON-KRAUSS, *The Unknown Tutankhamun*, London/New Delhi/New York/Sydney 2016, 71–80, 92–101; DODSON, *Amarna Sunset*, 61–88, 104, 109–134; J. VAN DIJK, “The Amarna Period and the Later New Kingdom” (c. 1352–1069), in: I. SHAW (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford/New York 2000, 279–285.

47 KAMPP-SEYFRIED, in MYNÁŘOVÁ/ONDERKA (eds.), *Thebes. City of Gods and Pharaohs*, 119.

48 Compare HARING, in MORENO GARCÍA (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 610. For the pre-Amarna period, see EICHLER, *Verwaltung des “Houses des Amun”*, 198–209.

officials of the highest rank no longer chose Thebes as their burial place but only lower administrators and some priest.⁴⁹ With regard to our group of people, his study is still the only one which actually considers the social strata of the tomb owners; however, decades later it seems necessary to reassess his results. Only three tombs can be linked with all certainty to the time of Tutankhamun (TT 40, 46, No. -162-).⁵⁰ It appears as a relatively modest number considering the forced building activities in the Karnak and the Luxor temples during the nine years of his reign.

III.1 AMENHOTEP, HUY (TT 40)

The earliest precisely datable tomb from the time of Tutankhamun belongs to Amenhotep, Huy (TT 40), whose area of administration was in fact not the local Amun precinct.⁵¹ Instead, he was in charge of the southern countries and had the important function of viceroy of Kush,⁵² herewith also assuming the responsibilities of an overseer of the cattle of Amun in Kush (see for the patrons' titles Table 2 and the annex below). Amenhotep, Huy, apparently started his career in the upper military service as the title "lieutenant commander of the chariotry of his majesty"⁵³ suggests. Links between the high function of the "king's son of Kush" and "overseer of the southern countries" to military careers are well established in the New Kingdom.⁵⁴

III.2 NAY (TT 271)

Shortly later, in the time of Ay the owner of TT 271, Nay, lists as one of his functions *sš nfrw* "scribe of recruits", also a traditional military title. However, this position is also associated with building activities.⁵⁵ In the latter context, it would correlate to Nay's other high duties as an "overseer of works" and "overseer of royal quarters". In general, bonds between military and state and/or religious authorities would not be surprising, particularly for the reigns of Tutankhamun, Ay and Horemheb.⁵⁶ Nay further acted as a "royal scribe", "king's chamberlain", and "chief physician", emphasising his proximity to the pharaoh. Particularly striking is the

49 HELCK, JESHO 5, 241.

50 See the annex for details.

51 N. KAWAI, "The Administrators and Notables in Nubia under Tutankhamun", in: R. JASNOW/K. M. COONEY (eds.), *Joyful in Thebes. Egyptological Studies in Honor of Betsy M. Bryan, Material Culture and Visual Culture of Ancient Egypt 1*, Atlanta 2015, 309–313. Amenhotep, Huy, most probably was already in some offices during the reign of Akhenaten; SHIRLEY, in MORENO GARCÍA (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 602.

52 The position was later inherited by his son Paser, who served under Ay and Horemheb; SHIRLEY, in MORENO GARCÍA (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 603–604.

53 Also the sons of Amenhotep, Huy, served in the cavalry; A. M. GNIRS, *Militär und Gesellschaft. Ein Beitrag zur Sozialgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, SAGA 17, Heidelberg 1996, 134–135.

54 A. M. GNIRS, "Coping with the Army: The Military and the State in the New Kingdom", in: J. C. MORENO GARCÍA (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, HdO 1. *Ancient Near East* 104, Leiden 2013, 677–686.

55 GNIRS, in MORENO GARCÍA (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 668.

56 GNIRS, *Militär und Gesellschaft*, particularly 91–107; GNIRS, in MORENO GARCÍA (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 645–647; SHIRLEY, in MORENO GARCÍA (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 605–606.

fact, that Nay seems to be the only high official of our group, who has no special links to Amun or any other temple cult.

III.3 RAMOSE (TT 46)

Due to his title *jmy-r ssmwt n nb t3wy* “overseer of the horses of the lord of the two lands”, also Ramose, the owner of TT 46, was in a high military service as Gnirs has pointed out.⁵⁷ He also was in charge of activities related to the role of “overseer of the double granaries” during the times of Tutankhamun and Ay.⁵⁸ His other titles “steward of the temple of Aten” and “high priest of Amun in Menset”, the mortuary temple of Ahmes-Nefertari,⁵⁹ testify the close link between military, temple administration, and priestly functions for the immediate post-Amarna period. Working concurrently for the still operating Aten temple and acting as a high priest of Amun in a mortuary temple underlines that – just like in the beginning of the Amarna period – both cults were coexisting at the same time. However, Ramose is the only tomb owner of our group who attests this precise evidence. Instead, nine patrons can be associated with administrative, priestly, or artistic duties in religious contexts like notably the leading Amun cult.

III.4 NEFERHOTEP (TT 49)

Contemporary to Ramose (TT 46) and Nay (TT 271) and also related to the time of Ay is the tomb of Neferhotep (TT 49), who was a “chief scribe of Amun” and “overseer of the cattle and cows of Amun in Upper and Lower Egypt”, which is one of the highest functions within livestock breeding of the temple and refers to the strong component of largely agricultural economy.⁶⁰

III.5 USERHAT (TT 150)

Another patron, Userhat, was likewise in charge of animal breeding. For the owner of TT 150, the function of the “overseer of the cattle of Amun” is the only attested title and his career seems more related to middle ranks.

III.6 AMENMOSE, MESU (TT 254)

Amenmose, Mesu (TT 254) served in the treasury of Amun, also in a scribal function and in the estates of queen Tiye.⁶¹ He held the rare title of “senior supervisor of the treasury of the

57 Regarding the “Marschall des Herrn der beiden Länder”, see GNIRS, *Militär und Gesellschaft*, 19–29. For a contemporary overseer of horses in Saqqara: N. STARING, “The Late Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Ry at Saqqara (reign of Tutankhamun): Horemheb’s Chief of Bowmen and Overseer of Horses contextualized”, in: *RiME* 4, 16–61.

58 For the career of Ramose see: KAWAI, in D’AURIA (ed.), *Offerings to the Discerning Eye*, 209–215.

59 See the annex for the title.

60 EICHLER, *Verwaltung des “Houses des Amun”*, 73–91.

61 N. STRUDWICK, *The Tombs of Amenhotep, Khnummose, and Amenmose at Thebes* (nos. 294, 253, and 254), Griffith Institute Monographs, Oxford 1996, 56–57.

estates of Amun-Re”⁶² and worked as a “scribe of the treasury of Amun”. According to Eichler, he therefore also belonged to the middle ranks, which were connected to precise functions.⁶³ Interestingly, Amenmose also has another rare title, *jry (n) pr Tiy m pr Jmn* “Keeper of the estate of Tiy in the estate of Amun”,⁶⁴ which testifies to the ongoing functioning of a *pr Tiy* administrated by the Amun precinct in the post-Amarna period.⁶⁵ However, within the temple administration his position was – compared to the other tomb owners – rather low.

III.7 HATIAY (TT 324)

Among other titles, Hatiay (TT 324) also held the one of “scribe of the god’s offerings in the temple of Montu”. According to Eichler, this title indicates the starting point of a temple career.⁶⁶ Hatiay’s other functions are related to cults dedicated to several gods, where he notably acted as the “overseer of the prophets of all the gods” and as high priest of Sobek, Anubis and Khonsu.

III.8 AMENEMHAB (TT A8)

Amenemhab (TT A8) was an “overseer of granary of Amun” and thus related to the context of temple’s agriculture and land tenure, while his function as “mayor of the town” makes him a veritable administrative leader of the Theban area.⁶⁷ In addition he was a “true royal scribe” and “steward in the mansion of Amenhotep I on the west of Thebes”, thus certainly not of lower rank.

III.9 AMENEMOPET, IPI (TT 41)

Amenemopet, Ipi (TT 41), held a large degree of administrative control with the Amun precinct in Thebes and was certainly a leading figure of his time.⁶⁸ Among others, he acted as the “overseer of the cattle of Amun”, “overseer of the double granary of Upper and Lower Egypt”, and “overseer of the double granary of every house”. However, the most frequently mentioned functions of Amenemopet are “royal scribe” and “chief steward of Amun”, the latter is probably a shortened version of “chief steward of Amun in the southern city”. Furthermore, he served as the “royal chamberlain in the secret palace” and had leading priestly duties as “overseer of the prophets of Min and Isis”.

62 STRUDWICK, *Tombs of Amenhotep, Khnummose, and Amenmose*, 56–67; HELCK, *Verwaltung*, 182–192.

63 EICHLER, *Verwaltung des “Hauses des Amun”*, 134–135.

64 STRUDWICK, *Tombs of Amenhotep, Khnummose, and Amenmose*, 67.

65 EICHLER, *Verwaltung des “Hauses des Amun”*, 19.

66 Most of its holders until the time of Amenhotep otherwise have rather high titles; EICHLER, *Verwaltung des “Hauses des Amun”*, 165–167.

67 KATARY, in MORENO GARCÍA (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 487–488.

68 See for a study of his titles K.-J. SEYFRIED, “Soziale Stellung des Grabinhabers und Datierungsversuch”, in: J. ASSMANN (ed.), *Das Grab des Amenemope TT 41, Theben 3*, Mainz 1991, 204–219.

III.10 RAMOSI (TT 166)

As a contemporary of Amenemope, the tomb owner of TT 166, Ramosi, held high responsibilities over a variety of royal and Amun precinct's administrative needs. He was the "overseer of works in Upper and Lower Egypt", "overseer of works on all monuments of his majesty in Karnak", as well as the "overseer of works of Amun in the noble treasury of Amun-Re", and undoubtedly played a leading role at Thebes in the most prominent construction works at the time. In addition, he acted as the "overseer of scribes of truth of the lord of the two land" and in the agricultural units as an "overseer of cattle and cows".

III.11 PARENNEFER/WENNEFER (NO. -162-)

In the time of Horemheb, Parennefer/Wennefer (No. -162-) was still in charge as a high priest of Amun, clearly one of the most superior positions, which he probably already obtained in the reign of Tutankhamun.⁶⁹ His family came from Thinis and is one of the examples from the early post-Amarna period for a structure of inherited positions and with multiple relatives in leading positions.⁷⁰ The tomb is not yet fully published and apart from his service as high priest of Amun and Onuris, only very few functions such as "sealbearer of the king" are known. Nevertheless, his impressive tomb testifies that he was one of the highest key players in the Theban region.

III.12 SOBEKMOSI (TT 275)

Sobekmosi (TT 275) is another patron related to priestly services and not temple administration. However, he served as a "chief wab-priest" and "divine father" (?) in the temples of Sokar and Amenhotep III and seems to have attained only lower ranks, already for working on the west bank respectively in a subordinate mortuary cult.

III.13 NAKHT-MIN AND NU (TT 291) AND MAYA (TT 338)

Concerning the status and function of the remaining tomb owners, their career had a different course. For the patrons of TT 291 and TT 338, both in Deir el-Medineh, we can detect a modest status outside of the elite sphere. Nakht-Min and Nu (TT 291) were "servant in the great place" respectively "servant in the place of truth" and Maya, the owner of TT 338, was a "draughtsman of Amun in the Place of Truth".

69 Cartouches attest a palimpsest, that is Horemheb's name written above the one of Tutankhamun; F. KAMPP, "Vierter Vorbericht über die Arbeiten des Ägyptologischen Instituts der Universität Heidelberg in thebanischen Gräbern der Ramessidenzeit", in: MDAIK 50, 1994, 186 incl. note 45; F. KAMPP/K. J. SEYFRIED, "Eine Rückkehr nach Theben", in: *Antike Welt* 26/5, 1995, 336.

70 His brother was high priest of Min and Isis and his son inherited the position of high priest of Onuris; SHIRLEY, in MORENO GARCÍA (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 603.

III.14 SOCIAL STRATA SYNOPSIS

At first glance, it seems obvious that – unlike what Helck has stated – ten out of fifteen tomb owners served as overseers, stewards, as king’s son of Kush or even high priests, and accordingly in the highest administrative levels.⁷¹ Duties within the Amun cults and its administration played the most prominent role. It is only Nay (TT 271) from the time of Ay and the Deir el-Medineh tomb owners Nakht-Min and Nu (TT 291) that are not associated with temple cults. Nay (TT 271), Amenhotep, Huy (TT 40), and Ramose (TT 46) are linked to the military services, while all three tombs are dated no later than the time of Ay. As overseer of works in different institutions, Ramosi (TT 166) can be associated with large construction projects, which are attested for the reigns of Tutankhamun to Horemheb particularly in the Karnak and Luxor temples. Likewise, Amenemhab (TT A8) had high functions as the mayor of the town and overseer of the granaries of Amun, while Amenemopet, Ipi (TT 41), and the high priest of Amun Parennefer/Wennefer (No. -162-) were certainly of the highest rank in socio-economic terms and played a leading role in the Amun precincts of the Theban area.

Tomb Number and Owner	Proposed Dating	Main Function in State Administration and Military	Main Function in Temple / Cult Context
TT 40 Amenhotep, Huy	Tutankhamun	The king’s son of Kush, Overseer of the southern countries, Overseer of the gold-countries of the Lord of the Two Lands, King’s envoy to all foreign lands, Fan-bearer to the right of the king	Overseer of the cattle of Amun in this land Kush, Overseer of the gold-countries of Amun
TT 46 Ramose	Tutankhamun – Ay	Overseer of double granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt. Overseer of the horses of the lord of the two lands	Steward of the temple of Aten
TT 271 Nay	Ay	Overseer of the royal quarters, Overseer of works, Fan-bearer to the right of the king, Chief physician, King’s chamberlain, Scribe of recruits	
TT 49 Neferhotep	Ay		Chief scribe of Amun, Overseer of the cattle of Amun in Upper and Lower Egypt, Overseer of the cows of Amun in Upper and Lower Egypt
TT 254 Amenmose, Mesu	Ay – Horemheb		Senior supervisor of the treasury of the estates of Amun-Re, Scribe of the treasury of Amun, Keeper of the treasury of Amun, Keeper of the estate of Tiye in the estate of Amun, Scribe of the god’s father(s) of Amun

71 HARING, in: MORENO GARCÍA (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 622; and details in EICHLER, *Verwaltung des “Haus des Amun”*.

Tomb Number and Owner	Proposed Dating	Main Function in State Administration and Military	Main Function in Temple / Cult Context
TT 324 Hatiay	Ay - Horemheb		Overseer of the prophets of all the gods, High priest of Sobek, Anubis and Khonsu, Scribe of the temple of Monthu, Scribe of the god's offerings in the temple of Montu
TT A8 Amenemhab	Horemheb	Mayor of the town, True royal scribe, Steward in the mansion of Amenhotep I on the west of Thebes	Overseer of granary of Amun
TT 41 Amenemopet, Ipi	Horemheb - Sety I	Overseer of the double granary of the lord of the Two lands, Overseer of the double granary of Upper and Lower Egypt, Royal Chamberlain in the secret palace, True royal scribe, his beloved, Seal bearer	Chief steward of Amun in the southern city, Overseer of the granary of all gods, Overseer of the double granary of Min and Isis, Overseer of the double granary of gods, lord of eternity, Overseer of the prophets of Min (and) Isis, Festival leader of Amun, Festival leader of all gods
TT 166 Ramosi	Horemheb - Sety I	Overseer of works in Upper and Lower Egypt, Overseer of scribes of truth of the Lord of the two land, Overseer of cattle, Overseer of cows	Overseer of works on all monuments of his majesty in Karnak, Overseer of works of Amun, Overseer of works of Amun in the noble treasury of Amun Ra, Chief scribe of Amun
TT 275 Sobekmosi	Tutankhamun - Horemheb		Chief wab-priest / divine father in the temples of Amenhotep III, Divine father / chief wab-priest in the temples of Sokar
No. -162- Parennefer / Wennefer	Tutankhamun - Horemheb	Sealbearer of the king	High priest of Amun High priest of Onuris Overseer of priests of Upper and Lower Egypt
TT 291 Nakht-Min and Nu	Tutankhamun - Horemheb	Servant in the great place, Servant in the place of truth	
TT 338 Maya	Tutankhamun - Horemheb		Draughtsman of Amun in the place of truth
TT 150 Userhat	End of 18 th Dynasty		Overseer of the cattle of Amun
TT 152 Name lost	End of 18 th Dynasty	/	/

TABLE 2 Overview of the tomb owner's most relevant titles

The close connection with the Theban cult of Amun is also reflected in some of the private names. As a marginal note, it should be mentioned that four of our fifteen owners have theophoric names⁷² constructed with “Amun” (TT 40, 254, A8, 41). Considering the persecution aimed in particular at this prominent cult during the Amarna period, it seems very likely that they had changed their personal names at some point shortly after the decline of Amarna in order to underline their piety and bonds to the Theban network.⁷³ In the case of Nakht-Min (TT 291), at least a closeness to the Amun cults is given by using one of the god’s syncretistic focus. Three more owners include deities in their personal names, two of them are called Ramose (TT 46, 166) – directly embodying the solar cult – and another one named Sobekmesu (275).

In overall terms, it is obvious that for our group of tomb owners the Amun cults and its administrative setting are paramount. To some extent this finding underlines a changed social strata of the Theban necropolis, which became the burial place of local functionaries and supreme authorities in temple administration and was no longer the “place to be” for the Upper Egyptian’s elite. Amenhotep, Huy’s choice to become the viceroy of Kush might be related to the dating of the tomb directly after Amarna and also to his close bond with his predecessor in office.

IV. TRANSFORMING TRADITIONS TO INNOVATIONS: THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE CHAPEL

In this overview on post-Amarna developments any comprehensive analysis of tomb architectures seems to be out of reach and only some remarks and tendencies can be presented, hereby focussing on the morphology of the cult chapel and not the shafts, sloping passages or burial chambers.⁷⁴ F. Kampp has collected comprehensive architectural data about New Kingdom tombs in her seminal work on the Theban necropolis. She annotates that the division into chapel types is in some way arbitrary,⁷⁵ but until today her classification is most valuable and used as a basis also for the present analysis of the post-Amarna tombs.⁷⁶ She designates architectural changes, which indicate a conceptual adjustment between the Eighteenth Dynasty and the Ramesside period and defines a number of indicators, based on the

72 G. VITTMANN, “Personal Names: Structures and Patterns”, in: W. WENDRICH (ed.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles, 1(1), 3–5.

73 This applies in particular to officials already in duty during the time of Akhenaten, like e.g. Amenhotep, Huy. For similar changes of names, compare also the case of Meryre in Saqqara, who called himself Meryneith in the pre- and post-Amarna period; M. J. RAVEN/R. VAN WALSEM, *The Tomb of Meryneith at Saqqara*, PALMA 10, Turnhout 2014, 39–41. As for Amenhotep, Huy, in Thebes, Kawai considers it likely that he already served in office for Tutankhamun’s predecessors; KAWAI, in JASNOW/COONEY (eds.), *Joyful in Thebes*, 313.

74 Substructure, façade and courtyard require their own closer scrutiny, which cannot be given here due to the bad state of publication of most of the monuments.

75 KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole*, for an overview on the chapel types see, 1, 13 fig. 1; KAMPP-SEYFRIED, in STRUDWICK/TAYLOR (eds.), *Theban necropolis*, 2–10.

76 See the annex for details.

pivotal studies of J. Assmann and K.-J. Seyfried.⁷⁷ Fundamental is their division of the tomb in three horizontal levels: First, the superstructure above the tomb in the form of a chapel, the pyramid or a façade with a stelophorous statue, second, the courtyard and inner chapel, and third, the subterranean burial complex. These upper, middle, and lower levels in their understanding represent the function of solar cult and sun worship, the ceremonial cult and social monument to the tomb occupant, and the Osirian cult and the netherworld.⁷⁸ This schematization is indeed valuable for a general understanding of Theban tombs, however, for smaller monuments of the Eighteenth Dynasty the division between upper and middle level sometimes blurs. Kampp mentions that the façade plays a dominant role in this period, commonly adorned with funerary cones, but to separate the façade from the function of the courtyard appears a somewhat artificial division, particularly for non-Ramesseid tombs with almost no superstructure above the doorway. Only in a minority of cases a special niche was prepared above the entrance for a stelophorous statue and larger pyramids became only a typical element of the Ramesseid period. Supplementing this previous reading, it might be of value to consider aspects of “outside” and “inside”. Solar cult is strongly connected to open spaces and in our case relevant in the courtyard. Here the patron – by means of a stelophorous statue and/or a sun hymn – acts as a cult protagonist. By contrast, inside the Eighteenth Dynasty chapels the tomb owner is represented at large as a cult recipient, being emphasised as the main protagonist and a person of high status. The adoration of deities is of course also present, though, only in specific parts of the chapel such as the context of the false door, the stela, the funerary procession, and the main cult places. Particularly with the focus on solar cult and open temple architecture in the Amarna period, one of the relevant questions for the post-Amarna tombs seems more about light and darkness or, more precisely, the integration of solar aspects opposed to architectural forms, which embody other theological concepts like most of all Osiris and the hereafter in the underworld.

N. Strudwick in his article on change and continuity briefly discusses also the architecture and diagnoses some characteristic elements, which for him indicate the change from Eighteenth Dynasty to Ramesseid tombs, by mainly giving examples of the new Nineteenth Dynasty concepts.⁷⁹ For the Ramesseid tombs, he rightly detects a “higher degree of organisation in the layout of their different architectural elements” and that division into superstructure, chapel and substructure would be now much clearer. He also follows K.-J. Seyfried and J. Assmann interpretation that the superstructure in the Nineteenth Dynasty represents the solar aspect, while the chapel in this time functions as a temple to the deceased and the worshipped

77 K. J. SEYFRIED, “Entwicklung in der Grabarchitektur des Neuen Reiches als eine weitere Quelle für theologische Konzeptionen der Ramesseidenzeit”, in: J. ASSMANN/G. BURKARD/V. DAVIES (eds.), *Problems and Priorities in Egyptian Archaeology, Studies in Egyptology*, London 1987, 219–254; as for Jan Assmann only a selection of his substantial contribution can be given here: J. ASSMANN, “Priorität und Interesse: Das Problem der Ramesseidischen Beamtengräber”, in: J. ASSMANN/G. BURKARD/V. DAVIES (eds.), *Problems and Priorities in Egyptian Archaeology, Studies in Egyptology*, London 1987, 31–41; ASSMANN, in ASSMANN/DZIOBEK/GUKSCH/KAMPP (eds.), *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen*, 281–293; ASSMANN, *AfR* 6, 1–18; J. ASSMANN, “Das Grab mit gewundenem Abstieg. Zum Typenwandel des Privat-Felsgrabes im Neuen Reich”, in: *MDAIK* 40, 1984, 277–290.

78 KAMPP-SEYFRIED, in STRUDWICK/TAYLOR (eds.), *Theban necropolis*, 7–10, figs. 6–7.

79 STRUDWICK, in EYRE/LEAHY/MONTAGNO LEAHY (eds.), *Unbroken Reed*, 322–323.

gods.⁸⁰ An indicator in the architecture is the large pillared halls, which – like also Strudwick notes – has its roots back in the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁸¹ As for the substructures, he states that larger Ramesside tombs borrow features from royal architecture, such as pillars in the underground rooms, for which first traces go back to pre-Amarna times.⁸² Further he rightly points out that statues and financial means of the tomb owner highly affect the architecture. It seems obvious that building activities and the design of architecture are strongly related to professional affiliations and socioeconomic aspects, since the construction of a tomb requires a considerable number of workforces and valuable material. This issue has been specifically addressed by Rune Olsen, who focusses on very large “super tombs” opposed to “mini tombs”.⁸³ TT 254 in el-Khokha, belongs to the “senior supervisor of the treasury of the estates of Amun-Re, Amenmose, Mesu”⁸⁴ (see Table 2 and annex) and is listed by Olsen under “mini tombs”. Likewise, the small chapel of Maya (TT 338) in Deir el-Medineh received this classification.⁸⁵

IV.1 NAY (TT 271)

The only huge tomb of the here discussed corpus is TT 271, Nay (Figure 1),⁸⁶ in Qurnet Murai with a remarkable size of 728 m³. The large chapel type with two rows of ten pillars each is actually well attested before the Amarna period and is referred to as being almost exclusively build under Amenhotep III.⁸⁷ In fact, also for TT 271 it seems much more likely that the enormous and architecturally challenging construction was already started in the long reign of Amenhotep III. This prominent part of the tomb probably had stayed unfinished⁸⁸ and was later reused and adapted by Nay, who build a mudbrick pyramid above. Already the size of the superstructure, the pillared hall seems to indicate the period of Amenhotep III for the construction of the rock-cut architecture and not the short reign of Ay.⁸⁹ The occupation or subsequent use of an already existing building was actually a very common feature and is

80 See footnote 76.

81 See above with footnote 23.

82 Actually, it is not the reign of Amenhotep III as Strudwick mentions, but already the time of Amenhotep II, which includes this feature in the substructure. TT 96B, the decorated burial chamber of Sennefer, already has four pillars and an antechamber, which directly refers to royal models; PM I.1², 200–203.

83 R. R. OLSEN, Socioeconomic aspects of ancient Egyptian private tomb construction: A study on New Kingdom tomb volumetrics as economic markers, Copenhagen 2018.

84 STRUDWICK, Tombs of Amenhotep, Khnummose, and Amenmose, 56–57.

85 OLSEN, Socioeconomic aspects, 168 fig. 30, 170–171.

86 All illustrations of the chapel architectures given here do not correspond to the different size ratios.

87 Type VIII after: KAMPP, Thebanische Nekropole 1, 33. She lists only four later tombs: No. –277– and –281– for the period “A. IV/Ay”, the tomb of Nay, TT 271, for the time of Ay, and the Ramesside tomb TT 385. However better parts of this chapel type in her list date to the reign of Amenhotep III. For the specific architecture compare: EIGNER, MDAIK 39, 39–47. For the discussion on TT 271, No. –277– and –281– see also the discussion in the annex.

88 KAMPP, Thebanische Nekropole 2, 544–545.

89 Compare also OLSEN, Socioeconomic aspects, 138. Wasmuth underlines the striking proportions of a very large pillared hall and a rather short long hall, waiving a narrower doorway. Like Eigner she compares TT 271 with the similar features of No. –281– and –396–, dated to the reign of Amenhotep III; WASMUTH, Innovationen und Extravaganzen, 12–13 incl. note 25.

well attested in the Theban necropolis not only for much older monuments such as Middle Kingdom chapels.⁹⁰ Different from the large pillared hall, the vaulted chapel of the pyramid⁹¹ of TT 271 is constructed of mud bricks and probably was an addition of the post-Amarna period. Its wall paintings – the only part with figurative and textual decoration – can be dated by style to post-Amarna. Furthermore, the inscriptions in this pyramid chapel give a terminus *post quem* by naming the tomb owner Nay together with the cartouche of Ay.

IV.2 RAMOSE (TT 46)

Likewise, the tomb of Ramose (TT 46; Figure 2) made use of older architecture as Kampp pointed out.⁹² The chapel with open pillar façade in combination with a long and broad hall, is very characteristic for the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty.⁹³ Considering the reuse of an older building she notes for TT 46 several chapel types and calls it a special form of VIIc and VIb; both were common during the height of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

IV.3 AMENHOTEP, HUY (TT 40), AND NEFERHOTEP (TT 49)

With regard to the categories of the other chapels, it seems noteworthy that the “earlier” tombs in our list share the same architectural type (Figures 3 and 4). Amenhotep, Huy (TT 40) and Neferhotep (TT 49), both convincingly datable to the time of Tutankhamun and Ay, are listed under Kampp’s type VIb. It is defined by a broad hall, which is followed by a square shaped pillared hall with a cult niche. This precise form – characterised by the omission of a long hall – is attested before only once in the time of Thutmose IV/Amenhotep III (TT 239) and afterwards continues to be used during the Ramesside period.⁹⁴ Apparently, Amenhotep, Huy, and Neferhotep made use of a model, which was unconventional or even state of the art during the pre-Amarna period in Thebes. Interestingly this earlier tomb TT 239 in Dra’Abu el-Naga belongs to the “overseer of the northern land” Penhut,⁹⁵ who by his function was a colleague of older times for the “overseer of the southern lands” Amenhotep, Huy. TT 40 stayed widely unfinished and only the broad hall was decorated with wall paintings, while even both stelas at the front walls are only executed in very few preliminary outlines on *mouna* ground. The pillared hall has no decoration and the cult niche is barely cut out of the rock. In TT 239, it is only the broad hall that was decorated and the second room stayed unfinished. Furthermore, the two chapels even share some iconographic parallels, to which we will come back later. With regard to this particular chapel type, it should further be noted that it was used in Amarna, too, where the unfinished tomb of the

90 KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole* 1, 123–129.

91 KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole* 2, 544 with note 3, points out that the actual form of the superstructure cannot be reconstructed due to the bad state of preservation; yet, it seems very likely that it was a pyramid.

92 KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole* 1, 244.

93 KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole* 1, 21–22.

94 KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole* 1, 28–29, 40.

95 PM I.1², 326, 330; KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole* 2, 516.

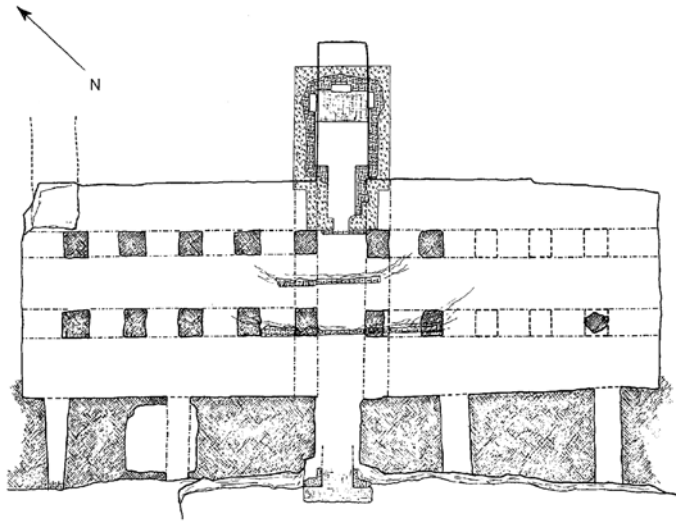


FIGURE 1 TT 271 (after KAMPP, Thebanische Nekropole 2, 544, fig. 440).

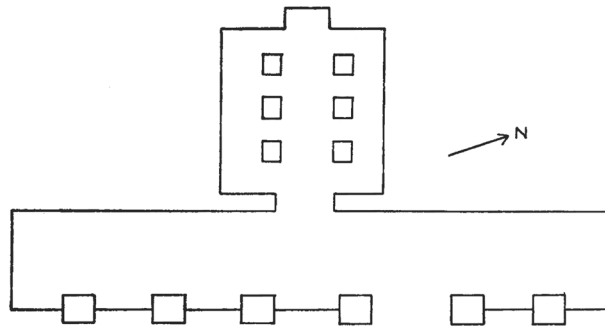
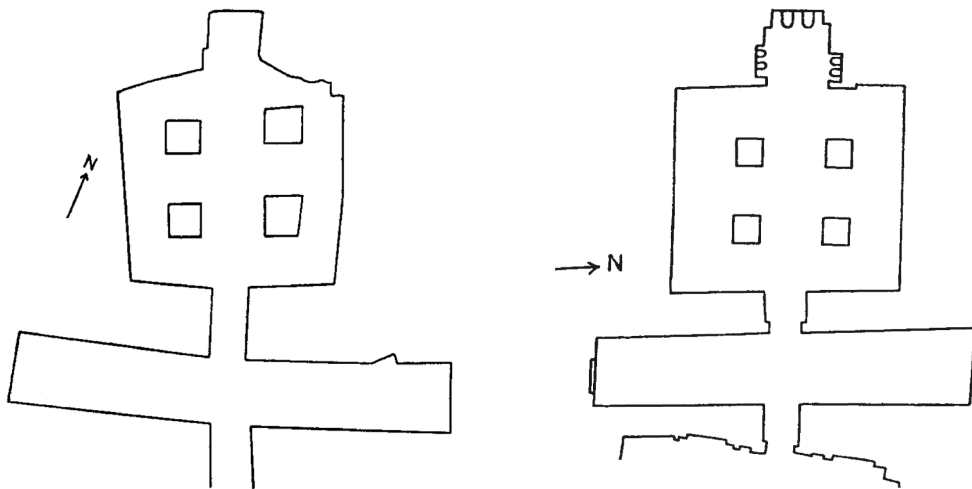


FIGURE 2 TT 46 (after PM I.1², 80).



FIGURES 3 AND 4 TT 40 and TT 49 (after PM I.1², 64 and 90).

“standard-bearer of the company of Neferkheprure-Waenre”, Suti (AT 15, South), chose this precise architectural form.⁹⁶

As for Neferhotep (TT 49) a new feature is the three parted statue shrine, which presents a rock-cut sitting couple not only as main cult recipient at the west wall but also at north and south side.⁹⁷ This is a unique feature for our group of tombs, however, the tomb of Khaemhet (TT 57) already presents rock-cut statues on three wall of the inner cult chamber in the time of Amenhotep III,⁹⁸ a monument which lies within walking distance to TT 49.

IV.4 HATIAIY (TT 324), RAMOSE (TT 166), AMENEMHAB (TT A8), SOBEKMOSI (TT 275), USERHAT (TT 150), AND ANONYMOUS TT 152

Hatiay (TT 324) and Ramose (TT 166) share the very common chapel type Vb (Figures 5 and 6).⁹⁹ The tombs are from the reign of Ay to Horemheb or in the case of TT 166 possibly a little later. They present a rather simple T-shape with a special niche that serves as a cult place, which is also evident for Amenemhab (TT A8), dated by Manniche to the time of Horemheb.¹⁰⁰ Three other tombs show this kind of chapel’s architecture, even though they cannot be dated precisely, they are certainly related to the late/end of Eighteenth Dynasty: The tombs of Sobekmosi (TT 275; Figure 7), Userhat (TT 150), and anonymous TT 152 (Figures 8 and 9).

IV.5 PARENNEFER/WENNEFER (NO. -162-)

Much more precisely datable is the impressive monument of Parennefer/Wennefer (No. -162-; Figure 10), who played an important role as a high priest of Amun during the reigns of Tutankhamun to Horemheb and was one of the key figures of his time in Thebes. Already the large mud-brick pyramid above the chapel singles this monument out for its time. Kampp defines his chapel as VIIb, a rather rare type with two pillared broad halls linked by a long hall and a final cult niche.¹⁰¹ After the long corridor, another small broad hall gives access to the two sloping-passages and includes – a unique evidence – two windows to the main cult chamber with its two pillars and a statue niche. Kampp proposes as model for this unusual window construction the royal tomb in Amarna or alternatively the “Säulenschranken” in the Amarna South tomb of Tutu (AT 08).¹⁰² Another striking feature of the tomb is, however, the main burial chamber with two columns, a pedestal for the sarcophagus – this is another parallel to the royal tomb in Amarna – and four niches in the north and south wall.¹⁰³

96 N. DE G. DAVIES, *The Rock Tombs of el Amarna. Part IV: Tombs of Penthu, Mahu, and Others*, ASE Memoir 16, London 1906, 25, plate 38; for an overview: J. ARP-NEUMANN, “Amarna: Private and Royal Tombs”, in: W. WENDRICH (ed.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles 2020, 14 Fig. 13D.

97 KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole*, 49–50. Unfortunately, she does not differentiate between rock-cut sculptures and free standing statues.

98 PM I.1², 118–119 (24, 26, 28).

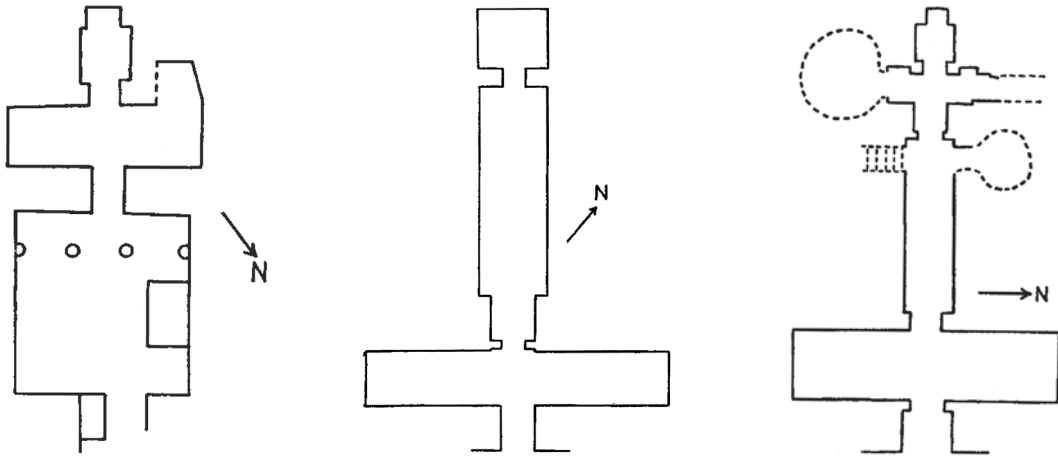
99 KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole* 1, 24–25.

100 See annex; unfortunately, no plan of the tomb has been published so far.

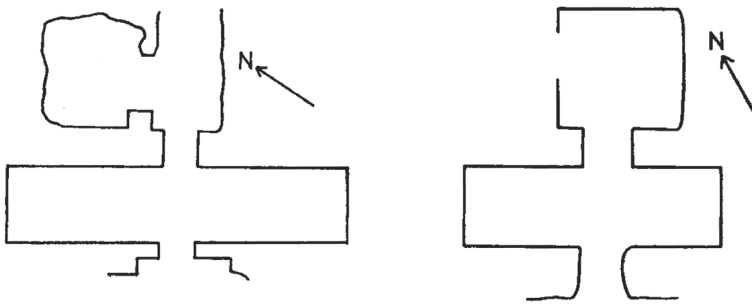
101 KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole* 1, 31.

102 KAMPP, *MDAIK* 50, 182–183; for tomb AT 08 see: ARP-NEUMANN, *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 14 Fig. 13.

103 KAMPP, *MDAIK* 50, 183 and further details in the annex.



FIGURES 5, 6, AND 7 TT 324, 166, and 275 (after PM I.1², 382, 272, and 348).



FIGURES 8 AND 9 TT 150 and TT 152 (after PM I.1², 256).

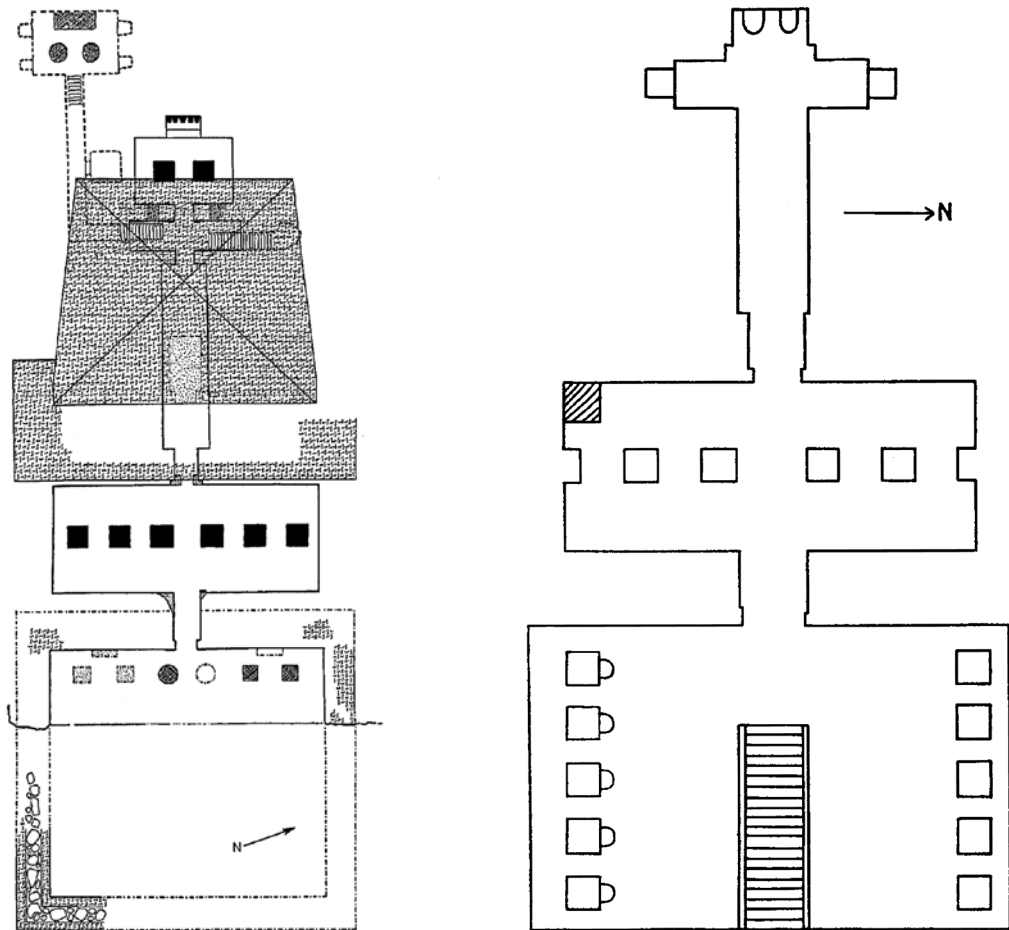
IV.6 AMENEMOPET, IPI (TT 41)

The large tomb of Amenemopet, Ipi (TT 41; Figure 11) shows a special type of VIIa, a combination of pillared broad hall, long hall and main chapel with cult niche.¹⁰⁴ In case of TT 41, the last room is a second broad chapel without pillars but including a large statue niche at the west wall. The recessed courtyard was left unfinished and is accessible via staircase cut into the bedrock. Further remarkable features are the Osiris pillars at the south porticos in the courtyard, which are noticeably deriving from temple architecture and find TT 157 as a parallel, a tomb that is dated to the first half of Ramesses II.¹⁰⁵ With regard to the main cult place, the west wall represents the sitting couple in the form of large rock-cut statues, while

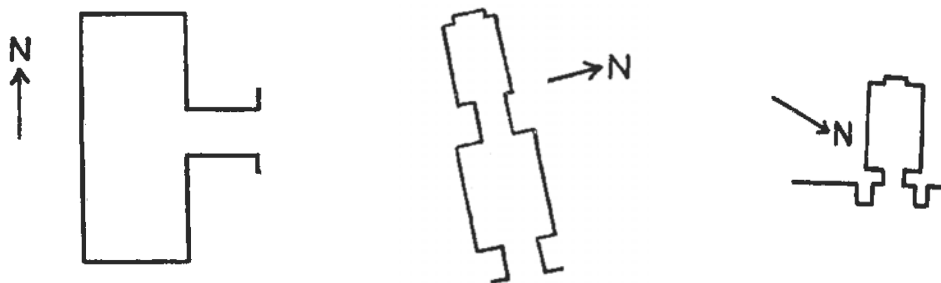
¹⁰⁴ KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole* 1, 30; for TT 41 also ASSMANN (ed.), *Das Grab des Amenemope* TT 41, 5–19.

¹⁰⁵ KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole* 1, 236, 445–447; PM I.1², 264, 266–268. In addition, the badly preserved Osiris pillars in TT 136 should be mentioned here; see for the tomb footnote 6.

the north and south wall have high up niches, most probably designated to accommodate free standing sculptures. The focus on three sides with statue groups would be comparable to Neferhotep (TT 49).



FIGURES 10 AND 11 No. -162- and TT 41 (after KAMPP, Thebanische Nekropole 2, 715, fig. 644, and PM I.1², 80).



FIGURES 12, 13, AND 14 TT 254, 291, and 338 (after PM I.1², 334, 370, and 400).

IV.7 AMENMOSE, MESU (TT 254), MAYA (TT 338), AND NAKHT-MIN & NU (TT 291)

Lastly, the much smaller monuments (Figures 12, 13 and 14) remain to be mentioned. Amenmose, Mesu (TT 254) is a “mini tomb” with the simple chapel type IIa, a form attested throughout the entire New Kingdom.¹⁰⁶ The two Deir el-Medineh tombs have a rather small and simple architecture too. The chapel of Maya (TT 338) is even listed as a “mini tomb”. Maya and Nakht-Min & Nu (TT 291) display a vaulted chapel of almost the same simple type, listed by Kampp as I and IIb.¹⁰⁷ As a minimal solution for a chapel, type I is attested for the entire New Kingdom as IIb.¹⁰⁸ The only discrepancy is that TT 291 has a large vaulted niche in the rear wall, while the chapel of Maya only includes a painted stela in this position.

IV.8 SYNOPSIS ARCHITECTURE

Overall, the architecture of Theban post-Amarna chapels is based on traditional forms of non-royal funerary monuments, while the more prominent tombs use established solutions as a starting point for innovations. At least two tomb owners saved resources by reusing older monuments (TT 271 and 46). Both men are connected with the short reign of Ay. The two other earlier tombs, TT 40 and 49, do not rely on pre-Amarna standard models but instead present a rather special chapel type, which was attested only once before in Thebes. These four patrons (TT 40, 46, 49, 271) all held higher positions such as “overseer” and “steward” together with other high-ranking titles, either in state and/or temple administration (see Table 2).

If we compare the function and rank of the tomb owners, at least to some extent, the architecture is linked to social ranks and status within the Theban community. The two patrons in Deir el-Medineh (TT 291 and 338) have only very simple chapels, one is even a mini tomb. The other owner with an extremely small tomb chapel is Amenmose (TT 254), who held several titles connected with the treasury of Amun, however, he has a less prominent function than most of the other patrons. Nevertheless, the choice of such a small and simple one-room chapel in the centre of el-Khokha for a person related to treasuries seems unexpected.¹⁰⁹ This case documents that our modern “logical conclusion”, that persons of middle rank have at least average monuments, does not always apply. This is also evident for some of the other patrons with perceived superior ranks such as “overseer of works” (TT 166), “overseer of cattle and cows” (TT 166), “overseer of the cattle of Amun” (TT 150), or “overseer of prophets” (TT 324). They all have a well-established T-shaped based chapel type (Vb), which stayed popular during the Ramesside period, instead of “fancy architecture”. The situation is quite different regarding Amenemopet (TT 41) and Parennefer/Wennefer (No. -162-), both of highest rank, and challenging the boundaries of traditional architecture in Thebes. The elements they integrated in their chapels are those that are otherwise employed in temples and even take the royal tomb in Amarna as their source of inspiration.

¹⁰⁶ KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole* 1, 17.

¹⁰⁷ KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole* 1, 16–18.

¹⁰⁸ Notice that Kampp does not list the Deir el-Medineh tombs in her statistics.

¹⁰⁹ Of course there are many factors involved in these choices and a person might have attained the office only at an advanced age, and thus was running out time. In such a scenario he might have either build a small tomb or – as was very common – reused an already existing monument.

V. HERE AND THERE: THE LOCATION IN THE NECROPOLIS

The necropolis of western Thebes extends for about three kilometres and – as Kampp rightly points out – it is arbitrarily subdivided in several sections by modern scholars.¹¹⁰ The borders of these different parts of the necropolis are indeed rather fuzzy; nevertheless, as a working instrument, the distinctions of certain areas can be beneficial to gain a better understanding of developments. The decisions where to place the tomb with all likelihood does not depend on a single reason and in modern research, we can only try to reconstruct its motivation. By the time of Tutankhamun, the most popular areas such as Sheikh Abd el-Gurna and the little hill of el-Khokha were already densely occupied and it was certainly not easy to find a free spot, providing solid rock for tomb building. Deir el-Medineh is a necropolis of second rank in the Eighteenth Dynasty and the interruption of the Amarna period does not substantially change this. Traditionally, the tombs in Deir el-Medineh are dealt with separately, even though in topographical terms, they are situated closer to Sheikh Abd el-Gurna or el-Khokha than the tombs in Dra'Abu el-Naga to the other ones. There is no doubt, the workmen's village and its cemetery were founded for a very specific reason and the context of the tombs is rather different compared to the Eighteenth Dynasty "elite" necropolis. Nevertheless, it would be surprising if the draughtsmen of Deir el-Medineh did not have any knowledge and awareness of monuments of the main necropolis in their close proximity and maybe even the other way round. However, the precise question of interrelation or discrepancies between the "elite cemetery" and the workmen's one still needs to be explored by future studies. The factors in the placement of the tombs are multiple, indeed. They are related to the physical environment, the quality of the rock, general chronological developments, and social strata of the patrons, their links to peers or predecessors,¹¹¹ or even "family complexes".¹¹² In addition, there obviously was a demand for the areas of the necropolis that facilitated a good access to main procession ways.¹¹³ Previous authors have also emphasized the links and proximity to other parts of the necropolis, to royal mortuary temples on the west bank and related causeways and of course the visual axis with the major point of reference, the dominant cult precincts in Karnak.¹¹⁴

As for our group of patrons (Figure 15), the easiest way to get hold of a tomb was to reuse an already existing monument, which eventually was left unfinished. Indeed, two of our tomb owners of the earlier group, TT 46 and TT 271, reused already existing monuments. For Nay, the chief physician and king's chamberlain, it appeared to be a logical choice to occupy a huge tomb – most probably from the time of Amenhotep III – and add some superstructure

110 KAMPP-SEYFRIED, in STRUDWICK/TAYLOR (eds.), *Theban necropolis*, 2.

111 See for examples the case of Dra'Abu el-Naga: JIMÉNEZ-HIGUERAS, *The sacred Landscape of Dra Abu el-Naga*, 105–138.

112 JIMÉNEZ-HIGUERAS, *The sacred Landscape of Dra Abu el-Naga*, 24–28.

113 HELCK, *JESHO* 5; EIGNER, *MDAIK* 39, 48–50; JIMÉNEZ-HIGUERAS, *The sacred Landscape of Dra Abu el-Naga*, 156–157 map 19, 221–238; RUMMEL, in GEISEN (ed.), *Ritual Landscape and Performance*, 90–94; RUMMEL, in NEUNERT/GABLER/VERBOVSEK (eds.), *Nekropolen: Grab – Bild – Ritual*, 207–219. For a general overview on Theban procession ways see: CABROL, *Les voies processionnelles de Thèbes*.

114 HELCK, *JESHO* 5, 243; L. HABACHI/P. ANUS, *Le tombeau de Nay à Gournet Mar'ei (No. 271)*, *MIFAO* 97, Le Caire 1977, 3–7; for a recent in-depth study of the visual axis see: JIMÉNEZ-HIGUERAS, *The sacred Landscape of Dra Abu el-Naga*, 161–220.

to an impressive pillared hall. After all, Qurnet Murai is the closest possible spot to his sovereign's Ay temple of Millions of Years.¹¹⁵

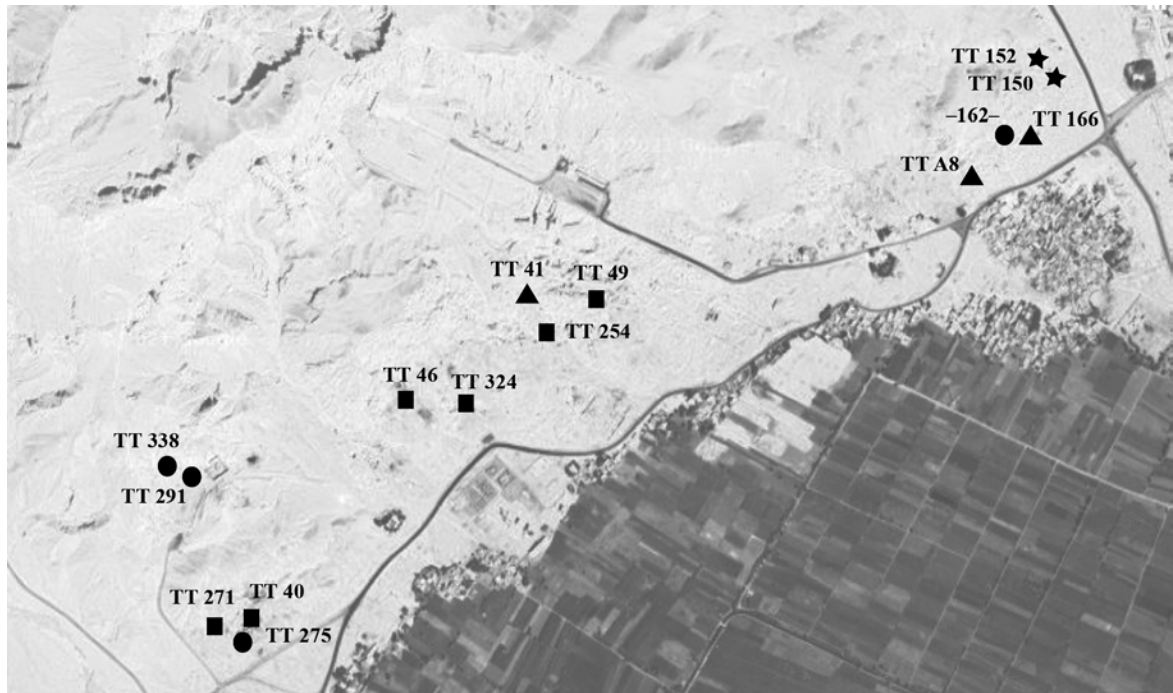


FIGURE 15 Approximate location of the tombs in the necropolis (squares: Tutankhamun to Ay; circles: Tutankhamun to Horemheb; triangles: Horemheb to Sety I; stars: end of Eighteenth Dynasty).

V.1 QURNET MURAI

As for Amenhotep, Huy (TT 40), the inducement to choose this area of the necropolis as a place for his tomb most likely was not the vicinity of a special royal temple. In fact, the existence of a memorial temple of Tutankhamun on the west bank is still under debate and it might be possible that his “House of Millions of Years” had not yet been built when the pharaoh died.¹¹⁶

115 Compare: HABACHI/ANUS, *Le tombeau de Nay*, 6; for Ay's mortuary temple, which was later used by Horemheb: PM II², 457–460; S. SCHRÖDER, *Millionenjahrhaus. Zur Konzeption des Raumes der Ewigkeit im konstellativen Königtum in Sprache, Architektur und Theologie*, Wiesbaden 2010, 99–101; C. LEBLANC, “Les châteaux des millions d'années: une redéfinition à la lumière des récentes recherches. De la vocation religieuse à la fonction politique et économique”, in: C. LEBLANC/G. ZAKI (eds.), *Les temples de millions d'années et le pouvoir royal à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire: sciences et nouvelles technologies appliquées à l'archéologie*, Memnonia: cahier supplémentaire 2, Le Caire 2010, 32.

116 L. GABOLDE, “Les temples mémoriaux de Thoutmosis II et Toutânkhamon (Un rituel destiné à des statues sur barque)”, in: BIFAO 89, 1989, 139–144; EATON-KRAUSS, *Unknown Tutankhamun*, 94–95; DODSON, *Amarna Sunset*, 83–84. For the textual evidences of a “House of the Millions of Years” for Tutankhamun, which was most probably built by Ay in Karnak see: M. ULLMANN, *Die Häuser der Millionen von Jahren: eine Untersuchung zu Königskult und Tempeltypologie in Ägypten*, ÄAT 51, Wiesbaden 2002, 185–197.

Nevertheless, for Amenhotep, Huy, the decision for Qurnet Murai can plausibly be explained by one of the neighbouring tombs. TT 40 lies directly next to TT 383, belonging to Merimose, the viceroy of Kush in the time of Amenhotep III and therefore an almost immediate predecessor in his office.¹¹⁷ Possibly, Amenhotep, Huy, is even identical with a certain “letter-writer” of the viceroy Merimose,¹¹⁸ which would constitute a closer professional bond between the two men and add another layer of explanation for the precise position of the tomb right next door.

For the owner of TT 275, we find a rather convincing answer, too, why his tomb lies in Qurnet Murai. Sobekmosi was a chief *wab*-priest/divine father in the temples of Amenhotep III (see Table 2 and annex) and apparently wanted his funerary monument in the direct neighbourhood of his “workplace”.¹¹⁹ For all three patrons in Qurnet Murai, the decision for this part of the necropolis seems related to their precise offices and professional spheres.

V.2 SHEIKH ABD EL-GOURNA

Only two funerary monuments of the post-Amarna period are located in Sheikh Abd el-Gourna, the most popular part of the necropolis at the height of the Eighteenth Dynasty, especially for the very powerful families of the time. Ramose is one of the earliest patrons of our group and decided to reuse a monument (TT 46) on the hill’s medium level.¹²⁰ This tomb lies in-between – only slightly higher – the most prominent vizier’s tombs of Rekhmire (TT 100) and his predecessor Useramun (TT 131).¹²¹ Directly above of TT 46, there is another vizier’s tomb, TT 83, which actually belongs to Aamethu, the father of Useramun and grandfather of Rekhmire.¹²² It is evident, that Ramose deliberately decided to occupy a monument in an area of utmost prestige, and thus being surrounded by very distinguished members of the most powerful family of the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.

In comparison to this exposed location, the spot, which was chosen for the tomb of Hatiaiy (TT 324) seems much less esteemed, since it lies at the bottom of the hill of Sheikh Abd el-Gourna. However, his “neighbour” is another prominent vizier: Ramose’s monumental tomb (TT 55) is not even 100 meter away and certainly was and is one of the most recognisable edifices of the entire necropolis.¹²³ The vizier Ramose was one of the key players during the transition period in the times of Amenhotep III and early Amenhotep IV. Concurrent reli-

117 See above footnote 25.

118 KAWAI, in JASNOW/COONEY (eds.), *Joyful in Thebes*, 310 with footnote 8. DAVIES/GARDINER, *Tomb of Huy*, 6, even speculate that Merymose might be the father of Amenhotep, Huy.

119 Apart from this “monumental statement” in the form of having the tomb in proximity to your former workplace, there might be also some arrangement of endowment, which maintained the funerary cult in the tomb by ensuring the continuous flow of offerings from the temple to the tomb; N. STARING, “From Landscape Biography to the Social Dimension of Burial: A View from Memphis, Egypt, c. 1539–1078 BCE”, in: N. STARING/H. T. DAVIES/L. WEISS (eds.), *Perspectives on Lived Religion. Practises – Transmission – Landscape*, PALMA 21, Leiden 2019, 213–218.

120 KAWAI, in D’AURIA (ed.), *Offerings to the Discerning Eye*, 209–210.

121 PM I.1², 206–214, 238, 245–247; KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole 2*, 370–373, 419–422.

122 PM I.1², 160, 167; KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole 2*, 330–332.

123 PM I.1², 105–111; KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole 2*, 262–265.

gious and social shifts are visualised in the large pillared hall of TT 55, which incorporates as “Blickpunktsbild” images in pre-Amarna as well as typical Amarna iconography and style.¹²⁴

V.3 EL-KHOKHA

Not very far away from TT 324 (ca. 350 m),¹²⁵ lies the tomb of Amenmose, Mesu (TT 254), which already belongs to the area called today el-Khokha. The small monument shares the courtyard with TT 294, TT 253 and a fourth tomb (D).¹²⁶ These earlier Eighteenth Dynasty monuments of Amenhotep (TT 294) and Khnummose (TT 253) belong to owners involved in agricultural activities,¹²⁷ while Amenmose, Mesu worked in the treasury. Hence, no obvious links can be established between the men based on their work sphere. However, Nefermenu (TT 365), a predecessor bearing the title of “scribe of the treasury of Amun”, is buried right next to Amenmose, Mesu.¹²⁸

Ca. 160 meters north lies TT 49, the much more prominent tomb of Neferhotep. Five Ramesside patrons later used the same courtyard as an entrance to their chapels and several small tombs of that very period lie in close proximity, too. The most prominent construction within a distance of not more than 100 m from TT 49, is the huge – almost temple-like – funerary monument of Amenemhat, Surer (TT 48), one of the highest officials of the time of Amenhotep III.¹²⁹ Hence, just like Ramose, one of the most significant tombs of the pre- and early Amarna period is located in close proximity to Neferhotep.

The third tomb in el-Khokha is the monumental tomb of Amenemopet, Ipi (TT 41). Regarding the architecture and location of TT 41, already Jan Assmann referred to the large constructions of the time of Amenhotep III, which form a loose chain of landmarks around the hill of el-Khokha. At the northwest Kheruef (TT 192) and the vizier Amenhotep,¹³⁰ at the east Amenemhat, Surer (TT 48), and at the southwest Nefersekheru (TT 107). Earlier Eighteenth Dynasty and later Ramesside period tombs surround TT 41. In addition, Eigner has pointed out that there is an old necropolis’ path going from north to south, functioning as a shortcut between the southern mortuary temples and the Asasif/Deir el-Bahari.¹³¹ Indeed, TT 41 is conveniently situated along this still existing alley and the precise spot of the tomb of Amenemopet, Ipi, might have been chosen for this reason, too.

124 N. DE G. DAVIES, *The tomb of Vizier Ramose*, MET 1, London 1941; for Amarna images like e. g. the Window of Appearance with the royal couple and Ramose receiving the “Gold of Honour”: plates XXXII–XXXVIII.

125 For the spatial distances between the different tombs see: P. A. PICCIONE/N. S. LEVINE, *Online Geographical Information System for the Theban Necropolis*, last accessed 20. 04. 2021; <https://scgis.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=cff7333a8b61461eb9d438d91c93ff61>.

126 STRUDWICK, *Tombs of Amenhotep, Khnummose, and Amenmose*, 1–6.

127 STRUDWICK, *Tombs of Amenhotep, Khnummose, and Amenmose*, 10–12, 23–25.

128 The tomb is dated to the time of Thutmose III: PM I.1², 427; KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole 2*, 591.

129 The cult chapel has four pillared halls; PM I.1², 87–91; KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole 2*, 248–251; for large tombs with several, pillared halls see: EIGNER, *MDAIK 39*, 42–44.

130 EIGNER, *MDAIK 39*.

131 EIGNER, *MDAIK 39*, 48–50.

V.4 DRA'ABU EL-NAGA

The rather large area of Dra'Abu el-Naga, the “forecourt of Amun”,¹³² is situated directly opposite the Karnak temple. Five tombs of our group are located here with the large monument of Parennefer/Wennefer (No. -162-) probably being the earliest of them. Jiménez-Higueras points out in her recent study on Dra'Abu el-Naga that there is a cluster of high priest of Amun in this part of the necropolis and that Parennefer/Wennefer just followed his predecessor May, No. -383-.¹³³ In any case, in the period of revival of Theban cults, it seems reasonable to locate your own tomb on a direct visual axis to Karnak, particularly if you are the high priest of Amun and want to emphasise your work sphere and its religious centre.

The same accounts for Ramose (TT 166), the direct neighbour of Parennefer/Wennefer's striking funerary monument. Being right next to a high priest of Amun was certainly prestigious and as an overseer of works of Amun and of works in Karnak Ramose probably took the Amun precinct as a point of reference, too. Further, U. Rummel has noticed that the temple of the God's wife Ahmes-Nefertari in Dra'Abu el-Naga was a landmark for some of the tomb owners, who even explicitly mention this “neighbourhood” – and Ramose is actually one of them.¹³⁴ Furthermore, TT 166 is one out of four tombs with the same type of architecture (A8, TT 166, 150, 152) in Dra'Abu el-Naga (see already Figures 6, 8 and 9). This evidence might be related to a rather common chapel form, however, also an orientation towards some neighbours in terms of architecture design cannot be generally ruled out. With regard to the possible social networks of these owners, it is difficult to trace them back, even though they are certainly evident for Dra'Abu el-Naga in general.¹³⁵ The tomb of Amenemhab (A8) is located a bit lower at the foot of the hill right above the tomb of Djehuty (TT 11) and Hery (TT 12), and thereby surrounded by early Eighteenth Dynasty and even older tombs.¹³⁶ However, almost nothing is known about tomb A8, but a reliable hint for his choice of Dra'Abu el-Naga seems to be one of his titles: “Steward in the mansion of Amenhotep I on the west of Thebes”. This temple of Millions of Years is supposedly located east of Dra'Abu el-Naga,¹³⁷ and it is very likely that – like we have seen in the case of the tomb owners in Qurnet Murai – also Amenemhab's functions and special bonds to a precise sanctuary prompted the decision for this very spot.¹³⁸

132 JIMÉNEZ-HIGUERAS, *The sacred Landscape of Dra Abu el-Naga*, 102–104; RUMMEL, in GEISEN (ed.), *Ritual Landscape and Performance*, 107–109; RUMMEL, in NEUNERT/GABLER/VERBOVSEK (eds.), *Nekropolen: Grab – Bild – Ritual*, 207–209.

133 JIMÉNEZ-HIGUERAS, *The sacred Landscape of Dra Abu el-Naga*, 244–245.

134 RUMMEL, in GEISEN (ed.), *Ritual Landscape and Performance*, 93.

135 JIMÉNEZ-HIGUERAS, *The sacred Landscape of Dra Abu el-Naga*, 105–138.

136 See the still valid overview: J. M. GALÁN, “Tomb-Chapels of the Early 18th Dynasty in Thebes”, in: J. MYNÁŘOVÁ/P. ONDERKA (eds.), *Théby. Město Bohů a Faraonů/Thebes. City of Gods and Pharaohs*, Prague 2007, 88–101.

137 M. ULLMANN, “The Temples of Millions of Years at Western Thebes”, in: R. H. WILKINSON/K. R. WEEKS (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Valley of the Kings*, Oxford 2016, 419, 422–423; LEBLANC, in LEBLANC/ZAKI (eds.), *Les temples de millions d'années*, 20.

138 This is also visualised in scene in the chapel showing the “deceased, wife, and parents (?), adore Amenhotep I and Ahmosi Nefertere in kiosk”; PM I.1², 450.

TT 150 and 152 are both situated in the less prestigious part, the northern rim of Dra'Abu el-Naga, which lacks an obvious visual axis to the most important Theban landmarks. Nothing is known about the owner of TT 152 but Userhat (TT 150) served as "Overseer of the Cattle of Amun", which makes the "forecourt of Amun" a logical choice for a tomb building.

V.5 DEIR EL-MEDINEH

As for TT 291 and TT 338, they are both located in the northern part of the western cemetery of Deir el-Medineh. Due to their status and function as servants in the great place/place of truth respectively as draughtsmen of Amun in the place of truth, it is easy to imagine that they literary had no other choice. However, by that time, better parts of the tombs had not yet been in existence in the necropolis of Deir el-Medineh and some of the best spots were still available. Maya's chapel (TT 338) is right next to TT 8, belonging to the "overseer of works" Kha from the time of Amenhotep II to Amenhotep III,¹³⁹ which probably was one of the main tombs during the Eighteenth Dynasty in Deir el-Medineh. Due to its high pyramid of eventually more than nine meters, it certainly was a special landmark of the village's necropolis at that time.¹⁴⁰ The small tomb of TT 291 is also located close by, just a little bit southeast from TT 383.

V.6 SYNOPSIS TOMB LOCATION

Overall, it is somewhat surprising that post-Amarna patrons neglected the Asasif, even though with Kheruef (TT 192) and Parennefer (TT 188) the religious transmission period of late Amenhotep III and early Amenhotep IV had already accessed this area, which was actually still less crowded than others parts of the necropolis.

Yet, if we trust the here proposed chronological frame for the tombs, there seems to be a tendency of the earliest patrons to use the most popular areas of the necropolis during the height of the Eighteenth Dynasty and the time of Amenhotep III, such as Sheikh Abd el-Gourna, el-Khokha, and Qurnet Murai. By the time of Horemheb, Dra'Abu el-Naga became much more popular again. This was in all likelihood related to the direct visual link to Karnak and the proximity to important procession ways. Interestingly, it is generally assumed that only by the time of Horemheb the Amarna iconoclasm/erasure started and that the very concept of "restoration" activities had changed at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, while Tutankhamun and Ay had still much stronger ties to Akhenaten.¹⁴¹ It seems evident, that particularly the tomb owners in the "forecourt of Amun" tried to emphasise their bonds to the dominating Karnak precinct. The private tomb chapels hereby served as a "monumental statement" within their Theban social-professional and religious sphere. With regard to the slightly earlier tombs, their location seems to be more connected to precise offices, as it is also the case for Parennefer/Wennefer (No. -162-), who followed his precursor as high priest of Amun to Dra'Abu el-Naga. The tomb locations of Amenhotep, Huy (TT 40) and Nay (TT 271) obviously demonstrate strong ties to the predecessor in office and the immediate royal work sphere. Ramose, the owner of

¹³⁹ PM I.1², 2, 16–18; M. TOSI, *La cappella di Maia*, Museo Egizio di Torino: Quaderno 4, Torino 1970, 3.

¹⁴⁰ See discussion on the pyramid: KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole 1*, 188–190.

¹⁴¹ DODSON, *Amarna Sunset*, 119–126; VAN DIJK, in SHAW (ed.), *History of ancient Egypt*, 284–285.

TT 46, decided to link his funerary cult and afterlife to the leading families of earlier times. The choice to occupy a tomb, which is surrounded by former viziers of the time of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III is particularly interesting since it underlines a general historical knowledge and thinking as well as a deliberate link to the necropolis's past and its famous "ancestors". A monumental connection to dominant viziers and the highest administrative sphere of the pre-Amarna periods is also attested for the tombs of Neferhotep (TT 49), Hatiay (TT 324), and Amenemopet (TT 41). As for the latter, the convenient location might have also been one of the reasons, why he did not chose Dra'Abu el-Naga but went for el-Khokha. For the very small tomb of Amenmose, Mesu (TT 254) this area of the necropolis might have been chosen as well for its links to predecessors and famous ancestors. Even the tombs in Deir el-Medineh attest the desire for prominent neighbours, whose funerary monuments were visible landmarks in the necropolis. To link oneself to the past might have been predominantly relevant in times of renewal and restoration of balance.

VI. FROM OLD TO NEW SHORES: THE TOMB DECORATION

In the case of the post-Amarna tomb, the concept and composition of the chapels seems of particular interest as well as the question regarding their sources of inspiration. In times of a new beginning, of significant social and religious changes, we can either expect a notion of looking backwards, a certain vision to reuse establishes models,¹⁴² or on the contrary, a desire to reach out for new territories. It appears to be essential whether the post-Amarna tombs did search for a continuation of classical Theban image traditions, cherished links to recent Amarna solutions or were reaching out for fundamental new grounds. We can assume that in this process, the patrons together with the main conceptualising artists played the key roles.¹⁴³ The significant change of the overall tomb concepts and developments at the very end of the Eighteenth Dynasty and early Ramesside period has been pointedly called the "Sakralisierung des Grabgedankens".¹⁴⁴ The noteworthy religious shift, which took place in the aftermath of Amarna and the immediate post-Amarna years naturally had a massive impact and is of particular relevance for the non-royal tombs of the time of Horemheb and shortly after.¹⁴⁵ Even

142 See for established pre-Amarna tomb decoration: WEGNER, MDAIK 4, 38–164; ENGELMANN-VON CARNAP, Struktur des thebanischen Beamtenfriedhofs; HARTWIG, Tomb Painting and Identity; A. EL-SHAHAWY, Recherche sur la décoration des tombes thébaines du Nouvel Empire. Originalités iconographiques et innovations, IBAES XIII, London 2010; E. HOFMANN, Im Auftrag des Grabherrn, Aspekte der Kunst in thebanischen Privatgräbern des Neuen Reichs, Heidelberg, without year.

143 For an overview on artists: D. LABOURY, "Tracking Ancient Egyptian Artists, a Problem of Methodology. The Case of the Painters of Private tombs in the Theban Necropolis during the Eighteenth Dynasty", in: K. A. KÓTHAY (ed.), Art and Society. Ancient and Modern Context of Egyptian Art, Proceedings of the International Conference held at the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, 13–15 May 2010, Budapest 2012, 199–208; D. LABOURY, "Designers and Makers of Ancient Egyptian Monumental Epigraphy", in: V. DAVIES/D. LABOURY (eds.), The Oxford Handbook of Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography, New York 2020, 85–101.

144 ASSMANN, AfR 6, 1–18.

145 ASSMANN (ed.), Das Grab des Amenemope TT 41, 7; ASSMANN, MDAIK 40, 277–290; ASSMANN, in ASSMANN/DZIOBEK/GUKSCH/KAMPP (eds.), Thebanische Beamtennekropolen, 281–293; M. FITZENREITER, "Totenverehrung und soziale Repräsentation im thebanischen Beamtengrab der

the well-known “Bildstreifenstil”, which became a prominent feature of Ramesside tombs, has been interpreted in this context.¹⁴⁶

Tomb chapels are in general very complex artworks, which make imperative a multi-perspectivity of analysis and a holistic approach for studying and recording them of vital importance.¹⁴⁷ Having stated this, nonetheless, we have to admit that for the Theban post-Amarna funerary monuments we face a rather poor state of documentation and insufficient publication of most of the tombs. In addition, interpretations of the cult chapels’ decorative programs are complex due to the fact that many monuments in the Theban necropolis have been kept widely unfinished; in our group the best-known example is TT 40.¹⁴⁸ Accordingly, these kinds of misalignments challenge any evaluation of the chapel’s decoration or their envisioned program. Moreover, for any thorough art historical analysis, which is beyond the scope of basic iconography, a visual examination is always mandatory,¹⁴⁹ and unattainable in the given context of this article. The latter particularly counts for stylistic matters asking for a specific focus on details, which cannot be deduced from line drawings and for this reason shall not be discussed in the scope of this article. It is unmanageable to fully classify the tomb decoration of the discussed corpus and we can only scratch the tip of the iceberg here. Indeed, each of these monuments would call for thorough analyses of its own on iconography, style, and artist’s techniques. With regard to stylistic peculiarities and certain iconographic developments of post-Amarna tombs, at least E. Hofmann’s analyses can be considered as pivotal.¹⁵⁰ Instead, this outline on Theban post-Amarna developments shall highlight selected examples and contribute some general remarks. Hereby, the main focus will be on the earlier tombs of our group, since the time of Horemheb and its non-royal funerary monuments have already received more attention by previous authors.¹⁵¹

N. Strudwick in his article on change and continuity of private tombs after Akhenaten and until early Ramesside times, grounds his results on some diagnosed “decorative features” such as changes in the depictions of offering piles, frieze types, the text background, and the representations of Osiris and the Sons of Horus.¹⁵² Among others, he mentions the funeral

18. Dynastie”, in: SAK 22, 1995, 124–126; STRUDWICK, in EYRE/LEAHY/MONTAGNO LEAHY (eds.), *Unbroken Reed*, 326–331.

146 ASSMANN, in ASSMANN/BURKARD/DAVIES (eds.), *Problems and Priorities*, 31–41.

147 Compare also: D. POLZ, “Zur Genese thebanischer Nekropolen”, in: G. NEUNERT/K. GABLER/A. VERBOVSEK (eds.), *Nekropolen: Grab – Bild – Ritual, Beiträge des zweiten Münchner Arbeitskreises Junge Ägyptologie (MAJA 2)*, GÖF 4/Ägypten 54, Wiesbaden 2013, 197–205.

148 Not even the broad hall was fully decorated. Remarkably, even both secondary cult places in the form of two stelae were left unfinished with only few preliminary lines in white colour applied, while the pillared hall is only roughly cut and no decoration except for some coarse priming coat was applied. NI DE G. DAVIES/A. H. GARDINER, *The Tomb of Huy, Viceroy of Nubia in the reign of Tut’ankh-amun (no. 40)*, *The Theban tombs series 4*, London 1926, 31–32, plates XXXV–XXXVI.

149 G. PIEKE, “Recording Epigraphic Sources as Part of Artworks”, in: V. DAVIES/D. LABOURY (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography*, New York 2020, 129–144.

150 HOFMANN, *Bilder im Wandel*, 5–25.

151 In particular TT 254 and TT 41.

152 STRUDWICK, in EYRE/LEAHY/MONTAGNO LEAHY (eds.), *Unbroken Reed*, 323–326; as for the yellow background of the text in the case of TT 40, he overlooked the fact that almost any representation of the tomb owner is a later restoration of the early Ramesside period. In this context, also the characteristic texts on yellow ground were added; see the annex for details.

procession in TT 49, which according to him already integrates Ramesside elements, hitherto still unsettled in terms of the final form of the composition. But most of all, he states that Amarna tombs did not particularly influence the later wall decoration in Thebes except for the style, while those tombs such as TT 40, 49, and 254 would rather seek for links to the pre-Amarna period.¹⁵³

VI.1 PARENNEFER/WENNEFER (NO. -162-)

Notably the interpretation that Amarna would not have left any physical impact on Theban tombs certainly requires a reassessment. This reading has been refuted ever since by the discovery of the tomb of Parennefer/Wennefer (No. -162-). It presents not only direct links to Amarna in its architecture,¹⁵⁴ but also by its striking imagery. In particular, the outstanding depiction of Akhenaten's solar hymn as part of the chapel decoration (Figure 16) testifies to a rather strong Amarna influence of pictorial representations and their transfer to Theban tombs.¹⁵⁵ Further, this chapel of a high priest of Amun significantly underlines that there was no clear cut division in terms of religion nor with regard to the visual "language" of Amarna, at least not yet during the times of Tutankhamun and Ay.¹⁵⁶ Instead, old and new images existed next to each other or, as the case may be, were creatively combined to new solutions. Parennefer/Wennefer's chapel embodies themes such as the outstanding Aten hymn's representation but also a Theban procession for the "holy vase of Amun" or a classical banquet scene. The Amarna motif of the royal couple travelling through the city in a chariot was in Thebes reinterpreted to the patron's return from travelling. Here Parennefer/Wennefer arrives at the Amun temple, whose magazines are depicted in a way that they directly match representations of the Aten temples in Karnak and Amarna. The long hall of No. -162-, however, features a traditional pre-Amarna program with funerary procession, offerings for the tomb owner, and the opening of the mouth. Yet, all this in combination with the Aten hymn's visualization, is unmistakably a pure Amarna motif. In addition to this striking thematic display, Kampp and Seyfried pointed out several stylistic parallels to Amarna and Hoffmann speaks of "Stilpluralismus" attested in the chapel.¹⁵⁷

153 See above; STRUDWICK, in EYRE/LEAHY/MONTAGNO LEAHY (eds.), *Unbroken Reed*, 330.

154 See comments above and the annex.

155 Remarkably, the parallel in Amarna is the royal tomb; otherwise a *talatat* block from Karnak; KAMPP/SEYFRIED, *Antike Welt* 26/5, 340–241, figs. 31–32 F. KAMPP-SEYFRIED, "Es lebt Re-Harachte, der im Lichtland jubelt: ein 'Glaubensbekenntnis' ohne Worte aus der Nachamarnazeit", in: H. GUKSCH/E. HOFMANN/M. BOMMAS (eds.), *Grab und Totenkult im alten Ägypten*, München 2003, 122–126.

156 Likewise: HOFMANN, *Bilder im Wandel*, 14. In addition, see above and the annex for the titles of Ramose (TT 46), which attest to the still open Aten temple.

157 See for all the mentioned motifs of No. -162- and related parallels: KAMPP/SEYFRIED, *Antike Welt* 26/5, 333–341; KAMPP, *MDAIK* 50, 185–188; HOFMANN, *Bilder im Wandel*, 11–14.



FIGURE 16 Visualization of the Aton hymn in the tomb of Parennefer/Wennefer (after KAMPP, in GUKSCH et al. (eds.), *Grab und Totenkult*, 125, Abb. 3).

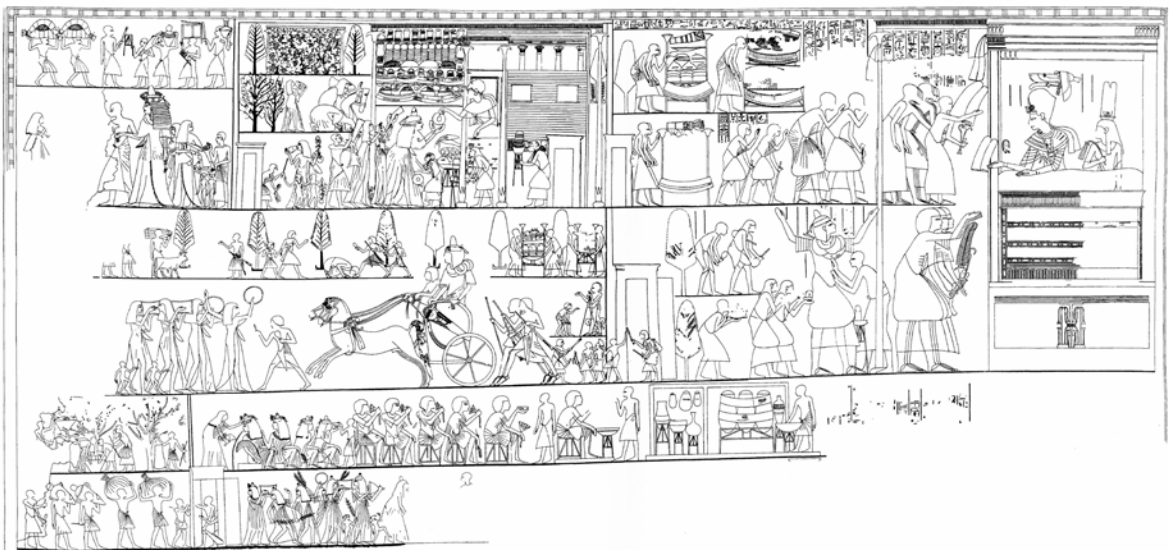


FIGURE 17 Broad hall, left rear wall of TT 49 (after DAVIES, *Tomb of Nefer-Hotep I*, plate I).

VI.2 NEFERHOTEP (TT 49)

Clear Amarna references are further expressed in the tomb chapel of Neferhotep, which next to Parennefer/Wennefer is the largest decorated tomb of the pre-Horemheb time. L. Manniche states, with regard to this chapel, that Neferhotep was aware of the need of having a proper funerary cult and for this reason decided to dedicate one entire wall of this chapel to names and dates of festivals and rites to be carried out.¹⁵⁸ Very unusual for a Theban tomb is the representation of funerary scenes in the broad hall and not in the interior rooms of the chapel. Remarkably, both near walls of the transversal hall in TT 49 depict images of burial processions, while an Osiris and Hathor kiosk and related funerary rituals are used as “Blickpunktsbild”¹⁵⁹ at the right back wall of this entrance room.¹⁶⁰ The counterbalancing focal image in the left rear part of this hall highlights the image of a Window of Appearance¹⁶¹ with Neferhotep receiving the “Gold of Honour” by Ay (?) and a queen (Figure 17). Rather striking is the subject matter of the scene to the left of it, which shows the patron’s wife being rewarded, too, this time by a queen leaning out of a window.¹⁶² Below, Neferhotep returns from his own ceremony in a chariot and is welcomed by musicians. The two bottom registers – as far as discernible from the state of preservation – depict banquet scenes including servants bringing provisions.

The general concept of this left focal wall presents numerous registers and sub-registers in a rather irregular arrangement, with several doors of different height indicating an indoor setting for some of the sub-themes. The main representations of the patron and his wife are downsized to almost general height of minor figures and thereby break with the traditional principle of hierarchical proportions. The repeated image of Neferhotep, who is rewarded and subsequently leaves in a chariot in the opposite direction, where he is celebrated, leads to a certain polychronic “story telling” enfolded over the entire picture plane.¹⁶³ The specific wall concept and applied compositions clearly challenge the classical Theban tradition and instead better derive from small-sectioned “*talatat* art”. Also thematically, the depiction of awarding jewellery at the Window of Appearance in lieu of a royal kiosk refers to Amarna tombs. In fact, this particular composition appears to be inspired by the layout in the cult

158 MANNICHE, *City of the dead*, 63.

159 After Arnold this term refers to images mainly on back walls, which are extremely traditional, rather solidified in their form, and abstracted from visible processes; D. ARNOLD, *Wandrelief und Raumfunktion in ägyptischen Tempeln des Neuen Reiches*, MÄS 2, Berlin 1962, 128.

160 N. DE G. DAVIES, *The tomb of Nefer-Hotep at Thebes I*, PMMA EE 9, New York 1933, plates II, XX–XXIV. For a discussion of the Osiris scene see: V. PEREYRA/S. FANTECHI/A. ZINGARELLI, “Figuration of an Egyptian Theban Tomb Belonging to Ay’s Reign: TT 49”, in: *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists – Actes du neuvième congrès international des égyptologues II*, OLA 150/2, Leuven 2007, 1486–1487.

161 M. M. KLOSKA, “The Symbolism and Function of the Window of Appearance in the Amarna Period”, in: *Folia Praehistoric Posnaniensia XXIV*, 2019, 77–98.

162 V. PEREYRA DE FIDANZA, “A Queen Rewarding a Noblewoman in TT49”, in: K. M. CIALOWICZ/J. A. OSTROWSKI (eds.), *Les civilisations du bassin Méditerranéen: hommages à Joachim Śliwa*, Cracovie 2000, 173–184.

163 F. A. ROGNER, “Zeit und Zeitlichkeit im ägyptisch Flachbild. Wege zur Analyse bildlicher Narrativität im Alten Ägypten”, in: D. SEROVA/B. BACKES/M. W. GÖTZ/A. VERBOVSEK (eds.), *Narrative: Geschichte – Mythos – Repräsentation*, Beiträge des achten Berliner Arbeitskreises Junge Ägyptologie 1. 12.–3. 12. 2017, BAJA 8, Wiesbaden 2019, 84 Abb. 1.

chapels of Panehesy or Huya in Amarna and not by the nearby Theban tomb of Ramose (TT 55), which is one of the earliest images of an award ceremony at a Window of Appearance.¹⁶⁴

The famous temple scenes on the north wall of the pillared hall in TT 49 represent a large picture cycle as well, now focusing on Neferhotep's duties in temple administration (Figure 18). In the upper right part, he receives the bouquet of Amun, which he hands to his wife as soon as he has left the Karnak precinct, while ships arrive at the temple's harbour. On the far left and below, miscellaneous farming activities including wine making refer to the temple's agricultural holdings, whose products are delivered to large magazines, depicted on the lower right and thereby visually directly linked to the temple.

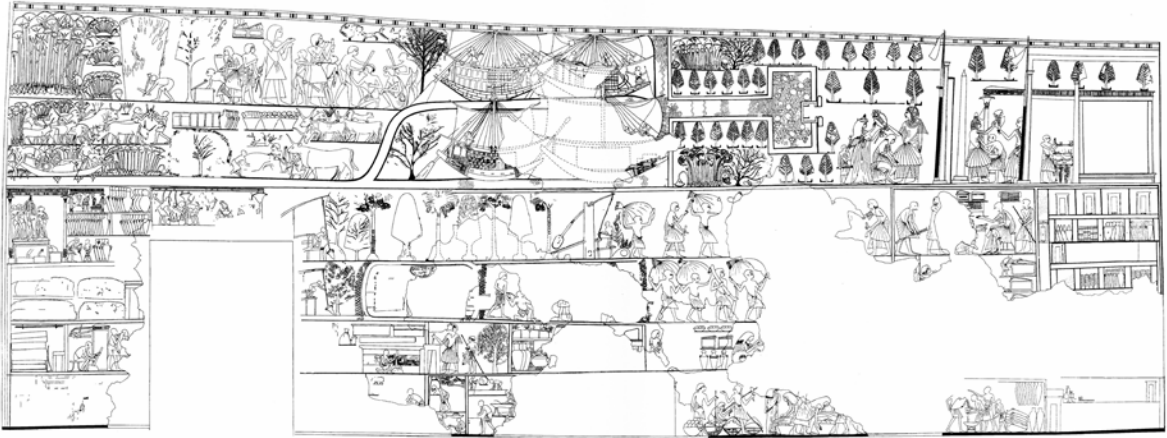


FIGURE 18 North wall of the pillared hall of TT 49 (after DAVIES, Tomb of Nefer-Hotep I, plate III).



FIGURE 19 Ceiling decoration of the inner doorway in TT 49 (after DAVIES, Tomb of Nefer-Hotep II, plate LVI).

164 N. DE G. DAVIES, *The Rock Tombs of el Amarna. Part II: Tombs of Panehesy and Meryra II*, ASE Memoir 14, London 1905, plate X; N. DE G. DAVIES, *The Rock Tombs of el Amarna. Part III: Tombs of Huya and Ahmes*, ASE Memoir 15, London 1905, plate XVI. For TT 55 see N. DE G. DAVIES, *The tomb of Vizier Ramose*, MET 1, London 1941, plates XXXIII–XXXV.

It is not only the conceptual layout of both of these large walls, which demonstrates the significant impact of Amarna art. In fact, the positioning of scenes with several subject matters in TT 49 seems to be inverted to the classical arrangement of themes within Theban non-royal chapels, at least to a certain extent. Instead of representing the status-oriented images in the broad hall and the funerary cult scenes in the second room and thereby in close proximity to the main cult place, it is the first chamber that displays the burial procession at large, cultic rites by priests and worshipping Osiris and Hathor as a focal image. Also the offering on a brazier by the patron and his wife, normally the standard theme right next to the entrance at the near wall of the broad hall, has here moved to the east side of the north-east pillar in the second room.¹⁶⁵ Another break with Theban tradition is the decoration of the inner doorway, which depicts the entering patron embraced by his dead parents on the left side and Neferhotep and his wife receiving water and bread from the tree-goddess on the right. Most striking, however, is the ceiling of this passage, which displays not the traditional polychrome patterns but instead a group of flying birds and butterflies (Figure 19).¹⁶⁶ This motif features a remarkable reference to palace decoration either in Amarna or Malqata. Strong links to Amarna and/or Theban palatial decoration are evident for this very image but are also established on a semantic level by the above mentioned representation of the palace itself as well as the Window of Appearance and the queen's residence, at the focal wall around the corner of the ceiling.¹⁶⁷

Apart from transmission of Amarna motifs and related compositional choices, also image adaptations from nearby Theban funerary monuments are clearly attested in TT 49. A connection between the tombs of Neferhotep and TT 181 has already been briefly mentioned by previous authors with regard to the usage of an Osiris kiosk as a focal image in the transversal hall.¹⁶⁸ References to the tomb of Nebamun/Ipuky (TT 181) from the time of Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV¹⁶⁹ can additionally be noted for motifs as part of the burial procession, which runs on several registers and on both sides of the entrance in TT 49.¹⁷⁰ S. Wohlfahrt in her study on burial equipment pointed out the unusual similarities of grave

165 DAVIES, *The tomb of Nefer-Hotep II*, plate L.

166 DAVIES, *The tomb of Nefer-Hotep II*, plate LVI.

167 Compare also for palatial evidences: P. C. SALLAND, *Palatial Paintings and Programs. The Symbolic World of the Egyptian Palace in the New Kingdom (c. 1550–1069 BCE)*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, New York University 2015, 186–194. The somewhat later tombs TT 6 – the owner shares the same name Neferhotep (compare annex) – and TT 31 take up this ceiling design and likewise represents birds. TT 6: PM I.1², 14 (4); H. WILD, *La tombe de Néferhotep (I) et Neb.néfer à Deir el-Médîna [No 6] et autres documents les concernant II*, MIFAO 103/2, Le Caire 1979, plate 2. TT 31: PM I.1², 49 (14); N. DE G. DAVIES/A. H. GARDINER, *Seven private tombs at Kurnah*, MET 2, London 1948, plate XIX (lower).

168 PEREYA/FANTECHI/ZINGARELLI, in *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists II*, 1486–1487. For the Osiris scenes: broad hall, left rear wall = western north wall of TT 181: N. DE G. DAVIES, *The tomb of two sculptors at Thebes*, PMMA EE 4, New York 1925, plate XIX.

169 PM I.1², 282, 286–289; KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole 1*, 467–469.

170 DAVIES, *Tomb of two sculptors*, plates XIX–XXVI. Strudwick interpreted it as “three burial depictions”; STRUDWICK, in EYRE/LEAHY/MONTAGNO LEAHY (eds.), *Unbroken Reed*, 325. His reading needs to be revised, since the scenes are distributed over two walls and two registers, but nevertheless represent a logical continuation and the segmentation of semantically connected scenes is very common in Egyptian art

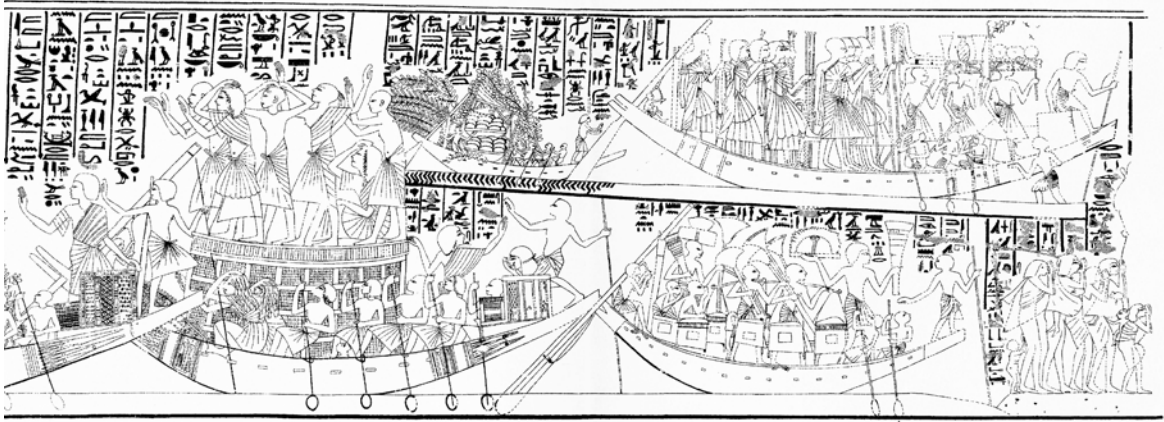


FIGURE 20 Section of the funeral procession in TT 49; broad hall, near right wall (after DAVIES, *Tomb of Nefer-Hotep II*, plate XXIII).



FIGURE 21 Section of the funeral procession in TT 181; broad hall, left back wall (after DAVIES, *Tomb of two sculptors*, plate XIX).



FIGURE 22 Neferhotep (TT 49) worships Amenhotep I and Ahmes-Nefertari, pillared hall, south side of north-eastern pillar (after DAVIES, *Tomb of Nefer-Hotep II*, plate LI).

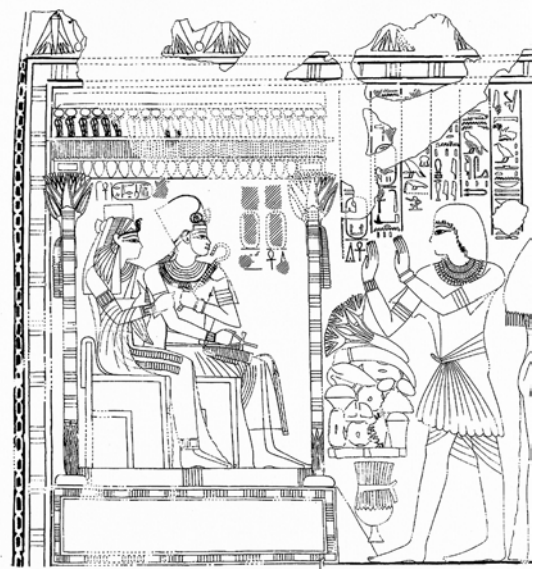


FIGURE 23 Nebamun (TT 181) worships Amenhotep I and Ahmes-Nefertari, broad hall, right near wall = eastern south wall (after DAVIES, *Tomb of two sculptors*, plate IX).

furnishing, namely a chair and some vessels, which are transported on the boats (Figures 20 and 21).¹⁷¹

Remarkably, the two tombs are not only close in time of creation, but are located not even 150 m apart from each other in el-Khokha.¹⁷² Therefore it might not come as a surprise that we find another image citation in the form of the worshipping scene of Amenhotep I and Ahmes-Nefertari. The two compositions exhibit obvious parallels of the royal figures' body postures and of several iconographic details (Figures 22 and 23). It is self-evident that the motif is not a direct one to one copy but exhibits modified details and framing, as it is in line with ancient Egyptian image transmission and adaptation in general.¹⁷³

VI.3 AMENHOTEP, HUY (TT 40)

Somewhat earlier than Nefert-hotep's tomb is TT 40 and one might expect that Amarna allusions and/or citations are even more dominant in the chapel of Amenhotep, Huy. The tomb has received the most attention due to its lively and very creative tribute scenes, displayed on all four large walls of the broad hall, which at first sight indeed can be perceived as oriented towards traditional iconographic concepts. Yet, this overemphasis on the patron's function and status in the first room, as well as on the semantic and syntactic rank and in lieu of the incorporation of e.g. classical "daily life" scenes seems certainly unusual and has been interpreted as a relic of the Amarna period.¹⁷⁴ On a pictorial level, closeness to the pharaoh is in pre-Amarna days traditionally implemented by the "Blickpunktsbild" in the form of a royal kiosk. TT 40 is actually the last Eighteenth Dynasty tomb depicting the "royal kiosk icon"¹⁷⁵ in its classical layout, whereby the tripled representation – and this in a rather small hall – stayed unparalleled. Two of the royal scenes are related to Nubian tributes and directly illustrate Amenhotep, Huy's function as the viceroy of Kush and overseer of the southern lands. F. Rogner has convincingly demonstrated that the royal kiosk scene at the near right wall is the starting point of a "Bildfeld-Reihe", that is to say, a narrative enfolding on three different walls, starting on the near right, moving to the near left, and then to the left back wall of the transversal hall. The sequential images tell the "story" from Amenhotep's inauguration by Tutankhamun, the patron leaving the king at the temple (only mentioned in the text), the

¹⁷¹ S. WOHLFART, *Grabbeigaben im Flachbild der Privatgräber des Neuen Reiches. Versuch einer ikonographischen und kompositionellen Bestimmung*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, München 2002, Accessed on 8. 5. 2021. <http://edoc.ub.uni-muenchen.de/archive/00003188/>, 142–146, fig. 87–88.

¹⁷² Distance given by PICCIONE/LEVINE, *Online Geographical Information System for the Theban Necropolis*.

¹⁷³ See for an overview: G. PIEKE, "Lost in Transformation: Artistic Creation between Permanence and Change", in: T. Gillen (ed.), *(Re)productive Traditions in ancient Egypt: Proceedings of the Conference Held at the University of Liège, 6th-8th February 2013*, AegLeod 10, Liège 2017, 259–304; D. LABOURY, *Tradition and Creativity: Toward a Study of Intericonicity in Ancient Egyptian Art*, in: T. GILLEN (ed.), *(Re)productive Traditions in Ancient Egypt: Proceedings of the Conference Held at the University of Liège, 6th-8th February 2013*, AegLeod 10, Liège 2017, 229–258.

¹⁷⁴ HOFMANN, *Bilder im Wandel*, 7.

¹⁷⁵ WEGNER, *MDAIK* 4, 57. For a general description of the motif in the time of Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III: HARTWIG, *Tomb Painting and Identity*, 54–73.

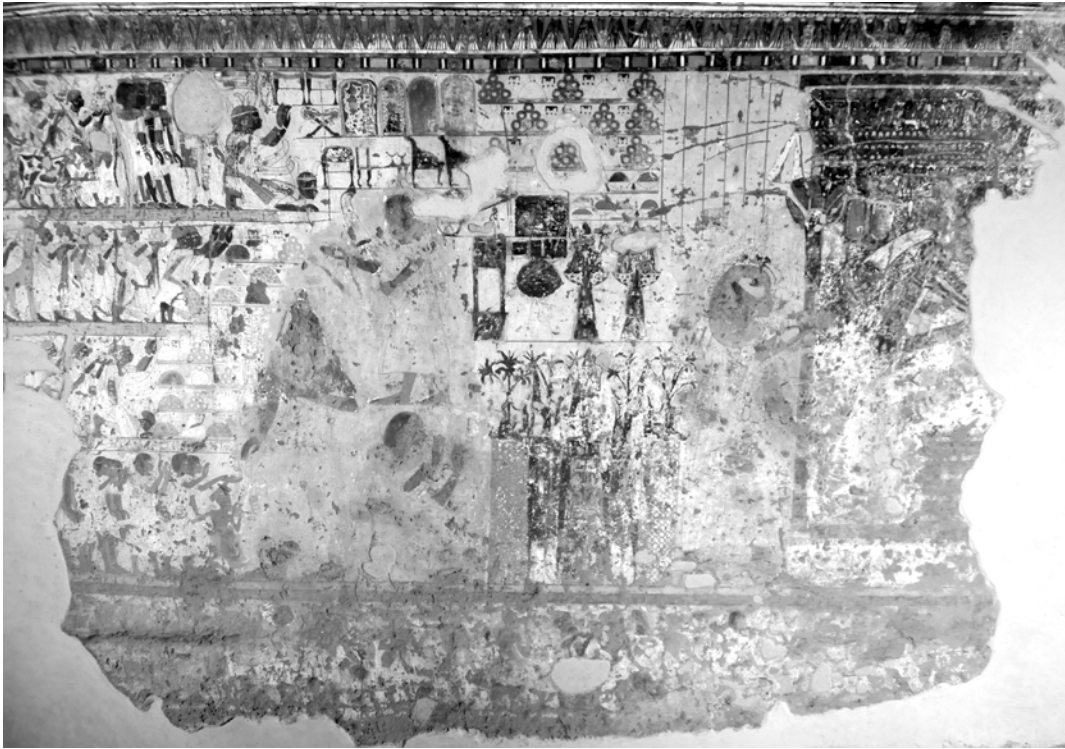


FIGURE 24 Arrival and presentation of tributes in the tomb of Amenhotep, Huy (TT 40), broad hall, left back wall; clearly visible are the patches with restorations of the tomb owner's figure in Ramesside times (© photo: Alexis den Doncker, Brussels).



FIGURE 25 Delivering of Syrian tributes in the tomb of Penhut (TT 239), broad hall, left back wall (after WRESZINSKI, Atlas I, 373).



FIGURE 26 Amenhotep, Huy (TT 40) delivering Asian tributes, broad hall, right back wall (after DAVIES, Tomb of Huy, plate XIX).

journey to Nubia and office there, the preparation and shipment of cargo to Egypt¹⁷⁶ up to the arrival of Nubian tributes and the final presentation to the king and the patron's reception by his own family (Figure 24).¹⁷⁷

As mentioned above, Amenhotep, Huy, directly follows with his chapel architecture the one of TT 239. This tomb in Dra'Abu el-Naga belongs to Penhut,¹⁷⁸ who according to his title was a colleague from older times. In both tombs, only the broad halls were painted and, intriguingly, there seem to be some iconographic parallels.¹⁷⁹ As the "overseer of the northern land", Penhut's decoration focusses on the Syrians and their tributes (Figure 25), while in Huy's chapel the Nubians play the dominant role. Nevertheless, the right back wall of the broad hall in TT 40 represents the delivery of Asian tributes, which are only indirectly preserved via Lepsius drawings (Figure 26).¹⁸⁰ For a viceroy of Kush and overseer of the southern land this representation of Syrian tributes might astonish and not really in accordance with his actual duties, but eventually the image derives from the common representation of foreigners in adoration to the king depicted in several non-royal tombs in Amarna.¹⁸¹

Another syntactic element of the chapel decoration, which is unusual for pre-Amarna Thebes, can be mentioned here. The conceptual layout of registers and figure arrangements have been described as if in accordance with the Theban tradition,¹⁸² although the walls are structured in dominating upper picture planes with large registers for the main narrative and below some significantly smaller registers for subordinated themes. This area division in dominating main panels and low-ranking images as syntactic bases¹⁸³ appears certainly more in line with tomb decoration in Amarna than in Thebes.

Significant, for the general understanding of TT 40 but also for post-Amarna sociocultural events, are some meaningful restorations or, more precisely, Ramesside "interventions" in the tomb decoration. They have remained unnoticed by most scholars and concern almost

176 The detailed portrayal of the arriving ships finds a parallel in the almost contemporary tomb of Parennefer/Wennefer (No. -162-), where they are part of the patron's arrival back at the temple from a travel; see: HOFMANN, *Bilder im Wandel*, 11–12.

177 ROGNER, in SEROVA/BACKES/GÖTZ/VERBOVSEK (eds.), *Narrative: Geschichte – Mythos – Repräsentation*, 85–86; F. A. ROGNER, *Raum und Narrativität im Flachbild des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches/Espace et narrativité dans l'image bi-dimensionnelle du Nouvel Empire égyptien*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Universität Basel/École Pratique des Hautes Études – Université Paris Sciences et Lettres, 2019.

178 See above footnote 94.

179 Even though depictions of Syrians are not uncommon in Thebes, the staggered arrangement of three kneeling and bowing figures at the left end of the second registers in TT 49 seems to be otherwise only attested in TT 239. For pictures of Syrians in Theban tombs see the list in PM I.1², 464. For the depiction of foreigners see: A. HOHLBEIN, *Wie die Ägypter ihre Nachbarn sahen: Fremdvölkerdarstellungen der 18. Dynastie. Untersucht anhand ausgewählter Privatgräber der Thebanischen Nekropole*, *Schriften zur Kulturgeschichte* 12, Hamburg 2009.

180 DAVIES, *Tomb of Huy*, pl. XIX.

181 In Amarna tombs the foreigners do not bring tributes but only adore the pharaoh; see e. g. Meryra I, Meryra II, and Huya; N. DE G. DAVIES, *The Rock Tombs of el Amarna. Part I: The Tomb of Meryra*, ASE Memoir 13, London 1903, plate XXVI; DAVIES, *El Amarna II*, plates XXXV, XXXVII; DAVIES, *El Amarna III*, plates XIV, XV.

182 HOFMANN, *Bilder im Wandel*, 8; STRUDWICK, in EYRE/LEAHY/MONTAGNO LEAHY (eds.), *Unbroken Reed*, 331.

183 Notably the eastern, near walls on both sides of the entrance: DAVIES, *Tomb of Huy*, plates VIII, X.

any representation of Amenhotep, Huy.¹⁸⁴ As a result of the restoring process, the patron's figures and also some texts were newly inserted, leading to a significant change of style.¹⁸⁵ At a closer look, the walls clearly testify the repairs of the *mouna* background in several areas (Figure 24). A different colour of these patches is still visible. Due to the new undercoat, the tomb owner's figure had to be painted again. Even the use of yellow as a background colour for some text areas does not belong to the original concept and instead is associated to these Ramesside restorations and modifications.¹⁸⁶ In a possible scenario the images of Amenhotep, Huy, suffered substantial damage during a post-Amarna iconoclastic campaign as it is attested elsewhere in the Theban necropolis and most likely family members afterwards restored the tomb.¹⁸⁷ These "new" representations of Amenhotep display the patron instead of Tutankhamun style in early Ramesside garment and features.

VI.4 HATIAY (TT 324)

A final example of creative play with Theban traditions, which were combined and challenged by new influences is the tomb of Hatiay. The chapel is badly damaged, nevertheless Davies' reconstructions are convincing enough to give us an understanding of at least some parts of the iconographic program.¹⁸⁸ As elements of rather classical subject matters, the broad hall presents agricultural scenes, a banquet, and the Abydos pilgrimage.¹⁸⁹ In contrast, the depictions on the near right wall are uncanonical for the pre-Amarna times and illustrate vignettes 110 and 59 of the Book of the Dead. In addition, this wall features an interesting status-oriented scene representing two viziers, Usermontu from the time of Ay to Horemheb, and his successor Nebamun, who took office also in the time of Horemheb.¹⁹⁰ Much more unusual are, however, the scenes on the left small walls of the transversal hall (Figure 27). The picture plane embodies two rare compositions, which derive from the large image corpus of hunting in the marshes and associated "leisure" activities. At the left end of both registers, the tomb owner sits on a folding chair and is accompanied by his wife, who rests on a cushion on the floor. Her figures are compositionally inverted, since she is once positioned behind her husband and once before him. The right side of the image area shows a basin with fishes, as well as papyrus marshes with a large clap net.

The motif at the bottom register has been interpreted as originating from contemporary images of Tutankhamun. These rather informal scenes, which clearly derive from Amarna concepts, depict the pharaoh in sitting position at some "leisure hunting" activities, however

184 I thank Alexis den Doncker for detailed information on this restoration campaign.

185 Only Benderitter mentions the repainting of the image of Huy; T. BENDERITTER, "Visiting TT 40 at Luxor West, the tomb of Amenhotep called Huy: Tutankhamen's King's Son of Kush", in: KMT 27/2, 2016, 51.

186 STRUDWICK, in EYRE/LEAHY/MONTAGNO LEAHY (eds.), *Unbroken Reed*, 326, misinterpreted it as the earliest attestation of a typical Ramesside feature.

187 BENDERITTER, KMT 27/2, 51, suggests that it was Amenhotep's son, Paser, who restored the father's image after succeeding him as viceroy of Kush.

188 DAVIES/GARDINER, *Seven private tombs at Kurnah*, 42–48, plates XXXI–XXXIV.

189 For the positioning of all themes in the chapel see PM I.1², 382, 395–396.

190 DAVIES/GARDINER, *Seven private tombs at Kurnah*, 46, plate XXXIII bottom, and the comments of HOFMANN, *Bilder im Wandel*, 18.

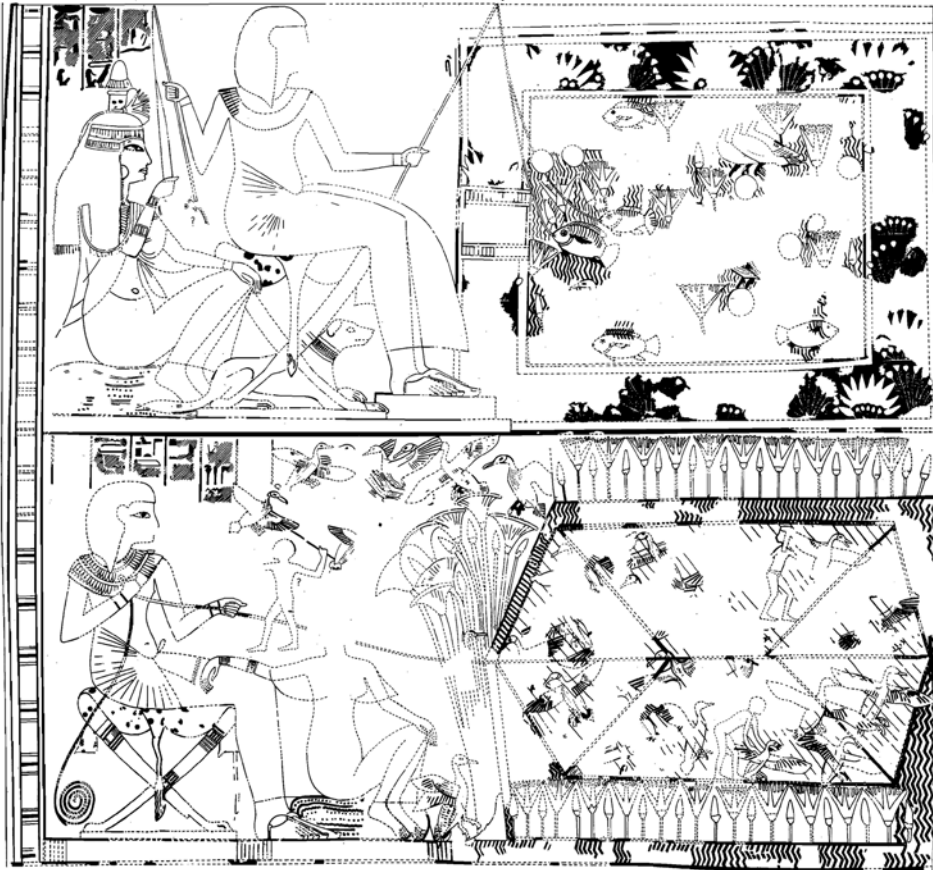


FIGURE 27 Hatiy angling and catching birds with clap net (after DAVIES/GARDINER, Seven private tombs, plate XXXII).



FIGURE 28 Qenamun angles accompanied by this wife (after DAVIES, Tomb of Ken-Amun, plate LXI).

in these representations, the pharaoh does not use a clap net but acts with bow and arrow.¹⁹¹ Indeed this allusion to alleged uncanonical images from the royal context of the time appears convincing at least in terms of the figure's postures and iconographic details. However, the precise motif of bird hunting via clap net actually is much older. It already has its roots back in Old Kingdom temple iconography and was transmitted in the Middle Kingdom to non-royal tombs.¹⁹²

The image citation and conceivable source of inspiration in the second case, the angling scene, is much clearer since with all likelihood the model here was the tomb of Qenamun (TT 93) from the time of Amenhotep II, one of largest funerary monuments in that area of the necropolis. One of the pillars in the huge transversal hall depicts Qenamun sitting on a traditional stool, being accompanied by his wife and with a fishing-rod in his hands for catching the haul (Figure 28).¹⁹³ As it is often the case, proximity between the model and sources of inspiration and the reinterpreted version is of relevance here.¹⁹⁴ Indeed, TT 93 is within walking distance and on a direct visual axis with TT 324 when looking up from the bottom of the hill to the upper southern part of Sheikh Abd el-Gurna.

VI.5 SYNOPSIS TOMB DECORATION

This brief discussion of selected examples of the chapel decoration reveals that indeed earlier Eighteenth Dynasty themes and motifs were taken up and that post-Amarna tombs revive the Theban tradition. This link to the past of the necropolis and its iconographic monumental "image archive" is recognized by deliberate references to traditional themes. It is further underlined by the integration of selected motifs, like e.g. the precise quotation showcased in the tomb of Hatiay and its pictorial link to a prominent older tomb (TT 93). Also Amenhotep, Huy's transversal hall and its thematic focus on the illustrations of offices and the delivering of tributes roots back to well-known images. Moreover, the post-Amarna tomb chapels include key images of established funerary cult such as the burial procession, worshipping Osiris and Hathor, or the Abydos travel. These subject matters are integrated into the program next to banquets and/or workshop scenes, likewise main themes of pre-Amarna image corpuses. Indeed, there is a clear thematic continuation attested in these tombs. However, the chapel decorations do not only follow the well-established Theban path but also reach out to new

191 HOFMANN, *Bilder im Wandel 18–19*. The images of Tutankhamun show him sitting on a folding chair and hunting with the bow: (1) at one side of the golden statue shrine (Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 61481, Carter No. 108); (2) front side of an ornamented chest (Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 61477, Carter No. 540).

192 The motif is attested in the Sahure temple in Abusir, where the pharaoh himself hunts with clap net. Interestingly, in non-royal context of the Old Kingdom clap net hunting is represented, however, only operated by minor figures and not by the owner. It is only in the Middle Kingdom that this image is transferred to the tomb owner; compare: G. PIEKE, "Playing with Traditions – The Tomb Decoration of Djehutyhotep II at Deir el-Bersha reconsidered", in: P. JÁNOSI/L. HUĐÁKOVÁ/A. KAHLBACHER (eds.), *Change and Innovation in Middle Kingdom Art*, MKS 4, London 2016, 96–97, figs 2–3.

193 PM I.1², 186, 190–194, angling: 192 pillar B (c) I; N. DE GARIS DAVIES, *The tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes*, PMMA EE 5/I, New York 1930, plate LXI. The striking motif was in Ramesside times taken up in TT 51 (Sheikh Abd el-Gurna), TT 157 and TT 158 (both Dra'Abu el-Naga); PM I.1², 97 (4), 268 (16), and 270 (20).

194 PIEKE, in: GILLEN (ed.), *(Re)productive Traditions*, 271–278.

territories. With regard to Amarna influences, it is generally assumed that the contents of representation changed in this period first of all on an iconographic level by putting strong emphasis particularly on the royal images and reducing some other characteristic subjects.¹⁹⁵ In addition, also the modes in which the themes and the figures are depicted had changed in the Amarna time, which is evident in the royal and non-royal sphere. As we have seen, TT 40 and TT 49 exemplify wall concepts that include among others various movement directions of the main figures within one picture plane. This mode of composition is regularly connected to compartmentalized Amarna images.¹⁹⁶ In this context the “Bedeutungsmaßstab” as a main principle of Egyptian art is partly abandoned as it is principally evident in TT 49 for special themes, while other walls showcase a more classical layout. Hence, in a certain way, Neferhotep’s chapel illustrates that “form follows content”. In addition, TT 49 features certain forms of “story telling” on entire wall areas, which seems much less common in the pre-Amarna period. This deliberate use of pictorial accounts is also evident for Amenhotep, Huy, who expresses his closeness to his ruler by a clear narration of his own career and duties. TT 40 belongs to the transfer period, when Amarna concepts were not entirely abandoned and even the Aten temples were still open. Nevertheless, on a syntactic level, as far as the main concept is concerned, the pictorial representations in his tombs do not entirely follow Amarna principles but draw on them only in a selective and reduced way. Overall, not only his tomb but also the other examples presented here succeeded in harmoniously integrating new influences and semantically charged Amarna motifs like the Aten-hymn (No. -162-) with more established Theban themes and standard layouts. As models and easily accessible sources of inspiration for explicit and remote image quotations function mainly older cult chapels nearby in the necropolis. Distinguished from this practice, the coeval Amarna references and compositorial links were depending much more on portable image carriers, which were either carried along by the same artists or handed over from one group of artists to the other.¹⁹⁷

Before moving on to another integral part of the cult chapels, the statuary, we shall give a brief remark on the applied technique of decoration, which in general can be regarded as a specific means of expression.¹⁹⁸ In general, the Theban necropolis stands out for a clear preference of wall paintings instead of relief to decorate the cult chapels’ walls.¹⁹⁹ It is only the tombs located in special parts of the area that chose relief decoration often, thereby incorporating paintings in addition.²⁰⁰ In our case at least Parennefer/Wennefer (No. -162-), Amememopet, Ipi (TT 41), and also Ramosi (TT 166) have chapel decoration carried out in both techniques.²⁰¹ With regard to the precise artistic procedures, Parennefer/Wennefer (No. -162-) is of particular interest, due to the fact that – apart from classical sunk and raised relief as well as wall painting – it partly presents a special patchwork technique with stucco

195 See the contribution of Dana Bělohoubková in this volume.

196 This is also very evident for TT 41.

197 Hofmann considers e.g. in the case of Parennefer/Wennefer that artists moved from Memphis to Thebes; HOFMANN, *Bilder im Wandel*, 12.

198 HOFMANN, *Im Auftrag des Grabherrn*, 48–55.

199 MANNICHE, *City of the dead*, 29; WEGNER, *MDAIK* 4, 46–53.

200 Most prominently TT 55, TT 188, from the time of Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV.

201 Both techniques herewith are understood as real chapel decoration and not a door pillar out of sandstone as it is attested regularly for richer tombs; for this but also the other techniques, see the list in: HOFMANN, *Bilder im Wandel*, 159–160.

relief.²⁰² Reflecting on the high quality of the relief in that tomb, E. Hofmann even connects it with Saqqara and proposes that some artists might have moved from Memphis to Thebes.²⁰³

In the context of Theban Eighteenth Dynasty chapel decoration, it seems rather surprising that a viceroy of Kush (TT 40) uses only mud plaster made of the *mouna* chaff²⁰⁴ mix as an undercoat in his chapel. This appears uncommon for a person of such high rank, particularly since mud plaster produces a much less smooth and sophisticated undercoat, hence leading to somewhat inferior quality in details. The better part of the pre-Amarna chapels of high and middle ranks in Thebes use multiple layers of material as an image carrier, mainly several coats of plaster and a thin stucco primer.²⁰⁵ The rock cut chapel of Hatiay (TT 324)²⁰⁶ likewise relies on *mouna* as undercoat instead of fine stucco and its superior quality as undercoat. This is remarkable considering the social background of these patrons, whom we might expect to employ appropriate means to achieve a tomb chapel of the highest quality. The same choice of simpler material and not the time-consuming layering of different materials, applies for the pyramid chapel of Nay (TT 271), which in this case might be explained by the fact that it is not a rock-cut chapel but a mudbrick construction.²⁰⁷ As anticipated, the same evidence is attested for the mudbrick chapels in Deir el-Medineh (TT 338 and 291). Overall, we can attest a certain emphasis on *mouna* plaster used as an undercoat, even for higher ranks and chapels hewn in the rock. This finding immediately brings to mind evidences in Saqqara, where – unlike in Thebes – painting on stucco plaster was rather uncommon, while *mouna* plaster has been well attested already since the Old Kingdom.²⁰⁸

VII. A SIDE NOTE: THE TOMB SCULPTURE

None of the previous authors dealing with post-Amarna tombs have included a discussion on funerary sculpture in their studies, despite the fact that statues play the most essential role as cult recipients in Theban tombs.²⁰⁹ Therefore some brief comments shall be given here on the preserved evidences for cult statues in the discussed group of tombs, however, without further

202 KAMPP/SEYFRIED, *Antike Welt* 26/5, 341; HOFMANN, *Bilder im Wandel*, 160, lists also TT 41 for “Stuckrelief erhaben und versenkt”.

203 HOFMANN, *Bilder im Wandel*, 12. For parallels to TT 41 in selected Saqqara tombs see N. STARING, “The Tomb of Ptahmose, Mayor of Memphis. Analysis of an Early 19th Dynasty Funerary Monument at Saqqara”, in: BIFAO 114/2, 2014, 455–518.

204 B. MADDEN/H. TAVIER, “Original Painting Techniques. Methods and Materials in 18th Dynasty Tombs, in the Valley of the Nobles, Egypt”, in: J. BECKER/J., JUNGFLEISCH/C. RÜDEN (eds.), *Tracing Technoscapes. The Production of Bronze Age Wall Paintings in the Eastern Mediterranean*, Leiden 2018, 121.

205 MADDEN/TAVIER, in BECKER/JUNGFLEISCH/RÜDEN (eds.), *Tracing Technoscapes*, 120–124.

206 DAVIES/GARDINER, *Seven private tombs at Kurnah*, 42.

207 Eventually a mudbrick construction was not perceived as stable as a rock cut chapel. Stucco plaster reacts sensible to minor vibrations, while rough *mouna* plaster might be less vulnerable.

208 For New Kingdom evidences, see the overview: G. T. MARTIN, “Wall paintings in Memphite tombs of the New Kingdom”, in: W. V. DAVIES, *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, London 2001, 101–105; and the later discovered Eighteenth Dynasty vaulted chapels of Meryneith: M. J. RAVEN/R. VAN WALSEM, *The Tomb of Meryneith at Saqqara*, PALMA 10, Turnhout 2014, 130–135, 139–149.

209 KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole I*, 48–50, who does not distinguish between rock-cut figures and sculptures in the round; HOFMANN, *Im Auftrag des Grabherrn*, 7–12.

canvassing their precise iconography. We can expect that the tomb owners were originally not only represented in relief and paintings but that at least one three-dimensional image was incorporated in almost any of these chapels and that sitting figures were implemented as the main cult recipient within these monuments.

VII.1 ROCK-CUT STATUES

A very traditional form of tomb sculpture in Thebes, which directly combines architecture and tomb furnishing, are statues directly hewn from the rock at the farthest end of the chapel. These rock-cut figures are showcased in the tomb chapels of No. -162-, TT 49, and TT 41 (Table 3).

Tomb Number and Owner	Proposed Dating	Main cult image	Additional statues
No. -162- Parennefer/ Wennefer	Tutankhamun - Horemheb	Rock-cut: five seated figures of family members, almost life size	
TT 49 Neferhotep	Ay	Rock-cut: central niche with seated figures of deceased (l.) and wife (r.), life-size northern niche: seated figures of unnamed man (r.) and woman (l.), both unnamed, under life-size southern niche: seated figures of unnamed man (l.) and woman (r.), both unnamed, under life-size	
TT 41 Amenemopet, Ipi	Horemheb - Sety I	Rock-cut: seated figures of deceased (r.) and wife (l.), over life-size	Five Osiris pillars at the southern pillars in the courtyard
TT 40 Amenhotep, Huy	Tutankhamun	Group statue: four seated figures, two men and probably two women, all names lost, black granite, almost life-size	Lower part of black granite kneeling stelophor of deceased; today: Paris, Louvre, E 14398
TT 324 Hatiay	Ay - Horemheb	Fragment of group statue: seated figures of deceased (centre), wife (r.), and mother (l.), upper part damage with all the heads lost, limestone, height: 67 cm; today Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 71965 - SR 4/13938	
TT A8 Amenemhab	Horemheb	Group statue: seated figures of deceased (centre), wife (l.), and mother (r.), grey granite, height: 91 cm; today: Saint Petersburg, Hermitage, no. 740	

TABLE 3 Overview of preserved tomb sculptures

The tomb of Parennefer/Wennefer has a group of five almost life size family members²¹⁰ cut out of the rock and functioning as the main cult image. This type of group statue roots back already to the early Eighteenth Dynasty. It can depict either a pair or a larger number of figures.²¹¹ In most cases the rock-cut statues are almost life-size or even over life-size.

As already mentioned above, TT 49 represents an important development of the rock-cut statues and is the only tomb of our group that includes a main cult place with rock-cut figures on more than one wall.²¹² Instead Neferhotep's cult place, a large niche, incorporates a sitting couple not only at the rear wall but also at the north and south ones (Figure 29).²¹³ Hereby a clear focus is given to the two figures at the back wall by their much larger size. In all likelihood, the nearby tomb of Khaemhet (TT 57) from the time of Amenhotep III functioned as a model for this triplication of rock sculptured couples.²¹⁴ Neferhotep's western statue, certainly the main cult recipient, was beautifully carved with a great degree of details and until today presents some polychrome layers. The tomb owner's image is highlighted by the "Gold of Honour", a detail, which links the statue to some of the two-dimensional representations like, most of all, the Window of Appearance scene in the broad hall (Figure 17). Unusual seems the "realism" or, to be more precise, the representation of an elderly man with visible features of old age and wrinkles on the face.²¹⁵ Another interesting detail, particularly for rock-cut figures, are the legs of the stools, which are indicated at the sides of both figures' legs. This stylistic feature is very well known from contemporary, funerary sculptures in the round at Saqqara.²¹⁶

Amenemopet's (TT 41) main cult place consists of a large rock-cut sitting couple (Figure 30). In addition, it was already suggested above that the niches on the north and south wall of that room might have once accommodated free standing sculptures. In this case, statues on three sides with a prominent pair statue in the center, would be, in some regard, comparable to the layout of Neferhotep (TT 49).

210 So far it stays unclear who might have been represented next to the tomb owner and how many male and female figures were incorporated, since the authors speak only of a family group; KAMPP, MDAIK 50, 182 note 22; KAMPP/SEYFRIED, *Antike Welt* 26/5, 332–333. Abb 16.

211 Compare e.g. TT 21 (Thutmose I), TT 81 (Thutmose III), TT 109 (Thutmose III), TT 123 (Thutmose III), TT 125 (Hatshepsut); see: PM I.1², 37 (18), 163 (22), 227 (15), 237 (13), 241 (21).

212 Compare the list of tomb sculpture in KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole*, 49–50. Unfortunately, she does not differentiate between rock-cut sculptures and free-standing statues.

213 I very much thank Mariá Violeta Pereyra, the head of the Argentine Mission working in the tomb, for kindly sharing a large number of pictures with me. She interprets the male figure at the south wall as the father. Indeed, the bold hair is an iconography which is attested for the patron's father in the inner doorway; DAVIES, *The tomb of Nefer-Hotep II*, plate XXXIX.

214 PM I.1², 118–119 (24, 26, 28).

215 See DAVIES, *The tomb of Nefer-Hotep II*, 12–14; HOFMANN, *Im Auftrag des Grabherrn*, 10 Abb. 15. To some extent this "portrait" reminds one of the remarkable realism expressed in the plaster studies found in the workshop of Thutmose in Amarna or – if we stay in Thebes – to one of the squatting figures of Amenhotep, son of Hapu, which represents him with craggy features; Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 42127.

216 DAVIES, *The tomb of Nefer-Hotep II*, 13. For Saqqara parallels see e.g. the limestone post-Amarna sculptures today in Leiden, Rijksmuseum von Oudheden, Horemheb and Mutnedjmet (?), AST 4; pair statue and individual ones of Maya and Merit, AST 1–3.

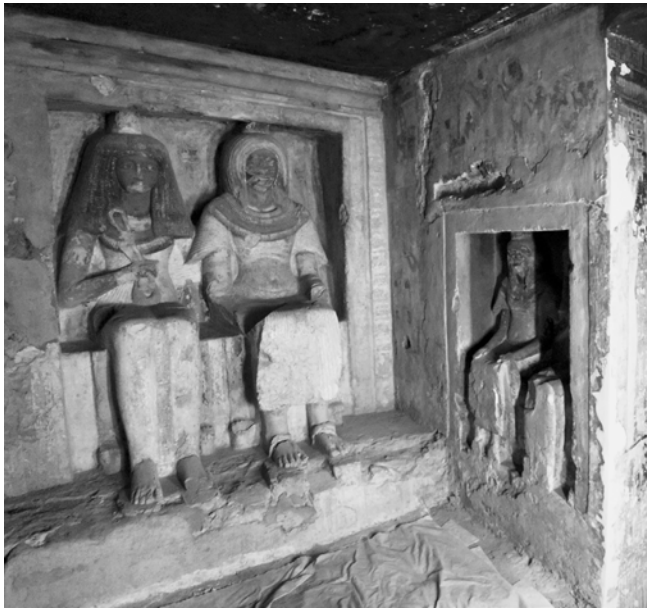


FIGURE 29 Rock-cut pair figure at the west and north walls of the cult niche in TT 49 (© photo: Pedro von Seehausen, Laboratório de Egiptologia - SESHAT).



FIGURE 30 Rock-cut pair figure in the cult niche of TT 41 (© photo: Eva Hofmann, Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg).

A new and rather rare feature in TT 41 are the Osiris pillars at the south porticos of the courtyard.²¹⁷ Unequivocally, they derive from temple architecture and depict the tomb owner in life-size and as Osiris form, in a standing position, wrapped in a mummy cloth, arms crossed on the chest, with the hands holding a Djed and the Isis knot.²¹⁸

In general, for all rock-cut statues it seems evident that at least their finalisation and the execution of details must have been done by trained sculptors, who joined the rest of the artisans and artists which were already involved in the tomb's decoration. However, we might assume that free standing statues were regarded as more valuable, since they depend on different sculpture workshops. Indeed, sculptures in the round directly testify of access to precious material, might it be limestone of high quality or the even more costly hard stone.

VII.2 SCULPTURE IN THE ROUND

With regard to our group of tombs, free standing sculpture are only preserved for TT 40, TT 324, and A8. Nevertheless, we can assume that originally also other tombs were furnished with mobile statues.²¹⁹

Until the present day, Amenhotep, Huy's chapel includes a large, fragmented group figure of black granite. This statue is dominated by a rather monumental back plate and four sitting figures in front of it. They represent two men and two women, who embrace each other behind

²¹⁷ See footnote 104.

²¹⁸ The first two at the eastern end are unfinished; ASSMANN (ed.), *Das Grab des Amenemope*, 14–15.

²¹⁹ Particularly the tombs with a niche at the back end of the chapel: TT 46, 166, 254, 271, 275, 324, 338. It seems only for TT 291 in Deir el-Medineh that a family stela functioned as the main cult place; see annex for further information.

their backs.²²⁰ Very close to TT 40 the lower part of a stelophor was found, which according to the inscriptions belongs to Amenhotep, Huy's tomb as well.²²¹ This particular statue type is generally associated with the front parts of the tomb or, more precisely, the courtyard and related solar aspects.²²² Also, this stelophor is made of granodiorite, a material much more precious than limestone but very difficult to be carved, so its execution requires special trained and equipped sculptors.²²³

In the tomb of Hatiay (TT 324) the fragment of a limestone triad was found, embodying the deceased in the centre with his wife and mother at the side (Figure 32).²²⁴ The three persons do not sit in a classical block seat as it is the case for Amenhotep, Huy's large group statue. Instead the details of wooden stools and cushions are indicated in the stone, as it was in the case of the rock-cut pair of Neferhotep.



FIGURE 31 Group statue of Amenemhab with wife and mother, TT A8; Sankt Petersburg, Ermitage, no. 740 (© The image is used from www.hermitagemuseum.org, courtesy of The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia).



FIGURE 32 Group statue of Hatiay with wife and mother, TT 324; Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 71965 (after DAVIES/GARDINER, *Seven private tombs*, plate XLI).

This very detail is also attested – even though in less explicit way – within the triad of the mayor Amenemhab (TT A8). It likewise depicts the patron in the middle, while here the mother is

220 Due to the unfinished stage of the cult niche in the pillared hall, the statue is positioned in front of it.

221 See the annex for further information on the find context.

222 E. BERNHAUER/P. SEYR, „Stelophore leuchten“. Bemerkungen zur Entwicklung des Statuentypus Stelophor”, in: R. SCHULZ/O. GAUERT/C. BAYER (eds.), *Festschrift Rainer Hannig zum 65. Geburtstag*, HÄB 55, Hildesheim 2021, forthcoming.

223 Until the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty funerary sculpture was mainly made of limestone, even in the case of the highest elite.

224 See the annex for details.

on the right and the wife on the left side (Figure 31).²²⁵ The group is made of black granite and consequently much more precious than Hatiay's limestone statue. Hence, not only the material but also the quality of the piece directly refers to the high rank and network of its owner.

Apparently, and unlike the funerary sculpture at Saqqara, which in the Eighteenth Dynasty almost uniquely uses limestone, in the Theban necropolis, the sculptures in the round continue the pre-Amarna development by including tomb statues made of very precious grey or black granite.²²⁶ The use of hard stone in at least three cases and even in almost life-size format (TT 40) affirms the patron's strong links to temple administration. Granite and other hard stone were worked on by specially trained sculptors, which are mainly associated with the temple context.²²⁷ In fact, given the small numbers of tombs from these post-Amarna years that we are dealing with, it seems extremely unlikely that there were special workshops in the necropolis for sculptures made of hard stone. Due to the close socio-cultural bonds and the particular work sphere of the tomb owners (see above Table 2), it is self-evident that they had close links particularly to Karnak and/or mortuary temples on the East bank. This specific network is indirectly attested by the preserved funerary sculptures, which underlines a direct access to valuable materials and skilled work force first, both foremost provided by temple holdings. With regard to the statue's typology, dyads of the tomb owner and his spouse or family groups embedding also the patron's wife and mother are favoured. Thereby and as it was long established in the context of mortuary cult places, also in the post-Amarna period, sitting figures illustrate the required posture of cult recipient(s).

VIII. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Egyptian non-royal tombs are complex monuments, which combine sophisticated architecture with elaborate wall decoration. They serve funerary demands, religious trends and cultic functions while at the same time the cult chapels bear witness of status-oriented self-fashioning/“Selbstthematisierung”.²²⁸ In the context of tomb decoration, the merging of canonical traditions with state-of-the-art creations plays an important role in almost any period of Egyptian history. With regard to the post-Amarna period, the question is whether the Theban tombs continued with the natural course of things after more than a decade-long interruption or if they present

225 See the annex for details.

226 Particularly in the time of Amenhotep III, the number of hard stone statues seems to rise, while before limestone was used for the main cult images even of the highest elite. For tomb statues made of hard stone see e.g. the tomb of Amenemhat Surer (TT 48); PM I.1², 89–90. Unfortunately, a study of Theban funerary sculpture is pending and we still face a lack of understanding with regard to their chronological, typological, and material developments.

227 For an overview on non-royal temple sculptures in Karnak in the New Kingdom: A. KJØLBY, *New Kingdom Private Temple Statues. A Study of Agency, Decision-Making and Materiality*, unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Copenhagen 2007. She lists granodiorite as the most popular material in the New Kingdom and also points out the high rank of the statue owners, while individuals of lower status only very occasionally had access to precious material for sculpture production.

228 J. ASSMANN, “Sepulkrale Selbstthematisierung im Alten Ägypten”, in: A. HAHN/V. KAPP (eds.), *Selbstthematisierung und Selbstzeugnis: Bekenntnis und Geständnis*, Frankfurt 1987, 208–232.

recognizable changes and adaptation strategies after a decisive cultural and religious upheaval. Generally speaking, it seems that the post-Amarna society was able to adjust structures after a time of significant socio-cultural changes.²²⁹ With regard to the Theban necropolis, however, considering a period of at least 27 years for Tutankhamun, Ay, and Horemheb, the small number of tombs during these reigns is very surprising,²³⁰ particularly since this time is associated with major construction work in the Theban area. Given the fact that the attested activities during this last quarter of the Eighteenth Dynasty in Thebes required a considerable amount of administrators and work forces, indeed, the number of tombs as low as fifteen manifests how very limited our understanding of the wider cultural context actually is.²³¹

At first glance, the Theban post-Amarna tombs attest notions of continuity and traditional bonds, however, they also witness significant changes and new inspirations are clearly identifiable within these non-royal funerary monuments. In terms of ownership, or rather the social-economic context of the patrons, a noteworthy shift can be traced. Except for the Deir el-Medineh patrons, almost all the other owners had superior or even the highest ranks. Most patrons are closely connected to the administration and/or priestly duties mainly in the Amun cults in Karnak or temples on the West Bank. Links to the military are further attested particularly for the time shortly after Akhenaten, that is for the patrons connected to the reigns of Tutankhamun and Ay. One tomb owner even functions at the same time in the Amun and Aten cult, testifying to a smooth transmission and return to previous cults in the immediate post-Amarna period.

A clear development takes place during these years with regard to the chosen location of the tombs. The patrons of the immediate post-Amarna years link themselves either to their precise work environment such as predecessors in office or mortuary temples. Their tomb locations also emphasise a particular wish to connect their own funerary monument with landmarks of the Theban necropolis such as tombs of older viziers and the most prominent families or the outstanding large constructions of the time of Amenhotep III. This might be explained by the location of the main procession ways, which brought “visitors” to the necropolis particularly in the areas next to the most important tombs. Being a neighbour of a key monument might help in gaining recognition and participation in the context of the funerary cult and religious festivals. By the time of Horemheb, there was a clear shift and tendency towards DraAbu el-Naga, its strong visual links to Karnak and connected procession ways, but also to the mortuary temple of Ahmes-Nefertari in that very area.

The architecture of the here discussed tombs presents in most cases rather traditional forms even though some remarkable new solutions are attested for the highest elite. Also the well-established reuse and adaptation of already existing monuments was pursued. The wish to on the one hand “fit in” but at the same time also “stand out”, is already exemplified by the earliest tomb in our group, Amenhotep, Huy (TT 40). His state of the art chapel type was only attested once before by a counterpart in his office and was shortly after taken up by the prominent tomb of Neferhotep (TT 49) in the time of Ay.

229 Compare: SHIRLEY, in MORENO GARCÍA (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 575.

230 Particularly if we consider that TT 41 and TT 166 belong to the period Horemheb to Sety I.

231 Especially if we consider that 6800 members of temple staff of the Aten cult are attested in Karnak during the early reign of Amenhotep IV; HARING, in MORENO GARCÍA (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 623.

A recognisable development by the time of Horemheb is also relevant for the tomb decoration. Previous authors have already highlighted the noteworthy changes of key concepts – a “Sakralisierung des Grabgedankens” at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, which is mainly expressed by a modified iconographic focus. Compared with this trend, the earlier tombs of the time of Tutankhamun and Ay better capture ideas of the pre-Amarna period. Their tomb decoration demonstrates a considerable flexibility in combining traditional themes and motifs with more state of the art Amarna creations. In this period of revival of the Theban necropolis, the responsible artists were able to deliberately select older images and reinterpret them to new compositions and we can expect that in this decision-making process the tomb owners were closely involved. The pictorial representations in the early post-Amarna cult chapels comprise local influences with shortly before created and not yet condemned Amarna images. They harmoniously adapt new ideas of religious and/or socio-political developments in the post-Amarna period and incorporate them into architecture, relief and/or paintings, and even funerary statuary. The latter likewise attest to traditional Theban forms but also certain shifts and the statues might even suggest some links to iconographic solutions from Saqqara. In particular, the very few preserved free-standing statues appear to be another indicator of the strong bonds of most of the tomb owners to the temple administration and related Amun cults. Indeed, the most significant development for the Theban necropolis seems to be the altered social strata. Supreme authorities in local temple administration still chose western Thebes as their place of burial, while other parts of the countries’ elite had moved elsewhere. Links to these Theban professionals and socio-economic spheres but also to local “ancestors” are established in the form of constructed and visualised forms or, more precisely, the tomb design. The chosen locations, the architecture, and also the iconographic programs illustrate this “monumental communication”. Particularly with regard to pictorial representations and their means of concept and composition a significant ideological/religious shift appears only in the time of Horemheb. In the reigns of Tutankhamun and Ay the tomb decoration still employs Amarna compositions right next to traditional images as well as immediate pictorial links to older cult chapels in the neighbourhood. As it has already been generally noticed in the case of the post-Amarna period, the most considerable break takes place in the time of Horemheb. And it is only due to the fact that the non-royal funerary monuments emphasize a wider religious context at large. This highlighted proximity to the sphere of the gods and cults is mainly implemented by altered iconographic programs, which focus on the veneration of deities. It is further indirectly corroborated by the now preferred tomb location in Dra’Abu el-Naga.

Overall, this overview on post-Amarna tombs revealed that the funerary monuments offer much insight in the wider cultural developments in the Theban area. Future studies will hopefully provide better understanding and insights of each of these monuments. Detailed analyses of pictorial representations in combination with stylistic analysis might lead to a better understanding of employed artistic procedures related to image transmission and the question, whether artists eventually moved from Amarna or Saqqara to Thebes or the other way round.

ANNEX: A CATALOGUE OF POST-AMARNA TOMBS AT THEBES

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The tombs are listed in chronological order, which is based on the current understanding of the monument. Tombs with less precise dating from Tutankhamun to Horemheb and from the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty follow the more specific ones. At the end of the list, some brief comments are given on tombs where the dating is uncertain or which had been under discussion or were listed by previous authors in context of post-Amarna Thebes.

Owner lists only the name(s) of the main tomb owner(s) and not family data.

Date presents the proposed dating in reference books such as KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole*, and PM I.1², as well as the main author's interpretation. The herewith chosen dating is listed in the beginning. It has to be noted that the precise dating of the monument is rather challenging and has to stay open to discussion in several cases.

Location lists the position of the tomb in a certain area of the necropolis, following KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole*, and PM I.1².

Chapel type corresponds to the seminal analyses on "Innenraumkonzeption und Grabform" by Friederike Kampp.²³²

Tomb sculpture mentions rock-cut sculptures as part of the chapel's architecture and/or sculptures in the round, which can be attributed to the tomb.

Titles and epithets follow the writing and translation of Taylor and al-Ayedi.²³³ They are listed in alphabetical order.

The bibliography references present only a selection. PM I.1² and KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole*, are always mentioned at first, followed by the main publication and additional references.

²³² KAMPP, *Die thebanische Nekropole* 1, 11–41.

²³³ J. A. TAYLOR, *An Index of Male Non-Royal Egyptian Titles, Epithets & Phrases of the 18th Dynasty*, London 2001; A. R. AL-AYEDI, *Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom*, Ismailia 2006.

TUTANKHAMUN

TT 40

Owner:	Amenhotep, called Huy ²³⁴
Date:	Tut. (Kampp/Hofmann/Kawai); A. IV to Tut. (PM I.1 ²)
Location:	Qurnet Murai
Chapel type:	VIb
Tomb sculpture:	Black granite group statue with four seated figures, names lost; ²³⁵ Black granite kneeling stelophor with titles and name of Amenhotep. ²³⁶

Titles and epithets:²³⁷

<i>jmy-r jh.w n Jmn</i>	Overseer of the cattle of Amun
<i>jmy-r jh.w n Jmn m t3 pn Kš</i>	Overseer of the cattle of Amun in this land Kush
<i>jmy-r h3sw.t nb.w n Jmn</i>	Overseer of the gold-countries of Amun
<i>jmy-r h3sw.t nb.w n nb-t3.wj</i>	Overseer of the gold-countries of the Lord of the Two Lands
<i>jmy-r h3sw.t rsyw.t</i>	Overseer of the southern countries
<i>jry-p^c.t h3ty-^c</i>	Hereditary prince, nobleman
<i>jt ntr mrjj ntr</i>	Divine father, beloved of god
<i>jdnw n hm.f n tj nt htrj</i>	Lieutenant commander of the chariotry of his majesty ²³⁸
<i>wpwtj nswt hr h3sw.t nbw.t</i>	The king's envoy in every land ²³⁹
<i>z3 nswt n Kš</i>	The king's son of Kush
<i>sš nswt</i>	Royal scribe
<i>sš nswt m3^c mry.f</i>	True royal scribe, beloved of him
<i>knj n hm.f m t3-nt-htrj</i>	Brave of his Majesty in the cavalry
<i>bt hw hr wnm n nswt</i>	Fan-bearer to the right of the king

Commentary:

The fact that the tomb dates back to the time of Tutankhamun is evidenced by several royal representations. In addition, the chapel's iconographic program includes the depiction of Amenhotep Huy's appointment as King's son of Kush by Tutankhamun. Dating the tomb to the time of Amenhotep IV as PM I.1² suggests, seems

²³⁴ For the career of Amenhotep Huy see: KAWAI, in JASNOW/COONEY, *Joyful in Thebes*, 309–313.

²³⁵ PM I.1², 78, and DAVIES/GARDINER, *Tomb of Huy*, 34, mentions fragments of a triple-statue. However, if the construction of the statue is correct as it is nowadays exhibited in the tomb, the group represents four and not three persons.

²³⁶ The upper part with shoulders, arms and head is missing, the statue probably was originally about 65/70 cm high. It was found in 1931 in a pit at Qurnet Murai very close to TT 40; M. ALLIOT, "Fouilles de Deir el-Médineh 1930–1931. Un puits funéraire à Qournet-Mora'I, 21 février – 7 mars 1931", in: BIFAO 32, 1932, 70–81. Today the statue is the Louvre, Paris (E 14398) (<https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/clo10016297>). I thank Philipp Seyr for this information.

²³⁷ Some of the titles are only attested in Faras, see: DAVIES/GARDINER, *Tomb of Huy*, 6.

²³⁸ GNIRS, *Militär und Gesellschaft*, 135.

²³⁹ Amenhotep, Huy, is the first viceroy of Kush holding this title; KAWAI, in JASNOW/COONEY (eds.), *Joyful in Thebes*, 311 with note 20.

very unlikely given that a certain Djehutimose was viceroy of Kush during the time of Akhenaton and no other holder of the title is known from this reign.²⁴⁰

Particularly significant are Ramesside restorations of the patron's figure and some texts, which display a Nineteenth Dynasty style. It was most likely family members who restored the tomb after having faced a post-Amarna iconoclastic campaign.²⁴¹

Selected bibliography:

PM I.1², 64, 75–78; KAMPP, Thebanische Nekropole 1, 233–235; HOFMANN, Bilder im Wandel, 7–9; DAVIES/GARDINER, The tomb of Huy; BENDERITTER, KMT 27/2, 28–51; EL-SHAHAWY, Décoration des tombes thébaines, doc. 54, 73–77; HOHLBEIN, Wie die Ägypter ihre Nachbarn sahen, 30–33; KAWAI, in JASNOW/COONEY (eds.), Joyful in Thebes, 309–313; STRUDWICK, in EYRE/LEAHY/MONTAGNO LEAHY (eds.), Unbroken Reed, 331.

TUTANKHAMUN – AY

TT 46

Owner:	Ramose ²⁴²
Date:	Tut. – Ay (vgl. Kawai); A. III / A. IV (Kampp/Redford/Wasmuth); A. III (?) (PM I.1 ²)
Location:	Sheikh Abd el-Gourna
Chapel type:	IVb ²⁴³ / special form of VIIc / VIb
Tomb sculpture:	/
Titles and epithets:	

<i>jmy-r pr</i>	Steward
<i>jmy-r pr m t3 hwt p3 Jtn</i>	Steward of the temple of Aten
<i>jmy-r ssmwt n nb t3wy</i>	Overseer of the horses of the Lord of the Two Lands
<i>jmy-r šnwt</i>	Overseer of granary
<i>jmy-r šnwty nw šmꜥw mhꜥw</i>	Overseer of double granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt
<i>hm-ntr tpy n Jmn m Mn-st</i>	High priest of Amun in Menset (= Mortuary temple of Ahmose Nefertari) ²⁴⁴
<i>hsy n hmt-ntr Jꜥh-ms Nfirt-jry</i>	Praised of god's wife Ahmose Nefertari
<i>sš nswt</i>	Royal scribe
<i>sš nswt m3ꜥ mry.f</i>	True royal scribe, his beloved
<i>By hw hr wnm n nswt</i>	Fan-bearer to the right of the King

240 DAVIES/GARDINER, Tomb of Huy, 5; L. HABACHI, "Königsson von Kusch", in: W. HELCK/E. OTTO (eds.), Lexikon der Ägyptologie III, Wiesbaden 1980, 633.

241 BENDERITTER, KMT 27/2, 216, 51, suggests that it was his son, Paser, who restored the father's image after succeeding him as viceroy of Kush.

242 Ramose is the second owner, who reused an older monument from the late Seventeenth/early Eighteenth Dynasty; KAWAI, in D'AURIA (ed.), Offerings to Discerning Eye, 210; KAMPP, Thebanische Nekropole 1, 244.

243 Kampp lists all three forms, VIIc and VIb for the time of Amenhotep III, to which she dates the reuse of the tomb by Ramose, while the architecture refers to the early Eighteenth Dynasty; KAMPP, Thebanische Nekropole 1, 244.

244 M. GITTON, L'épouse du dieu Ahmes Néfertari: documents sur sa vie et son culte posthume, Centre recherches d'histoire ancienne 15, Paris 1975, 18–19, 78–80.

Commentary:

N. Kawai convincingly argues for a career of Ramose in the post-Amarna period. This interpretation is not contradicted by the patron's function in the Aten temple, since also in Thebes, the cult most probably functioned until the reign of Sety I, as is the case in Memphis.²⁴⁵ He also refers to a stela from the reign of Ay, which mentions an "Overseer of Double Granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt" called Ramose, who most probably was the same person as the owner of TT 46.

Selected bibliography:

PM I.1², 80, 86–87; KAMPP, Thebanische Nekropole 1, 244–246; WASMUTH, Innovationen und Extravaganzen, 85; KAWAI, in D'AURIA (ed.), Offerings to the Discerning Eye, 209–215; EICHLER, Hauses des Amun, 302 No. 406; S. REDFORD, "Report on two seasons of fieldwork in Theban Tomb #46", in: ASAE 84, 2010, 363–382.

AY**TT 271**

Owner:	Nay
Date:	Ay (PM I.1 ² /Kampp/Hofmann/Wasmuth)
Location:	Qurnet Murai
Chapel type:	VIII
Tomb sculpture:	/
Titles and epithets:	

<i>jmy-r jpwt nswt</i>	Overseer of the royal quarters
<i>jmy-r k3wt</i>	Overseer of works
<i>jry-p^c.t h3ty-^c</i>	Hereditary prince, nobleman
<i>jt-ntr mry (ntr)</i>	Divine father beloved of (god)
<i>wr swmw</i>	Chief physician
<i>r3 hry wr m t3 r-dr. f</i>	Chief spokesman in the entire land ²⁴⁶
<i>hsy</i>	Praised one
<i>hsy ^c3 n nb t3wj</i>	Greatly praised one of the lord of the Two Lands
<i>hry tp nswt</i>	King's chamberlain
<i>sš nfrw</i>	Scribe of recruits
<i>sš nswt</i>	Royal scribe
<i>By hw hr wnm n nswt</i>	Fan-bearer to the right of the king

Commentary:

Olsen lists TT 271 as the largest tomb of the post-Amarna period and the only "super tomb" in Qurnet Murai.²⁴⁷ He rightly states that it is possible that the construction of the larger tombs from the short reign of Ay were originally begun under Amenhotep III, then abandoned during the Amarna period and later resumed.²⁴⁸ Kampp mentions the unfinished state of the chapel.²⁴⁹ In the case of TT 271, it seems much more likely that such a huge tomb did not originally belong to the reign of Ay but that the construction work began already

245 KAWAI, in D'AURIA (ed.), Offerings to Discerning Eye, 212–214.

246 GNIRS, Militär und Gesellschaft, 106 note 566.

247 A tomb of 728 m³; OLSEN, Socioeconomic aspects, 143, 149, 175.

248 OLSEN, Socioeconomic aspects, 138.

249 KAMPP, Thebanische Nekropole 2, 544–545.

much earlier. The chapel type featuring a large hall with double rows of pillars is well attested before the Amarna period.²⁵⁰ The size of the superstructure alone seems to indicate the period of Amenhotep III for the construction of the architecture, at least of the pillared hall. Different to the large hall, the vaulted chapel of the pyramid above is constructed of mud bricks. Judging by the style of its painted wall decoration, it can be dated to the post-Amarna period. The inscriptions in the inner chapel name the tomb owner Nay together with the cartouche of Ay.

Selected bibliography:

PM I.1², 350; KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole 2*, 534–545; HOFMANN, *Bilder im Wandel*, 18; WASMUTH, *Innovationen und Extravaganzen*, 127; HABACHI/ANUS, *Le tombeau de Nay*; OLSEN, *Socioeconomic aspects*, 167; EIGNER, *MDAIK 39*, 43–46.

TT 49

Owner:	Neferhotep
Date:	Ay (PM I.1 ² /Davies/Hofmann/Strudwick); Tut / Ay / Hor. (Kampp); late Eighteenth Dynasty (Wasmuth)
Location:	el-Khokha
Chapel type:	V1b
Tomb sculpture:	Rock-cut statues on three sides of the central cult place; two niches with seated figures of an unnamed couple on north and south wall and a central niche at the west wall with larger (over life-size) seated statues of the deceased and his wife.

Titles and epithets:

<i>jmy-r nfrwt n Jmn</i>	Overseer of the cows of Amun
<i>jmy-r nfrwt n Jmn m šm^cw mḥw</i>	Overseer of the cows of Amun in Upper and Lower Egypt
<i>jmy-r jḥ.w</i>	Overseer of the cattle
<i>jmy-r jḥ.w n Jmn</i>	Overseer of the cattle of Amun
<i>jmy-r jḥ.w n Jmn m šm^cw mḥw</i>	Overseer of the cattle of Amun in Upper and Lower Egypt
<i>sš wr n Jmn</i>	Chief scribe of Amun

Commentary:

Davies reconstructed a cartouche of Ay, defining the general classification of the tomb.²⁵¹ The tomb is dated to the time after Amarna based on stylistic criteria and some iconographic links to Amarna such as the scenes in the royal palace and the Window of Appearance.²⁵² The chapel's decoration even includes an unusual rewarding scene for the patron's wife.²⁵³ However, Eva Hofmann argued about stylistic features which correspond to the time of Horemheb.²⁵⁴ Davies also refers to a palimpsest hinting to the possibility that the original owner of the tomb was a "chief (?) priest and royal scribe (?)".²⁵⁵

250 For large chapels with several rows of pillars see: EIGNER, *MDAIK 39*, 39–47.

251 DAVIES, *The tomb of Nefer-Hotep I*, 19.

252 HOFMANN, *Bilder im Wandel*, 9.

253 PEREYRA DE FIDANZA, in GIALOWICZ/OSTROWSKI (eds.), *Les civilisations du bassin Méditerranéen*, 173–184.

254 Particularly the facial features and wigs; HOFMANN, *Bilder im Wandel*, 10.

255 DAVIES, *The tomb of Nefer-Hotep I*, 7.

Selected bibliography:

PM I.1², 90–95; KAMPP, Thebanische Nekropole 1, 251–254; HOFMANN, Bilder im Wandel, 9–10; WASMUTH, Innovationen und Extravaganzen, 88; DAVIES, The tomb of Nefer-Hotep at Thebes I and II; EL-SHAHAWY, Recherche sur la décoration des tombes thébaines, doc. 55, 75–77; PEREYA/FANTECHI/ZINGARELLI, in Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists, 1485–1494; STRUDWICK, in EYRE/LEAHY/MONTAGNO LEAHY (eds.), Unbroken Reed, 331–332.

AY – HOREMHEB**TT 254**

Owner:	Amenmose, Mesu
Date:	Ay / Horemheb (Kampp/Strudwick); Ay (Hofmann); late Eighteenth Dynasty (PM I.1 ²)
Location:	el-Khokha
Chapel type:	IIa
Tomb sculpture:	/
Titles and epithets:	

<i>jry pr-ḥd</i>	Keeper of the treasury
<i>jry pr-ḥd n Jmn</i>	Keeper of the treasury of Amun
<i>jry (n) pr Tiy m pr Jmn</i>	Keeper of the estate of Tiye in the estate of Amun
<i>ḥrj jry pr-ḥd n pr Jmn-R^c</i>	Senior supervisor of the treasury of the estates of Amun-Re
<i>sš pr-ḥd Jmn</i>	Scribe of the treasury of Amun
<i>sš jt ntr (n) Jmn</i>	Scribe of the divine father of Amun

Commentary:

The tomb is rather small in size and is listed by Olsen as a “mini tomb”,²⁵⁶ Both Kampp and Strudwick derive the dating of the tomb from stylistic parallels to TT 49 and scenes with Amarna influences. Interestingly, the main cult place is not a large statue niche, as it is the main tradition in Thebes, but presents a combination of a cavetto cornice door which includes a round-top stela and a small niche (36 × 20 × 20 cm) in the lower part. Its main funerary cult scene depicts Osiris in the centre and Amenmose offering to him. Strudwick interprets the niche as a place for food offerings,²⁵⁷ however it would offer enough space for a small sitting figure, which one would expect here.

Selected bibliography:

PM I.1², 334, 338–339; KAMPP, Thebanische Nekropole 2, 530–532; HOFMANN, Bilder im Wandel, 10–11; STRUDWICK, Tombs of Amenhotep, Khnummose, and Amenmose, 56–92, plates 5–8, 20–21, 42–43; EL-SHAHAWY, Recherche sur la décoration des tombes thébaines, doc. 56, 77–78; ENGELMANN-VON CARNAP, in MEYER (ed.), Egypt - Temple of the whole world, 21–40; STRUDWICK/STRUDWICK, in TEFNIN (ed.), La peinture égyptienne ancienne, 37–47; STRUDWICK, in EYRE/LEAHY/MONTAGNO LEAHY (eds.), Unbroken Reed, 332.

²⁵⁶ OLSEN, Socioeconomic aspects, 168 fig. 30, 170–171.

²⁵⁷ STRUDWICK, Tombs of Amenmose, 79.

TT 324

Owner:	Hatiay
Date:	post-Amarna (Hofmann); Ay/S. I (Kampp); Eighteenth/Nineteenth Dynasty (Was-muth); Ramesside (PM I.1 ²); early Nineteenth Dynasty (Strudwick)
Location:	Sheikh Abd el-Gourna
Chapel type:	Vb
Tomb sculpture:	Limestone triad of seated deceased, wife, and mother. ²⁵⁸
Titles and epithets:	

<i>jmy-r ḥwt-ntr n ntrw nbw</i>	Overseer of the prophets of all the gods
<i>ḥm-ntr tpy n Jmn (?)</i>	High priest of Amun (?)
<i>ḥm-ntr tpy n hr</i>	High priest of Horus
<i>ḥm-ntr tpy n Sbk</i>	High priest of Sobek
<i>ḥm-ntr tpy n Sbk, Jnpw, ḥnsw</i>	High priest of Sobek, Anubis and Khonsu
<i>sš ḥwt-ntr n Mntw</i>	Scribe of the Temple of Monthu
<i>sš ḥtp-ntr m [pr] Mntw</i>	Scribe of the god's offerings in the temple of Montu

Commentary:

Eva Hoffmann provides convincing arguments for an Eighteenth Dynasty dating of the tomb based on stylistic and iconographic parallels.²⁵⁹ Strudwick presents an early Nineteenth Dynasty dating despite the influences of Amarna art due to the affinities to the tomb of Userhat, TT 51.²⁶⁰ He even suspects that both tombs were painted by the same artists.²⁶¹

K.-J. Seyfried lists the tombs under the few cases with a “double burial system” where shaft and sloping passages are directly connected.²⁶² It should be mentioned that the paintings are on thick mouna plaster like TT 40.²⁶³

Selected bibliography:

PM I.1², 382, 395–396; KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole 2*, 574–477; HOFMANN, *Bilder im Wandel*, 18–20; WASMUTH, *Innovationen und Extravaganzen*, 131; DAVIES/GARDINER, *Seven private tombs at Kurnah*, 42–48, plates XXXI–XXXIV; STRUDWICK, in EYRE/LEAHY/MONTAGNO LEAHY (eds.), *Unbroken Reed*, 332.

258 The heads of the figures are lost; the statue is today in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 71965 – SR 4/13938; height: 67 cm. I thank Eid Mertah for providing me with this additional information.

259 HOFMANN, *Bilder im Wandel*, 18–20.

260 PM I.1², 382, 90, 97–99; KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole 1*, 255–257; HOFMANN, *Bilder im Wandel*, 28. TT 51 is dated to Ramesses I/Sety I by cartouches on the priest's ornate.

261 STRUDWICK, in EYRE/LEAHY/MONTAGNO LEAHY (eds.), *Unbroken Reed*, 332.

262 K.-J. SEYFRIED, “Reminiscences of the ‘Butic burial’ in Theban tombs of the New Kingdom”, in: N. STRUDWICK/J. H. TAYLOR (eds.), *The Theban necropolis. Past, Present and Future*, London 2003, 67.

263 HOFMANN, *Bilder im Wandel*, 18.

HOREMHEB**TT A8**

Owner:	Amenemhab
Date:	Horemheb (Manniche); Ay / Horemheb (Kampp); Eighteenth or Nineteenth Dynasty (PM I.1 ²)
Location:	DraʿAbu el-Naga
Chapel type:	Vb ²⁶⁴
Tomb sculpture:	Black granite statue with three seated figures, the deceased with mother and wife ²⁶⁵
Titles and epithets:	

<i>jmy-r pr m ḥwt Jmn-ḥtp ḥr jmntt W3st</i>	Steward in the mansion of Amenhotep I on the west of Thebes
<i>jmy-r šnwt n Jmn</i>	Overseer of Granary of Amun
<i>ḥ3ty-ꜥ n njwt</i>	Mayor of the town
<i>sš nswt m3ꜥ</i>	True royal scribe

Commentary:

Manniche dates the tomb to the time of Horemheb by also referring to some details of the text which rather suggest the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty and not the Ramesside period.²⁶⁶ The main argument is the family group coming from the tomb, which depicts Amenemheb in the centre together with his mother (right) and wife (left).²⁶⁷ It is made of grey granite with a height of 91 cm and belongs today to the State Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg (Inv. no: ДБ-740). The material, size and quality of the sculpture indicate the patron's access to workshops which most probably belonged to a temple. Stylistically the statue clearly indicates a post-Amarna date.

Selected bibliography:

PM I.1², 449–450; KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole 2*, 616; L. MANNICHE, *Lost Tombs. A Study of Certain Eighteenth Dynasty Monuments in the Theban Necropolis*, London 1988, 47–49; N. B. LANDA/I. A. LAPIS, *Egyptian Antiquities in the Hermitage, Leningrad 1974*, no. 51; THE STATE HERMITAGE MUSEUM COLLECTION DATABASE, “Funerary Sculpture of Amenemheb, Mayor of Thebes, with his Wife and Mother”, Inventory Number: ДБ-740, accessed on 24. 2. 2021: <https://hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/06.+Sculpture/83623/?lng=ar>

264 KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole 1*, 24 Tab 10.

265 State Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg, ДБ-740.

266 MANNICHE, *Lost Tombs*, 48–49.

267 The mother Kanuro is “singer of Amun, lady of the house”, his wife Taisenneferet functioned as “high priestess of the temple of the goddess Hathor” and “Singer of Amun”. The titles of both women further underline the family's close connection to the Theban area and the Amun cult.

HOREMHEB – SETY I**TT 41**

Owner:	Amenemopet, Ipi
Date:	Hor. – S. I (Assmann/Kampp/Hofmann); early Ramesside (Strudwick); R. I – S. I (?) (PM I.1 ²); Eighteenth / Nineteenth Dynasty (Wasmuth)
Location:	el-Khokha
Chapel type:	VIIa
Tomb sculpture:	Rock-cut figures in a niche, seated statues of deceased and wife; Osiris-pillars in the courtyard

Titles and epithets:

<i>jmy-r jḥw n Jmn</i>	Overseer of the cattle of Amun
<i>jmy-r pr n Jmn</i>	Steward of Amun
<i>jmy-r pr wr</i>	Chief steward
<i>jmy-r pr wr n Jmn</i>	Chief steward of Amun
<i>jmy-r pr wr n Jmn-R^c</i>	Chief steward of Amun-Re
<i>jmy-r pr wr n Jmn m njwt rsjt</i>	Chief steward of Amun in the southern city
<i>jmy-r pr n ḥm-ntr ///</i>	Steward of the prophet ///
<i>jmy-r ḥmw-ntr</i>	Overseer of prophets
<i>jmy-r ḥmw-ntr n Mnw 3st</i>	Overseer of the prophets of Min (and) Isis
<i>jmy-r šnwtj</i>	Overseer of the double granary
<i>jmy-r šnwtj n Mnw n 3st</i>	Overseer of the double granary of Min and Isis
<i>jmy-r šnwtj n nb t3.wj</i>	Overseer of the double granary of the lord of the Two lands
<i>jmy-r šnwtj n ntrw nb nhḥ</i>	Overseer of the double granary of gods, lord of eternity
<i>jmy-r šnwtj n pr nb</i>	Overseer of the double granary of every house
<i>jmy-r šnwtj n šm^cw Mḥw</i>	Overseer of the double granary of Upper and Lower Egypt
<i>jmy-r šnwt n ntrw nbw</i>	Overseer of the granary of all gods
<i>jry-p^c.t ḥ3ty-^c</i>	Hereditary prince, nobleman
<i>3 n pr n ḥmw-ntr</i>	Great one of the house of the prophets
<i>mry nb-t3.wj</i>	One beloved of the lord of the Two Lands
<i>ḥtm-bjtj</i>	Seal bearer
<i>hrj-tp nswt</i>	Royal chamberlain
<i>hrj-tp nswt m ^cḥ št3</i>	Royal chamberlain in the secret palace
<i>sš nswt</i>	Royal scribe
<i>sš nswt m3^c mry.f</i>	True royal scribe, his beloved
<i>sšm ḥ3b n Jmn</i>	Festival leader of Amun
<i>sšm ḥ3b n ntrw nbw</i>	Festival leader of all gods

Commentary:

Strudwick lists it under “Tombs of the early Nineteenth Dynasty” despite mentioning the dating by the University of Heidelberg project to the transmission period Horemheb to Sety I.²⁶⁸ The tomb chapel does not

268 STRUDWICK, in EYRE/LEAHY/MONTAGNO LEAHY (eds.), *Unbroken Reed*, 333; K.-J. SEYFRIED, in ASSMANN (ed.), *Das Grab des Amenemope TT 41*, 215–216.

have a complete Ramesside program but includes many typical themes of that period. Without convincing textual sources, the current dating is mainly derived by established stylistic criteria.²⁶⁹

Selected bibliography:

PM I.1², 78–295; KAMPP, Thebanische Nekropole 1, 235–237; HOFMANN, Bilder im Wandel, 14–18; WASMUTH, Innovationen und Extravaganzen, 84; ASSMANN (ed.), Das Grab des Amenemope TT 41; STRUDWICK, in EYRE/LEAHY/MONTAGNO LEAHY (eds.), Unbroken Reed, 333.

TT 166

Owner: **Ramosi**
Date: Hor. – S. I (Kampp/Hofmann/Seyfried); Twentieth Dynasty (PM I.1²)
Location: Dra'Abu el-Naga
Chapel type: Vb
Tomb sculpture: /
Titles and epithets:²⁷⁰

<i>jmy-r jḥw</i>	Overseer of cattle
<i>jmy-r nfrwt</i>	Overseer of cows
<i>jmy-r sš(w) mʒʿ(w) n nb-t3.wj</i>	Overseer of scribes of truth of the Lord of the two land
<i>jmy-r k3wt m jpt-swt</i>	Overseer of works in Karnak
<i>[jmy-r k3wt] m mnw nb n ḥm.f m jpt-swt</i>	Overseer of works on all monuments of his majesty in Karnak
<i>[jmy-r k3wt (?) m šmʿw Mḥw</i>	Overseer of works in Upper and Lower Egypt
<i>jmy-r k3wt n Jmn</i>	Overseer of works of Amun
<i>jmy-r k3wt n Jmn m W3st mj pt</i>	Overseer of works of Amun in <i>W3st mj pt</i>
<i>jmy-r k3wt n Jmn m grg(t) W3st</i>	Overseer of works of Amun in <i>grg(t) W3st</i>
<i>jmy-r k3wt n Jmn m šḥd W3st</i>	Overseer of works of Amun in <i>šḥd W3st</i>
<i>jmy-r k3wt n Jmn (m) mn mnw</i>	Overseer of works of Amun in <i>mn mnw</i>
<i>jmy-r k3wt n Jmn m 3ḥ n jt.f</i>	Overseer of works of Amun in <i>3ḥ n jt.f</i>
<i>jmy-r k3wt n Jmn m pr-ḥd špsj n Jmn Rʿ</i>	Overseer of works of Amun in the noble treasury of Amun Ra
<i>sš wr n Jmn</i>	Chief scribe of Amun
<i>/// n mnw nb n Jmn</i>	/// of all monuments of Amun

Commentary:

The tomb remained unfinished, but Eva Hofmann convincingly argues for the dating of the chapel's decoration under Horemheb to Sety I and not later. She infers this from the given stylistic features such as body forms and iconographic details.²⁷¹ Apparently, the original plan was to decorate the entire chapel in relief and not paintings, however, some themes stayed in line drawing only.²⁷²

269 HOFFMANN, in ASSMANN (ed.), Das Grab des Amenemope TT 41, 196–200.

270 See for the titles HOFMANN/SEYFRIED, MDAIK 51, 35–36, 46–49, including comments on the different settlements and estates.

271 HOFMANN, Bilder im Wandel, 20–22.

272 This parallel to the royal tomb of Horemheb, KV 57, might be accidental.

Selected bibliography:

PM I.1², 2, 272, 277–278; KAMPP, Thebanische Nekropole 1, 454–455; HOFMANN, Bilder im Wandel, 20–22; E. HOFMANN/K.-J. SEYFRIED, “Bemerkungen zum Grab des Bauleiters Ramose (TT 166) in Dra Abu el Naga Nord”, in: MDAIK 51, 1995, 23–56; EL-SHAHAWY, Recherche sur la décoration des tombes thébaines, doc. 58, 80–81.

TUTANKHAMUN – HOREMHEB**NO. -162-**²⁷³

Owner: Parennefer/Wennefer
Date: Tut. – Hor. (Kampp/Hofmann/Wasmuth)²⁷⁴
Location: Dra’Abu el-Naga
Chapel type: VIIb
Tomb sculpture: Five rock-cut figures in seated position of family members, almost life size.²⁷⁵
Titles and epithets:²⁷⁶

<i>hm-ntr tpj n Jmn</i>	High priest of Amun
<i>hm-ntr tpj n Jnjhrt</i>	High priest of Onuris
<i>Jmj-r hmw-ntr n šm^cw mhw</i>	Overseer of priests of Upper and Lower Egypt
<i>htm-bjtj</i>	Sealbearer of the king
?	?

Commentary:

Parennefer/Wennefer was previously known from other monuments such as several sculptures and funerary cones, but only thanks to the tomb discovery in Dra’Abu el-Naga a convincing dating could be determined.²⁷⁷ Noteworthy is the parallel use of both the patron’s names in the early phase of the decoration, while later Parennefer was consequently erased and only Wennefer left.²⁷⁸ Kampp states that wider part of the decoration must have been already done in the time of Tutankhamun particularly since also modifications of cartouches are attested, from his name to Horemheb.²⁷⁹

The architecture as well demonstrates some rather astonishing features, which are partly known from royal monuments in Amarna.²⁸⁰ In addition, the tomb belongs to a group of monuments with several burial compartments as part of the original concept and actually has two sloping passages and a classical shaft.²⁸¹

273 The numbering follows Kampp, since the tomb is not listed in PM I.1²; there is still no full publication.

274 In several cases the cartouche of Tutankhamun was later changed to Horemheb; KAMPP/SEYFRIED, Antike Welt 26/5, 336.

275 Compare the illustration: KAMPP/SEYFRIED, Antike Welt 26/5, 332–333 and Abb. 15; KAMPP, MDAIK 50, 1994, 182 with note 22.

276 No further titles have been published so far.

277 KAMPP, Thebanische Nekropole 2, 714–716.

278 KAMPP, MDAIK 50, 186.

279 KAMPP, MDAIK 50, 186 incl. note 45; KAMPP/SEYFRIED, Antike Welt 26/5, 336.

280 KAMPP, MDAIK 50, 182–183; KAMPP, Thebanische Nekropole 2, 713; HOFMANN, Bilder im Wandel, 14.

281 F. KAMPP, “Zur Konzeption doppelter Bestattungsanlagen”, in: J. ASSMANN/E. DZIOBEK/H. GUKSCH /F. KAMPP (eds.), Thebanische Beamtennekropolen. Neue Perspektiven archäologischer Forschung. Internationales Symposium Heidelberg 9.–13. 6. 1993, SAGA 12, Heidelberg 1995, 206 Tab. 1, 210.

Selected bibliography:

KAMPP, Thebanische Nekropole 2, 713–716; HOFMANN, Bilder im Wandel, 11–14; WASMUTH, Innovationen und Extravaganzen, 72; KAMPP, MDAIK 50, 175–188; KAMPP/SEYFRIED, Antike Welt 26/5, 325–342; KAMPP-SEYFRIED, in GUKSCH/HOFMANN/BOMMAS (eds.), Grab und Totenkult, 118–127; STRUDWICK, in EYRE/LEAHY/MONTAGNO LEAHY (eds.), Unbroken Reed, 331.

TT 275

Owner: Sobekmosi
Date: Tut. / Hor. (Kampp); A. III (Wasmuth); Ramesside (PM I.1²)
Location: Qurnet Murai
Chapel type: Vb
Tomb sculpture: /
Titles and epithets:²⁸²

<i>jt ntr / hry w^cb n pr skr</i>	Divine father / chief <i>wab</i> -priest in the temples of Sokar
<i>hry w^cb</i>	Chief <i>wab</i> -priest
<i>hry w^cb / jt ntr m t3 hwwt Nb-m3^ct-R^c</i>	Chief <i>wab</i> -priest / divine father in the temples of Nebmaatre III

Commentary:

The tomb is located just below TT 40 and its decoration is badly preserved.²⁸³ Kampp and Hofmann both date the tomb to the post-Amarna period following stylistic and iconographic evidences.²⁸⁴

Selected bibliography:

PM I.1², 348, 352; KAMPP, Thebanische Nekropole 2, 246–247; HOFMANN, Bilder im Wandel, 6; WASMUTH, Innovationen und Extravaganzen, 128; M. H. GAUTHIER, “Rapport sommaire sure les fouilles de l’institut français d’archéologie orientale dans la nécropole thébaines en 1917 et 1918”, in: ASAE 19, 1920, 8.

TT 291

Owner: Nakht-Min and Nu
Date: Right after Amarna until Hor. (Kampp/Bruyère and Kuentz); late Eighteenth Dynasty (PM I.1²/Strudwick)
Location: Deir el-Medineh
Chapel type: IIb
Tomb sculpture: /
Titles and epithets:

Nakht-Min

<i>sdm-^c§ m st-^c3(t)</i>	Servant in the great place
<i>sdm-^c§ m st-m3^ct</i>	Servant in the place of Truth

Nu

<i>sdm-^c§ m st-^c3(t)</i>	Servant in the great place
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²⁸² The titles are listed after the scarce information by GAUTHIER, ASAE 19, 8, and PM I.1², 352, which do not entirely correspond.

²⁸³ GAUTHIER, ASAE 19, 8.

²⁸⁴ KAMPP, Thebanische Nekropole 2, 246; HOFMANN, Bilder im Wandel, 6.

Commentary:

The title *sḏm-ꜥš m st-ꜥ3(t)* “servant in the great place” is an indicator for the Eighteenth Dynasty rather than the Ramesside period.²⁸⁵ Also stylistically the tomb fits very well in the post-Amarna period, with features indicative of time right after Amarna. Some of the figures seem to have body shapes which fit very well in the reign of Tutankhamun and Ay.²⁸⁶ A funerary stela from the tomb depicts three generations of the family and is today in the Museo Egizio in Turin.²⁸⁷ It was positioned in this small vaulted chapel with a deep vaulted niche in the back.

Selected bibliography:

PM I.1², 370, 374; KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole* 2, 561; B. BRUYÈRE/C. KUENTZ, *Tombes thébaines. La nécropole de Deir l-Médineh: La tombe de Nakht-Min, la tombe d'Ari-Nefer* [Nos 291 et 290], MIFAO 54, Le Caire 2015, 1–65, plates I–XII; D. POLZ, “Bemerkungen zur Grabnutzung in der thebanischen Nekropole”, in: MDAIK 46, 1990, 325–326; STRUDWICK, in EYRE/LEAHY/MONTAGNO LEAHY (eds.), *Unbroken Reed*, 333; INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'ARCHEOLOGIE ORIENTALE – LE CAIRE, *Archives, Tombes de Deir el Medina: Couverture photographique*. Accessed on 25. 2. 2021. <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ttdem/>

TT 338

Owner: Maya
Date: Tut. / Hor. (Kampp); A. IV to Hor. (Museo Egizio²⁸⁸); late Eighteenth Dynasty (PM I.1², Strudwick)
Location: Deir el-Medineh
Chapel type: I
Tomb sculpture: /
Titles and epithets:

<i>sš ḳdwt</i>	Draughtsman ²⁸⁹
<i>sš ḳdwt n Jmn m st-m3ꜥt</i>	Draughtsman of Amun in the Place of Truth

285 BRUYÈRE/KUENTZ, *Tombes thébaines. La nécropole de Deir el-Médineh*, 63.

286 Compare the male figures on the right wall in the offering scene in front of Osiris and Hathor of the West. They have a pronounced belly with slight indications of breasts and a kilt, which is very high up in the back. An unnamed man behind Nu and his wife (?) wears a haircut, which is reminiscent of a Nubian wig. At the same time the wigs of the women are not yet elongated as they are at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty. At the rear wall, the two patron's wives have legs that are narrowing downwards as is very common in the style of Tutankhamun. STRUDWICK, in EYRE/LEAHY/MONTAGNO LEAHY (eds.), *Unbroken Reed*, 333, dates the tomb to the end of the Dynasty and sees some stylistic parallels to the royal tombs of Horemheb and Ramesses I.

287 Last accessed on 9. 3. 2021: http://collezioni.museoegizio.it/it-IT/material/Cat_1619/?description=&inventoryNumber=1619 & title=&cgt=&yearFrom=&yearTo=&materials=&provenance=&acquisition=&epoch=&dynasty=&pharaoh=.

288 The collection database mentions no reigns but “1353–1292 BC”, which actually also includes Amenhotep IV; [http://collezioni.museoegizio.it/it-IT/material/S_7910/?description=&inventoryNumber=&title=&cgt=&yearFrom=&yearTo=&materials=&provenance=Deir+el-Medina+%2f+cappella+di+Maia+\(TT+338\)&acquisition=&epoch=&dynasty=&pharaoh=](http://collezioni.museoegizio.it/it-IT/material/S_7910/?description=&inventoryNumber=&title=&cgt=&yearFrom=&yearTo=&materials=&provenance=Deir+el-Medina+%2f+cappella+di+Maia+(TT+338)&acquisition=&epoch=&dynasty=&pharaoh=).

289 Used on the stela, Museo Egizio, Inv. Nr. Cat. 1579.

Commentary:

The small chapel²⁹⁰ is today in the Museo Egizio, Turin, Inv. Nr. S. 7910. Close to the tomb a funerary stela of the “scribe of outlines” Maya was found, also today in Turin (Inv. Nr. Cat. 1579).²⁹¹ It depicts the deceased and his wife in adoration of Osiris and Hathor of the West. The somewhat simpler version of the title in both scenes seems to indicate that the small chapel was painted later. Stylistically both indicate a post-Amarna dating, and hereby present features indicative of the reign of Tutankhamun rather than Horemheb.²⁹²

Selected bibliography:

PM I.1², 400, 406; KAMPP, Thebanische Nekropole 2, 579; TOSI, La cappella di Maia; EICHLER, Verwaltung des “Houses des Amun”, 276 No. 242; B. M. BRUYÈRE, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1924–1925), Le Caire 1926, 192–194, fig. 128, plate IV; STRUDWICK, in EYRE/LEAHY/MONTAGNO LEAHY (eds.), Unbroken Reed, 333.

MUSEO EGIZIO, Torino, Collection online, accessed on 8. 2. 2021

[http://collezioni.museoegizio.it/it-IT/material/S_7910/?description=&inventoryNumber=&title=&cgt=&yearFrom=&yearTo=&materials=&provenance=Deir+el-Medina+%2f+cappella+di+Maia+\(TT+338\)&acquisition=&epoch=&dynasty=&pharaoh=](http://collezioni.museoegizio.it/it-IT/material/S_7910/?description=&inventoryNumber=&title=&cgt=&yearFrom=&yearTo=&materials=&provenance=Deir+el-Medina+%2f+cappella+di+Maia+(TT+338)&acquisition=&epoch=&dynasty=&pharaoh=);

INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'ARCHEOLOGIE ORIENTALE - LE CAIRE, Archives, Tombes de Deir el Medina : Couverture photographique. Accessed on 25. 2. 2021. <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ttdem/>

END OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY**TT 150**

Owner:	Userhat
Date:	End of Eighteenth Dynasty, post-Amarna (?) (Kampp); late Eighteenth Dynasty (PM I.1 ²);
Location:	Dra'Abu el-Naga
Chapel type:	Vb
Tomb sculpture:	Eventually a statue base of the woman ²⁹³
Titles and epithets: ²⁹⁴	

<i>jmy-r jḥw n Jmn</i>	Overseer of the Cattle of Amun
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²⁹⁰ The tomb is listed by Olsen as a “mini tomb”; OLSEN, Socioeconomic aspects, 168 fig. 30, 171.

²⁹¹ Last accessed on 9. 3. 2021: http://collezioni.museoegizio.it/en-GB/material/Cat_1579/?description=Maya & inventoryNumber=&title=&cgt=&yearFrom=&yearTo=&materials=&provenance=&acquisition=&epoch=&dynasty=&pharaoh=.

²⁹² Compare especially the representations of two *sem*-priests at the rear wall of the chapel. At the same time some of the garments seem to still be linked to the Amarna period like the plisse clothing worn by higher ranking men on the boats at the right wall or the mourning woman at the left entrance wall. STRUDWICK, in EYRE/LEAHY/MONTAGNO LEAHY (eds.), Unbroken Reed, 333, dates the tomb somewhat late because the style would have “a great deal in common with those of the royal tombs of Horemhab and Ramesses I”.

²⁹³ PM I.1², 261, mentions the statues as being probably from TT 150 and depicting the wife Iatib. However, KAMPP, Thebanische Nekropole 1, 439, rightly points out that there is no proven connection between the statue fragment and the tomb. The statue base was found in tomb B30 of the Antef Cemetery B and is today in the UCL Petrie Museum, London, UC14214; W. M. F. PETRIE, Qurneh, BSAE 15, London 1909, plate XXX (6).

²⁹⁴ PM I.1², 261; Eichler lists Userhat among fifteen persons who hold no title other than “Overseer of Cattle of Amun”; EICHLER, Verwaltung des „Houses des Amun“, 82 incl. note 369.

Commentary:

As far as her dating Kampp refers to PM I.1². She assumes that it is based on stylistic criteria.²⁹⁵ Hofmann refers to Kampp's listing of the tomb under post-Amarna and late Eighteenth Dynasty.²⁹⁶ However, a revision of this dating appears necessary.

Selected bibliography:

PM I.1², 256, 261; KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole 1*, 438–439; H. GAUTHIER, “Rapport sur une campagne de fouilles à Draḥ abu'l Neggah, en 1906”, in: BIFAO 6, 1908, 131 (III).

TT 152

Owner:	Name lost
Date:	End of Eighteenth Dynasty, eventually post-Amarna (Kampp/Hofmann); late Eighteenth Dynasty and usurped in Ramesside times (?) (PM I.1 ²);
Location:	Dra'Abu el-Naga
Chapel type:	Vb
Tomb sculpture:	/
Titles and epithets:	lost

Commentary:

Kampp refers to stylistic criteria as the sole base for the dating.²⁹⁷

Selected bibliography:

PM I.1², 256, 262; KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole*, 440; HOFMANN, *Bilder im Wandel*, 6.

TOMBS CONSIDERED ONLY marginally since the dating is not related to POST-AMARNA OR UNCERTAIN

TT 80

Owner:	Djehutinefer
Date:	T. III / A. II (Kampp); A. II (PM I.1 ²)
Location:	Sheikh Abd el-Gourna
Chapel type:	Va
Tomb sculpture:	Stelophor ²⁹⁸ and a squatting figure with scribe motif ²⁹⁹

295 KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole 1*, 438.

296 HOFMANN, *Bilder im Wandel*, 6.

297 KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole 1*, 440.

298 Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 921; SHEDID, *Stil der Grabmalereien*, 167–168, plate 76.

299 Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 1138; SHEDID, *Stil der Grabmalereien*, 168–169, plate 77. KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole 1*, 322–323, note 3, speculates that this statue might belong to the post-Amarna owner, who had the same name and title as the original one. Indeed, a quartzite statue of such a large size – the preserved base and legs have a height of 37 cm – would be extremely astonishing for a tomb of the time of Amenhotep II and in particular for an official of this rank as the original owner of TT 80. Therefore, a later date, beginning with the reign of Amenhotep III, seems more likely for the squatting figure. Another argument for this interpretation might be the statue type, since the main cult statue in Theban funerary chapels of the time of Amenhotep II are either a sitting figure of the owner, a sitting couple or sitting family group. In addition, stelophors belong to the traditional corpus.

Titles and epithets:

<i>jmy-jb n njswt</i>	Favourite of the king
<i>jmy-r pr-ḥd</i>	Overseer of the treasury
<i>jr 3ḥt n nb t3wj</i>	One who did what is useful for the lord of the Two lands
<i>jry-p^c.t ḥ3ty-^c</i>	Hereditary prince, nobleman
<i>jry rdwy ntr-nfr</i>	Attendant of the good god
<i>jrty n nswt ḥnhwy n bity</i>	Eyes of the king of Upper Egypt and ears of the king of Lower Egypt
<i>jkr ndw(t)-r jkr dd ḥry-jb n nswt</i>	Excellent of council and excellent of speech in the opinion of the king
<i>mḥ-jb 3 n nb t3wj</i>	Great confident of the lord of the two lands
<i>mḥ-jb mnḥ n ḥr:f</i>	Devoted confidant of his Horus
<i>mḥ-jb n ḥr m pr:f</i>	Confident of Horus in his house
<i>nb s3rt</i>	Possessor of wisdom
<i>rḥ sw m dd</i>	One who knows while talking
<i>ḥrj-tp 3 m pr nswt</i>	Great chief in the palace
<i>ḥsy n ntr nfr</i>	Praised one of the good god
<i>smr w^ctj</i>	Sole companion
<i>sš nswt</i>	Royal scribe
<i>sš nswt m3^c mrj.f</i>	True royal scribe, his beloved
<i>šms nswt r nmtt.f ḥr ḥ3s(w)t rsy(w)t mḥ(w)t</i>	One who followed the king on his journeys in southern and northern foreign lands
<i>šms nswt r nmtt.f ḥr ḥ3s(w)t nb(w)t</i>	One who followed the king on his journeys in all foreign lands

Commentary:

Kampp lists TT 80 under post-Amarna tombs; however, in her discussion on the tomb, a dating under Thutmose III/Amenhotep II is given and it is mentioned that a person called Djehutimes reused the tomb shortly after the Amarna period.³⁰⁰ It is unquestionable that the chapel and its decoration belong to the time of Amenhotep II as Shedid has convincingly demonstrated.³⁰¹

Selected bibliography:

PM I.1², 148, 157-159; KAMPP, Thebanische Nekropole 1, 320-323; A. G. SHEDID, Stil der Grabmalereien in der Zeit Amenophis' II - untersucht an den thebanischen Gräbern Nr. 104 und Nr. 80, AV 66, Mainz am Rhein 1988.

³⁰⁰ KAMPP, Thebanische Nekropole 1, 146, 320-322. According to Hofmann, the listing of TT 80 as post-Amarna tomb was by mistake; HOFMANN, Bilder im Wandel, 6 note 18. The reuse is indicated by later mud brick constructions and fragments of a post-Amarna sarcophagus; SHEDID, Stil der Grabmalereien, 169-171, plate 78a.

³⁰¹ SHEDID, Stil der Grabmalereien, 88-95.

NO. -277-

Owner:	Name lost
Date:	A. III / A. IV – Ay, Tut (?), probably reused in Ramesside times (Kampp); A. III / A. IV (Wasmuth)
Location:	Qurnet Murai
Chapel type:	VIII
Tomb sculpture:	/
Titles and epithets:	lost

Commentary:

The large monument, with two rows of ten pillars each, is mentioned as being almost exclusively build under Amenhotep III. Kampp lists only four later tombs: No. -277- and No. -281- for the period “A. IV/Ay”, the tomb of Nay, TT 271 (see above) for the time of Ay, and the Ramesside tomb TT 385.³⁰² However, it seems very likely that large and architecturally challenging monuments like TT 271, No. -277- and also No. -281- are constructions of the long reign of Amenhotep III and were possibly reused by later owners.³⁰³ Also, Wasmuth considers the tomb as a construction of the time of Amenhotep III/Amenhotep IV and not related to post-Amarna.

Selected bibliography:

KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole 2*, 752–753; WASMUTH, *Innovationen und Extravaganzen*, 150.

NO. -281-

Owner:	Name lost
Date:	A. III / A. IV – Ay, Tut (?) (Kampp); A. III / A. IV (Wasmuth)
Location:	Qurnet Murai
Chapel type:	VIII
Tomb sculpture:	/
Titles and epithets:	lost

Commentary:

For Kampp, the chapel type is one of the main indicators for its dating, Wasmuth lists the tomb with two rows of eight pillars each under Amenhotep III/Amenhotep IV, which seems more likely than the post-Amarna period.³⁰⁴ See also the argumentation above for No. -277- and TT 271.

Selected bibliography:

KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole 2*, 755; WASMUTH, *Innovationen und Extravaganzen*, 77; EIGNER, *MDAIK 39*, 43–44.³⁰⁵

TT 368

Owner:	Amenhotep, Huy
Date:	Ramesside, Nineteenth Dynasty (?) (Kampp); late Eighteenth Dynasty (PM I.1 ²)
Location:	Sheikh Abd el-Gourna

³⁰² KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole 1*, 33.

³⁰³ For the specific architecture with two rows of pillars in a large transversal hall compare: EIGNER, *MDAIK 39*, 42–45.

³⁰⁴ KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole 2*, 755; WASMUTH, *Innovationen und Extravaganzen*, 77.

³⁰⁵ EIGNER, *MDAIK 39*, 43–44, lists the tomb under “NN”.

Chapel type: IIa
Tomb sculpture: Rock-cut family group at the left wall of the transversal hall: large seated figures of the deceased, wife, parents and four smaller figures of children at the side of the legs.

Titles and epithets:

<i>jmy-r kstyw n Jmn m njwt rsjt</i>	Overseer of the sculptors of Amun in the Southern city
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Commentary:

Kampp's argumentation in favor of a Ramesside dating seems convincing and the tomb is, here, also considered as being from the Nineteenth Dynasty. The paintings and the large rock-cut family group in the transversal hall indicate the Ramesside period.³⁰⁶

Selected bibliography:

PM I.1², 416, 431; KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole 2*, 593; EICHLER, „Häuser des Amun“, 256 No. 113; M. BAUD, *Les dessins ébauchés de la nécropole thébaine (au temps du nouvel empire)*, MIFAO 63, Le Caire 1935, 222–224, fig. 109–110.

TT 333

Owner: Name lost
Date: T. IV – A. IV (Kondo); A. III (?) (Malek/PM I.1²); A. IV (Jiménez-Higueras); post-Amarna (Ay) (Kampp);
Location: Dra'Abu el-Naga
Chapel type: Vb
Tomb sculpture: /
Titles and epithets: lost

Commentary:

Kondo, the head of the Japanese project working on the tomb, proposes a date to the time of Thutmose IV to Akhenaten. The Davies sketches published by the Griffith Institute online project very much support a dating of TT 333 to the pre-Amarna period and not the time of Ay.³⁰⁷

Selected bibliography:

PM I.1², 382, 399, 401; KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole 2*, 577–578; J. KONDO, “The re-discovery of Theban tombs of A21 and A24”, in: *Sesto Congresso internazionale di egittologia: atti 1*, Torino 1992, 371–374; MALEK (ed.), *Theban tomb tracings, Dra Abu el-Naga. TT 333, name lost*. Accessed 19. 03. 2021. <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4TT333.html>; JIMÉNEZ-HIGUERAS, *The sacred Landscape of Dra Abu el-Naga*, 281 (index),

TT 402

Owner: Name lost
Date: T. IV – A. III (Baud PM I.1²); late Eighteenth Dynasty until Tut (Baud / Kampp);
Location: Dra'Abu el-Naga
Chapel type: ?
Tomb sculpture: /
Titles and epithets: lost

³⁰⁶ Compare: DIGITALES SCHOTT-ARCHIV (DSA), Nr. 8202–8205 and BAUD, *Les dessins*, 223–224 fig. 109–110.

³⁰⁷ <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4TT333.html>.

Commentary:

In connection to her post-Amarna dating, Kampp refers to Baud and his few remarks on the style. However, the latter is on the fence between the time of Thutmose IV to Amenhotep III and the time of Tutankhamun; he mentions stylistic and iconographic parallels to both periods.³⁰⁸ A reliable evaluation must therefore be postponed and TT 402 has been only briefly included in this study.

Selected bibliography:

PM I.1², 444; KAMPP, Thebanische Nekropole 2, 610; BAUD, Les dessins, 119–221, fig. 106.

EARLY RAMESSIDE – SETY I**TT 50**

Owner:	Neferhotep
Date:	(Hor.) / S. I (Hofmann/Strudwick); Hor. (Kampp/PM I.1 ² /Wasmuth);
Location:	Sheikh Abd el-Gurna
Chapel type:	VIIa
Tomb sculpture:	Rock-cut figures: five seated figures, unepigraph and representing from left to right: male – female – male – male – female; fragment of a groupstatue, representing the wife of Neferhotep together with two daughters ³⁰⁹

Titles and epithets:

<i>jmy-r pr ḥd</i>	Overseer of the treasury
<i>jmy-r njwt</i>	Overseer of the town
<i>jmy-r nb(y)w</i>	Overseer of the goldsmiths
<i>jmy-r r sdḏwt</i>	Overseer of the seals
<i>jmy ḥnt</i>	Chamberlain
<i>jmy ḥnt n k3-mwt.f</i>	Follower of Kamutef
<i>jt ntr</i>	Divine father
<i>jt ntr n Jmn</i>	Divine father of Amun
<i>jt ntr n Jmn-R^c</i>	Divine father of Amun-Re
<i>jt ntr w^cb ^cwy n Jmn</i>	Divine father pure of hands of Amun
<i>W^cb</i>	wab-priest
<i>w^cb n ḥ^ct n Jmn</i>	wab-priest to the front of Amun
<i>w^cb n Wsjr</i>	wab-priest of Osiris
<i>w^cb ^cwy /// ḥnkt.f n ntr:f</i>	Pure of hands... he offers to this god
<i>wb3 nswt</i>	Royal butler
<i>wb3 n ḥnkt n(t) jt-ntr n Jmn</i>	Butler of the beer for the god's father of Amun
<i>ḥm ḥry-ḥbt n nb.f</i>	Servant and lector-priest of his lord
<i>ḥry ḥmwt n(t) Jmn</i>	Chief of the craftsmen of Amun

³⁰⁸ BAUD, Les dessins, 221.

³⁰⁹ Not mentioned in PM but indicated in the plan; for both see: HARI, tombe thébaine, 59–60, plate LXXVIII. The family group is today in the Roemer-Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim, PM 1871; it is made of limestone and the fragment measures 49 × 62 cm.

<i>hry sšt3 m hwt-nbw n Jmn nswt ntrw n R^c-Jtm m Jwnw n Pth m hwt-Pth</i>	Chief of the secrets in the temple of gold of Amun, king of the gods in Heliopolis and of Ptah in Hut-(ka)-Ptah
<i>hsy n Jmn-R^c m jpt-swt</i>	Praised on of Amun-Re in Karnak temple
<i>hsy n nbw w3st</i>	Praised one of the lords of Thebes
<i>hry-hbt n Jmn</i>	Lector-priest of Amun
<i>hry-hbt n Pth</i>	Lector-priest of Ptah
<i>hry-hbt htp hr n Jmn</i>	Lector-priest who makes peaceful the face of Amun
<i>z3b</i>	Judge
<i>s^cnh n Jmn</i>	Portrait sculptor of Amun
<i>sm</i>	Sem-Priest
<i>shtp-jb n Jmn</i>	One who satisfies the heart of Amun
<i>sš m3^ct m Jwnw</i>	Scribe of truth in Heliopolis
<i>šms nswt m b(w) nb</i>	One who followed the king in every place

Commentary:

Strudwick considers it as the first tomb to make a clear break from the Eighteenth Dynasty, even though still belonging to the time of Horemheb.³¹⁰ However, Hoffman has argued in details against a dating of the tomb to the Eighteen Dynasty.³¹¹ Instead she proposes that the patron must have been either very old by the time of the tomb construction or his sons were responsible for it. The mentioned award ceremony in the third year of Horemheb, the highlight of Neferhotep's career, was then much later – probably by the time of Sety I – included in the tomb decoration. The rock cut statue group in TT 50 might serve as another argument for a dating in early Ramesside times. The cult niche represents five seated figures, which are unepigraph and depict three man and two women,³¹² while of the post-Amarna period until the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty tombs it is only No. -162-, Parennefer/Wennefer which includes a niche with more than two rock-cut figures.³¹³

Selected bibliography:

PM I.1², 90, 95–97; KAMPP, Thebanische Nekropole 1, 254–255; HOFMANN, Bilder im Wandel, 22–25; WASMUTH, Innovationen und Extravaganzen, 89; R. HARI, La tombe thébaine du père divin Neferhotep (TT 50), Collection epigraphica, Genève 1985; G. BÉNÉDITE, “Tombeau de Neferhotepou, fils d'Amenemanit”, in: G. BÉNÉDITE/U. BOURIANT/G. MASPERO/É. CHASSINAT (eds.), Tombeaux thébains, MIFAO V/2, Le Caire 1893, 489–540; C. BEINLICH-SEEBER, “Zur Totengerichtsszene in TT 50”, in: GM 92, 1986, 11–15; EL-SHAHAWY, Recherche sur la décoration des tombes thébaines, doc. 57, 78–80; L. MANNICHE, “The beginning of the festival calendar in the tomb of Neferhotep (No. 50) at Thebes”, in: P. POSENER-KRIÉGER (ed.), Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar 2, Le Caire 1985, 105–108 STRUDWICK, in EYRE/LEAHY/MONTAGNO LEAHY (eds.), Unbroken Reed, 332.

TT 255

Owner:	Roy
Date:	S. I (Hofmann); R I to S I (Strudwick); Hor. (Kampp/PM I.1 ²)
Location:	Dra'Abu el-Naga
Chapel type:	Ib

³¹⁰ Strudwick, in EYRE/LEAHY/MONTAGNO LEAHY (eds.), Unbroken Reed, 332.

³¹¹ HOFMANN, Bilder im Wandel, 22–25.

³¹² From left to right: Male - Female - Male - Male - Female; HARI, tombe thébaine, plate LXXVIIIa.

³¹³ See above.

Tomb sculpture: / ³¹⁴**Titles and epithets:**

<i>jmy-r pr hr-m-ḥb m pr Jmn</i>	Steward in the house of Horemheb in the house of Amun
<i>sš nswt</i>	Royal scribe

Commentary:

Kampp's dating derives from the patron's title of steward in the house of Horemheb in combination with the depiction of Horemheb and his wife Mutnedjemet in the chapel, which was recorded by Foucart and is today lost.³¹⁵ Strudwick follows Assmann in his dating to the time of Ramesses I to Sety I despite the title and calls it the latest tomb of the transition period with most "classic" Ramesside features.³¹⁶ Indeed, the cult for Horemheb was still ongoing in the Ramesside period as were related administrative duties. Stylistically and thematically the tomb better belongs to the Ramesside period. A further hint to a Ramesside dating might be the fact that the tomb is not in Qurnet Murai in visual axis with the mortuary temple of Horemheb. Instead the patron chose Dra'Abu el-Naga the "courtyard of Amun".³¹⁷ The chapel is rather small and Olsen even lists it under the "mini tombs".³¹⁸

Selected bibliography:

PM I.1², 334, 339–340; KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole 2*, 532–533; HOFMANN, *Bilder im Wandel*, 29–30; G. FOUART, *Tombes thébaines, Necropole de Dirá Abû'n-Nága. Le tombeau de Roy*, MIFAO LVII/1, Le Caire 1928; STRUDWICK, in EYRE/LEAHY/MONTAGNO LEAHY (eds.), *Unbroken Reed*, 333.

TT 156

Owner: Paenesuttaui
Date: (Hor. –) R.II (Kampp); Nineteenth Dynasty (PM I.1²/Jiménez-Higueras)
Location: Dra'Abu el-Naga
Chapel type: VIb
Tomb sculpture: Rock cut statues at west and east wall of the transversal hall, seated figures of deceased and wife

Titles and epithets:³¹⁹

<i>jmy-r ḥ3swt rsyt</i>	Overseer of the southern foreign lands
<i>hry jḥw tpy n ḥm.f</i>	Chief stable master of his majesty

Commentary:

Kampp refers to the fact that the patron might be the brother of the high-priest of Amun Parennefer/Wennefer, the owner of tomb Nr. -162-, and that it is likely that Paenesuttaui already held some offices in the time of Horemheb/Sety I. However, textual sources mentioning Paenesuttaui are only attested for the

314 According to PM I.1², 340, there is a "Statue of deceased kneeling with stela". It is today in the MMA, New York, 17.190.1960. However, the style of this statue is clearly Amenhotep III and it is very unlikely that it represents Roy who is the same person as the tomb owner of TT 255. I thank Philipp Seyr for the discussion on this stelophor.

315 KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole 2*, 532; for the depiction see FOUART, *tombeau de Roy*.

316 STRUDWICK, in EYRE/LEAHY/MONTAGNO LEAHY (eds.), *Unbroken Reed*, 33; J. ASSMANN, "Eine Traumoffenbarung der Göttin Hathor. Zeugnisse «Persönlicher Frömmigkeit» in thebanischen Privatgräbern der Ramessidenzeit", in: *RdE* 30, 1987, 22 note 2.

317 JIMÉNEZ-HIGUERAS, *The sacred Landscape of Dra Abu el-Naga*, 102–104.

318 OLSEN, *Socioeconomic aspects*, 168 fig. 30, 170.

319 After PM I.1², 256 and AL-AYED, *Index*, 120.

time of Ramesses II.³²⁰ Neither Hofmann nor Strudwick mention the tomb as post-Amarna and it should be understood as a Ramesside monument.

Selected bibliography:

PM I.1², 2, 264–266; KAMPP, Thebanische Nekropole 1, 443–445; KAMPP, in ASSMANN/DZIOBEK/GUKSCH/KAMPP (eds.), Thebanische Beamtennekropolen, 210–211.

TT 6

Owner: **Neferhotep (I) and son Nebnefer (I)**³²¹
Date: tomb decoration early Ramesses II (Hofmann);
 Neferhotep: Horemheb to Ramesses II (Davies/PM I.1²); Horemheb (Kampp)
 Nebnefer: Ramesses II, 1st half (Kampp/Davies).
Location: Deir el-Medina
Chapel type: IVc³²²
Tomb sculpture: Rock-cut statues, almost gone: Satet, Osiris, Re-Atum-Harakhti, Western goddess³²³
Titles and epithets:

Neferhotep (I):

<i>ʕ3-n-jswt m s.t m3^c.t</i>	Chief of workmen/foreman in the Place of Truth
<i>ḥry jswt</i>	Chief of workmen
<i>ḥry jswt m s.t m3^c.t</i>	Chief of workmen in the Place of Truth
<i>ḥry jswt m s.t m3^c.t r nhḥ</i>	Chief of workmen in the Place of Eternity
<i>z3b n jmj-wrt</i>	Dignitary of the one who is in the west

Nebnefer (I):

<i>ʕ3-n-jswt</i>	Chief of workmen/foreman
<i>ʕ3-n-jswt m s.t m3^c.t</i>	Chief of workmen/foreman in the Place of Truth
<i>ḥry-jswt m s.t m3^c.t ḥr jmn.tt w3s.t</i>	Chief of workmen/foreman in the Place of Truth on the West of Thebes

Commentary:

Davies precisely dates the father Neferhotep (I) to “Horemheb – Yr. 5 R. II” and his son Nebnefer (I) in the time “post Yr. 5 R. II – c. Yr. 30/40 R. II”.³²⁴ However, these career dates do not relate to the tomb decoration, which clearly refers to one single moment and not a process of several decades. Hofmann convincingly argues that the son was responsible for the tomb decoration and included his fathers in it.³²⁵ Also for TT 6 the sculptures give evidence for a Ramesside dating of the tomb. Otherwise the chapel of Neferhotep and son Nebnefer would be the only Eighteenth Dynasty tomb that has a rock-cut statue of

³²⁰ KAMPP, Thebanische Nekropole 1, 443.

³²¹ For this family see: DAVIES, Who’s who at Deir el-Medina, 31–34.

³²² KAMPP, Thebanische Nekropolen, doesn’t give chapel types for Deir el-Medina tombs. TT 6 has an entrance corridor, a transversal chamber and an almost squared last one. This precise form is not defined by Kampp and there added as new chapel type IVc.

³²³ WILD, La tombe de Néferhotep (I) et Neb.néfer II, plate 19.

³²⁴ DAVIES, Who’s who at Deir el-Medina, 279.

³²⁵ HOFMANN, Bilder im Wandel, 25.

deities in the main cult niche,³²⁶ while in Ramesside times, the niche at the end of the shrine sometimes had an image of gods.³²⁷

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³²⁶ Today in a bad state of preservation: Satet, Osiris, Re-Atum-Harakhti, Western goddess; H. WILD, *La tombe de Néferhotep (I) et Neb.néfer à Deir el-Médîna [No 6] et autres documents les concernant*, II, MIFAO 103/2, Le Caire 1979, plate 19; PM I.1², 2, indicates only two sculptures.

³²⁷ KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole 1*, 53–57.

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