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## Content

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- 7      **Foreword**  
*Renáta Kovács*
- 9      **Researches in the Funerary Complex of Hapuseneb,  
High Priest of Amun at Thebes (TT 67): An Interim Report**  
*Tamás A. Bács*
- 23     **Attempts of Reconstruction of an Eighteenth Dynasty  
Mud Brick Mortuary Chapel in the Theban Necropolis**  
*Zoltán Imre Fábrián*
- 43     **From Tuthmosis III to Antoninus Pius  
Glimpses into the History of Theban Tomb -400-**  
*Gábor Schreiber*

## Foreword

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

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

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

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

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

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

Gábor Schreiber

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

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



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

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

<sup>2</sup> KÁKOSY 1994, 22.

<sup>3</sup> KÁKOSY 1995a, 50.

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



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

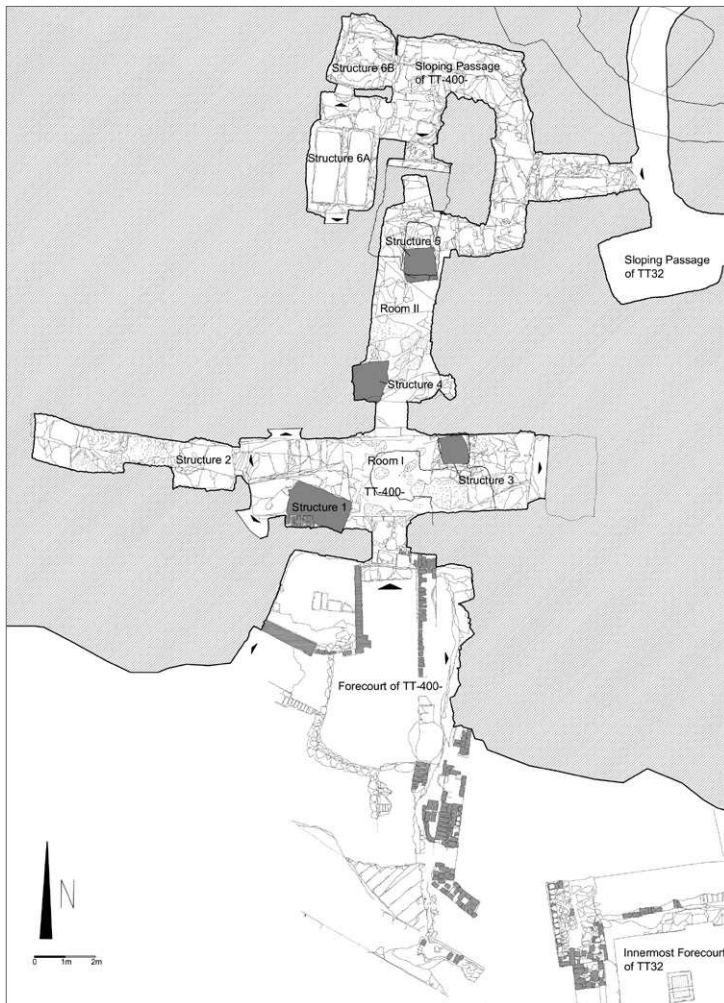


**Fig. 3** Fragment of a doorjamb with the titles and name of Khamin (Photo: G. Schreiber)



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

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



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

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

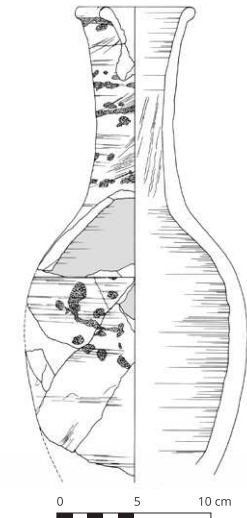
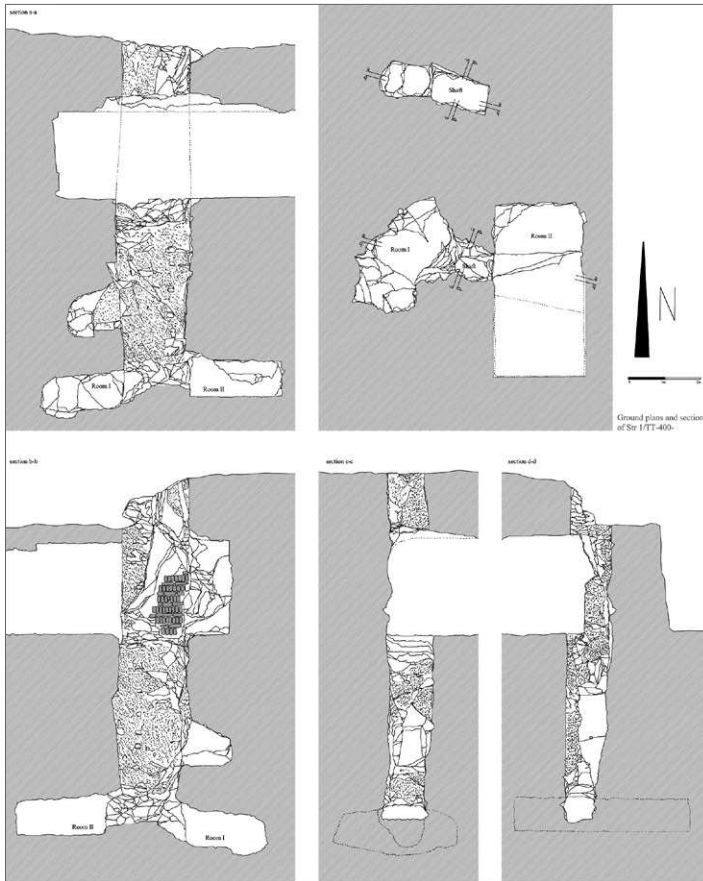
## NEW KINGDOM BURIALS

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

Ramesse tombs belonging with the so-called Khokha Tomb Group<sup>5</sup> as well as the finds made in the original Ramesse burial chamber, a dating to the Nineteenth Dynasty seems secure. Digs in the lower burial chambers of TT -400- have unfortunately proved abortive with respect to unequivocally identifying elements of the equipment of Khamin and Raia. The destruction of the original funerary outfit is no doubt explained by the fact that, as is typical of the Theban necropolis in general and el-Khokha in particular, the tomb was re-used for a number of new interments by a number of new owners over the First Millennium BC and the Imperial Period, well down to the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. The first reuse occurred already during the New Kingdom, followed by group burials datable to the early Twenty-fifth Dynasty, the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, the middle Ptolemaic Period, and, finally, the Imperial Period. To house these intrusive burials, new funerary apartments, including three shaft

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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



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

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



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

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





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

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



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

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





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

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

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

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

<sup>9</sup> VAN HAARLEM 1990, 39–40.

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>15</sup> JANES 2011, 1–3.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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



▲ **Fig. 15** Mummy board of Pa-nakht-[...] (Photo: L. Mátyus)  
 ▲▲ **Fig. 16** Mummy board of Shedwyduat (Photo: L. Mátyus; Drawing: N. Seres)

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>24</sup> GRANDET 1993, 253–254.

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

## GRAECO-ROMAN BURIALS

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

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



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

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



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

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



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

of the 2nd century AD, based on contemporary lamp types and an Alexandrian coin of Antoninus Pius. The most important finds associated with these burials were painted linen shrouds depicting the deceased in the guise of Osiris (**Fig. 20**) which may be compared to the famous Soter shrouds, now dispersed among many European museums, that we believe originate from nearby TT 32.<sup>27</sup> The Soter family burials are dated by textual evidence to between the reigns of Trajan and Antoninus Pius, and we may now confirm that this local dialect of funerary art indeed continued until Antoninus Pius, if not slightly beyond. The lower frame of this chronology gains prominence when one recalls that Antoninus Pius was actually the last great temple builder in Thebes, who commissioned the festival court in front of the Small Amun temple at Medinet Habu, the Deir er-Rumi temple at the Queens' Valley, and the mysterious circular structure beside Deir er-Rumi. All these projects are quite telling in that the theologians under Antoninus Pius were still competent to understand and re-work the age-old doctrines of the local theology, and looking at the contemporary finds from TT -400-, one may recognise a similar thoughtful interest in Pharaonic funerary beliefs.



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

<sup>27</sup> Cf. KÁKOSY 1995b.

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