

VERÖFFENTLICHUNGEN DER INSTITUTE  
FÜR AFRIKANISTIK UND ÄGYPTOLOGIE  
DER UNIVERSITÄT WIEN

29

WAFAA el-SADEEK

**Twenty-Sixth Dynasty**

**Necropolis at Gizeh**

BEITRÄGE ZUR ÄGYPTOLOGIE

BAND 5

WIEN 1984



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TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY NECROPOLIS AT GIZEH

AN ANALYSIS OF THE TOMB OF THERY AND ITS PLACE IN  
THE DEVELOPMENT OF SAITE FUNERARY ART AND  
ARCHITECTURE

BEITRÄGE ZUR ÄGYPTOLOGIE, BAND 5

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*To my parents*

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C O N T E N T S

Acknowledgment	IX
Introduction	1
Chapter I Gizeh necropolis: its history	3
Chapter II The Tomb of Thery	11
a. History of excavation and discovery	13
b. Description of the tomb	17
c. Decoration of the tomb	22
Exterior	22
Interior	32
d. Thery's burial: contemporary and geographical setting	89
Chapter III Dynasty XXVI at Gizeh	101
a. General introduction	103
b. The Isis Temple	105
c. Individual tombs	114
Chapter IV Dynasty XXVI throughout Egypt	149
a. General introduction	151
b. Graves at Saqqara	155
c. Graves at Thebes - Asasif	166
d. Graves at Heliopolis	183
e. Graves at Bahriya Oasis	186
Chapter V Analysis of the architecture of the Tomb of Thery within the Dynasty XXVI pattern	205
a. Introduction	207
b. Building materials and local conditions	208
c. Architectural features	209
d. Comparison of likely use	212
Chapter VI Analysis of scenes from the Tomb of Thery within the Dynasty XXVI pattern	215
a. Introduction	217
b. Scenes of daily life	219
c. Scenes of religion and ritual	221
d. Other decoration in the tomb	229

Chapter VII	Analysis of inscriptions from the Tomb of Thery within the Dynasty XXVI pattern	235
	a. General introduction	237
	b. Commentary on Spell 625, of the Coffin Texts	243
	c. Commentary on Spell 301, of the Coffin Texts	247
	d. The solar hymn	248
	e. Book of the Dead Chapter 146	249
	f. Names, titles and epithets	249
Chapter IX	Conclusion	259

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## INTRODUCTION

It is an often forgotten but nevertheless important part of the duty of anyone who is given temporary responsibility for the guardianship of any archaeological site not only to help to reveal the fragments of the past and to safeguard them for future generations but also to satisfy himself that those who have gone before him on the site have drawn from it and from its exposed remains the fullest possible information before they crumble to dust. It is a duty to seek out those monuments left unpublished, or inadequately published, or thought not to be worthy of major attention, and to make sure that they give up all of their secrets before work is started on a fresh area of study. Conservation does not of necessity mean the work of the scientist and the stone-mason, but may also take the form of comprehensive publication, with drawings and photographs of every facet of the monument before it disappears.

Happily, there are many examples of this nature of work in Egypt today, especially in Asasif, where the many large and at one time magnificent tombs of Dynasty XXVI are to be published in detail, with teams of archaeologists - many of them Austrian and German - co-operating by working on clearing them and preparing them for publication. Indeed, several have already found new fulfilment in extensive new publications. Similarly, the British are now starting work on a major survey of the ancient capital of Memphis, a task which has been sorely needed for almost a century; and the Americans are working on major new publications of the Old Kingdom tombs discovered by Reisner at Gizeh.

So it is that, having realised that the important Dynasty XXVI tombs and other remains of Gizeh had not only suffered terrible damage in the past but were also continuing to feel the combined effects of the weather and the modern way of life, that I determined to bring them together into one comprehensive piece of work in order to rescue what is left from the ultimate fate of total destruction. My interest has centred particularly on the remarkable tomb-chapel of Thery, set on the southern slope of hills.

What I intend to do in this thesis is to confine myself largely to the Saite necropolis in Gizeh, and to set it in its place among the other Dynasty XXVI necropoles set throughout Egypt, as well as attempting to show the characteristics of the Gizeh flowering of that period by comparing it, especially through the tomb of They, with the architecture, the scenes and the inscriptions of the other great burial places. Thus the planned programme which I shall follow includes a defining of the history of the Gizeh necropolis itself, showing in which main periods the Plateau area was used for burials, and to follow that with a brief examination of the remainder of the Saite necropoles. It will be important to note the individual character of each of these other burial-places, and whether they bear overall Saite similarities or whether each has its own individual face.

The main focus of the thesis, the tomb-chapel of They itself, will be examined in minute detail, with reference not only to today's remains still standing, but also to the reports of the early excavators, with a view to comparing its details of architecture, scenes and inscriptions with the characteristics of Saite tombs from up and down the Nile Valley. The aim is to achieve a synthesis of the Saite style of burial, and to test to what extent They's tomb follows a typically Saite pattern or follows the plans of a unique individual.

As a by-product, much new light will be shed on the Saite use of the Gizeh necropolis, long thought of primarily if not exclusively as a burial-place of the Old Kingdom. It is my hope that this work will produce the evidence which will help to decide whether the Gizeh necropolis of the Saites may justly lay claim to ranking with the truly great Dynasty XXVI places of rest of Asasif and Saqqara.

CHAPTER I

Gizeh necropolis: its history

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The history of the massive grave-field of Gizeh is long but by no means continuous: the popularity of the sweeping plateau and its spurs waxed and waned through the three thousand years of Egyptian history, from its apparent early use in the Archaic period about 3100 B.C. until the Romans dug their burial pits in the low range of hills south of the plateau itself. It was in these selfsame hills that Petrie<sup>1</sup> discovered the earliest evidence for funerary use of what later became the country's most sacred burial place: some of the mud-brick mastabas of Dynasties I and II, such as the so-called "Covington's Tomb", were almost big enough to rival the enormous edifices of nearby Saqqara.

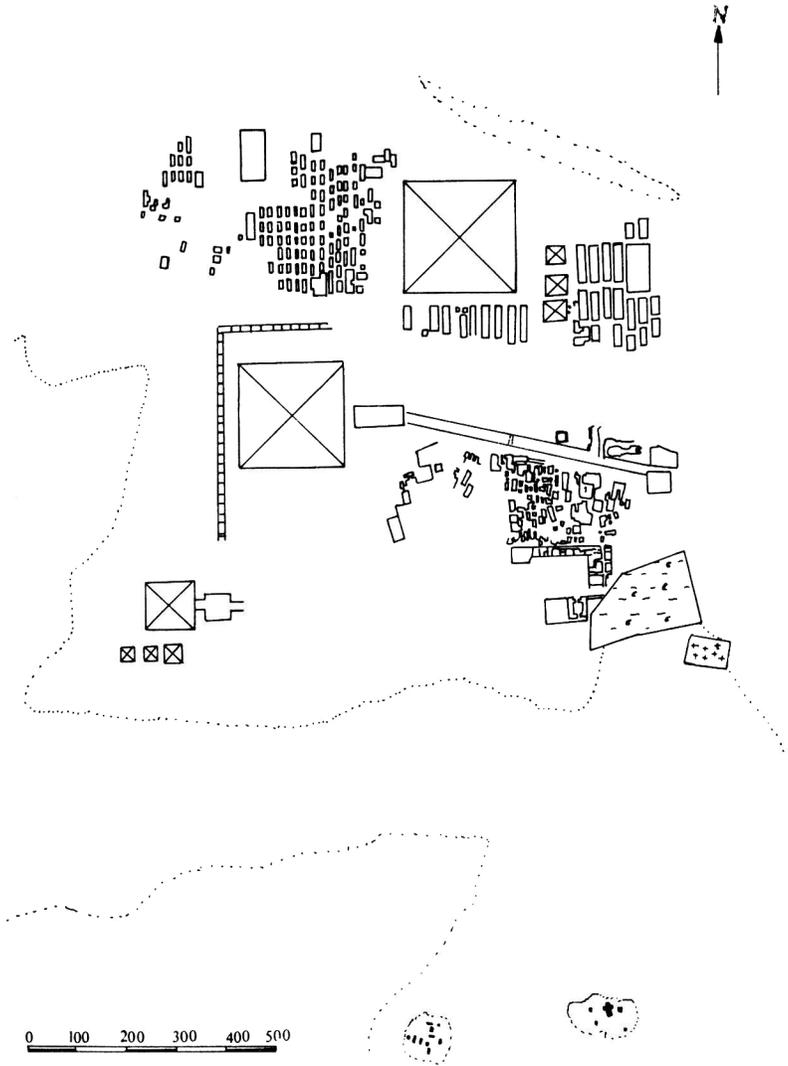
But the zenith of popularity for Gizeh and its necropolis came after Khufu decided to use the imposing limestone plateau towering above the Nile to build his majestic monument for all the world to see. The area quickly became what Reisner<sup>2</sup> aptly described as "a great city of the living kas of all members of the royal family and court," and during the development of the Fourth Dynasty the tombs of the area became grouped into three great cemeteries: the western containing burials of the high priests and officials who had served Khufu; the eastern seemingly reserved for the royal families of the dynasty; and the central, developed slightly later, with the staff and followers of Khafre. In time, these divisions became blurred as subjects of the Pharaoh sought proximity in the next world denied them in this.

With the end of the Fourth Dynasty, however, came a change in the fortunes of the necropolis, and it is quite clear that Gizeh was not used at all as a cemetery between the end of the Old Kingdom and the opening years of the period under review, Dynasty XXVI. The lone exception is burial G.4351<sup>3</sup> of Imiset-kai, which is dated to the First Intermediate Period but considered by many to be a continuation of Old Kingdom use. The panel of a false door of the son . . . . and his wife Khenti, from the Eleventh Dynasty, was found during excavations at Gizeh,<sup>4</sup> but despite this prima facie evidence for a burial of this period, no sign of the tomb of this couple has come to light. In the eastern cemetery, it is safe to say that there was no use made at all between the end of the Old Kingdom and the Late Period. North of the Sphinx, two Old Kingdom rock-cut tombs were re-used during New Kingdom times, but whether as a tomb or as a chapel remains in doubt, with the weight of evidence probably favouring

the latter, as Selim Hassan<sup>5</sup> pointed out. There is no doubt that Hassan's tomb 11 and that of Akhrē<sup>c</sup> dated from the Old Kingdom, but the New Kingdom scenes led him to speculate that either they had been re-employed for burial at the time when the Sphinx depression was cleared of sand, perhaps by priests attached to the Sphinx cult, or that they were used as cult chapels.

There is evidence from very recent history for the latter theory, particularly in view of the fact that no evidence whatever of actual burials was found in the two tombs in question. It was during this century that the Moslem Sheikh es-Saman took over the rock-cut tomb of Debhen, cut in the time of Menkaure, had painted suras from the Holy Quran around its walls, and used it as a place for worship. The village at the foot of the Pyramids plateau, Nazlet es-Saman, took its name from this holy man, and villagers still visit the tomb of Debhen as a minor pilgrimage.

The central grave field of Gizeh contains no burials at all from the demise of the Old Kingdom, like its eastern neighbour, to the beginning of the Late Period. That is not to say, however, that Gizeh was ignored totally after the Old Kingdom. For instance, the Middle Kingdom provides the sandstone statue of the scribe Hetep son of Sitameny which was found close to the Sphinx.<sup>6</sup> And in the New Kingdom, while actual burials remain completely absent, there is a sudden upsurge in use, with a spread of temples to Re-Harakhte and dozens of stelae witnessing the rise of the Sphinx cult: for a study of this fascinating topic it is necessary to go no farther than the comprehensive work of Christiane Zivie,<sup>7</sup> but the major point remains - that for about 1500 years from the close of the Old Kingdom, Gizeh was not used for burials. But in the Saite Dynasty the emphasis changed once more, and suddenly there is a spread of large and costly burials concentrated around the Causeway of the Khafre pyramid, and on the southern hill where the first burials of the Archaic period were made. The Isis Chapel high on the plateau was rebuilt during this great surge of interest in Gizeh, and the remains of statues and stelae of the 26th Dynasty were found close to the Sphinx. To complete the picture of re-use of the great Old Kingdom necropolis in its original intention as a burial place, ancient tombs were re-used by the Saites unquestionably for



Plan I. Gizeh necropolis showing major Saite remains.

burials, as witnessed by Selim Hassan's discovery of anthropoid coffins in the rock-cut tombs of the central field. And after this period, Gizeh and its imposing monuments never thereafter fell from favour: early tombs were re-used by the Ptolemies for burials, while the Romans preferred the softly sloping hills 1.5km away to the south for their deep burial pits.

It is in this southern range of hills that the Dynasty XXVI tomb of *They, imy-r s3 pr* "overseer of police" among other titles, was discovered by Petrie almost three-quarters of a century ago. Since then it has suffered greatly, particularly at the hands of suppliers to the antiquities market, but sufficient remains to make this remarkable tomb worthy of further study. It is set on the south-facing slope of the ridge (Plan 1, Plate I), sheltered by its pinnacle yet still able to be seen from the main Gizeh plateau, and surrounded by graves ranging from Archaic mastabas through rock-cut tombs of the Old Kingdom to the Late Period burial pits described by Lepsius and Mariette. While every one of the other tombs was cut out of the soft and crumbling local yellow nummulitic limestone, or has a facade of the same stone, *They's* tomb chapel is unique in having had a complete superstructure built of fine Turah limestone.<sup>8</sup>

This cruciform superstructure, aligned slightly west of due north/south, has the longest room facing to the south, the entrance to the tomb being in the short southern wall of this southern room. Originally standing about 3.25m high, with a total length of 17.4m and width of 9.5m, the tomb's superstructure has five rooms, of which only the southern-facing walls of the eastern and western chambers and the whole of the southern room have exterior decoration. In bas-relief and badly effaced, these mainly show *They* in adoration of the gods, and principally Osiris. Much of the southern room has been totally lost, but reliefs on both long interior walls show *They* and his wife seated, the western version including an offering table and register of musicians. The northern wall of this room, containing at its centre the doorway leading to the other four chambers, is decorated with fragments of texts related to the Coffin Texts and to the Book of the Dead.

The central hall, approximately 1.5 by 2m, has been partly destroyed since the time of Petrie's publication, with only parts

of the figure of Thery and fragmentary inscriptions remaining. The eastern room, the most complete when Petrie made his discovery, had versions of the Book of the Dead along with Thery adoring Thoth and six ram-headed gods, but little remains today. The northern room, at approximately 1.5m square the smallest in the complex, is the only one to retain its original arched roof: there are no reliefs on the western wall, but on north and east are Thery adoring Osiris, Isis and other deities, and the southern wall shows him worshipping a large Djed-pillar. Although the western chamber is almost complete, the preservation of versions of chapters from the Book of the Dead has suffered from the deterioration of the limestone as well as the efforts of the would-be robbers to remove choice pieces of the relief.

Below this superstructure is a shaft approximately 1.35 by 2.5m which descends 12m from the centre of the southern room to a small anteroom from which spring two burial chambers, aligned north/south in the same line as the superstructure. The northern room contains at its northernmost point a rock-cut niche built up with limestone to form an arched burial-place, together with six roughly-hewn niches, three in the length of each side, for further burials. The southern room echoes the first, with six rough burial niches on the sides, and another roughly-worked place in the extreme south of the room.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. W.M.F.Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh (London 1907) pages 2-8. This volume was republished in the same year in extended form, with 19 further text pages and 68 further plates in the "Double Volume." But there was no further discussion of Gizeh discoveries of the first three dynasties.
2. G.A.Reisner, A History of the Gizeh Necropolis (Cambridge, Mass., 1942) page 27.
3. B.Porter and R.L.Moss, Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Texts, Reliefs and Paintings, Vol. III, i, Abu Rawash to Abusir (Oxford 1974) page 126.
4. Porter/Moss (n.3) page 115.
5. Selim Hassan, Excavations at Gizeh (ten volumes, Cairo 1932-1960), Vol. VII, page 43, Vol. IX, pages 29-31, fig. 10.
6. Porter/Moss (n.3) page 41.
7. Christiane M.Zivie, Giza au deuxieme millenaire (Cairo 1976), Chapter 5 and particularly pages 277-280.
8. See Plan II. The dotted line on the elevation section indicates the present height of the concrete roof recently added by the Department of Antiquities of Egypt, which approximates to the original height of 3.25m. See also Chapter II, section b, pages 15-16 below.

CHAPTER II

The Tomb of Thery

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a. History of excavation and discovery

The tomb of Thery was discovered during his exploration of the ridge of hills south of the main Gizeh plateau necropolis area by Petrie in December 1906. He failed to report any finds from the tomb, failed to note the exterior reliefs, and failed to explore the shaft and substructure, although the shaft appears in his plans and photographs. But he published, in Gizeh and Rifeh,<sup>1</sup> a brief description of the tomb chapel and its reliefs, with walls already lost merely outlined on the plan. "Of the north chamber the roof still remains; the east, mid, and west chambers are unroofed, but complete to the full height of the walls; the south hall only has the lower of the walls left, at the inner end."<sup>2</sup>

Petrie published comprehensive drawings of the reliefs as they remained at the time,<sup>3</sup> particularly those of the eastern chamber, which Maspero intended should be removed to the Egyptian Museum. Petrie's fears that "the broken and less perfect walls would be allowed to leave Egypt"<sup>4</sup> were to prove unfortunately all too prophetic, and it is also unfortunate that he "left the rest to be completely done after removal." His reliance on photographs, taken by Quibell and himself, and on the sketches of others for these chambers has left occasional errors in his published drawings (see, for instance, discussion of northern room, section c below). "The only parts not copied," he wrote,<sup>5</sup> "are the north end of the south walls and north side of the mid hall, which contain columns of inscriptions of names and titles." In the event, the plan to remove the eastern chamber was abandoned for lack of time and money, and Petrie, at Maspero's instigation, decided that the best plan would be to re-bury the tomb-chapel, even though, as he noted in his Journal<sup>6</sup> for 13 December 1906: "if we could bring it away it will make a fine thing for a museum, worth three or four times all we have spent so far."

Petrie left the site, the tomb as he thought safely re-covered with sand, at the end of the 1906-7 season, but it was not long before the antiquities thieves were at work, and the site has not long remained free from thefts or attempted thefts until the present day.

Ironically, the first and most important area to suffer was that very eastern room to which Petrie and Maspero had drawn attention for its very fine relief. Its robbing, at the apparent request of foreign antiquities dealers, became a very great scandal of the time, and the loss of the chamber's stones led almost directly to Egypt's first powerful laws governing the sale of antiquities.

An examination of the various Rapports du Service des Antiquités reveals that the robbers struck in September 1911, setting off a chain of events that they could not possibly have foreseen. The 1911 report<sup>7</sup> states that "le tombeau Saïte de Tari...ayant été démol...et une partie des blocs enlevés pendant la nuit", but in fact only the eastern room was affected most of its southern and eastern walls being completely robbed, and leaving today only the lowest course, of standing feet and reliefs of deities in their shrines. The scandal that followed created an immediate but long-running series in the newspapers of the day, with a Gizeh rais and several ghaffirs first sentenced to long terms of hard labour by the Gizeh Tribunal, and then the sentences overturned when Maspero backed his workers on appeal.<sup>8</sup> But on August 20, 23 and 27 1912, after the tumult had died and with Maspero on leave, his assistant Daressy unwittingly allowed the stolen blocks to leave the country, in 30 crates labelled "antiques pierres" and "carved stones" which he noted only<sup>9</sup> as fragments "de bas-reliefs sans suite et de mauvais style". The crates were shipped to a Mr Stanley Turner Hamlin in London, and the blocks have since been dispersed - many to the Brooklyn Museum<sup>10</sup> and some others to the Bristol Museum,<sup>11</sup> with others no one knows where.

Such was Maspero's anger at the theft, even before the stones had been shipped out of Egypt without his knowledge, that immediately "je rétirai du carton où il sommeillait"<sup>12</sup> a draft law proposed some ten years before, and pursued it with his usual energy to the highest officials. Within less than a year there was a new law intended to protect from destruction the larger monuments, such as temples and tombs, the heavier pieces of which had all too often been pulled down and smashed in order that the fragments might be sold. Sanguine as were Maspero's hopes for the future, Antiquities Law No. 14 of June 12 1912, even though it was a great step forward in fact did little to protect even the tomb of Thery, as will be seen.

The second official investigation of the tomb also unfortunately suffers from a lack of publication. It took place in season 1945-6, when Professor Abd el-Moneim Abu Bakr, working for the Antiquities Service, cleared again the area covered by Petrie and part revealed by modern robbers. While it appears that the first clearing of the shaft and subterranean rooms may have been brought about at this time, it is most unfortunate that we have only the briefest of communications about his work; and since his recent lamented death his lifetime's papers still remain to be published. Ursula Schweitzer reported of this season only: "Die Reliefs sind in gutem Stil gearbeitet und teilweise noch in Farben erhalten."<sup>13</sup> Even though it seems that Abu Bakr must have investigated the shaft and burial chambers, no finds were reported in this preliminary notice. A recent visit reveals only a number of bones in a rough-hewn limestone sarcophagus in one of the southern-room burial niches, and a scatter of bones throughout the southern room: it seems most unlikely that even ancient tomb robbers would have left so little for today's investigators. We look forward eagerly to publication of his excavation papers.

Immediately after the investigation by Abu Bakr, the Department of Antiquities took steps to protect the tomb-chapel: a door of bricks and mortar with a stout iron gate was erected across the remaining one third of the southern room, and the foundations of that room strengthened and capped with concrete. At the same time, large areas of the exterior were restored with well-shaped limestone blocks to preserve the outer shape of the chapel and to conserve from weather and vandals alike the remaining interior reliefs. A roof of strong planks was fitted.

Unfortunately the roof did not do its job very well. At some time in the period between 1946 and 1975 robbers again entered the tomb, and, in attempting to remove parts of the delicate reliefs on the southern sections of the east and west walls of the central hall, caused a great deal of damage and left a mass of broken fragments littering the chambers. Happily some of these might be restored to their original places, thanks to Petrie's records. The result of the theft and destruction was the provision by the Department of Antiquities of a solid concrete roof, restoring the chapel for the first time to the approximate level of its original height of 3.25m, and in intention making it thief-proof.

But part of the southern room retained its wooden roof, and it was through this section that robbers entered in 1975. So neglected had the tomb become that it was only by comparison with Petrie's drawings and photographs that I, as Assistant Inspector of the Gizeh area, was able to discover that the heads of the seated Thery and his wife had been hacked out of the eastern wall of the southern room. It is perhaps worthy of note that in this last case of robbery it was the piece illustrated by Petrie which was stolen - it has not yet come to light - while its companion piece across the room, not shown by Petrie, was left untouched by the thieves. But it is also clear that, while the subterranean area is not only empty but also dangerous of access, the exposed superstructure should be fully reported before it becomes too damaged for serious study.

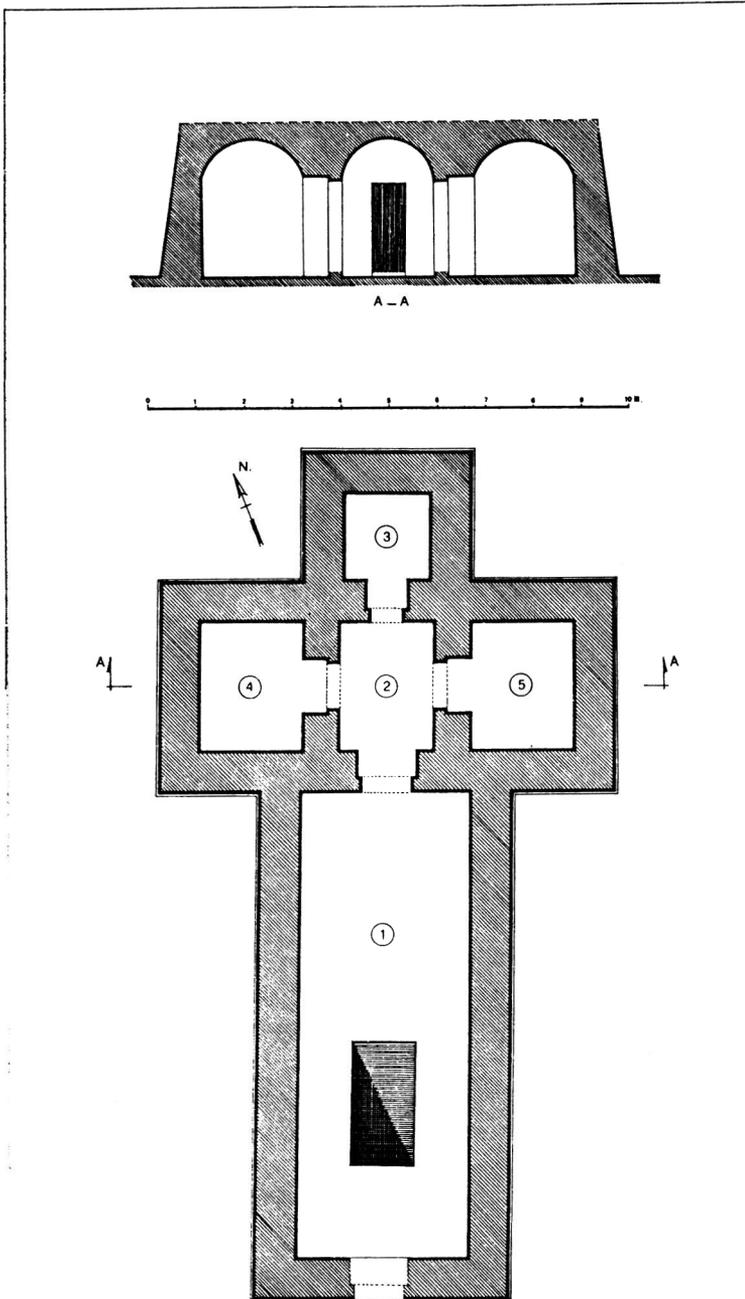
b. Description of the tomb

Exterior

The total dimensions of the cross-shaped building<sup>14</sup> are 17.40m long, 9.50m maximum width (A-A on the plan), and originally approximately 3.25m high: this height has now been restored by the addition of a concrete roof by the Department of Antiquities. The long southern room, which contains the shaft giving access to the subterranean burial chambers, contains more than half the total length of the tomb-chapel, at 10.50m long, and with a width of 5.35m. All of the exterior walls are of a thickness of 0.95m, consisting of skins of fine Turah limestone of about 0.40m concealing a thin rubble core. All three walls of this southern room, together with the south-facing walls of the eastern and western rooms, were originally decorated with scenes in bas-relief, although today little remains of the southern parts of the southern room and its southern wall, containing the doorway to the tomb-chapel, has only the slightest indications of reliefs preserved on its lowest course.

The roofs of the eastern, central and western rooms are almost totally lost and restored by the Department of Antiquities, but enough remains to indicate that they, like the northern room, originally had arched roofs of limestone. This seems not to have been the case with the long southern room, which does not have the slight incline of the exterior walls seen on the northern rooms, and indeed there may be good reason for believing this room was not roofed at all (see discussion in Chapter V below). Generally the workmanship of the exterior walls was first-class, with the limestone blocks fitting perfectly together, and the tapering effect towards roof level finely handled.

Eastern and western rooms are the same size, that is, having base exterior measurements of 2.10m on their southern faces and 2.95m at the north, with the walls facing to east and west each 4.45m in length. The gradual incline over the seven courses of stone in the walls means that the top measurements of these rooms should be reduced by some 0.30m. The northern room, the best preserved architecturally, has eastern and western walls of (base) 2.60m (2.50m at the top) and a northern wall of (base 3.60m (3.20m at the top).



Plan II. Superstructure of the tomb of Thery.

### Superstructure

As indicated above, the building consists of five rooms of which the southern, which contains both the shaft and the tomb entrance, in its southern wall, is by far the biggest. The interior measurements of the southern room are 9.50m by 3.50m, with walls of a thickness of 0.95m. Only the northern one third of this chamber is **preserved**, with no more than two courses of limestone blocks preserved in the southern part: just south of the modern blocking-wall and gate built by the Department of Antiquities the preserved wall rises first to three and then eventually to five courses without attaining the original full height of approximately 3.25m. The shaft descends from the centre of the room's east-west section, and only 1.85m from the entrance door, which is 1.00m wide on the exterior but widens to 1.20m within the thickness of the wall, giving an inner niche of 1.20m wide and 0.60m deep. The door is at the centre of the southern wall.

The central hall, only 2.60m from north to south and 1.90m wide, gives access to all three of the northern chambers, and thus has doors on all four sides, leaving only short areas of wall within the room itself. Doors to the eastern and western rooms are 0.90m wide in a wall thickness of 0.80m, while that from the southern room echoes in its measurements the outer door from the exterior, extending from 1.00m to 1.20m wide, and that to the small northern room is only 0.64m wide in a wall thickness of 0.90m. The remaining northern sections of the wall in the central room are merely 0.63m long, those to north and south on the east and west walls all 0.80m, and the sections on the southern wall each 0.30m long.

The eastern and western rooms are mirror-images, each 2.60m by 2.05m, with a single doorway, and, as noted above, roof arches springing from vertical walls also 2.05m high, in contrast to the smaller central hall, where the vertical walls are 1.95m high. The northern room, smallest of all, is 1.70m square in its interior measurements, with the door centrally placed in its southern side, leaving only 0.45m at each side of the door jambs. This room is the only one to retain its steeply arched roof in its entirety, springing from the 1.95m vertical walls.

### The shaft

Cut only 1.85m from the entrance to the tomb chapel and directly in the centre of the long southern room, the shaft measures 1.35m by 2.50m and is some 12m deep. Perfectly rectangularly cut in the friable nummulitic limestone, it retains its strength in the upper area but is badly damaged below, and was strengthened by the builders to a depth of some 1.30m by an inner casing of three courses of fine limestone. The shaft descends directly into an open area between the two roughly-hewn burial chambers, with no necessity for a staircase or descending corridor.

### Substructure

Twelve metres below the floor of the southern chamber are two rooms cut into the limestone, placed in alignment with the tomb chapel above, approximately north/south. That to the north contains the better workmanship, and also the best-finished burial niche, although the softness of the stone and falls of rock from the roof of the double chamber make it difficult to estimate the original dimensions. About 4.0m long and 3.0m wide, the northern chamber contains in the centre of its northern side a rectangular niche of 2.0m by 1.10m wide and 1.50m high above the floor of the chamber, into which a trench was cut from the body some 2.0m long by 0.90m wide and 0.70m deep, directly below the arched superstructure, the building of which included a wall at the northern end. A ledge some 0.10m wide was allowed between the narrow rock trench and the built-up arch to seat a stone slab (now lost and/or broken) over the body. The northernmost wall of the built-up arch remains to its complete height of ten courses from the floor of the burial trench to its apex at 2.20m, but most of the arch itself has been broken out, leaving only fragments at the northern end. The area between the cut rock and the built arch is filled with rubble and mortar. As well as this main burial niche there are three niches on each side of the room, very roughly cut from the walls of the chamber and apparently unfinished.

Both northern and southern chambers stand about 2.0m high, but the southern contains only rough-cut niches similar to those in the northern room, with no better-finished or masonry niche. All the rough niches vary in size, from 1.00m to 1.60m long, 0.90m to 1.00 wide and 0.70m to 0.90m high.

The southern chamber contains a rectangular pattern of incisions in the floor, approximately 1.00m by 1.20m, just to the south-east of the descent of the shaft, which could conceivably be the mouth of another shaft. But because of the condition of the lower part of the shaft and the chambers themselves (similar shafts have claimed lives nearby), further work is not advisable in the area.

c. Decoration of the tomb

Exterior

i. Eastern room, south side (fig. 1)

Virtually the whole of the remaining wall is covered with a scene of Thery and his wife adoring Osiris and Nephthys. The scene covers almost exactly four courses of the wall, that is, about 1.80m. The section of the fourth course above the heads of Thery and his wife, including part of the crown of Osiris, has been lost and restored by the Department of Antiquities with plain blocks of limestone, with the result that identification of the two worshippers cannot be confirmed. At the extreme east there remains a single block of an upper register, showing only two horizontal lines and one vertical, which may have formed part of the throne of Osiris from an upper register.

The complete Osiris of the lower register is seated, facing left (ie, west, towards the southern room), on a square st-throne,<sup>15</sup> mounted on a high dais with inclined leading edge, on which is set an offering table with a single lotus flower with long stem, the open flower facing the god. Osiris wears crown and collar and carries in hands clasped on his chest the crook and flail. Behind him stands Nephthys, her head on a level with that of Osiris, making her slightly larger than the worshippers, and topped by the signs of her name in large and deeply carved characters about 0.25m tall. She wears a dress to mid-calf, collar and long head-dress, and holds out the *w3s*-sceptre in her right hand. In the left, which hangs at her side, she carries an *ḥnḥ*-sign. In the field between the head-dresses of Osiris and Nephthys stands a short vertical line of hieroglyphs, *ḳd-mdw nbt ḥwt*, with two *t*-signs under that for *ḥwt*. No other inscription remains today in the whole scene.

In front of Osiris, wearing short kilt and collar only stands the male worshipper, presumably Thery: it is impossible to decipher the style of his hair or head-dress because of damage in this area. He holds both hands out and up to Osiris in adoration: both are depicted as being left hands, the thumb on the lower side in both cases. Legs and waist are shown as very slim, but he has broad shoulders. Behind

him, in a similar position of adoration, stands a female, presumably his wife. She wears a dress, like that of Nephthys, ending at mid-calf, collar, and long head-dress. Again similar to Thery, she has two left hands, and a thin waist and legs.

All four characters are set on an incised groundline that becomes a panel border, rising vertically to the right (east) rather than following the inclined line of the edge of the building, before curving back again at the top to cut off this scene from the lost register above.

ii. Southern room, east side (fig. 2)

Again the upper part of this wall has been much damaged, and parts have been restored with plain limestone blocks. All that can be distinguished is part of the northernmost scene, which has a goddess - perhaps Isis - standing behind a seated figure, presumably Osiris, of whom only the lowest course remains. The female figure, facing south, is preserved in her two lowest courses, although head and shoulders are lost: a trace of wig remains behind the left arm. She holds upright a *w3s*-sceptre in her right hand, and in the left the *C<sub>ph</sub>*-sign by her side. The slim figure is dressed in a mid-calf-length dress, and is deeply and beautifully carved, even to the bracelets on her arms.

Behind the goddess is a very deeply incised vertical column of hieroglyphs which, although much damaged by modern graffiti carvers, is still clear enough to transcribe with ease:



"s3 pr<sup>16</sup> *try*, s3 n gm.f-st-k3pt"<sup>17</sup>

In front of the goddess stands a tall, narrow offering table, about 0.70m high, with a single long-stemmed lotus flower facing the goddess. There then follow fragments in a single course of stone of a high dais with inclined forward edge, the remains of a square-set throne, the feet of a seated god - probably Osiris - and the base of another narrow offering table.

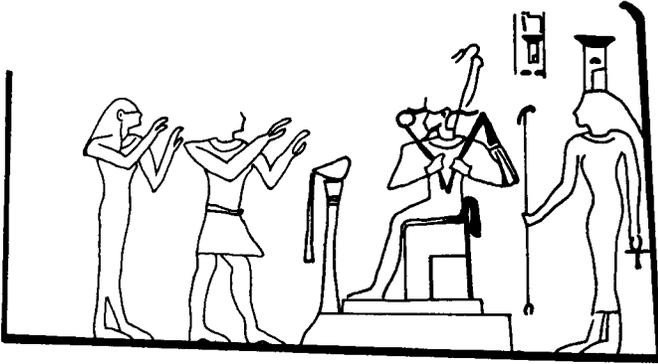


Fig. 1. Exterior, eastern room, southern side.

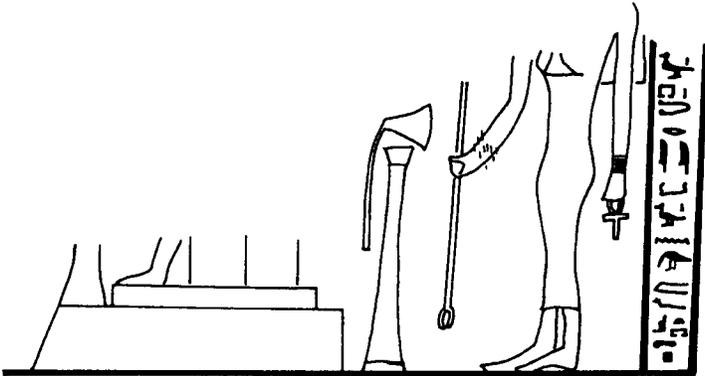


Fig. 2. Exterior, southern room, east side.

## iii. Southern room, south side

This narrow wall containing the entrance to the tomb chapel was once similarly incised with scenes. But so great has been the damage in this southernmost area of the tomb that today nothing remains except the very slightest traces of feet on the lowest course of stones: all face inwards towards the doorway.

## iv. Southern room, west side (fig. 3)

Although much damaged, enough remains of this long wall to give a good indication of the content of the scenes carved down its full length: seven vignettes, all very similar, of Thery (or perhaps Thery and other members of his family, for no texts remain to identify these persons) adoring the seated Osiris. In each case the figure of the worshipper faces north, and the god looks to the south.

Of the first scene, at the extreme south, virtually nothing remains except the back one third of the raised dais and of the square-set block on which the throne of Osiris normally stands. Slight vertical traces above the block might indicate the back legs of the throne, but indications are scanty in the single course of engraving that remains.

The second scene shows a little more, with the lower part of a standing figure, legs separated in the adoring position and wearing the long kilt, facing a high dais with inclined leading edge on which stand the base of a narrow offering table and the feet and throne feet of the seated god. The second course of limestone has been very badly weathered, but enough remains to make out the back of Osiris' throne and part of its seat. On neither of these first two scenes had the sculptor carved a groundline.

That is not true of the third, in which the worshipper has no groundline but the dais on which the throne of Osiris is set has a single incised line. This scene shows both worshipper and god virtually to their waists, although weathering of the upper course has obliterated detail and the upper courses are lost. It seems clear, however, that the worshipper's kilt is tied with a belt which hangs diagonally almost the full length of the kilt. In other respects the scene is that already discussed: Osiris on his throne, set on a block on a dais with inclined



Fig. 3. Southern room, west wall, exterior. Fifth, sixth and seventh adoration scenes (Osiris facing south).

leading edge on which stands an offering table. The stem of a lotus flower can be seen hanging to the right of the offering table.

In the fourth scene, divided like the last from the one to its right by an incised vertical line, both Osiris' throne and the worshipper are set on a double groundline. Otherwise the scene almost precisely duplicates the third, even to the weathering in the upper course which obliterates details of the belt of the worshipper's kilt, although the knot at the waist is clear. Still only two courses are preserved.

Continuing to the north, the fifth scene has Osiris much better preserved, in part of a third course, but only two courses remain of the worshipper: both have double groundlines. Of the latter, the belt and kilt can clearly be seen, together with a trace of his (lower) right elbow in the very top of the course, confirming his adoring position. Osiris' throne, dais and offering table follow the pattern already seen, with the top of the offering table and its lotus flower lost (although the stem can be seen). Of Osiris, however, only the topmost course is missing, containing the head-dress; he is seen to be carrying the crook and flail crossed on his chest, the latter's tail trailing down to the course below. Of the head only the beard and lower part of the face can be seen.

The sixth scene shows the worshipper at his most complete, with long kilt and belt, legs apart, and both arms raised in adoration. The left hand is missing, together with most of the head, and a lost block behind the seated Osiris means that most of the throne is also missing. But again the crook, flail and beard of Osiris can clearly be seen. This scene differs from the preceding, however, in that the offering table and lotus flower are missing: it seems clear that the artist did not have room for them. Also missing is the groundline.

The last and northernmost scene has only the legs and lower part of the kilt of the worshipper, but the rest of the scene is lost. He again faces a god seated on a st-throne, of whom only the legs and lower body are preserved. In this scene the lotus and offering table are again missing, but the double groundline is again evident.

## v. Western room, south side (fig. 4 - 5)

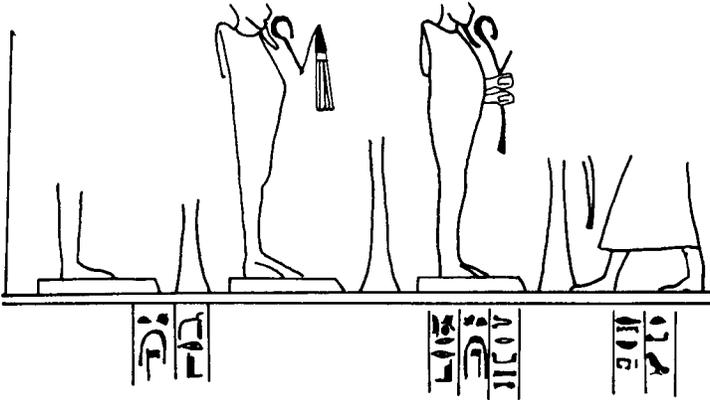
Though much of the original limestone of this section is badly weathered and a number of blocks lost, it is possible to make out that the wall is clearly divided into two registers of scenes, as seemed likely for the corresponding wall on the eastern side.

The upper register has suffered badly from weathering, and has lost its topmost course (fig. 4), but the scene remains over almost all of four courses of stone, a height of about 1.80m. At the scene's eastern extremity is the lower part of a worshipper, wearing the long kilt and set on a double groundline, who holds out something in his hand. Judging by the long, thin, trailing end before the worshipper, it could be a single lotus or a bunch of flowers: the upper part is lost. The tail of the floral tribute extends almost to his feet. In front of the worshipper, standing on the ground, is an offering table: again the upper part is missing.

Further west, and facing east, is a standing figure of Osiris in the memphite style, appearing as Ptah but clearly holding before him the crook and flail instead of the w3s-sceptre: both crook and flail have long tails reaching down to the standing figure's thigh. The dais on which the figure stands is low, with squared back and inclined forward edge and all that remains of its head is the lower part of the face and the beard, the upper part being lost.

This figure is then twice repeated, in each case with a slim offering table before the god. Weathering has effaced most of the upper part of the third god, but the central one clearly has a lotus flower on his offering table, and his lower head and beard are the best preserved. Behind the third god is a double incised vertical line acting as a sort of border to the scene, and further to the west is a thicker line echoing the inclination of the wall itself, which may extend to the full height of the wall.

The lower register, again standing about four courses high, is comparatively well preserved (fig. 5): it shows Thery and his mother Tadehor adoring the seated Osiris, who is supported by a female standing behind him. The scene's worst damage is the loss of the block containing the heads of Osiris and his female companion, and not enough remains to identify her with certainty.



Figs. 4-5. Western room exterior, upper and lower registers.

The virtually complete figure of Osiris is seated facing to the east (towards the southern room) on the *st*-throne, which is mounted on a high dais with inclined forward edge, on which is also set a low offering table with lotus flower facing the god. Part of the throne is lost through weathering, but the beard and collar of Osiris are clear, and he clasps on his chest the crook and flail. Above and a little to the right of the seated god are two short vertical lines of hieroglyphs, which read:

*"Words to be spoken by Osiris, Foremost of the Divine Hall"*

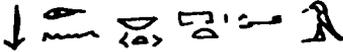
Behind Osiris stands the female figure, probably a goddess but without the attributes of *w3s*-sceptre or *Cnh*-sign. She wears a long dress and collar, and raises her left hand behind Osiris in a gesture of protection, while the right hangs behind her. Her feet are slightly apart, indicated by the space between the ankles. The figure is more sturdy, particularly in its upper part, than any other female figure in the tomb. The block containing her head is missing, but its replacement would find her head on a level with that of Osiris, that is, above the level of the worshippers.

On the eastern part of the wall, Thery and his mother face west in adoration before Osiris. Between them and the god's raised dais stands, at ground level, an offering table with wide surface and very high stand (about 0.80m), piled with four round loaves of bread and two geese.

Thery wears the long kilt, tied at the waist, but no clear collar, and short hair: part of his face and neck are damaged. He holds out both hands to Osiris in adoration. The figure covers just more than three courses (about 1.25m), and above his head are three short vertical columns of hieroglyphs reading:

*"The Revered with Osiris, Foremost of the Divine Hall,  
Thery, justified"*

Behind They stands his mother, feet slightly apart, in long dress with collar, and straps over her shoulders. Her head-dress has a tail coming diagonally forward as she raises her right hand over They's shoulder in a gesture of protection echoing that of Osiris' female companion. Her left hand is straight down at her side. She stands precisely the same size as her son: both They and Tadehor are shown with two left hands, and both have very thin waists and legs. Above her head are two short vertical lines of hieroglyphs reading:



*"Born of the Lady of the House, Tadehor"*

The lower register is divided from that above by a solid double incised border line, and is itself set on a single groundline except under the left foot of They, where it is doubled. This doubling must have had some significance for the sculptor, who extended the double line through two blocks of stone.

Interior

## i. Southern room, eastern wall

Very little of this wall - only the very northernmost section, and that very badly damaged - remains in anything like its original condition: the remainder has recently been restored. The only scene which may be distinguished is that of a seated couple, presumably They and his wife although there are no texts remaining to give their names, facing south. The scene is illustrated by Petrie (Plate XXXVI C), but the heads of both figures, which were beautifully carved according to Petrie's drawing, have since been cut out by antiquities thieves and all that remains today is the lower parts of the two figures seated on a low-backed chair with animal legs. Under the chair stands a large roll-handled jar, shown at a height of some 0.50m

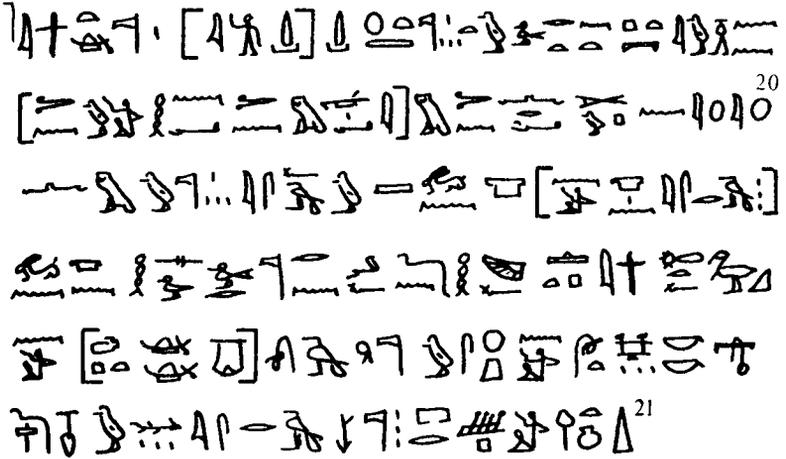
The female figure is seated behind the male, holding him presumably with both hands and wearing a mid-calf dress. She rests her feet on a high base shown with double outline. They sits to the south, but the vast majority of his body has been hacked away, and we see only his right arm, held by the right hand of the female, and his back. His legs cannot be seen at all, but it seems that the sculptor set out to carve They first, and only then discovered that he had not left enough space for the wife, for the vertical line representing the lower back of They quite clearly is cut through by the upper horizontal line of the thigh of his wife. Little colour remains, apart from faint traces of red-brown on the lower right arm of They.

## ii. Southern room, northern wall

Eastern section: The greater part of this section has been restored, but on the six courses of blocks which remain at the east are four vertical lines of hieroglyphs, separated by double lines: all of the western and upper parts are lost. The text has been carved very carefully and clearly, with the symbols about 0.06-0.08m tall, and covers an area of about 1.50m in height overall.

The four lines form part of Spell 625 of the Coffin

Texts S14C.<sup>18</sup> The text will be discussed in detail in Chapter VII below, and compared with other texts found in different tombs of the same period.<sup>19</sup>



".... she who is in the Divine Boat. ---

[O]Great tribunal of the sky, you have brought [me among you as one of you,] and I will not give these utterances of mine which I know to those who are ignorant. O evil-doers, open the doors [to me; O tamarisk people,] open for me the slime<sup>22</sup> of the Great One; He supports his comforted wing which is in his body. May [the two boats of Him who is t]ied up be bright for me, may the paths of the dark place be broad for me, so that I may protect the branches of the tamarisk people, and so that I may go forth and receive white bread."

It is clear that the hieroglyphs were brightly coloured, but all that remains of the pigment is occasional traces in its lower part of red and green. It is also apparent that in colouring the text the artist dripped some of the colouring matter on to the unscripted blocks below, and did not remove the drips.



## iii. Southern room, western wall (fig. 6)

No more than approximately one third of the northernmost part of this wall is preserved, with only two courses of limestone remaining in the south, rising to three and eventually to seven courses at the northern wall of the room. The scene depicted clearly shows They and his wife seated on a chair in the northern part, facing to the south, where an offering table and a register of musicians and singers are represented.

They and his wife are shown as being the same size. The block containing the upper part of this scene is of more friable stone, and is badly worn, but it is possible to make out the lines of the faces and the head-dresses. They wears the long wig and a short kilt, with his right hand - very difficult to make out - stretched towards the offering table, which is shown at a lower level, and his left hand on his knee. Parts of the legs and the whole of the feet are still coloured in reddish-brown. His wife sits behind him, wearing the long wig, very deeply cut behind the shoulder, and a mid-calf dress. Her feet rest on the same raised dais, intended to lift the tomb-owner and his wife above the rest of the scene, as those of her husband, in contrast to the scene on the facing wall. Also unlike the scene on the eastern wall, her right foot covers part of the front leg of the chair. She holds They warmly, with her right arm around his shoulder and her left hand holding his right arm.

Both are seated upon a long chair with animal legs which terminates behind in a beautifully carved lotus blossom painted in green and dark red. The chair itself preserves traces of brown colouring, and between the legs of They and the chair is an undefined patch of green colour, perhaps a cushion.

Under the chair, placed between its back legs and the feet of the wife, is a large roll-handled oil vessel, shown at about 0.40m tall. The two handles are placed on the shoulder of the vessel, about two-thirds of the distance from the base, and are linked by two thick horizontal lines carved on the body of the vessel. Above these lines are five deeply carved vertical strokes, linking the neck and the horizontal lines, and below them are hieroglyphs giving the name of the vessel or its contents (see illustration, next page).



more northerly singer has short hair and wears the short kilt; he puts his left hand to his ear and raises his right in a singing position. The rest of the figure, on the lower course, is not clear, and it is not possible to make out his seated position. There are traces of reddish-brown on shoulders and arms, and on the right shoulder and arm small areas have been filled or restored in ancient times, and the artist has cut the shape of the arm and shoulder through these filled areas. About 0.15m above the head of this singer are traces of an inscription, of which only two symbols -  $\Delta$  and the lower part of  $\text{𓆎}$  - can be made out; probably linked with the word *hst*, singing.

The second singer also has short hair and his face is very carefully modelled to show details of the ear and eye. There is damage at the neck, and the left hand cannot easily be made out because of the condition of the stone, but the right hand is raised in a typical singing position, with thumb and first finger almost together and widely separated from the other three joined fingers. Again the lower part of the body is almost completely effaced. As with the first singer, parts of the same two symbols may be seen about 0.15m above the head of this performer.

But in front of him is another inscription in a very different style of carving from the previously mentioned texts, and indeed different from any other in the whole tomb. The symbols are very roughly cut, very rapid and thinly carved, and not easy to read. The upper part is damaged, but the lower section, in three vertical lines, reads:

*"The Revered [before?] Horus Khentekhtay, the Great God,  
Nes-Hor-pkhered, son of <sup>C</sup>Ankh-Hor-pkhered"*

The two harpists are shown at the same size as the two singers, and also shown in two courses of stone, although here it is the upper course that is of the poorer material and has worn less well. The first harpist sits on the ground, with his left knee raised

and right knee flat to the ground, heel tucked under the body, wearing a short kilt. In the space between him and the second singer, whom he faces, it is possible to make out a single vertical line of inscription in very large characters:  "to play the harp".

The upper part of the figure is not clear, but he appears to wear short hair and to play the harp with his right hand at least: the left is effaced. The harp, preserved only in its sound box, handle (with five lines - of decoration? or binding? around its junction with the sounding board) and strings (12 incised lines between two more deeply carved), is Hickman's "curved harp in shovel shape"<sup>29</sup> with the sounding board viewed from behind and the handle in profile. The "backbone of the harp, and the "ribs" to the "wings" of the sounding board can clearly be seen, and are highlighted in reddish-brown. But little can be distinguished of the upper part of the instrument because of the condition of the stone.

Between this musician and the second, who sits behind him in similar dress and posture, is the same inscription, with an absolutely clear *bnt*, and part of an upper sign.

This harpist is better preserved than the first, and his face was much more carefully carved. The eyes can clearly be seen, but it is not clear whether he was blind: there is no indication of the pupil of the eye. He appears to hold the strings firmly with his right hand, while plucking them with four fingers of the left. The fifth finger is raised. His harp is probably the same type as the first, although this time shown entirely in profile, with neither wing of the sounding board visible. It also has 12 lines between two more heavily carved, to represent the strings, and a similar binding or decoration around the junction of handle and sounding board. Little of the upper part is visible, although part of the handle can be seen behind the player's head.

Behind this harpist, and on the ground line, is a tantalising glimpse of the knee of a third sitting man, but it is most unlikely that this is a third harpist: the space between the two figures (only 0.10m) does not allow the depiction of a large instrument at ground level. More likely this third musician was a *sby*, flute player.

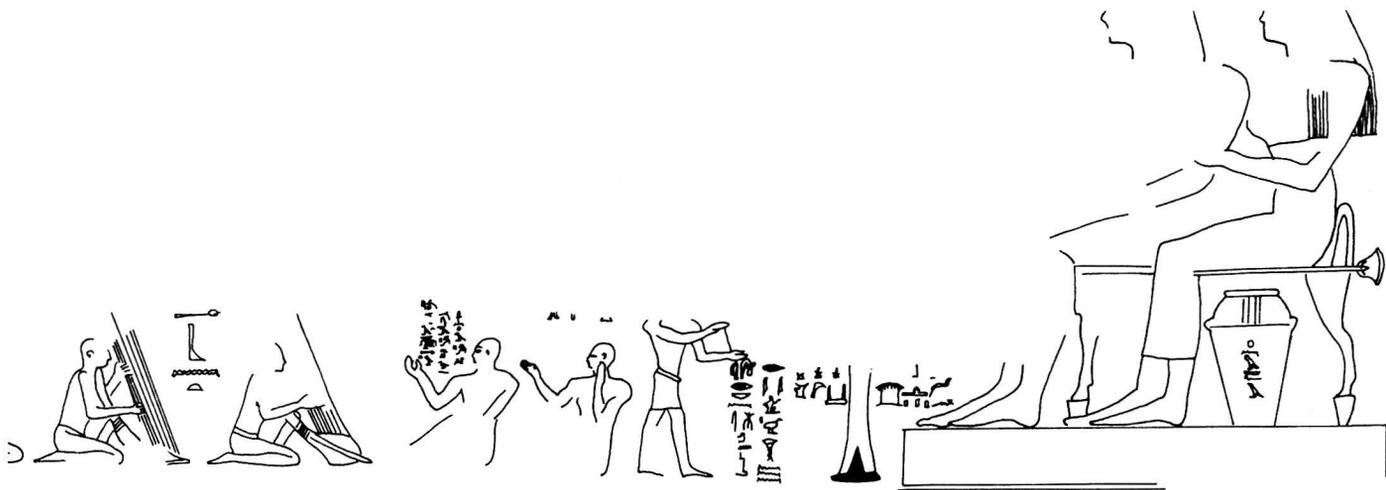
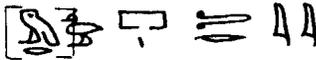


Fig. 6. Southern room, west wall interior. They and his wife with offering bearer and musicians

## iv. Central hall, southern doorway

The doorway between the southern room and the central hall was originally richly inscribed, but all that remains today is the eastern jamb, as illustrated by Petrie (Plate XXXVI G, centre): nothing at all of the western jamb is preserved. The lowest of the seven courses of stone of which the chamber is built is not decorated, but the upper six on the eastern side carry two scenes of Thery, one above the other: a block is missing from the northern part of the upper scene.

The missing block also contains part of a horizontal line of hieroglyphs giving the title of Thery as:<sup>30</sup>



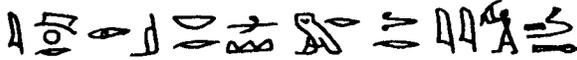
"The [Chief] of the Police, Thery"

Below the remains of that single line of inscription is a deeply hacked cut in the stone, probably an attempt to cut out the head below of the adoring Thery, who faces north, hands raised. His hair is short, and he wears the collar and mid-calf kilt. His face, legs and feet are coloured with very dark reddish-brown, and there are traces of similar colour on the arms and hands, although the toenails were clearly left uncoloured. The top of the three courses forming the figure seems to have been coloured red-brown, to judge by heavy traces to the left.

Before Thery stands an offering table on a very high stand containing two circular loaves flanking a high, conical loaf. The upper part of the offering table, originally painted green, was restored by the ancient mason in pinkish plaster, and the triangular insert in the base of the table support is in dark red-brown. The whole scene is flanked by deeply incised vertical lines - perhaps to frame the scene, or maybe originally intended to take the name and titles of Thery but not completed

The upper Thery stands on a wide incised line dividing this scene from the one below, in which Thery is represented in a different manner, and facing to the south, the opposite direction. Again he wears the mid-calf kilt and collar, but is shown with the long wig, and

holds in his right hand a folded cloth, very carefully depicted, and in his left a long, slim cane reaching to the groundline on which he stands. An attempt has been made to obliterate the face, but the figure retains almost all of its colouring, showing the whole body in dark reddish-brown, with the wig in black, and the collar, kilt and belt unpainted. In front of Thery is a single vertical line of inscription between single lines, as shown in Petrie's drawing:



*"The Revered with Osiris, Lord of Rostau, the Chief of  
<the Police>, Thery, justified"*

Most of the central hall has recently been restored, even though Petrie found it virtually complete. It is fortunate that he illustrated the scenes on the southern part of the western and eastern walls (Plate XXXVI G), for these are now completely disappeared. The other walls, which Petrie failed to record, today contain only incomplete scenes and inscriptions: all are divided into two sections, since all contain doors leading to other rooms.

#### v. Central hall, southern wall

The western part of this wall is completely restored in modern plain limestone blocks, but the eastern section still retains part of a scene with its accompanying text, despite the efforts of robbers who have created a good deal of damage. The two lower courses show a slim and carefully-cut figure of Thery, facing to the west and wearing a shoulder-length black wig, a collar left uncoloured, and short kilt, also uncoloured, which comes to a sharp point in front; the folds of the kilt are clearly shown with incision. Thery, who is strongly coloured in red-brown, carries the folded cloth in his right hand, and in his left a long stick which does not, however, reach the groundline. The upper part of the stick, with the left shoulder and part of the face, have been damaged by would-be robbers, but above the figure stand large hieroglyphs forming part of his name ]- 𓂏𓂏𓂏





The southern section, shown in the right part of his drawing, has Thery in three registers adoring three divinities, the whole flanked to the north by two long vertical lines of hieroglyphs. Beneath this inscription is depicted a small-size figure of Thery, standing facing north and holding his cane of office. Right across the top section of this wall, in large hieroglyphs, is the *hṭp di nswt* formula, of which only *hṭp*....*di* remained in Petrie's record.

The upper one of the three registers showed Thery, wearing long wig and mid-calf kilt, facing south and making offering to the Sokar-bark before him. He carries high in his left hand a small tray with two cups, and with his right pours liquid from a *kbḥ*-jar on to a lotus flower set on a small, high offering table. The Sokar-bark is placed on a stand, under which are two registers of offerings, the upper containing a small oil jar, a round loaf, a *hnm*-jar, a goose, and another round loaf; while the lower has a round loaf flanked by two conical loaves, and a trussed ibex. Above the bark stand four lines of vertical hieroglyphs, of which Petrie was able to distinguish only the word *m mn* . Above the figure of Thery are two vertical lines of inscription, which Petrie records as:

↓  [9↓]   [ ]   [ ]          

"Performing of incense by the Revered with [Sokar?], the Chief of the Police, Thery."

The centre register shows Thery standing, again facing south, in a position of adoration before Osiris, who sits on his throne and wears the *3tf*-crown and carries crook and flail. Between them is an offering table carrying loaves, cups and a bundle of lotus flowers, and beneath the table two tall jars on triangular stands. Above Osiris are two vertical lines:

↓      

"Osiris, the Great God, Lord of Rostau."

Above Therey, who wears the collar and mid-calf kilt and raises both arms in adoration, are four vertical lines of inscription:



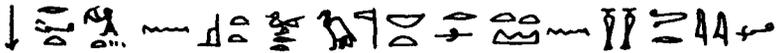
*"The Revered with Osiris, Lord of Rostau, the Chief of the Police, Therey."*

The third and lowest register shows Therey, again wearing the long wig and mid-calf kilt, facing south and raising both hands in adoration of Isis, who sits on the st-throne and wears the Hathor crown, along with a wig which has a vulture head in front and tail behind. She carries in her right hand the w3s-sceptre, and in her left the <sup>C</sup>nh-sign. Between the two figures is the same style of tall offering table as in the scene above, but with different offerings: here they consist of bread and two trussed ducks, and the bundle of lotus flowers is shown with short stems. Above Isis are two vertical lines of inscription:



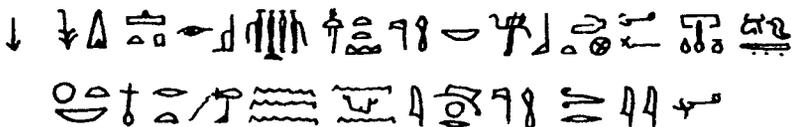
*"Words to be said by Isis, the Great, the God's Mother, <the Lady> of Rostau."*

And above Therey are four vertical lines:



*"Giving praise to Isis, the Great, the God's Mother, the Lady of Rostau, by the praised Therey."*

To the north of these three registers are two vertical lines of inscription in characters of larger size forming the *hꜣp di nswt* formula:



"The offering which the king gives to Osiris hnty imntyw, Great God, Lord of Abydos, that he may give funerary offerings and every good and clean thing to the k3 of the Revered with the Great God, They."

All of these scenes and inscriptions are recorded only by Petrie, for all that remains in place is part of the word hrw, from which Petrie's record omits the loaf and the jar, and part of the figure of They below. The owner of the tomb, facing north, is shown wearing the long wig and short kilt, holding in his left hand the strip of cloth and in his right the shorter stick. Only the right shoulder and arm holding the stick, together with the kilt and right leg, are preserved the parts of the body painted reddish-brown.

Of the northern section of the wall, nothing at all remains: all is newly restored in plain limestone blocks.

viii. Central hall, western wall

The northern section of this wall is almost completely lost and restored, but a single block remains, carrying parts of two inscriptions. That to the left is divided from the three vertical columns of its fellow by a deeply incised line painted blue-green, and there are no dividing lines between the actual columns of the second inscription, which may form part of Chapter 76 of the Book of the Dead. The following can be distinguished:



The southern section, again totally destroyed (some fragments from this wall have been collected and stored in the western chamber: they will be discussed below), is preserved only in the record of Petrie (Plate XXXVI G, centre left). He illustrates three registers, flanked to the north by two vertical columns of inscription, with the figure of They below, facing north, in small size.

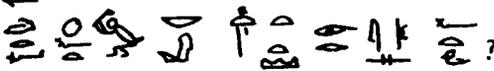
The upper register, badly damaged above and to the south, showing a scene of the weighing of the heart, preserves only the

lower half of a sitting figure (Anubis carrying the balance, according to similar scenes from the Book of the Dead) and the right-hand balance, in which is the small seated figure of Maat, wearing the  $m\beta^c$ -feather on her head. Between the balance and the seated figure are two vertical lines of hieroglyphs, of which the upper parts are damaged:



"The plummet is of accurate position, [the balance is filled by] the Osiris, the Chief of the Police, They."<sup>31</sup>

Below this register sits a monster (the Eater), with open mouth, facing to the north. Between the crocodile mouth and lion forepart of the monster is the word  $\text{dr}$ , and above its lion back and hippopotamus flanks is a further inscription preserved in six short vertical columns:



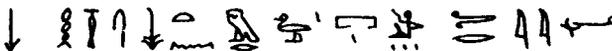
"The one who expels the enemy, the Lady of the West. The one who acts against sin (?)"

The second register shows They, facing south, kneeling in adoration, with hands raised, before Geb in the mummified form of Osiris. The god sits on the throne wearing the white crown and beard and carrying crook and flail, while They wears wig, collar and short kilt. Above Geb, Petrie records three vertical lines of inscription:



"Geb, Prince of the Gods....."

And above the kneeling They he records three more vertical lines:



"The Praised One of the King, the Chief of the Police, They."

In the third and lowest register, Thery sits in the prow of a boat adoring the Hathor cow in her shrine. He wears the wig, collar and short kilt, and raises both hands, while the cow stands in the shrine wearing the sun-disc between its horns, and the two feathers. It stands on a papyrus mat within the shrine, which is topped by a palace cornice. The boat is shown with similar lotus flowers at bow and stern, and with a single steering oar on a stand. The water under the vessel is indicated by a block of zigzag lines, shown vertically instead of horizontally. Above the head of Thery, Petrie records two vertical lines of inscription:

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## ix. Northern room, north wall (fig. 7)

The best preserved architecturally, this room carries various scenes of adoration on its northern, eastern and southern walls, the latter interrupted by the door to the central hall.

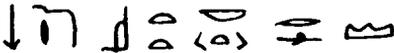
The north-wall scene, showing Osiris protected by two goddesses and a third, smaller, female figure which may be another goddess, is incompletely illustrated by Petrie (Plate XXXVI C), who omits the winged sun-disc above, the lotus frieze below and all of the hieroglyphic inscriptions.

Osiris is shown seated on a st-throne mounted on a low dais, at very large size, covering some five courses or two metres. He wears the crown and collar and carries the crook and flail crossed on his chest. The inner panel of the throne is coloured dark red, with the folded cloth behind the throne in greenish-blue. In front of Osiris are two vertical columns of inscription:



*"Words to be said by Osiris, the Great God, Lord of Rostau, Lord of Ddw, who dwells in the desert, Lord of Eternity."*

In front of Osiris stands Isis wearing the Hathor crown, a dress to mid-calf clasped at the right shoulder, a long wig and collar. She stretches both hands to Osiris in a gesture of protection, her left hand just touching his shoulder, the right close to his elbow. On her right arm she carries a strip of folded cloth. In front of her head is a single column of inscription:



*"Words to be said by Isis, Lady of Rostau."*

Behind Osiris stands another goddess (both she and Isis are shown over five courses of masonry - about life size). She does not wear a crown, but a beautifully-depicted vulture-wing head-dress over her long wig, together with a calf-length dress clasped at the left shoulder, and the collar. In the same protective

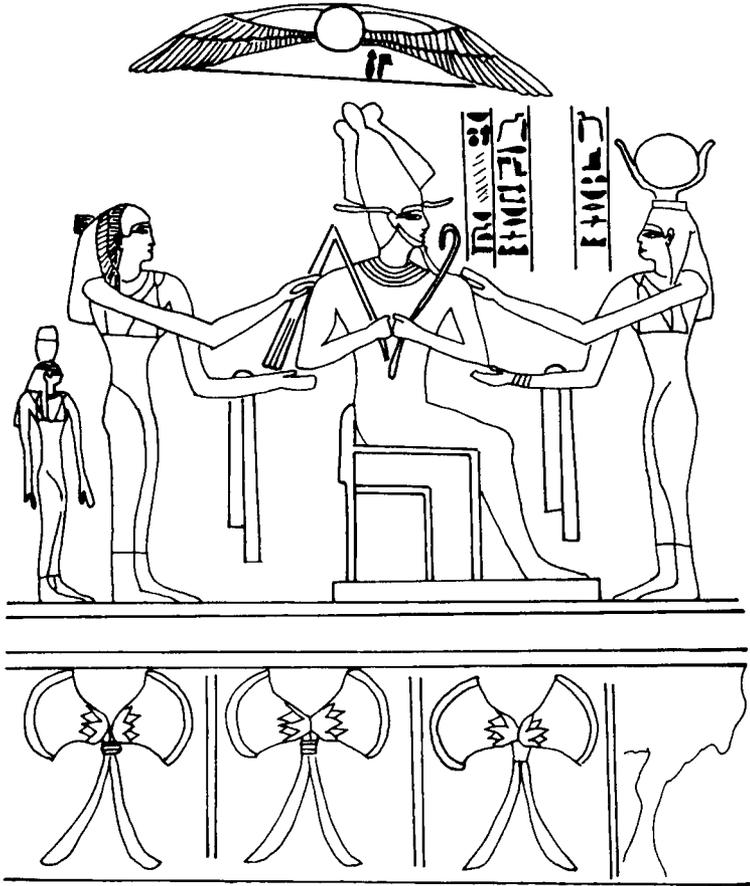


Fig. 7. Northern room, north wall. Osiris with Isis and Nephthys.

gesture as Isis, she reaches out to Osiris, her right hand touching the flail and the left Osiris' elbow. The folded cloth hanging from her left arm is coloured dark red, and traces of black and blue-green remain on the carved head-dress, together with dark red on the shoulder and legs.

Behind this goddess, and on the extreme left of the scene, is a small female figure standing only to the height of the waist of the goddess. She carries on her head the  $\Theta$ -jar, and wears the collar, long wig and ankle-length dress, and stands with both hands at her sides. She has a band around her hair, and has two left hands.

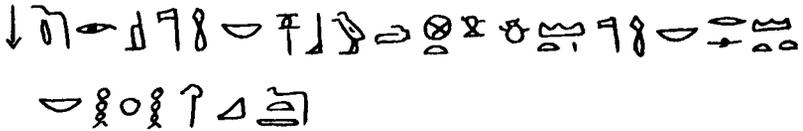
Underneath the whole scene, and not shown by Petrie, is a thick groundline of dark red delineated by two thin lines in black. After a space of 0.10m there is a similar red and black line, marking the top of a painted frieze of four bundles of lotus flowers. three are in good condition, but that to the east (the widest of them; they are not equally spaced) has been badly hacked by the robbers, and little remains. Each unit consists of two flowers tied at the top of the stem: the bases and edges of the petals are trimmed in red, and some traces of red remain at the base of some stems. The whole design is outlined in black, and the panels are divided by thick red vertical lines flanked by thick black borders.

Above the whole scene, and again omitted by Petrie, is a wide winged sun disc covering almost the whole width of the room. The stone is worn, and it is not easy to make out, but between the two wings is a horizontal line of hieroglyphs of which only two words,  $n\bar{t}r^C 3$ , can be read.

## x. Northern room, east wall (fig. 8)

This scene is completely preserved, as illustrated by Petrie (Plate XXXVI B, lower left), except in that he omitted a whole vertical column of hieroglyphs, and also the formula  $m3^c$  hrw after the name of Thery's mother, Tadehor.

Osiris, in his mummified form, stands at the left, wearing crown, beard, collar and carrying flail and crook, in more than life size. In front of him stands a tall offering table with triangular foot-panel, in which is set a single lotus flower with long stem, facing towards the god: part of the table and the lotus flower is damaged and lost. Directly above the offering table, standing 0.65m tall, are three vertical lines of inscription (Petrie illustrates two only):



*"Words to be said by Osiris, the Great God, Lord of Abydos, Lord of ḏw, who dwells in the desert, Great God, Lord of Rostau, Lord of Eternity, Ruler of Infinity."*

Behind Osiris stands a very small figure of the goddess Maat, wearing the  $m3^c$ t-feather in place of her head, together with ankle-length dress apparently clasped on both shoulders. She stretches both hands towards Osiris in a gesture of protection, touching his back with her right hand and his legs with her left. In front of the  $m3^c$ t-feather head, and again omitted by Petrie, is the deeply-carved character  $\Delta$ . Further to the north, behind both Osiris and Maat, the full height of the scene is flanked by three long vertical columns of hieroglyphs devided by thick lines:

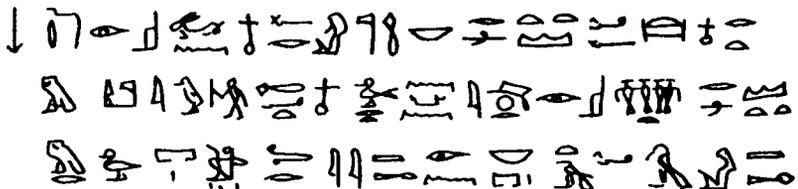
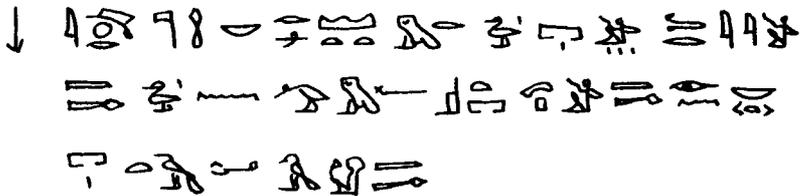




Fig. 8. Northern room, east wall. They adoring Osiris with Maat.

"Words to be said by Osiris Onnophris, the Great God, Lord of Rostau, may he give a good burial in the necropolis, a very great and good old age,<sup>32</sup> to the k3 of the honoured by Osiris, hnty rst3,<sup>33</sup> the Chief of the Police, Thery, the justified, the son of Tadehor, justified."

The southern part of the scene contains the figure of Thery in a posture of adoration, standing in the long wig and collar, with long kilt to mid-calf and long tie-belt reaching almost to the base of the kilt, and both hands raised to Osiris. Much of the reddish-brown colour for the body of Thery, and the black of the wig, is still preserved, as is some of the green colouring of the six vertical lines of hieroglyphs above his head:



"The Revered with the Great God, Lord of Rostau, the Chief of the Police, Thery, justified, son of Gemefesikap, justified, born of the Lady of the House, Tadehor, justified."

xi. Northern room, south wall (fig. 9)

Of this wall, the western side is totally lost, and the eastern section is best preserved in Petrie's Plate XXXVI B, centre right: a kneeling figure of Thery topped by a very large quadruple gd pillar. All that remains of the scene today is the top two sections of the pillar together with the left-hand portions of the other two sections, and part of the kneeling Thery below: he wears the long wig and priest's dress, and kneels forward so that his hands touch the ground. The red-brown colouring of Thery's body and legs is well preserved, and what remains of the gd-pillar

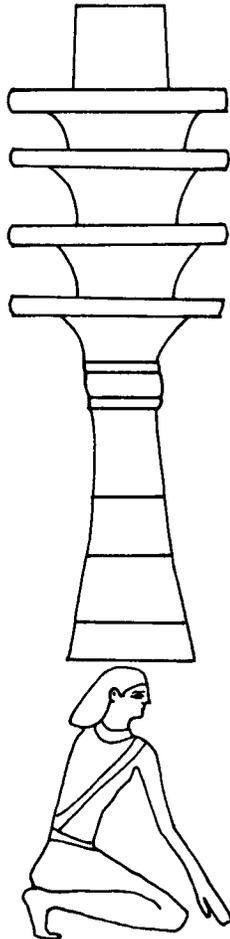


Fig. 9 The kneeling They under the  $\underline{d}d$ -pillar



## xiii. Western room

This room has survived almost complete architecturally, although its reliefs and paintings have suffered much at the hands of the antiquities robbers as well as from the unfortunate ancient choice of friable limestone for some of the scenes. The roof is lots and restored, but the inclination of the remaining walls indicates that it was certainly originally arched.

Most of the room was decorated with texts and representations of Guardians which is Chapter 146 of the Book of the Dead.<sup>35</sup> Much of the missing or worn texts may successfully be restored from the virtually complete drawings of Petrie (Plates XXXVI D-F), which are in many cases the only extant record of the most badly damaged reliefs, despite his occasional error in copying. Reference to Naville's text and translation of Chapter 146 allows a virtually complete reconstruction of the whole of the room's textual passages.

The mummification scenes at the tops of both north and south walls are now badly damaged, and the northern half of the eastern wall is totally lost and restored: Petrie makes no mention of this part of the wall, and it is not known whether this was an omission on his part, or, more likely, that it was already lost. It is clear, however, that the missing section must have contained in its upper courses the beginning of the *hꜥp di nswt* formula which is still preserved around the other three walls and ends at the southern part of the eastern wall. On the north wall is *nꜥr* <sup>c</sup>3 *nb rst3 di.f 3h m pt wsr m...* which must have been preceded by *hꜥp di nswt*, the whole text reading:

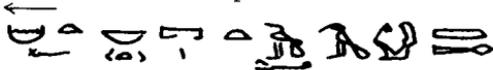
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 𓆎𓆏𓆑𓆒𓆓𓆔𓆕𓆖𓆗𓆘𓆙𓆚𓆛𓆜𓆝𓆞𓆟𓆠𓆡𓆢𓆣𓆤𓆥𓆦𓆧𓆨𓆩𓆪𓆫𓆬𓆭𓆮𓆯𓆰𓆱𓆲𓆳𓆴𓆵𓆶𓆷𓆸𓆹𓆺𓆻𓆼𓆽𓆾𓆿𓇀𓇁𓇂𓇃𓇄𓇅𓇆𓇇𓇈𓇉𓇊𓇋𓇌𓇍𓇎𓇏𓇐𓇑𓇒𓇓𓇔𓇕𓇖𓇗𓇘𓇙𓇚𓇛𓇜𓇝𓇞𓇟𓇠𓇡𓇢𓇣𓇤𓇥𓇦𓇧𓇨𓇩𓇪𓇫𓇬𓇭𓇮𓇯𓇰𓇱𓇲𓇳𓇴𓇵𓇶𓇷𓇸𓇹𓇺𓇻𓇼𓇽𓇾𓇿𓈀𓈁𓈂𓈃𓈄𓈅𓈆𓈇𓈈𓈉𓈊𓈋𓈌𓈍𓈎𓈏𓈐𓈑𓈒𓈓𓈔𓈕𓈖𓈗𓈘𓈙𓈚𓈛𓈜𓈝𓈞𓈟𓈠𓈡𓈢𓈣𓈤𓈥𓈦𓈧𓈨𓈩𓈪𓈫𓈬𓈭𓈮𓈯𓈰𓈱𓈲𓈳𓈴𓈵𓈶𓈷𓈸𓈹𓈺𓈻𓈼𓈽𓈾𓈿𓉀𓉁𓉂𓉃𓉄𓉅𓉆𓉇𓉈𓉉𓉊𓉋𓉌𓉍𓉎𓉏𓉐𓉑𓉒𓉓𓉔𓉕𓉖𓉗𓉘𓉙𓉚𓉛𓉜𓉝𓉞𓉟𓉠𓉡𓉢𓉣𓉤𓉥𓉦𓉧𓉨𓉩𓉪𓉫𓉬𓉭𓉮𓉯𓉰𓉱𓉲𓉳𓉴𓉵𓉶𓉷𓉸𓉹𓉺𓉻𓉼𓉽𓉾𓉿𓊀𓊁𓊂𓊃𓊄𓊅𓊆𓊇𓊈𓊉𓊊𓊋𓊌𓊍𓊎𓊏𓊐𓊑𓊒𓊓𓊔𓊕𓊖𓊗𓊘𓊙𓊚𓊛𓊜𓊝𓊞𓊟𓊠𓊡𓊢𓊣𓊤𓊥𓊦𓊧𓊨𓊩𓊪𓊫𓊬𓊭𓊮𓊯𓊰𓊱𓊲𓊳𓊴𓊵𓊶𓊷𓊸𓊹𓊺𓊻𓊼𓊽𓊾𓊿𓋀𓋁𓋂𓋃𓋄𓋅𓋆𓋇𓋈𓋉𓋊𓋋𓋌𓋍𓋎𓋏𓋐𓋑𓋒𓋓𓋔𓋕𓋖𓋗𓋘𓋙𓋚𓋛𓋜𓋝𓋞𓋟𓋠𓋡𓋢𓋣𓋤𓋥𓋦𓋧𓋨𓋩𓋪𓋫𓋬𓋭𓋮𓋯𓋰𓋱𓋲𓋳𓋴𓋵𓋶𓋷𓋸𓋹𓋺𓋻𓋼𓋽𓋾𓋿𓌀𓌁𓌂𓌃𓌄𓌅𓌆𓌇𓌈𓌉𓌊𓌋𓌌𓌍𓌎𓌏𓌐𓌑𓌒𓌓𓌔𓌕𓌖𓌗𓌘𓌙𓌚𓌛𓌜𓌝𓌞𓌟𓌠𓌡𓌢𓌣𓌤𓌥𓌦𓌧𓌨𓌩𓌪𓌫𓌬𓌭𓌮𓌯𓌰𓌱𓌲𓌳𓌴𓌵𓌶𓌷𓌸𓌹𓌺𓌻𓌼𓌽𓌾𓌿𓍀𓍁𓍂𓍃𓍄𓍅𓍆𓍇𓍈𓍉𓍊𓍋𓍌𓍍𓍎𓍏𓍐𓍑𓍒𓍓𓍔𓍕𓍖𓍗𓍘𓍙𓍚𓍛𓍜𓍝𓍞𓍟𓍠𓍡𓍢𓍣𓍤𓍥𓍦𓍧𓍨𓍩𓍪𓍫𓍬𓍭𓍮𓍯𓍰𓍱𓍲𓍳𓍴𓍵𓍶𓍷𓍸𓍹𓍺𓍻𓍼𓍽𓍾𓍿𓎀𓎁𓎂𓎃𓎄𓎅𓎆𓎇𓎈𓎉𓎊𓎋𓎌𓎍𓎎𓎏𓎐𓎑𓎒𓎓𓎔𓎕𓎖𓎗𓎘𓎙𓎚𓎛𓎜𓎝𓎞𓎟𓎠𓎡𓎢𓎣𓎤𓎥𓎦𓎧𓎨𓎩𓎪𓎫𓎬𓎭𓎮𓎯𓎰𓎱𓎲𓎳𓎴𓎵𓎶𓎷𓎸𓎹𓎺𓎻𓎼𓎽𓎾𓎿𓏀𓏁𓏂𓏃𓏄𓏅𓏆𓏇𓏈𓏉𓏊𓏋𓏌𓏍𓏎𓏏𓏐𓏑𓏒𓏓𓏔𓏕𓏖𓏗𓏘𓏙𓏚𓏛𓏜𓏝𓏞𓏟𓏠𓏡𓏢𓏣𓏤𓏥𓏦𓏧𓏨𓏩𓏪𓏫𓏬𓏭𓏮𓏯𓏰𓏱𓏲𓏳𓏴𓏵𓏶𓏷𓏸𓏹𓏺𓏻𓏼𓏽𓏾𓏿𓐀𓐁𓐂𓐃𓐄𓐅𓐆𓐇𓐈𓐉𓐊𓐋𓐌𓐍𓐎𓐏𓐐𓐑𓐒𓐓𓐔𓐕𓐖𓐗𓐘𓐙𓐚𓐛𓐜𓐝𓐞𓐟𓐠𓐡𓐢𓐣𓐤𓐥𓐦𓐧𓐨𓐩𓐪𓐫𓐬𓐭𓐮𓐯𓐰𓐱𓐲𓐳𓐴𓐵𓐶𓐷𓐸𓐹𓐺𓐻𓐼𓐽𓐾𓐿𓑀𓑁𓑂𓑃𓑄𓑅𓑆𓑇𓑈𓑉𓑊𓑋𓑌𓑍𓑎𓑏𓑐𓑑𓑒𓑓𓑔𓑕𓑖𓑗𓑘𓑙𓑚𓑛𓑜𓑝𓑞𓑟𓑠𓑡𓑢𓑣𓑤𓑥𓑦𓑧𓑨𓑩𓑪𓑫𓑬𓑭𓑮𓑯𓑰𓑱𓑲𓑳𓑴𓑵𓑶𓑷𓑸𓑹𓑺𓑻𓑼𓑽𓑾𓑿𓒀𓒁𓒂𓒃𓒄𓒅𓒆𓒇𓒈𓒉𓒊𓒋𓒌𓒍𓒎𓒏𓒐𓒑𓒒𓒓𓒔𓒕𓒖𓒗𓒘𓒙𓒚𓒛𓒜𓒝𓒞𓒟𓒠𓒡𓒢𓒣𓒤𓒥𓒦𓒧𓒨𓒩𓒪𓒫𓒬𓒭𓒮𓒯𓒰𓒱𓒲𓒳𓒴𓒵𓒶𓒷𓒸𓒹𓒺𓒻𓒼𓒽𓒾𓒿𓓀𓓁𓓂𓓃𓓄𓓅𓓆𓓇𓓈𓓉𓓊𓓋𓓌𓓍𓓎𓓏𓓐𓓑𓓒𓓓𓓔𓓕𓓖𓓗𓓘𓓙𓓚𓓛𓓜𓓝𓓞𓓟𓓠𓓡𓓢𓓣𓓤𓓥𓓦𓓧𓓨𓓩𓓪𓓫𓓬𓓭𓓮𓓯𓓰𓓱𓓲𓓳𓓴𓓵𓓶𓓷𓓸𓓹𓓺𓓻𓓼𓓽𓓾𓓿𓔀𓔁𓔂𓔃𓔄𓔅𓔆𓔇𓔈𓔉𓔊𓔋𓔌𓔍𓔎𓔏𓔐𓔑𓔒𓔓𓔔𓔕𓔖𓔗𓔘𓔙𓔚𓔛𓔜𓔝𓔞𓔟𓔠𓔡𓔢𓔣𓔤𓔥𓔦𓔧𓔨𓔩𓔪𓔫𓔬𓔭𓔮𓔯𓔰𓔱𓔲𓔳𓔴𓔵𓔶𓔷𓔸𓔹𓔺𓔻𓔼𓔽𓔾𓔿𓕀𓕁𓕂𓕃𓕄𓕅𓕆𓕇𓕈𓕉𓕊𓕋𓕌𓕍𓕎𓕏𓕐𓕑𓕒𓕓𓕔𓕕𓕖𓕗𓕘𓕙𓕚𓕛𓕜𓕝𓕞𓕟𓕠𓕡𓕢𓕣𓕤𓕥𓕦𓕧𓕨𓕩𓕪𓕫𓕬𓕭𓕮𓕯𓕰𓕱𓕲𓕳𓕴𓕵𓕶𓕷𓕸𓕹𓕺𓕻𓕼𓕽𓕾𓕿𓖀𓖁𓖂𓖃𓖄𓖅𓖆𓖇𓖈𓖉𓖊𓖋𓖌𓖍𓖎𓖏𓖐𓖑𓖒𓖓𓖔𓖕𓖖𓖗𓖘𓖙𓖚𓖛𓖜𓖝𓖞𓖟𓖠𓖡𓖢𓖣𓖤𓖥𓖦𓖧𓖨𓖩𓖪𓖫𓖬𓖭𓖮𓖯𓖰𓖱𓖲𓖳𓖴𓖵𓖶𓖷𓖸𓖹𓖺𓖻𓖼𓖽𓖾𓖿𓗀𓗁𓗂𓗃𓗄𓗅𓗆𓗇𓗈𓗉𓗊𓗋𓗌𓗍𓗎𓗏𓗐𓗑𓗒𓗓𓗔𓗕𓗖𓗗𓗘𓗙𓗚𓗛𓗜𓗝𓗞𓗟𓗠𓗡𓗢𓗣𓗤𓗥𓗦𓗧𓗨𓗩𓗪𓗫𓗬𓗭𓗮𓗯𓗰𓗱𓗲𓗳𓗴𓗵𓗶𓗷𓗸𓗹𓗺𓗻𓗼𓗽𓗾𓗿𓘀𓘁𓘂𓘃𓘄𓘅𓘆𓘇𓘈𓘉𓘊𓘋𓘌𓘍𓘎𓘏𓘐𓘑𓘒𓘓𓘔𓘕𓘖𓘗𓘘𓘙𓘚𓘛𓘜𓘝𓘞𓘟𓘠𓘡𓘢𓘣𓘤𓘥𓘦𓘧𓘨𓘩𓘪𓘫𓘬𓘭𓘮𓘯𓘰𓘱𓘲𓘳𓘴𓘵𓘶𓘷𓘸𓘹𓘺𓘻𓘼𓘽𓘾𓘿𓙀𓙁𓙂𓙃𓙄𓙅𓙆𓙇𓙈𓙉𓙊𓙋𓙌𓙍𓙎𓙏𓙐𓙑𓙒𓙓𓙔𓙕𓙖𓙗𓙘𓙙𓙚𓙛𓙜𓙝𓙞𓙟𓙠𓙡𓙢𓙣𓙤𓙥𓙦𓙧𓙨𓙩𓙪𓙫𓙬𓙭𓙮𓙯𓙰𓙱𓙲𓙳𓙴𓙵𓙶𓙷𓙸𓙹𓙺𓙻𓙼𓙽𓙾𓙿𓚀𓚁𓚂𓚃𓚄𓚅𓚆𓚇𓚈𓚉𓚊𓚋𓚌𓚍𓚎𓚏𓚐𓚑𓚒𓚓𓚔𓚕𓚖𓚗𓚘𓚙𓚚𓚛𓚜𓚝𓚞𓚟𓚠𓚡𓚢𓚣𓚤𓚥𓚦𓚧𓚨𓚩𓚪𓚫𓚬𓚭𓚮𓚯𓚰𓚱𓚲𓚳𓚴𓚵𓚶𓚷𓚸𓚹𓚺𓚻𓚼𓚽𓚾𓚿𓛀𓛁𓛂𓛃𓛄𓛅𓛆𓛇𓛈𓛉𓛊𓛋𓛌𓛍𓛎𓛏𓛐𓛑𓛒𓛓𓛔𓛕𓛖𓛗𓛘𓛙𓛚𓛛𓛜𓛝𓛞𓛟𓛠𓛡𓛢𓛣𓛤𓛥𓛦𓛧𓛨𓛩𓛪𓛫𓛬𓛭𓛮𓛯𓛰𓛱𓛲𓛳𓛴𓛵𓛶𓛷𓛸𓛹𓛺𓛻𓛼𓛽𓛾𓛿𓜀𓜁𓜂𓜃𓜄𓜅𓜆𓜇𓜈𓜉𓜊𓜋𓜌𓜍𓜎𓜏𓜐𓜑𓜒𓜓𓜔𓜕𓜖𓜗𓜘𓜙𓜚𓜛𓜜𓜝𓜞𓜟𓜠𓜡𓜢𓜣𓜤𓜥𓜦𓜧𓜨𓜩𓜪𓜫𓜬𓜭𓜮𓜯𓜰𓜱𓜲𓜳𓜴𓜵𓜶𓜷𓜸𓜹𓜺𓜻𓜼𓜽𓜾𓜿𓝀𓝁𓝂𓝃𓝄𓝅𓝆𓝇𓝈𓝉𓝊𓝋𓝌𓝍𓝎𓝏𓝐𓝑𓝒𓝓𓝔𓝕𓝖𓝗𓝘𓝙𓝚𓝛𓝜𓝝𓝞𓝟𓝠𓝡𓝢𓝣𓝤𓝥𓝦𓝧𓝨𓝩𓝪𓝫𓝬𓝭𓝮𓝯𓝰𓝱𓝲𓝳𓝴𓝵𓝶𓝷𓝸𓝹𓝺𓝻𓝼𓝽𓝾𓝿𓞀𓞁𓞂𓞃𓞄𓞅𓞆𓞇𓞈𓞉𓞊𓞋𓞌𓞍𓞎𓞏𓞐𓞑𓞒𓞓𓞔𓞕𓞖𓞗𓞘𓞙𓞚𓞛𓞜𓞝𓞞𓞟𓞠𓞡𓞢𓞣𓞤𓞥𓞦𓞧𓞨𓞩𓞪𓞫𓞬𓞭𓞮𓞯𓞰𓞱𓞲𓞳𓞴𓞵𓞶𓞷𓞸𓞹𓞺𓞻𓞼𓞽𓞾𓞿𓟀𓟁𓟂𓟃𓟄𓟅𓟆𓟇𓟈𓟉𓟊𓟋𓟌𓟍𓟎𓟏𓟐𓟑𓟒𓟓𓟔𓟕𓟖𓟗𓟘𓟙𓟚𓟛𓟜𓟝𓟞𓟟𓟠𓟡𓟢𓟣𓟤𓟥𓟦𓟧𓟨𓟩𓟪𓟫𓟬𓟭𓟮𓟯𓟰𓟱𓟲𓟳𓟴𓟵𓟶𓟷𓟸𓟹𓟺𓟻𓟼𓟽𓟾𓟿𓠀𓠁𓠂𓠃𓠄𓠅𓠆𓠇𓠈𓠉𓠊𓠋𓠌𓠍𓠎𓠏𓠐𓠑𓠒𓠓𓠔𓠕𓠖𓠗𓠘𓠙𓠚𓠛𓠜𓠝𓠞𓠟𓠠𓠡𓠢𓠣𓠤𓠥𓠦𓠧𓠨𓠩𓠪𓠫𓠬𓠭𓠮𓠯𓠰𓠱𓠲𓠳𓠴𓠵𓠶𓠷𓠸𓠹𓠺𓠻𓠼𓠽𓠾𓠿𓡀𓡁𓡂𓡃𓡄𓡅𓡆𓡇𓡈𓡉𓡊𓡋𓡌𓡍𓡎𓡏𓡐𓡑𓡒𓡓𓡔𓡕𓡖𓡗𓡘𓡙𓡚𓡛𓡜𓡝𓡞𓡟𓡠𓡡𓡢𓡣𓡤𓡥𓡦𓡧𓡨𓡩𓡪𓡫𓡬𓡭𓡮𓡯𓡰𓡱𓡲𓡳𓡴𓡵𓡶𓡷𓡸𓡹𓡺𓡻𓡼𓡽𓡾𓡿𓢀𓢁𓢂𓢃𓢄𓢅𓢆𓢇𓢈𓢉𓢊𓢋𓢌𓢍𓢎𓢏𓢐𓢑𓢒𓢓𓢔𓢕𓢖𓢗𓢘𓢙𓢚𓢛𓢜𓢝𓢞𓢟𓢠𓢡𓢢𓢣𓢤𓢥𓢦𓢧𓢨𓢩𓢪𓢫𓢬𓢭𓢮𓢯𓢰𓢱𓢲𓢳𓢴𓢵𓢶𓢷𓢸𓢹𓢺𓢻𓢼𓢽𓢾𓢿𓣀𓣁𓣂𓣃𓣄𓣅𓣆𓣇𓣈𓣉𓣊𓣋𓣌𓣍𓣎𓣏𓣐𓣑𓣒𓣓𓣔𓣕𓣖𓣗𓣘𓣙𓣚𓣛𓣜𓣝𓣞𓣟𓣠𓣡𓣢𓣣𓣤𓣥𓣦𓣧𓣨𓣩𓣪𓣫𓣬𓣭𓣮𓣯𓣰𓣱𓣲𓣳𓣴𓣵𓣶𓣷𓣸𓣹𓣺𓣻𓣼𓣽𓣾𓣿𓤀𓤁𓤂𓤃𓤄𓤅𓤆𓤇𓤈𓤉𓤊𓤋𓤌𓤍𓤎𓤏𓤐𓤑𓤒𓤓𓤔𓤕𓤖𓤗𓤘𓤙𓤚𓤛𓤜𓤝𓤞𓤟𓤠𓤡𓤢𓤣𓤤𓤥𓤦𓤧𓤨𓤩𓤪𓤫𓤬𓤭𓤮𓤯𓤰𓤱𓤲𓤳𓤴𓤵𓤶𓤷𓤸𓤹𓤺𓤻𓤼𓤽𓤾𓤿𓥀𓥁𓥂𓥃𓥄𓥅𓥆𓥇𓥈𓥉𓥊𓥋𓥌𓥍𓥎𓥏𓥐𓥑𓥒𓥓𓥔𓥕𓥖𓥗𓥘𓥙𓥚𓥛𓥜𓥝𓥞𓥟𓥠𓥡𓥢𓥣𓥤𓥥𓥦𓥧𓥨𓥩𓥪𓥫𓥬𓥭𓥮𓥯𓥰𓥱𓥲𓥳𓥴𓥵𓥶𓥷𓥸𓥹𓥺𓥻𓥼𓥽𓥾𓥿𓦀𓦁𓦂𓦃𓦄𓦅𓦆𓦇𓦈𓦉𓦊𓦋𓦌𓦍𓦎𓦏𓦐𓦑𓦒𓦓𓦔𓦕𓦖𓦗𓦘𓦙𓦚𓦛𓦜𓦝𓦞𓦟𓦠𓦡𓦢𓦣𓦤𓦥𓦦𓦧𓦨𓦩𓦪𓦫𓦬𓦭𓦮𓦯𓦰𓦱𓦲𓦳𓦴𓦵𓦶𓦷𓦸𓦹𓦺𓦻𓦼𓦽𓦾𓦿𓧀𓧁𓧂𓧃𓧄𓧅𓧆𓧇𓧈𓧉𓧊𓧋𓧌𓧍𓧎𓧏𓧐𓧑𓧒𓧓𓧔𓧕𓧖𓧗𓧘𓧙𓧚𓧛𓧜𓧝𓧞𓧟𓧠𓧡𓧢𓧣𓧤𓧥𓧦𓧧𓧨𓧩𓧪𓧫𓧬𓧭𓧮𓧯𓧰𓧱𓧲𓧳𓧴𓧵𓧶𓧷𓧸𓧹𓧺𓧻𓧼𓧽𓧾𓧿𓨀𓨁𓨂𓨃𓨄𓨅𓨆𓨇𓨈𓨉𓨊𓨋𓨌𓨍𓨎𓨏𓨐𓨑𓨒𓨓𓨔𓨕𓨖𓨗𓨘𓨙𓨚𓨛𓨜𓨝𓨞𓨟𓨠𓨡𓨢𓨣𓨤𓨥𓨦𓨧𓨨𓨩𓨪𓨫𓨬𓨭𓨮𓨯𓨰𓨱𓨲𓨳𓨴𓨵𓨶𓨷𓨸𓨹𓨺𓨻𓨼𓨽𓨾𓨿𓩀𓩁𓩂𓩃𓩄𓩅𓩆𓩇𓩈𓩉𓩊𓩋𓩌𓩍𓩎𓩏𓩐𓩑𓩒𓩓𓩔𓩕𓩖𓩗𓩘𓩙𓩚𓩛𓩜𓩝𓩞𓩟𓩠𓩡𓩢𓩣𓩤𓩥𓩦𓩧𓩨𓩩𓩪𓩫𓩬𓩭𓩮𓩯𓩰𓩱𓩲𓩳𓩴𓩵𓩶𓩷𓩸𓩹𓩺𓩻𓩼𓩽𓩾𓩿𓪀𓪁𓪂𓪃𓪄𓪅𓪆𓪇𓪈𓪉𓪊𓪋𓪌𓪍𓪎𓪏𓪐𓪑𓪒𓪓𓪔𓪕𓪖𓪗𓪘𓪙𓪚𓪛𓪜𓪝𓪞𓪟𓪠𓪡𓪢𓪣𓪤𓪥𓪦𓪧𓪨𓪩𓪪𓪫𓪬𓪭𓪮𓪯𓪰𓪱𓪲𓪳𓪴𓪵𓪶𓪷𓪸𓪹𓪺𓪻𓪼𓪽𓪾𓪿𓫀𓫁𓫂𓫃𓫄𓫅𓫆𓫇𓫈𓫉𓫊𓫋𓫌𓫍𓫎𓫏𓫐𓫑𓫒𓫓𓫔𓫕𓫖𓫗𓫘𓫙𓫚𓫛𓫜𓫝𓫞𓫟𓫠𓫡𓫢𓫣𓫤𓫥𓫦𓫧𓫨𓫩𓫪𓫫𓫬𓫭𓫮𓫯𓫰𓫱𓫲𓫳𓫴𓫵𓫶𓫷𓫸𓫹𓫺𓫻𓫼𓫽𓫾𓫿𓬀𓬁𓬂𓬃𓬄𓬅𓬆𓬇𓬈𓬉𓬊𓬋𓬌𓬍𓬎𓬏𓬐𓬑𓬒𓬓𓬔𓬕𓬖𓬗𓬘𓬙𓬚𓬛𓬜𓬝𓬞𓬟𓬠𓬡𓬢𓬣𓬤𓬥𓬦𓬧𓬨𓬩𓬪𓬫𓬬𓬭𓬮𓬯𓬰𓬱𓬲𓬳𓬴𓬵𓬶𓬷𓬸𓬹𓬺𓬻𓬼𓬽𓬾𓬿𓭀𓭁𓭂𓭃𓭄𓭅𓭆𓭇𓭈𓭉𓭊𓭋𓭌𓭍𓭎𓭏𓭐𓭑𓭒𓭓𓭔𓭕𓭖𓭗𓭘𓭙𓭚𓭛𓭜𓭝𓭞𓭟𓭠𓭡𓭢𓭣𓭤𓭥𓭦𓭧𓭨𓭩𓭪𓭫𓭬𓭭𓭮𓭯𓭰𓭱𓭲𓭳𓭴𓭵𓭶𓭷𓭸𓭹𓭺𓭻𓭼𓭽𓭾𓭿𓮀𓮁𓮂𓮃𓮄𓮅𓮆𓮇𓮈𓮉𓮊𓮋𓮌𓮍𓮎𓮏𓮐𓮑𓮒𓮓𓮔𓮕𓮖𓮗𓮘𓮙𓮚𓮛𓮜𓮝𓮞𓮟𓮠𓮡𓮢𓮣𓮤𓮥𓮦𓮧𓮨𓮩𓮪𓮫𓮬𓮭𓮮𓮯𓮰𓮱𓮲𓮳𓮴𓮵𓮶𓮷𓮸𓮹𓮺𓮻𓮼𓮽𓮾𓮿𓯀𓯁𓯂𓯃𓯄𓯅𓯆𓯇𓯈𓯉𓯊𓯋𓯌𓯍𓯎𓯏𓯐𓯑𓯒𓯓𓯔𓯕𓯖𓯗𓯘𓯙𓯚𓯛𓯜𓯝𓯞𓯟𓯠𓯡𓯢𓯣𓯤𓯥𓯦𓯧𓯨𓯩𓯪𓯫𓯬𓯭𓯮𓯯𓯰𓯱𓯲𓯳𓯴𓯵𓯶𓯷𓯸𓯹𓯺𓯻𓯼𓯽𓯾𓯿𓰀𓰁𓰂𓰃𓰄𓰅𓰆𓰇𓰈𓰉𓰊𓰋𓰌𓰍𓰎𓰏𓰐𓰑𓰒𓰓𓰔𓰕𓰖𓰗𓰘𓰙𓰚𓰛𓰜𓰝𓰞𓰟𓰠𓰡𓰢𓰣𓰤𓰥𓰦𓰧𓰨𓰩𓰪𓰫𓰬𓰭𓰮𓰯𓰰𓰱𓰲𓰳𓰴𓰵𓰶𓰷𓰸𓰹𓰺𓰻𓰼𓰽𓰾𓰿𓱀𓱁𓱂𓱃𓱄𓱅𓱆𓱇𓱈𓱉𓱊𓱋𓱌𓱍𓱎𓱏𓱐𓱑𓱒𓱓𓱔𓱕𓱖𓱗𓱘𓱙𓱚𓱛𓱜𓱝𓱞𓱟𓱠𓱡𓱢𓱣𓱤𓱥𓱦𓱧𓱨𓱩𓱪𓱫𓱬𓱭𓱮𓱯𓱰𓱱𓱲𓱳𓱴𓱵𓱶𓱷𓱸𓱹𓱺𓱻𓱼𓱽𓱾𓱿𓲀𓲁𓲂𓲃𓲄𓲅𓲆𓲇𓲈𓲉𓲊𓲋𓲌𓲍𓲎𓲏𓲐𓲑𓲒𓲓𓲔𓲕𓲖𓲗𓲘𓲙𓲚𓲛𓲜𓲝𓲞𓲟𓲠𓲡𓲢𓲣𓲤𓲥𓲦𓲧𓲨𓲩𓲪𓲫𓲬𓲭𓲮𓲯𓲰𓲱𓲲𓲳𓲴𓲵𓲶𓲷𓲸𓲹𓲺𓲻𓲼𓲽𓲾𓲿𓳀𓳁𓳂𓳃𓳄𓳅𓳆𓳇𓳈𓳉𓳊𓳋𓳌𓳍𓳎𓳏𓳐𓳑𓳒𓳓𓳔𓳕𓳖𓳗𓳘𓳙𓳚𓳛𓳜𓳝𓳞𓳟𓳠𓳡𓳢𓳣𓳤𓳥𓳦𓳧𓳨𓳩𓳪𓳫𓳬𓳭𓳮𓳯𓳰𓳱𓳲𓳳𓳴𓳵𓳶𓳷𓳸𓳹𓳺𓳻𓳼𓳽𓳾𓳿𓴀𓴁𓴂𓴃𓴄𓴅𓴆𓴇𓴈𓴉𓴊𓴋𓴌𓴍𓴎𓴏𓴐𓴑𓴒

"The offering which the king gives to Osiris, the Great God, Lord of Rostau, that he may grant splendour in heaven, might on earth, justification<in the necropolis><sup>36</sup> may he give <every> thing that comes forth from the altar of the Lord of the Gods at the great feast of Osiris, of the veneration of Neith (??), at the w3g feast, and at every going forth and every entering in procession, you being raised in front of the Lords of Truth, to the k3 of They."

xiv. Western room, doorway

The southern reveal is almost complete, but that at the northern side has been almost totally restored with modern blocks. Although damaged, the front section of the southern reveal retains parts of a vertical inscription, on which only the following may be read: *im3hw hr Wsir nfr* <sup>C</sup>3 *hry ib*.....

The inner part of the southern reveal, shown in Petrie's Plate XXXVI G (left), shows Tadehor, the wife of They, raising her hands in adoration. She is shown slim and almost life size on four courses of stone, and wears the long wig, collar and mid-calf dress. Before her is an offering table on a tall stand, and on it a goose, a loaf and a cup. Above and in front of the hands of Tadehor is a deep cut in the stone, which may have been a small shrine for a funerary statue. Above the adoring figure, on the upper course of stone, is a horizontal line of inscription:

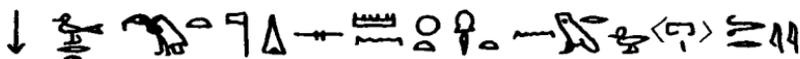


"his wife, the Lady of the House, Tadehor, justified."

The northern reveal, on the other hand, has only a single small block still in place, carrying part of an inscription:  
*try*...



Behind the couch stands Isis, wearing the st-crown and long wig with ankle-length dress, and, like Nephthys, holding out to Anubis a long bandage of linen in each hand. Before Isis' crown is inscribed her name , and behind her are three columns of inscription:

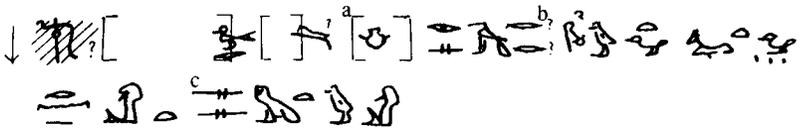


*"Isis the Great, God's Mother, as she gives linen to the Chief of the Police, They."*

The feet of all three figures and the couch and boxes rest on a thick border-line of red-brown, divided by an area of white from the *hꜥp di nswt* formula mentioned above, which is depicted in very large characters and bordered top and bottom in thick red-brown horizontal lines. These signs are bigger than any in the tomb, and are cut in much detail and coloured, mainly in blue. This section of the wall contains the first part of the *hꜥp di nswt*.

The lower five courses of the northern wall contained originally four gates from the Book of the Dead Ch.146, with accompanying texts, but two-thirds of the wall is damaged, and all of the eastern half lost. Of the original four shrines only one - the lower western - remains almost complete, with traces of the one above. In all cases in this room, the shrines are coloured in red-brown, with the Guardian left unpainted but for black on the wig, and the scenes divided one from another in black, as are the vertical columns of inscription, and the hieroglyphs, while the inscription background is in red-brown.

The one remaining Guardian, with ox head and long and very delicately carved wig, carries an upraised knife on his knee as he sits in the shrine, but in front of him is only the last third of the third of four columns of accompanying text, and the whole of the fourth:



Notes on the hieroglyphs:

- a.  is expected.
- b. Budge and Naville print .
- c.  (door bolt) for  (door).

"...damaging the enemies of the Weary-hearted One,  
fulfilling wishes, void of wrongdoing <is her name>,  
the name of her Door-keeper is the Killer (?)."

Of the upper section of Guardians, all that remains is part of the western example, the outline of the shrine and the lower part of the seated Guardian. The upper part is badly worn and cannot be distinguished. Above the shrine is a long protective snake, facing east, but of the accompanying text virtually nothing remains except the final seated-god determinative. The text behind the shrine is badly worn also, with only a few signs at the bottom of each of the first three columns remaining:



Behind the shrine of the fourth gate, at the far western side of the wall, are four columns, almost complete, of the text of the Sixth Gate:



Notes:

- a. The standard text has *nbt snkt* <sup>C3</sup> *hnhmt*, "Lady of Darkness, loud-roaring."  
 b.  for   
 c.  for   
 d.  for   
 e. Metathesis of *hf3w*  
 f. Perhaps  (hand) for  (two arms)  
 g.  for  ?

"What They said, when he reached the sixth portal: Lady of  
 ...., whose length by whose breadth is not known, on whom  
 are snake(s)...<is her name>. The name of the [Door-]  
 keeper is [Enthroned One]."

xvi. Western room, west wall

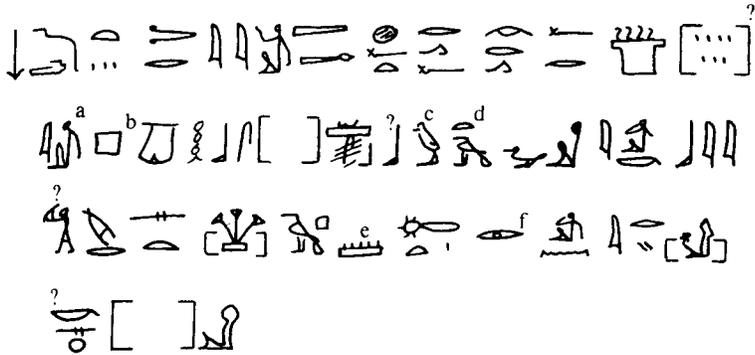
Petrie discovered this wall completely preserved (Plate XXXVI E), with six Guardians and four texts, apart from some very slight damage, but today the lower shrines and texts are badly damaged, and most of the southernmost Guardian of the lower register has been hacked out: it is doubly unfortunate that this was one of the best preserved of the shrines.

Above the shrines runs the continuation of the *hꜥp di nswt* formula, again preserving traces of the blue colouring.

The upper right Guardian, of the fifth Gate, whose text is almost completely lost from the western upper register of the north wall, has the head of a hippopotamus with a long and elaborate wig and collar and two feathers standing out from the top of his head. As in all other cases, he carries on his knee an upraised knife. Above the shrine is set a series of eleven *hkr* signs.

Immediately below is the Guardian of the sixth Gate, whose text appears on the north wall (see previous page): human-headed, with beard and collar, he wears the *3tf*-crown with two horns and two upright feathers flanking the sun disc, and the long wig, and carries the knife in the usual position. Above the shrine are the heads of four protective cobras.

The text of the seventh Gate is almost complete in four vertical columns, with the background red-brown and hieroglyphs in black as usual:



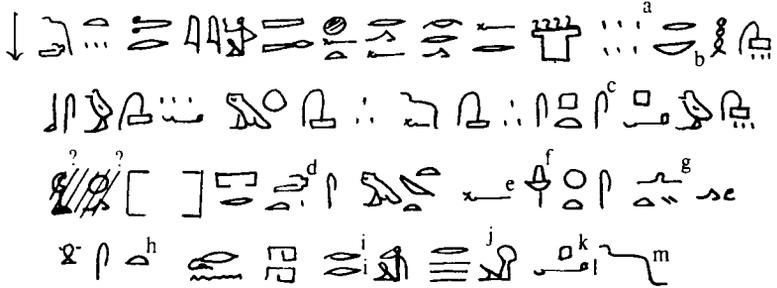
Notes:

- a. ? for
- b. Metathesis of and
- c. for
- d. for
- e. for
- f. for

"What They said when he reached the seventh portal: Cloud veiling the Weary Ones, mourner whose desire it is to conceal the body <is her name>. The name of the [Door-] keeper is [Ikenti]?"

The Guardian of this Gate sits in his shrine, immediately behind the text (to the south), wearing an ibis head and long wig, and carrying the knife. He is protected by a large cobra above the shrine.

Again the text is complete for the eighth Gate, which is set immediately below the preceding:



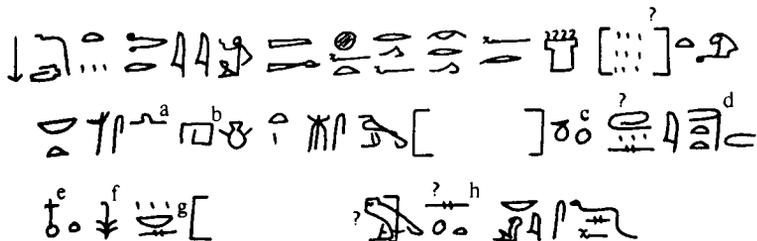
Notes:

- a. for ?
- b. for
- c. for
- d. Petrie thought he could see , which does not, however, fit the context.
- e. for
- f. and for ; and for
- g. for
- h. for
- i. for
- j. for , partly for lack of space
- k. for
- l. for
- m. Read *rn n iry* <sup>c3</sup>.s *hw-dt.f*

"What They said, when he reached the eighth portal: Kindler of flame, extinguisher of what is burning, skilled in fire, quick of hand, slaying without premeditation, whom none passes by for fear of <her> roaring <is her name>. The name of the Door-keeper is She who Guards her Body."

The Guardian, a seated man with short beard and head-dress containing four cobras, needs no protection above the shrine: the space is left empty. He wears the collar and carries the knife.

The ninth Gate, the southernmost on the upper register, has its text damaged in the central part, but the missing characters may be replaced with the aid of Naville:



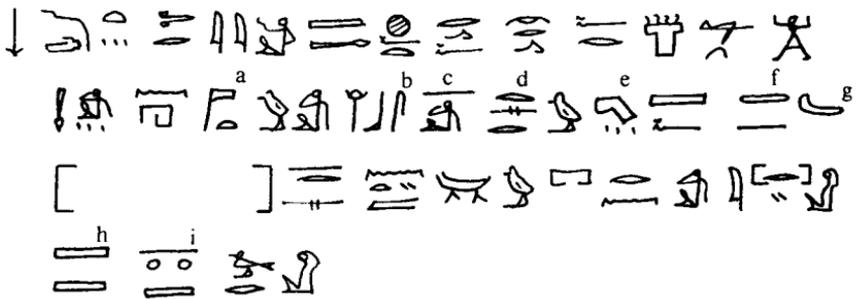
## Notes:

- a. (arms) for (arm)  
 b. for   
 c. for   
 d. Variants of etc., *stiw*  
 e. for   
 f. for   
 g. for ??  
 h. for ?

"What They said, when he reached the ninth portal: [Ancestr]less, tranquil Lady of Might, offspring of [her lord, it being 350 cubits a]round her, sower with the Green Stone of Upper Egypt, raising up (?) [...], making gifts to her lord <is her name. The name of the Door-keeper is> *Sḏsf*."

The Guardian, with long wig and the head of a rabbit, carries the knife and is protected above the shrine by a cobra smaller than those on other Gates, carrying twin feathers on its head.

The tenth Gate, perfectly preserved according to Petrie's drawing, now has nothing left but the upper parts of four columns of text and the protective cobra above the shrine, which, however, retains enough of its beautifully coloured background to indicate the high standard of work which has been stolen. Petrie saw the Guardian as being human-headed with long wig, beard and collar, wearing the *3tf*-crown (not so delicately traced as that of the Guardian of the sixth Gate) and carrying the knife at his knee. The text (taken largely from Petrie) reads:



Notes:

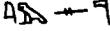
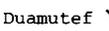
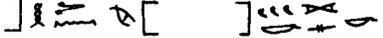
- a. for or
- b. for
- c. for
- d. for
- e. for
- f. for ?
- g. for
- h. for
- i. for

"What They said, when he reached the tenth portal: Loud-voiced, who awakes by shouting out of terror, esteemed Lady, [sei]zes not him who is within her <is her name>. The name of the Door-keeper is Great Embracer."

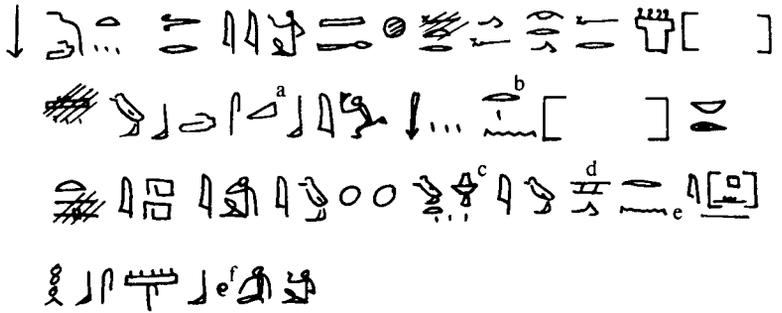
## xvii. Western room, south wall

As on the north wall opposite, most of the scene of mummification has been lost from the upper part, but below the horizontal *ḥtp di nswt* formula's continuation are four Guardians in their shrines, and four accompanying texts. Nothing has been stolen from this wall, but the poor condition of some of the stone has affected some of the details.

The upper scene originally showed the mummy of Thery lying on a couch between Isis and Nephthys, with the four canopic jars beneath the couch. At the west is Nephthys, kneeling facing the lion-headed couch to the east. She wears the  -crown and wig and a long dress, and reaches forward to touch the *šnw*-sign placed on the ground before her. Behind her is a short vertical text:

The mummy lying on the couch is lost below the head, which rests on a cushion, although the finely worked lion head and legs of the couch are preserved. Above the head of the deceased flies a bird preserved only in its body, legs, tail and one wing: the head is lost, so it is not certain that this is the human-headed *bj*-bird. Under the couch are the four canopic jars facing to the west: first the human-headed Imset , then the baboon-headed Ha'py , followed by Duamutef  with the jackal head, and finally hawk-headed Qebhseunuf . Behind the couch is preserved the lower part of Isis, kneeling touching the *šnw*-sign in the same attitude as Nephthys. In front of her is the short inscription ; behind is the remains of another damaged inscription: 

Below the large *ḥtp di nswt* formula are four Guardians of the Gates and their accompanying texts, all reasonably well preserved. At upper right (west) is the eleventh Gate, with some sections of the middle part of the text damaged:



Notes:

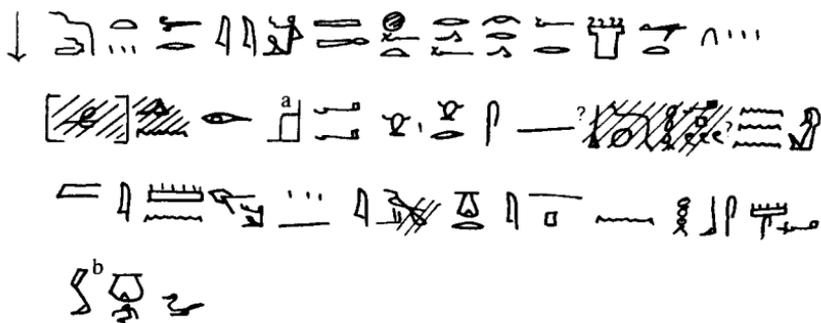
- a.  (sbk small) for 
- b.  (mouth) for  (face)?
- c.  for 
- d.  for ?
- e.  for 
- f.  for  ?

"What [They] said when he reached [the eleventh] portal:  
 .... who burns transgressors,....., to whom  
 jubilation is made <on the day> of the dawn(?). You are  
 under the inspection of the Veils of the Weary."

Behind this text is the Guardian, with baboon head, wearing the long wig and delicately carved collar and carrying as usual the upraised knives. Protectively above the shrine are two seated lions, also carrying knives.



Also complete is the text for the thirteenth Gate (upper left, east), which reads:



Notes:

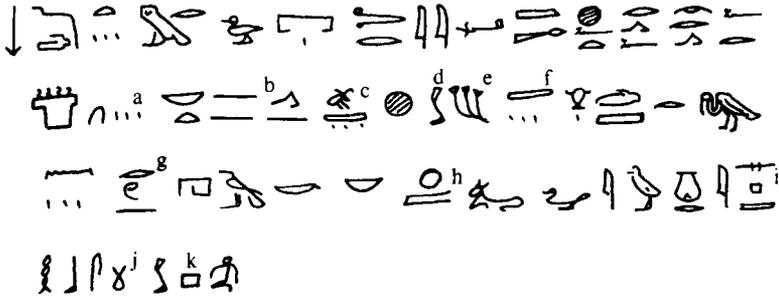
a.  for 

b.  for 

*"What They said, when he reached the thirteenth portal: She over whose face Osiris has extended <his> arms, he whom the Nile instructs in his secrets; being under the inspection of the Veiler of the Weary."*

The Guardian of this shrine has a crocodile head, although the condition of the stone makes it very difficult to see, and Petrie failed to identify it. The body is in better condition, and follows the usual pattern, with long wig, collar and upraised knife. Above the shrine are two seated figures of the god of the Nile, Ha<sup>c</sup>py: each wears a long beard and wig and carries before him a tray on which are placed upright plants. The first wears lotus plants on his head; the second papyrus.

The fourteenth Gate below is very well preserved both in its text and shrine depictions, and both are in good condition. Unusually, the text here begins with ddt imy-r3 s3 pr try... instead of ddt try as in all the preceding Gates:



## Notes:

- a. for
- b. for
- c. for
- d. for
- e. for ?
- f. for
- g. for (= )
- h. for
- i. for
- j. for
- k. for

*"What the Chief of Police They said, when he reached the fourteenth portal: Lady of Wrath, dancing on red blood, for whom the h3kr feast is celebrated (on the day) of hearing wrongs, being under the inspection of the Veiler of the Weary."*

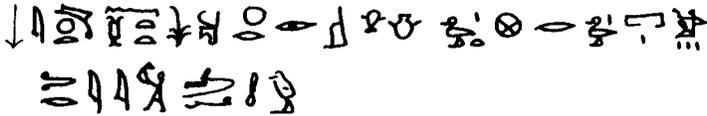
The Guardian of this shrine has a hawk's head, long wig and collar, and carries the knife. The shrine is protected by the head of an ox and a cobra to the left. The colour of the shrine is well preserved, especially in its lower part, and the protecting cobra is very detailed work, with fine red and black strokes on the neck.



*portal: Furious One (??), red of eyelashes,.... who goes forth by night, who seizes the aggressor from his midst, who tends her arms to the Weary-hearted one at his instant, who comes.....; she being under the inspection of the Veiler of the Weary."*

The Guardian has a human head, short wig and beard, and wears the collar. He is the only Guardian in the tomb depicted as being seated upon a stand or shrine. Above the shrine is a frieze of eight *hkr* symbols.

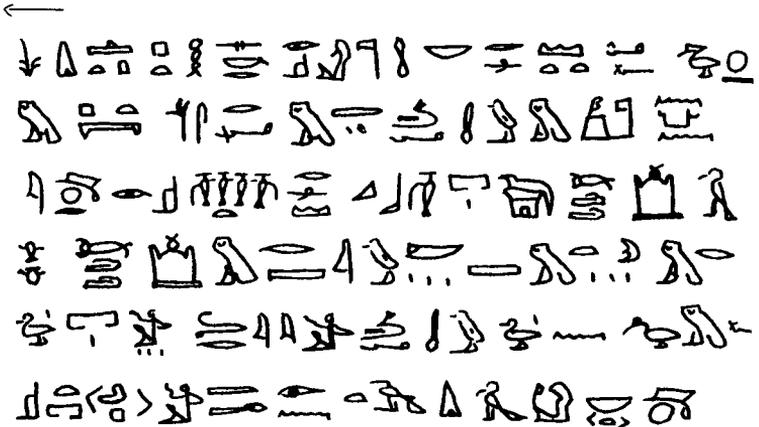
To the north of the Guardian, flanking the doorway, is a vertical column of hieroglyphs running the height of the room.



*"The Revered under Neith-rsnt and under Osiris, dwelling in Sais, the Chief of Police, They, justified."*

## xix. Eastern room

This room was found complete by Petrie, who planned with Maspero to have it removed to the Egyptian Museum. But those plans came to nothing, and the western, southern and eastern walls of this very finely decorated chamber are now almost completely lost. The north wall retains scenes of Thery and his son before his father, but the text recorded by Petrie is no longer in place.<sup>37</sup> According to Petrie's Plates XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXV and XXXVI, a horizontal band of hieroglyphs circled this room with the *hꜥp di nswt* formula, just as in the mirror-image room on the west:

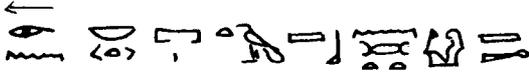


"The offering which the king gives to *Pth-Skr-wsir*, the Great God, Lord of Rostau, that he may give splendour in heaven and might on earth, justification in the necropolis, to the *k3* of the Revered with Osiris, the Foremost of Rostau, libator of the temple<sup>38</sup> of Sobek of *Šdt* and of Horus dwelling in *Šdt*, chief of (administration of) fowl and fish, Chief of the Police, Thery, justified, son of Gemefesikap, justified, born of Tadehor, Lady of Honour."

## xx. Eastern room, doorway

Both reveals of the doorway are damaged, and have met with more damage since Petrie's recording. Of the front part of the southern reveal, only two and a half courses of the lower section remain, of which one and a half contain the end of vertical columns of hieroglyphs, showing the seated-man determinative, three plural strokes and the name of the justified Thery. The signs were coloured with red, and the border lines in black.

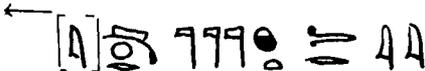
The interior part of the reveal is now completely destroyed and restored with modern limestone, but according to Petrie (Plate XXXIII, centre right) it carried the figure of a standing worshipping woman, wearing the long wig and collar and a mid-calf dress. She raises both hands before her in adoration, and has in front of her an offering table on a tall stand containing two circular loaves and one conical. On the upper course of the reveal is a horizontal line of inscription:



"Born of the Lady of the House, Tashepennet."

The front part of the northern reveal is completely lost, apart from a single block with a fragment of inscription coloured in blue and red: *Wsir ntr* <sup>c3</sup> *nb* [--].

The interior section of the northern reveal is also totally lost, but again Petrie's drawings (Plate XXXIII, centre left) may be used: the scene showed a standing man with his right arm raised before him (the hand is lost) and his left holding a folded cloth. He wears the long wig, collar and mid-calf kilt, along with a band stretching from right shoulder to left waist. In the upper course above him is a single horizontal inscription:



"The Revered with the Ennead, Thery."

## xxi. Eastern room, west wall (south)

Most of this wall has disappeared virtually in its entirety: all that remains today are certain sections of the very lowest courses.

Petrie drew the southern half of the wall as containing a scene of Hathor embracing the mummy of Thery (Plate XXXIII, left), but all that remains is the feet and the lowest sign of the vertical line of text which ran behind Hathor. According to Petrie, Hathor was shown with a long wig but without her crown, wearing a mid-calf dress. She placed her right arm around the shoulder of the mummy, and held its descending right arm with her left hand. The mummy was given a long wig and false beard. Above Hathor were two vertical columns of inscription:

*"Words to be said by Hathor, Lady of the West, may she grant life at the necropolis (and) long, beautiful old age."*

And above the mummy are three columns:

*"The Osiris, the Chief of the Police, Thery, justified, son of Gemefesikap, born of Tadehor, justified."*

The vertical line of hieroglyphs flanking the doorway, of which only the bottom sign remains, read:

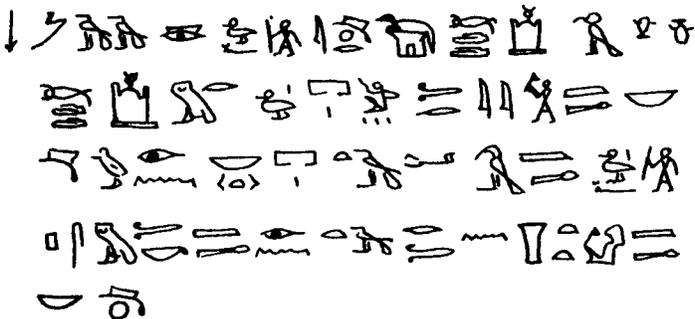
*"The Revered with Hathor of the Sycamore, the Chief of the Police, Thery, justified, lord of honour."*

## xxii. Eastern room, south wall

The southern wall, again following Petrie (Plate XXXIV), had a complete scene of the deceased with his eldest son offering to his father, who is seated at an offering table; together with two complete texts above. Over the top of all continues the *hṯp di nswt* formula. But all that remains today is part of the bottom course containing the feet of Thery and his son, together with fragments of an offering table and part of the back and arm of Thery's father, the latter lying loose in the tomb's rubble.

Petrie shows the father, Gemefesikap, seated on a low-backed chair with a lotus terminal and animal legs. He wears the long wig and collar, clenches his right fist on his knee, and stretches his left hand to the offering table before him. It is spread with slices of bread, and has under it two tall wine jars on stands. On the western side of the wall Thery stands before his father pouring liquid on to a small offering table from a *kbḥ*-jar which he holds in his right hand; in his left he offers a pot of incense. He wears the short wig, collar and mid-calf kilt, as does his son Psamtik, who stands behind him offering a tray with three different liquid containers: the *hnm*-jar, the *ḥst*-jar and a beer jar. Between Thery and his son, at ground level, is preserved the base of an offering table: Petrie saw no more. The upper part of the offering table on which Thery is making his libation has today been replaced in its correct position in the wall.

Above Thery and Psamtik are nine vertical columns of inscription:

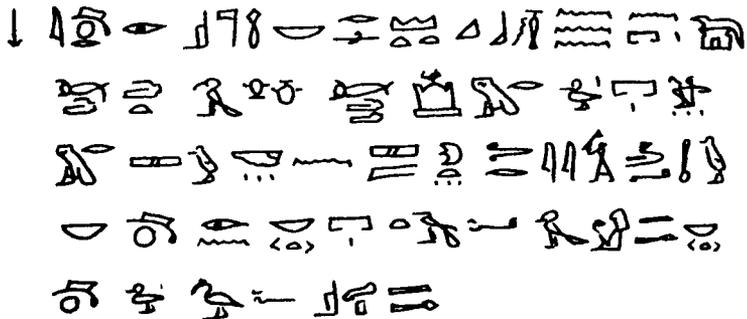




## xxiii. Eastern room, east wall

The upper part of this wall, as illustrated by Petrie (Plate XXXV), continued the horizontal band of the *h̄tp di nswt* formula, together with the titles of Thery. But beneath it originally was a scene of Thery standing in adoration of Thoth and a series of six ram-headed gods, each standing behind a shrine: above was 18 columns of hieroglyphs forming two inscriptions, now completely lost. All that remains in the tomb is the lowest courses containing the bodies of Thery and the gods, which were shown in small size (only about 0.50m): all the heads are gone.

At the south, above Thery, the inscription originally contained the name and titles of Thery in seven columns:

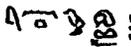


"The Revered under Osiris, the Great God, Lord of Rostau; the libator of the temple of Sobek and Horus, dwelling in Šdt, the chief of (administration of) fowl (and) of fish, Thery, justified, Lord of Honour, born of the Lady of the House Tadehor, justified, Lady of Honour, the son of Gemefesikap, justified."



xxiv. Eastern room, north wall (fig. 10)

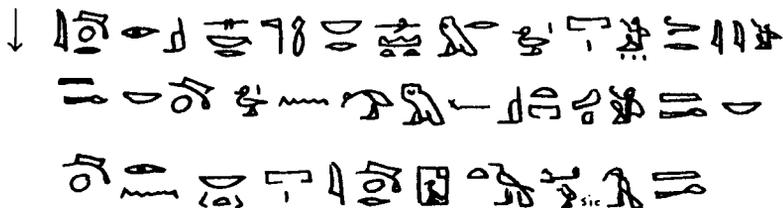
According to Petrie (Plate XXXV B top), the whole wall was covered with scenes and inscriptions, of which all the hieroglyphs are gone and only a scene of Thery's two sons making offerings to him survives today.

On the curved wall-head were two Anubis-jackals on stands flanking two -eyes, with in the centre a *šnw*-sign over a *wsht* symbol. Below were two groups of three *nfr*-signs, and between them the ideogramme  for water. Underneath again were three  signs, forming the determinative for gold or silver. At the top of this scene was an empty space flanked by two inscriptions: at the right was  and at the left:



"Anubis-*imywt*, Lord of the Sacred Land."

Below this scene, as illustrated in Petrie's Plate XXXVI, is the band of hieroglyphs continuing the *hṭp di nswt* formula, and underneath the band were two texts together making up 17 vertical columns. At the right are eight columns of invocation to Osiris Soker by Thery:

↓ 

"The Revered with Osiris-Soker, the Great God, Lord of Rostau, the Chief of Police Thery, justified, Lord of Honour, son of Gemefesikap, justified, Lord of Honour, born of the Lady of the House, the Revered with Hathor, Tadehor, justified."

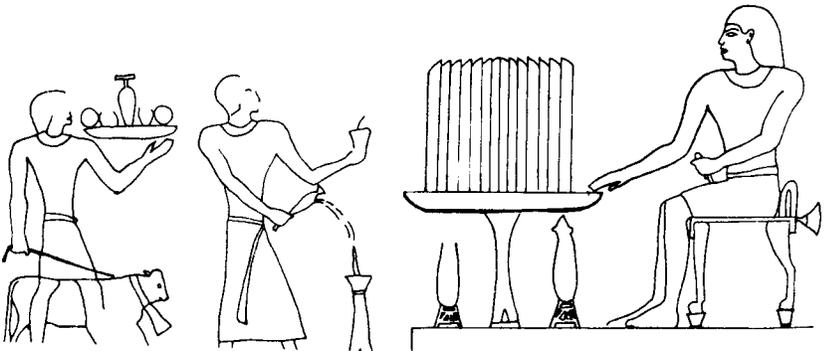
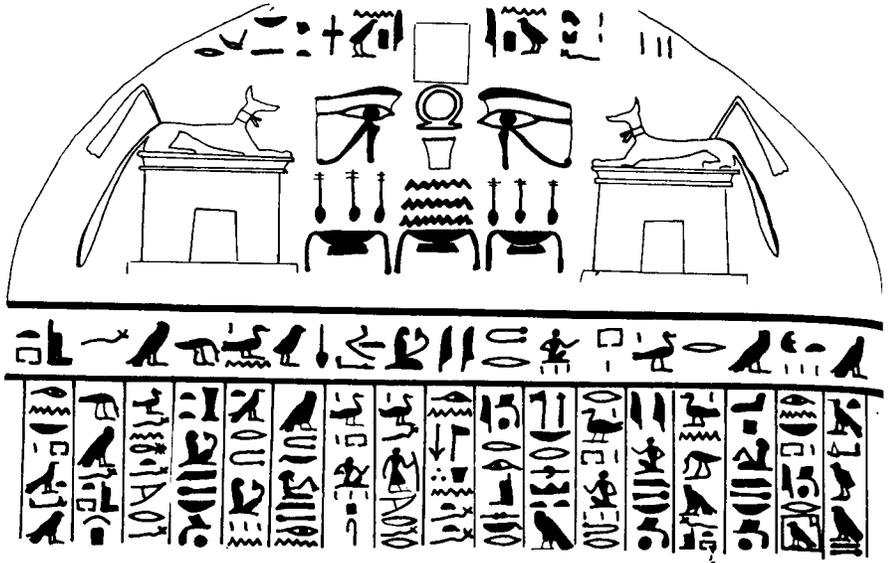
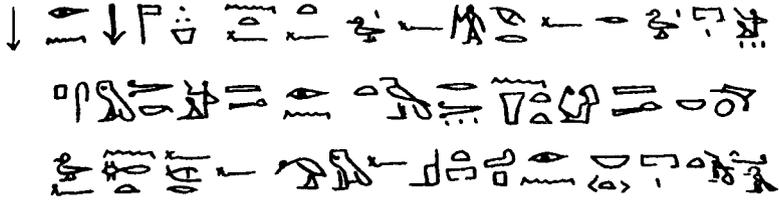


Fig. 10. Eastern room, north wall. His sons make offerings to Thery.

On the left are nine columns describing the offerings brought to Thery by his two sons:



*"Performing incense to his father, his eldest son, his beloved one, the Chief of Police Psamtik, justified, born of Taremenbastet, justified, Lady of Honour. His son of his body, his beloved Gemefesikap, born of Tadehor."*

On about two and a half courses covering the full breadth of the wall, the scene of his sons making offerings to Thery remains almost complete, having suffered only in the upper parts of the figures through the weathering of the stone.

Thery sits to the right (east) on a chair similar to that which his father uses on the southern wall of the same room. In front of him is an offering table. He is represented exactly as his father across the room, with long wig, collar, short kilt, and stretching his right hand to the offering table while his left clutches a fold of cloth on his knee. The offering table, piled high with bread, has under it two wine jars on stands. Again like his father, Thery and the offering table are shown on a high dais. On the other half of the wall the sons of Thery bring their offerings: first Psamtik, who pours liquid on to a small offering table from a *kbḥ*-jar carried in his right hand while with his left he presents a pot of incense. He wears the short wig, collar and mid-calf kilt, as does his brother Gemefesikap, who offers a small calf, shown as reaching only to his knee, which he leads by a rope in his right hand. In his left he offers a tray with two rounded loaves, a *hst*-jar, and two more jars which cannot be identified for the wearing of the stone: the heavy tray is supported on his left shoulder.

From the colour that remains, it can be seen that Thery's legs and the flesh of the sons, together with the conical inset at the base of the offering table and the calf, are all in reddish-brown. The tray carried by Gemefesikap, collars and kilts are left uncoloured, and the tie around the calf's neck is black.

## xxv. Eastern room, west wall (north)

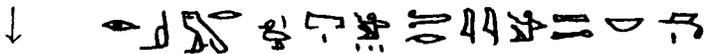
Of the northern part of the western wall nothing remains at all, and Petrie (Plate XXXIII, right) is the only guide: the scene is a parallel of the southern half (see page 74 above), with Anubis embracing the mummy of *Thery*, with two inscriptions above, and the whole topped by the end of the band of *hṯp di nswt* formula which circles the room.

Anubis, with jackal-head and long wig, collar and short kilt, has his left arm around the shoulder of the mummy and his right hand reaching out to the dead *Thery's* hip. The mummy stands in the same position across the doorway, and has the same long wig and beard. Above Anubis is an inscription in four columns:

↓ 

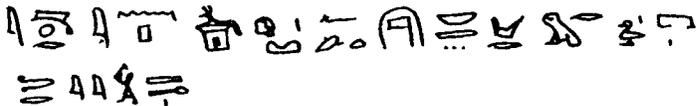
"Words to be spoken by Anubis, the Foremost of the Divine Hall, *Imywt*, Lord of the Sacred Land, may he grant burial in the necropolis, very great and good old age to the *k3* of the Revered."

And above the mummy is a text of two lines:

↓ 

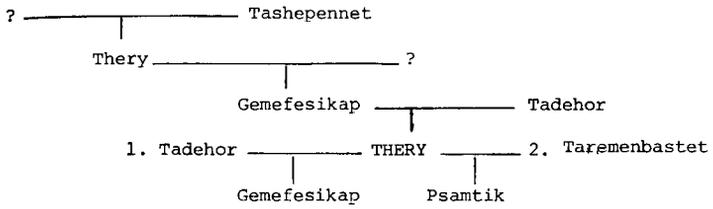
"The Osiris, the Chief of Police, *Thery*, justified, Lord of Honour."

The long vertical line flanking the doorway is an invocation to Anubis:



"The Revered with Anubis, who is on the top of his mountain, Foremost of the Divine Hall, Lord of the Sacred Land, the Chief of Police *Thery*, justified."

The inscriptions in this room are interesting in that between them they provide the genealogy of Theyry:



## xxvi. Fragments stored in the western room (fig. 11)

The western room, which remained the most secure before the recent Department of Antiquities restorations, has long been used as a store for fragments of reliefs both from the tomb of Thery and from the immediate neighbourhood. At present it contains 23 fragments of varying sizes, some from the smashed central hall and east and west rooms, some cannot be placed, and two are not from the Thery tomb at all.

Two blocks are from one of the damaged shrines of the Guardians of the Gates in the west room itself; one of them, approximately 0.30m by 0.24m, depicts the knee of the seated Guardian and the hand holding the base of the upraised knife; while the other, about 0.33m by 0.23m, has on it the rest of the knife, together with some of the richly coloured shrine background and a few hieroglyphs from the first column of accompanying text. It seems that these fragments may well have come from the badly damaged northern wall of the room.

Two further blocks are undoubtedly from the southern part of the west wall of the central hall, by comparison with Petrie's Plate XXXII, lower right (see also fig. 11). The first, about 11.5cm by 8cm, has on it part of the  $h_3$  sign and above it the sign  $t_3$  and part of a bird's tail. The second, 15cm by 14cm, carries part of the name of Thery.

As many as five blocks probably come from the recently pillaged southern half of the east wall of the central hall; four can accurately be placed by examination of Petrie's Plate XXXVI G, right.

The first, 40cm by 26cm, has the chest and raised left arm of Thery, the body red-brown; and the second, at 23cm by 28cm, shows part of a human foot standing next to the base of an offering table. A block of 15cm by 19cm has in its upper part a leg in red-brown and the hem of a mid-calf kilt: behind is a narrow vertical line, and it stands on a thick ground line. Very similar is another block, of about 13.5cm by 9cm. The fifth, about 13cm by 9cm, carries a  $s_3$ -bird with a single stroke cut in the characteristic narrow carving of the tomb's inscriptions, although it cannot precisely be placed.

One further block can definitely be ascribed to the southern wall of the eastern chamber. At about 14 by 13.5 by 13cm, it shows the right shoulder, right arm and part of the body of They's father, sitting on the lotus-adorned seat receiving offerings from his son in Petrie's Plate XXXIV (see fig. 11).

Other blocks likely to have come from the tomb itself, although not specifically identified as to source, are:

1. 32.5cm by 26.5cm, with parts of an inscription.
2. 19cm by 9.5cm, with parts of the name of They.
3. 19cm by 13cm, with parts of the sign *pr*.
4. 13cm by 9cm, as the last.
5. 22cm by 10cm, with the seated-man determinative,

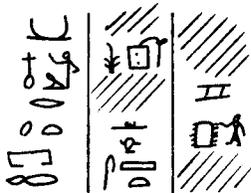
and behind him the r-mouth sign above a thick horizontal line, and part of another sign which cannot be distinguished.

Six other blocks bearing fragmentary inscriptions are also most probably from the tomb, but are too badly damaged to be identified.

The two stored blocks which definitely do not come from the tomb of They are both in the local nummulitic limestone. One has parts of two vertical columns of inscription, of which only this can be read:



The other has three columns of hieroglyphs, which are probably part of the *hṭp di nswt* formula, and the fragment might plausibly be identified as belonging to the Old Kingdom:



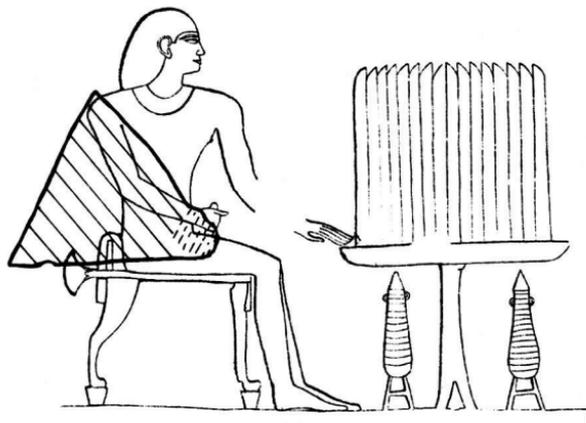


Fig. 11. Location of some loose blocks by comparison with Petrie's drawings. See also Plate XXI.

Above, eastern room, south wall. Left, central hall, east wall. Right, central hall, west wall.



d. Thery's burial: contemporary and geographical setting

The long and straggling ridge of nummulitic limestone ranging south and east of the valley bordering the Khafre causeway, known as Gebel Qibli,<sup>39</sup> extends at least 750 metres east and west at a distance of about 2.5km due south of the Great Pyramid. With a maximum height of about 1400m, the ridge provides a promontory with spectacular views over the Gizeh Plateau to the north, and the Nile valley and the desert to the south. The area has been used from the earliest Egyptian times, and, perhaps paradoxically, the most recent excavations, carried out by Kromer (1971-1975), have revealed the most ancient use - a Predynastic settlement<sup>40</sup> which had gone out of use by the time the pyramid-builders came to live in the area.

Covington<sup>41</sup> and Petrie<sup>42</sup> both reported rich Archaic mastabas on the south face of the ridge, even though Covington (page 193) described Mariette's opinion of the area as a "hopeless field" already fully worked by the best savants. Mariette excavated the large mastaba<sup>43</sup> which Covington described (pages 193, 196) as being built of immense blocks of bluish-grey oyster-filled limestone, but missed the mud-brick mastaba on the hill-top to which Covington gave his name.<sup>44</sup> Petrie reported that the stone mastaba, in which he found sealings of Ninuter,<sup>45</sup> as having its chamber "cut to pieces by a deep shaft passing through it, its contents...scattered, and a mastaba of the XXVIth Dynasty was piled up over the site."<sup>46</sup> "Covington's Tomb", of which the plan is given by the excavator in his figures 2 (page 198) and 5 (page 211), was also examined by Petrie, who describes his own plan, in Plate VII, as "not entirely reliable", and gives credit for the tomb's discovery to Lepsius.<sup>47</sup> Daressy<sup>48</sup> describes the main mastaba of the area as being at Nazlet Batran, where Barsanti made the original discovery: Petrie re-excavated it in 1906-07,<sup>49</sup> the season in which he found the tomb of Thery, and discovered it ringed by a series of 52 subsidiary burials.



## i. Lepsius 102-106 (fig. 12)

The tombs discovered by Lepsius are cut into the ridge in the south east of the area. Unfortunately they are today almost completely refilled with soft wind-blown sand, with the result that any modern attempt at exploration would be at once difficult, expensive and dangerous. There has been no re-examination since the last century, and the only published details available are those contained in Lepsius, who describes "das ganze Gräberfeld im Südosten gehört der Zeit der Psammetiche an," without making any attempt to differentiate between the various Psamtiks: judging from the style of the rock-cut architecture of the tombs and from the name Psamtik-sisekhmet found on large shabtis in tomb 102, however, it seems they may be from the time of Psamtik II Neferibre or later.

Basing our examination on the details given by Lepsius,<sup>61</sup> and the visible remains of today, all five are found to have vaulted entrances cut into the rather fragile rock and thus supported by dressed blocks of local limestone cemented with thick layers of white mortar. Following Lepsius' plan for his tomb 106, we find that the entrance leads to a rectangular room of 3.50-4 metres long and 2.50-3 metres wide cut entirely from the rock, followed longitudinally by two successive square chambers of about 3.5 metres. Each of these has descending from it deep into the living rock a square-cut shaft: only the second shaft, however, leads directly into the large burial chamber at its base, which is divided into sections for multiple burials. The first ends suddenly in a blank face, but is connected with the other half-way down its depth, by a narrow horizontal connecting passage. The other tombs are similar in general layout, but according to Lepsius' sketches seem not to have been examined in such detail as 106.

Lepsius' best small finds, however, came from tomb 102, in which a series of shabtis was found giving the name of the tomb-owner as <sup>62</sup> Uzahor called Psamtik-sisekhmet (fig. 12).

Shabtis and other small finds from this tomb, now all in Berlin, are described below:

a. Nos. 938, 4511, 4515: large faience shabtis in blue-green, 19cm tall, with inscriptions down the back and on the

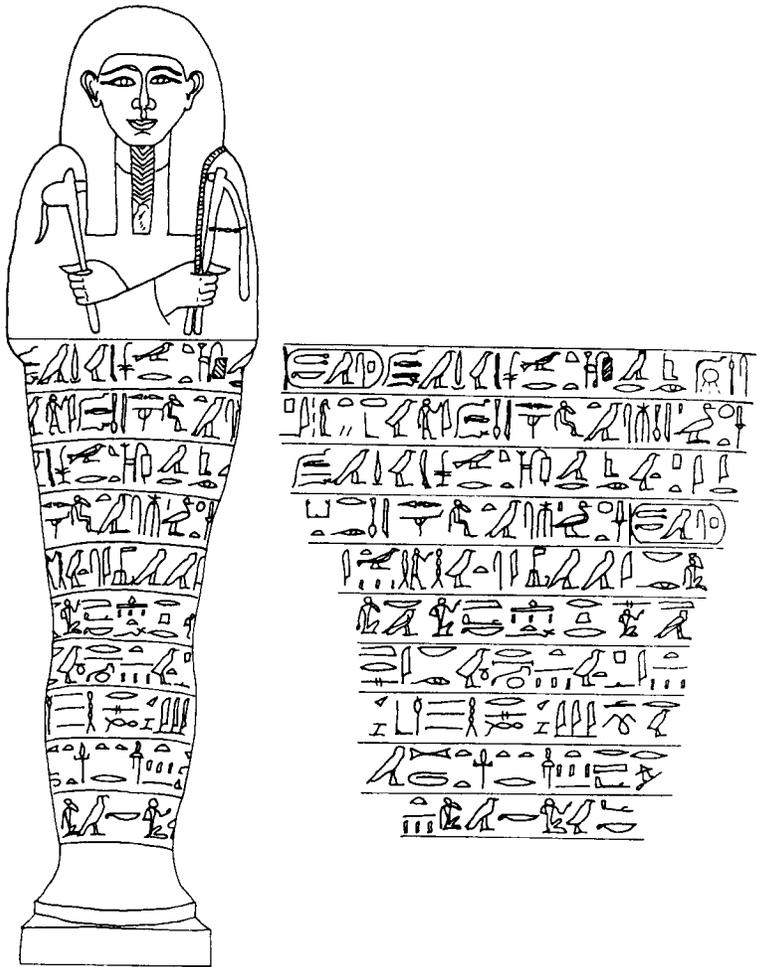
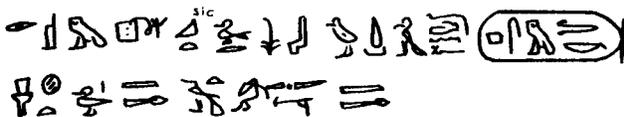


Fig. 12. Shabti of Psamtik-sa-Sekhmet  
(after Lepsius).

base. That on the back is a part of the Book of the Dead, Chapter 6<sup>63</sup> and the horizontal inscription on the base reads:



"The Osiris, Chief of the Scribes of the Great Prison (imy-r sšw <n> ḥnrt wrt), royal herald Uzaḥor, called Psamtik-sisekhmet, justified, born of Tasheritmin, justified."<sup>64</sup>

b. Nos. 351, 353-355: similar shabtis, but smaller, only about 10cm high, and not of such good manufacture. They are inscribed:



"Osiris the Illuminator, Uzaḥor, born of Tasheritmin."

c. Nos. 368, 5812-3, 5818-20: smaller shabtis in bright green faience, about 8cm tall, belonging to the mother of Uzaḥor. A similar shabti inscribed  (No. 370) came from the same burial.

d. Lepsius reports two more shabtis (Nos. 346 and 349), as coming from the same grave. These, however, are of different persons and their inscriptions are not easy to identify.

e. Nos. 1275-6, 1383, 1385, 3187: five small bird shapes in limestone.

f. Nos. 347-8, registered in Berlin, in Inventory V 160-1, may also have come from burial 102, but their provenance is recorded only as "aus einem Psametichgrabe."

Finds from the remaining four arched burials (Nos. 103-106) were extremely disappointing: Lepsius records only a skull filled with pitch (Berlin, Inv. V 147) from No. 103. He records neither inscription nor decoration in any of the tombs, a statement supported by examination as far as is possible today.

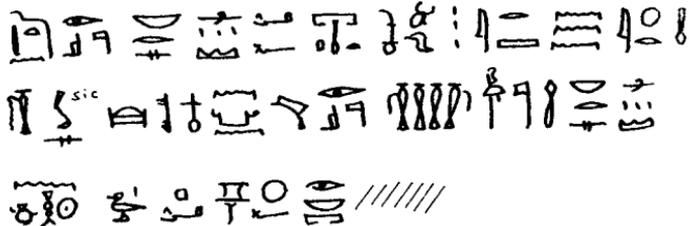
## ii. Abu Bakr 1945-1946

Excavating for the Service des Antiquites, Professor Abu Bakr discovered the tombs of  and  close to that of They in 1945-6, but it is most unfortunate that nothing more is known of their contents than the brief account of Ursula Schweitzer.<sup>65</sup> The names of the tomb owners are known from the discovery by Abu Bakr of two painted wood coffins, which have, however, disappeared in the intervening 35 years: they are not, as might be expected, stored in the Department of Antiquities magazines in the Gizeh area. Since no photographs or published drawings survive, nothing is known either about the scenes or texts on the coffins or in the tombs themselves. The tombs have very deep shafts of some 20m, ending in single chambers with niches for multiple burials.

## iii. Tomb of Niwehebre

Kamal reports<sup>66</sup> the discovery of four Saite tombs with deep shafts in the area during his 1907 inspections, but it is likely that there is here some re-recording of those found by Lepsius. But discovery of the tomb of  he attributes to Mariette, who is said to have taken from it all of the small finds, leaving behind only the limestone sarcophagus with inner wooden coffin and the remains of the mummy. But Kamal's description is not sufficient to pinpoint precisely the position of this burial, which presumably still retains its sarcophagus in position today.

According to Kamal, the rock-cut shaft is very deep, about 30m, ending in a single burial chamber. He reports the stone of the sarcophagus to be smoothed only in a narrow band running the length of the lid, and containing a single-line inscription:

→  


"Words to be spoken by Osiris, Lord of Rostau, may he give a funerary offering of bread, beer, meat, fowl, wine, every good, refreshing and ... thing, and a good burial to the k3 of the Revered with Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, the Great God, Lord of Rostau, Niwehebre, son of Pedetheukhef (?)<sup>67</sup> born of the Lady of the House .....

## NOTES TO CHAPTER II

## Section a

1. W.M.F.Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh (London 1907). See Chapter I, note 1: for brief description of the Thery tomb-chapel see page 24 of the original volume, where Petrie refers to an extended commentary in the "supplementary chapters of the double volume," and Plates XXXII-XXXVII. The Double Volume devotes much of pages 28-29 and seven further plates (XXXVII A-G) to Thery.
2. Petrie (n.1), Double Volume, page 28.
3. Petrie (n.1), Plates XXXIII-XXXVI, with additional plates (XXXVII B-G) in the Double Volume.
4. Petrie (n.1), Double Volume, page 28.
5. ibid, page 29.
6. I should like to take this opportunity to thank Professor H.S.Smith, Edwards Professor of Egyptology, University College London, for his permission to consult the volumes of Petrie's handwritten daily journal preserved in the Petrie Collection.
7. Rapport du Service des Antiquités pour l'année 1911 (Cairo 1912), official Egyptian Government report, page 11: Inspectorat du Delta.
8. Rapport...pour l'année 1912 (Cairo 1913), pp. 18-19.
9. Rapport...pour l'année 1913 (Cairo 1914), page 14.
10. I am grateful to Mr. E. von Bothmer, Curator of the Brooklyn Museum, for the opportunity to study some of these blocks while on an official Egyptian Government visit to the United States in 1977; and am saddened to hear from him that the remainder of the 75 fragments registered under Brooklyn numbers 34-1220 are so deteriorated as to make further study, whether by drawing or photograph, impossible. It must be pointed out that the suggestion by R.Fazzini, "Some Egyptian Reliefs in Brooklyn," Miscellanea Wilbouriana 1 (1972) pages 33-70 and particularly pages 63-4 and fig. 33, must be mistaken: the relief in question certainly did not come from the tomb of Thery and is probably best ascribed to the Old Kingdom.
11. One piece in Bristol (number 2738) is a head of Thery hacked from the entrance to the northern room, indicating that the eastern room was not the only one to suffer serious damage at this time.

12. Rapport...1912 (n.8), pp. 18-21: Affaires contentieuses et loi sur les antiquités; and especially page 19.
13. Orientalia NS 19 (1950) page 118 and n.2.

Section b

14. See Plan II, for plan and elevation details.

Section c

15. K. P. Kuhlmann, "Der Thron im Alten Ägypten," ADAIK 10 (1977) page 17 ff.
16. See discussion of this title in J.Yoyotte, "Un corps de police de l'Égypte pharaonique," Révue d'Égypte 9 (1952) page 139 ff.
17. H.Ranke, Die ägyptischen Personennamen (2 volumes, Hamburg and New York, 1933, 1952), Vol. I, page 351, 9.
18. A. de Buck, The Egyptian Coffin Texts, Vol. VI, page 242, Spell 625.
19. This translation relies on that of R.O.Faulkner, The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts (London 1973-1978), Vol. II, page 208, Spells 355-787.
20. The word ih <sup>4</sup> <sup>⊙</sup> is repeated - apparently in error - without addition to the meaning.
21. The missing words of the text are supplied from Gauthier's Tomb 2 at Heliopolis: see ASAE 27 (1926) page 8, lines 11-20.
22. It is difficult to accept the Faulkner (n.19) translation of the word hs3 as "flood": "slime" is the reference used by the Wörterbuch.
23. The few words remaining in the first two columns cannot be identified with any passage in the Book of the Dead, the Coffin Texts or the Pyramid Texts; but they probably follow the same pattern as in Tomb 2 in Heliopolis (n.21 above), lines 25-28 in preceding Spell 76 of the Book of the Dead.
24. See E.A.W.Budge, The Chapter of Going Forth by Day, or The Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead (London 1910), Vol. II, Chapters LXV-CLII, page 18; and also E. Naville, Das Ägyptische Totenbuch der XVIII bis XX Dynastie (Graz 1971), Bd. I, Plate LXXXVII, Vol. 2, page 159.
25. De Buck (n.18), Vol. V, Spell 309.
26. All supplementary parts of the text are taken from Heliopolis Tomb 2 (n.21), lines 30 ff.

27. For the translation, see T.G.Allen, Book of the Dead, or Going Out by Day (Chicago 1974), page 150. See also Budge (n.24), Vol. II, page 4; and E.Hornung, Das Totenbuch der Agypter (1979) page 157.
28. This name is not mentioned by Ranke (n.17): *hmst* is an Old Kingdom verb meaning "to sit" (WB III 96), and is rarely used as a name.
29. For detailed discussion, see H. Hickmann, "Les harpes de l'Egypte pharaonique. Essai d'une nouvelle classification," Bulletin de l'Institut d'Egypte 35 (1952-3), and particularly page 315, fig. 7a.
30. See Yoyotte (n.16).
31. For translation see Christine Seeber, "Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im Alten Ägypten," MÄS 35 (1970) page 79.
32. The existence of the word <sup>c</sup>3t before the two words *nfr* and *wrt* is most unusual.
33. The epithet *hnty rstj* of Osiris refers to the necropolis of Gizeh.
34. I should like to thank Mr D. P. Dawson, Curator of Archaeology and History of the Bristol Museum for arranging my visit, and for allowing me to photograph the block in question.
35. See here Naville (n.24) Vol. I, Plates CLX, CLXI, CLXII; and Budge (n.24), Vol. II, page 244 ff.
36. W.Barta, Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptische Opferformel (1968), Bitte 196.
37. Many of the scenes and texts from this room are now in the store room of the Brooklyn Museum, registered under number 34-1220: See n.10 above.
38. The title *kbh n pr* ... did not appear before Dynasty XXI: it is found on British Museum coffins 30720 and 30720A of *Ns-pr-n-nb*, who carries the title *kbh n pr hnsu*. According to the Wörterbuch, Vol. V, page 27, the earliest use is Dynasty XXV.

#### Section d

39. Plans of the area - unfortunately with little detail - are published by H.Vyse, Operations carried out at the Pyramids of Gizeh in 1837 (three volumes, London 1860-62), Vol. I, opposite page 1; C.R. Lepsius, Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien (12 volumes, Berlin 1849-95; Text, 5 volumes, Leipzig 1897-1913; Vols. I and II reprinted Geneva 1973), Vol. I, Plate 14; and Porter/Moss (n.3) Plan III.

40. K.Kromer, Osterreichische Ausgrabungen in Gizeh (V.A.R.), Vorbericht über die Frühjahrskampagne 1971, Sitzungsberichte der Öst. Akad. der Wiss., phil.-hist. Klasse 279 Band 5 Abh. (Vienna 1972).
41. L.Dow Covington, "Mastaba Mount excavations," ASAE 6 (1905) page 195 ff.
42. Petrie (n.1) pages 7-8.
43. Porter/Moss (n.3) page 295.
44. ibid, page 294.
45. Petrie (n.1), Plate V E; these five sealings are now in Manchester (nos. 4295, 4297-9) and Brussels (E.2481).
46. Petrie (n.1) page 7.
47. ibid, but Lepsius (n.39), Vol. I, page 124, noted that "das ganze Gräberfeld im Südosten gehört der Zeit der Psametiche an," perhaps thinking only of the later tombs and ignoring the Archaic discovery. But since Mariette also missed "Covington's Tomb", it seems likely that Petrie's reference is a mistaken attribution to the stone-built mastaba.
48. G.Daressy, ASAE 6 (1905), pages 99-106.
49. Petrie (n.1) pages 2-7, with particularly Plates II, IV and VI.
50. ibid, Plate VII C.
51. For brief details of both burials and surface finds, see Porter/Moss (n.3), pages 296-7 and 310-11.
52. Reported by J.Leclant, Orientalia NS 42 (1973) page 398.
53. ibid, pages 398-99.
54. Covington (n.41) page 205 ff.
55. Vyse (n.39), Vol. I, page 147 n.4 and pages 201-2. He says that Massara and other persons had opened many shafts "on the hills beyond the southern dyke" and that Caviglia had told him that the French had recently failed to open one of the "most considerable, 43ft (13m) deep."
56. Ahmed Kamal, "Notes prises aux cours des inspections," ASAE 9 (1908), page 85.
57. Petrie (n.1), Double Volume, pages 28-9.
58. See Ursula Schweitzer, Orientalia NS 19 (1950) pages 118-9, and J.Leclant, Orientalia NS 43 (1972), page 396 n.3 (where the note that a detailed report of the excavations is with the printer seems to have been somewhat premature).

59. Lepsius (n.39), Text I, pages 123-25, with Vol. I page 31. Lepsius tomb number 101, included among Saite tombs by the authors of Porter/Moss (n.3), page 296 n.1, seems not to have been in the immediate area.
60. Porter/Moss (n.3), pages 310-11.
61. The drawings of Tomb 106 are contained in page 123, and sketch plans of 103-105 in Vol. I, page 31.
62. Lepsius (n.39), pages 123-4.
63. ibid, Vol. III, page 276, i.
64. J.Aubert, Statuettes Egyptiennes (Paris 1974), page 224, Plate 57.
65. Schweitzer (n.58).
66. Kamal (n.56), pages 85-86.
67. Ranke (n.17), Vol. I, page 126, 13.

CHAPTER III

Dynasty XXVI at Gizeh

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a. General introduction

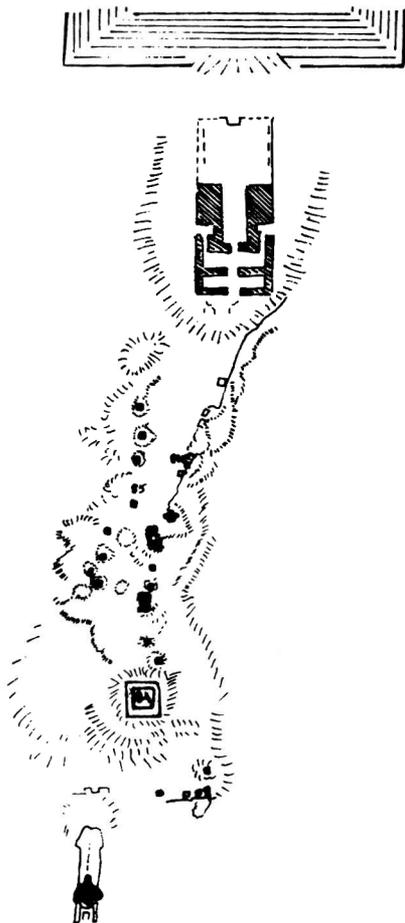
It is clear that after a period of comparative lack of interest, the Gizeh area returned to popularity during the 26th Dynasty, both as a place of worship and as a necropolis (see Chapter I, pages 5-6 above). Particularly popular was the area of the Sphinx,<sup>1</sup> where Hassan found the remains of statues of the kings Psamtik II and Wehebre. North of the Sphinx, he also discovered the stela of a woman named Nefert (?) daughter of Bastet-nefert.<sup>2</sup>

Dynasty XXVI was also the time of increasing popularity of the worship of Isis, alongside that of Osiris and the Sphinx, and it was now that the Temple of Isis in the eastern necropolis (the temple is built on the site of the funerary chapel of Pyramid GI-c of Reisner, see below) reached its peak.<sup>3</sup>

At the same time Gizeh regained its major placing as a popular necropolis, but in contrast to the Old Kingdom, this popularity was limited to the South Field (the Gebel Qibli area), where the rock-cut tombs are found, including that of Thery which forms the main topic of this thesis, and the area between the funerary temple of Khafre and the Sphinx, particularly to the north of the Khafre causeway.<sup>4</sup> Despite Reisner's comment that the area around the Isis Temple in the eastern cemetery was covered with mud-brick burial places,<sup>5</sup> there is no evidence that these formed any part of a Dynasty XXVI necropolis.

The tombs around the causeway of Khafre are all rock-cut, and no trace of a superstructure has been found attached to any of them: LG 81, 83 and 84 immediately north of the causeway, and those of Ptahardais and Pedubaste<sup>6</sup> immediately north-west of the Sphinx (see plan, next page). The majority of these tombs consist of very deep shafts with much re-use in later periods. Today most are entirely full of sand, and some of them destroyed completely: little remains to be seen except of LG 84, more popularly known as "Campbell's Tomb."

The whole area was worked over in the first half of the last century by the early archaeologists of the day, but also by tomb-robbers. Much of the scientific work was carried out by Captain Caviglia (probably in 1816),<sup>7</sup> by Salt (1820)<sup>8</sup> and by Vyse (in 1837).<sup>9</sup> Some of the plans and scenes of the tombs and the texts of the sarcophagi were published by Lepsius<sup>10</sup> and by Mariette.<sup>11</sup> It is extremely unfortunate that no modern excavation has been carried on at the site, and so the modern enquirer has to depend on the original publications. A new scientific examination of the area of the causeway is paramount.



Plan III. Saite tombs around the Khafra causeway.

### b. The Isis Temple

The Temple of Isis Mistress of the Pyramid is clearly central to any study of Dynasty XXVI at Gizeh, but it is intended to deal with it here in fairly summary fashion, for several reasons: first, it does not represent funerary architecture, which is the main purpose of the present work, even though it does contain burial shafts, according to Selim Hassan;<sup>12</sup> second, the Temple does not belong to the Saite period alone but was started in the Fourth Dynasty; and third, the American Research Centre in Cairo is at present working on the site and should bring to light more details of interest: its report is eagerly awaited.

The Temple is situated against the east face of the southernmost of the three subsidiary pyramids built to the south-east of that of Khufu.<sup>14</sup> The main structure of the Temple is that part between the east face of the pyramid (Reisner GI-c) and the west face of the mastabas of Khufu-Khaf and his wife (Reisner G 7130 and 7140), and comprises buildings of the Fourth and Twenty-first Dynasties, together with the chapels built outside the main temple precinct during the Saite period and later. Although there are no extant remains of buildings of the Eighteenth or Nineteenth Dynasties, it seems that Selim Hassan was not mistaken in reporting "probably this temple was built during the XVIII Dynasty when the combined attraction for the Sphinx and the Valley of Gazelles had made this district popular... That this temple was in existence during the XVIII Dynasty may be proved by the presence of faience rings bearing the names of Amenhotep III, Tutankhamun, Ay and Hor-em-Heb."<sup>15</sup> Moreover, Reisner discovered<sup>16</sup> inscribed fragments dating from the New Kingdom, such as his No. 109, a fragment of wall relief with the cartouche of Ramses II and parts of his Horus-name, and another fragment with parts of the cartouche of Merenptah.

Mariette was first to clear and recognise the temple in 1858, when he also found the well-known "Inventory Stela" or "Stela of Cheops' Daughter", which may today be viewed in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, still misplaced among objects of the Old Kingdom.<sup>17</sup> The

discoverer was also the first to be confused by the text of the stela, and despite its importance he wrote little about it: this long-lasting confusion will be discussed below. Petrie<sup>18</sup> reported more clearing work in 1881-2, during which he identified blocks inscribed with the names of Psusennes I, and the Temple was then subject to sporadic excavation between 1924 and 1929 by Reisner, who was also responsible for clearing the burial shafts beneath the floors of the chapels along the north and south sides of the temple. Until now the only published plan of the temple is the sketch map prepared by Reisner and reproduced by Selim Hassan.<sup>19</sup> But the American Research Centre is preparing a new plan from its recent work, which is to be published soon.

The main elements of the temple (see Plan IV, next page) are:

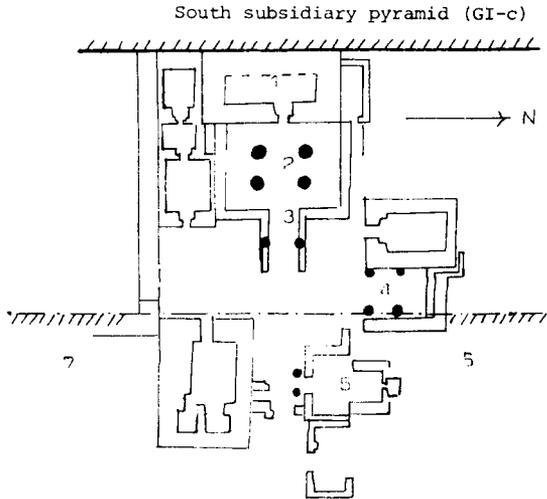
1. The mortuary chapel. It is clear that the earliest building still remaining on the site is the mortuary chapel of the owner of pyramid GI-c, who has never certainly been identified even though the Egyptians of the Late Period believed it was a daughter of Khufu, Queen Henutsen. But why should a daughter of Khufu have her own pyramid when all other sons and daughters are buried in mastabas in the same cemetery?<sup>20</sup>

2. The columned hall. With four circular columns and a portal, this hall was extended to the east by a small kiosk built by Dynasty XXI kings Psusennes I and Amenemopet about 1500 years later: Mariette and Reisner found inscriptions of both kings on the site. This hall forms an easterly extension of the Old Kingdom mortuary chapel of GI-c and is the oldest standing structure of the temple which is devoted to Isis. As discussed above, however, it seems clear that it was dedicated to Isis as early as the New Kingdom, even though it is not possible to link the few items from that period with architecture still standing today. Limestone paving from the original mortuary temple may have been removed to make way for the columned hall, around which an enclosure wall may have linked the hall to the mortuary chapel.

3. Ramp and flanking chapels. After Dynasty XXI an approach ramp from the east was cut through the core of Mastaba G 7140, and stone chapels built to south and north of the ramp, an altar remaining today in a northern chapel. Chapels were also built immediately north and south of the temple itself, that to the north remaining doubtful, and the ruined buildings on the south showing that they were built of

re-used Old Kingdom blocks. The only chapel that may accurately be dated is Selim Hassan's Room A,<sup>21</sup> north of the portal of Amenemopet, which is inscribed for Harbes, son of Peftia'shu and Shepenesi: both inscriptions and reliefs are typical of the Saite Period. Also in the same style is Selim Hassan's Room H,<sup>22</sup> east of Harbes' chapel, of which the owner's name is lost.

It is these last two chapels which form the basis of the present study, since they are the only sections of the temple as it now stands which may be dated with certainty to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.



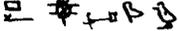
Plan IV. Isis Temple.

1. Mortuary chapel; 2. Columned hall; 3. Portal;  
4. Hassan's Room A; 5. Hassan's Room H; 6 Mastaba G 7130; 7, Mastaba G 7140.

## i. Chapel A

The reliefs and texts of this chapel leave no doubt that it was dedicated to Isis. There is some evidence for a cult of Isis at Gizeh before the Twenty-first Dynasty: two inscriptions dating to the reigns of Amenhotep II and Tuthmosis IV, found in the vicinity of the Great Sphinx, name Isis together with other deities more traditionally associated with the Memphis region. These are the stelae of prince Amenemopet, probably from the period of Amenhotep II, showing Isis wearing the Hathor crown seated within a kiosk supported by columns with Hathor capitals; and a stela of Tuthmosis IV on which the king is depicted offering flowers to Isis, who again wears the Hathor crown.<sup>23</sup> Documents dating further back, to Dynasty XIX, show Isis wearing the Hathor crown and bearing an inscription naming "Osiris, Lord of Rostau, Soker Lord, Isis the Divine Mother and Horus who protects his Father,"<sup>24</sup> but the only monuments definitely devoted to Isis which remain on site are parts of the chapel.

By far the best preserved of all the subsidiary buildings of the Isis Temple, the inscriptions on this chapel walls provide more direct historical data than any other source still present. Two column bases at the entrance in the south wall show where the portico once stood, and suggest that the outward appearance of the chapel would have been rather like that of some of the Old Kingdom chapels at Gizeh. About half-way back, two columns imitating reed bundles stand against the east and west walls, forming a division of the two parts of the chapel. The floor is made of regularly shaped limestone slabs laid neatly round the columns. No burial shaft has been located beneath it. The walls have been restored to an arbitrary height.<sup>25</sup>

The inner face of the back wall, at the north of the chapel, is decorated with a fine relief showing the chapel owner, Harbes  son of Pefteuma'shu  and Shepenesi ,<sup>26</sup> kneeling before Isis, who is seated on a throne with the infant Horus in her lap;<sup>27</sup> only the legs and throne of Isis and the feet of Horus survive (see illustration, next page), the block having been removed to the Princeton University Art Museum.<sup>28</sup> The whole scene, with the inscription and the graffiti to be described below, covers three courses of the wall.

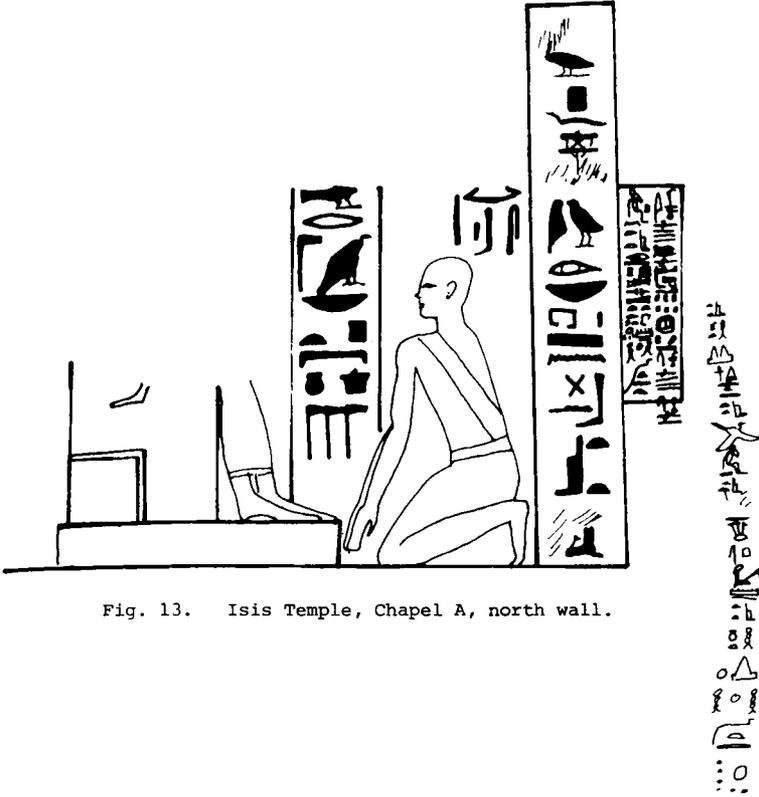
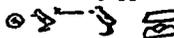


Fig. 13. Isis Temple, Chapel A, north wall.

The remaining traces of the inscription in front of Isis preserve her titles in one vertical line of hieroglyphs in sunken relief as *Divine Mother, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of the Gods*; while above the head of Harbes is the remains of his name  $\text{𓆎𓆏}$ , and behind him a beautifully carved single vertical line reading the son of *Pefteuma'shu, born of the Lady of the House, Shepenseni*. The whole scene is framed with a thick line, and outside this frame is a framed text of two finely carved vertical lines of graffiti<sup>29</sup> of Shepensene son of Pashenesi  $\text{𓆎𓆏𓆐𓆑}$  and Thesubastepert  $\text{𓆎𓆏𓆐𓆑}$ . Behind this fine hieroglyphic graffiti is a long and straggling line of graffiti, very roughly cut and difficult to read, of Isis, Mistress of the Pyramid, Pashenesi  $\text{𓆎𓆏𓆐𓆑}$  son of Haps  $\text{𓆎𓆏}$  <sup>30</sup>

On the other side of the scene, at the western end of the wall, is another graffiti text of four vertical lines, of Shepensene son of Paheri and Theri ,<sup>31</sup> again in poor condition and not easy to read. Another graffito, in very poor shape, may yet be seen on the wall. From its six lines of hieroglyphs all that may be read is the name of Psamtiknebepti son of Irterau ,<sup>32</sup> and at the end of the western part of the wall are three additional signs which appear as .

The east wall has a collection of important graffiti, all belonging to the same period. These are carved by the priests of Isis who were priests of the revived mortuary cults of the Dynasty IV kings, Khufu, Dedefra, Khafra and Menkaura, as well as of the Sphinx.<sup>33</sup> They therefore provide valuable information about the cult of Isis at Gizeh and the role of her temple among the religious foundations on the plateau in the Late Period.

On the northern section of the wall is a graffito of Isis suckling Horus, seated on her throne and wearing the Hathor crown. In front of her are nine columns of hieroglyphic graffiti with the name of Pashenesi son of Khufuemakhet , who was the priest of the kings mentioned above as well as of the Sphinx and of Horus son of Isis. Under the throne is a single line of the priest Amunwepet, and behind it another vertical line, but very difficult to read. Another graffito on the wall is of four vertical lines, again with the names Khufu, Khafre and Menkaura, made by the priest Khufuemakhet son of Pashenesi and Senebptahotes.

All the graffiti on this wall are very badly damaged, and part of the American Research Centre project has been to copy these texts, which will be published in the near future: in the meantime, scholars must work on the photographs of Selim Hassan and the drawings and illustrations of Wildung.<sup>34</sup>

Nothing remains of the wall on the west side of the chapel.

## ii. Chapel H

To the east of Chapel A, this contains the remains of fine painted reliefs, some of them retaining traces of the original colouring.<sup>35</sup> The entrance is again in the south wall, and beneath the floor, which is now missing, there is a burial shaft. This was cleared by Reisner, but is now totally filled with sand and rubbish.

Most of the chapel has been restored in fairly recent times, and of the eastern and western walls only the lower course and parts of the second remain. In the north wall is another entrance, to a smaller room or niche. On the west side of this door, in three courses, is depicted a standing man wearing the long kilt and carrying in his left hand a long staff, and in his right the folded cloth. Before him, depicted as being very small and placed between the kilt and the staff, his son turns his head to look back at his father. Behind the man stands his wife, wearing the long dress and long wig: she clasps his shoulder with her left hand, and with her right holds a lotus flower. The heads of both the man and his wife are missing. In front of the man's staff, and set on a higher level, is a two-handled vase, and above it the base of another.

On the eastern side of the wall is part of a standing man, with his arms apparently raised, although identification is not easy because the front of the figure and its head are lost. There is no inscription to show the name of the man and his family.

The eastern side of the door in this northern wall repeats the same scene, but without vases and without the figure of the other man: again all the figures have suffered damage, and most of the heads of the man and wife are lost.

The inner room is largely destroyed, but retains reliefs of the lower parts of standing figures. On the western wall, over two courses, are three figures of men: on the south side of the wall are the legs and kilt of a man (a short kilt; it cannot be a god that is portrayed), and in front of him two other figures, the first wearing a short kilt and taking by the hand the second man, probably to introduce him to the first-mentioned. This last figure has a different type of dress, which is apparently long, although where the colours of the legs remain on the last two figures it is a uniform reddish-brown.

The north wall is also badly damaged, although it retains on its east side the lower part of a female god wearing a long dress and holding the  $^C nh$  and  $w3st$ . Behind her is a vertical line of hieroglyphs  $di.s \ ^C nh \ w3s \ nb \ mi \ R^C \ dt$ , and on its west side are two courses bearing the lower half of a female wearing a long green dress. In front of her was a single vertical line of inscription, of which only two words -  - can be made out at the bottom of the line. Part of a throne may be seen behind<sup>36</sup> these hieroglyphs; while of the badly damaged east wall nothing remains except the feet of a standing figure.

## iii. The "Inventory Stela"

So called because it claims to list the contents of the shrines of the Temple,<sup>37</sup> the Inventory Stela was probably in fact carved during the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty by the priests mentioned above in order to give their sanctuary the reputation of great age. The style of the inscription and decoration are very similar in many fine details to the priestly graffiti of Chapel A, which may definitely be dated to the Saite Period. The intention of the dedicator(s) was to record the story of the ancient benefaction which had been incorporated into the mythology of the Temple. Mariette<sup>38</sup> thought of the stela as an Old Kingdom object, a theory which would place the Sphinx earlier than the Pyramids.

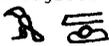
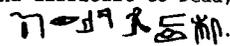
Much has been written about the stela, and Hassan,<sup>39</sup> who describes it in detail, says it has been "one of the stumbling blocks of archaeology ever since (Mariette found it); for...the stela claims that the temple was found (apparently in ruins) by Khufu, and was re-built by him. In which case, it must at the very latest, have been built in the beginning of the Third Dynasty."<sup>40</sup> And he goes on to discuss the text, establishing clearly that the stela was made by the priests of Isis, whose cult was known even as early as the Fourth Dynasty, to give their charge the sanctity of ancient history.

The reason why the mortuary chapel of the third subsidiary pyramid of Khufu was chosen as the site for the worship of Isis at Gizeh remains a mystery, except for the tradition which associated the place with Isis (or perhaps with Hathor) and which eventually formed the basis for the belief in Isis, Mistress of the Pyramid. It is this title, which appears in the Inventory Stela, from which we know that the pyramid against which the temple stands is named for the daughter of Khufu, Queen Henutsen. And probably, as Selim Hassan felt,<sup>41</sup> "the title of Isis, as 'Mistress of the Pyramid,' is probably due to the confusion of the first part of the name of the princess (whose mortuary temple, we must remember, forms the nucleus of the temple) 'Henut' with the word 'henut' meaning 'mistress,' and resulted in the later Egyptians identifying the Princess with the Goddess Isis."

c. Individual tombs

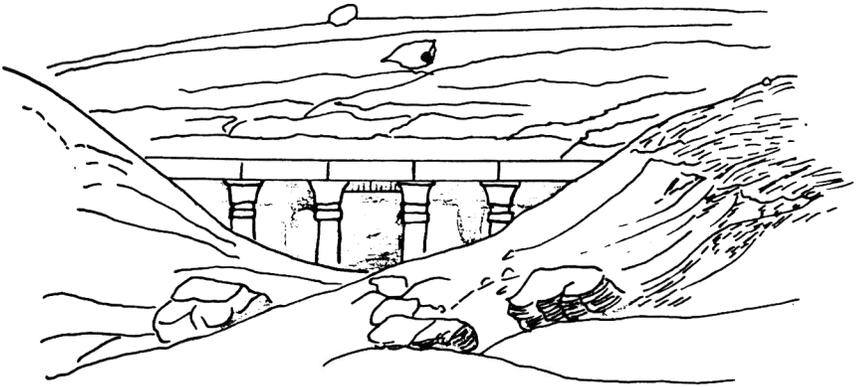
As mentioned above (see Introduction to this Chapter, page 103), the Dynasty XXVI burials at Gizeh are clustered almost completely around the causeway of the Khafra pyramid and within the hillside immediately north-west of the Sphinx. These have all been published in varying standards of completeness, and a fresh look at the evidence is required: unfortunately today all the tombs are again buried under masses of sand, and any modern study must depend on the published sources. First to be examined will be those around the causeway, followed by those closer to the Sphinx:

i. Tomb LG 81 (Plan V, figs. 14-16)

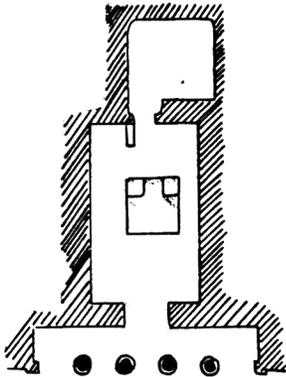
According to the name found on the only two objects left to the archaeologists after ancient robbery - two ushabtis - the tomb belonged to .<sup>42</sup> The two figurines (registered in Berlin as numbers 345 and 352) are each inscribed with a single vertical line of hieroglyphs, but both are badly damaged and difficult to read, particularly 352. However, it is possible to read .

This remarkable tomb, the only one of its type in the area, was cut into the rock of the actual causeway itself, and none of it was built up with stone except the facade, where the natural rock proved too soft for permanent cutting. It consists<sup>43</sup> of a north-facing portico of which Lepsius said, "Das Grab 81 ist das einzige auf dem Pyramidenfeld von Gizeh, das einen Portikus von Säulen besitzt."<sup>44</sup> The portico, of four columns about 4m tall - they seem never to have been cleared completely, and the height is not easy to judge from the published drawings - has lotus-flower capitals,<sup>45</sup> which were far from common. The width of the portico is 7.82m, and it forms the entrance to the main room, which is cut completely from the living limestone. This room, about 6.8m long and 4.1m wide, contains a shaft of 2.15m by 1.98m some 2.64m from the doorway; Lepsius did not clear it, and so was unable to judge its depth.

The walls of this room were covered with white mortar and inscribed with scenes and texts which are now totally disappeared, but in Lepsius' day parts of them were still preserved:



Front-view



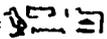
Ground-plan

"die Gemälde und Hieroglyphen, auf dem porösen Kalkstein meist in Mörtelüberzug gedrückt, sind grösstenteils abgefallen, besonders Hieroglyphen [sind] sehr wenig und nur unwichtige erhalten. Dem Stile nach wird das Grab etwa Psametichzeit angehören."<sup>46</sup> Mariette, however, was unable to identify the period of the tomb from its style and inscription, and said, "un tombeau dont il est bien difficile de préciser l'age. L'interieur n'offre certes pas dans le peu à inscriptions qui reste, les scenes qu'on rencontre en parait bien après la 18<sup>e</sup> Dynastie. Mais il faut dire que ce n'est pas non plus tout-à-fait le style de la IV<sup>e</sup> et de la V<sup>e</sup> Dynastie."<sup>47</sup>

The scenes, best known from Lepsius, are:

West wall: at the southern end the owner of the tomb is depicted, standing and wearing the long wig and holding with both hands (right hand above, left very low) a long staff. His wife stands behind him, holding his left shoulder with her left hand: she also, it seems from the small fragment Lepsius shows as remaining on the wall, wears the long wig and also a collar, but there is no indication of the dress of either figure, and the lower parts of both are particularly badly damaged. Before the couple is depicted (fig. 14) in very large scale - the whole height of the wall - three registers of men fishing and carrying fish as offerings, above a fourth register showing many different kinds of fish in a natural environment. Closest to the tomb owner in this bottom register are the legs of a standing man with both his feet on ropes (of the fishing net, perhaps), and under him are vertical lines indicating water.

The third register shows traces of 18 fishermen, who seem, from the fragments remaining (their lower parts are badly damaged), to be pulling on a net. The first man in this register holds in both hands the rope of the net of the register below.

The central register of fishermen contains 15 men, of whom the first two at the south end sit and raise their left arms to the shoulder and hold it with the right hand in the position of priests or sons of the dead. The third man carries a basket in his right hand and touches his right shoulder with his left hand. Before him are two words of inscription: . The remaining figures in this register are all engaged in bringing fish offerings, either carried in their hands or on yokes over the shoulders. The very largest fish is suspended on a stick carried between two men.



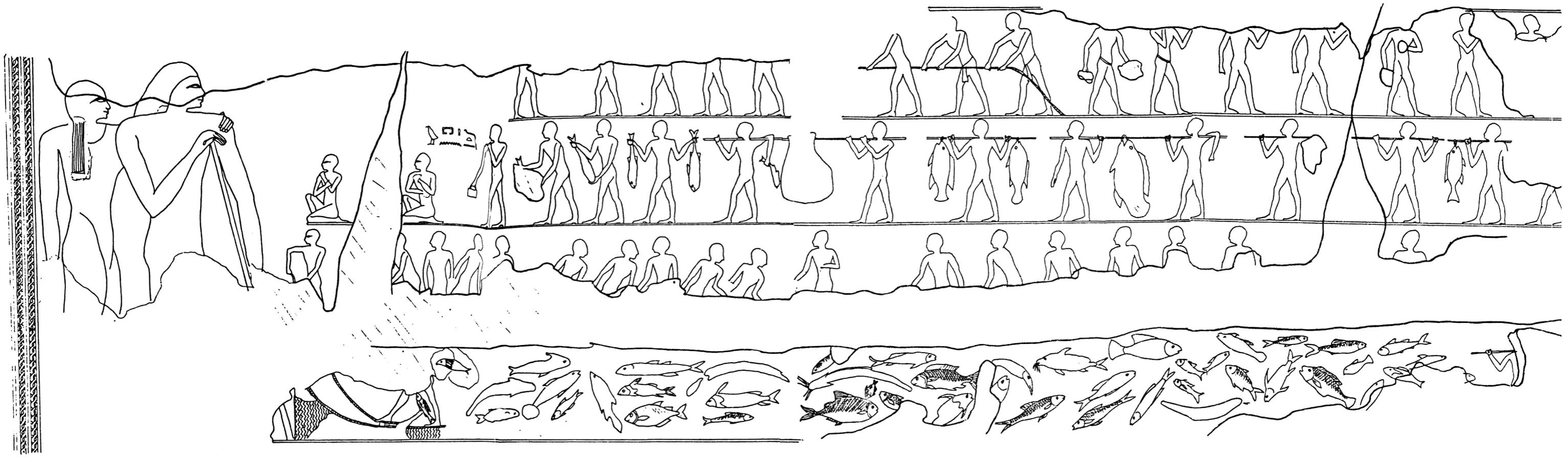


Fig. 14. Tomb LG 81, west wall.

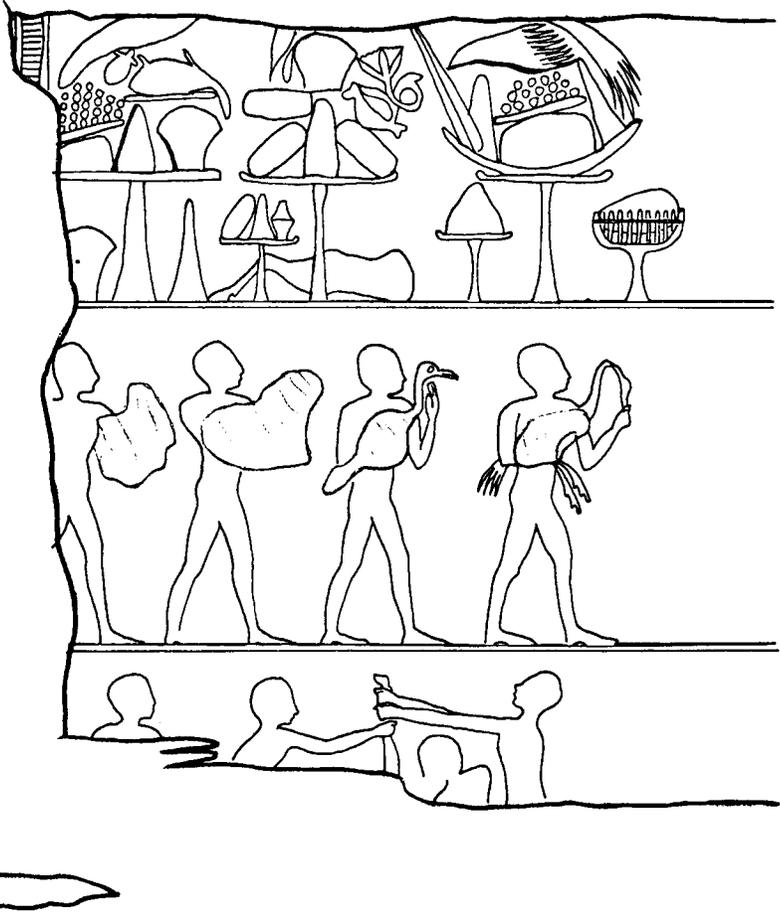


Fig. 15. Tomb LG 81, north wall (after Lepsius)

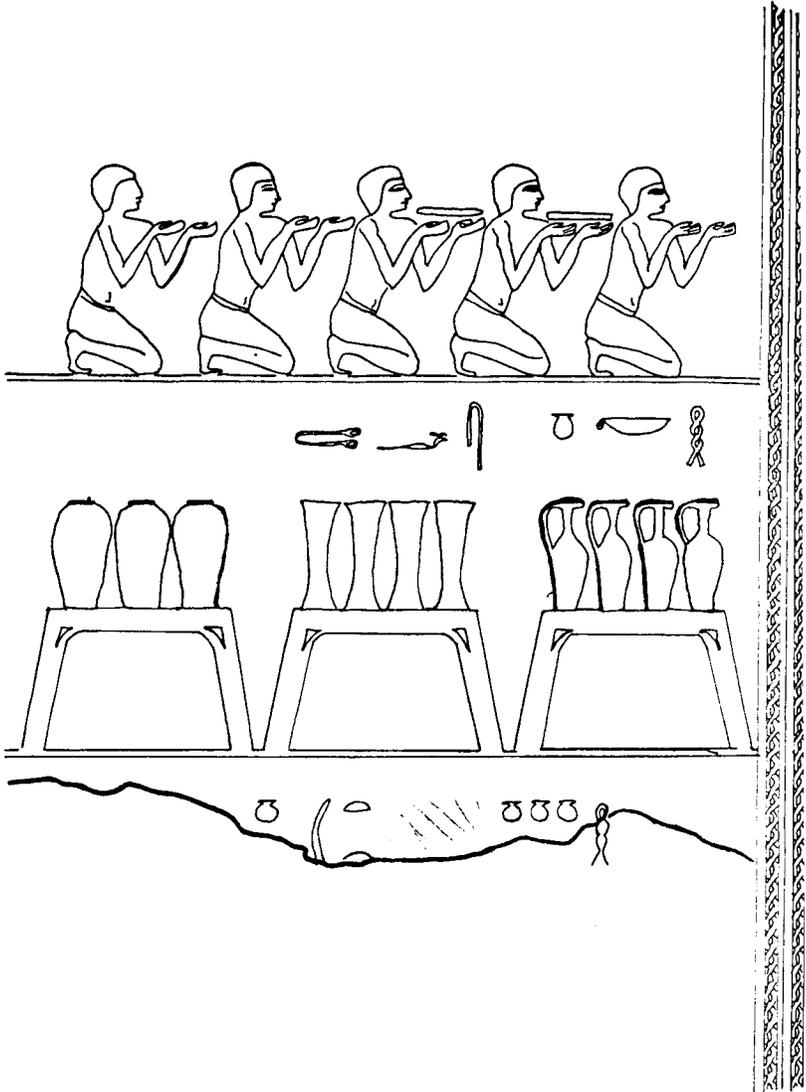
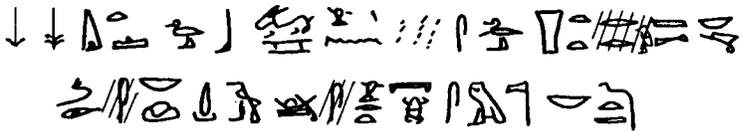


Fig. 16. Tomb LG 81, south wall (after Lepsius)

## ii. Tomb LG 83 (fig. 17)

This tomb,<sup>50</sup> located south-east of LG 81 at about the middle of the Khafra causeway, consists of a single shaft today completely filled with sand. There are no remains of a superstructure reported, and the original excavator<sup>51</sup> remains something of a mystery: the only definite information about the tomb is that three sarcophagi were found within it. Two are related, a mother and son, but the third, also belonging to a woman, dates later. Lepsius<sup>52</sup> described the three sarcophagi as being found in the shaft, and those of 'Amasis, commander of the army, and of his mother, Queen Nekhtubasterau, wife of King Amasis, were removed to the Leuchtenberg Collection, and later to the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad.<sup>53</sup> Sketches and texts of all three were published by Mariette<sup>54</sup> and Lepsius also published drawings.<sup>55</sup>

Nekhtubasterau: The anthropoid sarcophagus of Queen Nekhtubasterau is of black granite.<sup>56</sup> The text on the lid was published by Lepsius and Mariette, and consists of four vertical columns:<sup>57</sup>



*"The offering which the king gives to Geb, that he may reveal to [Nekhtu]basterau, justified, Lady of Honour, that she may see the Lord of the Horizon, that she may cross the sky, that she may become in any god or anybody."*

Lepsius, who noted that the  $\text{P}$ -suffix had been removed from the whole text by scratching out, says:<sup>58</sup> "In der Inschrift, die auf dem Deckel unter der geflügelten Gestalt der Nut unter dem Halskragen der Toten steht, ist auch das Suffix  $\text{P}$  überall ausgemeißelt."



Fig. 17. Sarcophagus of Amasis from Gizeh LG 83 (after Lepsius).

Amasis: Another anthropoid sarcophagus of black granite (fig. 17),<sup>59</sup> its inscription gives the title of Amasis as *imy-r mš<sup>c</sup>* commander of the army. The sarcophagus is very beautifully inscribed, the lid carrying a depiction of the goddess Mut pictured kneeling under the collar with wings outstretched, and carrying in each hand the feather of *mš<sup>c</sup>* and on her head the solar disc. At the right hand of this goddess are two vertical lines of inscription which are words to be said by Nephthys; and at her left hand are four vertical lines to be said by Isis. Under this seated figure is a text of 13 vertical lines of hieroglyphs from Chapter 72 of the Book of the Dead,<sup>60</sup> which was particularly popular during the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.<sup>61</sup> Throughout the inscriptions the name Amasis and the title *imy-r mš<sup>c</sup>* have later been chipped out, and only the sign  has escaped the effacing.

On the sides of the sarcophagus are registers of deities and demons<sup>62</sup> which were common in the Late Period.<sup>63</sup>

Tashentihet: The third sarcophagus found in the tomb belonged to Tashentihet,<sup>64</sup> daughter of Desnub, both names appearing on the lid inscription, which consists of two vertical lines:



*"The Osiris Tashentihet, justified, born of Desnub, appears as Nefertem, as the lotus-bloom which is at the nose of Re<sup>c</sup>, she will issue from the horizon daily and the gods will be cleansed at the sight of her every day."*

This text was also common in the 26th Dynasty, forming part of Spell 266 of the Pyramid Texts and Chapter 174 of the Book of the Dead.<sup>66</sup>

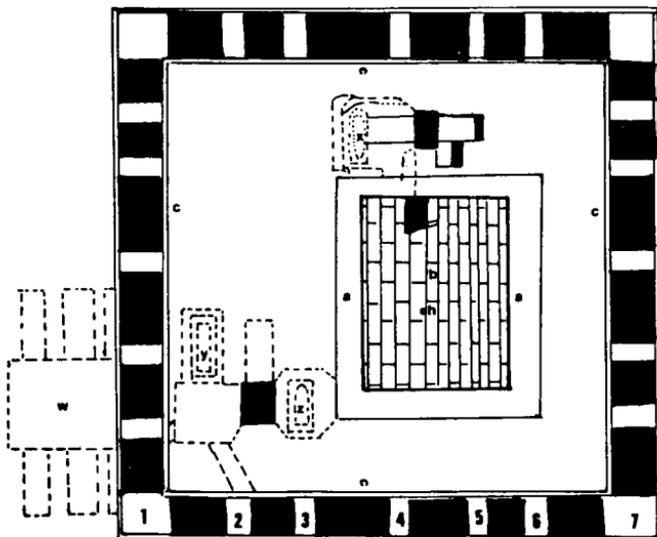
The sarcophagus itself was left in the tomb, but the lid was carried to the courtyard of the Cairo School of Medicine (Qasr el-'Aini) at the beginning of this century<sup>67</sup> and its present location is unknown.

## iii. LG 84 - "Campbell's Tomb"

This tomb, slightly to the east of LG 83,<sup>68</sup> is very much the biggest of the group, and belonged to a man named Pakap,<sup>69</sup> whose good name was Wehebre<sup>c</sup>-Emakhet. The two names were found not only on the major sarcophagus of the burial,<sup>70</sup> but also on the inscription on the walls of the burial chamber.<sup>71</sup> Pakap's title was Overseer of the Scribes of the King's Repast.

The tomb is described by Porter and Moss<sup>72</sup> as being "entirely destroyed," but this is in fact far from the truth of the case: the substructure is now entirely filled with drifted sand, but only the central part has been destroyed. As Lepsius<sup>73</sup> reported: "Das Grab hat jetzt den ganzen mittleren Bau bis aus das Hauschen, das unmittelbar den Sarkophag überdecket, verloren." There is thus no other way to describe this unusual tomb that to use the description of Vyse, who performed the excavation in 1837, and the drawings and plans of his capable assistant, Perring.

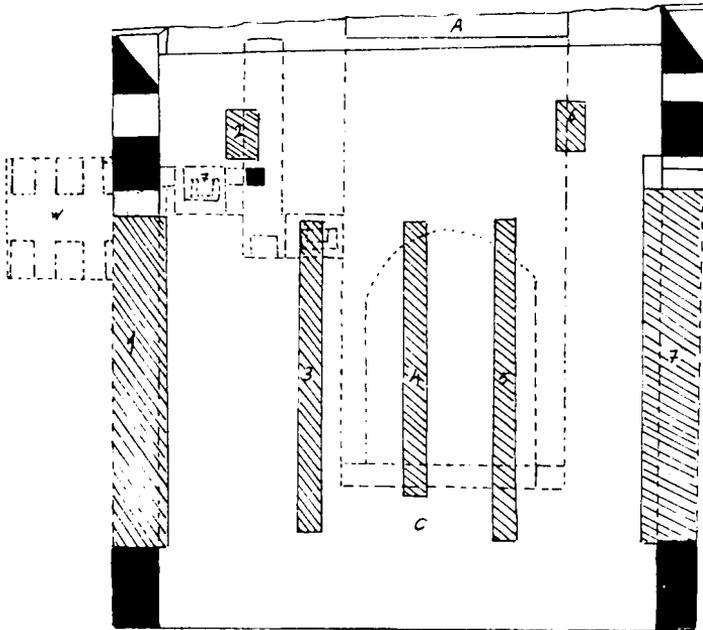
As may be seen (Plan VI, below), the construction of the tomb was most unusual, but it is now clear that it had no superstructure even though Vyse thought it had been destroyed or robbed out.<sup>74</sup>



Plan VI. "Campbell's Tomb" (after Vyse).

Cut into the natural limestone slightly to the north of the causeway, the tomb consists of a massive shaft of about 9.3m east and west and 8m north and south, of 16.3m deep (A-A on Plan VI, previous page). Within this central excavation was built up an arched tomb (B on the plan, to be discussed below), and around the shaft was a deep and narrow rectangular cutting into the rock (CCCC), described by Vyse as a fosse and by Perring as a trench. This massive piece of work measures about 17.45m square on its inner side, and was cut a regular 1.63m wide all round to a remarkable depth of 22.25m. The excavator<sup>75</sup> saw this cutting surrounding the central shaft as also having been roofed over: "The fosse had evidently been arched over, for some of the stones remained; but as the surface of the rock, whence these arches sprung, was not on the same level, there must have been false joints at every angle."

Plan VII (below), is a section of the eastern side of this surrounding trench, showing parts of the rock which have been left to support the sides of the excavation (numbers 1-7; the same numbers are shown in Plan VI): Vyse imagined that the purpose of the surrounding



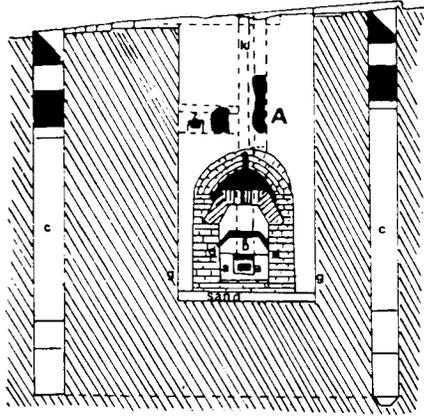
Plan VII. "Campbell's Tomb", section of surrounding trench (after Perring).

cutting was to "insulate" the tomb. The central excavation is not in fact truly at the centre of the surrounding cutting, but to its north, probably on account of the shafts from the south-east corner of the remaining rock leading to burial chambers X, Y and Z (Plan VI). Two sarcophagi were found in Y, one of them in red granite, now in the British Museum;<sup>76</sup> the other, of basalt, still lies in situ. Another of white granite, found in Z, also still lies in its original resting place.

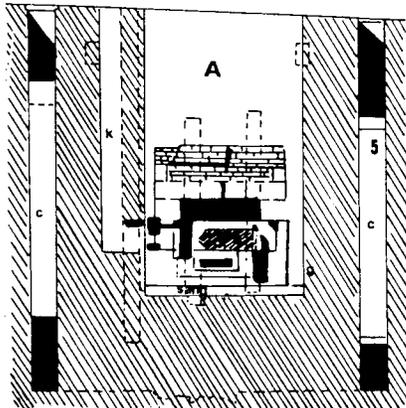
To the west of the main burial chamber is another subsidiary shaft, leading to a fourth subterranean chamber (X, see Plan VIII, over page), which contained another burial; the lid of this sarcophagus is today in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.<sup>77</sup>

The main central excavation extended east and west<sup>78</sup> and was covered over by a perfect arch (Plan VIII). The length of the chamber was 4.5m, its breadth 3.16m, the height to the springing of the arch 5.8m, from the springing to the top of the arch 2.33m, and the span of the arch 3.35m. The chamber walls were built of fine Turah limestone, and, although not remarkable in size, were well jointed and finished, leading Vyse<sup>79</sup> to see in them - although not the arch - all the qualities of fine Greek architecture. The area covered by the arch consisted of an upper room, its floor formed by the angular arched ceiling of the burial chamber below.

This floor was flat down the middle, but sloped off to each side (Plans VIII, IX), to meet the springing of the arch; fragments of coarse jars were found in this upper room, which was some 2.5m high. This floor was formed of four large stones, the two outer being set edge-ways and inclined inwards, and the two centre placed upon them. Immediately above was the springing of the upper chamber's arched roof, which was formed of four courses of well-cut stones and an overall thickness of 1.2m, all overlapping to form a good binding. The stones of which it is formed are 1.25m long and 38cm wide. A passage had been broken by robbers into the western end of the upper chamber, in the centre of which was a circular opening with a stone stopped filled with coarse pottery. A similar stopper lay immediately below, in the roof of the burial chamber proper, but both had been removed, and it was through this air-hole that Vyse was able to enter the burial chamber.<sup>80</sup>



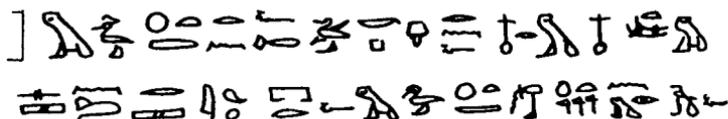
Plan VIII. "Campbell's Tomb" . section.



Plan IX. Transverse section.

There he found a large stone, supported on each side by masonry, had originally formed a complete covering (B in fig. IX) over the sarcophagus. The sarcophagus was placed beneath it in a hollow scooped out of the stone A, which was placed on a heap of stones over a 65cm depth of clean sand.

Stone A had several rows of hieroglyphs engraved upon its lower part:



*"Wehebre]makht is his great name, Pakap his good name, appeared as the god Nefertem on the lotus bloom which is at the nose of Re<sup>C</sup>, he will issue forth from the horizon <daily> and the gods will be cleansed at the sight of him."*

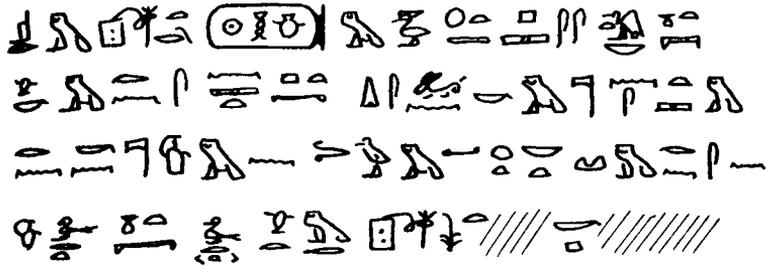
The text is part of the Pyramid Texts (Spell 266) and of the Book of the Dead, and was particularly popular in the 26th Dynasty when anyone wished to appear as the god Nefertem on the lotus flower.<sup>81</sup>

On each side of the sarcophagus, near the shoulders, were niches or hollows in which had been placed several shabtis, standing in double rows and wrapped in fine cloth which decomposed as soon as it was touched. At the foot of the sarcophagus was a square pit about 3m deep and lined with masonry: it had two "air channels" near the bottom, and a row of characters many of which Vyse could not identify as hieroglyphs.<sup>82</sup> But Perring<sup>83</sup> was able to make a more clear copy:



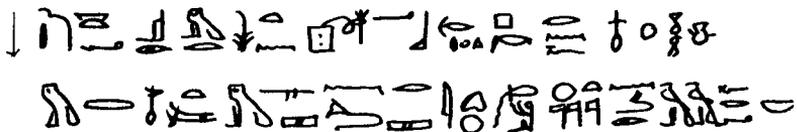
The original entrance to the burial chamber was by means of a pit (K) from the surface, near the bottom of which (at M) was a further row of signs, very difficult to decipher. More hieroglyphs were, however, set in a narrow groove lined with plaster which ran around the inner wall of the burial chamber (GG in the plans).<sup>84</sup> The text is worn and damaged, as both references show, but enough remains to identify the

owner of the tomb as Pakap, and that his good name was Wahebremakhet: it is important here to note that here the *w3ḥ ib r<sup>c</sup>* part of his name was placed inside a cartouche, while on the sarcophagus (see below), the cartouche was omitted. This is another text popular in Dynasty XXVI, forming part of Spells 638a, 1607a and 580 of the Pyramid Texts, and Spell 178 of the Book of the Dead.<sup>85</sup>



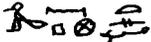
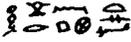
"[O] Osiris, Wahebre<sup>c</sup>makht, thy mother Nut has stretched out herself over you in her name of Mystery Heaven. She has caused you to be a god for Seth in your name of God. <She> protects you from every evil thing in her name of Great Well, Nut the Great, who is over the Chief of the Royal Scribes Pakap...."

The main sarcophagus, found in this burial chamber, belongs to the same person.<sup>86</sup> Its text consists of three vertical lines of hieroglyphs, forming Spell 266 of the Pyramid Texts and 174 of the Book of the Dead, the same as that on the lower part of the stone covering the sarcophagus:

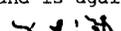
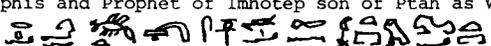


"Osiris Pakap, whose good name is Wahebre<sup>c</sup>makht, appeared as the god Nefertem on the lotus bloom, which is at the nose of Re<sup>c</sup>, the gods will be cleansed at the sight of him every day."

Ptahhotep: The sarcophagus found in chamber X belonged to Ptahhotep,<sup>87</sup> Overseer of the Treasury. Of basalt, its lid (Plate VI) is in Oxford.<sup>88</sup> Porter and Moss would attribute it to the time of Darius I, but the text on the lid would rather suggest a Dynasty XXVI date, for it includes spells from Chapter 72 of the Book of the Dead, which was very common on Saite sarcophagi.<sup>89</sup> The sarcophagus is fully described by Buhl<sup>90</sup> and the text by Mengedohlt.<sup>91</sup> From the five vertical columns of text, it is discovered that the mother of Ptahhotep was

 ; var.  Harenpatesnakht.

Nskdt: The sarcophagus of , whom Porter and Moss call Es-isut, is more likely to be that of Nskdt;<sup>92</sup> cf. "Nes-Qetet".<sup>93</sup> This was found in chamber Y in the south-east corner of the tomb, and its shape, according to Buhl,<sup>94</sup> is "rectangular with a vaulted lid, on which a mask is cut." Accordingly, she does not include this piece among her catalogue of anthropoid coffins, and sees it as Greek work. Certainly it is later than the period under review, perhaps of Dynasty XXVII, and so it is not my intention to discuss it in detail: it is illustrated by Perring and described by Vyse and Sharp.<sup>95</sup>

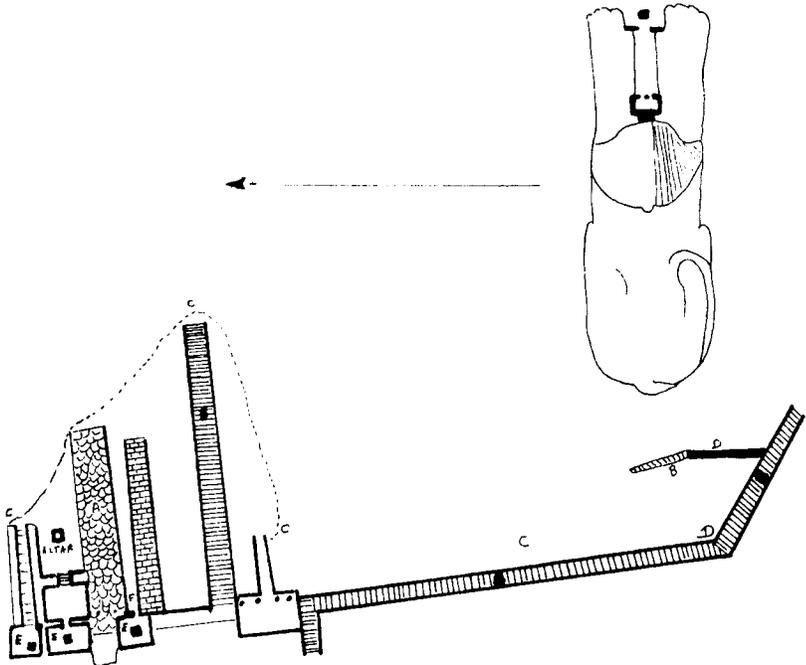
: A sarcophagus fragment now in the British Museum also came from chamber Y. Of polished basalt, it carries a single line of hieroglyphs<sup>96</sup> and is again from Dynasty XXVII at the earliest. The coffin belonged to ,<sup>97</sup> who was wa<sup>c</sup>b-priest<sup>98</sup> of the Temples of Memphis and Prophet of Imhotep son of Ptah as well as carrying the titles . His father, named Pashenihet, was also Prophet of Buto, and his mother's name is given as Wazetemhet.

From the similarity of titles, and of their fathers' titles, it may well be that the owners of the coffins found in chamber Y were related, especially since they were found in such close contiguity.

## iv. Tombs behind the Sphinx

There are three tombs cut into the rock of the limestone cliff immediately north-west of the Sphinx. Two of them belong to Ptah-(ardais) and Pedubaste, but the third carries no name and is not mentioned even in the manuscripts of the ancient travellers. It consists of a single room, very roughly cut into the rock, and a single reburied shaft: hence there are no measurements for shaft or burial chamber, nor is it known whether there is a single chamber or more.

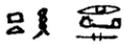
The other two tombs were excavated by Caviglia,<sup>99</sup> who failed to publish his work, and knowledge of the original excavation depends on the plan published by Birch and barest notes of the time.<sup>100</sup>



Plan X. Tombs behind the Sphinx.

A, Wall of loose stones; BB, walls of unburned brick; CC, extent of Caviglia excavation; DD, bank on which wall is built; EE, shafts from three upper chambers to five below; F, entry to small room with inscribed facade.

But Wilkinson, who visited the area in 1821, drew sketches of the scenes he found on the walls of these tombs, and also a rough sketch plan of the tomb of Ptahardais.<sup>101</sup> But by the time of those great recorders Lepsius and Mariette the tombs had again been lost to view, and their scenes had been removed.<sup>102</sup> So they were seen only at the beginning of the last century, by Caviglia and Wilkinson, and were reburied in the middle of the same century. Both tombs are now used as store-rooms by the Department of Antiquities, and all that can be recognised is their rock-cut apartments, totally without scenes or inscriptions, their outer courts lost and their shafts refilled with sand.

Ptahardais (figs. 18, 19): The tomb of ,<sup>103</sup> given the name of Ptahardais according to the text as seen by Wilkinson, but the word *dis* is missing from the inscription. However, it seems likely that this ascription is probably correct, since it was a common name in the Saite period<sup>104</sup> and a different name is most unlikely from the fragments that do remain.

The tomb according to Wilkinson's plan<sup>105</sup> had an outer court with twin columns; and according to Caviglia it also had an altar before this outer court. Within the rock-cut section was an inner chamber with a central shaft. The rest of the description must rest alone on Wilkinson's sketches:<sup>106</sup>

The walls of the outer court, which was probably built up with stone, were covered with scenes, although only the southern wall, together with parts of those on east and west, still carried scenes in Wilkinson's time. On the south wall was a damaged scene of *k3*-servants bringing animals and offerings (fig. 18). Parts of seven figures remained, including a woman who was also a ; and in front of the last person were the words *iri htp di nswt*, which is to be interpreted, "making the *htp di nswt*."

On the south side of the eastern wall is the lower part of a seated person with an offering bearer standing before him. Between is an incense jar on a stand. Behind the bearer is a wide stand with the figures of oil jars, three in front and two behind (fig. 19).



In the north-west corner was the remains of a text consisting of four vertical lines, with the upper part lost:



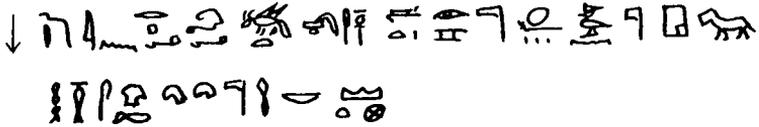
From this text, which appears to be part of one of the Pyramid Texts although there is not enough evidence to be sure, it is clear that Ptahardais was a Royal Acquaintance - *rh nswt* - although nothing more can be made of it. The inner room, a square room with no inscriptions, has a single reburied shaft.

Pedubaste (fig. 20): This tomb is to the south of that of Ptahardais<sup>107</sup> and divided from it by a wall of loose stones; another wall, of limestone, borders it to the south. Yet further south was another wall, of mud-brick. The tomb itself is a small rock-cut chamber with a reburied shaft at its centre.

Of the facade of the tomb Wilkinson<sup>108</sup> recorded certain scenes and inscriptions which were removed almost immediately following his visit, and so have since been totally lost; without the evidence of his manuscripts, there would be no clue to the fact that this type of tomb carried scenes of the style to be described. It is sad indeed that it is not known today whether the scenes were cut into a rock-built facade imposed on the rough surface of the tomb, and hence easy to remove, or whether they were made on a plaster surface which simply collapsed after Caviglia excavated the area, leaving no trace. Certainly no semblance of any inscription survives today.

Above the door of the tomb, which Wilkinson described as the "temple of Osiris" from its scenes, were two depictions of Osiris, facing to left and right and seated on their thrones holding crook and flail (fig. 20). Before them on each side is the tomb owner in an adoring position, wearing the long kilt and raising his hands. Before Osiris is a single vertical line of hieroglyphs, with a horizontal line over his head; the two are linked by the name *Wsir*.

In front of the right-hand Osiris the text reads  
*Wsir hnty imntyw nb Qdw ntr<sup>C3</sup> nb 3bdw;* and in front of that to  
 the left is *Wsir hnty imntywntr<sup>C3</sup> nb r-st3w.* Between Pedubaste and  
 Osiris are two vertical lines of hieroglyph with the titles of the  
 tomb owner:

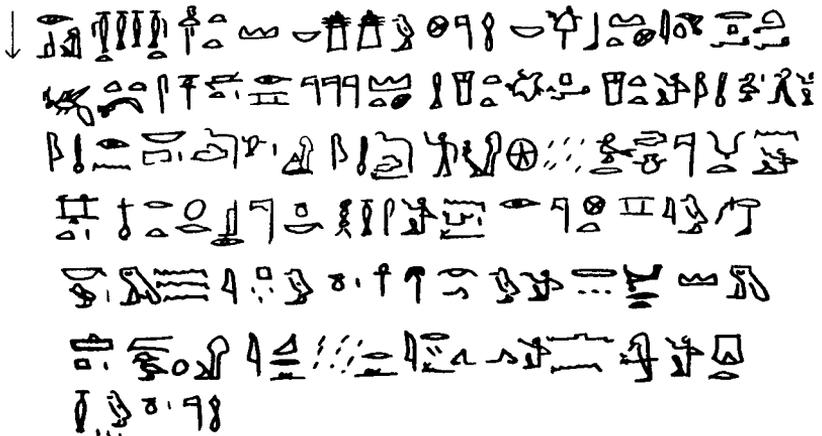


"Words to be spoken by the Prince, the Royal Treasurer,  
 the Sole Companion, who does what the local God loves,  
 and what is useful for the temple of *m3i-ḥs3*,<sup>109</sup> who appears  
 as one of great strength, the Great God, Lord of  
 the desert."

On the right is again the *gd mdw* formula with the  
 same titles except for one change, that is, *iri k3t mnḥ n hwt...*etc

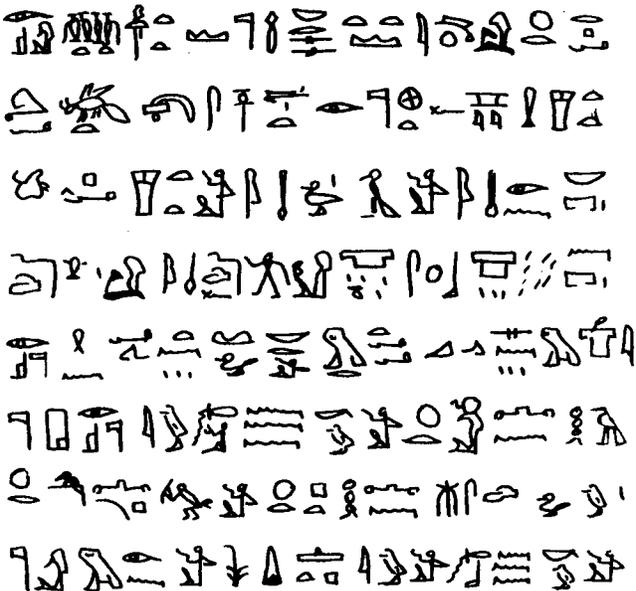
Under the raised arms of Pedubaste are the words *gd  
 mdw i3wt n.k nb ntrw*, and the same text on the other side. Behind the  
 tomb owner at each side are two columns of hieroglyphs with the titles  
 of Pedubaste as the *ḥm b3stt* (Priest of Bast), *Crq-insw*. Besides his  
 priestly titles, he was also a Commander of the Army, *ḥry mš<sup>C</sup>*, and from  
 this text also we know that his father was Hor and his mother Zeho.

Above the entire scene, the whole width of the wall, is  
 a frieze of stars which reappear beneath the two scenes of Pedubaste. On  
 each side of the wall beneath the stars are six columns of text. At right:



"The Revered before Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, Lord of Busiris, the Great God, Lord of Abydos, the Prince, Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt, the Sole Companion, he who does what the gods of the foreign countries like, servant of Bastet, he who tied the red ribbon (<sup>C</sup>rk ins(w)), Pedubaste, justified, son of Hor, justified, born of the Lady of the House Zeho, justified. He says: O Guardians of the Netherworld (ḏ3t),...of the Weary-hearted One, open for me the beautiful way in the presence of Osiris, I am a praised one of his k3, I do what (my) local God loves, being pure in this water(??) of life and happiness, I shall reach the Holy Land (t3) ḏsr) in peace as an eminent spirit...his companions(?), who enters and goes out without being hindered, among the praised ones of the Great God."

And on the left of the scene the inscription reads:

↓  

"The Revered with Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, the Great God, Lord of Rostau, the Prince, the Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt, the Sole Companion, who does what his local god loves, servant of Bastet, he who tied the red ribbon, Pedubaste, justified, son of Hor, justified, born of the Lady of the House, Zeho, justified, he says: O you door-keeper of the door ..... of the House of Osiris, may you keep all evil away from me, do not let them enter in need (?) into the House of Osiris, me being pure in the presence of Re-Harakhte; I shall not... (ḥ3 ?) in the presence of Thoth, .....? in the presence of Ptah; no god will hate me when for me is made an offering (ḥtp di nswt), I being pure."

It is most unusual to find - as in both cases here - the *im3ḥw ḥr* in the centre of the text when the text starts with *Wsir*, so in the context the only way to read it is as set out above. Also, the formula *iri.n.i ḥtp di nswt iw w<sup>C</sup>b.kwi* became very popular in the Late Period, and particularly in Ptolemaic times.<sup>110</sup>

Under these texts, on each side of the wall, is Pedubaste represented in a long robe (with a strong Greek influence; the dress is not very Egyptian at all<sup>111</sup>). He wears no wig, and in each representation clasps his left wrist with his right hand. It is interesting to note that in the right-hand scene both hands can be viewed, while in the left, his left hand is seen covering the right. Similarly, his dress is depicted from each side depending on the perspective of the view. In front of and above him is a single vertical and a single horizontal line of hieroglyphs. The text, repeated in both scenes, gives the titles of Pedubaste and the names of his parents.

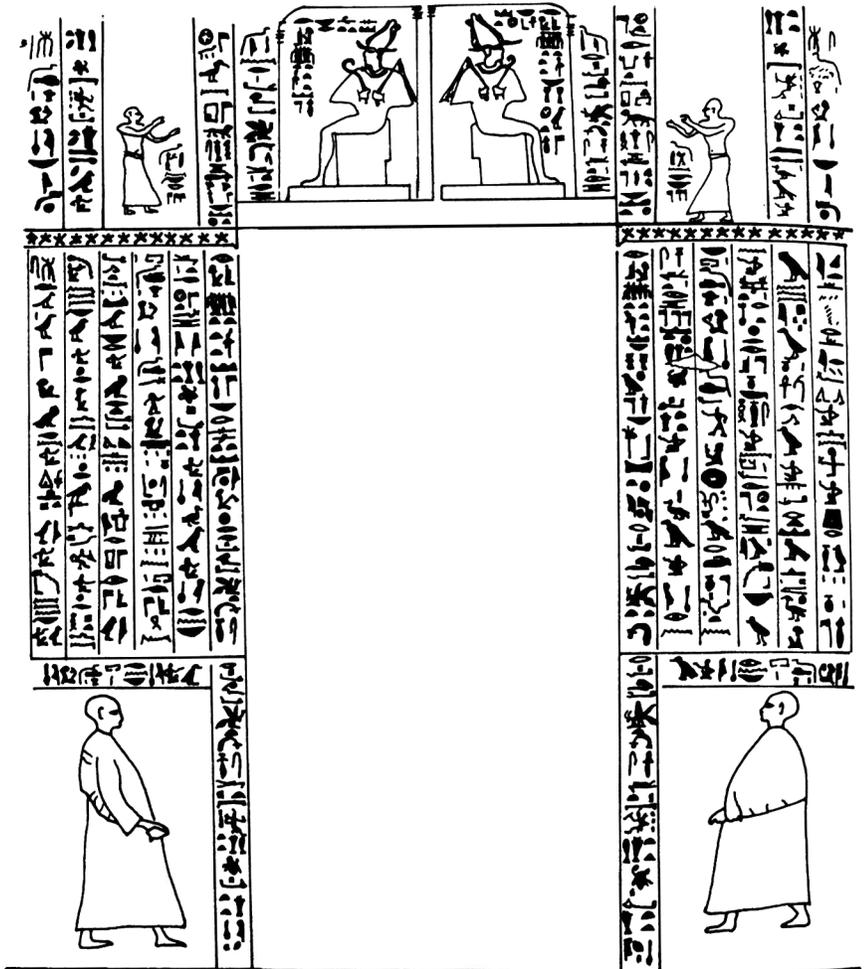


Fig. 20. Facade of the tomb of Pedubaste at Gizeh (after Wilkinson)

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

## Section a

1. Selim Hassan, The Great Sphinx and its Secrets. Historical Studies in the Light of Recent Excavations (Cairo 1953) pages 112-118.
2. Selim Hassan, Excavations at Gizeh (ten volumes, Cairo 1932-1960), Vol. IX, page 37.
3. For a detailed study, see this Chapter, section b, Pages 91-98.
4. B.Porter and R.L.Moss, Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Texts, Reliefs and Paintings, Vol. III, 1, Abu Rawash to Abusir (Oxford 1974), Plan III. See also the plan in C.R.Lepsius, Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopen (12 volumes, Berlin 1849-95: Text 5 volumes, Leipzig 1897-1912: Volumes I and II reprinted Geneva 1973), Vol. I, Plate 14, on which Plan III here has been based.
5. G.A.Reisner, A History of the Gizeh Necropolis, Vol. I (Cambridge, Mass., 1942), page 17.
6. Porter/Moss (n.4) page 289 ff.
7. S.Birch, "On Excavations by Capt. Caviglia in 1816, behind, and in the neighbourhood of, the Great Sphinx", The Museum of Classical Antiquities. A Quarterly Journal of Ancient Art II,v (1852-3), pages 27-34, and particularly the plan opposite page 27.
8. The papers of H. Salt are today in the care of Lady Salt, of Dorset. See also the MSS of Sir John Gardner Wilkinson on loan to the Griffith Institute, Oxford, lent by Mrs Godfrey Mosley, particularly MS IV,30
9. H.Vyse, Operations Carried on at the Pyramids of Gizeh in 1837 (three volumes, London 1840-42), Vol. I, pages 138-232: Vol. III, pages 2-7
10. Lepsius (n.4), Text Vol. I, pages 96-101, plate 27: Vol. III, pages 276-278.
11. A.Mariette, Les mastabas de l'ancien empire. Fragment du dernier ouvrage de A.Mariette, publié d'après le manuscrit de l'auteur par G.Maspero (Paris 1889), pages 531-2, 551, 553-561. See also A.Mariette, Le Sérapéum de Memphis (Paris 1857), Notes Additionnelles page 94.

## Section b

12. Selim Hassan, The Sphinx. Its History in the Light of Recent Excavations (Cairo 1949) page 220.

13. See Michael Jones and Angela Millward, "Survey of the Temple of Isis, Mistress of the Pyramid, at Giza. Season 1980," (forthcoming). I am most grateful to the writers and to the staff of the survey for their generosity in allowing me to make use of their report in advance of publication. Finds from the season's work included sherds ranging from the Old Kingdom to the Roman period, but the majority by far come from the Third Intermediate Period and the Saite Period. Also found were small fragments of blue faience shabtis, beads and rings, and a small piece of Dynasty XVIII polychrome glass. Inscribed limestone blocks gave parts of the name of a Dynasty XXI king, perhaps Psusennes I, and a scene of offering bearers, perhaps from the Old Kingdom.
14. Porter/Moss (n.4), page 17 ff., plans V (2) and XVIII. For a discussion of the temple in the Saite period, see Hassan, The Great Sphinx (n.1), pages 111-117.
15. Hassan, The Sphinx (n.12), page 218.
16. Reisner (n.5) *passim*.
17. This piece is registered in the Egyptian Museum Journal d'Entrée as number 2091. See Porter/Moss (n.4) for a select bibliography, and particularly Mariette, Le Sérapeum (n.11), Notes Additionnelles, pages 99-100; G.Maspero, Guide du Visiteur au Musée du Caire (Cairo 1915) pages 77-78; and Hassan, The Sphinx (n.12) pages 222-227.
18. W.M.F.Petrie, The Pyramids and Temples of Giza (London 1883, second edition 1885) page 65.
19. Hassan, The Great Sphinx (n.1) Plate LIII. Reisner (n.5) refers only in passing to clearing the burial shafts (page 17): "three private funerary chapels were built within the precincts of the temple and a number of deep burial-shafts which were used as family burial places." He makes no mention of any small finds.
20. أحمد فوزى الأهرامات المصرية (القامرة ١٩٧٠) ص ١٧١ - ١٦٦
21. Porter/Moss (n. 4) page 17, with select bibliography.
22. Porter/Moss (n. 4) page 18; Hassan, The Great Sphinx (n.1) page 112.
23. Christiane M. Zivie, Giza au deuxième millènaire (Cairo 1976). For the stela of Amenemopet, see pages 104-110, together with 265-6 concerning date; see also Hassan, The Sphinx (n.12) 188-190 and fig. 41; and Hassan, The Great Sphinx (n.1) 87-89, fig. 69. For the stela of Tuthmosis IV, see Zivie pages 153-4; and Hassan, The Great Sphinx Plate XLVIII. Now registered as Cairo JE 59460.

24. Zivie (n.23) pages 214-216.
25. See the report of the American Research Center survey (forthcoming).
26. A block (now lost: see J.de Rougé, Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques copiées en Egypte pendant la mission scientifique de M. le Vicomte Emmanuel de Rougé - 4 vols, 1877-79 - pl. lxxvi) with the names of Harbes and his parents, together with statues in London (British Museum 514) and once on the Frankfurt Market, show that he lived during the time of Psamtik I. The Egyptian Museum holds a stela (JE 28171) of Harbes and his father adoring Isis and Osiris, while other pieces bearing his name are in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts store room: numbers 138 (offering table) and 237 (lower part of female seated statuette, with inscription mentioning Harbes and his father). See Porter/Moss (n.4) pages 17-18, and particularly B. Bothmer, Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period, 700 B.C. to A.D. 1000 (Brooklyn Museum 1960), especially page 41.
27. Porter/Moss (n.4) page 17. See also Hassan, The Great Sphinx (n.1) page 112, Plate LIII; Hassan, The Sphinx (n.12) page 221.
28. H.Ranke, "Ein ägyptisches Relief in Princeton", JNES 9 (1950) pages 228-236 with plate xix. It seems, however, that Ranke was not aware of the original of this piece and took it for Old Kingdom work.
29. Porter/Moss (n.4) p. 17; Hassan, The Great Sphinx (n.1) Plate LIII (right).
30. Porter/Moss (n.4) p. 17; Hassan, The Great Sphinx (n.1), p. 112.
31. ibid.
32. ibid.
33. D.Wildung, "Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige im Bewusstsein ihrer Nachwelt I", Münchener ägyptologische Studien 17 (1969), pages 177-8, 186-8.
34. See Hassan, The Great Sphinx (n.1) Plate LIII; and Wildung (n.33).
35. Porter/Moss (n.4) page 18; Hassan, The Great Sphinx (n.1) page 112, Plate LIV; Hassan, The Sphinx (n.12) page 221.
36. Although this relief is very badly damaged indeed, it may not be too fanciful to see in the fragments that remain a portrayal of a seated Osiris flanked by the protecting goddesses Isis and Nephthys.
37. See Porter/Moss (n.4) for select bibliography.
38. The first illustration was as Plate 27 of A.Mariette, Album du Musée de Boulaq (Cairo 1871), in which Mariette's brief commentary clearly indicates his belief in an Old Kingdom origin.
39. See Hassan, The Sphinx (n.12), pages 222-227.

40. For text and translation, see G. Daressy, "La stèle de la fille du Khufu", Receuil de Travaux relatif à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes 30 (1908) pages 2-10. Part of the text was also published by J. de Rougé, "Recherches sur les monuments... etc" (reprinted in Bibl.Eg. 26, pages 45-48), with a sound translation by J.H.Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt (five volumes, Chicago 1906-7), Vol. I, pages 83-85. The text has been much discussed, notably by G.Maspero, Histoire ancienne du peuples de l'orient classique (three volumes, Paris 1895-9), Vol. I, Les Origines, Egypte et Chaldée, page 413 ff.; and particularly fully by Hassan, The Great Sphinx (n.1), pages 113-117, fig. 80, and Plates LV and LVI (text on the pedestal).
41. Hassan, The Sphinx (n.12), page 218.

## Section c

42. See Lepsius (n.4), Vol. I Text, page 97.
43. Porter/Moss (n.4) page 289. See Mariette, Les Mastabas (n.11), pages 531-2 for sketch of column and plan; and Lepsius (n.4), Vol. I Text, pages 96-7 for plan, section and view.
44. Lepsius (n.4), Vol. I Text, page 97. Despite Lepsius' view that the portico was a late introduction, it was known at Gizeh as early as the Old Kingdom: see Reisner (n.5), page 285.
45. See Mariette, Les mastabas (n.11), page 532, for sketch of lotus column.
46. Lepsius (n.4), Vol. I Text, page 97.
47. Mariette, Les mastabas (n.11), pages 531-2.
48. H.Balcz, "Die Gefässdarstellungen des Alten Reichs," MDIAK 3 (1932) page 80. See also H.Junker, Bericht über die Grabungen auf dem Friedhof des Alten Reiches bei den Pyramiden von Giza (12 volumes, Vienna 1929-1955), Vol. 8, pages 102-3.
49. See Balcz and Junker (n.48).
50. Porter/Moss (n.4), page 289 and Plan III. See also Lepsius (n.4) Vol. I, plate 14.
51. This tomb may be the one mentioned by Vyse (n.9), Vol. I, pages 144-5, in which he found a sarcophagus together with many shabtis bearing the name Amasis: but he failed to carry on with work in the tomb because he felt it had previously been explored by someone else. Vyse found, among other things, pieces of bone, linen and gold leaf, and Birch translated from the shabtis the name of the owner as "Psamtik, whose surname is Aahmos or Amasis, born of Pasht Ertais."

52. Lepsius (n.4) Vol. I Text, page 98.
53. That of 'Amasis is registered as number 766; that of Nekhtubasterau as number 767. See W. Golénischeff, Inventaire de la Collection Egyptienne (St Petersburg 1891), pages 94-97.
54. Mariette, Les mastabas (n.11) pp. 554-561.
55. Lepsius (n.4), Vol. III, page 276 (f,g,h), and Vol. I Text, pp. 99-100.
56. Marie Louise Buhl, The Late Anthropoid Stone Sarcophagi (Copenhagen 1959) page 197. See also Golénischeff (n.53) pp.94-6.
57. Lepsius (n.4) Vol. I Text, Page 98; and Mariette, Les mastabas (n.11), page 553.
58. Lepsius (n.4) Vol. I Text, page 98.
59. See Buhl (n.56) for a detailed description.
60. E.A.W.Budge, The Chapter of Going Forth by Day, or The Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead (London 1910), Vol. II, pp. 14-16.
61. Several examples will be discussed below (see Chapter VII ), but there is a pronounced similarity with the sarcophagus J57478 in the Egyptian Museum, which was discovered by Gauthier in Helipolois: See H.Gauthier, "Découvertes récentes dans la nécropole saïte d'Héliopolis," ASAE 33 (1932), pp. 27-53 and particularly pages 41-2.
62. Mariette, Les mastabas (n.11) pages 554, 558-561; Lepsius (n.4), Vol. III page 276, h,f,g.
63. A similar example is sarcophagus 1293 in the Egyptian Museum.
64. Porter/Moss (n.4) page 290; Mariette, Les mastabas (n.11) page 553 (1); Lepsius (n.4) Vol. I Text, page 99 (bottom).
65. See the Manuscripts of James Burton, registered in the British Library as Additional Manuscripts 25613-75, particularly 25621, 90.
66. For example, compare the text on the lid of the sarcophagus of Psamtik Senbou from Heliopolis: see Gauthier (n. 61) pp. 31-2.
67. G.Daressy, "Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques trouvées dans le Caire," ASAE 4 (1903) page 109, describes it as having been found "dans le terrain en créusant les fondations du bâtiment," but gives no clue as to what happened to it: in any case, he saw it as being Ptolemaic.
68. Porter/Moss (n.4) Plan III.
69. H.Ranke, Die ägyptische Personennamen (2 volumes, Hamburg and New York, 1933, 1952), Vol. I, page 120, 5.

70. The inner sarcophagus is now in the British Museum, registered as number 1384: see Buhl (n.56), page 26, with title, Plate 1.
71. These texts are preserved by Vyse (n.9), Vol. II, plate facing page 134; see also J.S.Perring, The Pyramids of Gizeh, from actual survey and admeasurement (three volumes, London 1839-42), Vol. III, Plate xix, 9-12; and Lepsius (n.4) Vol. III, page 277, d,e,f.
72. Porter/Moss (n.4) page 290.
73. Lepsius (n.4) Vol. I Text, page 100.
74. Vyse (n.9), Vol. I, page 148.
75. ibid, page 220.
76. Registered as British Museum number 30.
77. The lid is registered as Ashmolean Museum 1947.295: See Ashmolean Museum Report (1947), page 15, Plate 1.
78. The figures and plans accompanying this section are all based on the detailed engravings of Perring (n.71), published both in his volumes and in the publications of Vyse (n.9).
79. Vyse (n.9) Vol. I, page 216.
80. Vyse (n.9) tells of his entry into the burial chamber in Vol. I, p. 217.
81. For a comparison, see Gauthier (n.61), pages 31-2.
82. Vyse (n.9), Vol. I pages 217-8, reports "a row of characters, many of which were not hieroglyphs, inscribed on one of the walls."
83. Perring (n.71), Vol. III, Plate xix, 8, showed the reading more clearly, but still there were errors in the copying.
84. See Perring (n.71), Vol. III, Plate xix, 9-12, and Vyse (n.9), Vol. II, plate facing page 134; reproduced by Lepsius (n.4), Vol. III, page 277, d,e,f.
85. Examples may be found on the lid of the sarcophagus of *Hr irw*, owner of Tomb No. 7 in the Austrian excavations at Asasif.
86. Porter/Moss (n.4) page 290. The sarcophagus is described by Buhl (n.56), page 25; and is also illustrated by Perring (n.71) Vol. III, Plate xix, 7; and Vyse (n.9), Vol. II, plate opposite page 135; while the text is dealt with by Lepsius (n.4), Vol. III, page 277, b.
87. Porter/Moss (n.4), page 290. See Ranke (n.69), I, page 141, 5.
88. For details see n. 77 above.
89. For example, the sarcophagus of 'Amasis discussed above (Page 125) from Tomb LG 83, and Cairo J57478 (see n.61 above).
90. See Buhl (n.56), page 140 and fig. 82, with title, Plate ix.

91. H.W.Mengedohlt, Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the Collection of Sir Herbert Cook (London 1924), pp. 16-17 (number 39).
92. Porter/Moss (n.4) page 290. But see Ranke (n.69), I, page 179, 10.
93. The spelling of Buhl (n.56), page 147.
94. ibid.
95. See Perring (n.71), Vol. III, Plates xxi, xxii. This sarcophagus is described in details by Vyse (n.9), Vol. II, plates facing pages 136-40, 142, 144; and by Samuel Sharp, Egyptian Art in the British Museum (London 1862), pp. 97-99. See also the translation by Birch in Perring, Vol. III, pages 22-24.
96. For brief details, see Porter/Moss (n.4) page 290. For a translation of the text, see Sharp (n.95), page 106, on British Museum 525.
97. Porter/Moss (n.4) again transliterate the name as Es-isut, while Sharp made it Nesatu.
98. See C.F.Piehl, Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques recueillies en Europe et en Egypte (three volumes, Stockholm and Leipzig, 1886-1903), Vol. III, XLIII-XLIII (A).
99. Published only by Birch, Excavations by Caviglia (n.7), pages 27-34.
100. ibid., and particularly the plan opposite page 27, on which Plan X here is based.
101. These are included in the MSS of Sir John Gardner Wilkinson in Oxford (see n.8); see particularly MS IV, 30 (right below); and some were published in Wilkinson's Modern Egypt and Thebes (two volumes, London), note particularly Vol. I, page 356.
102. Mariette, Les mastabas (n.11), page 552, was even moved to remark, "Je puis affirmer qu'au moment ou j'écris la tombe indiquée par M.Wilkinson n'existe pas."
103. Porter/Moss (n.4) page 291.
104. See Ranke (n.69), I, page 138, 7.
105. Reproduced by Porter/Moss (n.4) as Plan XXXV, top centre.
106. I should like to take this opportunity to offer my thanks to Miss Helen Murray, of the Griffith Institute, Oxford, for giving me the chance to see these manuscripts, and to have copies of them to study.
107. Porter/Moss (n.4), page 291, said to have been discovered by Salt in 1820. See position on Plan VI, following Birch (n.7), and Wilkinson, Modern Egypt (n.101), Vol. I, page 353, where he positioned correctly the tomb of "Petubaste".
108. See Wilkinson MSS IV, 28-9, 30 (left).

109. The title  $^C r q \text{ insw}$  was an epithet of priests. See J. Yoyotte, "Prêtres et sanctuaires du nome héliopolite à la Basse Egypte", *BIFAO* 76 (1976), page 10. Also Yoyotte, "La Ville de 'Taremon' (Tell el-Muqdam)", *BIFAO* 52 (1953), page 184 n.8.
110. See F. Daumas, Les mammisis des temples égyptiens (Paris 1958) *passim*, and particularly pages 29-36 and Plate I.
111. Foreign influence in this tomb is strong indeed: indicated not only by the dress of Pedubaste but also by the texts of the tomb. The epithet *iri mrt ntr niwty* appeared only in the Late Period, as did the god *m3i-ḥs3*, whose epithet was  $h^C m pḥty ntr^C 3 nb ḥ3st$ .

CHAPTER IV

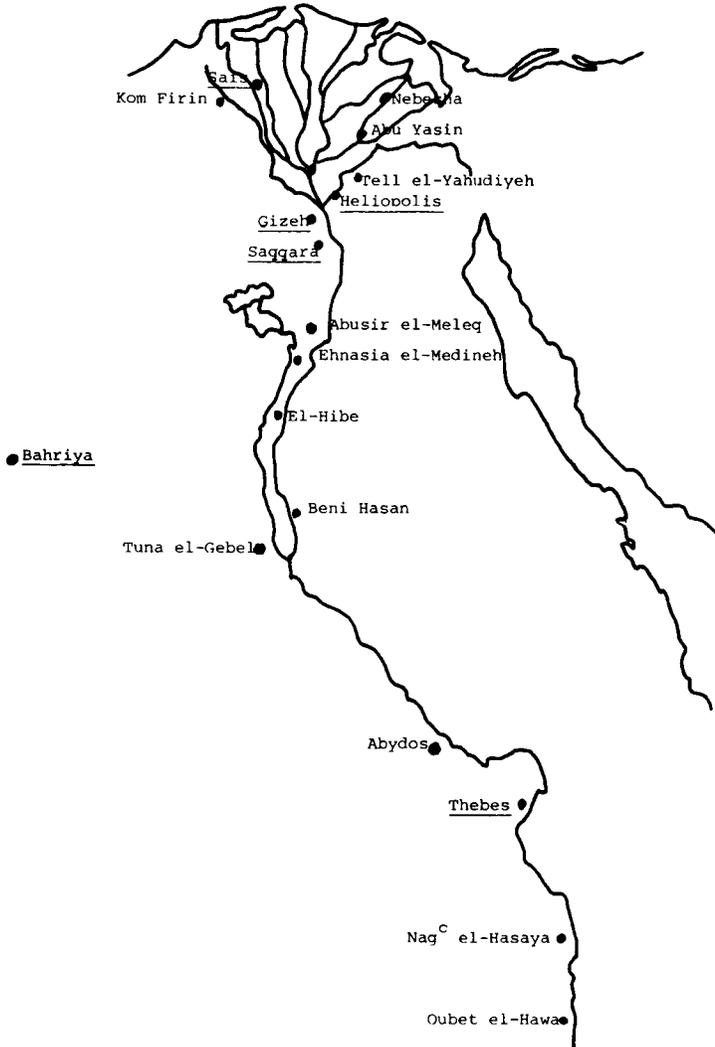
Dynasty XXVI throughout Egypt

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### a. General introduction

The Saite necropolises of Egypt are, as indicated in Plan XI (over page), spread throughout the whole country, as is the case with burial places of all other periods: the Saites used virtually all of the older necropolises. But not all were given equal prominence by the people of Dynasty XXVI. In general there were two major centres, those of Asasif (Thebes) and Memphis (divided between Gizeh and Saqqara; with a number of Saite shaft tombs recently reported from the Czech excavations at Abusir - publication is eagerly awaited); and, as far as extant remains are concerned, two smaller ones at Heliopolis and the oasis of Bahriya. These four sites are here considered separately, but the many other sites, both in the Delta and Upper Egypt, will be discussed only in general, for several good reasons. First and foremost, the remains of these sites, even though the necropolis might have been of major importance, are today small and scattered, particularly in the Delta; secondly, it seems that the majority of tombs in these sites were undecorated, except in the case of Khensardais, nomarch of Aswan, in Nag<sup>c</sup> el-Hasaya;<sup>1</sup> thirdly, most of these tombs are known today only from objects found in the sites and today scattered throughout the world's collections, particularly pottery, shabtis and some loose stone blocks: no actual tombs are known. These second-rank Dynasty XXVI necropolises are gathered together in the Lexikon der Ägyptologie IV, pages 440-449,<sup>2</sup> including a map of all sites, including later necropolises.

In the Delta area the main site was Sais, the royal necropolis of the kings of Dynasty XXVI. It was, according to Herodotus,<sup>3</sup> a vast city with the tombs of the kings built in the main temple of the goddess Neith. They were furnished with superstructures consisting of a kind of chapel with a portico of palm-columns. Much work has been done on this site since it was brought to the notice of modern archaeologists by the letters of Champollion, who visited it in 1828,<sup>4</sup> by Lepsius, Mariette and Daressy, and later by Bakry and Habachi, but little has been discovered of the major necropolis, and all investigators have stressed the poor conditions of the site, due mainly to the rise in the water level which has undermined foundations, and to the depredations of the local villagers who are used to



Plan XI. Saite necropolises in Egypt (major sites underlined).

taking sebakh from ancient sites to fertilise their fields. But another most important factor in the destruction of ancient Sais was the habit of the ancients themselves, who used the site as a quarry, moving the stones of tombs and temples for re-use in other places. Much of the old town of Rosetta, for instance, was built of stones carried from Sais, and many of the inscribed blocks and sarcophagi found at other sites in the Delta may easily be traced back in origin to the royal necropolis.<sup>5</sup> The result is that today there is little to be seen in Sais itself. The situation is neatly summed up by Stadelmann:<sup>6</sup> "Heute ist von den Königsgräbern und dem gesamten Tempelbereich in Sais kaum mehr etwas zu erkennen." A description of some of the kings' tombs will be made below, in discussing the tomb chapels of the Divine Wives of Amun in Thebes. Ramadan el-Sayed includes in his book on Sais a list of objects found on the site, including funerary statues and sarcophagi like that of Turin Museum 2201, which is inscribed with Chapter 72 of the Book of the Dead.<sup>7</sup>

Other sites in the Delta, such as Kom Firin, Nebesha, Abu Yasin, Athribis and Tell el-Yahudiyeh, suffered much the same fate as Sais, robbed in antiquity and clogged with silt washed down by the river. Many of these sites are known to us today only through finds which may in fact have been taken from Sais to be re-used at some later period.<sup>8</sup>

In Upper Egypt, many of the sites indicated on Plan XI are ascribed to Dynasty XXVI because of the Saite habit of re-using former burial places, as in the case of the rock-cut tombs of Qubet el-Hawa above Aswan,<sup>9</sup> or of making rock-cut tombs in the cliffside, as in the inscribed tomb of Khensardais at Nag<sup>c</sup> el-Hasaya.<sup>10</sup>

In Abydos, in the south-eastern section and at the west corner of the Osiris Temple enclosure, tombs were found unfortunately uninscribed, but from the finds - particularly the sarcophagi and coffins - the inscriptions indicate a Dynasty XXVI date. These tombs were probably furnished with mud-brick mastaba-type superstructures (only scattered bricks remain today), over a chamber. Some tombs contained multiple burials, as Petrie's G 57,<sup>11</sup> the earliest of the group; others in the G cemetery may have been of this period, although Petrie dated them to Dynasty XXX. Cemetery D of Randall-MacIver<sup>12</sup> also includes mastaba-and-shaft tombs, named from the coffin inscriptions for *3st-m-3hbit* and *Ns-p3-mdw*: the tombs themselves are uninscribed.

In other sites the tombs are both of poor quality and in poor condition. Moreover, it is not absolutely certain that they belong

to Dynasty XXVI: for example, the Beni Hasan tombs dated to the Saite period are merely simple pits or burial chambers cut into the base of the cliff.<sup>13</sup> Such poor burials are to be found in Tuna el-Gebel, el-Hibe, Ehnasiya el-Medineh and Abusir el-Meleq.<sup>14</sup>

### b. Graves at Saqqara

The Saite necropolis at Saqqara is one of the biggest in Egypt, second only to that at Thebes. Saqqara will be examined in advance of the Theban necropolis, however, since it is geographically closer to the main subject of the study, and because it formed, with Gizeh, the second branch of the Memphite necropolis.

At this important site, three types of Saite tombs may be distinguished according to their layout, and two types according to chronology. Structurally, the first type consists of those tombs cut into the rock face of the cliff east of the Step Pyramid, containing several inscribed chambers. Yet they may also be divided into two sub-types: an example of the first - which also falls into the first chronological period, since it dates to the first half of Dynasty XXVI - is the tomb of Bekenrenef, which consists of a superstructure with several rooms and halls with inscriptions, and a shaft which leads to uninscribed rooms in the substructure. The second sub-type - which represents the second chronological grouping, dating to the second half of the dynasty - is also rock cut and has a shaft, but lacks the superstructure and has its subterranean rooms inscribed instead.

The second main type, based on both structure and chronology, is the group of tombs labelled by Edda Bresciani tomba sarcofago a pozzo.<sup>15</sup> These are found around the pyramid of Userkaf, south of the pyramid of Unas and above his mortuary temple,<sup>16</sup> and also south of the pyramid of Teti (the tomb of Hor and that of Psamtik-Nebpeht, Lepsius N 18, 19).<sup>17</sup> Other tombs, probably of the same kind but whose positions are unknown, include that of Harkhebi.<sup>18</sup> Yet more - such as that of two men named Psamtik and Queen Khedebneit-yarboni<sup>19</sup> - are further afield, close to the valley temple of Unas.

The third type according to its architectural features, which also belongs to the first chronological period, is typified by the tomb-chapel of Eshdout, which lies between the monastery of Apa Jeremias and the Sekhemkhet enclosure. This type consists of a relief-decorated chapel with shaft and burial chamber.<sup>20</sup>

## i. First style

Bekenrenef (Lepsius 24): This tomb is the largest of the Saite burials at Saqqara, and indeed of the whole memphite area. Lying 500 metres east of the Step Pyramid, it is cut into rock of very poor quality,<sup>21</sup> with the result that the clearance work of Edda Bresciani<sup>22</sup> has been long and toilsome, and at the time of writing many of its shafts remain filled with sand. The tomb is encircled by three more tombs, two to the north and one to the south,<sup>23</sup> which Lepsius<sup>24</sup> also considered as being from Dynasty XXVI. Recent work indicates that two of them, those to the north, in fact date to the Thirtieth Dynasty, but the third remains to be explored.

Bekenrenef was a Vizier (among many other titles)<sup>25</sup> of the time of Psamtik I (662-610 B.C.), and the magnificence of the construction, the texts and the scenes of his tomb all combine to reflect the great rank of its occupant. It consists of a superstructure completely cut from the rock apart from the open court in front, and a substructure cut deep into the rock and reached by very deep shafts. No inscriptions of any sort were made on the walls of the substructure.

The superstructure contains:

1. The open square court, the front part of which today lies under the asphalt road: from traces remaining on the front wall, it seems that the court had a pylon.<sup>26</sup> The original facade was replaced in Dynasty XXX with a second one cut 80cm further back, but traces of the original may be seen on the pavement of the court.

2. the ante-room.<sup>27</sup> Originally rectangular in plan, it was later modified by the addition of a wall which now forms the actual facade, and a stone wall added to the north-west angle. Set into the pavement are two later shafts, which remain filled with sand. The walls were covered with a layer of lime, but were left unscrubbed, while the flat ceiling was decorated with yellow stars on a blue ground surrounding a central inscription with two cartouches of Psamtik I.

3. Between the pillared hall and the ante-room is a passage (marked B in Lepsius' description), leading to two small rooms facing each other.<sup>28</sup> Walls of mud-brick, now removed, closed these unscrubbed chambers, but the passage itself, according to Lepsius,<sup>29</sup> was decorated with a false door on the northern part of the west wall. The scene is of interest because its upper part echoes the scene on the northern wall of the eastern

room of the tomb of Thery: two *w3ḏt*-eyes flanking the *šnw* and the three lines of water. Under the water is the *wsh* sign, under the *w3ḏt* sign is *nbw*, and the whole is flanked by the figure of the seated Anubis, with his name and titles above (fig. 21). The lower part of the scene, however, differs from that in the Thery tomb: it has a cornice and *hkr* frieze, and the centre of the scene consists of a false door with the *hṯp di nswt* formula on the lintel and both sides of the door. On each side of the scene Osiris is represented, with Bekenrenef bringing offerings to the god. In front of the false door Lepsius<sup>30</sup> reported a badly-damaged statue.

On the eastern wall Osiris is represented five times to the right, and three times to the left, each time with a different Bekenrenef is depicted at each end of the wall, standing and bringing offerings.<sup>31</sup>

4. The pillared hall. This rectangular hall has six square section pillars in two ranks of three. At the western end of both north and south walls are doorways leading to rooms h and i on El-Naggar's plan, each of which has a shaft (2,3). Traces of wood were found at the foot of these doorways, perhaps indicating the remains of wooden doors. To the south-east is a shaft (6) which is not yet cleared. The south and north walls each carry two square niches, with a further two on the western wall, one on each side of the doorway. The niches and the doorways to rooms h and i are decorated with cornices, and it seems likely that the niches once held statues. The walls, the columns and the niches were decorated with texts from the Book of the Dead and the Pyramid Texts, but most of this decoration is now lost.<sup>32</sup> The vaulted ceiling was once covered with a layer of mortar painted and worked in bas-relief, with Bekenrenef represented 12 times before the goddesses of the day and night.<sup>33</sup>

5. The transverse room (D). This rectangular room, aligned north and south, contains the main burial shaft. It has two niches in the western wall (one at each side of the door) and one each in the north and south walls, all decorated with grooved cornices. The vaulted ceiling has a layer of mortar painted with stars surrounding a line of hieroglyphs with the name and titles of Bekenrenef.<sup>34</sup> The walls and niches are decorated with chapters from the Book of the Dead and the Coffin Texts, apart from the east side, which has offering lists. Particularly important is Spell 625 of the Coffin Texts, on the western side of the south wall: this is also found in the tomb of Thery, on the eastern side of the door in the north wall of the south hall. The entrance to the next room is also decorated

with offerings lists and offering-bearers.

6. The statue room (E). This rectangular room is known as the statue room because its western wall bears a false door still containing a standing stone which is all that remains of a statue reported by Lepsius<sup>35</sup> to be in a very poor condition: "In der Mitte der Westseite war ein sitzende Statue ausgehauen, die jetzt zerstört ist." The room's walls carry texts from the Book of the Dead, and the ceiling was covered with mortar decorated with ten vultures in a sky full of stars. From this room emerge two square side rooms (G and F), which have been almost totally destroyed. Their vaulted ceilings were decorated with stars and a single line of inscription.

Remarkably, although the walls, ceilings, niches and pillars of this great tomb are covered with scenes and inscriptions, the family of Bekenrenef is not at all represented. As Lepsius<sup>36</sup> said: "Im ganzen Grab kommt keine Familie des Verstorbenen vor. Über dem Eingang d nach den Pfeilern zu ist er und hinter ihm seine Frau klein dargestellt, aber ohne Namen."

The above completes the description of the main part of the tomb of Bekenrenef according to the point of view of the architect of Gizeh and Saqqara, Salah el-Naggar.<sup>37</sup> shafts 7 and 8 are probably later than the Saite period, and shaft 6 el-Naggar thinks is a pit earlier than the time of Bekenrenef.<sup>38</sup> The tomb was extended to the west in Ptolemaic times, to the areas marked L, M, N and O and shafts 4 and 5 of el-Naggar's figure 3 on page 46.

In the substructure is found:

A total of eight shafts, although only one of them is of the period in question, as far as is known at the moment. Four have yet to be cleared, but from their positions in the tomb it is most unlikely that they could be Saite. The main burial shaft, which descends from the transverse room D, is about 15m deep and opens into the north side of a square ante-room from which the burial chamber opens from its west side. The virtually square sarcophagus chamber has walls covered with mortar, but without inscription. The sarcophagus itself was removed to the Florence Museum,<sup>39</sup> but it is interesting to note a deep cut in the western wall about 80cm above the floor, in which the sarcophagus lid was stored until the time of burial.

The two secondary shafts which lie in rooms h and i are marked 2 and 3. Number 2, about 16m deep, opens into small rooms at both its

eastern and western sides: neither has a mortar base for inscriptions. Number 3 descends only 12.75m, and again opens into two rooms without inscriptions, at the north and south. Neither of these can easily be dated, but it seems likely that they belong to later periods<sup>40</sup> than the Saite. All three of these shafts were re-used in later times, and were transformed into burial galleries at about mid-depth, but this later use lies outside the study at hand.

Ir'ahor (Lepsius 23):<sup>41</sup> The structure of the tomb of Ir'ahor, Overseer of the Ante-chamber, together with its scenes and texts, are somewhat unusual among the Saite tombs of the memphite area, and at first glance might be dismissed as being not of Dynasty XXVI. But the name of Psamtik II which is found on three shabtis, dates it quite securely to the second half of the dynasty: Schneider considers it of the time of Apries, while Porter and Moss date it from Necho II to Apries.

There is no similarity between this tomb and others of the period at Saqqara, except that of Bekenrenef, which lies closest to it, where the ceiling of the burial chamber of Ir'ahor is decorated with similar texts as the statue room of Bekenrenef.

The description which follows is based almost totally on the report of Lepsius<sup>43</sup> but it is good news that it is shortly to be republished by Miss Bresciani.<sup>44</sup> There is no superstructure, but a very deep shaft (Lepsius gives no measurement) leading to a square room (Lepsius' A) on the west side.<sup>45</sup> The scenes on the southern western and northern walls of the room are from the Book of the Underworld, and one scene on the western wall<sup>46</sup> may also be found in the royal tombs of the New Kingdom in the Valley of the Kings, and especially in the tomb of Ramesses VI,<sup>47</sup> as well as being depicted on papyri such as that of Khounsouankh in the Louvre.<sup>48</sup> This is part of the so-called Book of the Earth, or Aker, but Aker has not survived to be represented in the scenes remaining in the tomb of Ir'ahor. What does survive is seven soul birds, pulling by rope the solar bark in which stands Khnum wearing the solar disk: before him are two goddesses, and behind him another goddess and a god with falcon head, who holds the boat's rudder. On the other side of the rope is a smaller solar bark containing a god combining features of a scarab and the head of a ram, perhaps Atum or Kheper. In front of the god is a soul bird.

This room opens south into the sarcophagus room, which is filled with a limestone sarcophagus. As Lepsius put it:<sup>49</sup> "In dieser war noch der Sarkophag von Kalkstein, der sie fast ausfüllte, rundum waren

Nischen für Statuen oder Vasen." - probably the only structural similarity between this tomb and Bresciani's tomba-sarcofago a pozzo.<sup>50</sup> The scenes on the walls of this room consist of parts of the Book of the Gates, described by Piankoff<sup>51</sup> as the eleventh division, but by Hornung<sup>52</sup> as the twelfth hour. They consist of five groups of deities, the first carrying the sun-disk in one raised hand; the second carrying stars; the third the sceptre; the fourth (ram-headed) the w3s-sceptre; and the fifth (falcon headed) also with sceptre in hand. Behind these groups are eight goddesses in two registers, sitting on uraei and carrying stars. This is part of the scene Piankoff<sup>53</sup> calls "of the morning."

Between the niches on the south, east and west walls are representations of the gods, including Anubis and the Four Sons of Horus. The ceiling is decorated with vultures and stars, similar to that of Bekenrenef, with a central inscription carrying the name and titles of Ir'ahor.

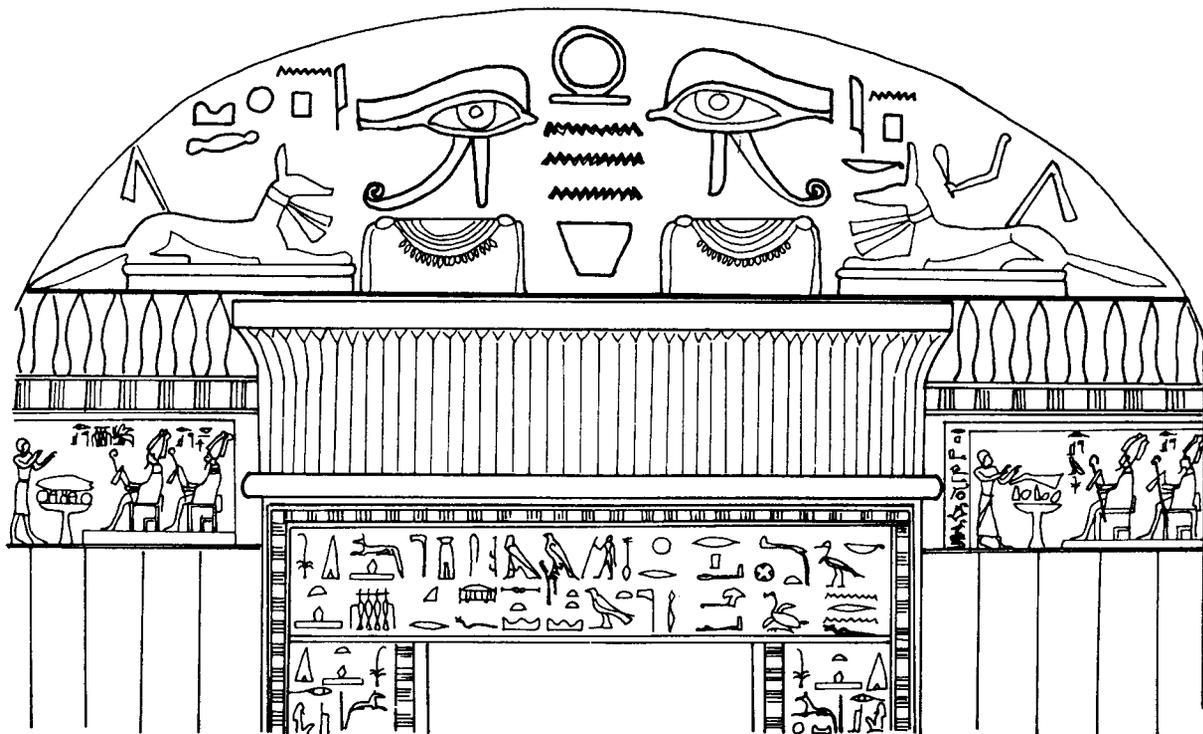


Fig. 21. Passage in the tomb of Bekenrenef (after Lepsius) showing scenes paralleled in the eastern room of Thery.

## ii. Second style

Tombs of this group are of the same style of architecture and texts, and all belonged to high officials of the time. They are the tombs of Pedeneith, Overseer of the Horses;<sup>54</sup> Psantik, Chief Physician and Overseer of the Tehemu, to which is connected the tomb of Setyerboni;<sup>55</sup> Pedenesi, Secretary of Royal Weaving;<sup>56</sup> Thanenhebu, Overseer of the Royal Boats;<sup>57</sup> Hekaumsaf, also Overseer of the Royal Boats;<sup>58</sup> Uzahor<sup>59</sup> and Esbanebbed, Overseer of the Two Granaries.<sup>60</sup> These tombs are those around the pyramid of Unas, and are to be republished by Edda Bresciani, who has started with the tomb of Ciennehebu (Thanenhebu).

Others of the same type are found around the pyramid of Userkaf, mainly discovered by Zaki Saad. These were the tombs of Amentefnakht<sup>6</sup> and Hor whose surname was Neferibre.<sup>63</sup> This latter is the earliest of the whole group, dating from the time of Psantik II. This Hor, it seems, was related to the king, for he carried the title *it ntr*, Divine Father, in other words, the king's father-in-law.<sup>64</sup> Zaki Saad also discovered another tomb with the same structure, but did not publish it because it was so badly damaged:<sup>65</sup> he refilled all three with sand. Two more tombs were discovered at the temple of Userkaf, those of Neferibre-sa-Neith and Wahibre-men.<sup>66</sup>

The architectural layout of these tombs helps very greatly to explain some of the mysteries of the building of the tomb of Pakap (Campbell's Tomb) at Gizeh, especially that of Psantik, which was not only discovered totally undamaged, but had never been used for burial and so was found in perfect condition waiting for the chief physician to be laid to rest.<sup>67</sup> The main feature of this group of tombs consists of a very large and deep shaft, ranging in depth up to 30 metres. At the bottom is an enormous limestone sarcophagus, which virtually fills the burial chamber to its vaulted roof. The lid, which is about a metre thick, carries at its foot a single line of inscription, Spell 266 of the Pyramid Texts. This inscription is typical of Memphis, since the deceased wished for himself a resurrection as Nefertem. This spell is found in the tombs of Hor, Amentefnakht, Neferibre-sa-Neith, Uzahor and Thanenhebu.<sup>68</sup>

The sarcophagus lid was normally raised on small rectangular supports of stone (each consisting of three well-cut pieces, to make them easy to remove), three down each side of the length of the sarcophagus. Inside the limestone outer coffin was an anthropoid coffin of schist, very well worked and normally covered with texts from Chapter 72 of the Book of the Dead: see the tombs of Hekaumsaf, Amentefnakht, Psamtik and Hor.<sup>69</sup>

On each long side of the burial chamber are two niches for canopic jars, which had the heads of the Sons of Horus, but also to contain the handles of the sarcophagus, which seal the niches and cover the boxes containing the canopic jars. Another niche, for shabtis, was also built into the wall near the head of the sarcophagus. The roof of the chamber had one or more holes, in many cases filled with pottery jars (see Amentefnakht and Hor) or a single block of stone: the use of these holes, which explains the pottery in the roof of the burial chamber in Campbell's Tomb, will be discussed below.

The door of the burial chamber was always at the foot of the sarcophagus, even though the direction of the body was not uniform but divides two groups, north-south and east-west.<sup>70</sup>

A corridor about 5m long connects the main shaft with a small supplementary shaft, the corridor built in either mud-brick (Hor and Amentefnakht) or cut in the rock and faced with limestone, as in the other cases, with a vaulted limestone roof. The small shaft was almost two metres deeper than the main shaft, to make it easier to fill the main shaft with sand, as discussed below: through this supplementary shaft many operations were performed during the burial ceremony and the tomb's sealing.

Campbell's Tomb was a mystery when it was discovered, and remains so today to a certain extent, because it is unique in having a deep rectangular trench set about it, but the structure of these tombs helps to clear up Vyse's mystification. It is clear from a comparison with the Saqqara tombs that the whole sarcophagus-tomb was built upon soft sand within the major shaft: by removing gradually the sand via the supplementary shaft, the sarcophagus would be lowered gradually and safely to the bottom. It is still not clear, however, whether the walls and roof of the burial chamber were built at the same time as the sarcophagus (before it was

lowered), or after it was already resting at the bottom of the shaft. After lowering the shaft and building the chamber, the Saïtes would fill the holes in the roof with pottery jars filled with sand or with stone plugs, fill the main shaft with sand, and wait for the death of the owner. He, with his canopic jars and his shabtis, would be buried via the second shaft - and the priests would then break the pottery jars or remove the<sup>71</sup> stone plugs and escape via the supplementary shaft as the sand poured in to fill the burial chamber itself. This method would protect the chamber from robbery, for as robbers tried to enter the tomb the sand would pour out on to them endlessly; and it would also protect the tomb structure, for the sand filled all gaps and would help to save the roof from the crushing weight of the sand above. Above the smaller shaft, which would be closed at the bottom by stone slabs and then filled with sand, there was probably a funerary chapel with portico, for offerings.<sup>72</sup>

The walls of this group of tombs (Hor apart) were inscribed on the interior: Hor has no interior inscriptions, but the exterior walls carry similar texts to the rest of the group. The inscriptions are mainly from the Pyramid Texts, with others from the Book of the Dead and the Coffin Texts, as might be expected where the whole tomb represents the coffin of the deceased. The texts on those walls which contain the actual entrance to the tomb are almost always the Serpent spells, which are not only copied from the Pyramid Texts but also contain Spell 625 of the Coffin Texts.<sup>73</sup> This section of Spell 625, which was intended to help the deceased to leave his tomb without fear of snakes, is found in the tombs of Amentefnakht, Neferibre-sa-Neith, Ciennehebu and Pedenesi.

Another text very popular in these tombs are Spells 638a-b and 1607 of the Pyramid Texts.<sup>74</sup>

On the right-hand wall of the sarcophagus was always the offerings list, except in the case of Pedenesi, who has lists on both sides. The tops of the walls of the burial chambers carry the *h̄tp di nsw* formula, and prayers to Osiris, Isis, Anubis and the goddess Nut were inscribed on the walls, along with many other Pyramid Texts.

## iii. Third style

Esdhout: The tomb of Esdhout, Overseer of the Royal Scribes of the Army of Upper and Lower Egypt, belongs to the first half of the dynasty (Psamtik I) and lies between the Monastery and the Sakhemkhet enclosure.<sup>75</sup> The tomb consists of a decorated chapel, which is a stone-built superstructure, together with a shaft leading to an uninscribed substructure.

The chapel or superstructure must have originally consisted of a pylon, an outer court, inner court with the tomb shaft, and five chapels at the west end containing statues.<sup>76</sup> Probably the whole chapel was decorated, according to fragments found on the site, but little of the decorated walls remains. The foundations of the pylon and of the outer court can be traced,<sup>77</sup> and the few scenes which remain of the outer court consist of scenes of marching and fowling.<sup>78</sup> The inner court contains the bases of probably eight columns<sup>79</sup> and in the centre of the floor is the tomb shaft.

Each of the five chapels contained a statue, and the jambs were decorated with texts unfortunately too fragmentary to identify. The chapels themselves were decorated with texts from the Book of the Dead, and usually the Book of Gates.

The shaft, which is over 20m deep, opens into a large but un-inscribed room, from which in turn open three smaller chambers, the southernmost of which was used for the main burial. The exterior of the limestone sarcophagus is not inscribed, but the interior held the figures of Isis and Nephthys and Chapter 72 of the Book of the Dead, with the figures of Anubis, and Hapi, Duamutef and Amset. The lid was carved with a mummiform figure of the deceased, flanked on one side by two hawks, on the other by two jackals, all carved from a single block.<sup>80</sup>

c. Graves at Thebes - Asasif

The Saite necropolis at Thebes, by which is meant first of all the remarkable collection of magnificent tombs of Asasif, is the largest and most architecturally ornate of this period in the whole country: not surprisingly, it has attracted the attention of a wide range of early travellers as well as more modern and scientific archaeologists.<sup>81</sup> Wilkinson, whose book on Thebes was published in 1835,<sup>82</sup> describes the Asasif tombs as "the most remarkable, which date after this epoch (the Ramesside period), are those in the Assasief, and behind the palace of Ramese II, executed during the period of the twenty-sixth dynasty, in the seventh century before our era. Their plans, very different from those of other Theban tombs, are not less remarkable for their general resemblance to each other, than for their extent, consistently according with the profusion and detail of their ornamental sculpture."

But not only the travellers were interested in Asasif. Many of the tombs have recently been republished after new excavations, such as the tomb of Mentuemhet (number 34), comprehensively published in 1961 by Leclant,<sup>83</sup> after a series of preliminary reports in the journal *Orientalia*.<sup>84</sup> The tombs of Basa (389) and Mutardais (410) have been published by Assman<sup>85</sup> following his excavations between 1963 and 1970; and that of <sup>C</sup>Anch-Hor by Bietak and Elfriede Reiser-Haslauer;<sup>86</sup> while that of Ibi (36), published by Schiel<sup>87</sup> at the end of the last century, will shortly be re-presented by Kuhlmann and Schenkel, who have already published a preliminary report.<sup>88</sup> Other tombs, such as that of Pathenfy (128), which is closer to Sheikh <sup>C</sup>Abd el-Qurna, is the subject of an article by Schenkel,<sup>89</sup> while Pabasa (279) is shortly to be published by Haslauer in the *OAI*, and Sheshonk has been discussed in detail by Donadoni and others;<sup>90</sup> but in general it is necessary to say that much work in this necropolis is still going on, and many new publications will soon be appearing. Bibliography and plans of these tombs of the Saite period will be found in Porter and Moss.<sup>91</sup>

A recently completed work on the architecture of the Asasif tombs is the dissertation of the Technical University of Vienna of Diethelm Eigner, to be published by the *OAI* under the title Die monumentalen

Grabbauten der Spätzeit in der thebanischen Nekropole. Since this work will soon appear, it is not my intention to discuss in detail the tombs of the Theban necropolis, but to restrict myself to a discussion of the major architectural elements, together with the reliefs and texts, which combine to make this necropolis one of great distinction and unique character.

Part of this uniqueness lies in the very close links between Dynasties XXV and XXVI in the Theban necropolis. So close are they, in fact, that in Thebes the dynasties merge into each other and cannot be separated, with the Saite necropolis an extension of the Nubian one. The major reason for this link lies in the continuity between the two dynasties of the concept of service to the Divine Wives of Amun, which, far from ceasing with the rise of the Saite period, if anything became yet more important, particularly in the time of Nitocris I. As a result, some of the tombs are variously dated either to the end of the Nubian period or the beginning of the Saite, so it will be useful here to place them in chronological order (fig. 22), using as a basis the above-mentioned work of Eigner.

Name	Tomb number	Superstructure	Divine Wife
Harua	37	--	Amenirdais I 740-702
Karabasaken	391	?	
Ra <sup>c</sup> mosi	132	X	
Akhmenerau	404	--	Shepenupet II 700-670
Mentuemḥet	34	X	Amenirdais II 670-660
Pedamenōpet	33	X	
Bintenduanūter	407	--	
Psammetik-Dierneḥeh	411	X	
Irterau	390	--	
Mutardais	410	X	Nitocris I 656-586
Espeḳashuti	312	--	
Basa	389	X	
Ibi	36	X	
Pathenfy	128	--	
Pabasa	279	X	
Pedehorresnet	196	X	
Pemu	243	--	
<sup>c</sup> Anch-Ḥor	414	X	
Weḥebre <sup>c</sup> -Nebpeḥti	191	--	<sup>c</sup> Ankhesneferebre <sup>c</sup> 595-525
Sheshonḳ	27	X	
Weḥebre <sup>c</sup>	242	--	
Pedeneith	197	X	

Fig. 22. Chronological ordering of Asasif tombs.

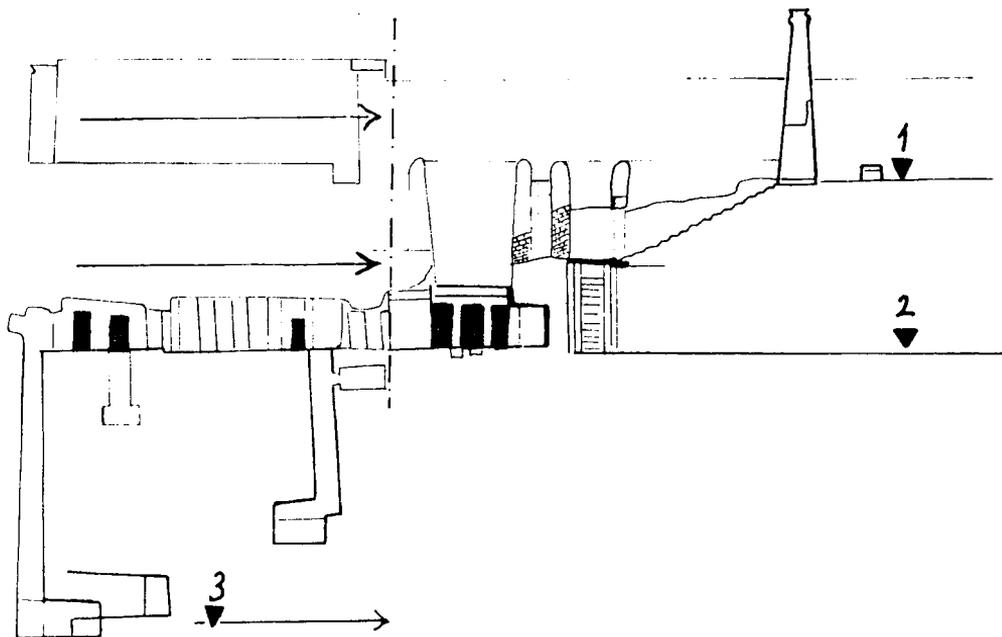
These monumental tombs belong to the high officials and priests in the courts of the Divine Wife of Amun, the most imposing of which are those of Mentuemhet (34),<sup>92</sup> Pedamenopet (33),<sup>93</sup> and Harua (37).<sup>94</sup> It is perhaps remarkable to notice here that the tombs of this necropolis started their development with a series of huge complexes, as is the case with the three tombs mentioned. That of Mentuemhet, for example, has a total of 49 rooms, chambers and corridors so far known, and the work of excavation is still far from complete. These three tombs date to the second half of the 25th Dynasty and the very beginning of the 26th: after this period of glory, the tombs gradually became smaller and more simple.

#### i. Description of the structure

Eigner's dissertation describes all the architectural elements of the tombs in detail, with plans for each individual tomb, together with its position relative to the others. It seems useful here to adopt his division into five for the major elements: superstructure, entrance to the substructure (staircases) and ante-chamber, excavated open court (Lichthof), substructure cult rooms, and burial-place.<sup>95</sup> See the accompanying typical plan XIII, which is in fact based on <sup>C</sup>Anch-Hor, but shows features typical of the whole series of tombs.

Superstructure: This important part of the tomb was usually built up in sun-dried mud-brick (only Pedeneith, the latest of the series, has burned brick), a detached building covering the area of the substructure. In most cases the superstructure is aligned east-west, echoing the alignment of the substructure. In the case of Ibi, Pabasa and Sheshonk, however, the substructure runs north-south.

This monumental structure probably served the function of the king's mortuary temple, in most cases having pylons and three courts: first the festival court; then the offering court, which has no floor since it forms the deep well of the substructure; and third what was probably a sanctuary as "residence" for the deceased. Bietak describes the superstructure of <sup>C</sup>Anch-Hor: "Der Oberbau gliedert sich von Osten nach Westen in drei Teile: in den vom ersten und zweiten Pylon engeschlossenen Hof;



Plan XII. Typical section of an Asasif tomb (<sup>C</sup>Anch-Hor: after Eigner).  
 Level 1, superstructure; level 2, subterranean rooms; level 3, burial.

hinter dem zweiten Pylon liegt ein zweiter Hof, der die Zentralgrube mit ihrem Abgang zur unterirdischen Anlage und den Lichthof umschließt; im dritten, westlichen Hof zeigten sich keinerlei Einbauten. Alle drei Höfe waren infolge der Grösse der Gesamtanlage unüberdacht, und auch der westlicher dritte Hof zeigt keinerlei Anzeichen von Kultkammern, wie sie dort bei kleineren Grabbauten zu finden sind. Die Kultkammer ist bei diesen grossen Grabssystemen der Spätzeit in der unterirdischen Anlage zu finden."<sup>96</sup>

The mud-brick pylons, consisting of a single wall pierced with a central vaulted entrance rather than a temple style with two individual walls flanking a vertical entry, probably had the entry cased with stone, as in the example of Mutardais,<sup>97</sup> Ibi, Pabasa and Pedeneith. Along with the outer walls of the enclosure, the pylons were occasionally formed with a long series of niches, similar to the enclosure wall of the Step Pyramid: this is true for Pedamenopet, Pedehorresnet, Sheshonk and Pedeneith. It had been supposed that others had a gypsum base, with painted niches on the walls, but the recent work of Eigner proves that this was not the case. The first pylons of all tombs were larger than the second or third, and have become known to the local villagers as "babs" (Bab el-Assafia for the tomb of Pedamenopet, for instance, and Bab el-Effene for Mentuemhet) because of their vaulted entrances. Some of the pylons have staircases leading to the roof, as in the case of the tomb of Espekashuti (312), a rock-cut tomb with a pylon its only superstructure.

Bietak argues that gardens stood in front of the first pylon. Traces of plants were found in the tombs of Mutardais and Pedehorresnet, and in <sup>c</sup>Anch-Hor pits for trees were found both in front of the pylon and in the first court.

Small pyramids of mud-brick were found within the superstructure of some tombs: Sheshonk, Pedeneith and perhaps Pedamenopet, and Eigner states (page 142), "In beiden Fällen (the tombs mentioned above) übernimmt die Pyramide die Funktion des dritten Hofes als Denkmal und als oberirdische Kennzeichnung des Ortes der Bestattung, der Sarkkammer."

Staircases and ante-chamber: This, the second typical element of the Asasif necropolis, consisted of a stairway open at its upper part, then roofed with vaulted ceiling below. Built of mud-brick, it was sometimes stone-cased, as in the tomb of Mutardais. This lower part was

decorated, in Assman's opinion for economic reasons, to save work on the ante-chamber, which in this tomb does not exist.<sup>98</sup> The ante-chamber usually follows the staircase, which serves as the passage from exterior to interior, or, symbolically, from living world to underworld. In some tombs - Basa, Ibi and <sup>C</sup>Anch-Hor - there are several ante-chambers.

Excavated open court (Lichthof): The open court is a very important element in Thebes. Formed by a deep square or rectangular cutting into the rock, it very probably fills the function of the Abydos grave of Osiris, a theory based on three elements: first, it is a cutting deep into the ground; then its shape, with pillars or columns (Ibi has columns instead of pillars), which echoes the Abydos grave;<sup>99</sup> and in many cases basins for plants were found in the grounds of the court, which means that it was originally planted in the same way as the Osirieion. These basins were certainly found in the tombs of Ibi, Pabasa, <sup>C</sup>Anch-Hor and Sheshonk, while in other cases the feature is not clear: more excavation is required.

A very characteristic element of the Saite wells (as mentioned above, in Thebes the term "Saite" covers both the 25th and 26th Dynasties, since they cannot be separated) is the ramp leading to a niched gate which gives entry from the well to the pillared hall. The niched gate consists of a large ornate niche or false door, with a true door piercing its centre.

Substructure cult rooms: This element of tomb architecture varies slightly from tomb to tomb: some, like Harua and Pedamenopet, have more than one pillared hall, while others have large halls without pillars, as for instance Mentuemhet, Basa and Pedehorresnet. But in general this element consists of a large pillared hall, entered through the niched gate from the Lichthof, and with (in most cases) a series of small side rooms entered from its long sides, as for example in the tomb of Karabasaken, number 391. Instead of side rooms, Pedamenopet probably had mere niches. The purpose of the side rooms was to serve as sites for shafts for burials for members of the family.

From this hall, one progresses through a door or passage to the inner rooms, which differ in numbers according to the size of the tomb, until the offering chamber and sanctuary are reached. This Kultziel is a room with a niche which may or may not have other elements: a statue, a false door or a religious scene.

Burial place: this fifth and final element consists of an enormous variety both in type and extent, which is itself another characteristic element of the Asasif tombs, recalling as it does (along with their decoration, which will be discussed in Chapters VI and VII below) the royal tombs of the Valley of the Kings.<sup>100</sup> Only Ibi presents a different and unusual appearance. To the present day it is not possible to classify many of the different styles of burial place, because many of them still need a great deal of work to clear the sand which has refilled their chambers since the original excavation, and others, including Karabasaken and Sheshonk, have never been excavated.

In most cases that are known, however, the rooms of the burial areas are reached from the cult room (the offering room, or the room taking its place)<sup>101</sup> through a transverse corridor, as in the cases of Akhamenerau (404), Basa, perhaps Ibi, Mutardais, Mentuemhet and Pedamenopet. Others, such as <sup>C</sup>Anch-Hor, Pedehorresnet, Pedeneith and Ra<sup>C</sup>mosi (132) have instead of the transverse corridor a small side room with shaft; or, like Pathenfy, a stairway direct from the cult room to the shaft room. Yet others, represented by Harua and Karachamun (and perhaps also Karabasaken, which has yet to be completely cleared), have stairways to another series of rooms before the shaft room is reached.

In those with a transverse corridor - the most popular style for the major tombs of the necropolis - the corridor leads (see Plan XII) to one or more rooms containing stairways until the shaft chamber is eventually reached. Some tombs have two subterranean sections, with more than one burial shaft, as is the case with Harua (where there is no transverse corridor), Mentuemhet, Pedamenopet, Basa, Ibi, Pedehorresnet, while in the case of Mentuemhet there are two transverse corridors.<sup>102</sup> One of them is directed to the north and leads to the complex of rooms labelled by Porter and Moss IV-X, the latter containing the shaft; while the other, leading south, goes directly to a room with a burial shaft, and then on to another corridor opening into yet a third shaft chamber.

The tomb of Pedamenopet also has a very complicated series of burial places. From the transverse corridor IV-V, the chamber containing the shaft is reached only by way of corridors and stairways VI-VIII, room X, corridor X, and finally chamber XI, from which the shaft descends. A section running east from the same transverse corridor leads directly to corridor XII, which also contains a shaft, then continues to

corridor XIII, which is rectangular in plan and leads to rooms XIV, XV and XVI, which Eigner takes to be dedicated to Osiris.

The complex section described above is merely the upper section of the burial places; the lower part is reached via the various shafts, which are in virtually every case cut through the floor of the chamber either in the corner or at least against one wall, and never from the chamber's centre. The deepest shaft of the tomb invariably belonged to the tomb owner, with less deep ones for other family members. It should be remembered that other shafts were added in later re-use of the tombs, particularly in Dynasty XXX. The Dynasty XXVI shafts lead to sarcophagus chambers which in many cases have vaulted ceilings and were decorated. In some cases the shafts lead to two burial chambers set at the same level and extending to north and south of the shaft; in others to two chambers cut one above the other; and in some cases a second chamber is cut half-way down the shaft, perhaps as a "dummy" burial chamber. False chambers above the true burial chamber were found in the tombs of Mentuemhet and Pedamenopet, and the true chamber was found in each case through an opening in the floor of the false chamber. Both chambers - true and false - were decorated, and each tomb contained a decorated false wall, echoing the royal tombs of the Valley of the Kings (to take a well-known example, the false wall which hid the sarcophagus chamber in the tomb of Tut<sup>C</sup>anchamun): fragments of these walls were also found in the tombs of Mentuemhet and Pedamenopet. Behind this wall and concealed in the floor was the opening to the true sarcophagus chamber.

In both tombs the true chamber is rounded, with niches in the walls that may once have contained statues of deities. The sarcophagus chamber of Pedamenopet had a shallow square pit in the floor, probably for the canopic jars, as did Mutardais; while in Mentuemhet the sarcophagus was set into a pit below floor level, with under it a smaller pit for the canopic jars, although neither sarcophagus nor jars were found in either tomb.

Eigner (page 197) feels that the position of the sarcophagus in the centre of the burial chamber, surrounded with the niches of the gods, explains the function of the Osiris grave in Abydos: "Die Situation des Sarkophags in der Mitte der von Nischenreihen umgebenen Halle entspricht ganz dem räumlichen Konzept der grossen Halle im abydenischen Kenotaph Sethos I." The link with the Abydos grave is maintained in the tomb of <sup>C</sup>Anch-Hor, where the (lost) sarcophagus stood in the centre of the floor, surrounded by a deep trench, leaving the sarcophagus as an

"island" - this burial chamber was left unfinished. It is very remarkable that in some of these tombs the sarcophagus chamber lies directly beneath the Lichthof and its basins for plants, again linking directly with the concept of the grave of Osiris.

The above discussion of architectural features holds good for the general elements to be found in the major tombs which form the Asasif necropolis itself, but it should not be imagined that these are the only tombs of the Saite period on the site. Many others which have mud-brick superstructures have been omitted from the list above because they cannot precisely be placed in the chronological pattern developed. They are certainly Saite, but the lack of inscriptions, poor condition (little remains of their superstructures) and damage of many years means that they cannot definitely be ascribed to any particular Divine Wife or king. These include: Ded-Hor (number 378), Harsiesi (437), Pedehorresnet II (490), Amenemhet (598) and the tomb of Ta-kaput and Semet-m-hetef (608).

Tombs with superstructures but without the subterranean complexity of the large tombs form another sub-group of the necropolis. Mainly they are small, with a deep shaft descending to one or two burial chambers without inscriptions. These include tombs VI, VIII, XVI, XVIII-XXIII and tombs R and V. See Eigner page 42.

A third sub-group is formed of tombs without superstructure yet containing inscribed substructures. They include the tombs of Harmosi (number 126), Besenmut (160), Esbanebded (190), Seremhat-rechit (209), Karach-amun (223), Hauf (B3), Anchefen-Dhout (C14) and numbers 388 and 392, neither of which is named.

## ii. The inscriptions

As mentioned above, the superstructure of Saite tombs at Asasif was built of mud-brick, with only the doorways of the pylons encased in stone (usually limestone or sandstone, but in the case of Pedamenopet red granite), and it is likely that most of these stone casings were inscribed with scenes and texts. Parts of the casings have been recovered from the tombs of Mentuemhet (re-used in the Lichthof of Pedeneith), Pabasa, perhaps Ibi, Mutardais, Basa, Pedehorresnet and <sup>c</sup>Anch-Hor, as Eigner (page 85) reports.

The contents of the doorway inscriptions were usually the biography of the tomb-owner, together with offering texts, and the so-called "transfiguration texts," which the deceased uses in his speech to visitors to the tomb. In the tomb of Mutardais<sup>103</sup> and Pabasa is found the adoration of the sun god, with solar hymns, a feature dating to the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty in private tombs, for example those of Thanuni (number 74), Chaemhat (57) and Harmheb (78).

All the substructures of the major tombs of this necropolis were inscribed to some degree, and some of them completely inscribed, although the light wells of Pedamenopet, Mentuemhet and Basa were left uninscribed; and the main topic of the inscriptions was chapters from the Book of the Dead with scenes of the underworld, appearing usually in the sections devoted to the burial places. These inscriptions recall the tombs of the kings of the New Kingdom, and especially the grave of Ramesses VI, and also the cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos.<sup>104</sup>

The ante-rooms, with their entrances and niches, and also the light-wells, have the topic of adoration of the sun, of Osiris and of Hathor, together with texts and scenes of the Book of the Dead, while offering scenes and texts are also found in the light-wells. Scenes of daily life, in many cases copied directly from ancient tombs (as in the case of Ibi, known as the "trade tomb" because of its scenes taken from the tomb of Ibi at Deir el-Gebraui<sup>105</sup>), are also found in the tomb of Montuemhet, where fragment 48.74 in the Brooklyn Museum is adapted from New Kingdom tomb 69 in Thebes.<sup>106</sup>

But the majority of scenes of daily life are borrowed from the Old Kingdom, such as the fragments from Mentuemhet with marsh

scenes showing genets and birds<sup>107</sup> and fishing,<sup>108</sup> which is repeated in the tomb of Pabasa,<sup>109</sup> while Mentuemhet also contains a fragment showing men gathering papyrus<sup>110</sup> which reaches back to the Old Kingdom. Other Old Kingdom scenes in the Saite tombs include musicians and dancers (Ibi and Mentuemhet, but in general only the direct-copy tomb of Ibi has the majority of its scenes taken from daily life;<sup>111</sup> the charming bee scenes in Anch-Hor and Pabasa have their origins in the New Kingdom.<sup>112</sup>

Offering scenes and text, often accompanied by scenes of butchering, are found in all the tombs, in the ante-chambers and light-wells, and on pillars and gateway niches. In the tomb of Mentuemhet the offering-bringers are women.<sup>113</sup> Offerings to Amen-Re<sup>C</sup> are to be seen in the tomb of Ibi,<sup>114</sup> while king Psamtik I is represented before Osiris and Re<sup>C</sup>-Harakhte in the tombs of Mentuemhet, Ibi, Anch-Hor and Basa.

Litany and hymns to Re<sup>C</sup>-Harakhte are found in the tombs of Pedamenopet, Ibi, Harua, Pabasa and Mutardais, while at the entrances of the several parts of the tomb is always found the "greetings of the dead" texts. Scenes of burning incense and libations before the gods and baptism, which are adapted from those in the Temple at Karnak, are to be seen in the tombs of Mutardais, Basa and Pabasa.<sup>115</sup> The sky-cow with bull and sacred oars, a favourite in the Ramesside period, is represented in those of Pedamenopet, Mentuemhet, Ibi and Basa.

A religious scene found in most tombs is the feast-ritual which is dedicated to the owner of the tomb during the valley feast (the beautiful feast of Amun).<sup>116</sup> Texts found in the ante-rooms and light-wells from the Book of the Dead which are parallel to Coffin Texts and Pyramid Texts include Book of the Dead Chapters 15a, b and h, 43, 45, 50, 53, 59, 64, 89, 125, 141, 142, 145, 146, 148, 151 and 182; Coffin Texts: 838, 843, 846, 865, 876, 1024, 1080 and 639; Pyramid Texts: 64 and 763. Scenes of funeral procession and pilgrimage to Abydos are also found here, as for instance in the tombs of Mentuemhet, Ibi and Pabasa.<sup>117</sup> Other scenes and texts of religious nature include the "tableau final" of the Book of the Gates, in Mutardais and Pabasa;<sup>118</sup> scenes of the underworld, such as the representation of the deceased before the various divinities (Mutardais and Pedamenopet);<sup>119</sup> the Amduat (Mutardais and Pedamenopet), which is borrowed from the tomb of Ramesses VI;<sup>120</sup> while the scene of the solar bark with the human headed ba birds found in the tomb of Mutardais can be

compared with the tomb of Ir<sup>C</sup>ahor (Lepsius 23) at Saqqara.

The souls of Nekhen and Pe are represented in the tombs of Ibi and Pabasa<sup>121</sup> and the negative confession of the invocation for the 42 judges of the dead is shown in Mutardais, as also are the *s3hw* texts.

Most important here is the scene of the resurrection of Osiris with Horus presenting the sceptre or <sup>C</sup>*nḥ*, in the sarcophagus chambers of Pedamenopet and Mutardais and in other parts of the tombs of Mentuemhet, Ra<sup>C</sup>mosi and Pabasa, which is also taken from the tombs of Ramesses VI, Ramesses IX, Sheshonq at Tanis, and the cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos.<sup>122</sup>

Other miscellaneous religious or funerary scenes and texts are represented in some of the burial chambers, but these are solitary cases.<sup>123</sup>

The ceilings of the burial chambers were in many cases vaulted. And an astronomical scene is found in the tomb of Pedamenopet not only in the burial chamber but also in Room XIV, while in Mutardais astronomical ceilings are found in Rooms I and III as well as the burial chamber. Room II has a floral-muster ceiling, while the scene in the burial chamber is unique in this necropolis, its decoration with the Book of Nut taken from the tomb of Ramesses IV and from the Abydos cenotaph of Seti I.<sup>124</sup> The scene is doubled, containing the Book of Nut and the Book of the Night. Other astronomical scenes in the two chambers are similar to those of Pedamenopet, Mentuemhet and Pathenfy.<sup>125</sup>

It is quite remarkable here to note the similarity and continuity of the series of scenes and texts throughout the whole range of tombs, to such a degree that one can complete a broken or damaged scene or text in one tomb by reference to a neighbouring edifice. For example, the Book of the Dead Chapters 141, 142 and 148 is found in almost every tomb (Pedamenopet, Mentuemhet, Mutardais, Harua, Basa, Pabasa, Pedeneith, Pedehorresnet and Wehebre<sup>C</sup>-Nebpehti). The same texts are also indicated in the tomb of Bekenrenef at Saqqara. Many fragments from the light-well of <sup>C</sup>Anch-Hor may also be placed accurately by reference to the very similar texts and scenes in the light-well of Pabasa.

The tombs of Asasif contain a very characteristic architectural element which is also used for decoration. This is the Rahmenarchitektur statue-niches and other niches and the false doors. The niches, usually dedicated to Osiris, also occasionally indicate links with

ancient times, such as that of Hathor in the tomb of Basa, which is taken directly from the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri.<sup>126</sup> These Osiris shrines are found in the tombs of Mentuemhet, Harua, Ibi, Pedehorresnet, Pedeneith and Pabasa. Other niches without statues are found in Irterau, Pedamenopet, Karabasaken and Akhamenerau. The niches are mainly in the ante-chambers and light-wells for the adoration of the gods, and other niches and false doors are used as part of the "holy of holies", as in the tombs of Harua and Mentuemhet with Osiris statues. Empty niches are in the tombs of Ibi, Pedehorresnet, Pedeneith and perhaps Pabasa. In the tomb of Pedamenopet the sanctuary's most important cult-point is a false door without any inscription.

The Lichthof of Mentuemhet has a representation of a large bound-papyrus emblem on the entrances to chapels on the north and south sides, which is characteristic of this tomb but not others.

## iii. Graves in other areas of Thebes

Other tombs of Dynasty XXVI found in the general area of Thebes include those at Sheik Abd el-Qurna, Deir el-Medineh and Medinet Habu, where the tomb-chapels of the Divine Wives of Amun are located.

Because the Sheik Abd el-Qurna area is very close to Asasif, the decorated tombs of el-Qurna are included in the list of Asasif tombs (above), as also is that of the Vizier Espekashuti (312) at Deir el-Bahri. These tombs are listed by Porter and Moss (Vol. I, ii, pages 676-678), and include the tomb of Pathenfy.<sup>127</sup> Other Saite tombs are not decorated, and are merely mentioned by Porter and Moss as "Tombs - positions unknown" (Vol. I, ii, page 674).

At Deir el-Medineh are two tombs of poor quality, consisting only of shafts leading to undecorated burial chambers. The tombs themselves are only very doubtfully of the period in question, but they are included among Saite monuments because the sarcophagi of two Divine Wives were found in them, one belonging to Nitocris I, the other to <sup>C</sup>Ankhesneferebre<sup>C</sup>.<sup>128</sup> It is highly unlikely that these two shafts, numbers 2005 and 2003 respectively, were originally cut for these two great personalities, and more probably the very rough tombs were made much later on behalf of persons who had usurped the sarcophagi of the Divine Wives.<sup>129</sup>

The sarcophagi themselves are of fine quality. That of <sup>C</sup>Ankhesneferebre<sup>C</sup> is of schist, decorated both inside and out with the representation of the goddess Nut inside the lid: this sarcophagus is now well displayed in the new British Museum Egyptian Sculpture Gallery (no.32).

The two Divine Wives have tomb-chapels within the temple of Medinet Habu, among the tomb chapels of others of their rank. Hölscher writes:<sup>130</sup> "Nitocris, however, must have been buried in her tomb-chapel at Medinet Habu, as indicated by Ushabtis found at Medinet Habu. The sarcophagus must therefore have been carried off later to be reused elsewhere (as I assume happened in the case of the sarcophagus of <sup>C</sup>Ankhesneferebre<sup>C</sup>)." Tomb chapels in the temple of Medinet Habu started to be built in the time of the Divine Wife Shepenupet I, then Amenardais, followed by her adopted daughter Shepenupet II, then by Nitocris I. But the system of building tombs sunk into the grounds of a temple is also to be seen at Sais, where the last kings of the Dynasty XXVI were buried in

the main temple.<sup>131</sup> It is likely that the principle was copied from Dynasty XXI royal burial practice at Tanis.<sup>132</sup> These tomb-chapels of the Divine Wives of Amun - who were at the same time the kings' daughters - at Medinet Habu are today's only examples of the dynasty's regal funerary practices, since, as mentioned above, the tombs at Sais itself are very badly destroyed, and nothing else is known of them on the site itself.

The chapels of the Divine Wives are built very close to the small temple of Dynasty XVIII which became a site of special reverence during the Saite period.<sup>133</sup> The main chapels, which can still be seen, are four in number: devoted to Amenardais I, daughter of Kashta; Nitocris, daughter of Psamtik I; Shepenupet II; and Mehtyenwaskhet, mother of Nitocris.<sup>13</sup> The four chapels were apparently inter-connected, the three of Nitocris, Shepenupet and Mehtyenwaskhet linked through a front court with two columns which also opens through its east wall into the front court of the chapel of Amenardais. As Eigner says (page 139): "Die Kapellen der Gottesgemahlin in Medinet habu zeigen deutlich, wie die Oberbauten der spätzeitlichen Gräber zu verstehen sind: also Hülle für Kulträume, die auf das Niveau der Felsräume abgesenkt sind. Dem Vorhof des Baues der Amenirdis entspricht der 'Lichthof' des spätzeitlichen Grossgrabes."

Of the four chapels, only the tombs of Nitocris and Mehtyenwaskhet are Saitic, and others which were built of mud-brick on each side of these four chapels are now ruined and have left little remains. The group of chapels of Nitocris and Mehtyenwaskhet and between them that of Shepenupet II, are reached through a pylon with two entrances, opening into the open court in front of the three chapels. The chapels had the function of cult rooms, and are vaulted with the burial chamber cut directly beneath the chapel floor. This would mean that the burial chamber was cut first, then roofed over, and the chapel built on top.

The scenes and inscriptions of the chapels are of a religious and ritual nature: on the facade of the pylon the Divine Wives are seen offering incense to Amun, with the text of the "address to the living."<sup>135</sup> In the court, the Divine Wives are represented before several gods, among them the Theban triad, Osiris, Anubis or Hathor, or before one of the recent Divine Wives, as Amenardais and Shepenupet II in the case of Mehtyenwaskhet.

Inside the chapels, the walls and lintels are decorated with scenes and texts of offerings, particularly of incense and libation to

the gods, or of milk to the gods in the case of Mehtyenwaskhet, or of consecrating victims to Re<sup>C</sup>-Harakhte. The burial chambers are uninscribed: while the sarcophagi of Nitocris and <sup>C</sup>Ankhesneferibre<sup>C</sup> were found re-used at Deir el-Medineh, the other burial chambers were found empty.

It is well worth remarking that the tomb-chapels of the Divine Wives at Medinet Habu and the great tombs of the nobles at Asasif have a significant feature in common: both groups of tombs are directed towards the processional way of the Amun bark,<sup>136</sup> where the beautiful feast of Amun was celebrated at each site.

#### d. Graves at Heliopolis

Like virtually all other Delta sites, the Saite necropolis at Heliopolis has suffered greatly from a series of problems which have left the investigator with tantalisingly little information. Not only have the tombs been damaged by the rise in the water table, and by local inhabitants as well as by tomb robbers, and been re-used in later times, but there also remains a large part of this necropolis under the modern settlements of el-Matarieh, Ard el-Na<sup>C</sup>am and Ezbet el-Zeitoun: from these areas it is hoped that a fuller picture might one day be gained. But of the few tombs of the area which have been excavated officially, two groups may be distinguished.<sup>137</sup>

The first, of three tombs at el-Matarieh, was discovered by Gauthier in 1925.<sup>138</sup> The tombs were set so close to each other that Gauthier reported a "rue de tombeaux" - of limestone, they were built about two metres beneath ground level, with a vaulted ceiling. The tombs are not large - the biggest is only 3.90m long, 2.50m wide and 1.80m high - and in fact are burial chapels, which should have held the sarcophagus and funerary objects, but because of the problems of ground water and ancient and modern robbers the only objects that remained were the four canopic jars in the centre tomb (No. 2). Only this tomb was decorated, and very carefully engraved with funeral texts from the Pyramid Texts - Spells 225, 226 and 227, the Serpent Spells so popular in the Saite period, together with 134, 135, 1627-29, Chapter 60 of the Book of the Dead, and Spell 625 of the Coffin Texts.<sup>139</sup> On the south wall is an offering list similar to those of the shaft tombs at Saqqara, and the ceiling carries a single line of inscription, a prayer to Anubis.

Another link with the Saqqara shaft-graves, despite the difference in size, lies in the niches for canopic jars at Heliopolis. The central tomb belonged to Theset-Wehebre, who was *it ntr* from the second half of the dynasty, and although there are no inscriptions to give guidance, it seems that the other two tombs should also date to this time.

The second group, of nine scattered tombs, was also first reported by Gauthier.<sup>140</sup> Even though scattered, the tombs do have similarities: all are built of blocks of limestone in the centre of a vast and deep rectangular or oval pit which has an enclosing mud-brick wall. These enclosures vary in size from tomb to tomb, but the biggest is that of tomb 3, which is 21.5 by 15 metres; this tomb also has the deepest pit

at 10.5 metres. The western wall of the enclosure contained a niche which would once have held an altar, but all of these have disappeared (except in tombs 4 and 5), along with most of the stone of the central buildings. Fragments only remain in tombs 4 and 6.

Some of the tombs were intended for family use, with more than one sarcophagus found in tombs 3, 5, 7 and 8, while the limestone or basalt sarcophagi were placed on the floor of the tomb, which was sometimes (number 4) paved.<sup>141</sup> Only number 2 has a burial shaft.<sup>142</sup> In number 6, the schist sarcophagus was found placed in a limestone casing, unfortunately broken by robbers, which carried on its upper face a line of inscription, the Serpent Spells 225, 226, 228, 229. Only in tombs 1, 6 and 9 were the sarcophagi inscribed. The texts are:

Tomb 1 - Spells 266 and 638a-b, then 1607 from the Pyramid Texts, and Chapter 174 of the Book of the Dead.

Tomb 6 - the Serpent Spells mentioned above on the limestone casing, together with Spells 640 and 643 and Chapter 72 of the Book of the Dead on the coffin lid.

Tomb 9 - Spells 894-95 of the Pyramid Texts, with the figures of Isis, Nephthys and the Four Sons of Horus on the interior of the limestone sarcophagus. Its lid is lost and the outer surface uninscribed.

Other tombs closer to the obelisk were almost totally damaged and robbed, and only that of Ra<sup>c</sup>mosi<sup>143</sup> allows a glimpse of their architectural style and decoration. The tomb was built largely of mud-brick at a depth of about two metres, and the door and lintels were the only stone parts discovered. These were found by the land-owner some little distance from the tomb, inscribed with the name and titles of Ra<sup>c</sup>mosi:<sup>144</sup> Gauthier was able to identify the stones as Dynasty XXVI from the titles of Ra<sup>c</sup>mosi and from the style of cutting of the inscriptions.

The tomb itself consists of a staircase of five steps, in mud-brick leading to a short corridor with a door at its end leading to a rectangular room with a niche for canopic jars in the southern wall. Probably the door into this burial chamber was originally decorated with stone pieces. There was no sign of mummy, or sarcophagus, or any other funerary items, when Gauthier made his discovery.

Also at Heliopolis, Petrie discovered<sup>145</sup> some very poor tombs each with a single shaft leading to a single burial chamber. Despite their single chambers, many were used as family tombs, with several

wooden coffins in a restricted space, as for instance the tomb of Pef-du-Bast, Khnum-em-hat and Merneit, a family group from the transition period between the end of Dynasty XXV and the beginning of Dynasty XXVI. Petrie was able to pinpoint these tombs to this period from their pottery, and it certainly seems that what was once a vast necropolis has suffered so much damage that little has been left to give a comparative guide to the other main burial centres.

e. Graves at Bahriya Oasis

The oasis of Bahriya, about 180km (as the crow flies) from the Nile Valley but 320km by road from Cairo in the Western Desert, perhaps unsurprisingly contains no monuments whatever from the Old and Middle Kingdoms, and only the single rock-cut tomb of Amenhotep, "governor of the northern oasis,"<sup>146</sup> which is dated to the period between the second half of the Eighteenth Dynasty and the first half of the Nineteenth,<sup>147</sup> before the great expansion of the oasis at the opening of Dynasty XXVI. At this time the area clearly played a part in the great struggle between Apries and Amasis,<sup>148</sup> with a chapel to the former,<sup>149</sup> and what have been taken to be two temples<sup>150</sup> to the latter: it is instructive perhaps that Zed-Khonsu-ef-Cankh, the powerful Mayor of Bahriya, was involved in dedicating these buildings to both of the warring rulers. After the Saite period the oasis did not fall into disuse but continued to flourish, and among its monuments is a Ptolemaic painted tomb,<sup>151</sup> and a Roman building incorporating a splendid arch of victory, reported and illustrated by Cailliaud in 1826, but now unfortunately demolished and the stone used for building houses.<sup>15</sup>

But it was with the beginning of Dynasty XXVI that the oasis entered upon the greatest period in its history, with the realisation by Amasis that the north-south range of oases in the Western Desert forms the western gateway to Egypt: he immediately set into train a policy of helping the oases to flourish and be well populated. From an almost total lack of tombs, there is a sudden grouping of five inscribed and two uninscribed burials with similar architectural features within the present village of el-Bawity and on the village's eastern fringe.<sup>153</sup> Oldest of the inscribed tombs is that of Pede'ashtar, dating to the time of Apries, while the others are the tombs of Thaty (grandson of Pede'ashtar), the unfinished tomb of Ta-nefert-Bast (wife of Thaty), and those of Zeamun-ef-Cankh and his son Baennentiu. Also at the eastern side, at Karet Kasr Selim, alongside the tombs of Zeamun-ef-Cankh and Baennentiu, are the two uninscribed tombs: and in the village itself, with the other inscribed tombs, is the so-called Temple of Amasis, which Fakhry saw as the mortuary temple of Zed-Khonsu-ef-Cankh: "I believe also that the Temple of El-Bawiti is

nothing else but the mortuary chapel of that able ruler who immortalized his name in the history of this oasis."<sup>154</sup> But the tomb of this famous ruler is yet to be found, and this "temple" may well be the superstructure of his tomb while the shaft and substructure remain buried under the settlement of the oasis, which even today requires much more research and excavation.

The tomb of Ta-nefert-Bast, smallest of the inscribed group, is unfinished. Not only is the cutting of the chambers comparatively rough, but also only a small part of it is decorated. But the other four tombs of this group are very well finished, and share many similarities:

All are cut into the rock of the hillside, have no superstructure preserved, and are reached via shafts coated with plaster and painted yellow; all of the tomb walls are also coated, and are painted with brightly coloured texts and scenes which still retain their fresh appearance.

All have pillared entrance halls. Apart from Zeamun-ef-<sup>C</sup> ankh, which has rounded columns (like Amenhotep) with papyriform capitals painted white but without coloured scenes, all the others have squared pillars with depictions of deities; all have vaulted ceilings, plastered and painted with rows of twelve vultures, holding feathers in their claws and flying in a blue sky decorated with five-<sup>155</sup> and six-pointed stars.

All scenes painted in the tombs are of a religious nature, showing particularly scenes from the Book of the Dead; all share entrances to the burial chamber decorated with scenes of ritual purification, with Thoth and Horus pouring water from vases to purify the body of the tomb owner.

Three of the tombs share scenes of the Judgement and Weighing of the Heart: Zeamun-ef-<sup>C</sup> ankh,<sup>156</sup> Pede'ashtar<sup>157</sup> and Thaty;<sup>158</sup> two of the four - Pede'ashtar<sup>159</sup> and Thaty<sup>160</sup> - are decorated with scenes of the Souls of Nekhen and the Souls of Pe.

Also common to all four of these complete and inscribed tombs is the worship of the Moon. But as well as all these common elements listed above, each tomb has its own character:

## i. Inscribed tombs

Zeamun-ef-<sup>C</sup>ankh: The tomb of Zeamun-ef-<sup>C</sup>ankh at Karet Kasr Selim is the only one of the four which contains depictions of columns painted on the walls. Two of them, in the centre of the north wall,<sup>161</sup> lotiform to the left and papyriform to the right, flank a depiction of the son of the owner praying before an offering table piled high with goods. Roughly in the centre of the west wall is a papyriform column<sup>162</sup> and in the centre of the east wall a column with a palm capital is painted. Also in this chamber are found false doors with the winged sun-disc above, and flanked at each side with the *h̄tp di nswt* formula.<sup>163</sup>

The plan of the tomb is very simple: it consists merely of a single pillared hall, with sides not fully rounded and corners not completely square cut, entered from the south by a shaft of 4.95 metres deep.<sup>164</sup> In Roman times, according to Fakhry,<sup>165</sup> the false doors were hacked through and six rough chambers cut for burials behind the original walls, two each at north, east and west. After the burials these forced entrances were blocked off again. The chambers have no decoration or inscription.

Baennentiu: The tomb of Baennentiu, only about 15m away from that of his father Zeamun-ef-<sup>C</sup>ankh, is similar in plan but is better cut and its lines are more even. The shaft is about six metres deep, and at the bottom are two entrances:<sup>166</sup> one to the south, which leads to an unfinished room, and another to the north which enters into the main chamber. This rectangular room has four square columns, and opens into subsidiary rooms to the north, east and west, all approximately the same size, of which only the northern room is inscribed. The rooms to east and west contained only rough sarcophagi of Roman date.

The most unusual feature among the scenes depicted on the walls of the pillared hall is the representation on the southern side of the east wall of the emblem of Nefertum<sup>167</sup> resting horizontally on four forked supports on a flat base while Isis and Nephthys stand and spread their wings over it in protection. This scene is particularly unusual in view of the fact that it is also flanked by representations of the standards of six deities (including Nefertum) in the normal upright position to its right, and five more

in the upright position (not including Nefertum) to the left.<sup>168</sup>

Also very characteristic of the tomb are the scenes on the north wall of the pillared hall,<sup>169</sup> which show the worship of the Moon as well as of the Sun: both scenes are equally represented, with the Sun on the east side of the wall and the Moon on the west. That representing the Moon is very interesting, showing the Moon as a disc in which sits the god Khonsu while four rays composed of  $\overset{C}{n}h$  signs descend from the disc, which is held at the sides by Isis and Nephthys. Behind each goddess stand three deities each holding a  $\omega$ s sceptre and the  $\overset{C}{n}h$  sign. In the register below stands the god Shu carrying on his head a board on which stand Isis, Nephthys and the Moon disc; the Ogdoad of Hermopolis is shown, represented with human bodies and serpent heads, standing four on each side of Shu.

Pede'ashtar: Different in plan from the tombs of Zeamun-ef- $\overset{C}{a}nkh$  and Baennentiu, the tomb of Pede'ashtar is entered via a shaft of 5.20m to the east into a rectangular columned hall which opens to the south into three further square-cut rooms.<sup>170</sup> The columned chamber was used as the burial place because Fakhry discovered the carefully cut sarcophagus still in place between the columns: although it had been robbed and reused in Roman times, amulets from the original burial were still found within the sarcophagus. Its outer sides are painted with scenes of the judgement hall and the hours of the Day and Night. This tomb is the earliest of the group, since its owner, who has the unusual name "the gift of Ashtar", the Syrian goddess whose worship was introduced into Egypt only in Dynasty XVIII, was the High Priest of Khonsu at the time of Apries, while the other inscribed tombs may be dated to the time of Amasis.

In the second chamber, or Inner Hall, Pede'ashtar and his wife are shown adoring several deities: one scene<sup>171</sup> shows the tomb owner adoring Osiris and offering the god the image of Maat. Osiris here is shown not in his mummified form but wearing the long wig and  $\mathcal{J}f$ -crown, and long kilt. The innermost (and southernmost) chamber was used as a small chapel dedicated to Osiris and Horus, while the fourth room, west of the chapel, is uninscribed.

Thaty: This tomb is very close to the last (that of his grandfather), and may have had its design altered because of the proximity of the earlier burial.<sup>172</sup> Whereas Pede'ashtar opened to the east from its shaft, the tomb of Thaty opens out in the opposite direction, towards the west. But otherwise it has a similar general layout: subsidiary rooms attached to the shaft and pillared hall are to the south, as in Pede'ashtar, but here the innermost room was the burial chamber rather than the pillared hall.<sup>173</sup> This room and the intermediate inner hall carry inscriptions, but the third subsidiary room, east of the inner hall, has none.

Characteristic of the scenes of this tomb is that of Ta-nefert-Bast, the wife of Thaty, depicted on the northern face of the north-eastern pillar: it shows Ta-nefert-Bast and her daughter wearing most un-Egyptian clothing, with fringes hanging from their dresses. Fakhry draws the conclusion that the wife of Thaty<sup>174</sup> was of Phoenecian or Greek origin. In a similar position on the north-west column, Thaty is represented<sup>175</sup> seated on a chair wrapped like Osiris: before him are the emblems of Horus and Wepwawet, behind him that of Thoth. This depiction of the deceased as Osiris is normally reserved for kings.

#### ii. "Temple" of Amasis.

If we consider that the so-called "temple" of Amasis at el-Bawity is the mortuary chapel of Zed-Khonsu-ef-<sup>C</sup>ankh, and that the tomb of the local ruler is still to be discovered - "possibly the shaft of the burial chamber of Zed-Khonsu-ef-<sup>C</sup>ankh is somewhere in the part still under the debris"<sup>176</sup> - then these remains are the only preserved superstructure which may belong to a Saitic tomb in Bahriya, so it is important here to mention the plan of the "temple", together with its scenes and texts.<sup>177</sup>

The building consisted of two parts. The main temple, which is much damaged and with part of it still remaining under the modern debris and dwelling houses waiting to be excavated, consists of an outer hall aligned north-east and south-west, with two

other rooms to its east, the inner one of which is complete in plan. The walls of the outer hall are inscribed with hieroglyphic texts of religious character, all coloured blue on a yellow ground, while little remains of the religious texts which once adorned the other two rooms. Of interest in the outer hall is a small niche in its north-western corner, of which the sides are also inscribed with religious texts.

The part of the temple north of the complex just described consists of a chapel aligned north-west and south-east, with an inner room to its south. On the right jamb of the entrance is a representation of Amasis as a sphinx which human head and arms, and as Fakhry reports, "the principal wall of the enclosure to the right of the entrance was also decorated: at the left-hand side we can see the remains of the legs of a human figure holding a sceptre in his hand."<sup>178</sup> Also on the walls<sup>179</sup> there are the remains of the lower parts of four deities looking in the direction of the inner chamber: before them is a man worshipping the gods, together with a religious text depicted in blue on a white ground on the opposite wall.

The walls of the inner chamber are mainly badly damaged and demolished, and the remains of the lower parts show that it once was inscribed.<sup>180</sup> In the centre of this room is a rectangular area of 2.10m by 1.25m excavated 3cm deep in the floor: Fakhry believes that this may have been the base for an altar, or for a pedestal which once supported a shrine or naos of a deity.<sup>181</sup>

## iii. Uninscribed tombs.

It is unfortunate that Fakhry gives no other details of the two uninscribed Dynasty XXVI tombs he found close to those of Zeamun-ef-<sup>C</sup>ankh and Baennentiu at Karet Kasr Selim. According to his plans,<sup>182</sup> one has six rectangular columns in its main hall, with four subsidiary rooms and a shaft five metres deep; and the other four square columns and four subsidiary rooms, with two further subsidiary rooms running east and west off the five-metre-deep shaft.

His only text mention of these tombs<sup>183</sup> is that "their date is given as the XXVIth Dynasty, because a comparison of their scenes with other tombs of the same period at Bahria shows that they are of the same period." This is difficult to understand: how can uninscribed tombs have scenes to compare?

## NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

## Section a

1. B.Porter and R.L.Moss, Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Texts, Reliefs and Paintings, Vol. V, Upper Egypt: Sites (Oxford 1937, pages 205-206 for brief details and bibliography. See also H. de Meulenaere, "Les stèles de Nag el-Hassaia," MDIAK 25 (1969) 90-97.
2. See E. Otto, W. Helck, W. Westendorf, Lexikon der Agyptologie (Wiesbaden 1972- ), vol.IV,s.v.Nekropolen, Late Period, pages 440-449.
3. Herodotus, The Histories II.62.1 ff. See also H. de Meulenaere, Herodotos over de 26ste Dynasty (1951) pages 121-122.
4. Champollion le Jeune, Lettres écrites d'Égypte et de Nubie en 1828 et 1829 (Paris 1833).
5. See, for example, the discussions in G.Daressy, "Rapport sur fouilles à Sa el-Hagar," ASAE 2 (1901) pages 230-239, and Hassan S.K.Bakry, "A Family from Sais", MDIAK 23 (1969), pages 69-74, with Plate 19. See also Labib Habachi, "Sais and its Monuments," ASAE 42 (1942) pages 369-416.
6. R.Stadelmann, "Das Grab im Tempelhof: Der Typus des Königsgrabes in der Spätzeit," MDIAK 27, 1 (1971), pages 111-123.
7. Ramadan el-Sayed, Documents relatifs à Sais et ses divinités (IFAO 69, Cairo 1975), particularly pages 117-118.
8. See Porter/Moss (n.1), Vol. IV, Lower and Middle Egypt (Delta and Cairo to Asyut) (Oxford 1934), pages 46-49 and 57-8; Lexikon der Agyptologie (n.2), IV, pp.442-3 and 448. For Athribis, see Shehata Adam, "Recent discoveries in the Eastern Delta (Dec. 1950-May 1955)," ASAE 55 (1958) pages 301-324; and for Tell el-Yahudiyeh, W.M.F.Petrie and J.G.Duncan Hyksos and Israelite Cities (London 1906), particularly page 19.
9. Porter/Moss (n.1), Vol. V, pages 233-4, for instance, notes Saite offering tables and stelae, now in the Egyptian Museum, found in the tomb of Sirenput II (number 31).
10. See details in note 1 above.
11. The tomb is illustrated and discussed in W.M.F.Petrie, Abydos (London 1902), Vol. I, on page 35 (31) and plate LXXX.
12. Cemetery D is reported by D.Randall MacIver and A.C.Mace, El Amrah and Abydos (London 1902).

13. R.Engelbach, "Saite tomb discovered at Beni Hassan," ASAE 24 (1924), pages 159-160.
14. Brief details are listed in the Lexikon der Agyptologie (n.2),IV,p.441.

## Section b

15. E.Bresciani, S.Pernigotti, M.P.Giangeri Silvis, La tomba di Ciennehebu, capo della flotta del re (Pisa 1977) page 19.
16. Porter and Moss (nn. 1, 8), Vol. III, 2, Saqqara to Dahshur (Oxford 1979) pages 587-588.
17. C.R.Lepsius, Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien (12 volumes, Berlin 1849-95; Text, 5 volumes, Leipzig 1987-1913; Vols. I and II reprinte Geneva 1973), Vol. I Text, pp. 172-3; Vol. III 279 a-d.
18. Porter/Moss (n.16), page 588. See also G.Daressy, ASAE 4 (1903) pp. 76-8
19. Porter/Moss (n.16) pages 670-671.
20. ibid, pages 669-670.
21. Lepsius (n.17), Text I, page 177.
22. See Salah el-Naggar, "Etude préliminaire du plan du tombeau du Bocchoris à Saqqara," Egitto e Vicino Oriente 1 (1978), pages 41-56.
23. These three are indicated as BN 1, BN 2 and BS 1 on the plan published by el-Naggar (n.8).
24. Lepsius (n.17), Text I, page 177.
25. See Lepsius (n.17), Text I, page 179.
26. El-Naggar (n.22), page 43, together with figure on page 48.
27. ibid, figure 3 on page 46.
28. These two small rooms are marked j,k in figure 3 of el-Naggar (n.22).
29. Lepsius (n.17), Text I, page 178; Vol. III, page 261.
30. ibid, Text I, page 178.
31. ibid, Vol. III, page 260 C. Compare with the repeated scenes of the seated Osiris on the western exterior wall of the tomb of Thery, south room (Chapter II c, Pages23 - 28above).
32. A large number of blocks from this room have found their way to different museums. The Field Museum in Chicago has the majority, with two block in the Berlin Museum, and one in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
33. It is thanks to Lepsius (n.17), Vol. III, page 295, that we owe our total knowledge of these scenes, for nothing at all remains in situ.
34. Lepsius (n.17), Vol. III, page 263.
35. ibid, Text I, page 180.
36. ibid.

37. See el-Naggar (n.22) and particularly the figure on page 54.
38. ibid, page 45 and NB 16.
39. Numbered 2182 in the Florence Museum. For a description and illustration of one side of the lid, with kneeling Nephthys, see E.Bresciani, BIFAO 64 (1972), figure on page 17.
40. See Porter/Moss (n.16), page 588 ff.
41. Porter/Moss (n.16), page 588. See also H.Ranke, Die ägyptischen Personennamen (2 volumes, Hamburg and New York, 1933, 1939), Vol. I, page 246, 4.
42. See Jacques-F. and Liliane Aubert, Statuettes égyptiennes: chaouabtis, ouchabtis (Paris 1974), page 220; and Hans D. Schneider, Shabtis: An introduction to the history of ancient Egyptian funerary statuettes with a catalogue of the collection of shabtis in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden (Leiden 1977), Vol. II, pages 188-189. The numbers of these shabtis are 5.3.1.179-181.
43. Lepsius (n.17), Text I, pages 175, 177.
44. To be published shortly: E.Bresciani and S.Pernigotti, La tomba di Horiraa.
45. Lepsius (n.17), Vol. III, page 178 a.
46. ibid, Vol. III, page 280 C.
47. A.Piankoff, The tomb of Ramesses VI: texts (2 volumes, New York 1954), Vol. I, pages 345-6 and figures 101-2; and see also E.Hornung (ed.), Ägyptische Unterweltbücher (Zurich 1972), page 444, figure 92.
48. A. Champor, Le livre des Morts (Paris 1963), page 168 ff.
49. Lepsius (n.17), Text I, page 177.
50. Bresciani et al (n.15), page 19.
51. Piankoff (n.47), page 215, figures 68-9.
52. Hornung (n.47), page 295 ff.
53. Piankoff (n.47), figure 69.
54. Porter/Moss (n.16), page 649, Plate LXI. See also A.Barsanti, in Barsanti and G.Maspero, "Fouilles de la pyramide d'Ounas (1900-1901): VII", ASAE 2 (1901) pages 97-111, particularly 97-104.
55. Porter/Moss (n.16), page 649. For the discovery, see Barsanti, in Barsanti/Maspero, "Fouilles de la pyramide d'Ounas (1899-1900): II" ASAE 1 (1900), pages 161-166.
56. Porter/Moss (n.16), page 649, with Barsanti in Barsanti/Maspero, "Fouille de la pyramide d'Ounas (1899-1900): IV", ASAE 1 (1900), pages 230-4.

57. Porter/Moss (n.16), page 648, with Barsanti in Barsanti/Maspero, "Fouille dès la pyramide d'Ounas (1899-1900): V", ASAE 1 (1900), pages 267-271 and Bresciani et al (n.15).
58. Porter/Moss (n.16), page 650, with Barsanti in Barsanti/Maspero, "Fouille dès la pyramide d'Ounas (1902-1903): XII", ASAE 5 (1904), pages 69-78
59. For the discovery of this tomb, see A.Barsanti, "Sur la découverte de puit d'Ouazhorou à Sakkarah," ASAE 3 (1902), pages 209-212, and in particular page 210.
60. Porter/Moss (n.16), page 648. Barsanti reports the discovery in Barsanti and Maspero, "Fouilles dès la pyramide d'Ounas (1899-1900)", ASAE 1 (1900), pages 189-190.
61. See Bresciani et al (n.15).
62. Zaki Y. Saad, "Preliminary report on the Royal Excavations at Saqqara (1941-1942)", ASAE 41 (1942), pages 381-403.
63. Porter/Moss (n.16), page 587, with Saad (n.62), page 391 ff.
64. L.Borchardt, Der ägyptischen Titel "Vater des Gottes" als Bezeichnung für "Vater oder Schwiegervater des Königs", page 1 ff.
65. Saad (n.62), page 381.
66. See E. Drioton and J.-P.Lauer, "Fouilles à Saqqarah: Les tombes jamaïlées de Neferibre-Sa-Neith et de Ouahibre-Men", ASAE 51 (1951), pages 469-490. Drioton on the inscriptions of the tomb of Neferibre-Sa-Neith, on pages 485-490; and Lauer on the structure and content of the tombs, pages 470-484. See also Lauer in ASAE 52 (1952), p. 133 ff
67. See Barsanti in Barsanti/Maspero (n.56), particularly page 166 f.
68. Compare with Campbell's Tomb (Chapter III c above).
69. See, for other examples, the sarcophagus of 'Anasis from Tomb LG 83 at Gizeh (Chapter III c).
70. Comments by Bresciani et al.(n.15), page 22.
71. For the explanation of this ingenious method of lowering the massive sarcophagus, see O.Rostem, ASAE 43 (1943), pages 351-356.
72. See Lauer in ASAE 51 (n.66), particularly pages 470-1; and Bresciani (n.15) page 24.
73. See A.De Buck, The Egyptian Coffin Texts: texts of spells (seven volumes, Chicago 1935-1961), and compare with the tomb of Thery (Chapter II above and Chapter VII below).
74. This text should be compared with the single-line inscription on the walls of Campbell's Tomb (Chapter III c above, Page 130).
75. Porter/Moss (n.16) pages 669-670 and Plate LXII.

76. For full description and plan, see J.E. Quibell, Excavations at Saggara 1908-1910 (Cairo 1912), pages 30-33 and Plan LIX (1).
77. This part of the tomb may well be compared with that of Bekenrenef, which also probably had a pylon and outer court (Pages 156-160 above).
78. Quibell (n.77), Plate LXII.
79. ibid.
80. ibid., Plate LX (5).

section c

81. For early visitors, see for instance Champollion le Jeune, Monuments de l'Egypte et de la Nubie (four volumes, Paris 1835-1845); G.Belzoni, Narrative of the Operations and Recent Discoveries in Egypt and Nubia (two volumes, London 1821); and the British Library manuscripts of Robert Hay, 29824, 5 verso, 29821, 110, 113, 118, 119 (1824-1838); Edward Lane, 34088, 26 (1825-1835); and James Burton, 25639, 13 (1820-1839).
82. J.G.Wilkinson, Topography of Thebes (London 1835), and particularly pages 129-134.
83. J.Leclant, Montouemhat, quatrième prophète d'Amoun, prince de la ville (Cairo 1961), for a comprehensive study of the tomb as it had then been excavated, with many plates.
84. J.Leclant, in Orientalia NS 19 (1950), pages 370-372, figs. 28-30; 20 (1951) pages 473-4 (c), figs. 35-38; 22 (1953), page 88 (c), figs 21-24; 23 (1954), page 66 (b). Most of these articles are brief notices of the clearance by Zakaria Ghoneim, and the last ascribes relief blocks in the Cleveland Museum (51.281-2) to the tomb.
85. J.Assman, Grabung in Asasif 1963-1970 (DAI). Band II, Das Grab des Basa (Nr. 389) in der thebanischen Nekropole (Arch. Veröffentlichungen 6, Mainz 1973); Bd.VI, Das Grab des Mutirdis (Arch.Veröff. 13, Mainz 1977).
86. M.Bietak and Elfriede Reiser-Haslauer, Das Grab des <sup>C</sup>Anch-Hor, Obersthofmeister der Gottesgemahlin Nitokris (two volumes, Vienna 1978-82).
87. V.Scheil, "La tombe d'Aba," Mem.Miss.Arch.Fr. (Cairo) 5 (1894), pages 624-656.
88. K.-P.Kuhlmann and W.Schenkel, "Vorbericht über die Aufnahmearbeiten im Grab des Jh<sub>j</sub> (Theben Nr. 36)," MDIAK 28 (1972), pages 201-212, Plates 50-51, with a detailed plan as Fig. 1 on page 207.

89. W.Schenkel, "Die Gräber des P3-Inf-j und eines Unbekannten in der thebanischen Nekropole (Nr. 128 und Nr. 129)," MDIAK 31 (1975), pages 127-158, Plates 40-50 and note particularly pages 132-140 with the plan on page 128.
90. S.Donadoni, "Relazione preliminare sulla II campagne di scavo nella tomba di Sešonq all'Asasif (1971)," Oriens Antiquus 12 (1973), pages 19-22 and Plates 1-9; followed by a discussion of the texts by Donadoni and A.Roccati (pages 23-64), and figural scenes by S.Bosticco (pages 65-67); "L'inquadramento archeologico," part I of "Gli scavi dell'Università di Roma all'Asasif (1973-1974-1975)," Oriens Antiquus 15 (1976) 209-217, Plates 4-8 and 20 figures, with fig. 1 a detailed plan opposite page 210. A detailed report in five sections covering pages 209-255.
91. Bibliography and plans of many of the tombs of this necropolis may be found in Porter/Moss (n.l), Vol. I, 1, The Theban Necropolis: The Private Tombs (Oxford, 1960), pages 43-4, 50-70, 238, 243-4, 247, 292, 296-7, 302, 326, 332, 356-9, 382, 387-8, 438-46; and Vol. I, 2, The Theban Necropolis: Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries (Oxford 1964), pages 623-5, 649-50, 652-5.
92. See references to Leclant above (notes 83-4), together with V.Scheil, "Le tombeau du Montou-m-hat," Mem.Miss.Arch.Fr. (Cairo) 5 (1894) page 613.
93. J.Dümichen, Der Grabpalast des Patuamenap in der thebanischen Nekropolis (three volumes, Leipzig, 1884-94).
94. Porter/Moss (n.l.), Vol. I,1, pages 68-9, with plan on page 64.
95. See also the discussion by Assman (n.85), page 11, Mutirdis.
96. Bietak/Reiser/Haslauer (n.86), Vol. I, page 62.
97. Assman (n.85), page 9, Mutirdis.
98. ibid, page 10.
99. For a discussion of the concept of the Abydos grave of Osiris, see H.Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (London 1933), two volumes, text and plates.
100. Elizabeth Thomas, The Royal necropoleis of Thebes (Princeton 1966), printed privately and limited to 90 copies, see particularly pages 273 ff.
101. Assman (n.85), page 11, Mutirdis.
102. The very complicated architectural layouts of the tombs of Mentuemhet and Pedamenopet here discussed are most easily accessible in the plans published by Porter/Moss (n.91), Vol. I,1, page 52.
103. Assman (n.85), page 12, Mutirdis.
104. See Frankfort (n.99).

105. For a comparison with the Saite scenes from the tomb of Ibi, see N. de G. Davies, The Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gebrawi, Part I: The Tomb of Abu and smaller tombs of the southern group (London 1902).
106. A very detailed discussion of the differences between the New Kingdom and Saite style in this clearly borrowed piece appears in J.D.Cooney, "Three Early Saite Tomb Reliefs", JNES 9 (1950), pages 193-203, with Plates XIV-XVI.
107. Porter/Moss (n.91), Vol. I,1, page 58: Cleveland 49.498.
108. ibid: Chicago Oriental Institute 17974.
109. Porter/Moss (n.91), Vol. I,1, page 358.
110. ibid, page 58: Boston 72.692, discussed by W.Stevenson Smith, Ancient Egypt as represented in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Boston 1942), page 157, fig. 102 (left). Fig. 101 in the third edition (Boston 1952).
111. Brief description in Porter/Moss (n.91), Vol. I,1 pages 63-68.
112. See Bietak/Reiser-Haslauer (n.86), Vol. I, pages 126-7, fig. 49.
113. See P.Manuelian, "An essay in reconstruction: Two registers from the tomb of Mentuemhat at Thebes (no.34)", MDIAK 39 (1982) fig. 2.
114. The offerings are made on braziers: Porter/Moss (n.91), Vol. I,1, page 63.
115. See Assman (n.85), page 55, Mutirdis.
116. Assman (n.85), page 41, Basa.
117. Details in Porter/Moss (n.91), Vol. I,1, pages 58, 67 and 357.
118. Assman (n.85), page 71, Mutirdis.
119. Porter/Moss (n.91), Vol. I,1 page 54.
120. For a close comparison, see Piankoff (n.47), page 312 and particularly fig. 87.
121. For Ibi, Porter/Moss (n.91), Vol. I,1 page 66; for Pabasa, page 357.
122. See Piankoff (n.47), page 438, fig. 142, Plates 183-5 (Ramesses VI); F.Guillemant, Le Tombeau de Ramses IX (Cairo 1907) Plate 93 (Ramses IX); P.Montet, Le nécropole royale de Tanis (Paris 1947-1960, three volumes), Vol. 3: Les constructions et le tombeau de Chechanq III, pages 67-69, Plates 30 ff. (Sheshonk); Frankfort (n.99), Plate 74 (Seti cenotaph).
123. Porter/Moss (n.91), Vol. I,1, pages 50-68, 357-359.
124. Assman (n.85), page 85, Mutirdis.
125. For Pathenfy, see Schenkel (n.89), page 149.
126. Assman (n.85), page 28, Basa.
127. See Porter/Moss (n.91), Vol. I,1, pages 243-4; Schenkel (n.99), p. 132 ff.
128. Porter/Moss (n.91), Vol. I,1, pages 685-6.

129. Published by G.Nagel, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Medineh, Nord, (Cairo 1929), Part III, page 9 ff.
130. U.Hölscher, The Excavation of Medinet Habu, Vol. V: Post Ramesside remains (Chicago 1954), page 26.
131. Stadelmann (n.6), pages 111-23.
132. See Montet (n.122), Part II, page 27 ff.
133. Porter/Moss (n. 1), Vol. II, Theban Temples (Oxford 1972), Plate XLIII.
134. *ibid.* pages 476-481, Plate XLV (3).
135. Hölscher (n.130), pages 23-28.
136. Bietak/Reiser-Haslauer (n.86), page 30 ff.

## Section c

137. Porter/Moss (n.8), Vol. IV, pages 59, 162 and 270 for the Saite period.
138. H.Gauthier, "Une tombe d'époque Saïte à Héliopolis," ASAE 27 (1927), pages 1-18, and particularly page 3, figure 2.
139. Gauthier (n.2) pages 8-9. Lines 23-34 cast useful light on the western part of the north wall of the southern hall of the tomb of Thery.
140. H.Gauthier, "Découvertes récentes dans la nécropole Saïte d'Héliopolis", ASAE 33 (1933) pages 27-53.
141. *ibid.* pages 36-7.
142. *ibid.* pages 33-4.
143. Porter/Moss (n.8), Vol. IV, page 62; and see particularly H. Gauthier, "A travers la Basse-Egypte: VII, tombeau d'un certain Râmes à Mataria", ASAE 21 (1921) pages 197-213, particularly 197-202.
144. Registered in the Egyptian Museum under Journal d'Entrée number 47120.
145. W.M.F.Petrie and E.J.H.Mackay, Heliopolis, Kafra Ammar and Shurufa (London 1915), particularly page 34.

## Section d

146. For a plan of the area, see Ahmed Fakhry, The Egyptian Deserts: Bahria Oasis (two volumes, Cairo 1942, 1950), Vol. I, fig. 1 and Plate V; and Fakhry, The Oases of Egypt (two volumes, Cairo 1974), Vol. II: Bahriya and Farafra Oases, figs. 21, 33, 45. For the tomb of Amenhotep, see Porter/Moss (n.1), Vol. VII, Nubia, the Deserts and Outside Egypt (Oxford 1951), page 301 with plan on page 300; Fakhry, Bahria I 39-47 and Plates VI-IX; and Fakhry, Oases II 85-99. It may

- be that the accident of archaeological excavation conceals earlier burials, as Fakhry (Bahria I, p.39) notes: "the lower part of the ridge (of Karet Helwa) has not yet been excavated, (so) it is impossible to say if it also contains tombs." It is also important to note that "Bahriya was not fully Egyptianized prior to the Middle Kingdom (Fakhry, Oases II, 57)."
147. G.Steindorff, Durch die Libysche Wüste zur Amonsoase (Leipzig 1904), 148 ff.; see also Fakhry, Bahria I, 39, and Oases II, 85.
  148. Bahria I, 20-21; Oases II, 64-5.
  149. Porter/Moss (n.146), pages 299-300; Bahria II, 1-7 and Plates I-IV. Note also Oases II, page 80.
  150. For the "temple" at el-Bawity (but see also below), see Porter/Moss (n.146) 299; Bahria II, 9-19; Oases II, 134-6. For the <sup>C</sup>Ain el-Muftallah temple, see Porter/Moss 308-310; Bahria I 150-171; Oases II 20-24. It also seems likely that the Ibis Catacombs of Qarat el-Farargi, discussed in Bahria II, 25-39, Plates XII-XXIII and in Oases II, 92-97, began to be used in Saite times.
  151. Porter and Moss (n.146), Vol. VII, page 299; Bahria II 83, fig. 70.
  152. Bahria II 41-47 and Plates XXIV-XXXV; see also Oases II 99-101.
  153. F.Cailliaud, Voyage à Méroé, au Fleuve Blanc, au-delà de Fazoql dans le midi du Royaume de Sennar, a Syouah et dans cinq autres oases (Paris 1822), 4 vols., plus 2-vol. Atlas, Vol. I, 144-194, and particularly Atlas II, Plates XXXIX and XL. Described by G.A.Hoskins, Visit to the Great Oases of the Libyan Desert (London 1837), 225-7; and discussed by Fakhry, Oases II, 89-91.
  154. Bahria I, figure 4 (page 37) and Oases II figure 59 (page 127), but there is a problem here in the alignment of these plans; a comparison with Fakhry's plans of the individual tombs (Bahria I, figs 6, 25, 51-3, 91), suggests that the "northern" alignment of the two comprehensive plans should in fact face east, a system followed by the authors of Porter/Moss (n.146) Vol. VII (plans of page 300 and discussion on pages 299-311).
  155. Bahria II, 9
  156. Bahria I, fig. 24 (page 63).
  157. Bahria I, figs. 47-8 (Pages 89-9).
  158. Bahria I, figs. 60-62 (page 104).
  159. Bahria I, figs. 92-3 (pages 124-5).
  160. Bahria I, figs. 55-8 (pages 100-102).

161. Bahria I, figs. 95-6 (page 126).
162. Again the confusion of alignment (see n.154): Bahria I, 57, describes this feature, illustrated as fig. 18 (page 59) and Plate XVI, A (the papyriiform column) as being on the north wall, but the plan on fig. 4 (page 37) would suggest it is on the east wall.
163. Bahria I, fig. 22 and Plate XVII, A-B. Fakhry describes this column (page 62) as lotiform; the palm capital column is illustrated in fig. 14 and Plate XIV, B, while another lotiform column on this east wall is shown in fig. 15.
164. Bahria I, figs. 12, 13, 19, 21, 23, and Plates XIV, A, XVII, A-B, XVIII, B and XIX (upper).
165. See Bahria I, fig. 6, and particularly Plate XII, as well as Porter/Moss page 300 for the plan.
166. Bahria I 49-50; Oases II, 138.
167. For the tomb plan, see particularly Bahria I, Plate XX, and fig. 25, and Porter/Moss, Vol. VII, page 300.
168. Bahria I fig. 29.
169. Bahria I, figs. 27-8, and Plate XXIII, B (the six emblems).
170. For representations of the Moon worship, see Bahria I, fig. 32, and Plate XXV, A. For the Sun worship, fig. 34 and Plates XXV, B and XXVII. Also, Oases II, fig. 72 (Moon) and fig. 73 (Sun).
171. Bahria fig. 53 presents a detailed plan and section of the tomb: and Porter/Moss Vol. VII 33 the plan only.
172. For this comment, see Bahria I, page 123.
173. The detailed plan and section in Bahria I fig. 91 (see also Porter/Moss Vol. VII page 300) show that the south-west column of the pillared hall remains attached to the wall behind it: it was never completely freed.
174. Bahria I, fig. 101 (also Oases II, fig. 62). The woman and her daughter are shown in similar dress on the east face of the south-east pillar (Bahria I, fig. 97 and Oases II, fig. 63). Fakhry's discussion is in Bahria I, pages 129-132.
175. Bahria I, fig. 104 (page 134).
176. Bahria II, 14.
177. This building is dealt with in detail by Fakhry, "Die Kapelle aus der Zeit des Apries in der Oase Bahria", Archiv für Ägyptische Archäologie 1 (1938) 97-100. See also Bahria II, fig. 3, and discussion on pages 9-19: Porter/Moss (n.146) 299-300: Oases II 132-6

178. Amasis as a sphinx - Bahria II, Plate IV A and Oases II, fig. 66. Human figure - Bahria II, page 12 and Plate V, A.
179. Bahria II, pages 12-13, Oases II, 135.
180. Bahria II, page 14, Oases II, fig. 65.
181. Bahria II, page 14, Oases II, page 136.
182. Bahria I, figs. 4 (numbers 5 and 6), 51-52.
183. Bahria I, page 38.

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CHAPTER V

Analysis of the architecture of the Tomb of Thery  
within the Dynasty XXVI pattern

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### a. Introduction

In the three chapters above it has become clear that each of the large Saite necropolises has its own characteristic architectural features - except that of Gizeh, where each tomb has its own general characteristics. Saqqara, for instance, is distinguished by that special type of grave architecture that appeared in the second half of the dynasty, the tomba-sarcofago a pozzo, to which Campbell's Tomb in Gizeh is closely related (see Chapter IV b above). But this is not to say that this type of burial, with enormous sarcophagus virtually filling the whole of the bottom of a very deep shaft, is the only type found at Saqqara, merely that for which it has become renowned. The great Saqqara necropolis also contains, as is mentioned above, the tombs of Bekenrenef, Ir'ahor and Eshdout, each of which has its own characteristic features.

In Asasif, the necropolis most typical of Dynasty XXVI in all of Egypt, some of the ornate tombs do not share the generally accepted features, but overall the division into five major elements - superstructure, entrance and ante-chamber, excavated open court, substructure, cult rooms and burial place - holds good for the majority (see Chapter IV c above), and their very magnificence has made them typical of the dynasty and of the site. In Heliopolis, set within the alluvial mud of the Delta, the necropolis builders had little choice but to form a local character, the answer being found in tombs built of limestone and often surrounded by a mud-brick enclosure (Chapter IV d): such buildings are not found in the necropolises of the dry land. Local conditions also proved overwhelmingly taken into consideration in the Bahriya Oasis (Chapter IV e), and the solution - rock-cut tombs - is very similar in each case.

But in Gizeh the tomb of Thery, the main focus of this discussion, is immediately and obviously very different in its architectural form from all other tombs of the period within the vast necropolis. As will be discussed below, this difference also extends to the texts and scenes with which the tomb is inscribed, raising a series of questions about building materials, features of the architecture and shape of the tomb, and why Thery chose to select this site on the southern slope of the southern hill of the Gizeh plateau.

b. Building materials and local conditions

It is immediately worth remarking that They used the same building methods and materials as were used in the Old Kingdom. He built his tomb as if it were a mastaba, even to the inclined outer walls: but here the core-mastaba of the early dynasties has disappeared. Instead They used the fine limestone of Turah for the outer casing of the walls, but retained a portion of the Old Kingdom system in using small chunks of the local nummulitic limestone as the filling between the inner and outer skins of the walls (see Chapter I b above). This system of building is also used in Gizeh in the Temple of Isis during Dynasty XXVI, and it seems probable that They was in some way influenced by the way this temple was built and decorated.

The condition of the local stone on the southern hill is very poor, softer and more friable than in any other area of the Gizeh plateau, and this in itself would have been a good reason for They to build his tomb rather than to cut it from the rock, as did others in the area. Full of fossil shells, the nummulitic limestone is easy neither to work nor to decorate, and They chose only to cut the shaft and burial chamber from the living rock: neither of these was decorated.

In examining the question of They's being influenced by other tombs in other necropolises of Egypt, it is important to note that only two of the vast number of Saite tombs throughout the country are stone-built: those of They and Esdhout at Saqqara.<sup>1</sup> If the "temple" of Amasis in Bahriya is considered as the mortuary chapel of Zed-Khonsu-ef-<sup>C</sup>ankh, this would provide a third (see Chapter IV e): but no other throughout the survey above is both built of stone and free-standing. So if They shares similarities with any of his dynastic contemporaries, in architectural form at least, it should be with these two, and particularly with Esdhout since it is so close at Saqqara. It is clearly relevant to note here that both They and Esdhout belong to the same chronological period, the beginning of Dynasty XXVI.

### c. Architectural features

The immediate difficulty facing an examination of the tomb of Thery is that of its overall exterior shape, that of a cruciform mastaba. An attempt to trace this shape back to its very first appearance within the architecture of Egypt reveals that it is totally unique: not a single tomb from the dawn of Egyptian history echoes its external form. But there are clues to the influences on Thery in the general idea of the core-mastabas of fine limestone which characterised the Old Kingdom necropolis of Memphis: these mastabas were built complete with chapels for offerings, and in some cases the chapels - which were placed inside the mastaba - were given a cruciform shape. In others they were attached to its exterior. The first appearance of such a single-niched cruciform chapel is at Meidum in Mastaba 7,<sup>2</sup> and in Mastaba 17 at the same site the burial place was cut in cruciform shape.<sup>3</sup>

In Gizeh the earliest appearance of the form is in the chapel of the small pyramid GI-b, which Reisner<sup>4</sup> describes as "a two-niched cruciform chapel built against the front of the sloping facade of the pyramid and...in fact an exterior chapel." At Saqqara the single-niche cruciform chapel continued in use until the end of Dynasty V, usually aligned north-south and often completed with a statue niche or false door, sometimes with a *serdab* behind the chapel. Even though Thery's building has no niches, statues or false doors, it seems very likely that he was influenced by the ancient form and wanted to build his tomb in the same general shape: it is likely that the combination of expense and the style of the period prevented his making a closer copy.

As for his selection of site, it may well have been that he chose the southernhill because the pyramids plateau, the chosen site for mastabas, was more crowded than he would have wished: a large area is needed for this architectural form borrowed from the Old Kingdom mastabas. As Reisner says, "The cruciform chapel is not adapted to mastabas crowded together in a great cemetery. It can only be used for a mastaba on an independent site with free space."<sup>5</sup> Therefore, it is reasonable to say that, far from being

influenced by the site he had chosen, Thery in fact chose that site specifically to make available the space needed to build and display the type of tomb-architecture he had selected.

To understand some of the elements of the structure, however, it is necessary to compare it with others of the same period, and with those of more ancient times: here the scenes and inscriptions to be discussed in the following chapter will add a great deal to the overall picture.

But on an architectural level, a look at Thery in the context of other early-dynasty tombs in Saqqara, Bekenrenef and Esdhout, it is at once clear that they differ. Both Bekenrenef and Esdhout were once fronted by great pylons followed by an open court, whereas Thery's entrance is followed by the long southern room. But it may not be too adventurous to suggest that this southern room, the largest by far in the whole complex of Thery, may have fulfilled the function of an open court, especially since there are no traces remaining to suggest whether it was ever roofed. In fact, it was noted above (Chapter II b) that the traces of walls remaining today show no sign of the slight angles that indicate an arched roof overhead in the other rooms. In this case, the southern wall will have taken the place of the pylon, with the entrance door at its centre. This reconstruction raises the important question: how is it possible for an open court to have the burial shaft driven directly from its centre? But, another look at the tomb of Esdhout reveals precisely the same pattern in principle, with the single shaft descending from his outer court. So the southern room of Thery may well be considered the tomb's open court, as is found both in the tombs of the same period in Saqqara and in Asasif, where the southern room will correspond with the ante-chamber and light-well, a feature which will be yet more clearly explained in the chapter on texts and scenes portrayed in the corresponding rooms.

Further links between Thery and his Saite contemporaries come in the two mirror-image rooms set to east and west of the central hall in Thery's edifice, corresponding in function to the transverse room (D) of Bekenrenef and to the similar transverse passage in the Asasif tombs. The northern room of the tomb of Thery would have had the function of the holy of holies, or sanctuary, corresponding to the statue room (E) of Bekenrenef and the statue rooms

of Esdhout and to the Kultziel in Asasif. One very important item lacking in the tomb of Thery, yet otherwise common to the tombs of the beginning of the dynasty in Saqqara, in most of the tombs of Asasif and even in Bahriya, is the pillared hall. But its absence can be explained by the fact that Thery's overall structural unit is kept very simple indeed, without either columns, statues or false doors.

As for the shaft, it is clear that Thery was strongly influenced by the shafts of the Old Kingdom, and particularly by the very deep-cut examples which may descend as many as 20 metres even though they differ from Thery in being partly cut through the body of the core-mastaba. But the shaft of Thery is very similar both in the manner in which it is cut and in its depth, and, like those of the Old Kingdom, it has the local limestone reinforced by the builders to a depth of about 1.30m below the surface by an inner casing of three courses of fine limestone.

The shaft leads to rock-cut rooms which, again like those of the Old Kingdom, are left undecorated and unpainted (there are very few exceptions to this rule in Gizeh: in a few mastabas the roof of the burial chamber has been painted pink in imitation of granite). Again in most cases in the Old Kingdom, the burial chamber was cut into the southern side of the deep shaft.

It is most probable, however, that, despite appearances, the northern burial chamber in the tomb of Thery was never finished, even though it was used for burials in later times, and that it was planned by Thery and his architect as a false chamber, as is the case in the tombs of Pedamenopet and Mentuemhet. It is even possible that the true burial chamber has not yet been excavated but is to be reached through a shaft concealed in the floor of the "northern burial chamber."

d. Comparison of likely use

They was far from unusual in the Saite period in being affected by the ancient glories of Egypt, for this is the general case with the other Saite necropolises. An example is the shaft-tomb system of Saqqara, whose architects were clearly influenced by the Step Pyramid itself. When they visited the Step Pyramid to restore its interior they found it useful and reverent to adopt the same plan, building a huge and deep shaft and placing at its base a massive stone sarcophagus. Additions were made, however, to suit the period in which they lived, and the chapel built above the shaft would have taken on the function of the pyramid itself.

In Asasif, we find that the architects of area were much influenced by the tombs of their ancestors around them. building materials, for instance, they used mud-brick, a technique borrowed from El-Tarif<sup>6</sup> and its mud-brick mastabas dating back to the Old and Middle Kingdoms, and the plans and building materials of their superstructures were influenced by the funerary temples of the kings of the New Kingdom, particularly those of Tuthmosis III and Seti I at el-Qurna. These funerary temples were built of mud-brick, but their doorways were faced with limestone or sandstone and decorated with reliefs just as we find in the Saite period. The architecture of the Saite superstructure was, as indicated above in Chapter IV c, influenced to some degree by the Osirieion in Abydos, and by the tombs of the Valley of the Kings.

In Bahriya Oasis, the rock-cut tombs of the Saite period were much influenced by the shape and plan of the tomb of Amenhotep, Governor of the Oasis, which dates back to the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

So it is not unusual to find that They was affected by his ancestors in dimly-remembered antiquity, particularly when the whole spirit of the age seems to have been to revive the great glories of the past and mould their outward facets into a new method to suit the changed times of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Here it is safe to say that They took the principal idea for his permanent monument from the surrounding Old Kingdom necropolis, and himself gave it such small changes of architectural detail as to make it unique throughout Egypt.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

## Section b

1. See Chapter IV b iii, Page 138 above; and J.E.Quibell, Excavations at Saqqara 1908-1910 (Cairo 1912), pages 30-33 and Plan LIX (1).

## Section c

2. G.A.Reisner, The Development of the Egyptian tomb down to the Accession of Cheops (London 1936), page 214, fig. 112.
3. ibid, page 210, fig. 105.
4. G.A.Reisner, A History of the Gizeh Necropolis (Cambridge, Mass., 1942), Vol. I, page 247.
5. ibid, page 248.

## Section d

6. For discussion, see D. Arnold, Gräber des Alten und Mittleren Reichs in El-Tarif (three volumes, Mainz 1976).
7. Reisner, Gizeh (n.4), page 86 ff.

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CHAPTER VI

Analysis of scenes from the Tomb of Thery  
within the Dynasty XXVI pattern

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a. Introduction

As discussed in the preceding Chapter, the architecture of the tomb of Thery is based on archaic ideas and principles, adapted to suit the age in which he lived to such a degree that it became a building unique in Egypt's history. In examining the scenes Thery chose to adorn the walls of his tomb, it is at once clear that the same pattern is followed, that of looking back to ancient times: in scenes of daily life, for instance, Thery has borrowed directly from the Old Kingdom, and particularly from scenes depicted in tombs around him at Gizeh. In this he is following the typical Saite pattern. But religious scenes in nearly all the tombs of the period under review are adapted instead from the New Kingdom; although Thery follows the principle used by the Saite, still his tomb enjoys its own individual character, particularly in the placing of scenes of adoration on some of its exterior walls (see Chapter II c above).

The similarities between Thery and other tombs of the Saite period may be shown by comparing all of the tombs, but leaving aside for the following chapter the shaft-tombs of Saqqara, which differ from the majority in being inscribed mainly with texts rather than scenes, and so do not fit into the scenic framework of others at Saqqara, such as those of Bekenrenef, Ir<sup>C</sup>ahor and Esdhout (see Chapter IV b above), each of which, however, has its individual characteristics. Even though they may differ from each other in details, yet they share striking similarities with the Saite tombs of Asasif in the choice of scenes and texts. It is remarkable here to note that the tombs of Bekenrenef and Ir<sup>C</sup>ahor do not follow the general spirit of the period in adapting Old Kingdom daily-life scenes even though they are surrounded by them; and only Esdhout retains fragments of scenes of fowling and hunting in the marshes: it is doubly unfortunate that so little of this tomb has survived for detailed examination.

In Asasif, virtually all of the monumental tombs have similar inscription patterns of scenes and texts, so close in fact that it is not difficult to find parallels to damaged scenes

in other tombs nearby. At this site, it is safe to say that the vast majority of the scenes of daily life are adapted from the Old Kingdom tombs around them as well as from other sites. Good examples are the tombs of Ibi and Mentuemhet (see Chapter IV c, Pages 176-179. But a few tombs have borrowed from New Kingdom tombs at Thebes:<sup>1</sup> for instance, the tombs of CAnkh-Hor and Pabasa show scenes of honey-bees,<sup>2</sup> and in Basa is the scene of the deceased before the offering table, borrowed from Puimre.<sup>3</sup> But in general the main topic of the inscriptions of Asasif was chapters of the Book of the Dead with scenes of the underworld, and these closely recall the tombs of the kings of the New Kingdom, especially that of Ramesses VI, and the Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos. Other scenes, also of a religious nature, are borrowed from the private tombs of the New Kingdom at Thebes.

The tombs of the Divine Wives at Medinet Habu follow their own pattern (see Chapter IV c, Pages 180-182 above). All are similar and all are based on a religious character suiting their presence in the Medinet Habu temple. These are usually scenes of offering incense and making libations to the gods.

In Bahriya, of all the scenes painted in the tombs, there are none showing daily life. All are religious, showing particularly the Book of the Dead borrowed from the New Kingdom private tombs but also, and more importantly, from the tomb of Amenhotep in Bahriya itself (Chapter IV e, Pages 186-190 above).<sup>4</sup>

In Gizeh, Thery fits the pattern of the area by adapting local Old Kingdom scenes, but he was able to make a selective choice: other Gizeh tombs chose to adapt different scenes from the Old Kingdom, such as offerings and fishing. A discussion of the scenes of daily life follows; thereafter (Pages 221-228 the religious scenes will be examined.

b. Scenes of daily life

In general, the scenes belonging to this style of decoration adapted from the Old Kingdom to Saite use - the deceased and his wife seated before offerings, the offering bearers, fishing and fowling, musicians - were used by the Saites at virtually every site.

Two other tombs of Dynasty XXVI at Gizeh, those of Ptahardais and LG 81, are decorated with such scenes.

In LG 81, the representations of the tomb owner and his wife watching the fishermen (see fig. 14 above, Chapter III c) share very many detailed similarities with those of the Old Kingdom in Memphis<sup>5</sup> and also in Thebes<sup>6</sup> - similarities which do not appear in the scene as depicted during the New Kingdom.<sup>7</sup> Very typical also is the plaited vertical border-decoration behind the deceased and his wife (see fig. 14), which recalls Old Kingdom decoration of the Memphite area.<sup>8</sup> The tomb of Ptahardais (fig. 18), on the other hand, has fragments of offering-bearers, another typical Saite adaption from the Old Kingdom: most Asasif tombs include this scene, with good examples in the tombs of Mentuemhet<sup>9</sup> and Ibi,<sup>10</sup> who, it must be remembered copied his daily-life scenes directly from the tomb of his namesake at Deir el-Gebrawi.

They chose to include on the western inner wall of his southern room (see Chapter II c, Page 35 and fig. 6 above) a scene of himself and his wife seated before an offering table and musicians which could have come almost directly from an Old Kingdom tomb. One notable exception of detail is the presence under They's seat of the roll-handled jar with the unusual inscription (see Page 36 above);<sup>11</sup> a jar under the seat was a popular topic in the Saite period.<sup>12</sup>

The Old Kingdom depiction of the deceased seated before the offering table on a classical throne has virtually disappeared in most tombs of the New Kingdom, to be replaced by the flared-leg stool.<sup>13</sup> But in some cases the throne survived to the New Kingdom, for instance in the tomb of Puimre at Thebes<sup>14</sup> - a scene which Basa copied directly to his tomb in the Asasif necropolis.<sup>15</sup> This scene from the tomb of They, showing him with his wife, offering table and

musicians, when compared with the parallels of the Saite tombs of Asasif, and particularly with Basa (see Assman Plate XVI) - in which Basa and his wife have under their seat two jars of the *ḥ3tt nt thnw* type - leads to the inescapable conclusion that the lost blocks of both eastern and western walls of Thery's southern room will have contained scenes and lists of offerings.

On the same southern room's western wall, before Thery and his wife, are harpists and singers in a scene typical of the Old Kingdom<sup>16</sup> which Thery has borrowed from the nearby tombs of Gizeh and Saqqara; and also to be found in the Old Kingdom tombs of Deir el-Gebrawi.<sup>17</sup> The type of harp depicted by Thery is precisely that used in the Old Kingdom tombs,<sup>18</sup> the shovel-shaped *bnt*-harp. This was the favourite musical instrument of ancient Egypt, and although the musician and the craftsman adapted both its shape and decoration throughout its long history, it is striking that the Saites should choose to depict it in its Old Kingdom form.

These scenes of daily life in Thery's southern room - and nowhere else in the tomb - would suggest, as mentioned above in Chapter V (Pages 209-211), that the room was used to fulfil the function of the offering chapel of the Old Kingdom, the transverse hall of the New Kingdom and the ante-chamber and open court of the Saite period at Asasif, in all of which similar scenes are found.

c. Scenes of religion and ritual

Although the daily-life scenes are the first to strike the visitor who enters Thery's tomb, the majority of the scenes throughout the tomb are in fact religious in character, fully in keeping with the spirit of the period, with only a small part of most tombs devoted to daily life; in some cases there are no scenes of daily life at all.

But two scenes at once unusual and in a way related to scenes of daily life are those of the southern and northern walls of the eastern room (see Chapter II c, Pages 77-78 and 81-83 above). That on the southern wall is most unexpected in a private tomb, showing as it does Thery making a libation and offering incense before his father, who is seated in the traditional manner of the Old Kingdom before an offering table. The only difference between this offering table and those of the Old Kingdom is the presence of the two jars, which are typically Saite.<sup>19</sup> In having this scene drawn on his tomb wall, Thery was undoubtedly recalling the temple libation scenes, in which the king makes precisely the same ritual before the god.<sup>20</sup>

On the northern wall is a mirror-scene, in which Thery is represented seated in front of the offering table (compare the scene with his father just mentioned) while his elder son makes a libation and his second son leads a calf in offering: the bringing of the calf is the only part of the scene paralleled in many Saite tombs.<sup>21</sup>

These two scenes have no direct parallels in any Saite tomb (apart from the calf offering), but the topic itself has been taken from the Old Kingdom, where the children are represented with the deceased either as musicians or as offering bearers. The common Old Kingdom representation of children is seated in a row on the same wall where the deceased is shown seated before the offering table.

Throughout the Saite period the majority of religious scenes depicted in the tombs are related to the Book of the Dead, and most of the rest devoted to adoration and worship, usually to Osiris and family deities: worship of the deceased's father, as

described above, is most unusual. In the Saite period, the representation of Osiris as king of the dead and thus the centre of worship took the place of the representation of the king of the private tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

The presence of scenes of the gods in the private tombs indicates the importance with which the tombs were viewed, and the planned pattern of scenes of the Saites will have contained scenes of worship in every tomb (in Gizeh tomb LG 81 and that of Ptahardais little is left today to indicate that there were scenes of the gods, but their absence would have been most unusual), and especially of the gods of the necropolis. Above all was Osiris, together with the members of his family, particularly Isis, then Anubis, and fourthly Hathor, who was particularly popular in the Theban necropolis. Another aspect typical of Asasif is the worship of the Sun-god, which had been transferred from the New Kingdom tombs of Thebes.

Among the religious scenes of Thery the general idea of representing the gods was paramount - and especially Osiris, who was, as Assman says,<sup>22</sup> "Osiris ist der Totenherrscher schlechthin, dem jede ägyptische Nekropole heilig ist" and typical among all the Saite necropolises. See, for instance, Chapter IV, Page 157 for Saqqara; Chapter IV, Page 189 for Bahriya; Chapter IV, Pages 177-179 and Page 181 for Asasif; and in Gizeh the tomb of Petubaste (Pages 136-7, Chapter III) follows the same pattern. In this idea of adoration of Osiris there is no borrowing from the Old Kingdom, since the scenes of adoring the gods started only with the New Kingdom, hence there is no earlier parallel to Thery's religious scenes from the Gizeh necropolis itself.

But in Saqqara the tomb-chapel of Mose from the New Kingdom has scenes of adoration<sup>23</sup> and in Bahriya the tomb of Amenhotep (see Chapter IV e, Page 186 above) follows the same pattern, as do most of the tombs of the New Kingdom at Thebes, and particularly those of Deir el-Medineh. But the details of Thery's scenes of worship and adoration find no precise parallel either among his fellow Saites or among his forerunners of the New Kingdom.

Foremost in his individuality is the repeated representation of adoration of Osiris on the exterior walls of his tomb:<sup>24</sup> no other tomb has this element. The repeated scenes (see Chapter II, Pages 25 f, fig. 3 above) may be similar to the

damaged scenes in the tomb of Bekenrenef (see Chapter IV, Page 131),<sup>25</sup> where Bekenrenef is represented before three seated gods (Osiris, Ptah-Sokar and the third damaged), whereas in Thery the scene is repeated seven times, although there are no texts.

Other exterior scenes are those on the southern-facing sides of the western and eastern rooms (see figs. 1, 4 and 5 above), and these are more usually to be found on stelae, for instance the stela of Merit-Neith, daughter of <sup>c</sup>Anch-Hor<sup>26</sup> where Merit-Neith is represented before Osiris on the left and before Re<sup>c</sup>-Harakhte on the right. But again there is no direct parallel to these scenes, and that on the western room, showing the standing figure of Osiris in the memphite style repeated three times before Thery (fig. 4) is most unusual: it might be expected to be found on a stela, but hardly on a tomb.<sup>27</sup>

Inside the tomb, the northern room is dedicated to the worship of Osiris and thus may be considered the holy of holies or sanctuary, as mentioned in Chapter V c, Page 180 above: it became the style in Saite times to have the representation in the most holy part of the tomb rather than in the ante-chamber as in the New Kingdom. But the main scene of the room is depicted on the northern wall, so that one could see it from the entrance to the tomb (see Plan II), just as was found in the temples of the New Kingdom.<sup>28</sup> This scene (fig. 7 above) is the common scene of Osiris flanked by Isis and Nephthys, Isis having the title *nbt rst3w*, which means that by the time of the building of the Thery tomb she had become one of the most important gods of the Gizeh necropolis.<sup>29</sup> It is important to note here that Isis is not given this title in the scenes of the Isis Temple at Gizeh, which may be taken to mean that the Temple pre-dates the building of the tomb: perhaps her popularity increased after the building of the temple until by the time of Thery she had become equal in rank with Osiris.

In this scene Nephthys (?) is represented in the same manner as Isis, but wearing a different and unusual wig, the vulture head-dress, which is known mostly to be reserved for the goddess Mut, queen of the goddesses, and for the queens after the Eighteenth Dynasty. Both Isis and Nephthys are known to wear the head-dress,<sup>30</sup> but it is most unusual for the twin goddesses to wear different head-dresses in the same scene. There is a small doubt about

the identification of Nephthys in this scene, since there is no inscription to identify her certainly, but in all parallel scenes of Osiris being protected by two goddesses they are always Isis and Nephthys.

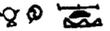
On the eastern wall of this room (see fig. 8) is the representation of Thery and Osiris shown in the usual fashion of adoration common in Dynasty XXVI,<sup>31</sup> and echoing the scenes on the western wall exterior of the southern room. Here Thery is worshipping the standing figure of Osiris, and behind Osiris is the goddess Maat in another unusual feature for the Thery tomb. Maat is indicated as being much smaller than Thery, which is in itself unusual, and also she has the  $m_3^c t$ -feather in place of her head. The more usual presence of Maat in scenes with Osiris is in the Judgement Hall, where she is always shown with human head wearing the feather.<sup>32</sup> For example, in the Saite tomb of Mutirdais<sup>33</sup> she is shown at the same height as the other gods before Osiris, welcoming Horus and Thoth who are bringing the deceased before the king of the dead. In Bahriya, in the tomb of Baennentiu, she is represented - again at normal height - wearing the feather and again presenting the deceased in the Judgement Hall.<sup>34</sup> Again, she was commonly shown wearing the feather inside the base of wooden coffins particularly of Dynasty XXI, and this representation of the substitution of the feather for the head is the earliest known. If this was an invention of the Saite period, it is remarkable that there is no parallel in any other Saite tomb.

But on the papyrus of  $p_3-hr-hns$  (Turin No. 55), dated to a later period and perhaps Greek, she is shown in both forms, the human-headed pushing the deceased to another figure of Maat wearing the feather for a head similar to the representation in the tomb of Thery.<sup>35</sup> It is possible to interpret the papyrus figures as indicating that the human-headed goddess is Maat; and that which is represented with the feather is Truth itself; which would explain the unusual representation in Thery's tomb - that Osiris is being protected not merely by the goddess Maat but by Truth personified.

In the same room and on the southern wall (eastern side) (see fig. 9 above) is a large figure of a Djed pillar with Thery adoring it in a kneeling position: the depiction of the pillar in this room, the sanctuary, is not unexpected when the whole of the scenes are dedicated to Osiris, and particularly that on the eastern

wall with the text devoted to Osiris *Wn-nfr*. The *gd*-pillar is known from the Old Kingdom and was particularly popular in Memphis, where it is described in texts as *gd špsi* and the deceased would be *im3h hr gd špsi ntr* <sup>C3 nb pt.</sup><sup>36</sup> The pillar also had close affinity with the Triad of Memphis,<sup>37</sup> which would have made it all the more important for the Memphite Thery to have the representation in his tomb.

But the stronger connection between Osiris and the *gd*-pillar started in the New Kingdom, when Osiris was described as the sacred *gd*,<sup>38</sup> and the pillar itself came to be known as *Wsir hnty imtyw*. It is not unusual to find the pillar in Saite tombs for these reasons: because of its archaising features (its relation particularly to the Memphite Triad), its strong connection with Osiris, and because it figures in parts of the Book of the Dead, for instance Chapter 16,<sup>39</sup> and Chapters 137A, 151 and 155.<sup>40</sup> But the representation of Thery adoring the pillar is again unique: the pillar was normally adored by deities rather than humans, and the popular scene is to have Isis and Nephthys adoring it, as shown on the wooden coffins of the late New Kingdom. Even the position of Thery's adoration is unusual: this kneeling pose is usually reserved for adoration before gods, for instance in the Isis Temple at Gizeh (Chapter III, fig. 13 above) the priest Harbes is shown kneeling before Isis who has the infant Horus in her lap. In this representation - as in the tomb - the worshipper wears priestly dress, and the whole representation of Harbes is very similar to that of Thery, providing another link between Thery's tomb chapel and the Temple of Isis.

As it was usual to find Osiris and the deities related to him in private tombs of the Saite period, so it was also expected to find Hathor. She was very popular ever since the New Kingdom in private tombs at Thebes, and especially in Deir el-Medineh. In the tomb of Kenamun she is represented as a seated female figure with the epithet <sup>41</sup> and she grew in rank to come almost alongside Osiris and Isis in Dynasty XXVI.

In the tomb of Thery she is shown in the central hall in the form of a cow (Petrie Plate XXXVI G), with the title  and standing in a shrine on a boat, worshipped by Thery in the kneeling position. This representation of Hathor as a cow was very common in Dynasty XXVI tombs, for example, in that of Esdhout at

Saqqara,<sup>42</sup> but it is unfortunate that the scene is too fragmentary to compare with that of Thery. In Asasif, in the tomb of Basa, she again takes cow form, but without shrine or boat, and here she has the New Kingdom epithet .<sup>43</sup> It was natural to find the representation of Hathor at Asasif, first because she was the goddess of the Theban hills, which would make her one of the principal deities of the necropolis of Thebes; second because of the existence of her chapel in the temple of Deir el-Bahri in close proximity to the Saite tombs: as mentioned above, the Saites were quick to borrow religious scenes from New Kingdom representations. The Asasif tombs have taken some decorative elements from the Deir el-Bahri chapel of Hathor, and some, for instance Ibi and Basa,<sup>44</sup> dedicated parts of their tombs to her adoration.

Hathor is represented again in the tomb of Thery, on the southern side of the west wall of the eastern chamber (Petrie Plate XXXIII left) in the same manner as Anubis on the northern side of the same wall (Petrie Plate XXXIII right), embracing the mummy of Thery. This representation can have come only from the tombs of the Valley of the Kings, where it figures on the pillars of the burial chambers.

Two other gods are represented in the tomb of Thery in adoration scenes, those of worship for Sokar in his bark, and for Geb.

Sokar is shown in his bark (see Petrie Plate XXXVI G, right), which is the common representation of the name of Sokar.<sup>45</sup> It is not unexpected to find him in the tomb because Sokar was called "Sokar of Rostau", that is, "Sokar of the Gizeh necropolis", and the centre of his worship was close to the Sphinx.<sup>46</sup> A similar scene to that in Thery is to be found in the Ramesside tomb-chapel of Mose at Saqqara,<sup>47</sup> from which the damaged text of Thery may be completed. But in Bahriya the Sokar bark is shown in the tomb of Pede'ashtar in a different manner from that of Thery, not with offerings and libations but in a scene belonging to the underworld, carried on <sup>cnh</sup>-signs.<sup>48</sup>

As for Geb, little is known of any special cult to him apart from his cult as a member of the Ennead. He was, however, one of the gods to whom offerings were made for the benefit of the dead,<sup>49</sup> and was also connected with the god Sobek. Since the eastern room of Thery (see Chapter II above, Pages 74-84) contains mention of Thery as libator of the

temple of Sobek at *Sdt*, this may explain his presence in the tomb. Again no parallel to this scene is known from private tombs, and Geb figures mainly in tomb inscriptions, particularly the Pyramid Texts,<sup>50</sup> although he is given the *h̄tp di nswt* formula on the sarcophagus of Nekhtubasterau from Tomb LG 83 at Gizeh.

The Judgement Hall scene from the central hall (see Chapter II, Pages 40-49 above) is reproduced by Seeber<sup>51</sup> as being unusual. The triple scene (the judgement scene has below it others of Geb and Hathor; and on the south half of the eastern wall are three more scenes) is said to be unusual in both its small size and even in the fact that it combined three scenes above each other, reminiscent of papyri but not immediately paralleled in a tomb. Also unusual is the way the Monster is depicted, lying flat on the ground, couchant, instead of in the usual squatting position, and bearing the title *nbt imntt*. The Saite representation from Bahriya has the Monster squatting as usual, and with the title *h̄mt imntt* (see Chapter IV e, Page 158 above). The judgement scenes appear in only two Asasif tombs - those of Mentuemhet and Pedamenopet - and three at Bahriya, Zeamun-ef-<sup>C</sup>ankh, Thaty and Pede'ashtar.<sup>52</sup>

In both eastern and western rooms of They are the Guardians (Demons) of the Gates. In the western room, they belong to Chapter 146 of the Book of the Dead in its short form (15 doors), and the text accompanying the Guardians will be discussed in the next Chapter. All except four (which have human heads) are shown as human figures with animal heads, carrying upraised knives on their knees, the common representation.<sup>53</sup>

They has his Guardians seated in their shrines (Plates XXXI, XXXII; Petrie Plate XXVI D, E and F; and fig. 23 in Chapter VII below), whereas in Mutardais the only remaining scene from the other Saite tombs belonging to the Book of the Gates the figures are standing rather than seated. Mutardais' Gates are from Chapter 145, the longer version.<sup>54</sup> This section of the Book of the Dead was very popular in the tombs of the Valley of the Kings,<sup>55</sup> but it is not usual in the private tombs of Dynasty XVIII: a rare example is the tomb of Kenamun<sup>56</sup> in which the Guardians are seated in ornate and richly-decorated shrines, whereas in They and Mutardais the shrines are simple. This chapter of the Book of the Dead was also very common on papyrus.<sup>57</sup>

In the eastern room (Petrie Plate XXXV), the Guardians are represented in a very short version of Chapter 146 with only seven Guardians standing in a row, the first with the head of an ibis, the others with ram-heads, being adored by Thery. No parallel to this scene is known from any private tomb, either in the New Kingdom or Saite periods, but they may be found slightly differently in the Valley of the Kings. In Ramesses VI, for instance, the Guardians are standing as in Thery's tomb, but they have either jackal or human heads, and are also nine in number instead of seven.<sup>58</sup>

It is interesting here to note that the scenes related to the Book of the Dead follow the alignment east-west, ie, they appear in the eastern and western rooms, the usual direction to present the Book of the Dead in this period; as noted above in Chapter V, these two side rooms will have fulfilled the function of the transverse room in the Asasif tombs, where were represented similar scenes and texts.

d. Other decoration in the tomb

Because Petrie found the tomb with only one room with its original ceiling, it is impossible to say with certainty whether the ceilings of the eastern and western rooms were decorated: the northern room has no decoration above. But in the northern room are two elements of decoration which fall outside both daily-life and religious categories. The first is the winged sun-disk protecting the whole scene of Osiris below (see Chapter II c, Pages 54-57 and fig.7 above), which is a very common element in tombs, and found even more often on stelae.

The second is the low frieze of lotus flowers beneath the same scene, which brings to mind immediately the enormous depiction of lotuses in the tomb of Mentuemhet at Asasif.<sup>59</sup> This element is not a Saite introduction, but had been a favourite decoration of Old Kingdom false doors,<sup>60</sup> as well as in the shrines of the private tombs of the New Kingdom, for instance the tomb of Amenemhet<sup>61</sup> and the shrine of the tomb of Antefoker.<sup>62</sup> But again They adapted rather than copying directly, placing his lotuses in bound pairs in the sanctuary of his tomb. The massive representations in Mentuemhet and the very careful frieze in They might lead to speculation that the lotus may have had more religious power in the time of the Saïtes.

The last element of decoration is the common combination of the seated Anubis with the *wḏt*, *šnw*, *nfr* and *wsḥt* signs, on the northern room's eastern wall (see fig. 8 above). This combination was very popular in tombs and on stelae from the Old Kingdom, and again becomes very common in the Saite period. But this does not mean that it disappeared in the New Kingdom, since there is good evidence for its use in the tomb of Amenemhet.<sup>63</sup> This combination is found at Saqqara in Bekenrenef (see Chapter IV, fig. 21 above), but without the *nfr* signs, and in the tomb of Basa.<sup>64</sup>

\* \* \*

This examination would suggest that the tomb of They has, as mentioned above, many similarities with the majority of Saite tombs in devoting a section (the southern room) to scenes of daily life, corresponding to the ante-chamber and open court of Asasif and to the offering chapel of the Old Kingdom: but, in unity with the Saïtes, most of the tomb's scenes are religious. In its treatment, however, They again presents a tomb unique in its details.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

## Section a

1. John D. Cooney, "Three Early Saite tomb Reliefs," JNES 9 (1950) pages 193-203, Plates XIII-XVI.
2. For discussion of this motif in <sup>C</sup>Anch-Hor and the unpublished Pabasa, see M.Bietak and Elfriede Reiser-Haslauer, Das Grab des <sup>C</sup>Anch-Hor, Obersthofmeister der Gottesgemahlin Nitokris (two volumes, Vienna 1978), page 126.
3. See J.Assman, Grabung in Asasif 1963-1970 (DAI). Bd. II, Das Grab des Basa (Nr. 389) in der thebanischen Nekropole (Arch. Veröffentlichungen 6, Mainz 1973), page 100; and compare N. de G. Davies, The tomb of Puyimre at Thebes (two volumes, New York 1922-23).
4. Gaballa A. Gaballa, Narrative in Egyptian Art (Mainz 1976), page 135.

## Section b

5. For depictions of this scene, see Ahmed Moussa and H.Altenmüller, Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep (Mainz 1977), Abb. 12; and also L.Klebs, Die Reliefs des alten Reiches, 2980-2475 v.Chr., Material zur Ägyptischen Kulturgeschichte (Heidelberg 1915) page 76 ff.; and the Manuscripts of James Burton, registered in the British Library, London, as Additional Manuscripts 25613-75, particularly 25621, 143, 18 (reverse) - a scene of Gizeh, but no tomb is specified.
6. For the Old Kingdom at Thebes, see Mohammed Saleh, Three Old-Kingdom Tombs at Thebes (DAI Arch. Veröffentlichungen 14, Mainz 1977), Plate 14.
7. For detailed discussion of the differences between the two periods, refer to L.Klebs, Die Reliefs und Malereien des neuen Reiches, 18.-20. Dynastie, Material zur Ägyptischen Kulturgeschichte, Tl. 1, Szenen aus dem Leben des Volkes (Heidelberg 1934), page 86; and Annalies and A.Brack, Das Grab des Haremheb. Theben Nr. 78 (Mainz 1980), Plate 89, for typical New Kingdom illustrations.
8. Moussa/Altенmüller (n.5), Plate 15.
9. P.Manuelian, "An essay in reconstruction: Two registers from the tomb of Mentuemhat at Thebes (no. 34)," MDIAK 39 (1982) fig. 2.
10. N.de G. Davies, The rock cut tombs of Deir el-Gebrawi (two volumes, London 1902), Vol. I, The tomb of Abu and smaller tombs in the southern group, Appendix.
11. Despite exhaustive research, the inscription on this representation of the

roll-handled jar remains a mystery, without apparent parallel, although it seems clear that it must refer either to the jar itself or to its contents.

12. J.Leclant, Montouemhat, quatrième prophète d'Amoun, prince de la ville (Cairo 1961), Plate LXI; see also Bietak/Reiser-Haslauer (n.2), Vol. II, Plate 37; Assman (n.3), Plate XVI; and J.Dümichen, Der Grabpalast des Patuamenap in der thebanischen Nekropolis, Vol. III, Plates XIII, XVI.
13. P.Manuelian, "Notes on the so-called Turned Stools of the New Kingdom," Essays in Honor of Dows Dunham on the occasion of his 90th birthday (Boston 1981), page 125.
14. For Puimre, see Davies (n.3), Plate LVIII; and also in the tomb of Antef, see T.Säve-Söderbergh, Four Eighteenth-Dynasty Tombs, in Private Tombs at Thebes, Vol. I, Plate XI.
15. Assman (n.3), Plate XVI.
16. For detailed discussion, with many illustrations, see H.Hickmann, "Les harpes de l'Egypte pharaonique. Essai d'une nouvelle classification," Bulletin de l'Institute d'Egypte 35 (1952-3), pages 315-324; see also H.G.Fischer in JNES 18 (1958), pages 241, 243 and 250, figs. 6, 8 and 16; Lexikon der Ägyptologie Lieferung 15 = Bd. II, Lieferung 7 (Wiesbaden 1977), page 966 ff.; L.Klebs (n.5), page 107. and also Herta Theres Mohr, The Mastaba of Hetep-Her-Akht (Leiden 1943), fig. 41
17. Davies (n.10), Vol. I, Plate VIII.
18. See Hickmann (n.16) and his detailed examination and explanation.

#### Section c

19. W.S.Smith, The art and architecture of ancient Egypt (London 1958), page 247.
20. D.Arnold, Wandrelief und Raumbfunktion in ägyptischen Tempeln des Neuen Reiches (MAS 2, Berlin 1962), page 9.
21. See, for instance, Bietak/Reiser-Haslauer (n.2), Vol. I, fig. 48 on page 126, Vol. II, Plate 59.
22. See Assman (n.3), page 30.
23. Gaballa A.Gaballa, The Memphite Tomb-Chapel of Mose (London 1977), pages iii, v.

24. Ibid. The tomb-chapel of Mose confines its worship of Osiris to the interior, while the exterior facade carries images of the mummified gods.
25. C.R.Lepsius, Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien (12 volumes, Berlin 1849-95; Text, 5 volumes, Leipzig 1897-1913; Vols. I and II reprinted Geneva 1973), Vol. III, page 260.
26. Bietak/Reiser-Haslauer (n.2), fig. 54.
27. Gaballa, Mose (n.23), Plates VII-X, shows a similar concept, but with the mummified figures of the gods placed in shrines in the exterior of the tomb-chapel's facade.
28. Arnold (n.20), page 121.
29. The whole question of the influence on Thery of the Isis Temple, and the relationship between Osiris and Isis at Gizeh will be discussed below.
30. For Isis and Nephthys, see R.V.Lanzone, Dizionario di Mitologia Egiziana (Torino 1881-86), Plate CXLIII. Isis wears the vulture head-dress in the central hall of Thery's tomb-chapel, see Chapter II, Page 38 above.
31. See Bietak/Reiser-Haslauer (n.2), fig. 34; Assman (n.3), Plate XVI; and Ahmed Fakhry, The Egyptian Deserts: Bahria Oasis (two volumes, Cairo 1942, 1950), Vol. I, fig. 64; together with Lepsius (n.25), Vol. III, page 261.
32. For discussion see H. Bonnet, Reallexikon der Ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte (Berlin 1952), pages 430-33.
33. J. Aasman, Grabung in Asasif 1963-1970 (DAI). Bd. VI, Das Grab des Mutirdis (Arch.Veröff. 13, Mainz 1977), Plate 20A.
34. Ahmed Fakhry, The Oases of Egypt (two volumes, Cairo 1974), Vol. II, Bahriya and Farafra Oases, fig. 77 on page 152.
35. Lanzone (n.30), Text, page 278-9; Plates, Plate CIX.
36. Lexikon der Ägyptologie (n.16), Bd. 1 (1975), pages 1100-02.
37. L.Kákosy, "A Memphite Triad," JEA 66 (1980), pages 48-53.
38. Lexikon der Ägyptologie (n.33), page 1102.
39. A.Champor, Le livre des Morts (Paris 1963), pages 131, 135.
40. B. Porter and R.L.Moss, Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Texts, Reliefs and Paintings, Vol. I, 1, The Theban Necropolis: The Private Tombs (Oxford 1960), Vol. I, 2, Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries (Oxford 1964), pages 471-474.

41. N. de G. Davies, Private Tombs at Thebes, Vol. IV, Scenes from some Theban tombs (Oxford 1963), Plate XVII.
42. J.E.Quibell, Excavations at Saqqara 1908-1910 (Cairo 1912), Plate LXIII.
43. Assman, Basa (n.3), Plate VIII.
44. ibid, pages 30-31 for a discussion of Hathor chapels at Asasif.
45. R.O.Faulkner, A concise dictionary of Middle Egyptian (Oxford 1962), page 251.
46. Bonnet (n.32), pages 723 ff.
47. Gaballa, Mose (n.23), Plate XXVIII.
48. Fakhry, Oases (n.34), Vol. II, fig. 60 on page 128.
49. Lexikon der Agyptologie (n.16), Bd. II, page 428.
50. ibid, page 427.
51. Christine Seeber, Untersuchung des Totengerichts im Alten Agypten (MAS 35, 1970), page 56, fig. 7.
52. ibid, page 22.
53. Lexikon der Agyptologie (n.16), Bd. I, page 982.
54. Assman, Mutirdis (n.33), figs. 8, 9.
55. See A. Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI, Texts, Vol. I, pages 138-222.
56. N. de G. Davies, The Tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes (two volumes, New York 1930) Vol. I, page 16, Plate XVII.
57. E.Naville, Das Agyptische Totenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie (Graz 1971), Vol. I, Plates CIX, CLXI, CLXII.
58. Piankoff (n.55), page 218.

## Section d

59. See Leclant (n.12), Plate LXI.
60. As, for instance, in Lepsius (n.25), Vol. I, Gizeh grave 60, Plate I, B 26.
61. See N. de G. Davies, The Tomb of Amenemhet (No. 82), (London 1905), Plate XXVIII.
62. N. de G. Davies, The Tomb of Antefoker, Vizier of Sesostris I, and of his wife, Senet, No. 60 (London 1920), Plate XXX.
63. Davies, Amenemhet (n.61), Plate XXV.
64. Assman, Basa (n.3), page 78.

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CHAPTER VII

Analysis of inscriptions from the tomb of They  
within the Dynasty XXVI pattern

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a. General introduction

Authorities down the years have believed that the Saïtes were not so much originators but preferred to borrow and adapt scenes, texts and inscriptions from previous periods of Egyptian greatness: examination of the inscriptions of the tomb-chapel of Thery reveals precisely this facet of religious decoration. Thery chose to have his permanent memorial inscribed in the typical Saïte manner with prayers and texts of which the origin can be traced back to the Middle and New Kingdoms.

The uniformity of texts throughout the whole range of Saïte tombs in Asasif, and in the Saqqara shaft-tombs, is well worth remarking: so similar are the choices of inscription that it is rarely difficult to complete a broken or damaged text in one tomb by reference to neighbouring burials. For instance, in the great Asasif necropolis, virtually every tomb contains the texts of Chapters 141, 142 and 148 of the Book of the Dead, following the example of Pedamenopet, who borrowed this series of texts from the tomb of Sennemut of the New Kingdom.<sup>1</sup> In the Memphite area, as will be examined below, follows the same pattern: here (and in Heliopolis, where the evidence is scanty) it was Spell 625 of the Coffin Texts which was very popular, appearing in a wide range of tombs.

Saïte uniformity shows itself again in the actual method of cutting and decorating the texts on the tomb walls: whether in Saqqara, Heliopolis or Asasif the texts are most often achieved in the style and colour, mainly in blue, of the Pyramid Texts of the Old Kingdom tombs of Saqqara, regardless of whether the text to be inscribed was indeed a Pyramid Text, or of the Book of the Dead or the Coffin Texts. Near at hand, the Saqqara burials tend to copy directly most often from the Old Kingdom pyramids of Saqqara, adding to those texts some of the Coffin Texts and of the Book of the Dead.

So close are the similarities, both in textual material and in method of cutting and decorating, that it may not be too fanciful to suggest that the Saïtes may have had a type of handbook for use in decorating their tombs, particularly insofar as biographical<sup>2</sup> and religious texts are concerned.

An attempt to test this theory is made in the following pages, where a detailed examination of two typically popular texts - Spell 625 of the Coffin Texts, and Spell 301, 309 of the Coffin Texts (=Chapter 76 of the Book of the Dead) - as portrayed on the walls

of Saite tombs are set against the standard versions of the Middle Kingdom. The results are striking, showing a number of changes between the Middle Kingdom and Dynasty XXVI, but a remarkable uniformity between the various Saite depictions, even over a wide range of tombs.

The Spell 625 is found in eight Saite tombs, set out below in extended tabular form together with the standard text of Faulkner<sup>3</sup> for easy and immediate comparison. The eight are Thery, Heliopolis Tomb No. 2, Pedamenopet (Asasif), and Bekenrenef, Thanerhebu, Neferibre<sup>C</sup> sa-Neith, Pedenesi and Amentefnakht at Saqqara. In the case of the latter, however, the examination cannot be complete, for the text ends at line 102 with *imy ht-f*.



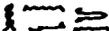
S 14c	
Thery	
Heliopolis 2	
Pedamenopet	
Bekenrenef	
Cinnehebu	
Neferibre <sup>c</sup> sa-Neith	
Pednesi	
Amentefnakht	





b. Commentary on Spell 625 of the Coffin Texts

After comparing the Saite texts of the Spell 625 with the standard Middle Kingdom text, it is immediately clear that all the Saite versions are essentially very similar indeed, and that all have adapted the Middle Kingdom texts in similar and minor ways. Few differences are notable between the Middle Kingdom and Dynasty XXVI, and none of these are material changes to the language of the inscription. For instance:

The Saites uniformly use the preposition  instead of the  of the standard version (see lines 23-26 above); and all use the singular form of the door instead of the dual form in lines 63-65.

A further difference in language is in the use of the word *ḥs3*: in the Middle Kingdom the word was completed with the water determinative, leading Faulkner to translate it as "flood"<sup>4</sup>; but in the Saite period this determinative was no longer in use, and the word is written without determinative, leading to an alternative translation (see Chapter II, Page 27 above).

Changes in writing are also to be seen in the word *sm3w*, where the standard text has  and the Saite  (lines 130-133). The Saites use a very abbreviated form of the word *ḥs-pw* (see lines 37-40), and in the tomb of Neferibre<sup>C</sup>-sa-Neith it is even written (almost undoubtedly by accident) without the *p* (line 38).

The word *ḥnh* (lines 87-91) takes a different form in the Saite version, the Middle Kingdom text writing the bird  which became the letter  in Dynasty XXVI: and the word  of the standard text loses the  in all the Saite texts except the tomb of Cinnehebu, where the three dots of the plural are added (lines 97-99). A simplification is the Saite version of the word *b3k*,  instead of the Middle Kingdom standard  (lines 103-107) - and the sign  is used in the tombs of Pedenesi, Cinnehebu and Heliopolis Tomb No. 2.

Other changes in writing between the Middle Kingdom and Dynasty XXVI might take, for instance, the use of different determinatives. For instance, in the Saite period the general use was of the archaic determinative for "god" instead of the seated-god determinative as used in the standard Middle Kingdom form. Only one of the Saite tombs uses the seated-god, and that is Pedenesi (lines 4-5), but Pedenesi uses the archaic determinative in other parts of the text.

There are also differences in the determinative of the word *isr*: the standard text uses the seated-god, but some of the Saïtes (Bekenrenef, Pedenesi and Amentefnakht) have the Horus-falcon determinative (Bekenrenef without the plural-strokes), while others use  (see lines 66 to 70).

Remarkable here is the way the word *isft* (lines 134-140) is written in the Saïte texts: in the Middle Kingdom version it has the sign  and the bird , but in the tombs of Bekenrenef, Pedamenopet and Heliopolis No. 2 with the sign , and in Thery, Cinnehebu, Pedenesi, Neferibre<sup>c</sup>-sa-Neith and Amentefnakht with the sign  which is most probably a mistake for the sign  of the original word found in Pyramid Text 265.<sup>5</sup>

In some of the Saïte tombs the ending of the plural was written in the archaic form of repeating the determinative, ie    (lines 4-5, 49-50, 58) and    (lines 122-123). In the tomb of Amentefnakht the archaic ending  is used for the plural (lines 123, 140). But all of the other texts examined agreed with the standard Middle Kingdom plural form of three dots.

As for the text of Thery itself, it shows itself quite free from differences from its Saïte fellows, following the uniformity except in the following comparatively minor cases:

There is most probably a mistake by the writer in the doubling of   instead of   (lines 40-45); and indeed this is the only way in which he is at variance with the other Saïte texts.

They writes the word *gw33* as    (lines 112-114) instead of the standard version of    which is followed by Bekenrenef and Cinnehebu, except in that the latter has an extra *t* between the head and the *ntr* sign (the Saïte word is written with  and not the  of the standard text).

Otherwise, the differences are minor, a matter of omitting a determinative or adding a suffix-pronoun (as in line 91, where an *f* is added to the word *gnh*). But other tombs have the same sort of error, as for instance both Amentefnakht and Pedenesi omit the preposition *n* after *wn* in line 61. Similarly, the word *isft* (lines 51-58) in Thery's text has no determinative, while all the other Saïte tombs have one; but here it is important to note that the standard text does have the determinative.

Turning to the second detailed examination, we find that Spell 301 is used in Heliopolis Tomb No. 2, Pedenesi, and is very fragmentary in Thery's tomb:

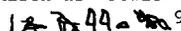
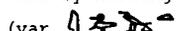
Spell 301, Coffin Texts

1	Book of the Dead 76	They	Heliopolis 2	Pednesi	Coffin Text Spell 301	Coffin Text Spell 309
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C. Commentary on Spell 301 of the Coffin Texts

As noticed above in the discussion of Spell 625, it is remarkable how similar are the various versions of the text as used in the Saite period, and it is also noticeable that there is no great difference between the standard texts of the Middle Kingdom Coffin Text, the New Kingdom Book of the Dead and the Saite text. But it is clearly important to note that the Saites have borrowed more from the standard texts of the Middle Kingdom, for example in using the word *hs3* (lines 33-36), which in the New Kingdom is replaced by *shd*.

Similarly in the actual style of writing, the Saite version also looks back to the Middle Kingdom text, for example the word *sw3* (lines 1-4) is written  in Spell 301 (or a variation without the -sign), precisely the same as in the Saite period. The word *ib3yt* follows the same pattern: even though this word is lost from the tomb of Thery, the three Saite versions are so similar that it can be taken as the same writing as the other two versions (see Chapter II, Page 28 above). This word is written in the Saite texts in the same way as the standard text of Spell 301 (lines 13-16), differing only in the determinative, which has the bird  in the Middle Kingdom, and the -bird in the Saite. But in the New Kingdom Book of the Dead 76 *ib3yt* is written ,<sup>6</sup> which is translated by Allen as "fowler"<sup>7</sup> and by Hornung as "Tänzerin".<sup>8</sup> Naville lists the word as <sup>9</sup> (var. ).<sup>10</sup>

Another example of similarity of writing is the word  (lines 24-26), which has added to it the sign  in the New Kingdom text. And although the Saite texts are generally closer to the Middle Kingdom texts than they are to the New Kingdom, we find that they have borrowed the New Kingdom style of writing  (lines 51-53). In Heliopolis Tomb No. 2 this is written with the  and no determinative, and in Pedenesi with the sign only. In the standard text this appears as . There is a similar New Kingdom origin for the Saite use of the sign  in the word *w3t*: the Middle Kingdom standard text uses the form .

As mentioned above, however, the Saite versions are so similar to each other that it is a straightforward task to complete any part of the inscriptions lost from the tomb of Thery: and the texts are even uniform in their unusual methods of writing, as for instance in using the

sign  (in Thery and Pedenesi: in Heliopolis 2 it is written as  , which may be considered a "variation materielle" if it is not a mistake), whereas the Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom texts both use the seated-god determinative instead. The sign (the royal head-dress) is a most unusual form to determine the royal house.

#### d. The solar hymn

It was expected to find a solar hymn in the tomb of Thery, since it was the tradition in most tombs of the Saite period (litany and hymns to the Sun-god, borrowed from the ante-chambers of New Kingdom tombs, are found in a large number of Asasif tombs). But the only text in Thery which may be identified as a solar hymn is that on the northern wall of the central hall (see Chapter II, Page 36 above), a text identified with part of Spell 335, which is Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead.<sup>11</sup> This hymn, *ḥpri ḥry-ib wi3.f*,<sup>12</sup> which was popular at the end of Dynasty XVIII (although in the tomb of Kheraef at Thebes, from the middle of the dynasty, the text reads *ḥpri imy (m)sktt(.f)....*<sup>13</sup>), is found in Asasif in the tombs of Basa, Pabasa and Mentuemhet. This part of the hymn is written differently in Spell 335 of the Coffin Texts,<sup>14</sup> where *ḥpri* is written  ,, , which Faulkner translates "O Khepri, dwelling in your bark",<sup>15</sup> whereas in the Book of the Dead it appears as  ,<sup>16</sup> which Allen translates as "O Khepri in his bark."<sup>17</sup>

The rest of this text in the tomb of Thery, which reads *ḥtp.f m m3nw*, is not a common formula,<sup>18</sup> and does not exist in the Asasif tombs mentioned above. Its only parallel is the Dynasty XIX tomb of Thay<sup>19</sup> in Thebes. Thus there is no complete parallel to the text, so it is not possible to complete the parts missing from Thery.

The second text on the same wall is most probably a *ḥtp di nswt* formula, which appears to have its origin in the classical period because of its use of repeated figures in writing the determinative (see Chapter II, Page 36, above), but in fact it has no parallel in Old Kingdom texts. This method of repeating the determinative seems to be a typically Saite way of lending the appearance of ancient times to their texts. Many examples are to be found in the shaft-tombs of Saqqara as well as in the early tombs of Asasif, for instance, Mentuemhet<sup>20</sup> and Ibi.<sup>21</sup>

e. Book of the Dead Chapter 146 (fig. 23)

This Chapter of the Book of the Dead, which is characterized by 15 Gates, is to be found in only one tomb of the Saite period, that of Mutardais<sup>22</sup> (the long version of the chapter), which, despite its severe damage, at least indicates that Mutardais did not use the same cryptography as Thery in writing his "gates" inscription.

The cryptography was not a new appearance in the tomb of Thery, but in fact goes back to the Old Kingdom.<sup>23</sup> But what is novel in Thery's use is that cryptography appears in virtually every text of the gates. And Thery also uses many "variations matérielles" when compared with the same text of the Book of the Dead as given by Naville<sup>24</sup> or Budge<sup>25</sup> (see fig. 22). This "variation matérielle" is using signs of the same nature instead of the original signs, for instance,  (arms) for  (hand) in *dšrt* on p.62 (a) or  (mouth) for  (eye) on p.52 (d). Similarly it might take the form of substituting one bird for another, as for instance  for  as determinative for the word *dšrt* on p.62 (a); or in using the name of one god in place of another, as in  for  in the thirteenth Gate in Page 60 (a)<sup>26</sup> above. For further details of this cryptography and variation matérielle, see Chapter II.

It is difficult to find any reasonable explanation for Thery's having used this method of writing his "gates" inscriptions, especially since it remains unparalleled in the other Saite tombs. As mentioned above, only Mutardais has the same Chapter of the Book of the Dead, and her version does not agree with Thery in this phenomenon.

It is also important to note here that the names of the Door-keepers in the complete texts of the Book of the Dead in the tomb of Thery all end with a seated-god sign, and not with a knife, or a snake, or even the bound or dying man (*hfti*).<sup>27</sup>

f. Names, titles and epithets

The name  *AA* does not appear on any other Saite monument.<sup>28</sup> Its meaning should have some connection with "strength" and be followed by the determinative  or ,<sup>29</sup> and it may be identified with the Late Egyptian word  *gnr* "strong".<sup>30</sup> Other similar names -   
<sup>31</sup>  *AA*,<sup>32</sup> and  *AA*<sup>33</sup> - are all of New Kingdom date.

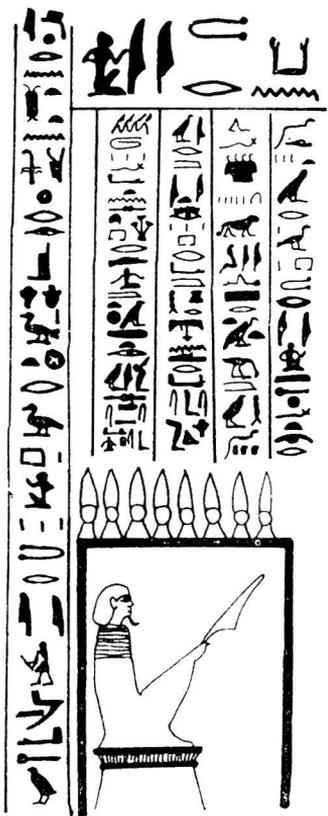
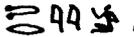
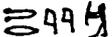
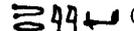
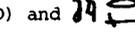
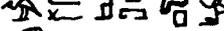
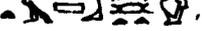
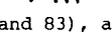


Fig. 23. The text of the fifteenth Gate, compared with Budge (above).

It is remarkable to note the many different ways of writing the name Thery used by the owner in his own tomb. Davies considers this a characteristic of the Saite period<sup>34</sup> - that is, that variation in writing the name was typical, not that all Saite tombs had the names written in a variety of ways. Indeed, there are many Saite edifices which do not share this characteristic: Ibi and Basa at Asasif write their names in several ways, but there are not many more, and if this should be considered characteristic of the Saite period, it should be so only because it appears much more rarely in other periods.

In the tomb of Thery, his name takes eight variant forms. Most common is , followed by  (see Pages 41, 44, 73, 76, 77, 80 and 84 above),  (Pages 40, 75, 76),  (Pages 45 and 71),  (Pages 47 and 80),  (see Page 78),  (Page 80) and  (Page 56). Nor is this characteristic defined to Thery. It also belongs to his grandfather, Gemefesikap, who is not known from other monuments:<sup>35</sup> his name has three different forms in the tomb of Thery. Most common is    (Page 54), together with  (Page 78), and there is also a short version,  (Page 79).

The name of Thery's wife and mother, Tadehor (Greek ΤΕ-ΤΕΥΟΡΤΣ), is common in the Late Period,<sup>36</sup> and again this name had three different versions in the tomb:  (see Page 52),  (see Pages 31 and 80), and  (Page 74). On the other hand the name of his son, Psamtik, appears twice in the eastern room but each time is written the same way: this is also a common name in the Late Period. Thery's first wife and the mother of Psamtik, Taremenbastet ,<sup>37</sup> appears twice with only a small difference, the three strokes  under the  sign (see Pages 77 and 83). Tashepennet ,<sup>38</sup> the mother of Thery's grandfather (see Page 85), is written only once in the tomb (see Page 75).

This characteristic of using many variations in writing the names of the tomb owner and his family also applies to Thery's titles. As mentioned above (Chapter II, Page 74), he was an *imy-r3 s3-pr* and *imy-r3 šw nšmt*, and both of these titles show variation. The *imy-r3 s3-pr* takes no fewer than five different forms, the most common being  (see Pages 45, 71, 72, 76 and 80), with variations in  (Pages 47, 76 and 77),  (Page 67),  (Pages 73 and 83), and  (Page 80). And the title *imy-r3 šw nšmt* is written once as  (Page 74), and then as  an Page 79.

The title "chief of the police" which was held both by They and by his eldest son, Psamtik, was a very common title in the Old Kingdom,<sup>39</sup> and his duties in that period included collecting tax payments in instalments from the peasants, as was regularly shown in the tombs of the Old Kingdom (see fig. 24): in the Middle Kingdom his duties included supervising the workmen in the quarries.

But in They, it is immediately clear that in the Saite period the title has become much more important than that indicating a mere tax-collector or quarry-supervisor. Because this is the first tomb known of an *imy-r3 s3-pr*, present knowledge of the official comes only from the tombs of high officials of state, who depict the *imy-r3 s3-pr* as a modest-ranking official under their control (see fig. 24). Clearly, They's ornate and massive tomb is far too impressive to have been built by one of the typical *imy-r3 s3-pr* officials as portrayed in the Old Kingdom.

It is also important to note that the representations in the tomb indicate that They was a man of high rank, and especially that there are no scenes of him carrying out his duties as *imy-r3 s3-pr*, as had been the habit in the Old Kingdom. They in addition was "chief of the administration of fowl and fish, and libator of the temple of *Šdt* and of Horus dwelling in *Šdt*", this last title indicating a religious rank supported by the depiction of They represented wearing a priest's dress while adoring the *Dd*-pillar in the northern room (see Chapter II, Page 54 above). This connection between the government administration rank and the religious rank did not appear in the *s3-pr* of the Old Kingdom, and Yoyotte saw the rank as indicating a sort of administrative police of the Saite kings, charged with controlling the economic affairs of the country,<sup>40</sup> and its forced labour.

Taking his evidence largely from Papyrus Ryland IX, which belongs to the time of Psamtik I, he concludes: "ce corps était comme jadis une force de répression appelée à jouer un rôle dans le mécanisme économique de l'Etat. Le *s3-pr*...apparaît...comme un des fonctionnaires qui pouvaient être appelés à lever des corvéables pour le service du roi...le personnage de cet ordre intervenait lorsque le recours à la force était nécessaire pour obtenir le service de requis. Les 'directeurs des *s3-pr*'...furent sans doute des préfets de police des rois saïtes."

Psamtik's inheritance of the title from They might perhaps indicate the opposite - that it was a position of honour, and one the son was proud to take from his father.

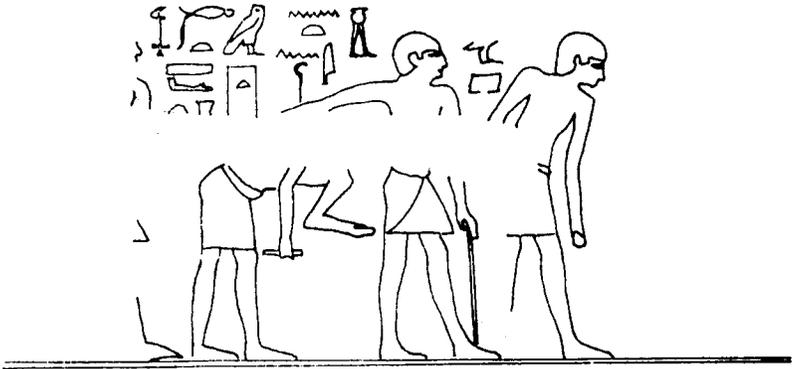


Fig. 24. Three scenes from Old Kingdom tombs showing the *s3-pr* performing his duties (after Yoyotte).

It seems that Thery's use of the title *imy-r3 šw nšmt*<sup>41</sup> was the first since Dynasty XIX. Even though the style of writing the title in the tomb belongs to the Old Kingdom, the title did not appear at all until the Middle Kingdom, continuing in popularity through Dynasty XVIII but slipping away to become very rare from the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty. The use of this title in conjunction with the *s3-pr* shows how much the concept had changed since the Old Kingdom: when seeking comparisons from other Saite tombs, we find that only Thery has this combination of titles, even though other Saite officials agree with his principle in using titles dating back to the Old Kingdom, for instance, several of those at Asasif, and those of Pedubaste and Pakap (Campbell's Tomb) at Gizeh. Also similar to the use of the classical title of the *s3-pr* is Saite use of the title *ḥrp ḥwt*, taken over from the Old Kingdom and given a new aspect.<sup>42</sup>

As for the title *kbḥ n pr*, this does not belong at all to any of the classic periods of Egypt's greatness. In fact, as mentioned above (Chapter II, note 38), its first appearance is during the Twenty-first Dynasty. Thery's use of this title indicates once more, if proof were needed, that Thery took his titles from the Old, the Middle and the later periods, a typical Saite method of going to the past and borrowing and adapting to form a typically unique Saite mixture.

Just as he took for himself two titles unusual in the Saite period, the *s3-pr* and the *kbḥ n pr*, he also used uncommon epithets for the divinities appearing in his tomb. For example, Osiris is described in the tomb as *ḥri-ib smt* "he who dwells in the desert"<sup>43</sup> (see Chapter II, Page 49), for which the only parallel is a Saite stela found in Tell-Atrib,<sup>44</sup> where Osiris is represented with Isis, who is also titled *ḥri-ib smt*. Thery also used for the goddess Neith the epithet *ḥt ḥt*, which is not found even in Sais itself, where in fact she is called *nit dšrt nbt s3*.<sup>45</sup> As for Isis, in the tomb of Thery she becomes *nbt rst3w*, yet another epithet which appears on no other monument!

Given these remarkable similarities - and even more remarkable differences - in the inscription layout of Thery in comparison with the other Saite tombs, it can be said immediately that Thery's concept was entirely in keeping with the Saite spirit of the period, in which archaic appearance was sought to such a degree that at first glance the inscriptions might be seen to be archaic. The Saite returned to the Old Kingdom resources and studied them, but did not copy directly from the past glories, instead

adding their own character and adapting what they found to make something purely Saite, using archaic writing styles with modern-day language.

In this facet Thery is Saite par excellence, as indeed he is in the scenes depicted in the tomb. There is no single scene or text in the whole tomb which, even though the immediate outward appearance is entirely one of archaism, can be said to have been copied directly from the Old Kingdom.

Perhaps it is the sheer mass of Saite features which allows individual items to be identified safely as Saite rather than Old Kingdom when they are seen together in a tomb. It is possible that the blocks missing from the tomb might more easily betray their Old Kingdom origins, as is the case with many loose blocks of the period.<sup>46</sup> So close is the copying of technique that it is even possible for genuine Old Kingdom loose blocks to be taken for Saite, as the piece in the Brooklyn Museum (Charles Wilbour Fund 34.1220), which Fazzini describes as a "relief representation of Thery."<sup>47</sup> But close examination of the Thery tomb reveals that the block in question can be nothing but a truly ancient Old Kingdom piece, from a rock-cut tomb.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

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2. Eberhart Otto, Die biographischen Inschriften der Ägyptischen Spätzeit, ihre geistgeschichtliche und literarische Bedeutung (Probleme der Ägyptologie II, Leiden 1954) page 122 f.
3. R.O.Faulkner, The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts (3 Vols., London 1973-1978) Vol. II, page 208.
4. ibid.
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8. E.Naville, Das Ägyptische Todtenbuch der 18. bis 20. Dynastie (3 Vols., reprinted Graz 1971), Bd. I, Plate LXXXVII.
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10. E.A.W.Budge, The Chapter of Going Forth by Day, or the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead (London 1910), Vol. II, page 18.
11. Naville (n.8), Vol. I, Plate XXVI; see also Urk. V page 82.
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13. Ahmed Fakhry, "A note on the tomb of Kheruef at Thebes", ASAE 42 (1943) 447-532 and particularly page 503.
14. A. de Buck, The Egyptian Coffin Texts: texts of spells (seven volumes, Chicago 1935-1961), Vol. IV, page 321 (B<sup>C</sup>).
15. Faulkner, Coffin Texts (n.3), Vol. I, pages 262, 265.
16. Naville (n.8), Vol. I, Plate XXVI.
17. Allen (n.6) page 31.
18. Wörterbuch II, page 29 (14).
19. ibid.
20. V.Scheil, Le tombeau de Mont-m-hat (Memoires de la Mission Archaeologique francais du Caire V, Cairo 1984), page 613.
21. V.Scheil, "Le tombeau d'Aba", Mem.Miss.Arch.Fr. 5 (Cairo 1984), page 630.
22. J.Assman, Grabung in Asasif 1963-1970 (DAI). Band VI, Das Grab der Mutirdis (Arch. Veröff. 13, Mainz 1977).

23. H. Brunner, Agyptische Schrift und Sprache, "Anigmatische Schrift (Kryptographie)", Handbuch der Orientalistik<sup>2</sup> (ed. G. Spuler, Leiden 1973), I, 1, pages 52-58.
24. Naville (n.8), Vol. I, Plates CLX, CLXI, CLXII.
25. Budge (n.10), Vol. II, page 244 ff.
26. It could well be, of course, that the writing of Osiris for Isis here is quite intentional: see Conclusion.
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36. ibid, page 374 (5).
37. ibid, page 364 (23).
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45. Ramadan el-Sayed, "Documents relatifs à Sais et ses Divinités", BIFAO 69 (1975) page 137.
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CHAPTER VIII

Conclusion

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The foregoing indicates without any shadow of doubt that the Gizeh necropolis was used throughout the Saite period, and was never abandoned by the people of Dynasty XXVI: the era dawns with the Isis Temple and the tomb of Thery, continues through Tomb LG 81 and that of Ptahardais to Campbell's Tomb and LG 83 at the mid-period of the dynasty, and ends with the tomb of Pedubaste, which shows massive Greek influence. Thus it might justly be said that the Gizeh Saite necropolis reflects accurately the changes which have occurred throughout the dynasty.

In Thery that tendency towards archaism which was the general spirit of the early Saite period is abundantly clear; yet because Gizeh is at the apex of the Delta, the first area of Egypt to fall under foreign influence, the gradual changes which affected all of Lower Egypt in this period might easily be viewed through the differing styles of the tombs of the necropolis. This is totally unlike the scene at Asasif, far from foreign influence, where the style of the tombs shows far less variety and little change through time.

In its holding a mirror to the changes affecting the north of Egypt, the Saite necropolis at Gizeh contains examples from all periods of the Dynasty. But they are few, and it is clear that, especially in view of the recent find of a Saite necropolis at Abusir, a major series of excavations is required urgently to reveal the tombs and monuments likely still to be hidden under the mounds of the Gizeh hills. It is not beyond the bounds of probability that there was an enormous Saite necropolis in the area, ranging from the Gizeh Plateau through Abusir and right to the escarpment of Saqqara: certain it is that the southern hill of Gizeh on which Thery stands shows abundant evidence of Saite monuments, with a liberal scatter of sherds of pottery, fragments of broken ushabtis and remains of mud-brick buildings.

The tomb of Thery fits into the Gizeh pattern as a fine example of the Saite art, even though it is unique in many of its elements but in Thery it is immediately clear how the Dynasty XXVI Egyptians borrowed ancient elements of art and architecture, and adapted and added to them to make a style uniquely Saite that never could be mistaken for genuine Old Kingdom, or Middle Kingdom. As described in detail in Chapters V to VII above, Thery shares a great many similarities with his fellow Saite throughout the country - but his tomb remains to the end unique.

The tomb of Thery may well be considered as a fine and typical example of the Saite period in many facets of its architecture and its use and achievement of both texts and figured scenes; yet the individual method of combining together these common elements (as well as the selection of others which are rarely, if ever, found elsewhere) makes it a unique building. Having said that, however, its great achievement remains in its staying totally within the harmonies of the eclectic spirit of the time, in its typical expression of the gathering of ancient and revered elements and their re-forming into an individual an at once totally Saite mixture reflecting Thery's individuality and his submission to the Saite way of art.

Given that it shares a vast number of similarities with fellow Saite burial places throughout Egypt, one may well be led to wonder why he should have chosen so to embellish it with his own personality. And here it may not be too adventurous to suggest that perhaps Thery was not thinking simply of a burial place for himself, but that the tomb was also intended to serve as a cult chapel dedicated to the worship of Osiris.

Foremost among the unique features of Thery's tomb is the remarkable exterior decoration, particularly on the southern part of the tomb, where both eastern and western sides of the long southern room, together with the south-facing walls of both eastern and western rooms were given scenes of worship of Osiris. This does not appear in any other tomb in Egypt: not only do such worship scenes not appear in other Saite tombs, they do not appear in any tombs of any period. Osiris clearly was of overwhelming importance to Thery.

Similarly, in the text of the Thirteenth Gate of the Book of the Dead in the depictions in the western room of Thery's tomb, the name of Isis - the common deity mentioned in this text - has been replaced by that of Osiris. There is more evidence of Osiris's importance in the northern room, the "holy of holies", in which the main scenes on the walls are of the worship of Osiris, although this need not surprise, for it was a fairly common occurrence in the interior of the tomb in the Saite period.

If indeed the tomb might be taken as having been dedicated to Osiris, then there is a hint at an ancient piece of corroborative evidence in the "House of Osiris" mentioned in the Inventory Stela found in the Isis Temple and, as mentioned above (see Page 113), almost undoubtedly carved during the Saite period even though the period of

pre-eminence of the Isis Temple may have occurred before the building of the tomb of Thery (see Pages 222-223). The text of the Inventory Stela includes a description of the position of the Isis Temple: "He found the House of Isis, Mistress of the Pyramid, by the side of the cavity of the Sphinx, on the north-west of the House of Osiris, Lord of Rostau." Since we are aware that the stela was added later in the dynasty by the priests to enhance the importance of the temple, this would mean that at the time it was inscribed the tomb-chapel of Thery, with its magnificent scenes of worship of Osiris, was built and standing to the south-east of the Temple of Isis.

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## LIST OF PLATES

Plate I	Tomb of Thery from the south, showing shaft in centre	p 267
Plate II	Tomb of Thery from the north	p 268
Plate III	The area surrounding the tomb of Thery on its ridge	p 269
Plate IV	Campbell's tomb from the east, showing its proximity from the Sphinx	p 270
Plate V	British Museum 30. Lid of the sarcophagus of Pakap	p 271
Plate VI	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1947.295, sarcophagus of Ptahhotep	p 272
Plate VII	Barred entrance to Saite tombs behind the Sphinx	p 273
Plate VIII	Feather-headed Maat reaches out to Osiris in a gesture of protection	p 274

## LIST OF PLANS

Plan I	Gizeh necropolis showing major Saite remains.	p 7
Plan II	Superstructure of the tomb of Thery.	p 18
Plan III	Saite tombs around the Khafra causeway.	p 104
Plan IV	Isis Temple.	p 107
Plan V	Tomb LG 81.	p 115
Plan VI	"Campbell's Tomb" (after Vyse).	p 126
Plan VII	"Campbell's Tomb", section of surrounding trench (after Perring).	p 127
Plan VIII	"Campbell's Tomb" - section.	p 129
Plan IX	Transverse section.	p 129
Plan X	Tombs behind the Sphinx.	p 133
Plan XI	Saite necropolises in Egypt.	p 152
Plan XII	Typical section of an Asasif tomb ( <sup>C</sup> Anch-Hor: after Eigner).	p 170

## LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 1.	The tomb of Thery: exterior, eastern room, southern side.	p 24
Fig. 2.	The tomb of Thery: exterior, southern room, east side.	p 24
Fig. 3.	The tomb of Thery: southern room, west wall, exterior. Fifth, sixth and seventh adoration scenes (Osiris facing south).	p 26
Fig. 4.-5.	The tomb of Thery: western room exterior, upper and lower registers.	p 26
Fig. 6.	The tomb of Thery: southern room, west wall interior. Thery and his wife with offering bearer and musicians.	p 39
Fig. 7.	The tomb of Thery: northern rooms, north wall. Osiris with Isis and Nephthys.	p 50
Fig. 8.	The tomb of Thery: northern room, east wall. Thery adoring Osiris with Maat.	p 53
Fig. 9.	The tomb of Thery: the kneeling Thery under the <i>dd</i> -pillar.	p 55
Fig. 10.	The tomb of Thery: eastern room, north wall. His sons make offerings to Thery.	p 82
Fig. 11.	The tomb of Thery: location of some loose blocks by comparison with Petrie's drawing.	p 88
Fig. 12.	Shabti of Psamtik-sa-Sekhmet (after Lepsius).	p 92
Fig. 13.	Isis Temple, Chapel A, north wall.	p 109
Fig. 14.	Tomb LG 81, west wall: tomb owner and his wife with fish and fishermen.	p 118
Fig. 15.	Tomb LG 81, north wall (after Lepsius).	p 121
Fig. 16.	Tomb LG 81, north wall (after Lepsius).	p 122
Fig. 17.	Sarcophagus of Amasis from Gizeh LG 83 (after Lepsius).	p 124
Fig. 18.	Tomb of Ptahardais, outer court, southern wall (after Wilkinson).	p 135
Fig. 19.	Tomb of Ptahardais, outer court, eastern wall (after Wilkinson).	p 135
Fig. 20.	Facade of the tomb of Pedubaste at Gizeh (after Wilkinson).	p 140
Fig. 21.	Passage in the tomb of Bekenrenef (after Lepsius) showing scenes paralleled in the eastern room of Thery.	p 161
Fig. 22.	Chronological ordering of Asasif tombs.	p 168
Fig. 23.	The tomb of Thery: the text of the fifteenth Gate, compared with Budge.	p 250
Fig. 24.	Three scenes from Old Kingdom tombs showing the <i>s3-pr</i> performing his duties.	p 253

Plate I Tomb of Thery from the south, showing shaft in centre

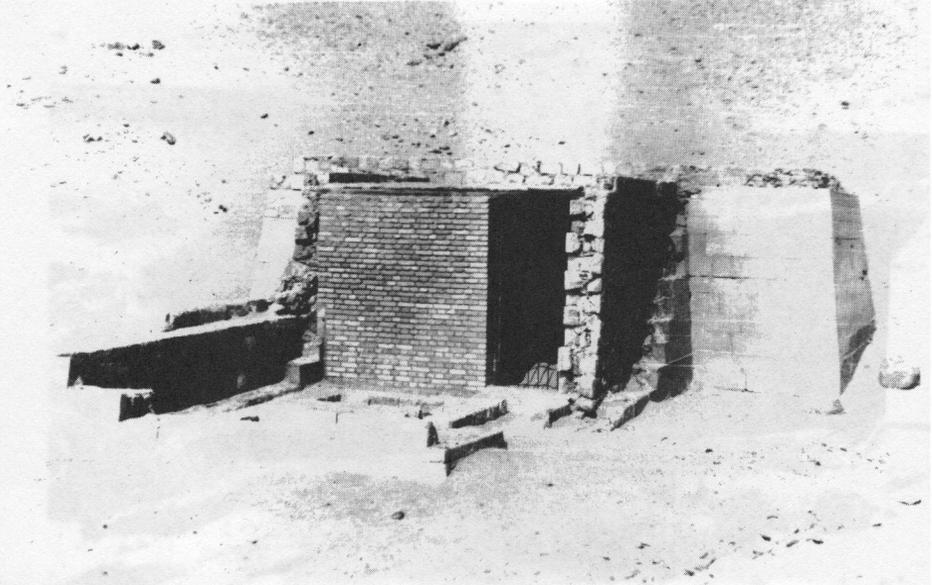
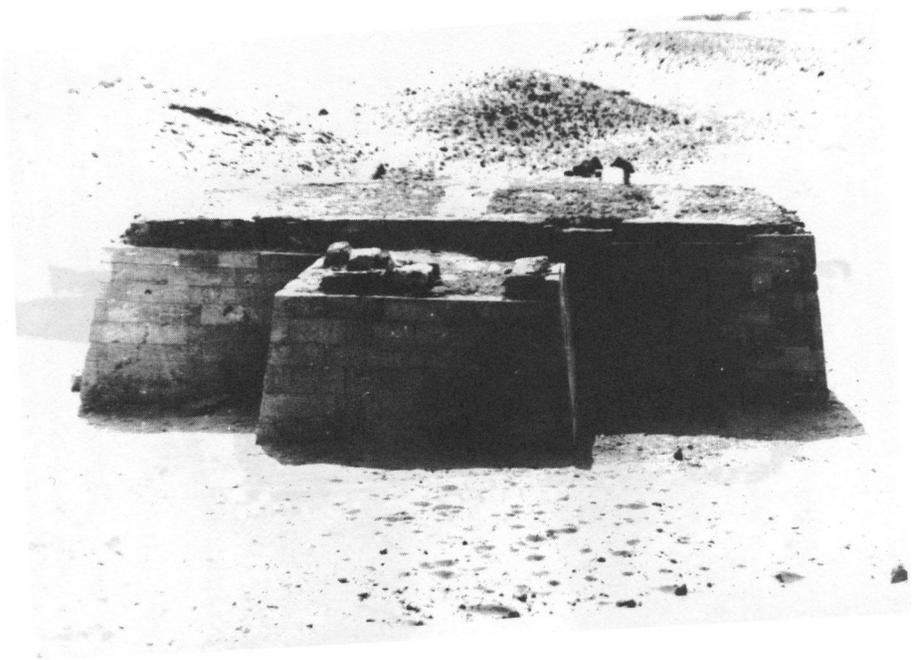


Plate II Tomb of Thery from the north



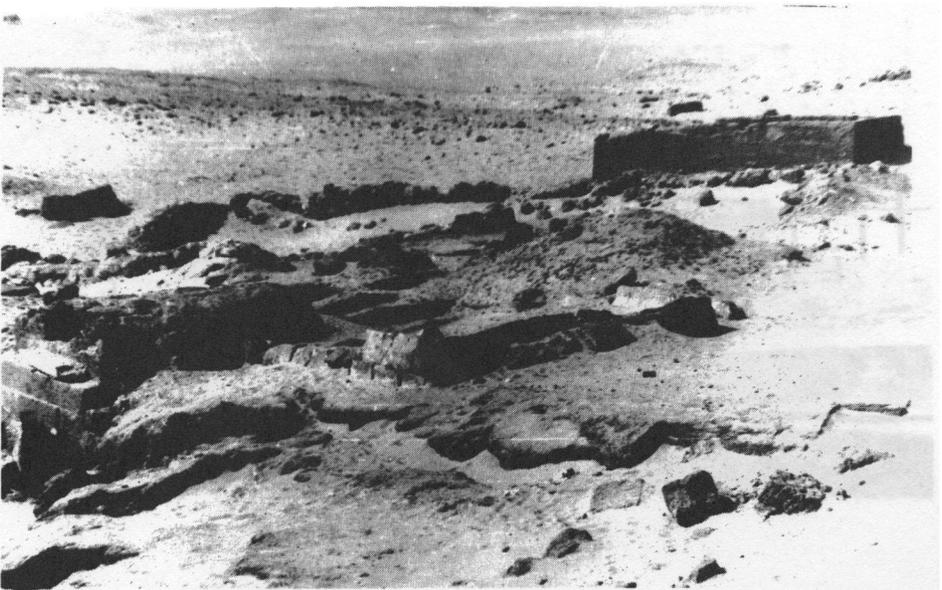


Plate III The area surrounding the tomb of Thery on its ridge



Plate IV  
Campbell's tomb from the east, showing its proximity from  
the Sphinx



Plate V      British Museum 30. Lid of the sarcophagus of Pakap



Plate VI Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1947.295, sarcophagus of Ptahhotep

Plate VII Barred entrance to Saite tombs behind the Sphinx



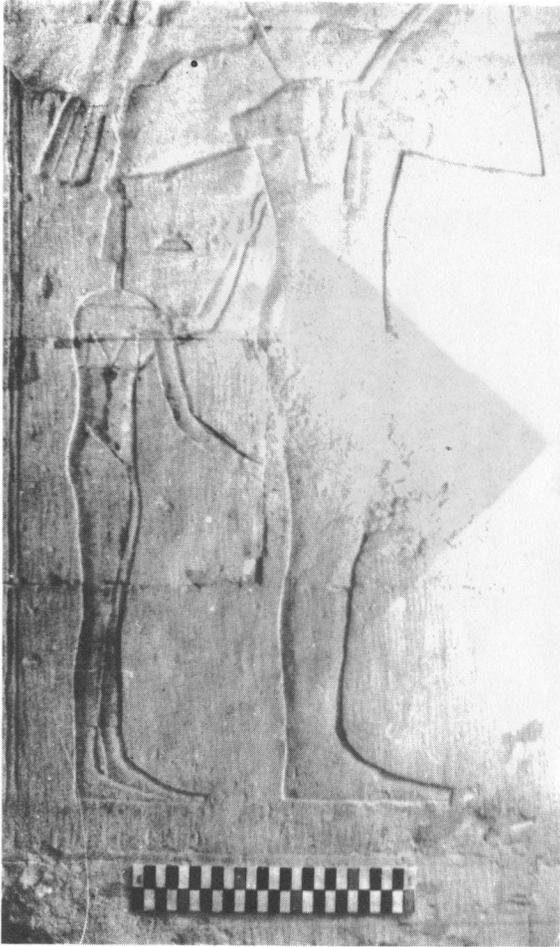


Plate VIII Feather-headed Maat reaches out to Osiris in a gesture of protection

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